

# Interactional dominance in dyadic communication: a presentation of initiative-response analysis\*

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## Abstract

*The purpose of this article is twofold. On the one hand, we will discuss the concept of dominance in spoken interaction. We will distinguish between different dimensions of dominance and particularly analyze the notion of interactional dominance. On the other hand, we will describe a method of empirical dialogue analysis, the so-called initiative-response analysis, which aims at capturing dominance and coherence in interaction and discourse. In addition, some data sampled from different kinds of social situations are analyzed, and a taxonomy of communicative activities in terms of symmetry-asymmetry will be developed. The relations between different types of dominance in behavior and between dominance patterns and underlying power structure are also briefly considered.*

## 1. Introduction

To be dominant in a dialogue is to control a major part of the territory which is to be shared by the parties, that is, the interactional space, the discourse ratified and jointly attended to by the actors (what is normally called 'the floor'). Dominance is inherently a quantitatively oriented concept; it is a question of having a large proportion of the ground at one's disposal, of getting more of the goods and services available in the interaction. Obviously, dominance in dialogue can be analyzed in a number of different dimensions. We propose to distinguish between at least the following three: (purely) quantitative dominance, topical dominance, and interactional dominance.

*Purely quantitative* dominance is a matter simply of amount of speech produced; he who dominates is the one who says the most words or talks most of the time. *Topical* (or content) dominance could be understood in terms of introduction of new content words (referents, concepts); he who

dominates would then be the one who tries to put the most content into the socially shared world of discourse, he who places the most topics and subtopics 'on the floor'. *Interactional* dominance has to do with the communicative actions, initiatives, and responses taken by the interlocutors; the dominant party is the one who manages to direct and control the other party's actions to the greatest extent and who also avoids being directed and controlled in his own interactive behavior. In this paper our interest will be focused on interactional dominance.

It is important to realize that being dominant in actual behavior is not the same as being in power over the dyad or the social relationship involved. Power may be defined as, for example, a potential for exercising influence over other people's actions, decisions, and thoughts. The relations between manifest dominance patterns in interaction and underlying power structures are manifold and varied. We will return to this issue in the discussion.

## 2. Empirical dialogue studies

Our analysis is an exercise in empirical, sociopragmatic dialogue studies; that is, we will attempt to characterize exhaustively (in terms of a closed set of categories) ALL the units occurring in sequences of actually attested discourse. Unlike most of linguistic pragmatics, and other parts of core linguistics, we do not, in this project, work exclusively with a set of proposed rules and categories, in terms of which only a limited number of prototypical, and perhaps invented, examples are being discussed. To be sure, there are traditions in linguistically oriented discourse analysis which have worked with naturalistic data and tried to provide exhaustive taxonomies, but most of these (for example, Sinclair and Coulthard 1975; later Burton 1980; Edmondson 1981; Stubbs 1983; Stenström 1984) do not seem to bother about interrater agreement, without which this sort of analysis runs the risk of losing its legitimacy. Rather, one might associate our initiative-response (henceforth IR) analysis with the numerous attempts by behavioral scientists, especially within the fields of social psychology and communication studies, to apply various coding schemes to interaction (for example Bales 1970; D'Andrade and Wish 1985; Goldberg 1983; Stiles 1978; Thomas et al. 1982; Donohue et al. 1984; Millar et al. 1984). However, we try to go beyond most of these attempts on at least two accounts. On the one hand, we have tried to insure validity for our category system by starting out from a theory of communicative activities owing much to language-game theory (for example Allwood 1976; Levinson 1979) and ethnomethodological conversation analysis (for

example Heritage 1984, 1987). On the other hand, we are not content with categorizing units of dialogue and comparing actors or situations with regard to category frequencies, but we will try to derive some GLOBAL measures in terms of which we characterize dyads and social situations on a scale of symmetry–asymmetry. In this paper, we will put the emphasis on these latter descriptive and empirical aspects rather than on the underlying concepts and the more theoretical concerns.

### 3. Initiative–response analysis: basic principles

IR analysis is a method of analyzing dialogues, that is, dyadic spoken interaction. (Of course, with some appropriate amendments, it should be possible to extend the analysis to multiparty interaction.) The unit of analysis is the *turn* (the conversational contribution making up one turn). Each turn is analyzed in terms of its *response* and *initiative* aspects, one of which may be nil. The initiative (or initiating) aspect(s) ‘point forward’ toward the next turn (in ethnomethodological terms, they project relevant next actions), the response aspect(s) ‘point backwards’ to preceding turns in the dialogue. Initiatives carry on the dialogue by requesting (soliciting or inviting) a response from the interlocutor and/or by introducing new substance into the dialogue. Responses create coherence with the preceding discourse by linking up with what the interlocutor or the speaker himself has said before. We thus look upon each conversational contribution as (potentially) both context-determined and context-determining (where ‘context’ stands for the local dialogue context). The same idea is expressed by Heritage as follows: ‘Each social action is a recognizable commentary on, and intervention in, the setting of activity in which it occurs’ (1987: 264).

Each turn (conversational contribution) of the dialogue under analysis is assigned to a particular *turn category*. There are 18 such categories (plus three non–turn categories: turn miscarriages, back-channel items, inaudible items). (We give here a brief account of the system, leaving out some of the more marginal aspects. For a full treatment, see Linell and Gustavsson 1987).

The category system is based on a small set of initiative and response *features*. These distinctive features are the following:

- a. the basic distinction between initiative and response, most clearly symbolized by  $>$  or  $\wedge$  vs.  $<$ .
- b. strength and scope of initiatives: strong, that is (explicitly) soliciting or demanding, vs. weakly interactive (asserting or submissive);  $>$  vs.  $\wedge$ .

- c. adequacy of responses: adequate (accepted) vs. inadequate or partial; < vs. —.
- d. scope of (retroactive) links: local vs. nonlocal (linking up with immediately preceding vs. more distant turn); < or : vs. ..
- e. focality of (retroactive and local) links: focal vs. nonfocal (linking up with focal vs. peripheral aspects of interlocutor's preceding turn); < vs. :.
- f. alter- or self-linked response (linking up with the interlocutor's preceding turn vs. speaker's own preceding turn); < vs. = (and its subcategory < =).

The symbol < thus comprises local, focal, and adequate alter-linking, which is taken to be the unmarked case. Only when a turn shows clear signs of lacking one or several of these properties is it coded with ·, :, —, or =. The whole system of turn types is given, together with brief definitions, in the Appendix.

If we were to look upon the dynamic flow of dialogical turns in more static terms, its structure would appear to be chainlike. As the above-mentioned features indicate, the links between turns can be of different kinds, and sometimes they do not exist, the discourse thereby becoming locally incoherent. Of course, dialogue and discourse are organized over and above local IR structure, for example, in macro-structures like episodes, topics, and phases, but this is something which must be captured by analyses added to the IR analysis. Still, we insist on the point that a dialogue is more of a chain than a tree or a syntactic immediate-constituent structure. Those who would try to force such a structure onto actual empirical data (for example, Sinclair and Coulthard 1975; Stubbs 1983) will often, according to our experience, run into trouble.<sup>1</sup>

#### 4. Coding and scoring

In the actual coding process one must continuously work with the material recorded on audio or video tapes. Of course, one must also have accurate transcripts available, but working *ONLY* with transcripts will not do, since the analysis crucially presupposes that prosody, pausing, and other paralinguistic features are taken into account. However, we do concentrate on speech, that is, the vocal channel (that which is retrievable from audio recordings). Thus, in this analysis of interactional dominance we ignore, for example, gaze, gestures, and territorial behavior. A full-blown analysis of nonverbal behaviors could of course occasionally yield a somewhat different picture of interactional dominance, but it would also be much more time-consuming and introduce some additional methodological difficulties.

