

Call-outs: A multimodal study into a practice for formulating objectionable conduct

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ABSTRACT

On occasions in face-to-face interaction there can be explicit overt conflict between interactants, for example when one calls-out the other for some aspect of their conduct that they consider reprehensible. Calling someone out is a practice that is present in many forms of interaction with the expression being used on social media and on television, in newspapers and on blogs; however, little is known about the extent to which call-outs occur, if they do occur, in everyday face-to-face interaction. By using multimodal conversation analysis to analyse video-recordings of naturally occurring conversation between English-speaking university students, this dissertation confirms that call-outs do exist as a practice for treating the conduct of an addressee as reprehensible in everyday interaction. Through an exploration of call-outs this study shows that they, first and foremost, are a serious action that can take different formats; can be designed by a speaker to be recognisably serious by using negatively connotative figurative expressions; and can be upgraded by a speaker to pursue a response when one is forthcoming but has not been provided. Interestingly, this dissertation also provides evidence for call-outs having a non-serious usage as the practice can be deployed by a speaker to tease or mock an addressee in a playful manner, or to treat possibly reprehensible conduct non-seriously. Through analysis this study will contribute first to the understanding of conflict in interaction and second to the understanding of calling someone out, a practice that has to an extent become a modern-day trend and part of the current zeitgeist.

DECLARATION

I declare that 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.

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CHAPTER 1

1. An initial specimen

On Friday 29th May 2020 at 5:53am Donald Trump, who at the time was the President of the United States of America, posted a comment on the social media platform Twitter. The comment was produced in response to the police brutality protests that broke out in Minneapolis in the aftermath of the murder of George Floyd, a black man who was heard on video saying he could not breathe while suffocating as a white police officer pinned him down with his knee:

“I can’t stand back & watch this happen to a great American City, Minneapolis. A total lack of leadership. Either the very weak Radical Left Mayor, Jacob Frey, get[sic] his act together and bring[sic] the City under control, or I will send in the National Guard & get the job done right... These THUGS are dishonoring[sic] the memory of George Floyd, and I won’t let that happen. Just spoke to Governor Tim Walz and told him that the Military is with him all the way. Any difficulty and we will assume control but, when the looting starts, the shooting starts. Thank you!” (Donald Trump, Twitter, 2020).

In response, on the same day at 4:33pm American singer-songwriter Taylor Swift posted the following comment on Twitter:

“After stoking the fires of white supremacy and racism your entire presidency, you have the nerve to feign moral superiority before threatening violence? ‘When the looting starts the shooting starts’??? We will vote you out in November. @realdonaldtrump” (Taylor Swift, Twitter, 2020).

Later that day at 6:21pm a CNN Politics article described this as:

“Taylor Swift calls out Trump over late-night Minnesota tweet” (Campisi, 2020).

Working back-through the sequence above we see that a CNN Politics article describes Taylor Swift’s response to Donald Trump’s earlier comment as a ‘call-out.’ Or to take a conversation analytic (henceforth CA) approach we see that Donald Trump initially produces a threat and in response Taylor Swift produces a call-out that treats Trump’s past racism and recent threat, his conduct, as a transgression. Calling somebody out is a common practice in society and has gained more and more publicity due it being an action that publicly highlights and admonishes the conduct of another, something that is treated as brave and therefore support-worthy. ‘Calling-out culture’ is prevalent on social media platforms such as Twitter with the action (calling someone out) being deployed in order to tackle important issues in regards to political and cultural movements such as LGBTQ+, gender rights, Black Lives Matter, and the MeToo movement. With it being highlighted in headlines and occurring between celebrities in public domains calling someone out has to an extent become a modern-day trend and part of the current zeitgeist.

Although frequently appearing in newspaper headlines, and although a practice commonly associated with social media conflict, we know little about the extent to which call-outs occur, if they do occur, in everyday interaction. Questions, then, arise from this initial encounter with a call-out: is it relevant to our everyday lives? Is it something that only occurs between celebrities on social-media platforms such as Twitter or do speakers in everyday interaction actually call each-other out? If call-outs do exist as an everyday practice in everyday interaction then, from a linguistic perspective, what do they look like?

The current study will show that call-outs do exist in everyday interaction through an analysis of mundane conversation. Similar to Taylor Swift's social media call-out (above), one that is produced in everyday interaction can be used as a practice for treating the conduct of a recipient as objectionable. However, a significant difference between the two-types of call-out lies in the severity of the conduct that the call-out addresses. Taylor Swift, for example, calls-out Trump for being racist and for threatening violence, conduct that is perceived as highly transgressive. On the other hand, the call-outs in the current study are produced on camera between students who are friends, housemates, or course mates and therefore between interactants who are familiar with one another. This is a much-less volatile environment for interaction than Twitter, and the likeliness of racism occurring and then being subsequently called-out is almost non-existent. As a consequence, the conduct that is called-out in the current study could be perceived as less severe in nature.

Following on, in the present chapter I will next address the bias towards cooperative interaction (1.2) before introducing various studies into disaffiliation and disaffiliative practices in interaction (1.3). This will be followed by a literature review in which I will address action formation and ascription (1.4), features of turn-design (1.5), accountability in social interaction (1.6), conduct formulations (1.7), and non-seriousness (1.8) all in relation to the phenomenon under study, a call-out. An overview of the structure of the dissertation (1.9) will then be presented and followed by a section highlighting the methodology used to conduct the current research.

2. A bias towards cooperative interaction

Call-outs are so far unexplored in interactional detail yet as we have seen they are frequently highlighted in the media and are of clear importance to social interaction between celebrities. Why, then, has this phenomenon gone unnoticed and unstudied by the specialists of social interaction? One factor contributing to this is in regards to the research conducted in CA itself being biased towards affiliative sequences of interaction due to such sequences being much easier to obtain than disaffiliative sequences. Studies into human behaviour have found that under observation humans are much more likely to be cooperative and polite to one-another (Brown & Levinson, 1987; Grice, 1989). Goffman (1955), for example, spoke of face and how through their actions interlocutors attempt to adhere to the "terms of approved social attributes" in order to present themselves in a positive manner and therefore be treated in a positive manner. Furthermore, Labov (1973) found that the observer's paradox can lead to participants being less likely to produce negative actions when there is a third-party present to whom they have no association. As a result, recordings of naturally occurring sequences of conflict in social interaction are relatively rare, and researchers have chosen to focus on phenomena that are easier to observe. Evidence of this observation has echoed throughout the present study into call-outs as in 51 hours and 28 minutes of video recordings only 22 cases of the phenomenon were noted.

3. Disaffiliation

The current research presents the linguistic phenomenon of a call-out as a disaffiliative action. Although I will present evidence for the existence of a non-serious call-out in chapter 3, for now I will stick with the observation that a call-out is composed in a linguistically serious and provocative manner. Despite the ubiquity of disaffiliation in our everyday lives,

we know little of how conflict, and as a result how a call-out, is navigated in the moment-to-moment reality of actual interaction. Argumentative sequences of conversation remain an understudied area of CA with more research being conducted into agreement, affiliation and accord in comparison to the research that is conducted into conflict, disaffiliation and discord (Sacks, 1987). Because of this research has shown that participants tend to perform socially affiliative actions such as agreements and confirmations more frequently than they perform social disaffiliative ones such as disagreements and disconfirmations (Sacks, 1987). However, the research that has been done into sequences of conflict has shown that participants tend to do the opposite; that is, they produce disaffiliative actions more frequently than affiliative ones (Dersley & Wootton, 2000).

Research has also shown that disaffiliative sequences of interaction are recognisable through the disaffiliative actions produced by the interlocutors in that interaction. Sometimes it is the verbal modalities and at other times it is the embodied modalities that contribute to an action being noticeably disaffiliative; however, it is usually a Gestalt of both the vocal and embodied practices that communicate disaffiliation in these sequences. For example, research has shown that the disaffiliative nature of formulating a complaint in response to a recipient's conduct is recognisable through the use of particular lexical items such as formulating the recipient's conduct in a manner that attributes a "negative value" to it (Drew & Holt, 1988; Drew, 1998; Dersley & Wootton, 2000; Selting, 2012; Clift & Pino, 2020). In addition, participants in conversation can display disaffiliation on an embodied level through practices such as mock aggression (Afshari Saleh, 2020), visible deflations (Clift, 2014), eye-roles (Clift, 2021), and unilateral walk-outs (Dersley & Wootton, 2001). Furthermore, some studies have shown that explicitly disaffiliative actions such as conduct formulations or mock aggression can lead to an affiliative outcome (Afshari Saleh, 2020; Clift & Pino, 2020), and studies such as that into unilateral walk-outs have shown that conflictual sequences of talk can be terminated on the spot without ever being resolved, in turn leaving open the possibility for the conflict to be picked back up at a later time (Dersley & Wootton, 2001). I will show that although cooperation and agreement are common themes of interaction on occasions there can be explicit overt disagreement between interlocutors and a call-out is one way in which a speaker can disagree with the conduct of a recipient in real-time interaction.

4. Literature review

4.1. Action formation and ascription

The linguistic phenomenon under analysis, a call-out, is an already identified action that is deployed openly in the public domain yet has not been analysed from a linguistic perspective. This is interesting when compared to other conversation-analytic studies such as Schegloff's (1996) 'Confirming Allusions', for instance, in which the phenomenon under analysis is an unidentified action and as a result new to the linguistic community. The current study therefore focuses on an action that already exists in our vernacular metalanguage for action (Kendrick, 2020), on an action that has an everyday usage in the media as well as public discourse, on an action that is openly publicised.

Calling a recipient out for some inapt conduct is an already identified and recognisable action. This leads to an important question in regards to the very nature of a call-out: how

does a speaker communicate that they are calling another person out? This is a question that is omnipresent in CA and was first addressed by Schegloff (2007) as the action-formation problem:

“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 recognizable by recipients as, particular actions... in a class of unknown size” (p. xiv).

The action-formation problem, however, only addresses the current-speakers turn and how *they* design *their* turn to be a recognisable call-out. What is not represented is the recipients' point of view and how they display recognition that a particular turn has been correctly identified as a call-out. This recipient recognition was observed by Levinson (2013) as action ascription and is understood to be:

“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” (p. 104).

By displaying recognition a speaker provides in their (next) turn possible evidence of an understanding of what the prior turn was doing, in turn conforming to the next turn proof procedure by showing an understanding that the prior turn was a call-out (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974). Furthermore, in his review Levinson (2013) collected ‘puzzles’ that he attempted to provide possible solutions to. These puzzles, namely: “(2) *how are actions ‘recognized’ or attributed?*”, and (3) “*How can we account for one turn doing more than one action...at once?*” (p. 127), are relevant to the action formation and ascription problem and therefore to the study of call-outs. However, in order to provide answers to these questions a more granular perspective is required; therefore, in the following section I will address the ‘features of turn-design’ that work to form a call-out.

4.2. Features of turn-design

Calling another out for some inappropriate conduct requires a particular composition of turn design features that can be displayed at a vocal level and/or embodied level. It has already been established that a speaker’s turn is designed to be recognisable as a particular action, and further that recipients display in their next turn(s) an understanding of that particular action that subsequently, if uncorrected, becomes a “joint ‘good enough’ understanding (Levinson, 2013, p. 104). From these observations two questions arise in regards to the nature of call-outs, namely: (a) what linguistic features, both vocal and embodied, contribute to the overall turn-design of a call-out? And (b) how do those turn-design features contribute to the recognisability of a call-out? The following is a non-exhaustive introduction to some of the features of call-out turn-design.

4.2.1. Turn format

Turn format, described by Levinson (2013) as a “major clue to the action type” (p. 110) of a particular turn, is one feature of turn design that I have observed to be important to the overall recognisability of a call-out. Studies into turn format have shown how certain *why*-interrogatives (e.g., Why did you do that?) can communicate a challenging stance to some inappropriate conduct and the speaker responsible for its production (Bolden & Robinson, 2011, p. 94). Furthermore, Kent and Kendrick (2016) discovered that prohibitives, that is “grammatically negative imperatives (e.g., “don’t whisper”)” (p. 275) hold a recipient

accountable by finding fault in their conduct. The presence of a challenging stance towards some conduct and its speaker as well as the attribution of accountability to that speaker are fundamental to a call-out's recognisability.

4.2.2. *Word selection*

Along with a turn's format the lexical items selected to compose a call-out are another feature of call-out turn-design. The choice of lexical items can also contribute to a recipient understanding that they are being called-out and therefore play a role in the action formation and ascription process. In Drew's (1998) detailed study into complaints it was found that a speaker overtly formulating the conduct produced by the accountable party is a feature of a complaint. This explicit formulation (e.g., "drinkin' rum'n Coke out'v a water glass") (p. 309) is an essential feature that is omnipresent in all call-out cases. In addition, a speaker can formulate the conduct of a recipient using a figurative expression (e.g., "they'll scream blue murder") (Drew & Holt, 1998, p. 513) and/or an extreme case formulation (e.g., "every time") (Pomerantz, 1986, p. 219) that upgrades the turn and ascribes a "negative value" to the addressee's conduct, in turn further attributing to the processes of action formation and ascription.

4.2.3. *Hand gestures*

As well as features of call-out turn-design being displayed on a vocal level it is also possible for them to be displayed through embodied modes of communication and action. Studies into embodied actions have shown how gestures can contribute to the recognisability of a particular action (Clift, 2014; Lilja & Piirainen-Marsh, 2019; Afshari Saleh, 2020). Lilja and Piirainen-Marsh's (2019) study found that hand gestures can "support action ascription" (p. 343) by enhancing "the recognizability of the action for the recipient" (p. 361). Furthermore, in the same study it was found that recipients are able to orient to these hand gestures through a display of understanding (Lilja and Piirainen-Marsh, 2019). In Afshari Saleh's (2020) study into mock aggression it was found that producing a serious action such as a slap in an over-done and theatrical manner can communicate to the recipient an overall non-serious stance in response to their conduct. How hand gestures contribute to action formation and ascription is an interesting topic and is relative to the current study of call-outs; therefore, I will address this matter in chapter 3.

4.2.4. *Facial expressions*

The final embodied feature of turn-design I will briefly discuss that relates to the current study of call-outs is that of facial expressions. Facial expressions have been shown to contribute to the action formation and ascription process (Kohler, 2008; Rossano, 2012; Kaukomaa, Peräkylä, & Ruusuvuori, 2013; Clift, 2021; Looney & He, 2021). There are some facial expressions that are disaffiliative in nature such as eye-roll's (Clift, 2021), and many studies have found that speaker's facial expressions can convey their emotional stance (Kaukomaa et al., 2013). In contrast to the disaffiliative gestures in this section there are affiliative ones such as smiles that have been associated with the conveying of a positive or humorous stance (Kohler, 2008; Clift, 2012; Kaukomaa et al., 2013; Looney & He, 2021). Through the production of an affiliative embodied gesture such as a smile a speaker is able

to communicate a possible resistance to taking a serious stance to some inappropriate conduct, what Jefferson (1985) described as “troubles-resistance” (p. 351). The current study will address facial expressions produced alongside call-outs in chapter 3 and how they contribute to the call-out action formation and ascription process.

Although I have addressed the aforementioned features of turn-design as single features it is usually the case with actions, and as a consequence call-outs, that a “complex multimodal Gestalt”, that is a combination of both vocal and embodied modalities, aids in their formation and ascription process (Mondada, 2014, p. 139). However, a puzzle still remains in regards to the motivation of a call-outs production, namely: (a) how is a recipients conduct accountable, and (b) on what terms is their conduct deemed inappropriate? I will address this puzzle in the following section.

4.3. Accountability in Social Interaction

To call another person out for inappropriate conduct is to expose a breach in what is perceived to be the normative standards of conduct that are omnipresent throughout conversation. As stated by HLA Hart (2012) we “subscribe to traditional standards of behaviour” and our understanding of these standards of behaviour is “guided by common sense and knowledge of the general kind of things and purposes which” we “think important, and by...appreciation of the general character of the occasion...and the kind of behaviour appropriate to it” (pp. 124-125). These normative standards of conduct are covert and (mostly) unspoken in everyday conversation but may be explicitly invoked when they are breached. In conversation they are enacted and adhered to as they are ubiquitous to the joint understanding between interlocutors that is at the very heart of conversation.

