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Charles Goodwin

Restarts, Pauses, and the Achievement of a State of Mutual Gaze at Turn-Beginning

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This paper will investigate some systematic procedures through which a framework of mutual orientation between speaker and hearer is achieved and oriented to within the turn at talk.[1] In so far as both the vocal actions of the speaker and the nonvocal actions of the hearer will be examined, data for this analysis consist of video-tapes of actual conversations recorded in a range of natural settings.[2]

Natural speech is frequently considered a poor source of data for the analysis of linguistic structure (see, for example, Chomsky, 1965, pp. 3–4). Specifically, sentences produced within it are regularly found to be impaired in a variety of ways. Thus a sample of natural speech will contain not only well-formed grammatical sentences—

(1)

John: These egg rolls are very good.

(2)

Curt: Al's a pretty damn good driver.

(3)

Clacia: <u>Ch</u>rist it wz <u>j</u>us go:rgeous.

—but such a sample will also contain sentences characterized by phrasal breaks, false starts, long pauses, and isolated ungrammatical fragments:

(4)

Debbie: Anyway, (0.2) um:, (0.2) we went t-
            I went ta bed really early.

(5)

Barbara: Brian yer gonna haf- You kids'll
            hafta go down <u>closer</u> so you can
            <u>hear</u> what they're gonna do:.

(6)

Sue: I come in t- I no sooner sit down
            on the couch in the living room,
            en the doorbell rings.

(7)

Tommy: You agree wid- You agree wi'cher
            aunt on anything.

Use of Restarts to Construct Unbroken Sentences

In contrast to the grammatical coherence of examples one to three, examples four to seven manifest the proposed disorder of

actual speech. However, note that examples four to seven, though they contain fragments of sentences, also contain coherent grammatical sentences:

(4)

Debbie: I went ta bed really early.

(5)

Barbara: You kids'll hafta go down closer so
           you can hear what they're gonna do.

(6)

Sue: I no sooner sit down on the couch in
           the living room, en the doorbell rings.

(7)

Tommy: You agree wi'cher aunt on anything.

Further, in these examples there is a particular sequential distribution ordering the placement of the sentence fragment relative to the coherent sentence. Specifically, the fragment is placed before the coherent sentence. Thus in all these examples a single format is manifest:

[Fragment] + [Coherent Sentence]

This format defines a restart. Though it provides one demonstration of the possible disorder of natural speech, it is a phenomenon with a specifiable structure in its own right. Further, within it is found one locus for the occurrence of coherent grammatical sentences in natural speech. This format will be investigated with respect to the possibility that its repetitive occurrence is not haphazard but rather one regular product of the procedures constructing actual talk and, more specifically, that the format has the effect of achieving one of its elements: the occurrence of a coherent grammatical sentence in natural speech.

In order for us to investigate this possibility, one other aspect of the behavior of the participants in conversation—their gaze—will also be examined.[3] In most turns at talk in face-to-face conversation, the speaker is gazed at by some other party.[4] The following will be proposed as one rule implicated in the organization of the interaction of speaker and hearer in face-to-face talk.[5]

Rule 1: A speaker should obtain the gaze of his recipient during the course of a turn at talk.

Some actual utterances will now be examined with respect to the possibility that they are in fact systematic products of the orientation of participants to the feature specified by Rule 1. Below the utterance, the gaze direction of the recipient will be marked as follows: A solid line will indicate that the recipient is gazing toward the speaker. The absence of such a line will indicate that the recipient's gaze is directed elsewhere, and the letter X connected to the talk by a bracket will mark the precise point at which the recipient's gaze reaches the speaker. When a recipient's gaze reaches the speaker during a pause, each tenth of a second in the pause will be marked with a dash in order to indicate where in the pause the gaze actually arrives. For the sake of simplicity and clarity, only the beginnings of turns will be so marked:

(4)

```
Debbie:   Anyway, (0.2) uh:, (0.2) we went
            ┌t- I went ta bed
Chuck:    ⌊x_____
```

(5)

```
Barbara:  Brian yer gonna ha┌f- You kids'll
Brian:                      ⌊x_____
Barbara:  hafta go down
          ‗‗
Brian:    _____
```

(6)

```
Sue:      I come in ┌t- I no sooner sit down on
Diedre:            ⌊x_____
Sue:      the couch
Diedre:       ____
```

(7)

```
Tommy:     You agree wi d- You agree wi'cher aunt
Pumpkin:              [
                       X _____ _____
Tommy:     on anything.
Pumpkin:       ___ ____
```

(8)

```
Clacia:    B't I, uh, (0.9) Ro:n uh:  : Ron's
Dianne:                              [  ‾
                                      X  _____
Clacia:    family moved, intuh
Dianne:        _____ _____
```
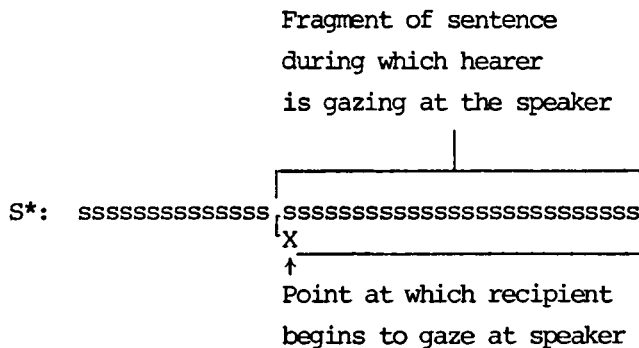
(9)

```
Barbara:   God that's : :, I don't want that
Gordie:             [             ‾‾‾‾
                     X _____ _____
Barbara:   life.
Gordie:        ____
```