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Figure 1. *Turn categories and interactional strength*

A totally dominant actor in a dyad determines unilaterally the conditions for his own and his interlocutor's communicative actions. A totally submissive actor allows himself to be controlled by his partner, and at the same time he refrains from trying to determine the conditions for the latter's actions. In practice, everyone is, at least to some extent, both conditioning and conditioned by the interlocutor's behavior. The various turn types represent different moves in this respect; they can be regarded as governing or steering the ensuing dialogue and as being governed or commanded by the preceding dialogue to different degrees. The 18 categories can be ordered on a six-point ordinal scale from the strongest initiative with no response properties whatsoever, that is,  $>$ , to the weakest response without any propensity of promoting the dialogue any further, that is,  $—$ . The scores are as shown in Figure 1. These scores form the basis for calculating IR indices, IR differences, and other derived measures. However, before introducing the calculation of these measures, let us turn to some pieces of natural discourse.

## 5. Two examples

Due to obvious space limitations, it would be impossible to provide a complete manual for IR coding here. Instead we will illustrate the categories by commenting on two excerpts from our authentic data (for category definitions, see Appendix).

The first excerpt is drawn from a police interrogation, where an elderly man is being interviewed by a police officer on the charge of a suspected petty larceny. The excerpt is first given in the original Swedish version, then in an approximate English translation.

(The suspect, S, has drifted away from the main issue, the larceny

charge, and has talked about some of his medical problems for a number of turns.)

1. < ^ M: Så att det jag var inte människa jag det börja med att svälla upp under här [P: mm] å sen i hela gommen [P: mm] å den där tanden den var öm som tandvärk å sen kunde jag knappt inte raka mej här en gång det var.. [P: ja] jag var svullen som en ballong var jag här.
2. < ^ P: Kinderna å halsen där ja.
3. < ^ M: Javisst [P: mm] men ingen feber hade jag [P: nä] för den tog di vid Ekdala men det hade jag inte heller men det vart nåt i balans där [P: nä nä].
4. > P: Sen på eftermiddan då så var du gick gick du å handla sen på eftermiddan?
5. < ^ M: Ja det gjorde jag det gjorde jag direkt sen jag var hos läkarn.
6. → P: Hade vart hos läkarn?
7. < ^ M: Ja då kom jag ifrån läkaren [P: jaha, jaha] för jag fick fick inte gå in till läkaren på morron untan för jag var nere å tog blodprov ny klaff i hjärtat så jag fick en tid på eftermiddan [P: jaha] jag tror det var vid två eller en kvart i två jag skulle va hos läkarn eller måt. Det var så där. Och så gick ...
8. < > P: Och det var bestämt förut alltså du skulle gå och handla då?
9. — M: Ja det var det väl. Det ...
10. => P: Eller var det bara så att du kom på det?
11. < ^ M: Ja handla jag var virrig [P: jaa] kan jag säga kan jag hålla med om att jag virrig [P: ja] för att jag var efter med sen
12. ··> P: När du ... du kom från läkarn då gick du till Domus alltså?
13. < M: Ja det gjorde jag.
14. < > P: Ja, vad hände där då?
1. < ^ S: So that I didn't feel like a human being, it started by becoming swollen up here [P: mm] and then in the whole palate [P: mm] and that tooth it was aching like toothache and then I couldn't even shave it was ... [P: yes] I was swollen like a balloon I was here.
2. < ^ P: The cheeks and neck there, yes.
3. < ^ S: Oh yes [P: mm] but no fever I had [P: no] 'cause they took it in Ekdala but that I didn't have either but there was something in balance there [P: no no].

4. > P: Later in the afternoon then, you were you went out shopping then in the afternoon?
5. < ^ S: Yes, I did I did that directly after I was to the doctor.
6. —> P: Was to the doctor?
7. < ^ S: Yes, then I came from the doctor [P: yes, yes], 'cause I could couldn't go to see the doctor in the morning but I was down to have a blood test made, a new valve in my heart, so I got an appointment in the afternoon [P: yes], I think it was at two or a quarter to two that I was to see the doctor or something. It was like that. And I went, and it
8. < > P: It was decided beforehand then that you were to go out shopping then?
9. — S: Yes I think it was ...
10. => P: Or was it only so that it occurred to you?
11. < ^ S: Well, shopping. I was confused [P: yes] I can say I can agree with that, that I was confused [P: yes] 'cause I was after then
12. ..> P: When you ... you came from the doctor then you went to Domus [name of department store] I assume?
13. < S: Yes I did.
14. < > P: Well what happened there?

In this passage, the police officer allows the suspect to tell about his doings in the rather incoherent way that was typical of this suspect. Most of the suspect's contributions in this excerpt may be seen as expanded responses to the policeman's preceding turns, that is, S supplies more information than would be minimally required from him, given the preceding initiatives. Although P at times tries to conform to everyday conversational norms (such as 'respond to what your partner has just said', for example in turn 2), he also directs the interaction by ignoring the last utterance by S and taking discourse back to relevant issues. In turn 4, P — for the first time — tries to bring up a topic which is part of the subject matter (the petty theft). This is unrelated to S's current concerns with his own medical problems, and the turn is therefore coded as a free initiative: >. In turn 12 P returns to his topic (category [f]; see Appendix) after a new digression by S. The suspect's minimal answer in turn 9, which is quite devoid of content, is treated as inadequate (category [o]) by P, who, in turn 10, builds upon his own previous question, thus renewing his initiative (category [i]). In turn 6 we see an instance of a deferring question (category [p]); P simply asks for a repetition or a confirmation of a part of S's previous contribution. A deferring question is a method of 'deferring'

a response that the speaker owes his interlocutor; by asking a question for repetition, the speaker holds his response in abeyance (Longacre 1983: 53).

Our second excerpt comes from a dialogue in which a 12-year-old immigrant boy, who speaks quite good Swedish, is talking with his female Swedish teacher in a situation where they have been assigned a common task, that of making up plans for a picture book describing their school (Gustavsson 1988). The excerpt, which is taken from the very beginning of their conversation, contains a considerable number of 'oblique' turns, in which the interlocutors fail to connect smoothly to each other.

