

Claiming and attributing (dis)taste: Issues of sharing a meal as a competent member

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ABSTRACT

Eating together is a primordial social activity with robust normative expectations. This study examines a series of instances where appreciative elements about the food during a shared meal are treated as noticeably absent and where some of the participants are attributed to exhibit a negative stance towards the food, which furthermore is used as a resource for engaging in membership categorization.

Situated within the cognate approaches of ethnomethodology and conversation analysis, this study draws on video recordings of an integrated language and cooking workshop organized for immigrants in the French speaking part of Switzerland. The participants include a French teacher, two chefs and five immigrant women with various native languages. The detailed sequential, multimodal analysis details and explains how the participants treat gustatory features of eating as publicly available and accountable, and how the absence of evaluative elements contribute to the situated achievement of a plural “you” as a group that does not like “this” food. Ascribing (dis)taste for food on behalf of others, occasions accounts for just *how* to eat, showing the strong normative features that make up to the recognizability of sharing a meal as a competent member – including how sensorial experiences are evaluated and expressed. In this way, this study contributes to our understanding of the (non)ordinary features of eating together as a situated, embodied achievement and social institution that is built in and through interaction.

1. Introduction

Cooking and eating together is a primordial social activity that is intrinsic to the concept of culture and that we engage in, in different forms, during our whole life. The norms that make up to the intelligibility of social activities such as sharing a meal are taken for granted and participants to social activities reflexively establish the context and their mutual understanding of it through what they are doing and how (Garfinkel, 1967). As an “ordinary” person we know how to behave in our everyday life to pass by as a competent social member of a given community at a given point in time and we presume that others also do so (Sacks, 1985). This poses a practical problem when joining a new social context, let alone a new linguistic community, as the seen but unnoticed features of the everyday practices that make up to the fabric of social routine are not known and inevitably noticed when missing.

There is a substantial body of research focusing on the relationship between food practices and cultural identity (i.a. Fischler, 1988; Hennion, 2007; Reddy & van Dam, 2020), including how food practices are used to preserve cultural identity in the context of migration (Bailey,

2017; Beoku-Betts, 1995; Beoku; Collins, 2008), but also as part of dietary acculturation (Colby et al., 2009), which comprises challenges of *how* to eat together with others (Terragni et al., 2014). This line of research is primarily based on ethnographic observations and interviews, providing an important insight into the fundamental issues that challenges with food practices represents in the daily life for migrants, which has consequences for social life but also public health (Kanter & Gittelsohn, 2020). In this study, I aim to contribute to our understanding of just *what* it is in food related experiences that occasions post hoc accounts of them as difficult. Drawing on the cognate approaches of Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis (Garfinkel, 1967; Sacks, 1992; Schegloff, 1992), which focuses on the mundane aspects of everyday life and peoples’ situated work of (re)construing commonplace practices as a members’ achievement, this study explores a series of instances during a shared meal, where the participants orient to the relevance of producing appreciative elements about the food as constitutive of (not) being a “member” (Garfinkel, 1967). In this way, I intend to specify how participants to interaction reflexively establish *how to do eating together* as pertaining to being “ordinary”, as (food) culture is talked into being.

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Interactionist research on food talk and eating together as a social, situated accomplishment has shown that its robust normative expectations are observable in and produced by its sequential organization – including in and through the production and organization of food assessments (Gauthier, 2024; Mondada, 2009; Wiggins, 2002, 2004, 2013; Wiggins & Keevallik, 2021a; Wiggins & Laurier, 2020). This study builds on and contributes to this line of research by focusing on how the intelligibility and acceptability of displaying to (not) appreciate the food during a shared meal is problematized and negotiated. Previous research has furthermore shown that conversational activities as an integrated setting for second language acquisition in the form of language cafés (Kunitz & Jansson, 2021; Kunitz & Majlesi, 2022) is a perspicuous setting for revealing how linguistic and cultural identities are locally established in and through social interaction dedicated to language learning as significant for integration. Drawing on video recordings of a shared meal that is the outcome of an integrated language and cooking class for immigrant women, this study aims to explain the public appreciation of the food as a morally laden expectation that is intrinsic to the members' recognition and treatment of each other as (in) competent members of a culture (see Meyer (2019) for a discussion of culture in an ethnomethodological sense).

In what follows, I will detail how some of the participants treat eating together as a sensorial experience which is assessable, and which ought to be assessed, and discuss the observation that food talk can be used as a resource for engaging in membership categorization by way of treating others as 'ordinary' or 'competent', versus 'strange(rs)' or 'incompetent'. Furthermore, I will argue that the way in which the participants orient to (not) evaluating the food positively in a conditionally relevant sequential environment is indicative of and reflexively establishes the normative organization of how to do eating together but also asymmetrical relationships among the participants.

1.1. Eating and sensoriality

Sensorial experiences have a history of being understood and treated as physiological and psychologically laden subjective events. Within EMCA, multimodal sequential research of naturally occurring, social activities have shown the relevance of sensorial practices for organizing meaningful social action in situated, embodied ways. More specifically, research on tasting as an embodied action, embedded within social activities, has shown that its intelligibility relies on multimodally accomplished practices which makes it possible to reconstruct the socially intelligible aspect of multisensoriality (Mondada, 2018b; 2021a). Furthermore, participants to social activities treat sensorial experiences as publicly available and socially accountable conduct that is sequentially and normatively ordered and seen as connected to emotions (Keevallik et al., 2023).

People organize and understand eating and tasting as distinct (social) activities (Mondada, 2023) and much research on the publicly available and socially accomplished sensorial aspects of taste has focused on tasting activities (Fele, 2019; Liberman, 2013; Mondada, 2018b; 2021b). Food talk emerging during cooking and eating is nevertheless a perspicuous setting for examining the normative aspect of "taste" as a social accomplishment (Gauthier, 2024; Mondada, 2023; Wiggins, 2004; Wiggins & Laurier, 2020). Research within the fields of anthropology, ethnography and phenomenology has moreover shown that cooking and eating, as a sensorial experience, incorporates cultural identities (Ochs et al., 1996) and cultural memories in transnational contexts (Brown et al., 2010; Choo, 2004; Collins, 2008). The present study contributes to this vast body of research by examining how cooking and eating together is arranged for migrants to be introduced to (local) food practices and how the sensorial aspect of eating is constitutive of the social norms that embody culture as a situated achievement.

1.2. Assessing food and membership categories

Evaluative practices are ubiquitous interactional resources for sharing our experiences of the lived world, which has been extensively studied within ethnomethodology and conversation analysis (Gauthier, 2024; Goodwin & Goodwin, 1987; Lindström & Mondada, 2009; Pomerantz, 1978, 1984; Sacks, 1972). Therefore, it is not surprising that an important part of research on food-related interactions also concern assessments, where they have been shown to emerge in specific sequential environments (Gauthier, 2024; Mondada, 2009; Sneijder & te Molder, 2006; Wiggins, 2013) and used as a resource to construe, negotiate and challenge interactional and cultural identities.