In all the above cases: (1) recipients are not gazing at the speaker at the beginning of the speaker's turn; (2) recipients subsequently direct their gaze to the speaker; (3) without bringing the previous sentence to completion, the speaker begins a new sentence at the point at which the gaze of a recipient is secured. The close conjunction between a recognizable event in the utterance of the speaker and the place where the recipient's gaze reaches the speaker is consistent with the possibility that the gaze of the hearer is relevant to the speaker in the construction of the turn.[6]

The sequence of actions performed by the speaker produces a restart. The relationship between the different elements of the restart and the recipient's gaze raises the possibility that different states of recipient gaze are not treated equivalently by the speaker but rather that one is preferred over the other. The sentence being produced before the gaze of the recipient was obtained is abandoned without being brought to completion. When the speaker has the gaze of the recipient, a coherent sentence is produced. To have the gaze of a recipient thus appears to be preferred over not having such gaze, and this preference ap-

pears to be consequential for the talk the speaker produces within the turn. This is consistent with the possibility that gaze is one means available to recipients for displaying to a speaker whether or not they are acting as hearers to the speaker's utterance.[7] Sacks (1967) has noted that "one wants to make a distinction between 'having the floor' in the sense of being a speaker while others are hearers, and 'having the floor' in the sense of being a speaker while others are doing whatever they please. One wants not merely to occupy the floor but to have the floor while others listen" (p. 7).

In conversation speakers are thus faced not simply with the task of constructing sentences but also with the task of constructing sentences for hearers. Suppose that a recipient begins to display proper hearership well after the speaker has begun to produce a sentence. If the speaker brings that sentence to completion, the utterance will contain a coherent sentence and no sentence fragment. However, when the actions of both speaker and hearer are taken into consideration, that complete sentence may in fact constitute a fragment since only part of it has been attended to properly by a hearer:

```
                            Fragment of sentence

                            during which hearer

                            is gazing at the speaker

                                        |
                        ┌───────────────┴───────────────┐
  S*:    ssssssssssssss ┌ssssssssssssssssssssssssssssss
                        └x─────────────────────────────
                        ↑
                        Point at which recipient

                        begins to gaze at speaker


      *sentence of a speaker
```

By beginning a new sentence when the gaze of the recipient is obtained, the speaker is able to produce an entire sentence while being gazed at by the hearer. Rather than providing evidence for the defective performance of speakers in actual conversation, restarts may provide some demonstration of the orientation of

speakers to producing sentences that are in fact attended to appro-
priately by their recipients.

Procedures for Securing the Gaze of a
Hearer: Restarts and Pauses

Not all restarts exhibit precise coordination with the arrival
of a recipient's gaze:

(10)

```
Ethyl:      So they st- their cla sses start around
Barbara:                           [X_____
Ethyl:      (0.2) in
Barbara:          _____
```

(11)

```
Lee:        Can ya bring?- (0.2) Can you bring me
            here that nylo n?
Ray:                       [X_
```

(12)

```
Joe:        My mother tol me th't- We had a
            col d wader flat
Pat:           [X_____
```

(13)

```
Clacia:     En a couple of girls- One othe r girl
Dianne:                                   [X
Clacia:     from the:re,
Dianne:           _____
```

(14)

```
Chil:       She- She's reaching the p- She's at
            the  point I'm
Helen:          [X_____
```

In all these cases the gaze of the recipient is obtained after the restart. These examples will thus not support the possibility that the speaker is awaiting the gaze of a recipient before proceeding to construct a coherent sentence.

Further, in most of these examples, the point at which the recipient begins to gaze at the speaker is rather distant from the restart. The argument that the restart and the movement into orientation by the recipient are performed with reference to each other, which seemed strong in the previous data because of the close coordination between the two events, here seems weak.

However, in our analysis of the first set of restarts, no consideration was given to the time required for recipients to move their gaze from some other position to the speaker. This process will in fact occupy some time.

The movement bringing the recipient's gaze to the speaker will be marked with a series of dots, and examples ten through fourteen will be reexamined in light of it.