1. ^ T: jaha det var inte lätt du, jag har jobbat här ett helt år..
2. > P: [AVBRYTER] jag ska ha den, jag ska ha den
3. < ^ T: ska du ha den, då tar jag den då, å jag hittar inte  
än på skolan  
(4 s)
4. ^ P: [SKRIKER] kastar snöboll
5. —> T: vad sa du
6. < ^ P: kastar snöboll
7. —> T: kasta snöboll?
8. < P: mhm
9. <> T: jaha vi ska ta kort på det menar du. Får man  
kasta snöboll på skolgården?
10. — P: (3 s)
11. => T: får man det
12. × P: hnä, vi skriver eh..
13. = ^ T: då kanske vi inte kan visa det ..
14. < = ^ P: [AVBRYTER] vi skriver *fel* här då
15. —> T: fel?
16. = ^ P: (3 s) så där, vi skriver..fem rrr..fem fel och..å fem  
rätt, skriver vi, fem bra om Lillskolan å fem dåliga  
om Lillskolan
17. < T: [TVEKSAMT] jaa
18. .. ^ P: kasta snöboll
  
1. ^ T: okay, this wasn't easy, I've worked here for a whole year ..
2. > P: [INTERRUPTS] I'll have that one, I'll have that one
3. < ^ T: you'll have that one, then I'll take this one, and I still  
don't always find my way in the school  
(4 s)
4. ^ P: [SHOUTING] throwing snowballs
5. —> T: what did you say
6. < ^ P: throwing snowballs



7. —> T: throw snowballs?
8. < P: mhm
9. <> T: I see we'll take a photo of that, you mean. Are you allowed to throw snowballs in the schoolyard?
10. — P: (3 s)
11. => T: are you allowed?
12. × P: no, we write er..
13. =∧ T: then perhaps we can't show that..
14. <=∧ P: [INTERRUPTS] so we write *wrong* here
15. —> T: wrong?
16. =∧ P: (3 s) that's it, we write..five rrr..five times wrong.. and five times right, we write, five good ones about Littleschool and five bad ones about Littleschool
17. < T: [HESITANTLY] yes
18. ∙∙∧ P: throw snowballs

In turn 1, T embarks on the common project of designing the picture book by expressing a viewpoint in a turn which invites rather than demands a response (that is,  $\wedge$ , category [d]). P, however, comes up with a totally unrelated request (evidently, he wants to get hold of a pencil). T does respond to this but uses her turn (turn 3) also to develop her first contribution. In such cases of multiple response links, the coding will reflect the 'unmarked' type, that is, alter-linking rather than self-linking. Later on in the dialogue, there are several cases of exclusive self-linking (turns 11, 13, 14, 16); among these, 14 is a particularly strong move, since it involves ignoring a preceding substantial contribution (initiative) from the other (category  $< = \wedge$ , that is, [l], rather than just  $= \wedge$  [j]). In the sequence, there are also three questions for repetition or simple clarification (deferring questions, that is,  $\rightarrow$ ) and one case of an aborted utterance (turn 12) which does not succeed in contributing anything to the dialogue and therefore does not qualify as a turn. In turn 9, T asks a question (soliciting initiative), which does not receive any answer. P's silence must be interpreted as an inadequate response ( $\rightarrow$ ) (that is, a response which is not accepted as an answer), which leads T to repeat her question (turn 11, category [i]). This time P starts to say something but is interrupted at an early stage, his utterance thereby being reduced to a 'turn miscarriage', symbolized with  $\times$  (see above). Instead, T, in turn 13, appears to self-link by closing the mini-topic raised by herself in turn 9. As a whole, P repeatedly fails to respond to T's initiatives (which causes T to self-link by repeating her questions or even answering them herself). In turn 18, P comes back to his own idea about 'throwing snowballs' from turn 5 (and onward). This is seen as a non-locally connected contribution (category [g]).

If we want an overall picture of a whole dialogue (or some part of a

dialogue) we may look at the frequencies of the parties' turn categories. We will call such a summary *the IR profile* of the dyad. For the first part of the police interview, from which our first excerpt was taken, we then get the following profile (categories ordered from the strongest initiatives on the left to the weakest responses on the right):

|    | > | ^ | ..> | ..^ | <=^ | <> | => | <) | <^ | =^ | —> | <  | — | N  |
|----|---|---|-----|-----|-----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|----|
| P: | 4 | 3 | 3   |     | 1   | 14 | 4  | 4  | 8  | 3  | 3  | 8  |   | 55 |
| S: | 1 |   |     | 1   |     | 2  |    | 1  | 20 | 3  | 3  | 13 | 4 | 48 |

(Categories not included in the profile did not occur in this particular dialogue). We can easily see that P is the one who is interactionally dominant. For example, he takes many more independent initiatives and asks many more questions, and he also explicitly closes topics (that is <), category [r]). S, on the other hand, is relatively controlled by P, and a substantial portion of S's turns are minimal responses. Four of these are not accepted (that is, —, category [o]); they are not taken up as adequate responses and thus fail to bring the current topic forward.

Using the scores introduced earlier, we can calculate a global measure for each conversationalist's manifest tendency of controlling the interaction or of being controlled. This measure, the person's *IR index*, is defined as the median value of his scores on the ordinal scale. For P this is 3.58 and for S 2.67. The difference (what we term the *IR difference*), 0.91, can be taken as a measure of the degree of asymmetry in the dyad.

Just to illustrate a couple of other patterns, we will give two other IR profiles (more data in Table 1 below). The first example is part of an informal dinnertable conversation between husband (H) and wife (W):

|    | > | ^ | ..^ | <=^ | <> | => | <) | <^ | =^ | —> | < | — | N  |
|----|---|---|-----|-----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|---|----|
| H: | 1 | 4 | 2   | 2   | 6  | 1  | 1  | 27 | 1  | 2  | 7 |   | 54 |
| W: |   | 1 | 3   |     | 2  | 1  |    | 32 | 3  | 4  | 7 | 2 | 55 |

Although H is the one who tends to bring up more new topics and to ask a few more questions, this conversation is quite symmetrical. The IR indices are 3.12 and 2.91, respectively, and, accordingly, the IR difference will be 0.21. By contrast, look at the profile of a criminal court trial with legal professionals (L) and defendant (D):

|    | >  | ..> | <> | => | <) | <^ | —> | <  | — | N  |
|----|----|-----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|----|
| L: | 11 | 1   | 35 | 1  | 4  |    | 5  | 2  |   | 59 |
| D: |    |     |    |    |    | 7  | 1  | 45 | 3 | 56 |

This dyad is obviously very asymmetrical. The professionals ask a lot of questions (many of which concern entirely new topics: 11 cases of >), and the defendant sticks to responses, in most cases minimal ones (only 7 out of 56 turns are stronger than this). Consequently, we get a very large IR difference (1.97; IR indices: 4.01 [L] and 2.04 [D]).

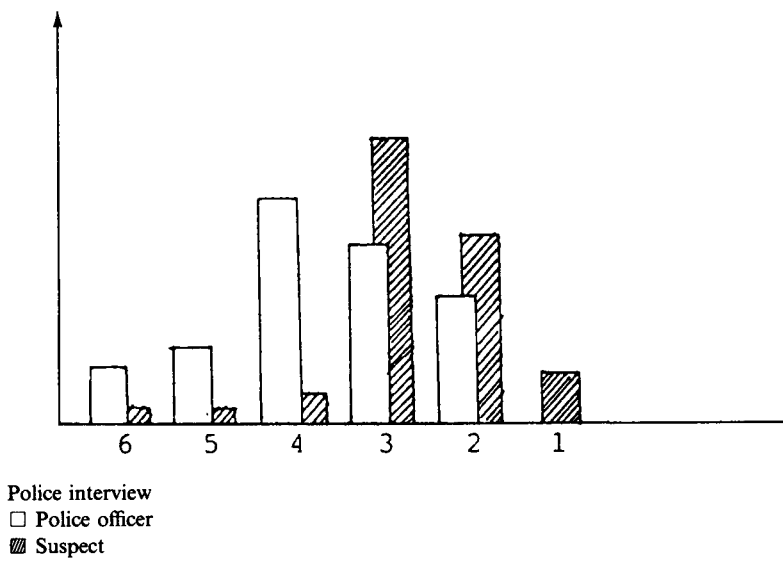


Figure 2. *IR profile of individual dyad (turns ordered from strong to weak, categories collapsed at six levels)*