For example, Gauthier (2024) shows that evaluative practices concerning food indicate and establish the participants' presumptions regarding peoples' normative and cultural understanding of food and food-related practices. He demonstrates how evaluative practices can occasion members' situated ascription of membership categories such as "pregnant" or religiously laden categories to account for diverging expressions of taste. Assessing practices are also a recurrent and constitutive feature of tasting activities where there is an observable distribution among the parties concerning who engage in what kind of evaluative practices by virtue of their interactional roles within the activity (Fele, 2019; Mondada, 2018b; 2021b; 2023). Regarding assessment formats in food talk, "subjectively" or "objectively" formulated assessments orient to claims of epistemic authority to the assessable (Wiggins and Potter 2003) and looking at challenges of evaluative elements, Wiggins (2004) shows that participants treat assessments as justified depending on whether the speaker has tasted the food that they evaluate – or not (see also Gauthier, 2024; Mondada, 2023).

Most research on food assessments and food-talk has focused on family interactions and has shown how membership categories such as "parent", "child" or "infant" are consequential for who does what kind of actions and how these actions are done, (Wiggins, 2014, 2019; Wiggins & Keevallik, 2021a, 2021b), including non-lexical vocalizations such as gustatory "mmms" (Wiggins, 2002) or "eugh", showing disgust (Wiggins, 2013, see also Wiggins & Keevallik, 2023). In the context of family interactions, food assessments are also recurrently heard as relating to issues of knowledge, experience, and entitlement in interaction. For example, Keel (2016) and Wiggins (2023) show that food assessments are integral to the socialization of small children and Bova and Arcidiacono (2014) show how both qualitative and quantitative aspects of food can be used as argumentative strategies in the context of food related disputes between children and their parents. Wiggins and Laurier (2020) moreover demonstrate how food talk and the situated use and organization of assessments during eating together is critical for doing being a family and argue that displaying knowledge of a member's "taste" for food is crucial for the situated construction of family membership.

Research on meal-time interactions within the fields of sociology, anthropology and linguistics has taken an interest in how dinner-talk and food-talk is indicative of and reflexively produces cultural identities within family structures (Blum-Kulka, 1997; Ochs et al., 1996; Ochs & Shohet, 2006). Ochs and Shohet formulate mealtimes as "cultural sites for the socialization of persons into competent and appropriate members of society" (2006:35) and write that the mealtime "facilitates the social construction of knowledge and moral perspectives through communicative practices that characterize these occasions" (2006:36). Whereas there is a vast literature on dietary acculturation and how food practices relate to cultural identity, it is largely based on reported behavior and experience (Beoku-Betts, 1995; Colby et al., 2009; Collins, 2008; Fischler, 1988; Reddy & van Dam, 2020; Terragni et al., 2014) and the way in which food talk is used as a resource for construing discrete categorizations of membership in and through interaction outside the family institution remains understudied. However, Ochs and Shohet

argue that apprenticeship and language socialization, being central to the socialization of eating together, also pertain to other “novice” categories than children and that “[...] cultural knowledge and practices associated with mealtimes are recreated and altered through socially and experientially asymmetrical relationships.” (2006:36). This study aims to contribute to fill this gap in the literature, by looking at how participants to an integrated language and cooking class with the objective to facilitate cultural integration and language learning are oriented to as a “novice” category regarding how to do eating together as a social activity that is talked into being.

2. Data and methodological specifications

2.1. The setting

The data sample presented in this study includes video recordings of an integrated language course and cooking class in the French speaking part of Switzerland, which was organized within the framework of an educative center focusing on language acquisition, integration, and exchanges between Swiss and immigrant women. The research team was granted access to the workshop through the organizers and informed written consent about the study and the scientific use of the video recordings was obtained from all participants, including the consent to publish images. The names of all participants have been changed to pseudonyms in accordance with the informed consent and the faces have been masked.

The participants include five immigrant women, one French teacher and two chefs. Whereas the immigrant women meet the French teacher several times, they do not know the chefs who volunteer specifically for the cooking class. In what follows, I will refer to the assembly of the attending persons as “participants” and to the attendees to the class as “novices” in the sense of learners of the French language and, in this situation, also novices with regard to the local food culture. The categorial choices of “teacher”, “chefs” and “novices” partly draws on the organizers’ description of the cooking class prior to the recorded event. They are however primarily grounded in the data internal features that are observable and reflexively established in and through the interaction. As Schegloff points out, “[...] actual membership in a category is not a sufficient basis or grounds for using it to categorize someone” (Schegloff, 2007a:474). Rather, the analytical task is to identify and lay bare the sequentially organized practices that social actors deploy to establish the relevance of emerging membership categories in and through the interaction.

The organizers of the class described the novices’ level of the French language as varying, although at a beginner’s level. The event was organized so that the novices could leave their children to childcare in the same building during class, which took place between 9AM and 10.30AM. The cooking class itself was conceptualized so that the novices cooked together with the chefs and the French teacher and then ate what they had prepared during a shared meal. The focus in this paper is on the shared meal at the end of class.

The pedagogic concept behind the activity was formulated so as to provide the novices with the opportunity to do something convivial allowing them to acquire new French vocabulary, practice conversation in French, and to be integrated to the local food culture. Among the novices, Fatma, Daniat and Senait have Tigrinya as their native language, Samar has Arabic as her native language whereas the native language of Ruwanthi is not known. The native language of the chefs Aline and Aurélie and the French teacher Isabelle is French. The novices are assumed and sometimes explicitly asked to speak French although Fatma, Daniat and Senait recurrently talk Tigrinya to each other. The dish they prepare is polenta with soy cream, vegetables, and various seeds.

2.2. Methodological specifications: recordings, transcription, and analytic procedure

This study is based on a smaller data set of 2 h of multi-source audio- and video data, drawing on a corpus of about 100 h of video recordings of naturally occurring food related activities that were carried out within the Swiss National Science Foundation funded project *From multimodality to multisensoriality: Language, Body, and Sensoriality in Social Interaction* (2018–2023). The video recordings of the integrated language and cooking class were carried out with one stable video camera, three mobile video cameras, and several microphones mounted on the participants. The multimodal transcriptions of the data draw on conventions developed by Jefferson (2004) and Mondada (2018a) (see Appendix for a specification of the conventions). The multimodal transcription is not a coding but the result of analytical work, and the presentation of the transcribed episodes renders the basis for the analysis maximally transparent for peers and allows for alternative analysis and eventually countering of the results as they are presented in this study.

The participants mainly talk French and the translation into English is idiomatic to the largest extent possible. In the case that relevant grammatical features escape colloquial expressions, this is explained in the analysis. The transcription of Tigrinya is done with help from a native Eritrean who is not trained in linguistics, nor conversation analysis, and the translation is approximate.