(10)

```
Ethyl:    So they st- their clas ses start around
Barbara:                   . . . . x
Ethyl:    (0.2) in
Barbara:  _____
```

(11)

```
Lee:   Can ya bring?- (0.2) Can you bring me
Ray:                         . . . . . . . . .
Lee:   here that nylo n?
Ray:     . . . . . . . x_
```

(12)

```
Joe:   My mother tol me th't- We had a
Pat:                         . . . . .
Joe:   col d wader flat
Pat:     . x_____
```

(13)

```
Clacia:   En a couple of girls- One other
Dianne:                            . . . . .
Clacia:   girl ┌from the:re,
Dianne:     . . ᴸx_____
```

(14)

```
Chil:    She- She's reaching the p- She's at
Helen:                                  . . . . .
Chil:    the ┌point I'm
Helen:    . . ᴸx_____
```

The argument that the restart and the gaze of the recipient toward the speaker might be performed with reference to each other seems once again tenable, and the present data would seem to challenge the frequently made claim (for example Mahl, 1959, p. 114; Allen and Guy, 1974, pp. 171-172; Dittman 1974, p 175; Lyons, 1972, p. 58) that participants do not notice the phrasal breaks that occur in natural conversation. For example, Dale (1974) states that "subjects perceive the presence of hesitations but not their precise location." (p. 174). The close conjunction between the actions of the recipient and the phrasal break in the present examples provides evidence that, on the contrary, participants do attend to the location of phrasal breaks with some precision.[8] These data also cast doubt on the accuracy of Martin and Strange's statement (1968) that "while . . . hesitations mark speaker uncertainty, they have little utility for the listener" (p. 474).

The differences in the placement of gaze relative to the restart in the two sets suggests that the restart may function to coordinate action between speaker and hearer in at least two alternative but related ways. First, as demonstrated in the first data set, the restart can provide a speaker with the ability to begin a new sentence at the point where the recipient's gaze is obtained. Second, the recipient's action just after the restart in the current data raises the possibility that a restart may also act as a request for the gaze of a hearer. If this is correct, the actions of speaker and hearer together would constitute a particular type of summons-answer sequence.

Schegloff's (1968) study of the organization of summons-answer sequences provides analytic resources with which this possibility might be investigated further. In order to differentiate phenomena that participants orient to as *sequences* from events that happen to be adjacently placed, Schegloff (1968) proposes that sequences have a property that he refers to as "conditional relevance" (p. 1083). The occurrence of a first item in a sequence, such as a summons, establishes the relevance of a next item to it, with the effect that not only an answer but also the absence of such an answer can be oriented to as a noticeable event by participants. One way in which the absence of an answer to a summons might be noted is by repetition of the summons, though only until an answer to it is obtained, at which point the party making the summons proceeds to further talk.

If the pattern noted above does in fact constitute a type of summons-answer sequence, it may therefore be expected that on some occasions a recipient's failure to gaze after an initial restart will be noted by the production of another restart, which will have the effect of repeating the summons.[9] Further, the string of restarts thus produced will be terminated at a particular point, that is, when the gaze of the recipient is at last obtained.

Examination of the production of actual restarts at turn-beginning supports the possibility that such a process might be involved in their construction. First, multiple restarts are in fact found at the beginning of some turns. Second, this string of restarts comes to an end, and a coherent sentence is entered, when the recipient at last begins to move his gaze to the speaker.[10] For example:

(14)

```
              Restart              Restart
               (1)                   (2)
                ↓                     ↓
Chil:     She- she's reaching the p- She's at the
Helen:                                 . . . . . .
Chil:     ┌point I'm reaching.
Helen:    └x_____
```

(15)
                                        Restart
                                          (1)
                                           ↓
Eileen: I ask him, (0.1) I ask him if he- (0.4)

                    Restart
                      (2)
                       ↓
Eileen: c'd- If you c ould call 'im when you in.
Debbie: . . . . ⌐x_____

(16)
                        Restart   Restart
                          (1)   (2)
                           ↓   ↓
Betty: The first ketch I mean Susie- y'kn ⌐ow
Pam: . . ⌐x_
Betty: she jus' threw it.
Pam: _____

(17)
                     Restart   Restart
                       (1)   (2)
                        ↓   ↓
Clacia: Bu:t. uh, b't there- there wz th'Bethe ⌐1
Dianne: . . . . . . ⌐x
Clacia: Park- crew en then y'c'd rilly tell the
Dianne: _____
Clacia: diffrence.
Dianne: _____

Each of these utterances contains not one but two restarts. (Subsequent analysis will reveal that the restart is not the only phrasal break that can request the gaze of a hearer. Analysis of the above examples in terms of such a possibility would reveal that some, such as fifteen, contain more than two requests for a hearer.) When the gaze of a recipient has been obtained, the speaker stops producing restarts and enters a coherent sentence.

The data are thus consistent with the possibility that summons-answer sequences might function not only to provide coordi-

nated entry into a conversation as a whole (Schegloff (1968, p. 1089) but also to establish the availability of participants toward each other within the turn itself.

The restart is not the only phrasal break capable of performing the tasks here being investigated. By producing a pause near the beginning of his sentence, a speaker is able to delay its onward progression until the gaze of a recipient has been obtained.