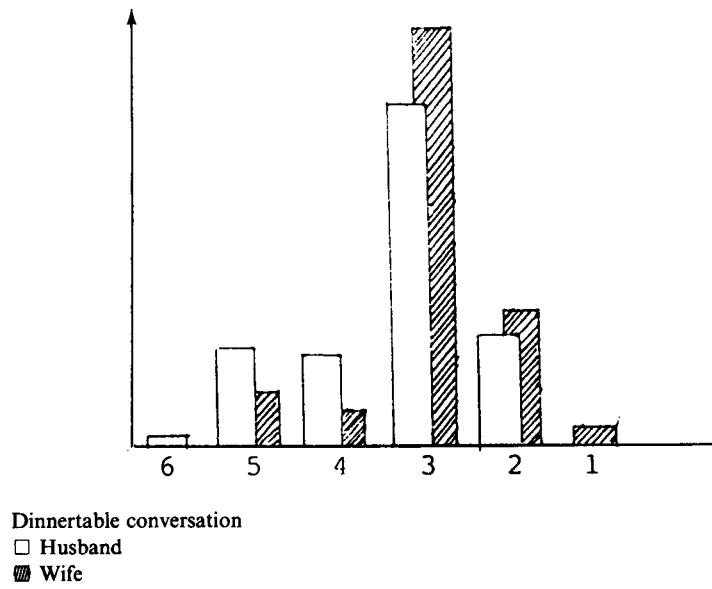


Figure 3. *IR profile of individual dyad (turns ordered from strong to weak, categories collapsed at six levels)*

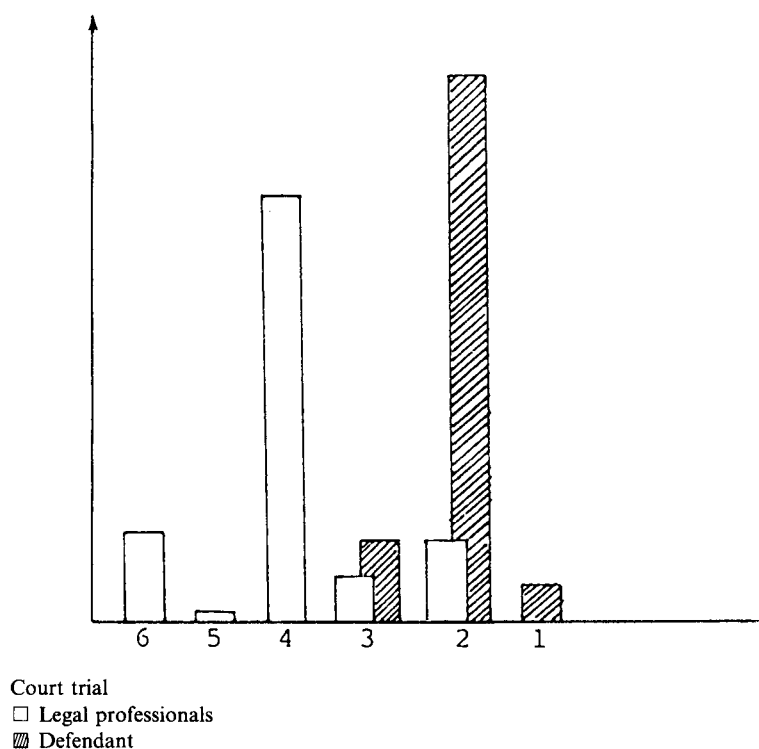


Figure 4. IR profile of individual dyad (turns ordered from strong to weak, categories collapsed at six levels)

In Figures 2, 3, and 4 we give the three IR profiles discussed here in simplified graphical form.

## 6. Some measures of conversational interaction

Since our category system is rather fine-grained, it allows us to derive a number of different interactional measures, in addition to IR indices and IR differences. Before proposing some such measures, however, we will briefly consider some aspects of symmetry (vs. asymmetry) and mutual responsiveness (vs. nonresponsiveness) in dyadic communication.

In our culture there appears to be a concept of the 'ideal dialogue', an encounter where actors meet each other on an equal basis, with equal rights and duties and being mutually responsive to each other's actions (see Goffman's 1981 characterization of 'the two-person sociable chain').

Of course, this is a strong idealization of something which only very seldom occurs; consider, for example, informal talk exchanges between close friends. In many social activities, total equality and maximal responsiveness from both parties would be far from 'ideal'. Nevertheless, while trying to stay away from normative, evaluative considerations, we may use the concept of a maximally symmetrical and cooperative dialogue as a point of departure for a discussion of the properties of actually attested dialogues. Therefore, let us conceive of the 'ideal dialogue' as subject to the following conditions:

Condition 1: it is *locally coherent*, in that interlocutors try to say things which are relevant to and cohere with the current topic(s); one is not supposed to break the dialogue into fragments by (recurrent) introductions of new and unrelated topics.

Condition 2: conversationalists are *mutually responsive*, in that each of them links up with what his *interlocutor* has just said; one is not supposed to ignore one's partner's contributions and to associate exclusively with one's own threads of discourse.

Condition 3: it is *progressive*, in that interlocutors try to contribute to the progression of the collective discourse by providing new material; one is not supposed to provide just minimal, let alone less than minimally adequate, responses to the interlocutor's contributions.

Condition 4: it is *straight*, in that interlocutors stick to the main currents of substantial content of the discourse; one is not supposed to deviate by (recurrent) remarks on the form of the interaction or by digressing on peripheral and only partially relevant associations.

Condition 5: it is *nonimposing*, in that interlocutors refrain from imposing strong restrictions on the partner's responses; one is not supposed to explicitly demand or solicit responses, at least not several times in a row.

Condition 6: it is *symmetrical*, in that interlocutors are in control of (and are themselves controlled in) the dialogue on an equal basis; one is not supposed to try to dominate over one's partner.

We can now see that our features from above are regularly related to these conditions. For example, contributions with a response part other than < (or no response part at all) violate condition 1; those with feature = violate condition 2; those without any initiative, that is without > or  $\wedge$ , violate condition 3; those with : violate condition 4; those with > rather than  $\wedge$  violate condition 5. The last condition, 6, is a matter of the total distribution of contributions (as measured by IR indices and differences).

If we ask ourselves what types of conversational turns meet all these conditions, we will find that only the prototypical 'expanded response'

(category [b]) does so. This is the kind of contribution by which a speaker comments on what his partner has just said and introduces some new material for the latter to respond to. However, this latter response should just be invited, not demanded or explicitly asked for. While almost anyone would agree that a discourse made up of such conversational contributions fits the intuitive notion of the 'ideal dialogue', it is of course entirely absurd to imagine a real dialogue consisting of ONLY such utterances. In many social practices, it is absolutely imperative that one (or several) interlocutor(s) take other kinds of initiatives and also provide minimal responses. For example, this is true of most institutional contexts (Agar 1985), that is, many of those activity types which will be exemplified below.

With IR profiles available for the various dialogues and dyads to be analyzed and diagnosed, it now becomes natural to look at the frequencies of some particular turn types (or combinations of turn types). Accordingly, apart from the IR index and IR difference (already introduced), we propose to use the following *coefficients*, all of which may be used to refer to the whole dyad OR just to the contributions of either of the interactants:

— the *B coefficient* (B = balance), defined as the number of expanded responses (category [b]) as a percentage of all turns in the dyad (or, alternatively, for a single actor).

