

# Getting others to do things

A pragmatic typology of recruitments

Edited by

Simeon Floyd

Giovanni Rossi

N. J. Enfield

Studies in Diversity Linguistics



## Studies in Diversity Linguistics

Editor: Martin Haspelmath

In this series:

1. Handschuh, Corinna. A typology of marked-S languages.
2. Rießler, Michael. Adjective attribution.
3. Klamer, Marian (ed.). The Alor-Pantar languages: History and typology.
4. Berghäll, Liisa. A grammar of Mauwake (Papua New Guinea).
5. Wilbur, Joshua. A grammar of Pite Saami.
6. Dahl, Östen. Grammaticalization in the North: Noun phrase morphosyntax in Scandinavian vernaculars.
7. Schackow, Diana. A grammar of Yakkha.
8. Liljegren, Henrik. A grammar of Palula.
9. Shimelman, Aviva. A grammar of Yauyos Quechua.
10. Rudin, Catherine & Bryan James Gordon (eds.). Advances in the study of Siouan languages and linguistics.
11. Kluge, Angela. A grammar of Papuan Malay.
12. Kieviet, Paulus. A grammar of Rapa Nui.
13. Michaud, Alexis. Tone in Yongning Na: Lexical tones and morphotonology.
14. Enfield, N. J. (ed.). Dependencies in language: On the causal ontology of linguistic systems.
15. Gutman, Ariel. Attributive constructions in North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic.
16. Bisang, Walter & Andrej Malchukov (eds.). Unity and diversity in grammaticalization scenarios.
17. Stenzel, Kristine & Bruna Franchetto (eds.). On this and other worlds: Voices from Amazonia.
18. Paggio, Patrizia and Albert Gatt (eds.). The languages of Malta.
19. Seržant, Ilja A. & Alena Witzlack-Makarevich (eds.). Diachrony of differential argument marking.
20. Hözl, Andreas. A typology of questions in Northeast Asia and beyond: An ecological perspective.
21. Riesberg, Sonja, Asako Shiohara & Atsuko Utsumi (eds.). Perspectives on information structure in Austronesian languages.

22. Döhler, Christian. A grammar of Komnzo.
23. Yakpo, Kofi. A Grammar of Pichi.
24. Guérin Valérie (ed.). Bridging constructions.
25. Aguilar-Guevara, Ana, Julia Pozas Loyo & Violeta Vázquez-Rojas Maldonado \*eds.). Definiteness across languages.

# Getting others to do things

A pragmatic typology of recruitments

Edited by

Simeon Floyd

Giovanni Rossi

N. J. Enfield



Floyd, Simeon, Giovanni Rossi & N. J. Enfield (eds.). 2020. *Getting others to do things: A pragmatic typology of recruitments* (Studies in Diversity Linguistics ). Berlin: Language Science Press.

This title can be downloaded at:

<http://langsci-press.org/catalog/book/263>

© 2020, the authors

Published under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 Licence (CC BY 4.0):

<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/> 

Indexed in EBSCO

ISBN: no digital ISBN

no print ISBNs!

ISSN: 2363-5568

no DOI

Source code available from [www.github.com/langsci/263](http://www.github.com/langsci/263)

Collaborative reading: [paperhive.org/documents/remote?type=langsci&id=263](http://paperhive.org/documents/remote?type=langsci&id=263)

Cover and concept of design: Ulrike Harbort

Fonts: Linux Libertine, Libertinus Math, Arimo, DejaVu Sans Mono

Typesetting software: X<sub>E</sub>L<sup>A</sup>T<sub>E</sub>X

Language Science Press

Unter den Linden 6

10099 Berlin, Germany

[langsci-press.org](http://langsci-press.org)