(18)

```
Michael:  Who know:s, 'hh (- r---) nu:mbers'n
Don:      . . . . . . . . . [x_____
Michael:  letters (huh),
Don:                   _____
```

(19)

```
Dianne:  He pu:t uhm, (--- r----) Tch! Put
Clacia:              . . . . . [x_____
Dianne:  crabmeat on th' bo::dum.
Clacia:              _____
```

(20)

```
Clacia:  (Ye-nd) uh, (-- r--) Muddy Ritz wz
Dianne:        . . . . . . . [x_____
Clacia:  saying that 'e had
Dianne:              _____
```

Terminating talk in the middle of a turn constructional unit, as happens when a pause is begun, produces a noticeable perturbation in the stream of speech. Like the restart, this perturbation may be used to signal that the services of a hearer are being requested. In the following the nongazing recipients begin to move their gaze toward the speaker shortly after a pause is entered:

(21)

```
Ann:   Wh'n you had that big uhm:,
       (-----------r-) tropical
Jere:     . . . . . [x_____
```

(22)

```
Don:     They've changed- (----┌-) the China
John:                       . . ┕x_____
Don:     City.
John:          ____
```

(23)

```
Barbara:  Uh:, my kids.  (------┌-) had all
Ethyl:                    . . . ┕x_____
Barbara:  these blankets, en
Ethyl:        _____
```

(24)

```
Mike:    Speakin of pornographic movies I
         heard- (--┌-----) a while
Carney:        . ┕x_____
```

(25)

```
Ethyl:   I (hadda) who::le:: (----┌--------)
Jim:                          . . ┕x_____
Ethyl:   pail fulla those
Jim:          _____
```

(26)

```
Chuck:   Uh(---┌---) Mother where's the salad.
Deedee:      . ┕x_____
```

Like a restart, the beginning of a pause is able to signal that the services of a hearer are needed. However, with this same pause the speaker is also able to delay further production of his sentence until the gaze of a recipient is secured. In this sense the pause is a more versatile tool than the restart. Specifically, it can, if needed, combine the functions of both classes of restarts, requesting the gaze of a recipient and delaying the production of the speaker's sentence so that the gaze of this same recipient is secured near the beginning of the sentence.[11]

Criteria for Choice Between Restarts and Pauses

The analysis so far presented reveals two different tech-
niques available to speakers for securing near the begining of their
sentences the gaze of a recipient. They can either begin a new
sentence by producing a restart when their recipient reaches orien-
tation, or they can pause near the beginning of their original sen-
tence and await the gaze of a recipient before developing the
sentence further.

Relevant Differences Between Procedures

Though restarts and pauses appear to be clearly distin-
guishable from each other, their status as alternatives for the
accomplishment of the task presently being investigated is called
into question by examples such as eleven and fifteen in which the
gaze of a recipient is secured through the use of both a pause and a
restart.

Such examples suggest that if the processes being consid-
ered do in fact provide the speaker with a choice between mean-
ingful alternatives, that choice is not to be found simply in the
difference between a restart and a pause. An event that occurs in
the construction of both a restart and a pause is the self-interrup-
tion[12] of a turn constructional unit after its beginning but prior to
a recognizable completion. If the talk following the self-interrup-
tion (which may resume immediately or after a brief period of
silence) does not continue the speaker's initial unit, then the talk
there produced loses its status as a possible sentence beginning and
becomes a sentence fragment. If, however, the talk following the
phrasal break continues the unit that preceded it, then that origi-
nal talk maintains its status as the beginning of the unit currently
under construction by the speaker.

The procedures that have been examined therefore provide
a choice between continuing the unit that was in progress prior to
the phrasal break, and thus locating that initial unit as the begin-
ning of the sentence eventually constructed, or beginning a new
unit of talk and thus locating the talk originally begun as a
fragment.

Placement of a Recipient's Gaze Within the Turn

The criteria governing the speaker's selection of one of these alternatives over the other will now be investigated. Such investigation will, however, be restricted to criteria relevant to the process of negotiating a state of mutual gaze between speaker and hearer. Many valid reasons for interrupting or abandoning an utterance prior to its completion will not be examined in the present analysis.[13]

The analysis until this point has provided some demonstration that obtaining the gaze of a recipient within the turn is in fact relevant to the speaker. However, even casual inspection of a visual record of conversation quickly reveals that hearers do not gaze continuously at speakers. Rather during the course of a turn a hearer will gaze away from, as well as toward, the speaker of the moment. Given the regular presence of both alternatives, the absence of the hearer's gaze at a certain point cannot be definitely established. Either the speaker or an analyst could look at some specific place in a turn, find that the hearer is not gazing at the speaker, and yet not be able to establish that Rule #1 is being violated since the gaze called for by Rule #1 might occur elsewhere in the turn. Nevertheless the data already examined would indicate that speakers do in fact orient to the noticeable absence of a recipient's gaze at a specific point (for example, by requesting such gaze).

The work of Sacks and his colleagues on the sequential organization of conversation provides analytic resources with which the problem of specifying the absence of a hearer's gaze at a particular point might be addressed. Sacks (1972) observes that:

> Certain activities not only have regular places in some sequence where they do get done but may, if their means of being done is not found there, be said, by members, to not have occurred, to be absent. For example, the absence of a greeting may be noticed. . . . Observations such as these lead to a distinction between a "slot" and the "items" that fill it, and to proposing that certain activities are accomplished by a combination of some item and some

slot. . . . The notion of slot serves for the social scientist to mark a class of relevance rules. Thus, if it can be said that for some assertable sequence there is a position in which one or more activities properly occur, or occur if they are to get done, then: The observability of either the occurrence or the nonoccurrence of those activities may be claimed by reference to having looked at the position and determined whether what occurs in it is a way of doing the activity [p. 341].