This study is situated within the cognate fields of Ethnomethodology and Conversation analysis, seeking to reconstruct the participants understanding of how the activity they are engaged in unfolds, in and through natural language, and as a sequentially organized phenomenon (Garfinkel, 1967; Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970; Schegloff, 2007b). The unit of analysis within this approach constitutes sequences of action, which delimitation is defined by the participants’ manifest understanding of this as a relevant unit of analysis (Sacks & Schegloff, 1973).

In line with conversation analysis principles (see Sidnell, 2012; Mondada, 2018a for an overview), the recordings have been repeatedly inspected in an “unmotivated” way, resulting in the noticing of the episode that is represented as Excerpt 4 in this study. The author’s initial observation that some of the participants are held answerable of seemingly not liking the food, occasioned the search for and identification of sequential environments where the participants orient to assessable aspects of the food as interactionally relevant (cf. Mondada, 2009). The identified cases (Excerpts 1–3) which precedes and leads up to Excerpt 4 are presented and discussed in chronological order in this study, which allows for a specification of the participants’ orientation to evaluative practices as a recurrent phenomenon within a single interactional event.

3. Analysis

3.1. Offering positive assessments

Assessing food is a recurrent practice during shared meals (Wiggins, 2002, 2004; Wiggins & Potter, 2003) that is done in specific sequential environments: when food is offered, after the closing of another conversational topic and in “delicate” environments, including to (re) configure the participation framework (Mondada, 2009, see also Gauthier, 2024).

In Excerpt 1, we join the meal as the principal chef Aline, who does not eat herself due to a diet she’s on, has left the table to search for a chair. Aurélie, the other chef, assesses the food positively when Aline comes back and sits down. Concurrently with the exchange between Aurélie and Aline, the French teacher Isabelle is involved in an exchange with Ruwanthi and Samar about when children usually eat during the day, whereas Fatma, Daniat and Senait are eating and exchanges some talk in Tigrinya. Aurélie, Senait, Daniat, Fatma and Samar started eating about 2 min earlier and Isabelle has not yet started to eat. As the participants recurrently engage in parallel talk, the talk that is subject to analysis is in **bold**.

Excerpt (1a) ATE_CUS 00.57.11

1 # (0.2)
 ali >>searches a chair->
 aur >>takes bite->
 fig #fig.1



1

2 ISA hein ta◊◊ fille [(.) elle mange le matin/ [ta] fille/
PRT you daughter (.) she eats in the morning [your] daughter

3 AUR [excuses-moi j'ai cru que j'en avais mis partout
[excuse me i though i had put everywhere

4 RUW [oui/] [yes]
 ali ->@sits down->
 aur ->◊

5 ISA oui\
yes

6 RUW (oui\) oui/
(yes) yes

7 (0.6) △ (0.4)
 aur △...->

8 AUR→ ça c'△est [su°pler°# △hein@
that it's [gre]at PRT

9 ISA [heh] [heh]
 aur Δpoints into panΔ,,,,->
 ali °....°looks to food in pan->
 ali ->@
 fig #fig.2

10 (0.2)△(0.3)
 aur ->△



2

Excerpt (1a). ATE_CUS 00.57.11

In line with previous findings on food evaluations during shared meals, Aurélie's positive assessment of the food (line 8) is produced at a point of topic closure (Mondada, 2009). Whereas her apology for not having put enough chairs is produced in overlap with Isabelle's ongoing talk with Ruwanthi (lines 2–4), the food assessment is finely coordinated with Ruwanthi's closure of the question-answer sequence (line 6) and Aline sitting down. It is thus produced as a compliment to Aline as the author of the dish (lines 4–8) at a point where it is accessible for Aline that she has tasted the food, which is relevant for being entitled to assess it (Gauthier, 2024; Wiggins, 2004). The demonstrative indexical *ça/that*, coordinated with a pointing to the food and the general positive assessment *super/great* (line 8, Fig. 2), singles out one of the three dishes in the meal, displaying to have already taste the food and her ability to appreciate it as especially good. In response, we see how Aline answers with a candidate understanding that solicits a confirmation:

Excerpt (1b) ATE_CUS 00.57.11

11 ALI	c'est bon/ is it good ali	%nods----
12 AUR	fé#[nouil poivron %Δoig[non l moi j'a* _d [ore fennel paprika oni/ion] me i love (it)	
13 FAT	[anes hade manka kqyr eye [i will change (to) a spoon	
14 ALI	[ouais] [yeah]	
15 SEN		[hm/ [hm/
ali		%nods-----
aur		Δpoints to food-----△
fig	#fig.3	
16	(0.2) °(0.1)◊(0.4)°(0.3) ali aur	°.....°looks to the novices' plates-->> ◊prepares food on fork-->>
17 FAT	[hade manka kqyr eye [will change (to) a spoon	
18 AUR	[très très bon] [very very good	
19	(0.4)	
20 AUR	avec les graines# with the seeds fig	#fig.4



Excerpt (1b). ATE_CUS 00.57.11

Aurélie aligns with Aline's request for confirmation *c'est bon/is it good* by upgrading the assessment (Pomerantz, 1984) as she names the vegetables in the dish. The syntactical construction that puts the object in first position ('fennel paprika onion') and adds the personal pronoun *moi/me* to the subjective assessment *j'adore/I love*, enhances the appreciation of the dish further (line 12, Figure 3). In explicating the assessable elements of the dish, Aurélie orients to the relevance of displaying both her prior experience with the dish and her knowledge about

its "objective" features as grounds for her appreciation (Gauthier, 2024; Hayano, 2016; Mondada, 2018b; Wiggins, 2004) while exhibiting her subjective appreciation (cf. Wiggins & Potter, 2003). Aline provides a minimal alignment in overlap as the only uptake (line 13), before turning to the novices and inspecting their plates (14, Figure 4). Aurélie on the other hand upgrades the assessment further by repeating the quantifier *très/very* and recycling the same assessment *bon/good* (line 15) with another specifying increment *avec les graines/with the grains* (line 17).

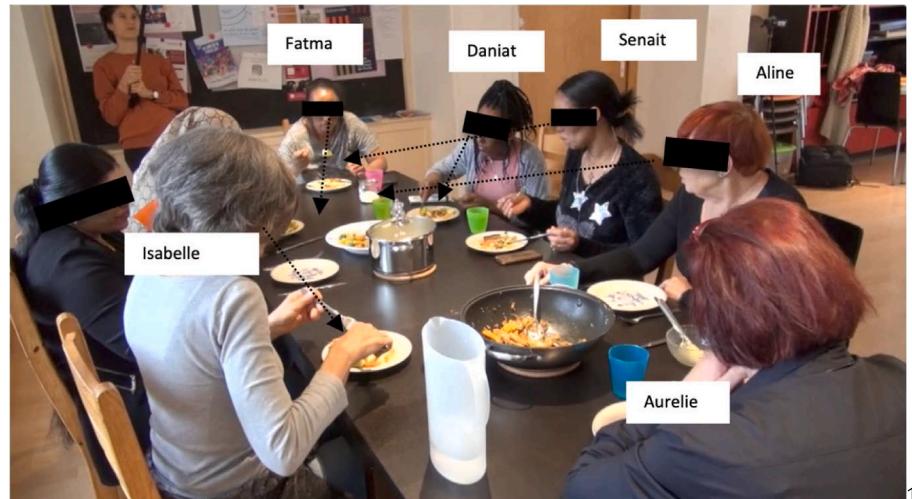
Although Aurélie's assessments are accessible for everyone to hear and produced to be so, it is only Aline who displays an understanding of being the recipient and they are manifestly heard as addressing and complimenting Aline as the person in charge of the choice of the meal, the recipe, and the cooking procedure. Aline, who does not eat herself, does not make any self-appreciative actions but assumes the ascribed responsibility for the success of the meal through her request for confirmation and minimal alignment (cf. Gauthier, 2024; Pomerantz,

1978). This is further manifested in her subsequent inspection of the others' plates (lines 14–18, Figure 4), which establishes an asymmetrical relationship where she is doing "overlooking" and "monitoring" rather than joining a shared meal that they contributed to equally.