Storage and cataloguing done by FU Berlin





# Contents

<b>1 Recruitments and pragmatic typology</b> Giovanni Rossi, Simeon Floyd & N. J. Enfield	<b>1</b>
<b>2 A coding scheme for recruitment sequences in interaction</b> Simeon Floyd, Giovanni Rossi & N. J. Enfield	<b>23</b>
<b>3 Getting others to do things in the Cha'palaa language of Ecuador</b> Simeon Floyd	<b>51</b>
<b>4 Recruitment in English: A quantitative study</b> Kobin H. Kendrick	<b>93</b>
<b>5 The recruitment system in Italian</b> Giovanni Rossi	<b>151</b>
<b>6 Recruitments in Lao</b> N. J. Enfield	<b>199</b>
<b>7 Recruitments in Murrinhpatha and the preference organisation of their possible responses</b> Joe Blythe	<b>225</b>
<b>8 Recruitments in Polish</b> Jörg Zinken	<b>275</b>
<b>9 Recruiting assistance in Russian</b> Julija Baranova	<b>319</b>
<b>10 Recruiting assistance and collaboration in interaction: a West-African corpus study</b> Mark Dingemanse	<b>361</b>
<b>Index</b>	<b>413</b>



## Chapter 1

# Recruitments and pragmatic typology

Giovanni Rossi

University of California at Los Angeles

Simeon Floyd

Department of Anthropology, Universidad San Francisco de Quito

N. J. Enfield

Department of Linguistics, The University of Sydney

## 1 Introduction

Getting others to do things is a central part of social interaction in any human society. Language is our main tool for this purpose. In this book, we show that sequences of interaction in which one person's behaviour solicits or occasions another's assistance or collaboration share common structural properties that provide a basis for the systematic comparison of this domain across languages. The goal of this comparison is to uncover similarities and differences in how language and other conduct are used in carrying out social action around the world, including different kinds of requests, orders, suggestions and other actions brought together under the rubric of *recruitment* (see §4 below). The project constitutes an exercise in pragmatic typology. We map out a possibility space for linguistically-mediated social actions and we use that possibility space as a grid for comparison between languages. This allows us to look for universals and crosslinguistic variation in this pragmatic domain. While other multi-authored publications (e.g., Floyd et al. 2018) present comparative findings from this project, this book lays out the conceptual and methodological background for the project (Chapters 1–2) and presents the findings language-by-language (Chapter 3–10). The book is



Giovanni Rossi, Simeon Floyd & N. J. Enfield

intended to serve as a reference source for those interested in primary data on the phenomenon of recruitments in a diverse set of the world's languages.

## 2 Background on research on getting others to do things

A landmark in research on requests and similar speech acts is (Searle 1969; 1975), who built on Austin (1962). For Searle, speech acts had felicity conditions, which needed to be met if the act was to succeed. For a request, the utterance should refer to a future act of the recipient and the speaker should believe that the recipient can do the requested act, among other conditions (Searle 1969: 66). Many of Searle's felicity conditions refer to mental states of participants. Building on this and the cognitively-grounded theory of Grice (1975), Brown & Levinson (1978; 1987) developed a theory of politeness in which requests featured prominently. The theory began with observations of similarities in pragmatic strategies in three unrelated languages and cultures (Tamil, Tzeltal and English). A theory of face – people's public self-image (Goffman 1967) – suggested universal pressures affecting social behaviour, particularly in 'face-threatening acts' such as requests.

Researchers in psychology engaged with the ideas of Searle, Grice, Brown & Levinson, seeking to test them with experimental methods. One puzzle concerned the literal meaning of an utterance (e.g. can you pass the salt?) in the comprehension of the intended request, that is whether or not the literal meaning must be computed first before inferring that a request is being made (Clark & Lucy 1975; Clark 1979; Gibbs 1979; Clark & Schunk 1980; Gibbs 1983; 1986a)). Another puzzle concerned variation of request forms in terms of a single general principle: when making a request, a speaker first assesses what reason there might be for the recipient not complying, and then formulates an utterance to deal with the "greatest potential obstacle" they can anticipate (Gibbs 1985; Frančík & Clark 1985; Gibbs 1986b; Gibbs & Müller 1988; Clark 1996, pp. 309–312). The obstacle mentioned may be generic, such as the recipient's inability to do what is requested (e.g. *can you tell me what time it is?*), or more specific, such as the availability of a relevant object (e.g. *do you happen to have a watch?*). This is closely related to the ideas of preconditions discussed by Searle (1969) and by Gordon & Lakoff (1971).