If the turn at talk provides a slot for the hearer to gaze at the speaker, then the problem stated above could be resolved. The presence of such a slot would establish the relevance of the hearer's gaze at a particular place, while yet providing other places in the turn where the hearer could gaze elsewhere than at the speaker without producing a situation where gaze is to be treated as absent. The fact that the hearer looks both toward and away from the speaker would thus pose no particular analytic difficulties. Rather than searching the turn as a whole, one could look at that particular slot to see whether the hearer is gazing at the speaker. Hence, the following rule will be proposed:

Rule 2: A recipient should be gazing at the speaker when the speaker is gazing at the hearer.

This rule relates the gaze of the hearer to a phenomenon that has not yet been examined in the present analysis, that is, the gaze of the speaker. It also provides for the occurrence of mutual gaze or "eye contact" (though the participants may not in fact gaze precisely toward each other's eyes). According to the rule, when a speaker gazes at a recipient, eye contact should be made with that recipient.

Rule 2 has a number of consequences. First, the rule establishes an unequal distribution of permissible lookings among the participants. A recipient can look at the speaker when the speaker is not looking at the recipient without the rule being violated. However, if the speaker gazes at a nongazing hearer, the rule is violated. Alternatively, the speaker can look away from the recipient without violating the rule, but the recipient cannot look away

from a gazing speaker. Thus, if the rule is to be satisifed, the speaker should gaze only at a gazing recipient but does not have to gaze at that party continuously, while a recipient can gaze either at a gazing or a nongazing speaker but should be gazing at the speaker whenever he or she is being gazed at by the speaker.

Second, such a distribution of rights to look at the other is consistent with findings made by a number of different investigators to the effect that hearers gaze at speakers more than speakers gaze at hearers (for example, Nielsen, 1964; Kendon, 1967, p. 26; Argyle, 1969, p. 107; Exline, 1974, p. 74; and Allen and Guy, 1974, pp. 139-140). It is also compatible with the finding that though eye contact regularly occurs between a speaker and a hearer within a turn at talk, it is characteristically brief,[14] its occurrence frequently providing the occasion for its termination. While a hearer may and should gaze frequently at the speaker if the rule is to be satisfied, the speaker is under no such obligation; the speaker's gaze toward the hearer can in fact be intermittent.

Third, if the speaker does not gaze at the hearer anywhere in the turn, the relevance of the recipient's gaze toward the speaker is nowhere established. The rule thus provides for the possibility of turns in which gaze between the parties does not occur. Turns of this type are found within conversation, though typically in particular sequential environments—for example, during periods of disengagement.[15]

Fourth, and of particular relevance to the present analysis, the rule leads to a preferred order for the sequencing of the participants' gaze at turn-beginning. If the speaker's gaze is brought to the recipient before the recipient has begun to gaze at the speaker a violation of Rule 2 occurs. However, if the hearers bring their gaze to the speaker before the speaker has begun to gaze at them the rule is satisfied.

Rule 2 Satisfied

```
S:                              ┌X_____
U:   uuuuuuuuuuuuu ┌uuuuuuu └uuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuu
R:                  └X_____
```

Rule 2 Violated

```
S:                      ┌ X_____
U:   uuuuuuuuuuuuu └uuuuuuu ┌uuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuu
R:                        ↑   └ X_____
                          |
                          |
             Violation of Rule 2
```

Note: S=Speaker; U=Utterance; R=Recipient

The order "hearer and then speaker" is thus preferred over the order "speaker and then hearer."

This rule and the sequencing it implies permit the occurrence of a situation at the beginning of the turn in which no recipient is gazing at the hearer. However, if the rule is to be satisfied the hearer's gaze should be brought to the speaker early in the turn so that it arrives before the speaker's. On the other hand, in order to provide time for the hearer's move, the speaker should avoid gazing at the hearer until the turn is well under way.[16]

If a rule such as that being proposed here is in fact relevant to the construction of the turn, then violations of it should be oriented to appropriately by participants. One way in which a violation of Rule 2 might be marked is by displaying that the sentence being produced when the violation occurred is impaired in some fashion.

The difference between the products constructed by the two procedures available to the speaker for securing the gaze of a recipient is precisely that one procedure—the restart—locates the sentence first proposed by the speaker as impaired while the other procedure—the pause—does not. The line of argument just advanced suggests that a possible basis for choice between these procedures might be found in the mutual gaze direction of the participants. Specifically, if a speaker looks toward a recipient and does not find that the recipient is gazing toward him, then an appropriate procedure to use to secure such gaze would be a restart. This procedure locates the sentence then being produced as impaired and replaces it with a new one at the point where the

relevant impairment is remedied, that is, at the point where the speaker secures the gaze of a recipient. However, if the speaker has not gazed at a nongazing recipient, then no impairment of this type for the sentence in progress has been located. In such a case, in the absence of other impairments, it would be appropriate to continue with the original sentence.

Actual phrasal breaks associated with the achievement of orientation by a recipient will now be examined with respect to the possibility that a rule of the type just considered is in fact implicated in their construction. In the following examples the gaze direction of the speaker is plotted above the utterance. The gaze direction of the recipient continues to be marked below the utterance.