Research has shown that there is no pre-existing measure when it comes to what is or is not transgressive conduct. A study into apologies conducted by Heritage, Raymond and Drew (2019) found that the length or nature of an apology reflects the apology-speaker’s perception of the seriousness of their transgression. Similarly, the practice of calling someone out is reflexive as it involves a speaker either perceiving the conduct of the addressee to be transgressive, or attributing to the addressee’s conduct a transgression regardless of them recognising that they have transgressed. By calling a recipient out a speaker is highlighting something within that recipient’s conduct as inappropriate due to it breaching, and therefore overstepping, what the speaker perceives to be a boundary between appropriate and inappropriate conduct. The current study into call-outs treats this overstepping of a boundary as a trespassing from what is deemed acceptable conduct to unacceptable conduct. Potential reasons as to why an interlocutor’s conduct could possibly overstep the boundary and be perceived as transgressive include, but are not limited to, conduct that “does not accord with common sense” (Bolden & Robinson, 2011, p. 97); “problem behaviour”, “delinquency or” defiance (Potter & Hepburn, 2020, pp. 347-360); “deviations from relevance rules” or “normative patterns of conduct” (Robinson, 2016, p. 7); or a breach of “trust” which includes a breach in the recognition of, understanding of, and adhering to the rules and practices that speakers themselves enforce in everyday interaction.

There are many practices at a speaker’s disposal that can be of use when policing the boundary between appropriate and inappropriate conduct. What I propose in the current study is that calling another out for inappropriate conduct is one such practice for policing this boundary. Another practice observed by Potter and Hepburn (2020) in communicating this overstepping of a boundary is to explicitly formulate the recipient’s conduct as

impermissible, thereby drawing “attention to the delinquency” of that recipient” (p. 360). Furthermore, a study into overt rule invocations in everyday family interactions by Küttner, Vatanen and Zinken (2022) has shown that the overstepping of a boundary can lead to an overtly constructed rule statement that locates “the recipient as at fault for the occurrence of the untoward event” (p, 797) through the formulation of the rules that have been breached as a result of the recipient’s lapse in “common sense practical reasoning(ing)” (p. 793).

In addition to a speaker’s ability to highlight the inappropriateness of a recipient’s conduct, they can also comment on that conduct in a way that holds the recipient accountable. This notion of accountability is essential for understanding what a call-out is. Accountability in interaction has been used in many different ways, for example Robinson (2016) states that “accountability...involves interlocutors’ abilities to form and ascribe (i.e., recognize and understand) possible actions, which are themselves orchestrations of practices of conduct, which embody relevance rules, or normative structures or reasoning and normative patterns of conduct” (p. 11). However, in this dissertation I will use accountability, and the notion of accountable conduct, as described by Garfinkel (1963) and later Goffman (1971) as a breach in the recognition, understanding and adherence to normative rules and standards of conduct that is a consequence of “a momentary lapse” or “at worst because of faulty character (p. 99). Despite our best intentions we sometimes fail “to be honest, trustworthy, or fair” (Gausel & Leach, 2011) and as a consequence produce conduct that is perceived to be transgressive. If an interlocutor breaches any normative standards of conduct they expose themselves to the possibility of receiving the “accountability status” (Robinson, 2016, p. 29) which can lead to their moral character being judged and “the moral reprehensibility” (Drew, 1998, p. 312) of their conduct being brought-to-light.

4.4. Conduct Formulations

The previous research that is closest to the current study is Clift and Pino’s (2020) work on conduct formulations, a phenomenon in which a speaker challenges the legitimacy of a recipient’s course of action (e.g., *why you shouting at me?*). Although not always resulting in a confrontation, it has been found that conduct formulations are produced “in the context of hearably antagonistic or conflictual talk/exchange” (p. 2). In repeatedly pursuing a response a speaker can intensify the strength of their pursuit which can escalate a confrontation. In response to this a recipient can formulate counter-actions that can result in the escalation/resolution of (potential) conflict through the production of a conduct formulation (Clift & Pino, 2020).

The current study builds upon but departs from Clift and Pino’s study in three ways. The first departure I will address is in regards to the CA method used to conduct the research. Clift and Pino’s study analysed the vocalizations used by participants when turning-the-tables on and holding accountable the conduct of the recipient, and through doing so brilliantly introduced the CA community to conduct formulations. However, vocalizations are but one of several modalities that have significance when analysing conversation. Non-vocal practices including gesture, gaze and bodily conduct are equally as important to the study and understanding of interaction. Therefore, the current study will analyse a call-out, a practice akin to a conduct formulation, using multimodal CA. By doing so I will consider the possibility that embodied gestures can be produced while holding accountable and treating as transgressive the conduct of a recipient, therefore attributing to the action formation and ascription process of a call-out. Through a multimodal approach I will show how the vocal

and embodied practices deployed by a speaker can form a single Gestalt of modalities that achieve the interactional consequence of the formulation of a call-out.

second relevant difference between call-outs and conduct formulations is the sequential environment in which the phenomena occur. Call-outs are more flexibly produced and do not necessarily respond to just-produced conduct. The conduct a call-out responds to just needs to be a recognisable action that has been produced at some point in the call-out recipient's past. Conduct formulations, on the other hand, are not only produced in a sequential environment following a response pursuit but are also produced with the interactional consequence of turning-the-tables on the recipient.

A final difference between the two studies is in the nature of the phenomena under study. Conduct formulations are studied under the guise that they are a serious and disaffiliative practice; however, the study into call-outs considers both a serious and non-serious usage of the practice. By doing so the current study will address issues of distinguishing between affiliative and disaffiliative practices, and by doing so shed light on how a single practice can have a serious or non-serious usage based on its design.

4.5. Non-seriousness

As mentioned in the previous section the current research into call -outs has observed both a serious and non-serious usage of the phenomenon. This leads to questions that I attempt to shed light on in chapter three, namely: (a) are there any observed linguistic practices deployed by a speaker that allow an addressee to recognise that they are being called-out in a non-serious manner, and (b) what is a speaker trying to achieve by calling another person out non-seriously?

Previous research into non-serious actions has shown how varied non-serious displays can be. For example, non-seriousness can be conveyed through word-selection in the form of hyperboles, jokes, tropes, puns and irony (Drew, 1987; Schegloff, 2001; Haugh, 2014). Furthermore, non-serious displays can be minimal vocal gestures that mark an action as "laughable" (Glenn, 2003, pp. 48-49) such as stand-alone laughter (Drew, 1987; Holt, 2010, 2012, 2022), "interpolated laughter particles" (Potter & Hepburn, 2010), smile voice (Kohler, 2008; Clift, 2016) or turn-initial/turn-final laughter that can be reciprocated by a recipient in order to affiliate (Holt, 2012). Non-seriousness can also be displayed on an entirely embodied level through practices such as smiling (Attardo et al., 2003) and/or the overdoing of an embodied gesture (Afshari Saleh, 2020).

Another way in which non-seriousness can be displayed in conversation is through a mixture of vocal and embodied gestures, a Gestalt of modalities that work in symbiosis to form concrete and recognisable actions (Mondada, 2014). In addition, speakers can deploy non-serious embodied gestures in order to juxtapose a seriously composed utterance with the interactional consequence being the communication that a certain turn-at-talk is non-serious in nature (Afshari Saleh, 2020). In most cases it is an ensemble of modalities, both vocal and embodied, and not just a stand-alone modality that attributes the action formation and ascription and the communication that a particular action is serious or non-serious in nature.

5. Overview

Although some research has shown how speakers deal with conflict in interaction, disaffiliative practices associated with conflict are still an understudied area of CA. This leaves a gap in the research into disaffiliative practices that needs to be addressed. Through the study of call-outs it is my aim to address this gap in knowledge by shedding light on a practice that overtly treats the conduct of a recipient as inappropriate and accountable. In this dissertation I analyse call-outs by first analysing cases in which the call-out is 'serious' in nature (chapter 2), before moving on to an analysis of call-outs that are 'non-serious' in nature (chapter 3).

In chapter two I introduce a call-out produced between interlocutors in everyday interaction. I then move on to the different formats a call-out can take; the particular features of turn-design that attribute to call-out recognisability, the upgrading of a call-out, and finally the possible responses a recipient can produce to being called-out. Then, in chapter 3, I introduce the observation that call-outs can also be non-serious in nature. To do this I will first address how both a call-out speaker and recipient can orient, on a vocal and embodied level, to the non-serious nature of a call-out. I will then move on to what a speaker is doing by producing a non-serious call-out. Finally, I will present a discussion of the findings of this research by comparing them to other studies on conflict.

6. Methodology

To conduct the research into call-outs video recordings of naturalistic conversation between students were used. The data come from recordings made available to me for the dissertation research, including the Rossi Corpus of English and recordings made for student projects. In order to anonymize the data pseudonyms have been used and some of the images within the transcripts have been filtered. The data was between speakers of British-English and in almost all situations the data was recorded by students for their own projects at the University of York. This led to the students within the recordings being in some-way acquainted either as course-mates, housemates, or friends (of friends). The consequence of this was that the participants had some familiarity with one-another.

With the study aiming to analyse the verbal and embodied practices used to both produce a call-out and respond to one, a multimodal analysis was conducted. The Jeffersonian system (Hepburn & Bolden, 2012) was used to transcribe any vocalizations and to transcribe embodied gestures Mondada's (2018) multimodal transcription convention was used. Incorporating multimodal CA will not only allow for the analysis of call-outs on a verbal level, but also for their analysis on an embodied level.

In order to guide the research process I adopted certain aspects of Drew's (2014) approach to CA research. I examined the recordings to first identify candidate call-outs, and then collected as many cases of the phenomenon as possible while refining the definition of a call-out. I then transcribed the video recordings for their linguistic features and then their modalities using the aforementioned methods for transcription. In the third stage of research I analysed the chosen cases in detail to build collections of the different practices for doing a call-out and different practices for responding to one. In the final stage I assessed the possible interactional consequence(s) of producing a call-out.

The definition of a call-out is as follows: a speaker (A) notices and responds to an addressee's (B's) past or present conduct by directly addressing them and formulating their conduct as objectionable. Through the formulation and treatment of B's conduct as objectionable A attributes to B both some inappropriate conduct and the accountability for the production of that conduct. In total 143 video-recordings were examined which amassed 51 hours of possible data, and by using the aforementioned definition of a call-out 22 cases were identified.

To conduct the current study a call-out was analysed using CA which is a systematic, qualitative, micro-analytic approach to studying human interaction (Stivers & Sidnell, 2012). A multimodal approach was adopted for the current study because each modality is a "visible action when it is used as an utterance or as part of an utterance" (Abner, Cooperrider & Goldin-Meadow, 2015, p. 1), and in conversation these modalities are deployed by participants with the result being an ensemble of actions that all contribute to the process of communication and understanding (Mondada, 2016). A participant's voice, body and face all have analytical value in CA. It is necessary to adopt a multimodal approach for the study of call-outs because the verbal and non-verbal actions produced by a speaker have a symbiotic relationship, and only when they are studied together can we discover how complex the relationship is.

CHAPTER 2

7. A call-out in everyday interaction

From first glance call-outs are produced in serious sequences of interaction; that is interaction in which an argument, opposing ideas, or conflict are produced in-or-around the call-out turn. We can see this from the Taylor Swift call-out in chapter 1 in which the conduct being called out was perceived as highly transgressive. However, the transgressions that are called-out within the current research could possibly be treated as less or more severe than the initial Taylor Swift call-out. The practice is reflexive as it relies on a speaker perceiving something to be transgressive, or attributing to some conduct a transgressive quality. As a consequence of there being no objective grounds for what is or is not transgressive conduct call-out speakers in the current research call-out conduct that they perceive as transgressive, but from the call-out addressee's, a third party's, or a conversation analysts perspective the conduct being called-out may not be transgressive.

The following extract shows a call-out being produced in response to not getting a response. Ben and James have made plans, off-camera, to attend the cinema. In this interaction Ben is busy conducting his work in the kitchen with James and Kerry also present. James stands up as Kerry announces that she is going for a smoke and James announces that he is going upstairs, meaning that both parties are leaving the scene in order to undertake their own plans.

Ex.1 RCE08.mp4 - Been waiting [35:00-35:30]

```
1   KER:      kay I'm gonna go for a smoke hh=  
2   JAM:      =right I'm (gonna) go upstairs:  
3             (0.2)  
4   BEN:      why ya going upstairs  
5             (0.6)  
6   JAM:      °>I think< my mate° (0.3) my mate might be on Skype  
7             (0.5)  
8   BEN:      so we're not going to the cinema  
9             (0.6)  
10  JAM:      well: we can if you want  
11             (2.2)  
12  JAM:      I've been:- I've been waiting to see what you- (.)  
13  -> you're not giving me a respo[n-      ]  
14  BEN:      [I'm almo]st finished  
15             (0.4)  
16             I've been working that's why
```

Kerry, a third-party in this interaction, produces an announcement (line 1) which is followed by James's announcement that he is "gonna go upstairs" (line 2). Ben responds to James's announcement with a *why*-interrogative (line 4) that solicits an account from James as to the reason he is going upstairs (Bolden & Robinson, 2011). This *why*-interrogative ("why ya going upstairs") was initially considered as a call-out; however, it was excluded on the grounds that the conduct being called-out ("going upstairs") is anticipated and has not yet

been produced, whereas in my definition a call-out responds to already-produced conduct. Furthermore, the act of “going upstairs” may be an innocent one, James may be “going upstairs” to get a jumper for example. Therefore, in this instance, Ben *suspects* that James’s conduct will lead to a possible transgression; however, he does not call James out for conduct that has been produced and subsequently perceived and treated as transgressive. In this sense the “why ya going upstairs” (line 4) possibly acts as a pre-call-out (a preliminary to a call-out) as it anticipates a possible transgression; however, no subsequent call-out from Ben comes.

Following on, James adheres to Ben’s solicitation by providing an account which is that his “mate might be on Skype”; however, Ben finds fault with this and treats it as untoward by claiming that James going upstairs will result in them “not going to the cinema” (line 8). This is responded to by James with a soft disagreement in which he expresses that they are still able to go to the cinema and produces with it “if you want” which leaves it to Ben to make the final decision (line 10).

Calling-out the conduct of an addressee seems in many respects to overlap with other actions or activities that are familiar and have been studied from a CA perspective, notably complaints, criticisms, and accusations. However, there are certain features that can help distinguish a call-out from such practices. Extract 1 illustrates one difference: complaints are typically designed to represent the other’s misconduct as recurrently or frequently occurring, whereas call-outs, although being able to address frequently occurring conduct (see the upcoming analysis of extract 8 on page 17), typically address single acts, a particular moment or instance of misconduct, a single something that the addressee is perceived as having done wrong, as here in extract 1. Another key difference is that complaints can be characterological i.e., attributing a character trait such as forgetfulness, meanness or hypocrisy to someone; however, a call-out works to highlight less the character of the recipient, and instead their conduct that is perceived to be, and as a consequence is treated as, transgressive. It does not treat as transgressive a quality or character trait belonging to that addressee. One final distinction I have observed during my research, although this in no way means that there are no other distinctions, is that call-outs explicitly formulate the conduct of the addressee in a very public manner. By doing so the call-out both exposes the addressee’s (possibly) transgressive conduct and publicly names that transgression in the process. Whilst none of these is a defining characteristic of call-outs, nonetheless together they suggest broad differences between calling out another’s conduct and complaining about them

Although leaving the decision-making to Ben and in doing so making a response from him conditionally relevant, no response is provided by him (Schegloff, 2007). A 2.2 second pause occurs (line 11) that exceeds the standard maximum silence of 1 second and could therefore be perceived as trouble (Jefferson, 1989). James then proceeds to produce a complaint that turns-the-tables on Ben by conveying that it is he, James, who has “been waiting” for Ben (line 12). However, before the TCU is fully-formulated James cuts-off and self-corrects what would have been a complaint into a call-out (line 13) that publicly names and treats Ben’s “not giving a response” as conduct that is remiss.

Fox and Heinemann (2016) claim that syntactic formats, such as declaratives, have been used to address “the relevance of action formation” (p. 501) in everyday face-to-face interactions. The declarative format is deployed by speakers in interaction to perform many actions, in this case to call-out, as well as emphasize that what the speaker is saying is to be treated as the truth (Sadock & Zwicky, 1985). In the case of extract 1 the call-out has a negative-declarative format that is marked by *not* which conveys a failure on behalf of the

addressee (Sadock & Zwicky, 1985). The call-out addresses Ben through both gaze and the referential-pronoun “you” (Clift, 2016) and formulates “not giving a response” as a failure on behalf of Ben. Through formulating Ben’s conduct as a failure James is holding him accountable for breaching what he perceives to be a normative standard of conduct which would be to respond when a response is relevant to the interaction (Garfinkel, 1963; Goffman, 1971). By “not giving a response” Ben is ignoring James which is impolite and therefore treated as objectionable conduct, and by negatively constructing the failure to provide a response when one has been made conditionally relevant James is conveying a negative stance to, and “challenging the legitimacy” of, that conduct (Schegloff, 2007; Clift, 2016; Clift, 2020, p. 463). In response to being called-out Ben provides two excuses (lines 14 & 16) that work to mitigate the severity of his objectionable conduct (Haugh, 2014); however, the analysis of these responses will be addressed in section 2.5.