— the *S coefficient* (S = solicitation), defined as the number of questions (or other 'strong' initiatives) (categories [a], [c], [f], [i], [k], [m]) as a percentage of all turns in the dyad (or for a single actor). The S coefficient shows how often parties explicitly try to force their interlocutors into responding on their terms.

— the *F coefficient* (F = fragmentation), defined as the number of unconnected or non-locally connected initiatives or responses (categories [c], [d], [f], [g], [h], [q]) as a percentage of all turns in the dyad (or for a single actor). The F coefficient indicates how often parties perform abrupt topic shifts, thus contributing to local incoherence or fragmentation of the discourse.

— the *O coefficient* (O = obliqueness), defined as the number of turns involving the features : or = (categories [i], [j], [k], [l], [m], [n]) in percentage of all turns in the dyad (or for a single actor). This kind of obliqueness coefficient is designed to capture how often actors avoid linking up with the main content of their interlocutor's adjacent turn, in spite of the fact that their contribution in question is locally connected.

Several other measures are conceivable but will not be discussed here, due to space limitations. (As for the B, S, F, and O coefficients of the dyads discussed above, see Table 1, where the example dialogues are given as 6A, 1A, and 5B, respectively.)

## 7. Analysis of dialogue activities

In our work with the IR method we have applied it to samples drawn from a number of dialogue types, embedded in different social situations. We will here illustrate the method by presenting data on two different dyads from each of nine situations, in total 18 dyads. The dyads selected from each corpus meet two different conditions; intuitively, both were considered quite normal in the corpus in question, but in one of them the subordinate party (the one who seemed to be interactionally subordinate) was relatively talkative, and in the other one he (or she) was more reticent (dyads involving talkative and reticent subordinates are called A and B, respectively, below). The nine different contexts are as follows:

(1) *Informal everyday conversations* between friends or spouses on everyday matters of mutual concern (Norén and Löfström 1977). One of the dyads (A) involves a young married couple talking at the dinner-table, the other one (B) two female teachers (colleagues) chatting on various topics relating to their work. Intuitively, the latter conversation was judged as slightly more coherent and cooperative than the first.

(2) *Radio call-in chat programs*. These conversations are telephone calls to a popular radio program on the Swedish network ('Ring så spelar vi' with Hasse Tellemar). Listeners are invited to phone the program host and the ensuing conversations are broadcast. They chat about everyday matters for a while, but there are two other recurrent ingredients in the conversation; the listener communicates a wish for a record to be played on the program, and he also has to answer a quiz question. In both these tasks, the program host may be expected to ask a number of questions. Since he has the general responsibility for the progression of the talk, he may be expected to dominate in the rest of the talk as well, in spite of the fact that the program has the image of providing opportunities for casual conversation.

(3)–(4) *Doctor–patient interviews*. These examples are drawn from a corpus of doctor consultations (first visits to an open clinic) (see Aronsson and Sätterlund-Larsson 1987). An ordinary doctor's consultation may be divided up into three rather different phases; (i) the history-taking phase (in which the patient tells the doctor about his problem), (ii) the physical examination, and (iii) the decision phase (where diagnosis, treatment and/or further examinations are discussed and decided upon). Since these phases may be interactionally too different to be fruitfully analyzed as one single situation, we have here taken the history-taking and decision

phases as distinct interactions (the physical examinations are excluded here, due to their shortness). Both doctors and patients are male in the dyads exemplified here.

(5) *Court trials.* The two trials are both from the corpus of petty offence trials (on charges of fraud and larceny) analyzed by Adelswärd et al. (1987). The samples are taken from (the beginning of) the hearings with the defendants on the subject matter. The contributions by the legal professionals (the judge, the prosecutor, and the defence lawyer) have been collapsed here into one actor role. One of the defendants (A) is female.

(6) *Police interrogations.* From our corpus of police interviews (on charges of the same kinds as the trials) (Jönsson forthcoming) we have selected one involving a rather talkative, elderly man suspected of petty larceny (A), who uses the interview partially as an opportunity for telling some other human being, in this case the police officer, about his problems (the excerpt in section 5 is taken from this interview), and one featuring an adolescent boy who is accused of having stolen beer at a grocer's shop.

(7) *Dyadic language lessons.* Here the data are drawn from Gustavsson's (1988) investigation of language instruction in Swedish as a second language. Each situation involves a dyad of a 12-year-old immigrant boy (of Assyrian descent) and his female teacher. The boy has a fairly good command of Swedish, though special instruction is still considered necessary. In the excerpts used here, instruction focuses on word exercises and explication of texts read.

(8) *Adult-child discussions.* These two dyads involve the same individuals as the above-mentioned language lessons, but the parties are concerned here with a task assigned to them by the researcher. They have been asked to discuss the contents of a possible picture book which would highlight the school where they both belong. Although this task was designed so as to allow for cooperation on a more equal footing, the teacher naturally takes the lead in this situation too.

(9) *Children's discussions.* Finally, we have taken two dyads, where the same immigrant boy appears, this time with a native Swedish classmate recruited by his immigrant friend. The task is in principle the same as in the adult-child dyads, although this time the picture book would cover their common neighborhood rather than their school. Here, we should



expect a rather symmetrical interaction (though we recall that the immigrant boy has been judged — by the school — as having some defects in his mastery of Swedish). The assignment was designed to be task-oriented, although of course we expected the boys to digress now and then from the task.

From each of these 18 dialogues a sequence of approximately 100 turns was selected for IR coding. The level of intercoder agreement was checked by having one coder, who (PJ) was at the start entirely unfamiliar with the system (which had been developed by the other two authors, PL and LG), learn the coding system and then apply it to ten sequences of 100 consecutive turns randomly drawn from four different types of material (trials, language lessons, and adult-child and child-child discussions). The agreement reached on the different dialogues ranged from 68% to 81%.

Barring for the moment the obvious objection that no far-reaching generalizations can be made on the basis of a few scattered dialogue fragments, we will note some features that stand out as salient points in our sample (Table 1). First, with respect to interactional asymmetry, we note the low IR differences of the informal friendly conversations (1) and the children's discussions (9), the very great asymmetry characterizing especially court trials and (this type of) language lessons, and the moderate but still considerable dominance that the program host exerts over the call-in radio listeners. Basically, the same patterns of asymmetry vs. symmetry emerge, if we look at the incidence of expanded responses, that is, the 'classical' turn type occurring in the 'ideal dialogue' (section 6); B values are low for police interviews, court trials, and language lessons, while, as expected, they are quite high in the most informal and/or symmetrical exchanges. The converse holds for S values, the extent to which parties try to control each other by asking questions. (If data are further analyzed, we will of course find that almost all these strong, soliciting initiatives belong to the dominant, expert party.) Doctors (and, in some cases, patients) also ask questions (3), while the call-in radio listeners have rather low values (2). Partly, this difference may be due to differences in task orientation.