<u>Original Sentence Not Continued</u>

(5)

Barbara: _____

               Brian yer gonna ha⌐f- You kids'll
Brian: .⌊X_____
Barbara: hafta go down <u>closer</u>

(7)

Tommy: _____
               You agree wi⌐d- You agree wi'cher
Pumpkin: .⌊X_____
Tommy: aunt on anything
Pumpkin: _____

(11)

Lee: . . . . . .⌐X_____
               Can ya brin⌊g?- (0.2) Can you bring
Ray: . . . .
Lee: me here that nylo⌐n?
Ray: . . . .⌊X

(12)

Joe: . . . . [X_____
                My mother tol' [me th't- We had a
Pat: . . . . .
Joe: col[d wader flat
Pat: . [X_____

(16)

Betty: _____
               The first ketch I mean Susie-
               y'kn[ow she jus' threw it.
Pam: . . [X_____

Original Sentence Continued

(19)

Dianne: . .
               He pu:t uhm, (---[---) Tch! Put
Clacia: . . . . . [X_____
Dianne: . . . . [X_____
               crabm[eat on th' bo::dum.
Clacia: _____

(20)

Clacia:
               (Ye-nd) uh, (--[--) Muddy Ritz wz
Dianne: . . . . . . [X_____
Clacia: saying that 'e had a
Dianne: _____

(21)

Ann:
               Wh'n you had that big uhm:,
               (-----------[-) tropical
Jere: . . . . . . [X_____

(22)

Don:
            <u>They</u>'ve changed- (————ᵣ-) the China
John: . . [ₓ_____
Don: <u>C</u>ity.
John: _____

(23)

Barbara:
            Uh:, my kids. (————————ᵣ-) had all
Ethyl: . . . . [ₓ_____
Barbara: these blankets, en
Ethyl: _____

(27)

Barbara: _____
            (I- (——ᵣ--) you know I think that's
Gordie: . . . . [ₓ_____
Barbara: ___ , ,
            terrible.
Gordie: _____

(28)

Betty: . . . . [ₓ_____
            D'you like liv[ing out theᵣr- Are you
Pam: . . . . [ₓ_____
Betty: _____
            on the la:ke? er
Pam: _____

(29)

Clacia: . . . . [ₓ , ,
            En a couple of gir[ls- One otheᵣr
Dianne: . . . . [ₓ_
Clacia: girl from the:re,
Dianne: _____

(30)

```
Dianne:    . . . . ┌X_____
           Michael-└Daniel's fa┌scinated with
Ann:                . . . . └X_____
Dianne:    _____
           elephants.
Ann:                _____
```

(31)

```
Ross:
           'N big sarjun 'nere- (s'n)  (--┌------)
Ells:                                    . └X____
Ross:      th'a'meril had'n
Ells:      _____
```

(32)

```
Curt:
           How's uh, (----------┌-) Jimmy Linder.
Gary:                          . └X_____
```

The sequencing of gaze direction in these examples supports the line of reasoning advanced above. Specifically, in those examples in which the speaker gazes at the recipient before the recipient has begun to look at the speaker, a restart is produced. The sentence in progress when the violation of Rule 2 occurred is left a fragment. However, in those examples in which the speaker does not gaze at a nongazing recipient, the original sentence is continued after the phrasal break.

Earlier sections of this paper focused on the gaze of the hearer. That phenomenon has now been found to be but an aspect of the larger process through which the gaze, and avoidance of gaze, of both speaker and hearer is organized.[17]

Conclusion

This paper has provided some analysis of the internal structure of the turn at talk in natural conversation.[18] The coparticipa-

tion of a hearer has been found to bear crucially upon the construction of sentences by a speaker. Further, the systematic procedures available to participants for coordinating the separate actions of speaker and hearer in the construction of the turn have been found to produce characteristic phenomena in the speaker's utterance, including restarts, pauses, and hesitations of various types. These phenomena have usually been attributed to processes internal to the speaker and have been taken to demonstrate the defective performance of speakers in actual talk. The present analysis has provided some demonstration that though such phenomena can reflect difficulty that the speaker is having in producing an utterance, they can also function interactively and demonstrate the competence of the speaker to construct sentences that are oriented to appropriately by a recipient.

Many students of both interaction and language, including discourse, hold that phenomena within the conversational turn can be analyzed without reference to processes of social organization. A comfortable division of labor between linguistics and sociology is thus reified. Linguists argue that interactive processes can and should be excluded from the analysis of how utterances and sentences are constructed (see, for example, Chomsky, 1965, pp. 3–4), while some analysts of interaction, find that there is nothing for them to study within the turn. Thus, Coulthard and Ashby (1975) state that "the basic unit of all verbal interaction is the exchange. An exchange consists minimally of two successive utterances: one speaker says something and a second says something in return. Anything less is not interactive" (p. 140). The analysis presented here would indicate that, on the contrary, the talk produced within a turn is not merely the result of the actions of the speaker, but rather is the emergent product of a process of interaction between speaker and hearer.[19]

Footnotes

1. The analysis in this paper was directly stimulated by work with Gail Jefferson and by the work of Harvey Sacks. I am greatly indebted to Jefferson, Sacks, Erving Goffman, William Labov, and Marjorie Goodwin for thoughtful and enlightening

comments on earlier versions of this analysis. I alone am responsible for the deficiencies that remain.