The next positive assessment emerges just moments later and, like in Excerpt 1, after a sequence closure and a silence. We join the interaction during the just previous schism, as Fatma, Daniat and Senait talk in Tigrinya, and the teacher Isabelle takes her first bite of the food.

Excerpt (2a) ATE_CUS 00.57.26

- 1 **(0.9)∞(0.2)**
 isa ≈takes a bite-->
 dan >>looks down->>
 sen >>looks down->
- 2 FAT #[**hade manka kqyr eye**∞]
 [(I) will change (to) a spoon
 [très très bon]\
 [very very good
 isa ->∞chews-->
 fig #fig.1



- 4 **(0.4)**
- 5 AUR avec les graines
 with the seeds
- 6 **(0.9)**
- 7 SEN **ay belan dien ezen dewilene[n] zelewa**
 will they not eat the ones who stands up
- 8 DAN **ant kenkolsen do**
 shall we feed them
- 9 **(0.7)**
- 10 FAT **eselan endien ze[lewa]**
 they take image

Excerpt (2a). ATE_CUS 00.57.26.

11 SEN	[(c'est] bien) [(it's good)
12	(2.9)
13 ISA→	≈#mm c'est÷ <u>bo+n</u> al+ors\=≈ mm it's good PRT ≈ isa isa fig #fig.2
	÷...÷looks to ali÷looks to aur-> #fig.3
	
14 SEN	m÷[hm# ÷c'est bo+n m[hm it's good
15 DAN	[oui [yes
isa sen fig	÷...÷looks to sen -> ->#.....#looks at isa-> #fig.4
16 ISA	≈m#Hm/≈÷≈ isa isa sen fig
	≈nods≈ ->÷looks down to plate->> ->#looks down to plate->> #fig.5
	

Excerpt (2a). (continued).

Isabelle, who has not tasted the food before, takes her first bite and chews during the exchange in Tigrinya between Senait, Daniat and Fatma (lines 1–10). Their talk first concerns the kind of cutlery as problematic for the food (line 2), and then the oddity that the present researchers do not join the meal (lines 7–10). Although the content of this exchange is not accessible for the other participants, the subsequent silence (line 12) is heard as following a topic closure. Isabelle then offers a positive assessment of the food through a gustatory “mm” (Wiggins, 2002) and the declaration *c'est bon alors*‘/it's good PRT’, while turning to the chefs Aline and Aurélie addressing them as the principal recipients (line 13, Fig. 2; 3). This further establishes an asymmetry among the participants, treating Aline and Aurélie as responsible for the food and relevant to show appreciation to – as opposed to treating the cooking as

a joint endeavor.

After Isabelle's positive assessment, Senait and Daniat affiliate with her – Senait through a repeat of Isabelle's assessment (line 14) and Daniat through the alignment *oui*/‘yes’ (line 15). In difference from Aurélie and Isabelle, they do however not orient to either of the chefs: whereas Daniat keeps her gaze on the plate (Figure 4), Senait looks to Isabelle (line 14, Figure 4; 5), who reconfirms her assessment (line 16) while establishing mutual gaze with Senait (Fig. 5). In this way, the second assessments modulate the participation framework and achieve an interpersonal evaluation about the food rather than complimenting the main cooks. Furthermore, it contrasts with previous findings, showing that agreements with assessments are usually provided quickly and involve upgraded responsive second assessments (Pomerantz, 1984). The assessments prompt Aline to request a confirmation in a similar way as it was observable in Excerpt 1 b:

Excerpt (2b) ATE_CUS 00.57.26

- 17 ALI %c'est [bon/]
 it's [good/]
 18 SEN [mhm]
 ali %nods-->
 19 SEN ou~[ais/~
 ye[ah]
 20 ALI [ça [te# plaint/%
 [do you like it
 21 DAN [oui
 [yes
 dan ->....-looks to ali->
 ali ->%
 fig #fig.6
 22 DAN °oui~-[eh=heh~
 yes-[eh=heh
 23 SEN [oui (j'ai)- .hinh heh. .H:
 [yes (i've)- .hinh heh. .H:
 ali ->°looks down at plates->>
 dan ->~,~,~looks down at plates->>



6

- 24 (1.5)
 25 ISA hnf.= [.hih.hnh/hnh/]
 26 SEN [beliena eqa aynkelon
 [we can't eat (with cutlery)]
 27 DAN trch.[=hih=hih=hih
 28 ISA [hn=hn=hn=hn=hn .hihn hn.=hn.

Excerpt (2b). ATE_CUS 00.57.26

During Senait's and Dariat's affiliation with Isabelle's assessment, Aline has turned to them and solicits a further evaluation with the yes/no-interrogative *c'est bon*/‘it's good’ and by nodding, strongly projecting a positive response (line 17). The following exchange in overlap between Aline, Dariat and Senait further establishes the asymmetrical interactional relationship, as Senait and Dariat produces minimal affirmative responses and Dariat looks to Aline whereas Senait keeps her gaze on the food (lines 18; 19; 21, Fig. 6).

Furthermore, in response to Aline pursuing an elaboration of the evaluation, addressing Dariat (line 20), both Dariat and Senait repeat the confirmations and continue with laughter (lines 21; 22; 23). In this way, the novices answer the yes/no-interrogative rather than praising the food, which stands in stark contrast to the follow up assessment from Aurélie in Excerpt 1, which explicated the positive aspects of the dish in response to Aline's request for confirmation. Both Isabelle and Senait orient to the situation as delicate, as the following silence (line 24) prompts Isabelle to produce some laughter (line 25; line 28) and Senait addresses Aline's pursue of an elaborated evaluation as alluding to an eventual issue with the food in Tigrinya (line 26), which makes Dariat laugh. By stating that “we” can't eat with cutlery in Tigrinya, she exhibits an understanding of Aline as treating “their” way of eating as noticeable and even problematic, while she refutes that the issue concerns the food itself and instead refers back to Fatma's previous remark about changing to a spoon (line 2), relating the issue to practical practices for eating, that is, with a fork vs. with a spoon.