The F and O coefficients seem to present a split picture on this small and heterogeneous sample. Other studies (such as Gustavsson 1988) have shown, however, that they too may capture important dialogue properties. Informal small talk usually exhibits rather frequent topic changes (high F values), and we see such a tendency in the dinner conversations (1). The high F value of 4A is due to this particular patient's asking questions on a number of different concerns during the

Table 1. *Distribution of interactional and discourse space in 18 dyads*

| Dyad no. | Dyad measures: |              |    |    |    | Actor measures: |      |              |    |             |      |                     |      |
|----------|----------------|--------------|----|----|----|-----------------|------|--------------|----|-------------|------|---------------------|------|
|          | IR diff        | Coefficients |    |    |    | IR indices      |      | Quantity (%) |    | Turn length |      | Information density |      |
|          |                | B            | S  | F  | O  | X               | Y    | X            | Y  | X           | Y    | X                   | Y    |
| 1A       | 0.21           | 54           | 10 | 10 | 7  | 3.12            | 2.91 | 42           | 58 | 12.2        | 16.3 | 19.4                | 19.5 |
| 1B       | 0.07           | 49           | 13 | 15 | 8  | 3.10            | 3.03 | 49           | 51 | 29.9        | 31.8 | 20.5                | 20.6 |
| 2A       | 0.59           | 33           | 18 | 7  | 12 | 3.21            | 2.62 | 51           | 49 | 7.5         | 7.2  | 23.7                | 20.7 |
| 2B       | 0.84           | 33           | 10 | 9  | 6  | 3.05            | 2.21 | 63           | 37 | 9.5         | 5.5  | 26.3                | 17.9 |
| 3A       | 0.89           | 36           | 29 | 10 | 3  | 3.66            | 2.77 | 20           | 80 | 7.8         | 31.9 | 21.1                | 19.5 |
| 3B       | 1.35           | 20           | 33 | 9  | 7  | 3.76            | 2.41 | 52           | 48 | 11.0        | 9.9  | 20.5                | 22.2 |
| 4A       | -0.08          | 39           | 22 | 20 | 0  | 3.04            | 3.12 | 42           | 58 | 18.0        | 24.3 | 21.6                | 22.3 |
| 4B       | 1.48           | 15           | 26 | 6  | 3  | 3.56            | 2.08 | 92           | 8  | 30.4        | 3.1  | 19.6                | 22.0 |
| 5A       | 1.34           | 29           | 37 | 12 | 3  | 3.93            | 2.59 | 41           | 59 | 14.3        | 21.5 | 21.8                | 18.9 |
| 5B       | 1.97           | 6            | 42 | 10 | 2  | 4.01            | 2.04 | 67           | 33 | 10.4        | 5.5  | 28.5                | 18.5 |
| 6A       | 0.91           | 29           | 26 | 12 | 11 | 3.58            | 2.67 | 36           | 64 | 21.3        | 39.8 | 18.2                | 14.8 |
| 6B       | 1.79           | 15           | 43 | 6  | 6  | 3.94            | 2.15 | 62           | 38 | 14.6        | 9.3  | 17.4                | 21.1 |
| 7A       | 1.66           | 11           | 39 | 11 | 17 | 3.80            | 2.14 | 71           | 29 | 13.6        | 6.2  | 19.1                | 28.2 |
| 7B       | 1.67           | 13           | 31 | 3  | 9  | 3.73            | 2.06 | 78           | 22 | 12.1        | 3.7  | 19.1                | 28.7 |
| 8A       | 1.04           | 25           | 31 | 6  | 18 | 3.45            | 2.41 | 76           | 24 | 15.7        | 5.1  | 15.0                | 24.7 |
| 8B       | 1.09           | 21           | 22 | 3  | 8  | 3.33            | 2.24 | 72           | 28 | 11.9        | 4.8  | 14.0                | 24.1 |
| 9A       | -0.23          | 35           | 18 | 13 | 15 | 2.89            | 3.12 | 52           | 48 | 6.5         | 6.5  | 14.9                | 21.6 |
| 9B       | 0.38           | 47           | 9  | 4  | 11 | 3.03            | 2.65 | 57           | 43 | 6.3         | 4.8  | 23.5                | 29.6 |

*Legend:* (1) Everyday conversations; (2) radio call-in chat programs; (3) doctor-patient interviews, history taking; (4) doctor-patient interviews, decision phase; (5) court trials; (6) police interrogations; (7) dyadic language lessons; (8) adult-child discussions; (9) children's discussions.

For each situation, X and Y refer to the dominant and subordinate parties, respectively.

Coefficients: B=balance, S=solicitation, F=fragmentation, O=obliqueness.

Turn length is given in number of running words per turn.

Information density is measured in terms of new content words in percentage of all running words (see section 8.3).

discussion and decision phase. Rather high obliqueness values in the encounters involving an immigrant child are probably due to hitches and self-linking ('talking past each other'). In this context, we will also let the data on turn length and information density speak for themselves (see however, section 8.3 below). Note, however, that the immigrant boy's contributions are short but dense, whereas teachers seem to dilute their speech a great deal (low information density for X in [7] and [8]).

## 8. On dominance in social situations

### 8.1. Social situations

The situations used as examples in this paper represent a spectrum of communicative activities ranging from symmetrical exchanges to very asymmetrical interactions. The latter all concern types of institutional discourse, in which an expert or a representative of a societal institution (physician, legal professional, teacher) interacts with a lay person (patient, client, pupil). The interaction is sustained largely by questions from the expert. We suggest that IR differences, among other measures (see section 8.2), may be used as an indicator of interactional asymmetry. Tentatively, we may display differences between the social activities in question as in Figure 5.

Of course, the preliminary results reported here represent only a few types of social encounters. Moreover, only in a few cases so far have we carried out analyses on large homogeneous corpuses (Adelswärd et al. 1987; Gustavsson 1988; Jönsson forthcoming). (Of course, the two samples from each type given in Table 1 are just examples given for illustrative purposes.) Yet we would venture to suggest that results

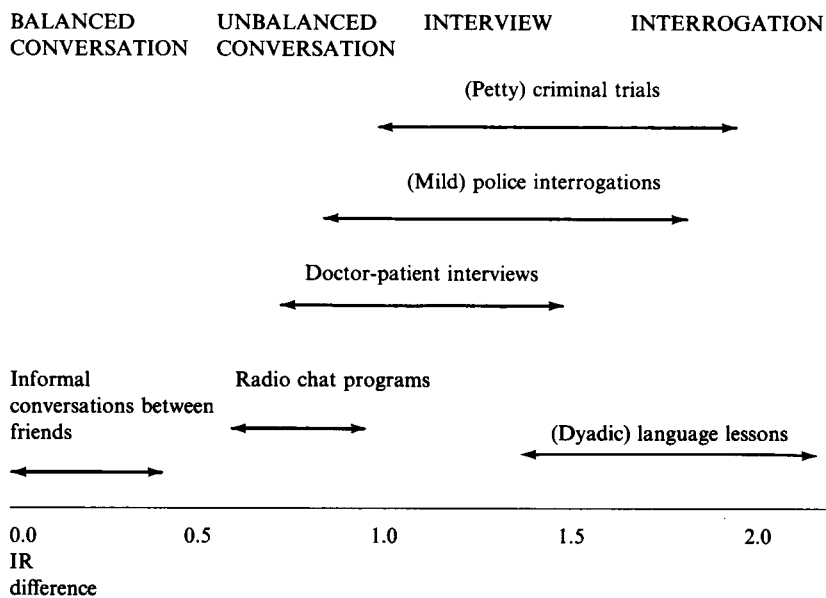


Figure 5. *Interactional asymmetry of some social-situation types*

indicate a certain stability in the interactional patterns of each activity type and that our method may contribute to characterizing important differences between social situations. Even the limited data presented in Table 1 demonstrate that there are interesting and characteristic differences between activity types as well as some common traits between the two example dyads for each activity type.