8. Call-outs can have different formats

Extract 1 showed of a call-out with a declarative format; however, call-outs can take other formats also. I will now present a case of a call-out that takes an interrogative format. In this instance I argue that the call-out aligns with Bolden and Robinson’s (2011) observation that *why*-interrogatives can be deployed by a speaker in order to solicit an account from an addressee in regards to what is being treated as objectionable conduct.

Extract 2 (below) shows a case of a *why*-interrogative call-out being produced in response to objectionable conduct, that being the recipient taking up too much room on a blanket. To provide some context, the participants with whom this extract is focussed (Rachel and Jane) are sharing a blanket with a third participant. The call-out addressee Rachel formulates a request for Jane to “move up” so that they can share the blanket more equally and this request is where the extract begins:

Ex.2 RCE06 – Move up (2) [15:18 – 16:13]

```

33 RAC: c'n ↑you ↑move ↑up cos I'm like really
34 not o[n and you're]=
35 JAN: [ ↑ye:ah: ]
36 RAC: =just hogging the whole thing.
37 (0.6)
38 JAN: -> ↑why ↑you say that he,
39 (0.4)
40 RAC: hh he (.) .hh (0.4) cos >I don't know I've (.) like<
41 earlier I j's aw:

```

Extract 2 begins with Rachel producing a *can*-interrogative that requests Jane to “move up.” The *can you* format conveys a claim to entitlement that in this case communicates that the request should be complied with (Curl & Drew, 2008), and furthermore that its compliance will benefit the request-maker. This is immediately followed by an account for the request, a complaint, that conveys Rachel to be not fully seated on the blanket (lines 33-34). In line 35 Jane overlaps with Rachel’s turn with a *yes*-response that grants the request; however, Rachel continues her turn and produces a call-out that is a negatively connotative figurative expression (line 34 & 36). Although I will not analyse this particular call-out here the TCU works to criticise Jane; “hogging” attributes an animalistic greediness to Jane’s conduct and “whole thing” is an extreme case formulation that exaggerates Jane’s “hogging”, both of

which work together to strongly criticise and attribute blame to Jane for taking-up more of her fair-share of the blanket (Pomerantz, 1986; Drew & Holt, 1998; Schegloff, 2007). To speak to a friend in this manner after they have granted the request in such a content-like manner, notice the higher intonation and elongation of “ye:ah:” (line 35), is untoward. Therefore, Jane treats this criticism as unwarranted and responds to it by producing a call-out (line 38).

Although at first glance Jane is soliciting an account, Bolden and Robinson’s (2011) study into *why*-interrogatives as account solicitations showed that this is not the only function of this particular format. Through the production of a *why*-interrogative a speaker can explicitly disaffiliate with a prior speaker’s conduct and at the same time communicate a challenging stance toward both the appropriateness of that accountable conduct as well as the speaker responsible for producing it (Bolden & Robinson, 2011). In the case of “↑*why* ↑*you* say that”, a prosodically upgraded call-out (line 38), Jane is disaffiliating with the antagonistic manner of Rachel’s criticism whilst addressing her through lexical (*you*) and embodied (*gaze*) resources (Rossano, 2012; Clift, 2016). The *why*-question format of the call-out treats the strongly worded criticism as an accountable action (Sacks, 1992) whilst at the same time embodying a challenging stance to the inappropriateness of its production (Bolden & Robinson, 2011).

It has been observed that a call-out formulates the conduct of an addressee; however, unlike extract 1 in which the formulated conduct was explicit, in this instance the demonstrative pronoun “that” is deictic and therefore ambiguous. Due to there being an intrinsic ambiguity to deictics interactants rely on multimodal indications of gaze, gesture, body movement etc., as well as the context of the interaction to determine the referent of the deictic expression (Gundel, Hedberg & Zacharski, 2004). Therefore, calling-out the conduct of an addressee sometimes relies on context, format and multimodal resources in order to be understood as treating that conduct as possibly transgressive. Upon completion of the call-out Jane produces a single beat of turn-final laughter which is a display of “troubles resistance” – although treating Rachel’s conduct as objectionable Jane is also responding to it light-heartedly (Jefferson, 1985, p. 351). In response to being called-out Rachel also produces a single beat of turn-initial laughter showing her to align with the light-hearted treatment of her conduct (line 40). This is followed by an attempt to provide an account for her conduct, an account that was made conditionally relevant due to the *why*-interrogative format of the call-out – a question makes an answer expectable (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973); however, her account collapses and she fails to provide any real justification as to why she treated her friend in such a manner (line 40-41).

As well as being able to take a declarative or interrogative format, call-outs can also take a negative-imperative format, otherwise referred to as a prohibitive (Sadock and Zwicky, 1985, p. 175). Kent and Kendrick (2016) clarify that “prohibitives are grammatically negative imperatives” (p. 275) that convey a prohibition – the action of forbidding something (Sadock & Zwicky, 1985). They are usually overtly marked by negative elements such as *not* and *no*, and they exhibit a negative polarity that distinguishes them from the regular imperative format (Eppler & Ozon, 2013). Extract 3 (below) is one such instance in which the call-out takes on the format of a prohibitive that orients to the accountability of the addressee for their production of objectionable conduct (Kent & Kendrick, 2016). The following extract is part of a larger sequence in which an argument between the Debbie and Shelley has manifested. The argument is in regards to Shelley cancelling her plans to go on vacation with Debbie and others with her excuse being that she has to work and also that she has little money. In response Debbie attributes the cause of the cancelling down to Shelley’s boyfriend also not being able to attend which is contrary to Shelley’s excuse.

Ex.3 D&S - Blow off girlfriends [02:59-03:36]

61 Debbie: =but if- but th- see this is what I'm see:in. I'm
62 seein well thats okay but if Mark went you would
63 spend the mo::ney.
64 Shelley: °we:ll thats not true either= ((begins soft, then rising))
65 Debbie: -> =I do'know, jus dont blow off your girlfriends for
66 -> guy:s, Shel.
67 Shelley: De:b I'm not. h[ow man-]e- when have I? beside ya-
68 Debbie: [o ka:y]

The extract begins with an accusation produced by Debbie in which she conveys that if Shelley's boyfriend "Mark" was to attend then she would "spend the mo::ney" and not cancel plans on Debbie (lines 61-63). This is in opposition with Shelley's excuse that she cannot attend due to having to work on the weekend as well as not having enough money to attend anyway. Shelley produces a denial response in which she claims Debbie's accusation to be "not true" (line 64). Debbie projects the possible completion of Shelley's turn and in response produces a call-out turn (lines 65-66) that is latched to the denial (Clift, 2016) and treats Shelley "blowing off" her "girlfriends for guy:s" as objectionable conduct. The call-out is a multi-unit turn in which "I don't know", the first TCU, expresses uncertainty towards the denial (Clift, 2016) and the second TCU calls Shelley out.

The ability to negate sentences in order to treat a particular action as problematic is common in languages such as English. Through negation an imperative format is modified and becomes a negative-imperative, or prohibitive (Sadock & Zwicky, 1985). In the case of the call-out TCU (lines 65-66) *not* is deployed in order to negate the imperative form and convey a prohibition that forbids Shelley to "blow off" her "girlfriends for guy:s" (Clift, 2016). To cancel plans on a friend by choosing to spend time with a partner instead of that friend is disagreeable. Therefore, to forbid such conduct Debbie is taking a challenging stance towards Shelley and the accountable event whilst treating her conduct as discourteous and therefore transgressive (Bolden & Robinson, 2011).

Although referencing an addressee through either/both vocal or embodied resources is a common feature of a call-out, in this instance such a reference does not occur. However, imperative formats, and therefore prohibitives, do not require an overt subject due to the "context-bound addressee" almost always being 'you' (Eppler & Ozon, 2013, p. 200). An essential feature of call-outs is to attribute accountability to the recipient for their conduct. In this instance "blow off your girlfriends" is a formulation of Shelley's conduct that conveys a breach in some normative standard of conduct, that is not to cancel on your friends for a partner; therefore, attributing accountability. Furthermore, blame is conveyed due to it being Shelley's decision to produce the objectionable conduct, thereby treating her as responsible for her choice to pick a partner over her "girlfriends" (Clift & Pino, 2020). However, it is not only the formulation of Shelley's conduct that attributes accountability in this instance as it has been discovered that overt references such as "Shel", a colloquial person reference that is a tag to the call-out TCU, are also involved in attributing responsibility/accountability as well as conveying disagreement (Oh, 2006). In response Shelley disaffiliates and challenges being called-out by attempting to defend herself (line 67) first through denial ("I'm not"), and then an account-solicitation ("when have I") (Bolden & Robinson, 2011).

9. Turn-design features of a call-out

So far three cases of a call-out have been presented, all of which have different formats; however, what turn-design features does a speaker use in order to treat and make noticeable that they are treating an addressee's conduct as inappropriate? In order to answer this question the following section will explore instances of call-outs that have in common general features that work to make explicit the inappropriateness of some conduct. I will outline two of these features and explore the implications of their use in the following section.

9.1. Negatively connotative figurative expressions in call-outs

A noticeable feature common to some, but not all, call-outs is that of formulating an addressee's action using a negatively connotative figurative expression. Figurative expressions are produced as an assessment and through their production a speaker is able to ascribe to an addressee's conduct, along with other possibilities, a "negative value" (Drew & Holt, 1998, p. 502). The following two examples are of call-outs that exhibit this feature:

Ex.4 RCE06 - Move up (1) [15:18-16:13]

```
33 RAC:    sugar- (.) c'n ↑you ↑move ↑up cos I'm like really
34        not o[n and you're]=
35 JAN:    [ ↑ye:ah: ]
36 RAC: -> =just hogging the whole thing.
```

Ex.5 D&S - Blow off girlfriends [02:59-03:36]

```
65 Debbie: -> =I do'know, jus dont blow off your girlfriends for
66          guy:s, Shel.
```

In extract 4 "hogging" (line 36), a lexical item that denotes an animalistic greediness, is produced in order to convey a negative stance to an action that is being treated as objectionable. The act of *taking up too much of something* could be formulated and communicated in a more neutral manner with a TCU such as *you have slightly more room than me*. However, this is not the case. The speaker instead addresses the addressee in a discourteous manner and their call-out is subsequently called-out by the addressee.

Similarly in extract 5 "blow off" is produced in order to attribute to Shelley the casual and inconsiderate manner with which she has *cancelled plans* on Debbie – to cancel plans on a friend should be, from a moral standpoint, done with care. Yet "blow off" stands in opposition to this. Given the amount of diverse and possibly correct action formulations at a speaker's disposal, they may choose to formulate an action with "hogging" or "blow off" in order for the addressee to recognise, based on the shared knowledge of the negative connotations these figurative expressions attribute to the conduct, that they have breached the moral principles that are assumed by the speaker to be a normative behaviour that the addressee should conform to (Goffman, 2010; Raymond & White, 2017).

9.2. Extreme case formulations in call-outs

Another noticeable feature that is again common to some but not all call-outs is formulating an addressee's conduct using extreme case formulations. This kind of feature has long been associated with actions such as complaints and accusations (Pomerantz, 1986; Edwards, 2000) – actions that seem omnipresent in cases of call-outs. The following two cases are exemplars of this phenomenon:

Ex.6 D&S - I'm not mad [03:54-04:17]

```
92 Debbie:           [.hh           [.HH I'M NOT MA:D but it jus
93           -> seems like its like you cant do anything unless
94           theres a gu:y involved an it jus pisses me o-«
```

Ex.7 D&S - You don't show up [05:49-06:23]

```
162 Debbie:           [NO: its NOT just
163           -> me pShelley but every time I have plans here,or
164           tell you where to go or whats going on or whatever
165           »I mean« you don't show up anyway..
```

Extract 6 shows an instance of a call-out turn being accompanied by “anything” (line 93), which conveys that Shelley cannot do *one* thing without “a guy” being present. The production of this extreme formulation treats Shelley's conduct as (potentially) reprehensible and therefore strengthens the speaker's claim to be treating such conduct as objectionable as it is “transgressing normative behavior” (Goffman, 2010, p. 96). Extract 7 is another example of an extreme case formulation, “every time” (line 163), being included by a speaker in their calling-out of the addressee's conduct. Again, I argue that the use of such an extreme case strengthens the delivery of a call-out, to claim the conduct is produced “every time” is to convey not only a constant repetitiveness of the act which exposes Shelley's possible faulty character, but also a repetitive subverting of moral principles.

To call an addressee out for some inappropriate conduct a speaker must make noticeable that what they are doing is treating an addressee's conduct objectionable through making explicit both their own negative stance to that conduct and the addressee's accountability for its production. An extreme case formulation is a way of “legitimizing” (such) “claims” (Pomerantz, 1986, p. 219). Through this practice a speaker is able to convey their treatment of the action as objectionable and guarantee that their call-out is not, for example, misunderstood as treating the objectionable as minor (Pomerantz, 1984).

10. Upgrading a call-out

Section 2.3 explored the observation that some call-outs can be formulated with a negatively connotative figurative expression and/or an extreme case formulation. Although a speaker taking a challenging stance to an addressee's conduct is a key feature of a call-out and is therefore present in all call-out cases, through formulating a call-out with these distinct features a speaker is able to more explicitly display that stance.

In this section I will explore sequences in which a speaker first produces a call-out and then follows it with another call-out that is an upgrade of the first. What is interesting about this observation is that not only are the turn-design features of the second call-out upgraded over the first, but the second is also produced in a different format than the first. Extract 8 is one such example of a call-out being upgraded in which call-out 'A' is formatted as a *why*-interrogative and call-out 'B' is formatted as a declarative. To provide some context James has invited Kerry into the kitchen to eat food together while they are video-recorded. Ben is already in the kitchen and present during the recording. Ben's call-out 'A' is produced in response to James's announcement in which he refers to Kerry and Ben as "the filmed". In this instance there is an opportunity for the addressee to respond to call-out A; however, the opportunity is not utilized and I argue that call-out B is produced to pursue a response.

Ex.8 RCE08.mp4 - Calm down [28:41-29:24]

1 JAM: (right) I'm gonna leave the filmed.
 2 (0.4)
 3 KER: why?
 4 (1.0)
 5 KER: >ye have to< wait till I've finished my
 6 fo[od °f i r s t.°]
 7 BEN: A-> [why do you keep me]ntioning the filming,=
 8 BEN: =(.) bec[ause,:]
 9 KER: [I know,]
 10 (0.2)
 11 BEN: jus:- (0.1) ya know: why'd ye,=
 12 KER: =I've complete[ly (.)]
 13 BEN: B-> [that's about the] fourth or fifth
 14 -> time you've said about the filming you're not
 15 -> supposed to be mentioning it,
 16 (0.4)
 17 JAM: ↑a:ri↓ght ↑calm ↓down.

Although James has invited Kerry into the kitchen so that they can eat food together whilst being recorded he announces that he is "gonna leave" whilst referring to Kerry and Ben as "the filmed" (line 1). Kerry responds by soliciting an account from James (line 3) because although at this point in the sequence James has finished eating and Kerry has not, he nevertheless invited her into the scene under the pretence of them eating together and to leave although she has not finished is slightly discourteous. She then elaborates on the single word "why" by making explicit that he should "wait till" she has "finished" eating before he leaves (lines 5-6). In overlap with Kerry's talk Ben produces a *why*-interrogative call-out (A – lines 7-8) that selects James as the addressee and solicits an account from him as to why he keeps "mentioning he filming" (line 7) (Bolden & Robinson, 2011). In this call-out Ben is treating as objectionable James's persistent conduct as "keep" conveys a continued pattern to the "mentioning" of "the filming". Furthermore, through formulating James's conduct as persistent Ben is characterising his action and therefore "exercising accountability" (Sidnell, 2017, p. 324) – he is holding James accountable and responsible for the objectionable conduct.

Moving on, after reaching possible completion Ben projects a continuation of his turn with "because" (line 8) yet he abandons this possibly due to Kerry's overlap (line 9) in which she conveys endorsement of the call-out. Ben then proceeds to re-continue his turn yet runs into trouble and self-initiates repair (line 11) but he again runs into trouble (line 11) which leads to

an opportunity for Kerry to take-the-floor in the interaction (line 12) (Clift, 2016). Leading up to this stage in the interaction, opportunities have been provided for James to reply to the call-out turn; however, he does not. This is possibly because Ben projects that more talk is to follow the call-out and a response is not made explicitly relevant, or even because Kerry responds instead and steals that opportunity away from James.