In sum, we have seen that Aline and Isabelle respectively produce positive assessments about the food after silences following topic- and sequence closing and right after having tasted the food. We have also seen that the participants orient to Aline and Aurélie as the chefs and the persons to whom it is relevant to address positive evaluations about the

food. Excerpts 1 and 2 roughly present a sequence organization where the assessment(s) in first position occasions a request for confirmation, which engenders an upgraded assessment in Excerpt 1 and minimal confirmations in Excerpt 2, which, in turn, are treated as problematic. The exchange in Tigrinya in Excerpt 2 moreover shows that Fatma, Dariat and Senait recur to Tigrinya to make comments about the immediate material and social context, establishing aspects of it as strange, while exhibiting their understanding of it amongst them – which is not accessible for the others. In this way, the language choices contribute to the asymmetry of the participation framework as a situated achievement, which is further established as pertaining to food practices and how to do eating as a practical and social activity.

In the next excerpt, we will see that Aline, who is the main cook and who does not eat herself, orients to the next sequentially relevant slot for evaluating the food by assessing it herself.

3.2. Orienting to a sequential environment as a relevant slot for making a positive assessment

Following Excerpts 1 and 2, Aline engages in describing various aspects of the dish, including the use of seeds in food and its positive aspects for health, the importance of eating food with different colors to stay well during winter, and the possibility to cook the dish with all kinds of vegetables. In general, Aline has been talking and the others listening, sometimes affiliating with her, or displaying reciprocity. We join the interaction again at the next topic closure, as a longer silence is progressively established and Aline orients to the relevance of producing a positive assessment.

Excerpt (3) ATE_CUS 00.59.36



- 3** **(2.1)** ∞ **(2.1) # (0.4)** ∞ **(4.9)**
ali - \Rightarrow looks to isa and aur \Rightarrow looks at the plates and the food->
fig #fig.2



- 4 ALI** A:h__
dan → looks to aline and aurélie->>

5 (0.6)

- 6 ALI ça \$m

- it makes me- it makes craving hen (.) ha=nA:n.
sen \$smiles-->
sen +looks to ali-->
dan +smiles-->

- 7 AUR aHa# hah hah hah ha .H
fig #fig.3

8 (0.7)



Excerpt (3). ATE_CUS 00.59.36

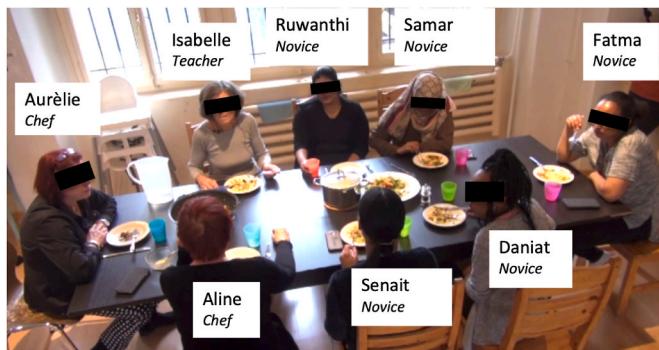


Image 1. Participants.

Aline's elaborated explanation of the dish is addressed to the novices and finishes with a possible ascription of dislike, as Aline closes it with potential issues on behalf of the novices through the negative formulation and explicit second person plural pronoun *vous*/‘you’, while keeping her gaze and body postures oriented to them (lines 1–2, Fig. 1). During the subsequent and increasingly long silence (3), the ensemble of the participants treats the topic as closed, including Aline, who provides a possibility to modify the participation framework by turning to Isabelle and her colleague Aurélie (line 3, Fig. 2).

As Aline eventually takes the turn again, she orients to the lengthy silence as a sequentially relevant slot for making a positive assessment of the food by offering one herself, according to her current possibilities in terms of access to the food. After the vocalization *ah*, which is produced with a falling intonation and is referentially vague (line 4), and which does not prompt any uptake (line 5), she declares that the indexical *ça*/‘it’ (hearable as referring to the food) makes her want to eat (line 6). The cut-off and following self-repair, repeating the initiated turn, makes the

previous *ah* hearable as having a longing or wishful expression, which retrospectively contributes to building a joke, which is consolidated through the turn-final laughter and affiliated with as such by the others who smiles and laughs with her (lines 6–7, Fig. 3). The laughable element draws on her previous claim that she is not “allowed” to eat due to the diet she is following, which, nevertheless, allows her to evaluate the food as desirable – virtually through its visible and eventually nutritious and gustatory features that she has just described.

This shows that evaluative food talk is organized as a multi-sensorial practice in the sense that participants draw on the perceptual resources they have at their disposal and display that kind of access to the assessable as a resource for producing assessments. Moreover, the excerpt further indicates that progressively elongated silences after topic closures are heard as a sequentially relevant place for producing (positive) evaluative food talk. We also see that the second person plural *vous*/‘you’ is continuously used to address the novices as novices to the dish and, by implication, local food practices.

3.3. Orienting to an assessment as noticeably missing by ascribing distaste

In Excerpts 1 and 2 we saw that Aurélie and Isabelle respectively and successively assessed the food positively after having tasted the food and after a silence following a topic closure. In Excerpt 3, we saw that Aline self-selected and assessed the food according to her current access to it at the next sequentially relevant place during the meal, construing the food as desirable and her choice to not eat as regrettable. Hence, at this point during the meal, the two instructors and chefs and the teacher have assessed the food positively whereas no one of the novices to the workshop has commented on the meal.

In Excerpt 4a-d we join the interaction again just before the next sequentially relevant place to assess the food emerge, as Aline is finishing describing her current diet and Fatma, Daniat and Senait are talking in Tigrinya.

Excerpt (4a) ATE_CUS 01.00.22

1 ALI [moi comme je mange pas de viande euh [je mets: 1
 [me as i don't eat meat eh [i put
 2 DAN [((inaudible))]
 3 (0.6)
 4 ISA . (h) ah
 . (h) ah
 5 (0.7)
 6 FAT ((inaudible))
 7 ALI [Qdu fromage#
 [cheese
 ali Qlooks to isabelle-->
 fig #fig.1



8 SEN ((inaudible Q[inaudible inaudible]))

9 ISA [mhmm]
 10 DAN [esc]h∞:=heh
 ali ->Qlooks at isabelle's plate-->
 sen ∞smiles-->
 11 (0.7)Q(0.3)Q (0.5) # (0.9) Q
 ali ->Qlooks at samar's plateQlooks at fatma;daniat-->
 fig #fig.2



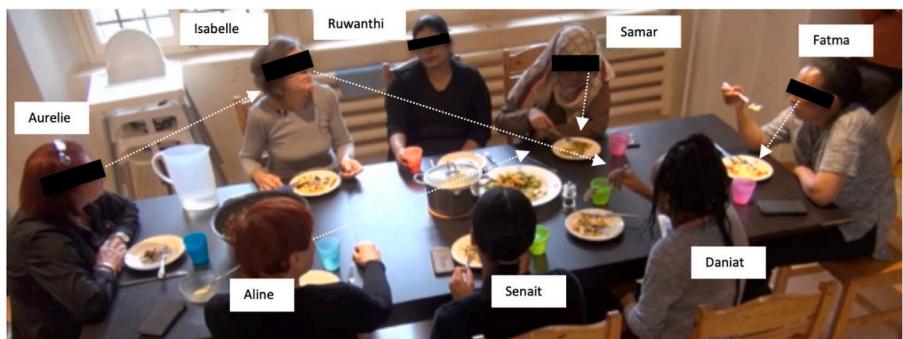
12 (0.5)Q (1.3) ∞(0.4) #
 ali ->Qlooks at senait's plate-->
 sen ->∞
 fig #fig.3

Excerpt (4a). ATE_CUS 01.00.22.