Linguists have studied the grammatical structures and pragmatic properties of the basic sentence types, all of which are used in requesting: imperatives, interrogatives, declaratives (Gordon & Lakoff 1971; Sadock & Zwicky 1985; Aikhenvald & Dixon 2017). They also studied the connections between alternative lin-

## 1 *Recruitments and pragmatic typology*

guistic forms and social variables in events of requesting (Sinclair & Coulthard 1975; Ervin-Tripp 1976; 1981; Gordon & Ervin-Tripp 1984; Ervin-Tripp et al. 1990, p. 1990), including how these variables may affect the comprehension of the request.

A large body of research in the subfield of “cross-cultural pragmatics” (e.g. Blum-Kulka et al. 1989) was devoted to the comparative study of linguistic patterns associated with requests across many languages. A unifying element of this tradition of research was a standardized methodology based on “discourse completion tasks” (Blum-Kulka 1982). In §5 below, we further discuss this tradition of research in relation to our pragmatic typological approach.

Research in the fields of conversation analysis, ethnomethodology, and interactional linguistics is perhaps closest to the approach taken here, for a few reasons. One is that the empirical source of data is recordings of informal interaction. Second, the units of analysis are not clauses or sentences but moves in conversational sequences (Wootton 1981; 1997; Lindström 2005; Vinkhuyzen & Szymanski 2005; Heinemann 2006; Curl & Drew 2008; Craven & Potter 2010; Zinken & Ogiermann 2013; Drew & Couper-Kuhlen 2014, among many others). These inductive approaches have been grounded in the sequential development of interaction. Most conversation-analytic and interactional-linguistic studies of requesting to date have concentrated on a particular language. Comparison between languages is only possible by drawing on results of distinct studies, each with their own particular focus and goals. Also, most conversation-analytic research tends not to be transparently quantitative. But structured quantitative analysis built on the back of a qualitative analysis has been shown to greatly enhance the analytic possibilities of comparative conversation analysis (e.g. Fox et al. 2009; Rossano et al. 2009; Stivers et al. 2009; Dingemanse et al. 2015)

In research to date, the pragmatic domain of getting others to do things has been thought of in different ways. A distinction is often made between getting someone to carry out a practical action and getting someone to provide information. Some work in the philosophy of language (e.g. Searle 1969) and in psycholinguistics (e.g. Clark 1979; Clark & Schunk 1980) tended to merge the two. But most work has distinguished between soliciting practical action and information, and has studied them as separate phenomena. Another distinction has to do with the categorization of types or sub-types of social action. Two main approaches can be identified here. The first is to treat the domain of getting others to do things as a family of related but distinct speech acts or actions (e.g. directives, requests, hints) on the basis of distinct semantic/pragmatic features, for example those defining different degree of forcefulness or coerciveness (e.g.

Giovanni Rossi, Simeon Floyd & N. J. Enfield

Searle 1976; Wierzbicka 1991; Craven & Potter 2010). The second approach is to treat the domain as a single, generic type of social action, and to treat variations in the way this is implemented as pertaining to the level of linguistic practice (e.g. Ervin-Tripp et al. 1990; Wootton 1997; Rossi 2012). A third distinction within the domain is drawn in terms of the temporality of the practical action being solicited: whether the action is carried out immediately, at the same place and time – such as passing a knife in a kitchen setting – or distally, at a different place and later time – such as picking somebody up from work (see, e.g., Lindström 1999). Although much research encompasses both, studies of telephone calls obviously privilege the latter, whereas studies of face-to-face interaction privilege the former.