It is important to note, however, that we would make no claims except for the *particular types* of court trials, police interrogations, etc., sketched above (and more extensively described in the references given there). Moreover, these encounters often involve a number of characteristically different *phases*, whose interactional patterns may vary. For example, the kind of social encounter that we label 'police interrogation' usually consists of several phases, some of which do not belong to the main communicative events, that is, the interview on the subject matter. Even the interview (interrogation) itself may be analyzed as a sequence of different phases (Jönsson forthcoming); in at least some interrogations, there is first a looser phase, in which the suspect tells his story rather freely (preparatory interview); then comes the main interview, in which the police officer takes notes or talks into a tape recorder; and after this there is a third phase, in which the preliminary report is gone through and the officer asks a few supplementary questions or at least asks for confirmations. These phases are different in terms of IR measures; for example, (6A), the case from which our first excerpt was taken, exhibits these three phases with the following IR differences: preparatory interview: 0.48, main interview: 1.00, supplementary interview: 1.36; that is, as is often the case in our police interviews, the suspect is progressively more dominated as the interview moves from the first through the third phase of the interrogation proper. (In the social chat that follows, however, both parties are communicating on an equal basis, at least in terms of initiatives and responses: the IR difference is  $-0.02$ !)

The problem of differences between phases has already been brought up, in connection with the doctor-patient interviews. In these situations, the decision phases seem to be particularly interesting. We chose to include a case (4A) in which the patient takes over, asks questions on different issues (we noted the high F-value, which indicates many topic shifts), and makes the doctor answer these questions; thus, the doctor is actually used as an expert. By contrast, in 4B the patient becomes extremely passive in the discussion phase and the doctor starts to talk in long, monological turns; he more or less gives a lecture on diagnosis and suitable treatments. (As for differences between 4A and 4B, note especially IR differences and indices, amount of speech [patients producing 58% vs. 8% of the talk in the dyads] and turn lengths.) Incidentally, there is

reason to suspect that this kind (4B) of submissive conduct on the part of patients is more typical (Aronsson and Sätterlund-Larsson 1987).

In empirical work with IR measures we have been able to characterize differences between divergent activity types (see Figure 5), differences between phases or activities within the same superordinate activity types (phases in police interrogations: Jönsson forthcoming; different types of teaching activities in language lessons: Gustavsson 1988), and variation in interactional style within a homogeneous data corpus (Adelswärd et al. 1987 show — in a corpus of Swedish criminal trials — that defendants who had committed relatively more-serious vs. less-serious offences were treated differently in the interaction as analyzed in IR measures).

## 8.2. *Correlations between measures of interaction*

Data such as those in Table 1 may be used for further analyses of various kinds. Some of the indicators (B, S, F, etc.) are evidently closely correlated with the asymmetry level as measured by IR differences. (Note, however, that the correlations to follow are contingent facts rather than automatic consequences of the coding system. See Linell and Gustavsson 1987.) The B-value, the incidence of expanded responses, is closely correlated with IR difference level (Spearman's rank-order correlation:  $-0.95$ ).<sup>2</sup> The solicitation coefficient S, which reflects the incidence of questions in the interaction, is also rather strongly correlated with the IR difference (Spearman: 0.78). This means that in order to assess the level of interactional asymmetry (except perhaps for the most symmetrical situations) one might just count the number of expanded responses OR the number of real questions. However, such an approach would miss quite a lot of information that is included in our IR profiles.

When it comes to the F and O values for dyads, we find that they are unrelated to IR differences, that is, they seem to have nothing to do with the interactional asymmetry of the activities (Spearman: 0.43 and 0.12, respectively). In other words, fragmentation and obliqueness are independent properties of dialogues. (On the other hand, high F and O values on the part of one individual actor, the dominant one, are indeed correlated with the IR difference.) It is also significant to note that obliqueness (the O value; see section 6) has nothing to do with repairs, if we use the incidence of deferring questions (requests for confirmation or clarification; category [p] of Appendix) as an indicator of the latter (Spearman: 0.16). Obliqueness is probably related to competition (for example, arguments with frequent quarrels about the form and relevance of one's interlocutor's contributions [feature :] and numerous examples of neglect-

ing the interlocutor [feature =]), whereas deferring questions may occur in both cooperative and competitive interactions.

### 8.3. *Dimensions of dominance*

We will now return to the three dimensions proposed in the introduction. We have calculated both verbal activity (number of words spoken) and content introduction for both parties in all the dyads exemplified above. In Table 1 data are given as percentages of the dyad's totals of running words spoken (quantitative dominance) and locally new content words (topical dominance). What should be considered 'new' information in a given discourse is of course an extremely complex issue (see for example Källgren 1979). We simply chose to calculate the number of new content words (nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs derived from these major categories) introduced by the respective parties. A content word was considered 'new' if it had not occurred earlier in the local context, that is, within the same turn or in the immediately preceding turn by the interlocutor and the speaker himself. Note that such a word, or if you prefer, the corresponding concept, may have occurred earlier on in the discourse; such reactivated words (concepts) were also considered to be locally 'new'.

Table 1 shows that in asymmetrical situations there seems to be a relation between the dyad's IR difference and the subordinate party's amount of speech (as measured by his proportion of the dyad's total amount of speech or by the parties' turn lengths). In many interviews and interrogations, subordinates may compensate for some of the professional's interactional dominance by volunteering a lot of information in their answers (expanded responses). In fact, in the court trials this is the defendant's only really important chance to gain some discourse space (Adelswärd et al. 1987). However, if we look at all the dyads in their entirety, there is no significant correlation between IR difference and the distribution of talk (quantity) or content introduction (Spearman's rank-order correlations on the data in Table 1: 0.52 and 0.43, respectively). This is an important point; there is no necessary or general connection between interactional control and amount of speech. On the contrary, there is sometimes a positive correlation (for example, teachers, who are clearly in interactional control of the teaching activities, are known to talk much more than students too; see the data on dyads 7A–7B and 8A–8B), and sometimes a negative correlation (as in many interviews and interrogations; see for example, dyads 5A and 6A).

If, on the other hand, we compare quantitative dominance and topical

dominance, as defined and measured in the ways described here, we find a very high correlation (Spearman on the data in Table 1: 0.88). This indicates that there may be relatively little point in calculating content introduction separately. A more sophisticated way of measuring content introduction would perhaps yield different results, for example, if we just count such topics which, after having been introduced, stay in the discourse as sustained topics.

#### 8.4 *Dominance and power*

The various dimensions of dominance in interaction (such as quantitative, topical, and interactional dominance) must not be taken to be straightforward reflections of power relations between the actors involved. Even if some researchers have tried to approach the complex issue of power by looking solely at what is made manifest in behavior, we would prefer to think of power in terms of underlying (multidimensional) structures regulating interpersonal relations or as POTENTIALS to influence other people's behavior and thinking, coupled with beliefs and expectations (on the part of others) that these potentials may be used.

Power is not always expressed in dominant behavior. For example, in some situations and social relations, activity and talkativeness on the part of a given actor may be a sign of relative powerlessness. The really powerful persons often need not take strong (or frequent) measures to maintain their position, although they do, of course, tend to perform the (few?) strategically important actions. Also, we must not forget that BOTH parties in almost all interactions have SOME power, though the power of the two often has different scopes and manifestations. A subordinate person (such as a client) may be seen to exert an influence on the dialogue by means of resistance, for example by providing only minimal or insufficient responses which — in turn — may force his superordinate interlocutor (such as the professional responsible for the encounter) to take stronger measures in the interaction. If so, interactionally strong moves may indicate a sort of powerlessness, even despair. In general, power is exercised reciprocally and intercuratively (see for example Wrong 1968).