3

- 13 ISA** *hr=hrm:=@hrm△*
 isa ÷....+looks to daniat-->
 ali ->Qlooks at senait-->
 aur △--->
- 14** *Ω(0.3)△#*
 ali Qlooks at samar's plate-->
 aur ->△looks to isabelle-->
 fig #fig.4



4

Excerpt (4a). (continued).

At this point, we see that the participation framework splits in two as Aline addresses Isabelle when accounting for her diet (lines 1–9, Figure 1), whereas Fatma, Daniat and Senait speaks in Tigrinya (lines 2–10). Their exchange closes as Senait makes a joke and Daniat laughs (line 10) whereas Senait herself smiles (lines 10–12, Figure 2). It is worth noticing that although the others do not understand Tigrinya, Senait Fatma and Daniat produce their talk in a way that makes it difficult to hear on the recordings, thus doing talk that is not to be overheard. During the relatively long silence that follows, (lines 11–12),

the novices are oriented to their respective plates, while Aline monitors them, observably monitoring them and their plates alternatively (lines 11–14, Figure 2, 3).

As Isabelle eventually clears her throat and looks up to Daniat (line 13; Figure 4), this is heard by at least Aurélie to project talk, as she turns to her (line 14, Figure 4). However, Aline identifies the same point in time as a relevant slot for taking the turn and makes complaints about the novices' seeming distaste for the food:

Excerpt (4b) ATE_CUS 01.00.22

15 ALL vous avez- pas l'air d'ai-mer telle-ment +jeΔ trouve-#
you don't seem to like (it) that much i find
isa -> looks to aline-> looks to novices->
dan -> looks to aline--> looks down->
sen #looks to aline->
aur ->△ looks to aline->
fig #5ab



16 (0.3) ‡ (0.1) ∞ (0.4) ∞
sen -> looks to food at the table->
ali -> ∞ ... ∞ looks to isabelle->

17 ISA mais^Δ c'est[#] qu'on[∞] on- [∞]en tous[∞] cas^Δ moi j'ai[÷] pas l'ha[#]bitude
but it's that one- one- in any case me i'm not used
aur ->Δlooks to novices-----Δlooks to isabelle->
sen ->†looks to isabelle-->
ali ->∞....∞looks to dan's plate∞....∞looks to isa->
isa ->‡looks to watch->
fig #6



18 - de man^oger à cette heure [o là ha ha [ha ha ha ha]
to eat at this hour [here ha ha ha ha ha ha ha]

19 AUR △[c'est peut être ça:\]
[it's maybe that]

20 ALI [il est‡ [tro]p tôt/]#
[it is [to]o early]

21 SAM [hah] hah]
isa +looks to novices-----+looks to aline->
ali ->^lks to ruw^lks to sam^ looks at her watch->
aur ->△
sen ->#looks to aur/ali-
e:
f:
g:

#7ab
fig
22 ISA hah hah hah+ [hah hah]
23 SAM [hah hah]



Excerpt (4b). ATE CUS 01.00.22

Aline's noticing that "you" do not seem to like the food (line 5) attributes a negative stance towards the food on behalf of the novices in a slot where a positive assessment could be expected. In line with what we have seen in Excerpts 2, 3 and 4, the action is formatted in such a way that it is heard as addressing a part of the persons at the table, notably the novices to the workshop. This is observable in the progressively established participation framework where Isabelle who were just about to take the turn first looks to Aline but then manifestly hears her turn as addressing the others as she turns to them (line 15, Figure 5b) – as does Aurélie, who also first looks to Aline and then to the other novices (line 17). Senait and Daniat on the other hand looks to Aline, displaying their understanding to be the recipients of the noticing (line 15, Figure 5a).

The noticing is produced at the next relevant slot for making a positive assessment of the food during the meal. However, whereas the noticing is accusatory and strongly projects a disaffiliating response and thus a positive evaluation of the food (Pomerantz (1984), an increasingly long silence follows during which Daniat looks down, projecting to not answer and Senait turns her gaze to the food at the table (lines 15–16). Isabelle's subsequent account further establishes Aline's prior turn as treating a positive stance as noticeably missing as she initiates it with the adversary *mais*/‘but’ and continues with a generalizing personal pronoun in third person singular *on*/‘one’ which she self-repairs into a personal statement. In this way, she displays that the account is made on behalf of the novices as a sort of defense by virtue of them also being learners of French. This is further established in the account itself, which does not concern the gustatory aspect of the food, which she has

herself already praised (see Excerpt 3). Instead, she resorts to a commonsense argument concerning the time of the day, alluding to eating practices as a routine activity which relies on conventional hours and with specific intervals throughout the day, which she further embodies by looking to the watch (line 17–18, Figure 6).

Aurélie's agreement in overlap, *c'est peut être ça*/‘it's maybe that’ (line 19), elaborates this hearing, as it underscores Aline's claimed observability of the novices not liking the food, while agreeing with Isabelle's proposed explanation for why. It also further establishes the complaint as concerning “the others” and not Isabelle and herself, which consolidates the discrepancy in the participation framework concerning the membership categorization. Neither Aurélie nor Isabelle address (any of) the novices but turn to Aline, consolidating an exclusive participation framework where the present “concerned” party is not addressed. By way of formulating accounts for why “they” (the novices) do not express positive evaluations, they are reflexively established as not conforming to the normative expectations of how to do eating together and hence as “strange (rs)”.

Aline does however not accept the explanation as such and pursues an account on behalf of the novices through a candidate understanding, asking whether it's *trop tôt*/‘too early’ (line 20, Fig. 7ab). This occasions Isabelle and Samar to laugh and Ruwanthi and Daniat to smile, further establishing the situation as rather delicate (lines 18–23, Fig. 7ab). As we see in the continuation, Aline does not give up and pursues evaluative elements of the food from the novices.