2. Approximately fifty hours of tape were recorded jointly by myself and Marjorie Goodwin in settings such as family dinners, the back room of a meat market, a Fourth of July block party, an ice-cream social at a Moose lodge, and so on. For a more complete description of the data and the procedures used to obtain it, see Goodwin (1977, pp. 82–111). Talk is transcribed according to the system developed by Gail Jefferson, which is described in detail in Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974, pp. 731–734).

3. The work of Kendon (1967) both provides strong empirical support for the argument that gaze is a relevant feature of face-to-face talk and makes a detailed investigation of its structure.

4. The ethnographic literature provides some striking exceptions—for example, Whiffen (1915, p. 254)—to what will be said about gaze in this paper. See also LaFrance (1974), LaFrance and Mayo (1976), and Erickson (1979), who report differences between blacks and whites in conversational gaze behavior.

5. This rule is obviously not applicable to talk that is not face-to-face, such as telephone conversations.

6. Within psychology and sociology, phrasal breaks in utterances, such as restarts and pauses, have received some attention (see, for example, Goldman-Eisler, 1961, 1972; Mishler and Waxler, 1970; Dittman, 1974; Dittman and Llewellyn 1969; Bernstein, 1962; Jones, 1974; Cook, 1971; Cook, Smith, and Lalljee, 1974; Maclay and Osgood, 1959; Mahl, 1959; Argyle, 1969; Allen and Guy, 1974; Henderson, 1974; Martin and Strange, 1968). Within these studies two assumptions have been consistently made. First, phrasal breaks are assumed to result from processes entirely internal to the speaker, such as anxiety, cognitive difficulty, or problems in encoding the utterance. An alternative possibility is explored here, specifically, that the actions of the hearer as well as of the speaker might be relevant to the production of phrasal breaks by the speaker. It certainly cannot be argued that processes internal to the speaker are irrelevant to the production of phrasal breaks or that the hearer is implicated in the production of all phrasal breaks. However, in cases where the speaker's phrasal break is coordinated with specific actions of the hearer, it would seem inadequate to attempt to specify either the distribution of phrasal breaks within the utterance or the processes providing for

their occurrence without reference to the actions of the hearer. Second, the psychological research on phrasal breaks shares with contemporary linguistics the assumption that such phenomena are manifestations of defective performance. The present work thus complements a particular line of research is psychology by taking an interactive approach to phenomena that have there been investigated from an individual perspective.

7. Though a hearer can signal his attentiveness in a number of different ways (see, for example, Wiemann, 1976, p. 12), many investigators (for example, Argyle 1969, pp. 108–109 and p. 202; Argyle and Cook, 1976, p. 121 and p. 184; Goffman, 1967, p. 123; Kendon, 1967, p. 36, fn. 7; Philips, 1974, pp. 143–144; Scheflen, 1974, pp. 68–69) have noted the special importance of gaze as a display of attentiveness. With reference to conversation, Argyle and Cook (1976) state that "glances are used by listeners to indicate continued attention and willingness to listen" (p. 121).

8. It will be seen subsequently in this paper that nongazing recipients do not always move after a restart but that in such cases speakers may repeat the restart until gaze is obtained. The data thus support the possibility that not only do recipients have the ability to attend to restarts with precision but that speakers expect recipients to do this. Moreover, speakers systematically organize their talk with reference to such an ability by, for example, not only repeating the phrasal break but also treating the recipient's failure to move after the initial phrasal break as a noticeable absence of relevant action.

The ability to recycle the phrasal break also provides for the possibility of cases in which the beginning of the recipient's movement occurs after a slight delay; that is, speakers can wait briefly for the recipient's response, knowing that they have the ability to repeat the request if the response does not come. Indeed, it may be that the recipient's starting to move into orientation has some retroactive work to it. By starting to attend, the recipient may recognizably display that he or she has already heard some of the prior talk and, thus, that it need not be repeated. Their ability to recyle the request for gaze therefore makes it possible for speakers to treat the place where the recipient's response is relevant and possible, not as an instantaneous point, but rather as a period of time with some duration. Thus while recipients have the ability to attend to restarts with precision and do in fact move immediately after the restart on many occasions, the larger framework of action

within which such moves are given organization and made meaningful also provides recipients with some leeway for the placement of their response relative to the speaker's action.

9. With respect to the insistent quality of such repetition it may be noted that being gazed at by a recipient not only ensures that the channel between speaker and hearer is functioning but also constitutes a display that the speaker is receiving from the hearer the respect owed him (see *Letters of Lord Chesterfield to His Son*, pp. 261–262, cited in Goffman, 1953, pp. 149–150).

10. This is not of course meant to imply that the sentence begun at this point will inevitably remain free of perturbations and phrasal breaks that might subsequently arise from other events in the interaction between speaker and hearer as well as from the speaker's work to formulate his talk in an appropriate and relevant fashion.

11. A pause does, however, have the liability of providing a period of silence in which someone else might attempt to speak.