In overlap with Kerry's incomplete TCU (line 12) Ben produces a call-out turn (B) that consists of two declarative TCU's that work to upgrade call-out A. The first TCU of call-out B justifies the production of call-out A by stating explicitly that this is "about the fourth or fifth time" that James has mentioned "the filming" (lines 13-14), therefore affirming the persistent conduct that "keep" conveyed by stating the (almost) exact number of times that James has produced this conduct. The second TCU of call-out B is deployed to further treat James's conduct as objectionable through providing an account and making explicit that James is "not supposed to be mentioning" being filmed, yet this is the "fourth or fifth time" he has done so which is impermissible. I argue that the speaker is pursuing a response from the addressee through the production of this multi-unit call-out, and in the process intensifying the strength of their pursuit, and their initial call-out, through the deployment of practices such as justification, affirmation and a further calling-out (Pomerantz, 1984). In response to the pursuit James produces what Clift and Pino (2020) term a "conduct formulation" (p. 463). By doing so he responds to Ben's upgraded response pursuit by turning-the-tables on him and "rendering accountable" Ben's own "line of action" (Clift & Pino, 2020, p. 463).

The above extract analysed the observation that a speaker of a call-out can produce a second call-out in the same sequence of talk that is an upgrade of the first. Extract 9 (below) will also analyse this observation; however, in this instance call-out 'A' is formatted as a declarative and call-out 'B' takes a prohibitive "don't" format. In this instance the "don't" formatted call-out works to treat the conduct of the addressee as transgressive through both explicitly naming the transgressive conduct and prohibiting the addressee from producing such conduct. Taken from the same interaction as extract 3, the following sequence is a continuation of an argument that has occurred due to Shelley abandoning her plans to go away with Debbie. Prior to this extract Debbie communicated that she is "leaving on Saturday" which leads to Shelley's pre-invitation (line 158) that is a possible attempt on her behalf to organise a meet-up with Debbie, although at short-notice In this case Debbie does not provide an opportunity for Shelley to respond to call-out 'A', and Shelley therefore responds to call-out 'B'.

Ex.9 D&S - That's cool [05:49-06:23]

158 Shelley: w'll what are ya do:in: tonight or tomorrow?
 159 Debbie: nI have pla::ns:..
 160 Shelley: w'll see its not just mE HONEY YO[U
 161 Debbie: [NO: its NOT just
 162 me pShelley but every time I have plans here,or
 163 tell you where to go or whats going on or whatever
 164 A-> »I mean« you don't show up anyway:. .hh So its
 165 like okay well the only way y- you'll show: u:p?
 166 is li:ke i:f its just me and you:, and thats cool,
 167 B-> thats fi:ne, but don't a:lienate me
 168 -> jus becuz I'm friends
 169 -> with Jay:.[I mean it just really seems like i:t.]
 170 Shelley: [I'm not try:ing to:, I mean originallly
 171 I know it seemed liked that but thats not th- thats
 172 not i:t, I mean you know I e- hh a- [I ()

In this example Shelley produces a pre-invitation in regards to Debbie's availability "tonight or tomorrow" (line 158). This is done in order to establish whether she should go-ahead and initiate an invitation for Debbie to see her before she goes away; however, in line 159 Debbie produces a blocking response by admitting that she already has "plans" (Clift, 2016). In response Shelley turns-the-tables on Debbie by claiming that "its not just me" who has difficulty with planning due to circumstances such as being too busy (line 160); however, before reaching possible completion Debbie overlaps Shelley with a turn-competitive incoming "NO:" (line 161) that is prosodically upgraded and conveys a disaffiliative stance towards Shelley's turn (French & Local, 1983; Wells & Macfarlane, 1998). Debbie continues and produces a multi-unit call-out turn that at first works to accentuate her argument that this kind of behaviour happens "every time" they have "plans" and even when Debbie communicates "where to go or whats going on" Shelley does not "show up anyway:" (line 162- 164). It is clear from Debbie's argument that she has made more than the required effort to include Shelley in her plans, yet to not "show up anyway" and not reciprocate that effort is a discourteous act on behalf of Shelley and this is what Debbie is treating as objectionable conduct.

It has long been asserted that actions are vehicles for other actions (Levinson, 2013). In this instance the call-out TCU (line 164) takes a declarative format and it is possible that it serves to not only call-out Shelley's conduct but to also conclude this particular sequence of the argument through the assertion of a truth (Sadock & Zwicky, 1985). Consider the sequential position of the call-out TCU – it is the final TCU of turn and produced only when Debbie has first articulated her argument. Therefore, Debbie first produces multiple turns that strengthen the prominence of her argument and then utilizes the declaratively formatted call-out to conclude that particular part of her argument (Sadock & Zwicky, 1985).

Following on, Debbie continues her talk and produces another turn in close proximity to the possibly complete call-out with the result being no provided opportunity for Shelley to respond (line 164) (Local & Walker, 2012). This is again another multi-unit turn that leads to a call-out TCU. First a complaint is produced that conveys "the only way" Shelley will "show: up?" to a pre-arranged plan is "i:f its just" Debbie and Shelley that will be present (lines 165-166). This conveys that there are conditions to Shelley meeting up, namely that she will only meet up if it is herself and Debbie present; however, Debbie continues her talk and claims this to be "cool" and "fine" which shows her to be downplaying the severity of her own complaint (Brenish, 2013). In spite of this downplaying Debbie proceeds to produce another call-out, signalled by 'B', that this time takes a prohibitive format (lines 167-169) (Kent & Kendrick, 2016). I argue that this prohibitively formatted call-out is upgraded when compared to call-out 'A' firstly because it conveys the consequence of Shelley not showing up, Debbie feeling alienated, and secondly because it evaluates the reason why Shelley doesn't "show up" as unjust, the reason being that Debbie is friends with Shelley's ex-partner. The prohibitive call-out brings to light how Shelley's conduct can "a:lienate" and in-turn lead to a pernicious outcome with "just" conveying that Debbie being "friends with Jay:", Shelley's ex-partner, is an unacceptable reason to treat her as a wrongdoer when she is in fact innocent (line 167-169). This is unfair and unjust treatment on behalf of Shelley and is therefore what is being treated as objectionable by Debbie through her forbidding and taking a challenging stance to such conduct.

In addition to the call-out conveying a forbidding of the aforementioned objectionable conduct, it also contains the ubiquitous qualities that make an action recognisable as a call-out. As already stated the call-out treats Shelley's conduct as objectionable whilst conveying a challenging stance to it. In addition, Debbie is directly addressing Shelley due to this being a phone call with only the two interactants present and "don't a:lienate me" makes explicit

the unfair and unjust treatment towards Debbie. Furthermore, Shelley is perceived as not having adhered to the normative standards of behaviour and by producing conduct that is negative in nature, that is leaving her friend alienated, she has breached the boundary and crossed into the realm of inappropriateness which has led to her being held accountable for a transgression.

11. Responses to call-outs

Up until now the focus of this chapter has been in regards to a speaker's production of a call-out; the various formats a call-out can take, particular turn-design features that attribute to a call-out's recognisability, and how a call-out can be upgraded. In this section I will explore the most commonly observed responses produced by a call-out recipient, all of which appear to treat being called-out in a serious manner.

11.1. No response

The most common and at the same time interesting response to being called-out is to provide no response at all. Extract 10 is one such case that is taken from the Debbie and Shelley data in which both interactants have been arguing throughout the entire sequence. To briefly restate, Debbie is irked due to Shelley cancelling their arranged plans to go away with other friends. At first Debbie accredits the cancelling down to Shelley's current partner not going; however, as the interaction unfolds it is also brought to light that Shelley doesn't turn up to many of the other prearranged plans due to Debbie being friends with Jay, Shelley's ex-partner. It is clear that there is an awkwardness between Shelley and her ex-partner that is having a negative impact on her friendship with Debbie. However, to "alienate" Debbie for this reason is unjust and is therefore the line of conduct that is again being treated as objectionable in the following sequence of interaction.

Ex.10 D&S - Don't alienate [07:05-07:33]

```
211 Debbie: A-> [wELL: you kno:W] whatever just don't alienate
212         B-> me becuz of whats goin on with Jay:. .ya know:ǀ .hh
213         I mean if you hav a beef with him<if you wann tell
214         t'hit the road then tell him t'fuckin hit the
215         roa:d..hh but that should have nothin' t'do:: .hh
216         with u:s:.
217 Shelley: I- I-[°understand.°] ((frog voice))
```

Much research has been conducted into tag questions and how the sequential position of their production may be performing different actions. In the above case the tag question "ya know" (B – line 212) is produced in second position which upgrades Shelley's right to assess the call-out and as a consequence makes a response from her conditionally relevant (Schegloff, 2007; Clift, 2016, p. 202). Although there is no pause to indicate an opportunity to respond there is still the possible completion of a TCU and as a consequence the presentation of TRP both before the utterance of "ya know:" and immediately afterwards. 'B' (line 212) would be an auspicious environment in which a non-competitive quasi-turn or agreement token could be produced in overlap in order to minimally display acknowledgement (Clift, 2016) yet no response is provided and it has been noted that the

absence of a response “is as much an event as its occurrence would have been” (Schegloff, 2007, p. 20; see also Pomerantz, 1986, on pursuing a response when a response has not been forthcoming). However, Debbie does not treat this as a violation of interactional norms as such and instead, as Schegloff (2007) also observed, the non-occurrence “prompts further talk by” her (p. 139). The further talk produced by Debbie is an *if X then Y*-clause (lines 213-215) in which the *if*-clause proposes a certain condition “if you have beef with him...”, and the *then*-clause offers a solution to that condition “tell him t’fuckin hit the road”. Debbie follows this with a proclamation (lines 215-216) and it is to this that Shelley responds with acknowledgement (line 217).

11.2. Denial

As well as not responding to a call-out, it has been observed that an addressee can also respond by denying the ‘objectionable’ conduct that they are being called out for. The next example is again taken from the Debbie and Shelley data in which argumentative talk is ubiquitous:

Ex.11 D&S - Don’t get mad [03:54-04:17]

91 Shelley: A-> alright, [well don get ma:[d at me.

92 Debbie: B-> [.hh [.HH I'M NOT MA:D

In the interaction-so-far Debbie and Shelley have been arguing in regards to Shelley’s repetitive cancellation of plans. The cancellations are put down to Shelley’s ex-partner being Debbie’s friend and this is treated as unjust and therefore objectionable conduct due to it leaving Debbie alienated. Throughout the interaction Debbie has been on the attack and Shelley on the defence; however, in line 91 Shelley treats Debbie getting “mad at” her as objectionable conduct. This is achieved through a prohibitively formatted call-out (A) that works to restrict her from getting “mad at” Shelley. By doing so, that is by formulating Debbie’s conduct in a negative manner, Shelley is taking a challenging stance toward it and exercising accountability by claiming Debbie to have breached a normative standard of conduct, that is her getting “mad.”

In response to being called out for getting “mad” Debbie produces a denial (B – line 92). The denial is prosodically upgraded when compared to the call-out to which it responds in order to emphasize the strongly negative and disaffiliative stance to which Debbie is treating it (Clift & Pino, 2020). Furthermore, the denial works to refute the claim that she is getting “mad” through *not* negation, in turn expressing strong disagreement towards being called-out and negating the basis for its production by claiming something contrary to it, that is that she is “NOT MA:D.”

11.3. Account

Up until now I have introduced the observation that an addressee can respond to a call-out by either not providing a response at all, or to deny that they are in fact guilty of producing the objectionable conduct that the call-out discloses. I will now analyse how an account can also be produced in order to respond to a call-out. The following extract has already been analysed for the call-out (A) in extract 1; however, in this instance the focus is on Ben’s response to the call-out (B). To recap James and Ben have made plans to attend the cinema

later in the day; however, James announces that he is going upstairs which is treated as pernicious by Ben due to it potentially spoiling their plans to go to the cinema later that day. James disagrees with Ben and explains that they can still go to the cinema and leaves the final decision to do so to Ben. However, no response is given and James then turns-the-tables on Ben by explaining that it is in fact he, James, who has been waiting for Ben, and then follows it up by calling Ben out (A) for not giving him a response.

Ex.12 RCE08.mp4 - Been waiting [35:00-35:30]

```
12 JAM:      I've been:- I've been waiting to see what you- (.)
13      A-> you're not giving me a respo[n-      ]
14 BEN: B->                                [I'm almo]st finished
15      (0.4)
16      -> I've been working that's why
```

As mentioned in the previous analysis of this case, a response from Ben has been made conditionally relevant due to James leaving the final decision to attend the cinema up to him (Schegloff, 2007). Ben does not provide a response although given ample time (2.2 seconds) to do so which leads James to explaining that he has “been waiting” for Ben “to see” if they are going to attend the cinema or not (line 12). He then follows this up with a call-out (A – line 13) that formulates Ben’s “not giving” him “a respon-” (assumed to be ‘response’) as inappropriate. To not give a response when one is relevant and explicitly ignore another speaker is what is being treated as objectionable conduct in this instance.

Before James’s call-out turn is brought to possible completion Ben produces an overlapping response (B – lines 14-16) that consists of two accounts for why he has not yet responded. In this instance both accounts are excuses (Austin, 1957). The first excuse conveys that he is at the present busy but will respond soon as he is “almost finished” (line 14). This deemphasizes the gravity of the objectionable conduct on the grounds that the situation could possibly be worse (Brenish, 2013) – Ben could not “almost be finished”. The second excuse (line 16) reiterates that he is busy and implies that he has been busy “working” all day, in turn assigning the liability of his conduct to something more important than “giving” James a response – his (Ben’s) work. In all, the two excuses are deployed by Ben in order to downplay the severity of his conduct by providing details that redirect some of the blame from himself to him being busy with his work, something that could be perceived as excusable due to its importance.

11.4. Call-out

The final response type I will analyse in this section is to call-out the speaker of a call-out. The following case is taken from a sequence of interaction in which Rachel and Jane are seated on a blanket with a third participant. Due to Rachel not being fully seated on the blanket she requests Jane to move up:

Ex.13 RCE06 - Move up (2) [15:18 - 16:13]

```
33 RAC: A-> c'n ↑you ↑move ↑up cos I'm like really
34      -> not o[n and you're]=
35 JAN:      [ ↑ye:ah:      ]
```

36 RAC: -> =just hogging the whole thing.
37 (0.6)
38 JAN: B-> ↑why ↑you say that he,

In line 33 Rachel requests Jane to “move up” and follows this with an account for the request, that is she is “not on” the blanket that the participants are sharing. In overlap with the request and subsequent complaint (line 33-34) Jane produces “↑ye:ah:” and grants the request whilst beginning to move over in order for Rachel to have more space on the blanket. Although granting the request Rachel continues her turn and produces a call-out TCU (line 34 & 36). In this call-out Jane’s conduct, her taking up too much of the blanket, is treated as objectionable through Rachel formulating the call-out using “hogging,” a figurative expression that conveys a negative treatment of the conduct, and “whole thing,” an extreme case formulation that is produced to legitimize Rachel’s request for Jane to “move up” (Pomerantz, 1986; Drew & Holt, 1998; Sacks, 2007).

To take up too much of a blanket could be considered unthoughtful and in this instance is what is being treated as objectionable conduct; however, Rachel’s initial request for Jane to “move up” has been granted (line 35) and the subsequent calling-out and criticising of her friend is excessive and discourteous. In response, then, Jane treats Rachel’s impolitely formulated call-out as objectionable and formulates a “negatively valenced, morally imbued” (Bolden & Robinson, 2011, p. 97) call-out that conveys a challenging stance to the unwarranted conduct. Through the production of a direct account solicitation Jane is disaffiliating with Rachel’s conduct and communicating that Rachel is responsible and therefore accountable for saying “that” (Bolden & Robinson, 2011).

To briefly summarise, in this chapter I have introduced a call-out produced in everyday interaction. I have analysed the different formats a call-out can take; the various turn-design features which are deployed in order for an addressee to recognise that they are being called-out; how call-outs can be upgraded; and the responses most commonly produced to being called-out. Through the analysis so-far I have clarified that call-outs occur in everyday social interaction, not just on social media platforms. The focus of this chapter has been on call-outs produced in a serious manner, in serious and argumentative sequences of interaction; however, chapter 3 will introduce and explore the observation that call-outs also have a non-serious usage.

CHAPTER 3

12. Call-outs have a non-serious usage

The analysis so far has been primarily focussed on serious call-outs that are produced in serious sequences of interaction; that is, argumentative or conflictual sequences of talk in which the speaker of the call-out is *actually* treating the addressee's conduct as transgressive (Schegloff, 2001). However, I now propose that call-outs also have a non-serious usage. Non-serious sequences of interaction include, but are not limited to, sequences in which a speaker's turn is designed as playful and delivered with the intention of being recognisable and treated as such (Drew, 1987; Schegloff, 2001; Haugh, 2014). Just as speakers can deploy certain turn-design features in order to produce a verbal display of non-seriousness (Schegloff, 2001), so too can they deploy facial expressions, body movements and phonetic/prosodic emphasis in order to form a Gestalt of features that work to convey an embodied display of non-seriousness in harmony with the non-serious vocalizations (Mondada, 2014; Afshari Saleh, 2020). It has been found that teasing, mocking, playfighting etc., can be designed to be relatable to humour (non-serious) with the intention of being treated as friendly, non-hostile and (potentially) playful (Drew, 1987; Schegloff, 2001; Haugh, 2014, Morreall, 2016).