Excerpt (4c) ATE_CUS 01.00.22

24 AUR *~c'est ça personne n'a vraiment &*
that's it no one does not] really have
 25 ALI *[il est trop tôt~]#*
 ali *~looks to sam----to fat~to dan~to sen ->*
 sen *->†*
 26 *& un appé[tit]*
an appetite]
 27 ALI *[vous] n'avez pas faim/*
[you] are not hungry
 ali *->~to dan-->*
 28 AUR *des fois on fait des petits &*
[some times we make small
 29 ALI *[^ou c'est pas bon\^]#*
[or it's not good]
 ali *^shakes head-----^*

fig

#fig.8



8

30 AUR *& feu[i l l e t é s]*
puff[f pastries]
 31 ALI *^ [c'est] pas bon/\^]*
[it's] not good
 32 DAN *[mm\]*
[mm\]
^shakes head-----^

33 SAM *n[on bon [bon/*
n/o good /good
 34 DAN *[bon [b[on\]*
[good [g[ood
 35 SEN *^ ~ [c'est bon=~#*
[it's good=
 ali *~looks at sen's plate~looks to samar->*
 fig *#fig.9*

Excerpt (4c). ATE_CUS 01.00.22.



36 SAM = (ouais) \
= (yeah)

37 SAM la [matin/]# [non]\
the [morning] [no]

38 ALI [^c'est bon\^a]
[it's good]

39 DAN [(ouais)
[(yeah)]

ali ^nods-----^a

fig #fig.10

40 ISA Hn. ==Hn.
ali -> looks to fatma->

41 (0.2)



Excerpt (4c). (continued).

As there is no response to Aline's question whether "it's too early" from the novices, her colleague Aurélie offers a confirmation of her and Isabelle's previous account through *c'est ça/that's it*, followed by yet another version of the explanation related to time, namely that no one is hungry (lines 24–26). Aline does however not give up and pursues an answer from the novices, first by repeating her previous question in overlap (line 25) and then reformulating Aurélie's claim as another question, *vous n'avez pas faim/you're not hungry* (line 27), while she keeps alternating her gaze among the novices (lines 25–47). By way of not treating Aurélie's confirmation as conditionally relevant, she further achieves an asymmetrical relationship among the participants, where a response and account is pursued from a particular interactional party, the novices, to which Aurélie and Isabelle manifestly do not belong.

Aurélie attempts to further back down from the accusatory and delicate situation by providing an indirect apology for the problematic match of the meal and the hour of the day by referring to a category of food that they make sometimes and that suits better (puff pastry) (lines 28–30). Aline on the other hand retrospectively transforms her prior

question into the first part of an alternative question, through the increment *ou c'est pas bon/ or it's not good* (line 29). The second alternative is coordinated with a head shake, which at this point contributes to an orientation to a possible issue of understandability on behalf of the novices (cf. Kunitz & Majlesi, 2022). At the same time she construes a sort of trap, as the second alternative projects an affiliative response, which in turn would imply a negative stance towards the food. In repairing the question by using a simple turn, Aline also treats the problem as possibly being an issue of language proficiency (line 29, Figure 8).

Aline's following repeat of the question *c'est pas bon* (line 31), finally prompts some responses as Samar, Daniat and Senait minimally align by recycling the exact resources that were given to them (*c'est bon*) in overlap (lines 33–35, Figure 9). This is followed by Samar acknowledging that 'it is not good in the morning', which does display an understanding of the previous account regarding time, and skillfully deals with the contradictory expectations in a diplomatic way. In this way, she partly confirms the claim that "they" do not seem to like the food but

blames it on the hour of the day and not on the food itself (line 37). Aline, in turn, repeats the same construction but as a request for confirmation, similar to what we observed in Excerpts 1 and 2, while nodding, thus embodying the reversed structural preference that the question format projects (line 38) and to which Danyat responds affirmatively (line 39, Figure 10).

Similar to Excerpt 4c, Aurélie provides a candidate answer to Aline's question, while Aline does yet again not treat her as a legitimate recipient and pursues a response from the other participants.

Aurélie's and Aline's additional formulation of an account for why positive assessments of the food is missing are produced in overlap and Aline keeps her orientation to the novices (line 43). It is responded to by Samar and Senait, both contrasting the previously mentioned time slot 'in the morning' with 'the midday' or 'at noon' as an account for the lack of public appreciation of the food (lines 44, 45). After Aline repeats the account (line 46) she reconfigures the participation framework by turning to Aurélie (line 47) and rejects the validity of the account by alleging that *c'est pour ça qu'on a fait des petites portions*/that's why have

Excerpt (4d) ATE_CUS 01.00.22

42 AUR	<i>c'est [trop tôt]</i> it's [too early]
43 ALI	<i>[c'est ~trop] [tôt]</i> [it's too] [early]
44 SAM	<i>[la m]idi\ eh[:</i> [the mid day eh[:
45 SEN	<i>[mi^di</i> [mid day
	ali -> looks to sam-----> looks at sen's plate->
46 ALI	<i>c'est tro[p ~tôt]</i> it's to[o early]
47 SEN	<i>[heh]</i> ali -> looks to aur-->
48 ALI	<i>c'est pour ça qu'#on a fait des petites portions=</i> that's why we have made small portions=
	ali -> looks at table--> fig.11
49 AUR	=ouais =yeah
50	(0.7)
51 ALI	<i>mais je vais:- je vais avoir-</i> but i will :- i will have-
52 ISA	hih hih hih hih
53 ALI	<i>je vais ramasser les restes de légumes et de- de</i> i will gather what's left of the vegetables and of the- of the
54	<i>polenta [et je vais faire (.) nourrir mon mari</i> polenta [and i will (.) feed my husband
55 AUR	<i>[mm=mm</i> [mm=mm



11

Excerpt (4d). ATE_CUS 01.00.22

made small portions' (line 48, Figure 11).

By retrospectively casting the issue as a problem of quantity, Aline counters the implicit claim that it is too early during the day for eating as a reasonable justification for the (lack of) gustatory appreciation of the food. By demonstratively addressing Aurélie as she turns to her and uses the colloquial *on/‘we’*, she also further cements the participants' distinct interactional roles where the novices are attending the cooking activity rather than actively taking part in it, but on the other hand are expected to appreciate the food and to express that.

In sum, the novices are seen as having breached normative expectations on several inter-related layers concerning the sociability of cooking and eating together, which includes language and cultural training. The detailed multimodal analysis of Excerpt 4a-d, in comparison with the similar sequential environments earlier during the meal (Excerpt 1–3), shows the orientation to a positive assessment by the novices as noticeably missing and the substantial interactional work that the noticing engenders to remedy it. This work evolves from and progressively institutes a differentiation among the participants as belonging to distinct membership categories, where the persons attending the integrated language and cooking class are treated as novices on several levels, including the French language, local food practices in terms of cooking and tasting – and how and when to appreciate the food when sharing a meal. More specifically, this work is done through the situated organization of recipiency and participation frameworks through finely coordinated linguistic and embodied resources.

4. Concluding discussion

In this study, I have shown the interactional work that participants eating together engage in to question, contest and negotiate a normative feature of how to share a meal during an integrated cooking- and language class. The analysis demonstrates how the meal is locally established as a morally laden activity where (positive) evaluative actions are expected to be done in order to be seen as “ordinary” in the sense of being a competent member of a (food) culture and linguistic community.