12. In some current work on the organization of conversation (for example, Zimmerman and West, 1975), the term *interruption* is used to refer to talk that intrudes into the talk of another. The term is being used here in a rather different way. What is at issue is not the placement of one party's talk relative to another's, but rather the way in which a unit that ceases before a recognizable completion to it has been reached can be seen as noticeably incomplete while still having the potential, though not the certainty, of being returned to and completed at some point in the future. Other available formulations, such as abandoning the unit mid course or delaying its further production, are inadequate since they specify the outcome of possibilities that still remain open to the participants, who not only do not yet have the future history of the unit available to them but might be actively using the range of possibilities it still provides as a resource for their current actions.

13. The work of Sacks and his colleagues on repairs (for example, Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks 1977; Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson, 1974; Jefferson, 1972, 1974; Schegloff, 1972; Sacks, 1974) analyzes many other processes that might lead to the interruption of a turn constructional unit prior to its projected completion. Ways in which speech errors manifest underlying linguistic structures have been investigated by Fromkin (1971). The work of Goffman (1975) on the different aspects of the self generated through repairs examines yet other aspects of this phenom-

enon. Further, it cannot be claimed that the interaction of speaker and hearer is relevant to the production of all restarts and pauses. Processes internal to the speaker, such as those examined by Boomer (1965), Mahl (1959), and Dittman (1974), are certainly relevant to the production of many phrasal breaks. While the present analysis focuses on the social and interactive use of restarts and pauses, such phenomena may reflect actual difficulty that the speaker is having in organizing what he is trying to say.

14. Thus Kendon (1967) notes that "mutual gazes tend to be quite short, lasting for little more than a second as a rule" (p. 27).

15. Some analysis of such turns is provided in Goodwin (1979b, 1979c).

16. Such a preference is consistent with the findings of Kendon (1967; p. 33) and Duncan (1974) that while the hearer gazes at the speaker at the beginning of his or her utterance, the speaker looks away from the hearer. These investigators did not, however, account for this pattern in terms of the rules for the organization of mutual gaze being proposed here or specify interactive procedures for the systematic achievement of particular, oriented-to, states of gaze. Duncan (1974) did, however, find that one of the ways in which a participant's shift from hearer to speaker is marked is by movement of gaze away from his or her partner, and Duncan and Fiske (1977, pp. 215–221) found that the presence or absence of such a move differentiated attempts to claim speakership from back-channel vocalizations within the turn of another. Kendon (1967) accounted for the speaker's looking away at turn-beginning in terms of cognitive planning: the speaker is formulating what he or she is about to say. Such a possibility certainly cannot be discounted, and indeed it rather neatly complements the processes being investigated in the present analysis.

17. The analysis here is qualitative rather than quantitative. It is assumed that both the relevance of the rules proposed here and the orientation of the participants to them can best be established by locating and describing specific procedures being utilized by the participants. The frequency with which particular procedures are employed is a separate issue. Some brief consideration will, however, be given to the frequency with which the patterns being described here occurred in a specific eleven-minute conversation (tape G. 50).

In this data eight cases were found in which a speaker gazed at a nongazing hearer at turn-beginning and did not produce a phrasal break or attempt to remedy the situation in some other fashion. Fifty-four other turns were found that were in agreement with the process being described in this paper. In fifteen other cases the participants did not gaze at each other within the turn. These figures are only approximate; for sound theoretical reasons, the unit to be counted as a turn cannot always be definitely established. More detailed analysis beyond the scope of this paper (but available in Goodwin, 1977, pp. 196–197) suggests that some of the eight turns in which a speaker gazed at a nongazing hearer may in fact constitute lawful exceptions to the process being described here or show an orientation to it in some other fashion.

18. The analysis that has been developed in this paper provides only the skeleton of a much richer and more subtle process. Among the phenomena that have not been examined here but that are investigated in Goodwin (1977) and Goodwin (forthcoming-b) are the operations of such procedures with multiple recipients, their use in mid turn, ways in which speakers can reorganize their gaze so as either to avoid the occurrence of a projected violation or to argue that such a violation has not in fact occurred, how the rules provide for the precise placement of the speaker's gaze relative to the recipient's gaze, and the functional significance of performing the summons as a repair on the talk rather than as an explicit activity in its own right. The rules proposed here, moreover, which help coordinate the engagement of the participants within the turn, are both systematically related to processes of disengagement also operative within conversation (see Goodwin 1979b, 1979c) and may be relaxed in certain sequential positions, such as during particular subcomponents of a story, so as to coordinate the production of conversation with other activities also occurring in a setting (see Goodwin, forthcoming-a). For some analysis of processes of interaction between speaker and hearer once a state of mutual gaze has been established, see M. Goodwin, this volume.

19. In the present study, consequences of the hearer's action on the speaker's talk have been restricted to repairs of various types. Interaction between speaker and hearer relevant to tasks posed in the construction of the turn may, however, lead to system-

atic changes in the emerging structure of the speaker's sentence; for example, the addition of new sections to it and modifications in its meaning so that its appropriateness for its recipient of the moment can be maintained and demonstrated. For analysis of such phenomena see Goodwin (1979a).

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