In this chapter I first introduce the orientations to a non-serious call-out, that is the vocal and visible displays of non-seriousness produced either by a speaker in order to communicate that their call-out is intended to be non-serious in nature, or by a recipient when displaying an understanding that the call-out is non-serious. By doing so I will address the puzzles of action formation, action ascription and the next-turn proof procedure (Schegloff, 2007; Levinson, 2013). Secondly, I will analyse cases of non-serious call-outs with the intention of answering the question 'What is a speaker doing by designing a call-out as non-serious?' By addressing this question I will show how a call-out can be produced in a non-serious manner for a speaker to tease or mock an addressee, or to treat an action that is *actually* objectionable/inappropriate in a light-hearted non-serious manner. Through addressing these topics it is my aim to distinguish between serious and non-serious call-outs, and by doing so make recognisable to the reader that call-outs have a non-serious usage.

13. Orientations to non-seriousness

Some call-outs are formulated by their speaker to be recognisably non-serious. Evidence for a call-out being non-serious can be displayed in the next or subsequent turn(s) through a recipient's treatment of it as non-serious. Participants in the interaction are able to recognise the non-serious nature of the call-out and display their ascription of non-seriousness to it through vocal and/or embodied displays. In this section I will present cases of call-outs in which there is evidence for the speaker and/or recipient(s) to be orienting to the non-serious nature of the call-out.

13.1. Laughter

Through the production of laughter a speaker is able to display recognition that an action is intended to be treated as non-serious (Drew, 1987; Levinson, 2013). Further to this, laughter is an affiliative display that can be used as a resource by a speaker in order to vocally orient to another speaker's turn by treating it as "laughable" (Glenn, 2003, pp. 48-49; Holt, 2012). By doing so a speaker shows an understanding that some prior action is produced with the intention of it being recognisably non-serious in nature. The exchange in extract 14 shows an instance of James (a third-party) producing laughter both during and in the sequence closing third of the call-out. By doing so he displays recognition that the call-out is non-serious by affiliating with it. Prior to this extract Kerry discharges milk from her mouth onto her laptop in response to a joke about a girl to whom James has a romantic interest. Ben then calls Kerry out for discharging milk onto her laptop which results in them both laughing. This sequence of interaction directly leads-on from the laughter:

Ex.14 RCE08 - Milk on your chin [03:52 - 04:26]

```

1  KER:      I'm sorry James (.) it was actually quite funny,
2            (0.2)
3  JAM:      it wa[s funny, (.) I was laughin,
4  BEN:      [((cough)) hh=
5            =[hehe (I would laugh,)
6  KER:      [hehehe hh he heh[e
7  JAM:      [hh he=
8            I made it up, hh hehe >hh .hh hh<
9            (0.2)
10 BEN:      we were (talking last night) about that in
11           gl[°ass ba- °
12 KER:      [OH:: I've just lo:st wor(.)k
13           (0.1)
14 BEN: 1-> glass bottle- c'n ya get the milk off
15       1-> ya chin cos you're being filmed
16       1-> a:[nd the milk on your chin is not a good impre∅ssion.
17 JAM: 2-> [hehe
           ker
18           (0.1) ∅ (0.3)
           -->∅wipes milk from chin-->>
19 JAM: 2-> he=
20 BEN:      =>well done.<
21           (0.1)

```

This particular extract begins with an apology from Kerry (line 1) for treating the aforementioned joke about James's romantic interest as humorous. This is responded to by James with an endorsement and an admission (line 3) which conveys that he himself is also treating the joke as humorous. During James's endorsement Ben produces laughter which he follows-up with a joke-like confession (lines 4-5), and Kerry produces reciprocated laughter in response (line 6). James also joins in with the laughter (line 7) and then produces a self-disclosure, "I made it up", which conveys that it was him who initially started the joke. James then produces multiple beats of turn-final laughter (line 8) that invites the other participants to affiliate with his turn and treat it as non-serious as he is continuing the joke sequence (Jefferson, 1979; Glenn, 2003; Holt, 2012). Following this Ben produces an announcement that is aligned with James's turn as he was "talking last night about that" (lines 10-11); however, Kerry overlaps with a complaint about her "lo:st work" (line 12).

Due to Kerry's overlapping complaint Ben is unable to continue his turn which leads to him self-initiating repair (line 13). Upon the possible completion of the repair Ben cuts-off and produces a call-out turn consisting of three TCU's, signalled by '1' in the transcript (lines 14-16), that treats Kerry having "milk on" her "chin" whilst "being filmed" as objectionable conduct. The first TCU (line 14) is a request for Kerry to "get the milk off" her "chin" that takes a *can you* (modal) format that is used, as Levinson (2013) observed, "when a speaker's entitlement to the service is high" (p. 115). The second and third TCU's (line 15-16) formulate Kerry's conduct and therefore form the call-out that holds her accountable for "being filmed" whilst having "milk on" her "chin". In addition the call-out treats Kerry's conduct as being inappropriate through describing it as "not a good impression". The second and third TCU's, then, modify the request by providing a call-out that justifies the reason for its production as well as why it should be complied with (Zinken, Rossi & Reddy, 2020).

By calling Kerry out for having "milk on" her "chin" Ben is drawing attention to a certain kind of incompetence, and by further claiming that the conduct "is not a good impression" Ben links that incompetence to how one should present oneself in public. In addition, where the possibly normal action would be for Ben to produce a noticing (i.e., you have something on your chin), in this instance he has produced a *can*-interrogative, an entitled form of a request (Curl & Drew, 2008), that works to reproach Kerry and convey an expectation that the request should be complied with. The consequence of this is that instead of leaving it to Kerry to decide what to do about the "milk on" her "chin", a possible response to a noticing, the *can you* format rather demands Kerry to comply with the request and is therefore very close to being a directive. However, although at first glance the *can*-interrogative has been produced in a reproachful and therefore serious manner it is Ben's claim to entitlement, through the *can you* format of the request (Curl & Drew, 2008), that is the possible catalyst in conveying a playful and non-serious call-out.

Interestingly, this brings-to-light one possible way in which a non-serious call-out can be distinguished from a serious call-out. In the previous paragraph I suggested that Ben's claim to entitlement is the catalyst in conveying the *can you*-interrogative formatted call-out to be non-serious, especially when complying with the request will actually benefit the request-addressee and not Ben, the request-maker. However, the *can you* formatted call-out in the sequence of extracts 2, 4 and 13 conveys the speaker's claim to entitlement that the request, moving up, should be complied with to benefit the request-maker. This, then, is one possible way to distinguish *can you* formatted call-outs: if the request-speaker benefits from the compliance of the request then the call-out is (possibly) serious; however, if the request-addressee is the one to benefit through their own compliance with the request then the call-out is (possibly) non-serious.

Although being produced to be recognisably non-serious it is left to the other interactants in the conversation to ascribe to Ben's call-out a non-serious nature (Levinson, 2013). The laughing of others, namely third-parties, in interaction can contribute to the recognisability of a turn-at-talk being non-serious, even if the addressee of the turn does not recognise the non-serious nature of the turn in the first instance (Drew, 1987). In the above extract James, a third-party to the call-out, produces two instances of laughter, signalled by '2' in the transcript, in different sequential environments. The first is produced during the call-out turn (line 17) and the second (line 19) produced in the pause before the sequence-closing third which is also during Kerry's instrumental action (Kendrick, 2021) that shows her to be complying with Ben's request. The first production of laughter (line 17) is produced in overlap before the call-out turn is possibly complete. This is a point at which the second TCU of the call-out, the call-out itself, is complete and the reproachful manner in which the call-out is

produced is clearly evident. However, I have already discussed how Ben’s claim to entitlement possibly communicates a playful stance. Therefore, James’s laughter in this position treats the call-out so-far non-seriously by orienting to its recognisable playfulness through an affiliative practice that vocally treats the call-out so-far as laughable (Glenn, 2003; Looney & He, 2021).

Next turn proof procedure is concerned with the vocal and embodied displays produced in response to a prior speaker’s talk and how those displays possibly convey an understanding of the intended action of that prior turn (Sacks et al., 1974). The second production of laughter (line 19) is produced after the call-out is noticeably complete, between the call-out turn itself and the sequence-closing third. It is also produced during Kerry’s compliance that takes the form of an instrumental action. The laughter produced here is further evidence that the call-out is produced to be treated lightly. The first production of laughter was in overlap with the call-out, yet this laughter is produced when the call-out is possibly complete. This shows a continuation of the non-serious treatment first displayed through James’s initial production of laughter and therefore conveys a repeated orientation to the playfulness of a now fully-formulated call-out. In both instances of laughter James is displaying an understanding that the call-out is non-serious by orienting and attending to its non-serious nature through an affiliative practice, laughter, that treats the call-out as laughable (Glenn, 2003; Holt, 2012; Looney & He, 2021). Therefore, although at first glance the call-out is a possibly serious action the reproachful manner of its production is recognisable as being playful and teasing, and this is reciprocated by James whose laughter recognises and affiliates with the playfulness of the call-out (Drew, 1987; Holt, 2012).

Upon Kerry noticeably complying with the request Ben responds with “well done” (line 20) that works to congratulate her for producing an action that benefits only herself. In this instance, then, the request has been produced not to benefit the requester but instead to benefit the requestee through their own compliance (Zinken et al., 2020). Furthermore, congratulating Kerry in this instance is akin to sarcasm. It continues the playful and teasing-like manner in which the request and subsequent call-out have been produced by orienting to the non-seriousness of the request (Drew, 1987; Haugh, 2014; Zinken et al., 2020) whilst also signalling an end to this teasing sequence.

Another case of laughter produced in response to a call-out can be seen in extract 15 in which the laughter occurs in next position to the call-out. This case shows the sequence that immediately proceeds extract 14 (above) in which Ben called Kerry out in a reproachful yet recognizably playful manner. In the following sequence James produces a call-out that works to turn-the-tables on Ben by conveying that his own conduct is more inappropriate than Kerry having “milk on” her “chin”, and therefore more worthy of calling- out.

Ex.15 RCE08 - Text sex [03:52 - 04:26]

1 **BEN:** glass bottle- c’n ya get the milk off
 2 ya chin cos you’re being filmed
 3 a:[nd the milk on your chin is not a good impre \diamond ssion.
 4 **JAM:** [hehe
 ker \diamond-->
 5 (0.1) \diamond (0.3)
 --> \diamond wipes milk from chin-->>
 6 **JAM:** he=
 7 **BEN:** =>well done.<
 8 (0.1)
 9 **JAM:** 1-> .hh: well you’ve just talked about ra:ttling the whole time,

10 (0.5)
 11 JAM: [that's certainly not a good impression.
 12 KER: 2-> [hehe
 13 (0.2)

Lines 1-3 shows a multi-unit turn that contains Ben's *can*-interrogative request that is immediately followed by a call-out. To briefly repeat what was observed in extract 14 the call-out is addressed to Kerry and treats her having "milk on" her "chin" whilst "being filmed" as inappropriate conduct. This call-out has a serious composition; however, it is produced in a reproachful and directive manner which leads to an understanding that the call-out is to be treated as light-hearted. In response to this James conveys an understanding that the call-out is indeed non-serious by producing two separate instances of laughter (lines 4 & 6) that work to treat the call-out as laughable (Glenn, 2003). Ben's "well done" (line 7) is produced in order to playfully congratulate Kerry for complying with the request that only benefits herself which is in contrast to Zinken et al's (2020) finding that complying with a request benefits the request maker.

In response James produces a counter-call-out (line 9), signalled by '1' in the transcript, that treats Ben's talking "about ra:tting the whole time", that is continuously talking about sex whilst being recorded, as objectionable conduct. The call-out is produced in third position following a question-response sequence, the *can*-interrogative request being the question produced by Ben (line 1-3) and the complying of that request being the instrumental action response produced by Kerry. James's call-out is a "well-prefaced turn" (Kim, 2013, p. 137; Heritage, 2015) that, when produced in this sequential environment, indexes the call-out turn's relation to the question produced by Ben in lines 1-3 (Kim, 2013). The call-out holds Ben socially responsible (Goffman, 2010) by formulating his conduct with "you've just talked". In addition, "whole time" is an extreme case formulation (Pomerantz, 1986) that upgrades the call-out with the consequence being the communication that Ben's conduct ("talked about rattling") has occurred more than once during the interaction and is therefore repetitive and inappropriate due to its explicit nature.

As is the theme of this chapter James's call-out is produced in order to be recognisably non-serious. Firstly, "ra:tting", a colloquial term for sexual intercourse, is produced in order to downplay the seemingly serious composition of the call-out by juxtaposing the seriousness with an informal and humorous description of an act that is serious and explicit (Afshari Saleh, 2020). Secondly, in next position James produces a turn-continuation that repeats Ben's "not a good impression" and modifies it with "certainly" (line 11) which communicates that if Kerry having "milk on" her "chin" whilst "being filmed" was inappropriate conduct then talking about sex "the whole time" whilst being recorded is unquestionably inappropriate. Through this comparison James is able to trump Ben's initial calling-out of Kerry by holding objectionable Ben's own conduct, in turn re-directing the teasing playfulness of the sequence from Kerry to Ben with the consequence being the overall conveying of a call-out that is again non-serious (Drew, 1987).

In overlap with James's turn-continuation Kerry produces two beats of laughter (line 12) in next position to the call-out. This occurrence of laughter is similar to the laughter analysed in extract 14 as it is not the addressee of the call-out who recognises and consequently orients to the non-serious nature of the call-out, but a third-party instead. The laughter is produced when the call-out is noticeably complete and it responds to James's call-out (line 9) by treating it as laughable (Glenn, 2003). By doing so Kerry is vocally displaying a non-serious response and therefore orienting to the non-serious recognisability of James's call-out, in turn affiliating with it through laughter and reciprocating its playfulness (Holt, 2012).

This sub-section has focussed on how a speaker can vocally orient to the non-serious recognisability of a call-out by treating it as laughable, in turn affiliating with and reciprocating the playfulness intended through the call-outs production. However, this is not the only display at a speaker's disposal that conveys a non-serious orientation. The following sub-section will be concerned with embodied displays of non-seriousness and how facial expressions can also convey a non-serious orientation to a non-serious call-out.

13.2. Facial expressions

A multimodal resource associated with affiliation is smiling (Haugh, 2014; Looney & He, 2021). It has been found that smiling can be used as a non-serious display in order to recognise the playfulness of an embodied or vocal action with the interactional consequence being the visible treatment of that action as laughable (Glenn, 2003; Haugh, 2014; Afshari Saleh, 2020; Holt, 2022). In this sub-section I will analyse sequences in which smiling is used as a resource to show a non-serious orientation to, and treatment of, a call-out. Extract 16 shows an instance of a call-out being treated as slightly humorous by an addressee, Emma, by responding to it with smiling and laughter. In addition, the call-out speaker, Alex, produces a smile after the completion of the call-out which is validation of the understanding that the call-out is non-serious. Prior to this extract one of the call-out addressee's, Emma, has been informing Tom, the second call-out addressee, about paid experiments that he could participate in. In response he begins to draft an e-mail to Richard who is in charge of recruiting for the experiments. Two other participants are also present during the recording; Alex the call-out speaker who is standing to the right and comes in and out of view of the camera throughout the recording; and Jane who is recording the interaction but is standing to the right and is off-camera for the entire sequence. The call-out is produced at line 16 and it targets both Tom and Jane's references to the video-recording (lines 3 and line 8 respectively).

Ex.16 Coffee and Fig Rolls - Hello Richard [02:42 - 3:47]

```

1  TOM:      hello Richard,
2           (1.2)
3  EMMA:    ((smacks lips)) is it [already recording.
4  ALEX:    [ h e l l o ,
5           (0.4)
6  JANE:    °yeah, °=
7  EMMA:    =hh hh hh okay .hh=
8  TOM:    =wha' we're on,
9           (0.9)
10 TOM:    .hh o[r: =
11 JANE:    [no,
12 TOM:    =is this thi[ng o f f
13 ALEX:    [you can't use that no:♦w=
alex                                           ♦gaze to EMMA-->
14        =can ye,Ω♦
alex                                           -->♦
emma                                           Ωgaze to ALEX---->
15        (0.1) Ω (0.1) @ (0.4)
emma                                           -->Ω
                                           @smile----->>
16 ALEX:  ->1 you're voiding the# m[aterial as we go: ,=
17 EMMA:  # [HH hh::

```

fig ->2

#fig.1



figure 1

18 EMMA: =h[e ↑HE
19 TOM: [what do you mean.=
20 EMMA: =.hhΔ=
alex Δsmile---->
21 TOM: =this 's[me# (.) normal conversatiΔon.
22 JANE: [hel#lo: that's not- that'sΔnot voiding so that's
alex -->Δ
fig ->3 #fig.2



figure 2

23 completely fine you can talk about being filmed.