Previous work on discursive practices related to mealtime activities has shown that participants orient to the material aspect of food and eating, and that taste expressions relies on (claimed) food qualities. This study confirms and elaborates these findings as it shows that participants to interaction construe their food talk and hold each other accountable for how they do (not) talk about food, including when they have not tasted it themselves (cf. Gauthier, 2024). In addition to the noticeably absent verbal praising of the food, Aline's continuous visual monitoring of the novices' plates seems to orient to the participants' visible features of eating as further justifying her ascription to them of not liking the food. This finding converges with research on food assessments in infant-parent interaction, where the parents treat not-eating as not-liking (Wiggins, 2023). The chef's claim that the novices do not seem to like the food, furthermore exhibits the presumption that tasting includes and prompts a judgmental procedure of appreciating the food and that the absence of its explicit positive appreciation implies “not liking”, which shows the normative aspect of eating as a sensorial experience that is (expected to be) talked into being.

The collected instances of food assessments in these data are analyzed chronologically and in accordance with the progression of the event, which allows to reconstruct the participants' orientation to the sequence organization of the global activity. Proceeding in this way allows to observe general features of a social practice within a single interaction and shed light on the progressively built historicity of the situated activity. The sequential analysis furthermore confirms previous research on in what sequential environments food assessments are produced and expected to be produced (see Mondada, 2009) and substantiates the finding that participants monitor the eating activity as a normative and morally laden organization –including food talk.

The evaluative actions in this study concern the sharing of an

immediate experience with a co-present food object, which stresses the immediate social relevance of establishing and eventually calibrating the participants' respective evaluative stance towards the food they have cooked and are eating (Gauthier, 2024). The claim that appreciative actions are expected and, in this sense, constitutive of the activity, is ultimately shown in the sanctioning of their absence (Schegloff and Sacks 1973). In sum, this shows how the participants in these data treat the integrated language and cooking class as occasioning a socializing moment into a (food) culture, where the routine way of sharing a meal becomes an instructable matter for an interactional party as it is progressively revealed as troublesome (Eisenmann & Rawls, 2023:22). By way of raising the seen but unnoticed features of how to do eating together to public scrutiny, the evaluative practices are reflexively established as constitutive expectancies of the activity (Garfinkel, 1963) and, moreover, associated with issues of “we”, and “you” and the local construction of opposed membership categories regarding ethnicity and being “ordinary” vs. “strange” (cf. Svensson, 2022 on the pronunciation of person names).

4.1. Strengths and limitations of the study

The data sample of this study is relatively small in the sense that it is constrained to a single shared meal. It could therefore be argued that the successively established issue of assessing the food positively might be bound to the present participants. On the other hand, the participants' observable recurrent orientation to the relevance of assessing the food, indicate that there is a generalizable aspect of this phenomenon as a prominent social fact, which is likely to be observed in the analysis of larger samples of data.

The limited access to what the participants says in Tigrinya is demonstrably problematic for understanding for what the language switching is used to do, in addition to understanding the content of what they are saying. The observation that the French speaking participants orient to the talk in Tigrinya by virtue of its sequential features nevertheless show that it is inspected for its interactional relevance. The way in which the exchanges in Tigrinya are produced, moreover shows that the participants use Tigrinya for specific purposes such as questioning aspects of the immediate surroundings and that, although the language itself is not accessible to the others, they produce it as talk that is not to be overheard.

4.2. Practical implications and future research

The multimodal analysis details and explains how the participants treat gustatory features of sharing a meal as publicly available and as having a social accountability. It also shows how the noticeable absence of evaluative elements contributes to the situated achievement of a plural “you” as a group that does not like “this” food, and the orientation to the immigrants or “novices” as not behaving according to what is expected. This finding partly differs from research looking at language cafés as an integrated L2 learning activity where conversing as a situated activity fosters integration by way of strengthening immigrants positively laden identities as competent individuals (Kunitz & Jansson, 2021), which calls for further research in how pedagogical activities with a focus on integration are designed and accomplished in and through social interaction.

In contrast to the many studies documenting and specifying practices for assessing food positively, there are few studies discussing ascriptions of distaste to others (but see Mondada, 2021a on sellers ascribing distaste to clients to calibrate what to propose next). In this study, we have seen that ascribing (dis)taste for the food on behalf of others occasions accounts for absence of appreciation and builds an instructing moment where “novices” are disciplined in *how* to do eating together as a competent member – including how and when evaluating and expressing sensorial experiences. This indicates the relevance of further research on how the details of vernacular social practices or produced

and understood as construing individuals as (non)ordinary. The exchanges in Tigrinya, which exhibit the participants' understanding of the immediate interactional context for each other, also shows the relevance of pursuing research on schisms where the participants are co-present but do not have access to the same language(s).

5. Conclusion

In sum, this study contributes to our understanding of the (non)ordinariness of eating as a situated, embodied, and cultural achievement that is built in and through social interaction. This shows that examining the normative organization of food talk is relevant for understanding practices for and issues with eating and how it relates to and embodies structural normative and moral issues concerning membership categorization and cultural identity. Consequently, the documented elaborate work that the participants engage in indicates the interest in developing language learning in and as integrated practical activities such as cooking and eating, as they present real-life opportunities to experience, confront and negotiate food practices as intrinsic to culture as a situated accomplishment (cf. Ochs & Shohet, 2006; Terragni et al., 2014). On the other hand, the results show that the close relation between food practices and cultural identity call for special awareness on behalf of educators and instructors, as the variation in the routine ways of doing things risk establishing and reinforcing lived experiences of asymmetric relationships and local constructions of persons as (non)ordinary. The study thus indicates the interest in pursuing research on how cultural identities, as a social fact, is locally and reflexively established *in situ*, in and through social interaction during commonplace activities such as sharing a meal.

Data code and availability statements

The secondary data on which the results of this study are based, in terms of transcriptions, are presented in the manuscript and thereby available to the community. The primary data, in terms of video recordings, cannot be made openly available due to privacy issues and the form of consent given by the participants.

Ethical statement

This study draws on video recordings of a cooking class for immigrants in the French speaking part of Switzerland that were carried out within the Swiss National Science Foundation funded project *From multimodality to multisensoriality: Language, Body, and Sensoriality in Social Interaction* (2018–2023). The documented cooking class was organized within the framework of an educative center focusing on language acquisition and exchanges between Swiss and immigrant women. The research team was granted access to the workshop through direct contact with the organizers and informed consent was obtained from all participants.

The participants' names have been changed.

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CRediT authorship contribution statement

Hanna Svensson: Writing – review & editing, Writing – original draft, Investigation, Formal analysis, Data curation.

Declaration of competing interest

None.

Data availability

The authors do not have permission to share data.

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Appendix A. Supplementary data

Supplementary data to this article can be found online at <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.appet.2024.107546>.

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