### 3 Background to the project and studies presented in this book

The conceptual, empirical, and analytical work on recruitments presented in this volume was carried out by a team of researchers under the auspices of the *Human Sociality and Systems of Language Use* (HSSLU) project, a European Research Council Starting Grant awarded to Nick Enfield 2010–2014. The Recruitments Sub-project was coordinated by Simeon Floyd and Giovanni Rossi, and was convened at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen, the Netherlands, in collaboration with other members of the Interactional Foundations of Language project in Stephen Levinson’s Language and Cognition Group (also encompassing Levinson’s European Research Council Advanced Grant INTERACT 2011–2015).

The authors of the chapters of this book each contributed to the comparative study in a number of ways. All contributed to the conceptual development of the project, including the content of the coding scheme, administering the coding scheme, and analysing the results. Collection of video corpora used in the study was carried out by Julija Baranova (Russian), Joe Blythe (Murrinhpatha), Mark Dingemanse (Siwu), N. J. Enfield (Lao), Simeon Floyd (Cha’palaa), Giovanni Rossi (Italian, English) and Jörg Zinken (Polish).<sup>1</sup> Steve Levinson provided the context for this project to thrive, and was a key interlocutor at all points throughout the project. As an external collaborator, Paul Drew was present for many of the research meetings, and contributed much to the methodology and conception

---

<sup>1</sup>Part of the English data came from the Language and Social Interaction Archive created by Leah Wingard, available from San Francisco State University (<http://www.sfsu.edu/~lsi/>)

## 1 *Recruitments and pragmatic typology*

of the project. Séan G. Roberts provided crucial advice and assistance in developing the quantitative aspects of the comparative analysis (not reported in this volume). The coding and data analysis workflow built on and extended work in a closely related subproject of HSSLU that developed a pragmatic typology of other-initiated repair, coordinated by Mark Dingemanse and Nick Enfield. We also owe a debt to conceptual collaborators in discussion and data analysis over the life of the project: Lorena Pool Balam, Penelope Brown, Tyko Dirksmeyer, Paul Drew, Rósa S. Gísladóttir, Gertie Hoymann, Stephen C. Levinson, Lilla Magyari, Elizabeth Manrique, Ruth Parry, Séan G. Roberts, Jack Sidnell, Tanya Stivers and Francisco Torreira.

The development of the recruitments concept and the timeline of the project work and findings is as follows.<sup>2</sup>

The HSSLU project, which began in January 2010, featured three subprojects. One of these centred on actions of getting people to do things. On 7–9 October 2010, team members discussed requests and similar kinds of speech acts in a UCLA workshop on ‘Action Ascription in Social Interaction’. At a follow-up workshop on the same topic in Nijmegen on 18–19 March 2011, Enfield presented a first working definition of ‘recruitment’ (Enfield 2011). This was a reference point for a one-week intensive data workshop on recruitments held later that month (March 21–25, 2011), in which team members, together with Paul Drew as an external collaborator, delved into data and initial qualitative analysis of candidate recruitment sequences in the languages represented in the present volume.

This collaborative work, along with a subsequent session on recruitments at a HSSLU project retreat on 20 April 2011, resulted in a first draft of the coding scheme for this volume, authored by Simeon Floyd and Giovanni Rossi and circulated within the project team on 25 October 2011. The project team met (on 27 March 2012) to discuss the first draft coding scheme. Notes by Floyd and Rossi were then circulated, followed by circulation of an updated coding draft on 16 April 2012.

In October 2012, a subgroup of team members – Enfield, Floyd, Rossi, and Dingemanse – carried out a first pilot study using the coding scheme. On November 2, 2012, Simeon Floyd presented the ongoing results of the recruitments project at a retreat at Schloss Ringberg, Germany. Later that month, the HSSLU project team met to discuss and plan a second pilot study (with a new coding scheme draft version 1.3), this time with all team members participating. During the week of November 20–27 2012, the full team carried out a pilot of the coding

---

<sup>2</sup>See <http://recruitments.nickenfield.org/timeline/> for PDFs of the documents and memos mentioned in the rest of this section.