The extract begins with Tom reciting the beginning of his e-mail (line 1) and after a pause Emma inquires whether the camera is “already recording” (line 3). After an overlap from Alex that possibly responds to Tom’s reciting (line 1) by providing a non-seriously reciprocated “hello” greeting (line 4), Jane produces a yes-response (line 6) to Emma’s inquiry that confirms that the camera is recording. Emma responds to this confirmation with laughter and an acknowledgement token (line 7) and Tom produces an other-initiation of repair (line 8) that requests confirmation that they are being recorded; however, he then follows this with a joke-like repair solution (lines 10 & 12) that is overlapped with a minimal “no” from Jane (line 11) and then by Alex with a call-out turn (lines 13-14 & 16).

The call-out turn consists of two TCU’s the first of which is an assertion (lines 13-14) that works to make explicit the problematic consequence that the recording “can’t” be used, with “no:w” conveying that the problematic ‘something’ has occurred recently. Alex produces the turn with a *can*-interrogative tag that works to seek agreement from the addressee (Clift, 2016). In this part of the sequence Alex is moving in and out of the camera-shot and his face is only partially visible; however, he does produce a gaze towards Emma and therefore

addresses the tag (line 14) to her, in turn seeking agreement from her as an addressee. Emma produces a gaze back towards Alex showing her to acknowledge being addressed, and moments later begins the production of a smile (figure 1) that is fully recognisable part-way through the second TCU of the call-out turn (line 16). The second TCU of the turn is the call-out itself (line 16) and in the case at hand both Emma and Tom are being called-out for referencing the recording whilst they are being recorded (lines 3 & 8), conduct that Alex is treating as objectionable due to him insisting that it has led to the “voiding” of “the material”. The call-out is formulated with a figurative expression (“voiding the material”) that works to communicate the non-seriousness of the call-out; however, the focus of the current subsection is on facial expressions and I will therefore address the non-serious vocalizations of this particular call-out in section 3.3.

Interactant’s in conversation can pursue affiliation through many practices, one of which is smiling in response to another speaker’s turn (Afshari Saleh, 2020; Looney & He, 2021). In the case at hand Emma’s smile is produced during the call-out turn in the gap (line 15) between the first and second TCU’s, and is held past the possible completion of the call-out turn. Her smile shows her to be treating the turn-so-far, that is the first TCU of the call-out turn (lines 13-14), in a recognisably non-serious manner by affiliating with it. The smile is held through and past the possible completion of the second TCU showing a continuation of the non-serious orientation through a display of affiliation. Taking into consideration the next-turn proof procedure (Sacks et al., 1974) the smile, then, provides embodied evidence for the call-out turn being recognisably non-serious as it visibly orients to and affiliates with its playful nature (Looney & He, 2021). Further evidence for the call-out being treated in a non-serious manner is provided through Emma producing multiple beats of laughter (lines 17-18) that begin in overlap with the call-out TCU. Through the combination of a noticeable smile that is followed by laughter Emma is able to reciprocate the playfulness of the call-out through both vocal and embodied practices, in turn communicating that she is treating the call-out as laughable and therefore orienting to it through conveying a non-serious stance (Glenn, 2003).

In overlap with Emma’s laughter Tom self-initiates repair by requesting clarification (line 19); however, as Raymond and Sidnell (2019) have observed “what do you mean” produced in a sequential position following the speaker’s own conduct being disputed is “designed to challenge or object to” the claims made about their own conduct (p. 184). Therefore, in this instance, Tom’s “what do you mean” (line 19) is produced in order to challenge the legitimacy of Alex’s call-out. In addition, Alex does not orient to “what do you mean” as a request for clarification which is further evidence for it being produced in order to challenge the call-out. Emma immediately follows this with a final beat of laughter (line 20) towards the end of which Alex produces a smile. Due to him being the speaker of the call-out his smile here is evidence to support the observation that the call-out is recognisably non-serious. He is reciprocating the playful manner displayed by Emma in response to the call-out as well as communicating to the other participants that his stance is non-serious (Afshari Saleh, 2020; Looney & He, 2021). It is almost as though Alex has been putting-on a serious act and the smile conveys that the serious act is now over. The smile (figure 2) is held part-way into Tom’s next turn (line 21) in which he justifies his conduct by claiming that what is being held accountable is in fact his “normal conversation”, meaning that he has done nothing out of the ordinary. During Tom’s justification Jane, the person in charge of the recording, produces a rebuttal (line 22-23) that works to downplay or even negate the call-out by claiming that Emma and Tom talking “about being filmed” is not actually “voiding” and is therefore “completely fine”. So, in sum, the objectionable conduct that was formulated by Alex during the call-out has now been treated as “fine.”

Another case of a recognisably non-serious call-out being oriented to in a non-serious manner can be seen in the following sequence. In this extract Rick (top right) is the call-out addressee, Jack (far left) is the call-out producer, and Roy (top left) and Sara (far right, mostly off-screen) are third-parties. Rick is inquiring as to whether the other participants will be attending a party on Thursday. The party is being held by one of Rick's course mates who has an uncommon name (Taylor), and upon multiple inquiries into the origins of the name it is brought to light that the person to whom they are referencing is a 'she'; however, Rick has allegedly been referencing the person as 'he' and is consequently called out by Jack for this misinformation.

Ex.17 Party on Thursday - Groupchat-diff [00:28-00:56]

```

1  RICK:      a' you guys going to come to the house
2              party on Thursday.
3              (0.3)
4  ROY:      ↑who's ↑is it.
5              (0.6)
6  RICK:      uh: one o' my course mates called Taylor.
7              (0.7)
8  ROY:      aw[:
9  SARA:      [↑called ↑what,
10             (0.1)
11 RICK:      Taylor
12             (0.3)
13 SARA:      oh.
14             (0.3)
15 JACK:      hh he>[hehehehehehe .hh<
16 RICK:      [°hehehehe°
17 SARA:      I thought you said trai:no: [r hh he
18 ROY:      [fucking ( [ )
19 RICK:      [T A Y L O R.
20             (0.1)
21 JACK:      ((°cou[gh)) he°
22 ROY:      [course he is yeah.:
23             (0.1)
24 RICK:      ((°co[ugh)) he°
25 JACK:      [Taylor
26             (0.3)
27  ?:      hh=
28 JACK:      =whe- (0.1) wha- where's that name from
29             (0.8)
30  ?:      °hh°
31 RICK:      I don't know it's the ( ) (girl) called that=
32 JACK:      is he li:ke (0.2) WHAT (.) it's a=
33             =( [ )
34 SARA:      [hh HEH[E .hh HEHE ◇ #
35 ROY:      [it's a sh♦e◇,=#
              jack          ♦smile-->
              roy           ◇smile-->
              fig ->1       #fig.3

```



figure 3

36 JACK: =w♦hat,=
->♦

37 RICK: =you thought that was a guy:.=

38 ROY: =y[eah:

39 JACK: ->2 [YOU SAID this guy on my cour[se ♦°called° Taylor

40 ROY: [yea♦h:
-->♦

41 (0.1)

42 RICK: did I:.=

43 JACK: =YEAH, :=

44 RICK: =oh go[d ()

45 ROY: [we- we've got proo[f

46 SARA: [hehe[#he

47 RICK [#he
#fig.4

fig ->3



figure 4

Extract 17 begins with an inquiry from Rick (line 1-2) that is responded to with a request for information by Roy (line 4). Rick provides the requested information (line 6) which is followed by a response token (Gardner, 2001) by Roy (line 8) and then in partial overlap Sara self-initiates repair (line 9). Rick provides the repair solution (line 11) which is again responded to with a minimal response token but this time by Sara (line 13). This is followed by multiple beats of laughter from both Jack (line 15) and Rick (line 16) before Sara makes explicit her initial trouble that she misheard the person-reference and therefore “thought” Rick “said trai:nor” (line 17). Roy overlaps with an expletive turn that cannot be fully heard (line 18) and is overlapped by Rick clarifying the spelling of “Taylor” in order to resolve any further problems the participants may have in understanding the name. There is then a single beat of laughter by Jack (line 21) and in overlap Roy produces a turn conveying agreement (line 22). This is followed by more laughter, this time by Rick (line 24), that is overlapped by Jack’s repetition of the name (line 25). Following on Jack produces an inquiry about the origins of the name (line 28) that Rick displays a struggle in answering (line 31). Jack then produces a repair initiation that also expresses disbelief (line 32); however, Sarah overlaps with multiple beats of loud laughter (line 34) which results in Jack’s talk being hard to hear. Rick’s repair initiation is targeting *something* as problematic (line 32-33); however, due to Sara’s loud laughter (line 34) the problematic component that he is referring to cannot be discerned. Furthermore, it is already noticeable that Sara is treating the *something problematic* as non-serious due to her responding to the repair and expression of disbelief

with multiple beats of laughter, in turn treating the interaction as laughable (Glenn, 2003). In overlap with Sara's laughter, it seems that Roy completes Jack's repair by making explicit through an inquiry that the *problematic something*, the trouble source, is that the participants have been referencing Taylor as a "he" whereas Taylor is actually "a she" (line 35).

Part-way through Roy's turn-at-talk (line 35) both he and Rick produce noticeable smiles (figure 3). The smiles are an embodied display that work to show that although something has been addressed as problematic it is being treated as light-hearted also. Furthermore, through producing smiles both Rick and Roy, along with treating something problematic as laughable, also orient to Sara's laughter by reciprocating her playful stance (Holt, 2012). This leaves open the possibility that Sara's display of non-seriousness is what prompts Rick and Roy to also display a non-serious stance (Drew, 1987). The embodied gestures produced by Rick and Roy, along with the vocal display produced by Sarah, show that the participants are treating the problematic mis-referencing of "Taylor" as laughable. This shows that before the call-out is formulated something problematic is being addressed in a non-serious manner and possibly projects that any future treatment of that problematic something will also be non-serious.

It has already been brought to light before a call-out has been produced that what is being treated as problematic is that the co-participants were unaware that "Taylor" was "a she". It is also noticeable from the non-serious displays that the co-participants are treating the problematic something in a non-serious manner while addressing it as problematic nonetheless. However, what has not been attended to in the interaction so-far is the cause of the confusion that has led to the participants mis-referencing "Taylor". In line 36 Jack repeats his expression of disbelief with another initiation of repair that is responded to by Rick with an assessment that expresses his confusion that the other participants "thought that" Taylor "was a guy" (line 37). Roy responds to this with an agreement token (line 39); however, Jack responds by calling Rick out (line 39).

The call-out targets Rick as the cause of the misinformation by claiming that he "said" that Taylor was "a guy on" his "course" (line 39). This therefore treats Rick's conduct as transgressively mistaken due to him providing the wrong information in regards to a person to whom he has more epistemic knowledge than the other participants in the interaction (as a matter of fact, in this conversation Rick has not referred to Taylor as "a guy." However, it is brought-to-light later in the interaction that he has also been referring to Taylor as "a guy" in a group-chat, an electronic text-based conversation that he and his housemates use to communicate with one-another). In overlap with the call-out Roy stops smiling and produces another agreement token that shows him to be aligned with the call-out (line 40). In response Rick requests confirmation that he has been referencing Taylor as "he" which is quickly responded to by Jack with a loud and emphatically stressed "YEAH,:" (line 43) that strongly confirms Rick to be mistaken. This is responded to by Rick with a soft exclamation of possible acknowledgement (line 44) that cannot be transcribed due to it being overlapped by Roy with a proclamation (line 45).

In overlap towards the end of Roy's proclamation Sara produces multiple beats of laughter (line 46) and Rick also overlaps with a single beat of laughter (line 47) that is followed by a noticeable smile (figure 4). Sara's laughter seems to be treating the calling-out of Rick and his own subsequent acknowledgement of his conduct as laughable. By doing so she has continued her conveying of a non-serious stance throughout the sequence and has therefore oriented to the non-seriousness of the objectionable conduct both before and after its formulation. Furthermore, Rick's laughter and noticeable smile also work to orient to the non-seriousness of the call-out as well as the fact that his objectionable conduct is undeniable as

there is “proof” of its production due to it having been caught on camera. Through these displays of non-seriousness Rick is able to attend and admit to his own objectionable conduct whilst at the same time reciprocate the overall non-serious manner that the other participants have displayed throughout the sequence (Holt, 2012).

13.3. Turn-design

Up until now in this section I have addressed the vocal and embodied displays that orient to a non-serious call-out. I have also discussed, although briefly, how the call-out itself is produced in order to be recognisably non-serious in nature through the combination of a Gestalt of modalities (Mondada, 2014) that work in harmony to display non-seriousness. I will now explore in detail how the call-out itself is recognisably non-serious through an analysis of the turn-design features used to construct it. By doing so I hope to illustrate how action formation plays a significant role in an addressee ascribing non-seriousness to a call-out. The following extract shows the interaction that leads directly into a previously analysed extract 14 in which Kerry was called-out by Ben for having milk on her chin whilst being filmed. Prior to this extract Kerry discharged milk from her mouth onto her laptop in response to a joke. She then left the scene and upon returning begins to clean her laptop which is where this extract begins:

Ex.18 RCE08 - You spat milk [03:39 - 03:52]

```

1 BEN:      ◊hh: [°he°he .HH
2 KER:      [((cough)) >hh<he .hh my ↑poor ↑lapt↓o::p.
   ker      ◊>>wiping milk from laptop---->
3           (0.2)
4 BEN: ->1 you `av spat milk_ (.) all: over your laptop,
5           (0.7) ◊ (0.1)◊
   ben      ◊.....◊lean in-->
6 KER:      naw I `idn't reall[y.
7 BEN: ->2           [nau:ghty littl:◊e
   ker      -->◊
8           (0.6)
9   ?:      .h◊h
   ben      ->◊,,,,,,-->>
10          (1.2)
11 KER:      ((cough))hhe (0.4) ((cough))hhe (0.3) .hh ((cough))
12 BEN: ->3 °hh° (0.4) .hh hehe

```

The sequence begins with Kerry continuing to wipe the milk from her laptop while Ben laughs (line 1). Kerry then overlaps with an announcement (line 2) that is produced with “whine-delivery” (Schegloff, 2006, p. 468); notice the phonetic upgrading of the turn, that works to communicate her disappointment at discharging milk onto her laptop. The announcement shows Kerry to be displaying, and possibly seeking, commiseration for her laptop. Kerry produces “my poor” which works to treat the inanimate object like a wronged child deserving of sympathy. Kerry’s announcement is overdone due to the whiney-delivery and her description of the machine as “poor”. A possible reason for this is to seek some kind of affiliative response from the other participants (Drew, 1987; Raymond & Sidnell, 2019; Afshari Saleh, 2020).

It has been observed that the speaker of an overdone turn is vulnerable to being mocked or teased by a next speaker (Drew, 1987, Haugh, 2014). Although Kerry is (possibly) seeking affiliation, her overly-done turn leads to her being called-out by Ben. In this instance Ben's call-out (signalled by '1' – line 4) treats Kerry having "spat milk all over" her "laptop" as objectionable conduct. The call-out is formulated with *you 'av (have) spat* which when compared to a possible formulation of *you spat* conveys that Ben is informing Kerry of her own conduct rather than producing an observation about it. Ben, then, is sarcastically pointing out the obvious by informing Kerry of something that she is already quite clearly aware of. Ben also formulates the call-out with "all: over", an extreme case formulation that works to overdo his turn and make recognisable "a very obviously exaggerated version" (Drew, 1987, p. 232) of Kerry's discharging milk from her mouth. The interactional consequence of this is the delivery of a call-out that is both non-serious in nature and "not meant to seriously apply" (Drew, 1987, p. 231) to Kerry's conduct.

In the pause (line 5) after the possible completion of the call-out Ben produces an embodied action that shows him walking over to the laptop and leaning-in so that he can investigate the actual consequence of Kerry's conduct. First: this shows that his prior calling-out of Kerry is purely speculative as he had not investigated the laptop before the call-out and therefore could not have known that she had or had not "spat milk all over" her "laptop". Second: the lean-in adds to the overdone manner in which the call-out is produced, in turn conveying even more exaggeration and non-seriousness due to the consequence of Kerry's conduct not being worthy of such an investigation. Kerry responds to Ben's call-out with a soft rebuttal (line 6), soft because her turn-final "really" modifies the rebuttal by implying that there is *some* truth to Ben's call-out – she did discharge milk onto her laptop; however, it was not discharged "all over" her "laptop". Therefore, "really" downplays the severity communicated through the call-out by claiming it to be partially, but not all, true (Brenish, 2013).