Nonetheless, interactional dominance — as discussed in this paper — is one aspect of the manifestation of power relations in dyadic communication, although our IR profiles and derived measures have no invariant interpretation. If we want to understand what our figures mean in a wider (micro-to-macro) context, we must relate them to our ethnographic knowledge of the surrounding cultures (for example, Cicourel 1981). The

general methodological point is that dominance patterns in our — quantitatively based — sense must be established in their own right and then related to a more comprehensive theory of social situations (including models of underlying power structures).

## 9. Concluding remarks

Dyadic communication is a collective production. Interlocutors are mutually dependent in many ways, and the various utterances are individual products only in the trivial sense that the words are said by one or the other interlocutor. The conversational contributions are both dependent on the context and renewing it; they are both responding to what came before and initiating that which will come after. Therefore, dyads and activities as wholes are often more important than the individual actors. To some extent, a social activity has its specific stable characteristics in terms of, for example, dominance and coherence, and the individual actors, who happen to stage the concrete instantiations, will only exert a restricted influence on the format of the actually resulting interaction.

A great many empirical dialogue studies, especially those which are quantitatively oriented, focus on the individual actors and their achievements rather than on the situations and dyads as such. Codings are often based on an atomistic view of dialogue, categorizing individual speech acts rather than larger activities or games. We argue that initiative–response analysis represents a partial remedy to this situation. Categorization is here crucially based on the local context, the pointers ‘backward’ and ‘forward’ constituting responses and initiatives. Nevertheless, since it is local in nature, it can of course hardly avoid being relatively atomistic after all. However, once whole dialogues have been coded, there are numerous ways of doing sequential analyses, investigating the structure, occurrences, and functions of larger chunks in different contexts. On the other hand, a quantitative account is just part of a comprehensive dialogue analysis. It may deal with, among other things, levels of dominance, control, and coherence in terms of IR indices and interaction coefficients. However, the same configurations may arise in different ways in different situations. For example, high degrees of fragmentation (F value) or solicitation (S value) must be interpreted in different ways, if we are faced with a task-oriented activity or with a casual talk situation where phatic communication is predominant. Therefore, as we pointed out earlier, if we wish to understand the social meaning of our interaction measures, we must return to the data and look at what was presumably intended and expected and what actually happened in the particular social



situations and communicative activities. In this way, IR analysis may also provide the point of departure for a pertinent qualitative analysis taking into account more of the ecology of communication.

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### Appendix: The IR category system

Each turn type represents a particular combination of initiative and response features. For each category, its interactional weight in terms of a six-point scoring system is given in parentheses after the category symbol. (For more complete definitions, see Linell and Gustavsson 1987).

a.  $<>$  (4): turn with clear properties of both response and initiative, the retroactive part (response aspect) being linked to the main content of the interlocutor's preceding (adjacent) turn and the proactive part (initiating aspect) involving a strong initiative.

b.  $<\wedge$  (3): same as (a) except that the proactive part is a weak initiative.

By 'strong initiative' we will mean that the speaker explicitly solicits or demands a response from the interlocutor. By 'weak initiative' we mean that the speaker asserts something or submits a proposal for comment without explicitly soliciting or demanding (but often inviting) a response from the interlocutor. Below, we will, where appropriate, present categories in pairs of strong and weak initiatives (symbols ending in  $>$  and  $\wedge$ , respectively).

(a) and (b) are expanded responses, in which the speaker gives something more than is minimally required or requested by the interlocutor's preceding initiative (compare 'minimal response', [c] below). However, (b) is the *prototypical expanded response*, since it does not in itself involve any strong initiative.

c.  $>$  (6) and d.  $\wedge$  (5): turn involving an initiative (strong and weak, respectively) on a new and independent topic ('free initiative' with no retroactive part).

e.  $<$  (2): turn linked to the interlocutor's adjacent turn and involving no initiating properties (*minimal response*). The turn is treated *by the interlocutor as satisfying* the demands of (being conditionally relevant to) his own preceding initiative (*adequate response*).

The symbol  $<$  appears in other category labels as well. It stands for the unmarked type of response link (local, focal, adequate other-linking).

f.  $\cdots>$  (5) and g.  $\cdots\wedge$  (4): *non-locally* linked initiative: turn with clear properties of both response and initiative, the retroactive part being linked to a specific nonadjacent turn further back in the preceding dialogue.

h.  $\cdots<$  (3): turn linked to, and treated as satisfying the demands of, a nonadjacent initiative and involving no initiating properties.

(h) is a *nonlocal minimal response* to a nonadjacent initiative, for example to a question posed at an earlier point in the dialogue.

i.  $= >$  (4) and j.  $= \wedge$  (3): turn *linked to the speaker's own preceding turn* (rather than the interlocutor's turn). The turn is either merely a repetition or simple reformulation of the speaker's preceding initiative or (in case the interlocutor has only given or tried to give a minimal response) a continuation of this preceding turn. (i) typically occurs when the interlocutor's interjacent utterance is not accepted as an adequate response.

k.  $< = >$  (5) and l.  $< = \wedge$  (4): turn with clear properties of both response and initiative, the retroactive part being linked to the speaker's own preceding turn and *clearly ignoring an interjacent initiative* (strong or weak) by the interlocutor.

(k) and (l) are *ostentatiously self-linking* initiatives.

m.  $: >$  (5) and n.  $: \wedge$  (4): turn with clear properties of both response and initiative, the retroactive part being non-focally linked to the interlocutor's preceding turn.

A *nonfocal* link usually involves remarking on, or challenging, the form and/or function of the interlocutor's preceding turn (compare metacommunicative conversational contributions).

o.  $-$  (1): turn linked to, or at least possibly linked to, the interlocutor's adjacent turn and involving no initiating properties. The turn is treated by the interlocutor as NOT satisfying the demands of, or as not even conditionally relevant to, his own preceding initiative. (o) is a (minimal and) *inadequate response*.

p.  $- >$  (2): turn linked to the interlocutor's preceding turn but deferring rather than in itself providing the adequate response to that turn. This type of contribution involves a very weak initiative, subordinated to the interlocutor's preceding turn, and has no further initiating properties of its own.

(p) is a *deferring question* asking for repetition, confirmation, or simple clarification of something contained in the interlocutor's preceding turn.

q.  $(>$  (3): turn lacking substantial content but involving an initiative (such as a proposal) to open a new topic or subgame (the topic to be introduced in the speaker's next turn).

(q) is a preparatory initiative or *preinitiative*.

r.  $<$  (3): turn closing, or proposing to close, the current topic or subgame, and involving no further new initiatives. (The closing aspect has to be clearly marked; otherwise, an unmarked coding,  $<$  or  $< \wedge$ , must be used).

## Notes

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- 1. Stubbs (1983) includes 'initiation' and 'response' in his theoretical apparatus. However, he sees them as moves within exchanges, rather than as (potential) aspects of each contribution. There are similar terms in the works of linguists of other theoretical persuasions too. One example is Longacre (1983), who employs the term 'initiating utterance' and 'resolving utterance'.

2. Linell and Gustavsson (1987) ranked 26 dyads from different activities independently on a number of IR dimensions: IR difference, B-value, S-value, F-value, O-value, R-value (all values for the dyads as wholes). Spearman's rank-order correlations were calculated for these rankings taken pairwise.

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