Towards the end of Kerry's rebuttal Ben overlaps with a reproach (signalled by '2' – line 7) that works to sanction Kerry for her conduct through infantilisation, that is by treating her in a child-like manner. Kerry is negatively described as a "naughty little" and although the TCU is not complete a possible complete formulation could be "naughty little (girl)". This is one way that an adult would communicate to a child that they have misbehaved; however, due to it being addressed to an adult by an adult speaker the turn works to convey non-seriousness by treating Kerry like a misbehaving child. Therefore, Ben juxtaposes the more customary way to address an adult who has wronged by addressing them in a more bohemian manner in order to create a scene reminiscent of a child being reproached. In turn Ben's turn exposes the overdone quality of Kerry's announcement, that is treating her laptop like an injured child (Drew, 1987), with "naughty little" being produced in order to outdo Kerry's announcement and "propose a more extreme version" (Drew, 1987, p. 244) that treats Kerry herself like a child.

During Ben's non-serious reproachment (line 7) Kerry completes the instrumental action of wiping the milk from her laptop. After noticeable pauses (lines 8 & 10), an anonymous inbreath (line 9), and Ben beginning the retraction phase of his lean-in, Kerry produces a mixture of a cough and laughter (line 11). Kerry's cough-laugh is proximally oriented to Ben's reproachment due to no competing turn being produced after its formulation. This shows that the formation of Ben's call-out and subsequent reproachment are recognisable as non-serious actions and Kerry, in response, has oriented to this non-seriousness through a vocal display of recognition that affiliates with being called-out (Afshari Saleh, 2020; Looney & He, 2021). Then, in line 12, Ben reciprocates Kerry's non-serious stance with his own laughter

that communicates the playfulness of his own call-out and his subsequent reproachment as well as an affiliation to Kerry's non-serious display.

There is evidence of a speaker producing a call-out with vocal and embodied gestures that work to convey a non-serious stance and playful stance. The exchange in extract 19 is one such example in which a speaker displays non-seriousness during the production of the call-out TCU. They do so through two modalities: (1) they produce the call-out TCU with smile voice/speech-smile – an auditorily recognisable smile that affects a speaker's voice during the production of a turn-at-talk (Kohler, 2008; Clift, 2012), and (2) they produce an overdone embodied gesture alongside the call-out TCU. Prior to the beginning of extract 19 Sue produces a complaint in regards to the price of theatre tickets and questions whether the unemployed would be able to afford the cost of attending the theatre. In response Tim, the addressee of the call-out, confesses that he used to visit the theatre although being unemployed. The extract begins with Jen's trope-like response to Tim's confession:

Ex.19 RCE22b - HS Didn't have dinner [01:13 - 1:51]

1 JEN: you (pro[b'ly) just] like wouldn't buy=
 2 SUE: [hehe]
 3 JEN: =f:ood [and then like.]
 4 SUE: [ye:s hh]h[e]
 5 JEN: [fe]ed yourself with ar' (.) ya
 6 know. he[he:]
 7 SUE: [ye say that] but when he was i[n
 8 TIM: [.hh
 9 SUE: Edinburgh he had eigh' pounds lef:t.
 10 (0.5)
 11 SUE: a[n'instead of buying himself foo:d.=
 12 JEN: [↑↑TI::M:
 13 SUE: =he spent six pound on a taxi to get to a performanc:e.
 14 (0.3)
 15 ?: hm?
 16 (0.6)
 17 JEN: -> fyou↑ fto#r+got↑+ to↑+ tel+l↑ me+: ↑ tha+[:+t↓]=
 18 SUE: [o+oo,:
 jen+pt-+.....+pt-+.....+pt--+.....+pt+--->
 fig #fig.5



figure 5

19 JEN: =[par[d+a the story#, :=
 20 SUE: [oh[h+hehehe
 21 TIM: [h+h hehe
 jen -->,,,+
 fig #fig.6



figure 6

22 JEN: =you we[re like uh: I paid six quid. you didn't tell me like=
 23 SUE: [hehehe
 24 JEN: =and then I didn't have dinner: .f he:>he[h[ehe:he:<
 25 SUE: [h[e:he:he:

The extract begins with Jen producing a conjecture that claims Tim would go without food and sustain himself with art (lines 1, 3, 5-6). Sue minimally overlaps Jen's conjecture with laughter (line 2) and an agreement token (line 4) before going on to produce a story-telling (Stivers, 2008; lines 7, 9, 11 & 13). Sue reports an event in which Tim did not buy "himself food" so that he could afford a "taxi to get to a performance" which confirms Jen's conjecture to be true. Part-way through the telling Jen responds with a prosodically upgraded reproach that conveys a negative stance to the telling-so-far (line 12). In addition, and similar to extract 1, Jen's utterance of "↑↑TI::M:" (line 12) is produced as a pre-call-out as it is the first move in calling Tim out in this particular call-out sequence. However, in this instance I will show how Jen goes on to produce a call-out, whereas Ben in extract 1 was himself called-out.

The story-telling reaches possible completion in line 13 and in response Jen progresses the call-out sequence first initiated by the production of the pre-call-out "↑↑TI::M:". She produces a three-part call-out turn (lines 17, 19, 22 & 24) that calls Tim out for multiple perceived transgressions: (a) him not having disclosed certain information to Jen when he had the opportunity to do so, and (b) the information that he did not disclose (him going without food in order to go to the theatre) shows is conduct to be rather unconventional and foolhardy. The first TCU of the turn, the call-out TCU, is a *you forgot to X*-declarative (lines 17 & 19) in which "you forgot" formulates Tim's conduct as a failure as he did not tell Jen "that part of the story" (Schegloff, 1988). Furthermore, Jen is holding Tim accountable through conveying a deliberateness to his forgetfulness as he told her *some* ("part") but *not all* "of the story", signs of a possibly faulty character. Through formulating a failure, holding conduct objectionable and attributing accountability, Jen has composed the call-out in a serious manner. However, the call-out TCU is produced with smile voice/speech smile and an overly-done embodied gesture. I argue that these multimodal resources, both the vocal and embodied, work to form a "complex multimodal Gestalt" (Mondada, 2014, p. 139) that conveys the speaker's true non-serious stance and playfulness towards Tim's conduct.

Smiling in interaction is acknowledged to be a non-serious and affiliative display and this extends to speech smile/smile voice also (Haugh, 2014; Afshari Saleh, 2020). In the instance of the call-out TCU (lines 17 & 19), and Jen's subsequent turn that follows, it is "enclosed within pound sterling signs" to indicate that it is produced "in an auditorily recognisable 'smiling' voice" (Kohler, 2008; Clift, 2016, p. 61). Through formulating Tim's wrongdoing with smile voice Jen is juxtaposing the disaffiliative composition of the call-out with an affiliative action (smile voice). Through the deployment of these contradictory resources Jen is able to treat Tim's conduct as a minor transgression whilst at the same time

phonetically communicate the non-serious nature of the call-out by marking it as a laughable (Glenn, 2003; Haugh, 2014). This communicates to the other participants in the interaction that Jen is taking a playful and light-hearted stance towards Tim's conduct whilst at the same time making it possible for the others to orient to the playfulness of the call-out (Holt, 2012).

As well as Jen displaying non-seriousness on a vocal level, she also displays non-seriousness on an embodied level through the production of an overly-done pointing gesture (figure 5) that coincides with both the call-out TCU and her smile voice (lines 17 & 19). It has been found that the overdoing of embodied gestures, whether affiliative or disaffiliative, can be recognised as playful especially when they contradict other embodied gestures or vocalizations (Afshari Saleh, 2020). In this instance, upon reaching its stroke phase Jen's gesture has a palm-down orientation with the index finger extending from the fist and the arm partially extended. It is composed of four beats that are directed towards Tim and work collaboratively with the call-out TCU in creating a scene that is reminiscent of a child being reproached by a parent, a form of infantilisation. Adding to this sense of overdone reproachment is the observation that upon production of the call-out and hand gesture Jen is standing and looking down at Tim, almost standing over him, whilst Tim is sat down and looking up to Jen. Although at first glance the gesture seems to be a disaffiliative action, in being overdone the pointing gesture is akin to an exaggeration, a resource at a speaker's disposal that is related to both laughter as well as the construction of laughables (Drew, 1987; Holt, 2022). As a consequence the overplayed theatrical quality of the pointing gesture and the production of a call-out with smile voice form a gestalt of modalities that help the call-out to be recognised as playful (Mondada, 2014; Afshari Saleh, 2020).

Addressee smiles in interaction have been associated with affiliation and alignment (Looney & He, 2021). Tim's noticeable smile in this instance treats the admonishment of his own conduct in a non-serious manner by orienting and attending to the call-outs non-serious nature (Looney & He, 2021). Further adding to this display of recognition is that Tim "laughingly agrees" (Drew, 1987, p. 223) (line 21) which conveys that he is going along with being called-out and therefore affiliating with Jen's turn-so-far. The full display of non-seriousness can be seen in figure 6 in which both Tim and Sue are at the peak of their noticeable smiles and laughter. So, in sum, although being called-out the non-serious recognisability of Jen's turn is affiliated to by Tim and Sue through both laughter and smiles in order to reciprocate the playfulness of the call-out.

Following on Jen continues the call-out turn through the formulating an account of what Tim did tell her (lines 22 & 24). The account is also produced with smile voice and is therefore a continuation of her display of non-seriousness. Jen's smile voice then develops into concluding turn-final laughter (line 8) which is treated by Sue as an invitation to laugh as she joins-in in overlap on the third beat (line 18), in turn reciprocating Jen's laughter and affiliating with her turn in the process (Kohler, 2008; Holt, 2012).

Section 3.2 has been concerned with the various non-serious orientations that can be produced by a call-out speaker, addressee, or third-party in response to a non-serious call-out. I have shown that the orientations produced by participants when orienting to non-serious call-outs can be on a verbal level as well as an embodied level, and have further shown how a Gestalt of modalities (both the verbal and embodied) can convey a non-serious orientation. By doing so I have illustrated *how* a call-out can be produced non-seriously and *how* a participant can display a non-serious orientation to that call-out. In section 3.3 I will address *what* a speaker is doing by designing a call-out as non-serious.

14. What is a speaker doing by designing a call-out as non-serious?

There are two common usages of a non-serious call-out that have been observed so far during the current research. The first usage is concerned with humour/joking and how a speaker can non-seriously call-out an addressee in order to tease or mock them in a playful manner. The second usage of a non-serious call-out is concerned with a call-out speaker treating possibly objectionable conduct in a non-serious and light-hearted manner. Through an analysis of these two usages I will shed further light on the particular embodied and vocal features of turn-design that contribute to a call-out being recognisably non-serious.

14.1. Teasing or mocking an addressee

The first usage of a call-out that I will analyse is one that the speaker playfully produces in order to tease/mock the addressee. To communicate their playful call-out the speaker can deploy a Gestalt of modalities, both vocal and embodied, that work to make recognisable the non-seriousness of the call-out (Mondada, 2014). By doing so the call-out speaker uses specific features of turn-design in order to communicate that their call-out is humorous in nature and is therefore intended to be treated in a friendly and non-hostile manner (Drew, 1987; Schegloff, 2001; Morreall, 2016). The following extract will explore a call-out produced with the intention of teasing/mocking the addressees. Although this case has been previously analysed for the facial expressions that show an orientation to the non-seriousness of the call-out I will now analyse it with the aim of illustrating how Alex, the call-out speaker, is teasing/mocking the addressee's through calling them out.

Ex.20 Coffee and Fig Rolls - Hello Richard [02:42 - 3:47]

```
1  TOM:      hello Richard,
2           (1.2)
3  EMMA:    ((smacks lips)) is it [already recording.
4  ALEX:    [ h e l l o ,
5           (0.4)
6  JANE:    °yeah,°=
7  EMMA:    =hh hh hh okay .hh=
8  TOM:    =wha' we're on,
9           (0.9)
10 TOM:    .hh o[r: =
11 JANE:    [no,
12 TOM:    =is this thi[ng o f f
13 ALEX: -> [you can't use that no:w=
14         -> =can ye,
15         (0.2) @ (0.4)
           @smile----->>
16 ALEX: -> you're voiding the# m[aterial as we go: ,=
17 EMMA:    # [HH hh::
           fig #fig.7
```



figure 7

18 EMMA: =h[e ↑HE
 19 TOM: [what do you mean.=
 20 EMMA: =.hhΔ=
 alex Δsmile---->
 21 TOM: =this 's me# (.) normal conversatiΔon.
 alex -->Δ
 fig #fig.8



figure 8

To briefly re-cap the interaction begins with Tom reciting an e-mail (line 1). This leads to Emma inquiring whether the camera “is...already recording” (line 3) and is responded to with a confirmation by Jane (line 6). Then, after Emma’s responsive laughter (line 7) Tom also enquires about the camera being “on” (line 8). Tom then counters his own inquiry (line 12) which is overlapped by Alex with a call-out turn that consists of two TCU’s that are formulated as provocative social sanctions but are designed to be treated as tease -like or jocular (Drew, 1987; Haugh, 2014). The first TCU asserts that *something* problematic in the addressee’s conduct has possibly resulted in the recording not being able to be used (lines 13-14). This TCU is produced with a tag question in second position that is “designed to mobilize” support for the assertion (Clift, 2016; Clift and Pino, 2020, p. 468). By asserting that something in the addressee’s conduct is problematic and by prompting the addressees to support the assertion that their own conduct is problematic, Alex is playfully taunting them and potentially provoking them to respond (Haugh, 2014). So, in sum, the first TCU of the call-out puts the addressee on the spot by claiming that something in their conduct is problematic, and by producing it with a tag question Alex is possibly mobilizing the addressees to support his assertion which would mean that they are admitting to causing the problematic outcome without knowing explicitly what in their conduct has led to it.

The second TCU of the call-out turn, the call-out TCU, calls the addressee’s out for “voiding the material” (line 16) which makes explicit the problematic *something* that the

announcement initially conveyed. By formulating the call-out with the figurative expression “voiding the material” Alex is using a phrase one may hear a lawyer use in a courtroom when objecting to something. This in turn sets a scene in which Alex is a lawyer who is interrogating the addressee’s (the suspects). This contrasts the non-serious setting in which the call-out is produced, that is amongst friends in an unprofessional setting, with a more serious formulation associated with a more professional setting. Furthermore, the call-out is produced to be non-serious in nature and is designed to communicate that the speaker is teasing the addressees. This is because the figurative expression works as an overstatement that overdoes the call-out by making “a claim higher...than warranted” (Drew, 1987; Norrick, 2004, p. 1728; Haugh, 2014), in turn amplifying the call-out and communicating that it is not to be taken literally or seriously (Norrick, 2004).

The next turn proof procedure provides evidence for a particular turn-at-talk being intentionally constructed in order to be recognisable as performing a particular action (Sacks et al., 1974). In the case at hand the non-serious recognisability of the call-out turn is oriented to by Emma through vocal and embodied practices that work to affiliate with the call-out. Firstly, during the pause (line 15) at which point the first TCU (lines 13-14) of the call-out is possibly complete, Emma begins to smile that is noticeable part-way through the call-out TCU (figure 7). Secondly, during the call-out TCU (line 16) she produces multiple beats of laughter (lines 17-18 & 20) while still broadly smiling. These displays, both vocal and embodied, work to show Emma’s orientation to the playful nature of the call-out by treating it in a friendly and laughable manner. Furthermore, another orientation to the non-serious recognisability of the call-out is produced by its speaker Alex. During Emma’s final beat of laughter (line 20) he begins the production of a smile that is fully noticeable in figure 8 and works to visibly display his playful stance and his own orientation to the non-seriousness of his own call-out. Although Tom, another addressee of the call-out turn, does not explicitly convey a non-serious stance and in fact does the opposite by challenging the legitimacy of it’s production (line 19), it is possible that him claiming innocence due to this being his “normal conversation” (line 21) is an instance of him going along with the call-out and as a result is an affiliative practice that displays his orientation to the non-seriousness of it (Drew, 1987; Holt, 2012).

This sub-section has focussed on a non-serious call-out being produced playfully in order to mock/tease the call-out addressee(s). I have shown how the call-out turn is designed to be joke-like in order to make recognisable its non-seriousness, and have briefly re-capped the responses produced by the interactants when orienting to the non-serious nature of the call-out. However, during my research I have found another possible use of a non-serious call-out: they can also be produced in a non-serious and light-hearted manner in order to address conduct that is possibly transgressive. The following sub-section will address this observation.

14.2. Treating possibly objectionable conduct non-seriously

I will now analyse an instance of a non-serious call-out that addresses possibly objectionable conduct in a non-serious manner. The non-serious call-out is produced by Sue in order to object to Jen’s possibly inappropriate advice that discloses information about Sue (line 1); however, Sue produces the call-out with vocal and embodied practices that work to convey a light-hearted stance. Prior to extract 21 Sue has explained that her reason for joining the current interaction is because of her interest in the camera. Jen, the addressee of the call-out, responds to this with a joke targeted towards Sue along with an embodied gesture

associated with 'flashing', the action of showing one's genitals briefly in public. The following transcript leads on from Jen's joke and embodiment of flashing, and consists of two separate conversations; one that involves Rob and Liz and another that involves all other participants. As a consequence the analysis will not focus on the interaction between Rob and Liz as their conversation is inconsequential to the overall interaction as well as my analysis of it.

Ex.21 RCE22a - HS Keep your clothes on [7:13 - 7:53]

1 JEN: well at least you can keep your clothes on this time
 2 you know it's not=
 3 DAN: =[ha: haha: ha: ha:
 4 JEN: [hehehehehehehehe he hh he
 5 ROB: [quite masculine perspective (being) particularly useful=
 6 =[in thi[s
 7 JEN: [he °h[ehehe°=
 8 SUE: [I always keep [my cloth[es on
 9 LIZ: [Jesus Chri[st super=
 10 JEN: =[.hh=
 11 LIZ: =[star,=
 12 JEN: =[hh hehe=
 13 ROB: =he wouldn't be [the anti-Christ
 14 DAN: [he he: he:=
 15 JEN: =°he°
 16 (0.5)
 17 SUE: wha',=
 18 LIZ: uh:[:
 19 JEN: [°hehehe° .h[h
 20 ROB: [oh: this [is-
 21 SUE: -> [why would you £s[ay=
 22 ROB: [is (that)
 23 SUE: -> =tha#[t£ hh he=
 24 LIZ: #[(bori:ng)
 fig #fig.3

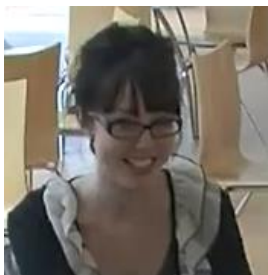


figure 3

25 JEN: =hehehehehe [°he hh hh°
 26 SUE: -> [£in front of the fucking=
 27 -> =ca[°mera°£ hehehehe=
 28 TIM: [the came[ra
 29 SUE: =[hehe
 30 JEN: =[.HH HEHEHE=
 31 DAN: =hnhnhnhm

The sequence begins with Jen continuing her theme about flashing by producing joke -like advice about Sue being able to keep her "clothes on this time" (lines 1-2), something that

discloses that at one time Sue did not “keep” her “clothes on”. This is responded to with laughter from Dan (line 3) and then Jen joins-in with laughter too (lines 4 & 7). Sue rebuts Jen’s advice by insisting that she “always” keeps her “clothes on” (line 8) to which Jen responds with more laughter (lines 10 & 12) and Dan does so too (line 14). After another beat of minimal laughter from Jen (line 15) Sue initiates repair by conveying disbelief (line 17) that in this instance work as a pre-call-out in that this is the first move in calling Jen out. This is responded to by Jen with more laughter (line 19), after which Sue produces a call-out that treats Jen’s (possibly) inappropriate advice (conduct) in regards to Sue’s past removal of clothing in front of a camera as inappropriate (lines 21 & 23). The call-out turn first takes a *why*-interrogative format (line 21) and works to challenge Jen’s conduct by soliciting an account from her as to “why” she “would... say that” (Bolden & Robinson, 2011). To solicit an account from an addressee for their conduct is to challenge the appropriateness of that conduct (Bolden & Robinson, 2011), and to formulate an action as objectionable is to exercise, and as a consequence attribute, accountability to that addressee for their conduct that is a consequence of them breaching the normative rule that is to *not* disclose sensitive information about a friend in a public domain (Garfinkel, 1963; Goffman, 1971).

It has been found that the juxtaposition of affiliative and disaffiliative actions, both on a verbal and embodied level, can work in harmony to form a complex Gestalt that conveys a speaker’s non-serious stance (Mondada, 2014; Afshari Saleh, 2020). In the case at hand Sue’s account-solicitation and attribution of accountability are serious actions, yet the call-out is produced with smile voice and a smile, (figure 3) and in turn-final position of the call-out TCU Sue produces laughter (line 23). Through composing the call-out in a serious manner Sue is (possibly) attending to the inappropriateness of Jen’s conduct; however, by juxtaposing the serious composition with smile voice and laughter Sue is communicating that although something may be problematic, she is treating it in a light-hearted manner and as a consequence possibly displaying troubles resistance (Jefferson, 1985). This in turn shows a resistance to disaffiliate on behalf of Sue, and consequently provides evidence for practices available to a speaker when treating something that is possibly objectionable in a non-serious manner.

Speakers in interaction can produce displays of non-seriousness whilst at the same time, through the production of those displays, invite other participants to reciprocate and affiliate with them (Holt, 2012). In the case at hand Sue’s call-out is produced with turn-final laughter (line 23) that is responded to by Jen with multiple beats of laughter. This conveys Jen to be taking up the invitation to affiliate with the call -out by means of reciprocating Sue’s laughter. Similarly, the final TCU of the call-out turn (lines 26-27) is a continuation that makes explicit that it is the disclosing of sensitive information “£in front of the fucking ca^omera^o£” that is the motivation for Sue treating Jen’s conduct as objectionable. As well as producing the turn-continuation with smile voice and more turn-final laughter Sue also formulates it with the expletive “fucking” which is an “emphatic intensifier” (Hoey, Hömke, Löfgren, Neumann, Schuerman & Kendrick et al., 2021, p. 5) that modifies the noun “camera” and works to overdo the elaboration. I argue that the non-seriousness of the call-out turn is further communicated by Sue’s juxtaposition of a possible serious composition, this time amplified through the expletive “fucking”, with smiling and laughter which are non-serious displays. Through the production of turn-final laughter Sue is potentially inviting Jen, and any other participant, to reciprocate the laughter with the result being affiliation. By doing so Sue is not only conveying an orientation to the non-serious nature of her own call-out but also allowing for other participants to affiliate with her non-serious stance (Holt, 2012). In overlap with Sue turn-final laughter (lines 26-27) and Tim’s collaborative completion (line 28) Jen joins in the laughter in overlap (line 29) and Dan produces laughter too (line 30) which, in both

instances, work to reciprocate Sue's affiliative display by treating the call-out and subsequent elaboration as laughable (Glenn, 2003; Holt, 2012).

In this chapter I introduced the observation that call-outs can also have a non-serious usage. In section 3.1 I provided evidence of call-out speakers and recipients orienting to the non-serious nature of a call-out firstly on a vocal level and then on an embodied level (3.1.2); and then shown how a Gestalt of the verbal and embodied modalities can work in harmony in order to convey a non-serious orientation. Then, in section 3.2, I posed the question: 'Why does a speaker produce a non-serious call-out'. It was found that one such reason for the production of a non-serious call-out is to joke with the addressee(s) by teasing/mocking them in a playful yet provocative manner. Another possible reason was to call-out potentially objectionable behaviour in a non-serious manner. By exploring the orientations to a non-serious call-out and the possible motivations for producing one I hope to have provided evidence that helps the reader to understand how a non-serious call-out can be distinguished from one that is intended to be serious.

CHAPTER 4

15. Discussion

15.1. Addressing the action formation problem

The literature review began by considering Schegloff's (2007) question of action formation:

“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 recognizable by recipients as” [a call-out]? (p. xiv)

I will now begin to shed light on this question by addressing each component of the action formation problem and considering how each plays a role in a call-out being recognisable and recognisably serious or non-serious. Firstly, the “resources of the language” (Schegloff, 2007, p. xiv) that are used to formulate a call-out attribute to its recognisability. A call-out can take a declarative, interrogative, or prohibitive format which shows the action to be flexible; however, an essential feature that shows the action to be rigid is the explicit formulation of its recipient's misconduct. Further adding to its recognisability is another essential feature of call-outs, that is the attribution of accountability to the recipient for their conduct which is a (possible) result of a breach in the recognition, understanding and adherence to normative rules and standards of conduct (Garfinkel, 1963; Goffman, 1971). A final feature contributing to call-out recognisability is that each call-out is formulated with specific features of turn-design that convey the speaker to be treating the conduct of the recipient as inappropriate or transgressive. For example a call-out can be formulated with extreme case formulations and/or negatively connotative figurative expressions in order to communicate to a recipient that they are being called-out.

The features mentioned above are shared by serious and non-serious call-outs alike; however, there are vocalizations that are exclusive to non-serious call-outs. For instance a non-serious call-out speaker can produce laughter along-with the call-out or turn-finally, or can produce the call-out with speech smile/smile voice. These vocal gestures are just one way a speaker can juxtapose the seriousness of a call-out with non-serious gestures in order to convey a playful tease of the recipient or an overall non-serious stance towards possibly objectionable conduct. Along with a speaker displaying non-seriousness a recipient and/or a third-party can respond to a non-serious call-out with laughter. These vocal gestures are one practice at an interlocutor's disposal with which they can display an orientation to the non-seriousness of a (non-serious) call-out.

Moving now to “the resources of...the body” (Schegloff, 2007, p. xiv) that contribute to call-out formation and its overall recognisability. Although it was only observed with non-serious usages of a call-out, in order to convey playfulness a speaker can produce a call-out with a smile or produce a smile after the call-out has been formulated. By doing so they not only communicate a playful stance but also invite recipients to affiliate and reciprocate the playfulness. Furthermore, a speaker can produce overly-done hand gestures while a call-out is in production in order to add a theatrical quality to it and communicate a non-serious and playful stance.

Now let us consider “the environment of the interaction” (Schegloff, 2007, p. xiv). I would like to suggest that this component of the action ascription problem is of the least relevance to

the current study, although not to the overall study of the call-out phenomenon. The interactions were recorded either in the student's home, bedroom, or kitchen, or in a social space on the university campus. This meant that the interactional setting for each interaction was to some extent the same; therefore, the possibility of concluding that the environment of the interaction contributes to action formation was limited due to the lack of diversity when it comes to the physical environment of the data. To see any possible contribution the environment may have on call-outs it would be better to study the phenomenon in a wide range of interactional contexts.

The final component of action formation I will consider is the "position in the interaction" (Schegloff, 2007, p. xiv), the sequential position, of the call-outs production. Call-outs are produced in response to conduct that has already been produced, so they are always produced in a sequential position following the objectionable conduct. This is an essential feature of a call-out that is a shared feature attributing to the action formation of serious and non-serious call-outs alike. However, call-outs produced in everyday interaction are flexible in that they can respond to any conduct that has been produced in the past and not just to conduct that has just been produced. Therefore, the conduct a call-out responds to just needs to be an already-produced and recognisable action in order for it to be formulated and subsequently called-out.

By taking into consideration Schegloff's (2007, p. xiv) action formation problem it could be argued that "the resources of the language, the body...and position in the interaction" are essential to a speaker producing a noticeably recognisable call -out, whereas the role of "the environment of the interaction" would require more research in order to identify its relevance. What is interesting is the question that these brief observations into call-out action formation leave: is it so that call-outs are always serious in nature (i.e. a serious action) and the only way a speaker can communicate that they are calling somebody out non-seriously is to accompany the call-out with vocal and embodied gestures that are displays of non-seriousness as well as potential invitations to affiliate?

15.2. Taylor Swift calls-out Donald Trump

There are many similarities between the Taylor Swift call -out presented in chapter one and the call-outs examined throughout the current dissertation. They both, for example, respond to a recipient's conduct by formulating that conduct and by treating it as objectionable. To recall the 'initial specimen,' Donald Trump produced a late-night comment on social media platform Twitter in response to the Minneapolis riots that occurred due to police brutality. Trump's comment offered Minneapolis Mayor Jacob Frey an ultimatum, to bring "the city under control or" the "National Guard," that is the military, "will get the job done right." Trump then went even further and produced an explicit threat by saying "when the looting starts, the shooting starts". Taylor Swift responded to Trump's comment by first calling out his stoking of "white supremacy and racism" his "entire presidency", and then by formulating his recent threat to Jacob Frey as "having the nerve to feign moral superiority before threatening violence?" which conveys explicit disapproval of Trump's conduct.

Along Along with formulating conduct and treating that conduct as objectionable there are more similarities between Taylor Swift's call-out and the ones analysed in the current dissertation. The sequential environment of the Taylor Swift call-out is similar as can be seen with her call-out being produced at 4:33pm in response to Trump's objectionable conduct produced at 5:53am. A further similarity is that Swift's call-out addresses the recipient directly by tagging "@realdonaldtrump" which is his Twitter username. The final similarities I

will address, although this in no-way means that there are no other similarities, is that the Taylor Swift call-out is formulated using a figurative expression “stoking the fires of white supremacy” as well as an extreme case formulation “your entire presidency,” and it directly repeats Trump’s “When the looting starts, the shooting starts” comment.

Though similarities do exist there are also differences between the initial specimen of a call-out presented in chapter one and the ones examined in this dissertation. An obvious difference between the two call-out types is in regards to the severity of the conduct being treated as transgressive; the Taylor Swift call-out treats as transgressive Donald Trump’s threatening and racist conduct, whereas the call-outs in this dissertation treat equally as transgressive, to give one example, taking up too much room on a blanket. This shows that there is no objective measurement to the severity of possible transgressions as at any given moment what could be perceived by one speaker to be a minor (or not a) transgression could be perceived by another speaker to be a severe transgression. Instead, the severity of a transgression is reflexively constituted by the practices that a speaker employs, and it is those practices that convey the speaker to be treating the conduct of another participant as transgressive. It is a speaker, then, that attributes to some conduct a transgression, it is not the case that conduct is predetermined to be transgressive.

Another rather obvious difference is that the call-outs in this dissertation have both a serious and non-serious usage in day-to-day interaction, whereas text-based social media call-outs or newspaper headline call-outs are serious actions only. This raises the question, then, of whether or not call-outs produced on television as well as in interview settings also have this dual-usage? One final difference I will address in this section is that social media call-outs are text only and have no embodied actions accompanying them that we as Conversation Analysts can observe. This is in stark contrast to call-outs in the current study that do have the possibility of being accompanied by embodied gestures. Although it will not be discussed in detail, it mentioned earlier how embodied actions play a significant role in the process of understanding a call-out to be non-serious. The non-existence of embodied gestures in social media call-outs could therefore have a direct effect on the call-out being only serious in nature. That is because a speaker is not able to display any orientations to non-seriousness that embodied displays have been shown to achieve.

15.3. Summary

To conclude, this dissertation has focussed on call-outs, an interactional practice used to formulate a recipient’s conduct and treat it as objectionable and accountable. A call-out already existed in our vernacular metalanguage for action and has been publicised in the media as well as on social media; however, the current study has shown that a call-out also exists in everyday mundane interaction between interlocutor’s who are somewhat familiar with one-another. In the process of showing that this practice exists in an everyday context I have provided evidence for a call-out being both flexibly and reflexively used in both text-based interaction as well as ordinary spoken interaction. I have addressed how call-outs can be distinguished from similar practices such as complaints and accusations I have also shown how call-outs are produced to be recognisable actions through examining them under the guise of the action formation and ascription problem, and have further shown how call-outs are a multimodal practice and not just a vocal practice. I have addressed the differences between call-outs and similar practices such as complaints, and by doing so have clarified that a call-out is a stand-alone practice. Finally, I have addressed the dual-usage (serious/non-serious) of a call-out and provided evidence for a call-out being a serious

action that treats conduct as transgressive, as well as being a non-serious affiliative practice that can be used to tease/mock (joke with) the recipient. Whilst distinguishing between the serious and non-serious usage I have shown how embodied gestures such as smiles and overly-done gestures can possibly display non-seriousness. Furthermore, in the case of call-outs I have shown how these gestures can juxtapose the serious and disaffiliative composition of a call-out with embodiments of non-seriousness in order to communicate an overall non-serious stance.

Through the current study into call-outs it is my hope to have shed light on a practice that can be deployed in both text-based interaction as well as vocal everyday interaction. Many interesting observations have been explored within this dissertation; however, there are observations that have been briefly addressed but not properly explored due to lack of space. In order to expand our knowledge into such a practice there are two interesting observations that should be explored by addressing the following questions: (a) does a call-out speaker's claim to entitlement convey either a serious or non-serious call-out, and (b) what is the design, function and interactional consequence of producing a preliminary to a call-out, a 'pre-call-out?'

One final way in which the research into call-outs could be developed further is to study the phenomenon in a different interactional setting, such as an institutional setting. By doing so the importance of "the environment of the interaction" (Schegloff, 2007, p. xiv) could be properly evaluated. Furthermore, the study of call-outs in more serious settings could shed further light on the non-serious usage of a call-out by answering the question: do speakers in interaction only produce a non-serious call-out when the recipient is familiar to them?

16. Bibliography

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