Giovanni Rossi, Simeon Floyd & N. J. Enfield

scheme on all of the languages included in this volume. In December 2012, team members identified cases in their respective corpora for coding, and on January 20, 2013, the coding scheme was finalised (version 2.2). The full team then held an intensive coding week (January 21–25, 2013), following a shared set of further instructions circulated to the team by Simeon Floyd.

After the coding was completed, a coding consistency check was done, followed by a test for coder reliability across the team members. This process was overseen by Simeon Floyd and Giovanni Rossi. Because each team member worked with data in languages that others had no access to, our coder reliability check was carried out using a reference set of English data. The reliability check established that some questions were coded in the same ways across the group, but it also revealed that some questions had not been coded consistently. The final step was for the team to carry out a re-coding of those questions in order to ensure coder reliability. The re-coding took place in December 2013.

Results of the comparative study were publicly presented in February 2014 by Floyd and Rossi at the UCLA workshop “About Face” (FloydRossi2014), and then in the full-team presentation in June 2014 at the International Conference of Conversation Analysis at UCLA (Floyd et al. 2014). The June 2014 presentation not only publicized the empirical findings of the comparative project, it also presented the key conceptual elements of our collective development of the concept of recruitment sequences. Other papers in which these ideas and findings have been discussed included Enfield (2014); Drew & Couper-Kuhlen (2014), Rossi’s dissertation on the system of recruiting assistance and collaboration in Italian (Rossi 2015), Kendrick & Drew (2016), Zinken & Rossi (2016), and Floyd (2017).

While comparative findings from this project are presented in multi-authored publications (Floyd et al. 2014; 2018), the present collection was convened as an opportunity for the individual researchers to lay out the project findings specific to their language of study.

## 4 Recruitment sequences defined

Our use of the term *recruitment* reflects a shift from an approach centered around the speech act of requesting to one addressing the interactional process of getting others to act. The two main alternatives to our *recruitment* approach are: i) a definition of the phenomenon based on intentional states such as someone’s desire to have another do something and ii) a definition of the phenomenon based on linguistic form, for example, focusing on imperatively-formatted utterances. While the former presents problems of evidence, the latter overly limits

## 1 Recruitments and pragmatic typology

the scope, as we know that other types of utterances can be used in seeking assistance or collaboration. Our functional approach based on recruitment sequences in recorded interaction makes the identification of cases more objective and replicable, the analysis more falsifiable, and comparison across languages easier because of the natural control provided by sequential structure (Dingemanse & Floyd 2014), without having to restrict the scope of relevant linguistic patterns beforehand.

As we define it, a recruitment is a basic cooperative phenomenon in social interaction consisting of a sequence of two moves with the following characteristics:<sup>3</sup>

**Move A** participant A does or says something to participant B, or that B can see or hear;

**Move B** participant B does a practical action for or with participant A that is fitted to what A has done or said.

Crucial to this phenomenon is the nature of the behavior instigated in Move B: a *practical* action involving physical work, typically the transfer of an object, the performance of a manual task, or the alteration of an ongoing bodily movement.

In this project, we restrict the target phenomenon by focusing on the recruitment of practical actions to be performed here and now. The recruitment of information and of future practical actions are excluded. At the same time, we are inclusive of any communicative behavior that causes someone to do something, independently of its verbal or nonverbal construction, and of whatever the speaker's exact intention may be. The identification of cases does not turn on the form of the instigating behavior, but on the nature of the behavior instigated, and on the causal relation between the two.

Because of our focus on here-and-now cooperation, Move A and Move B must be temporally adjacent. This means that B must begin to deal with what A has said or done in the next few moments. In some cases, the provision of assistance or collaboration may be displaced because B initiates repair or defers fulfilment on some grounds (e.g. because they're momentarily busy). What is important is that the first response addresses the relevance of immediate cooperation. This obtains also when B refuses to do fulfil the recruitment. Finally, there are cases

---

<sup>3</sup>By *move* we intend a unit of communicative behavior that may include language and/or other conduct (Enfield 2013b, Chapter 6; cf. Goffman 1981). This is a related but distinct concept to *turn*, which we understand as a move involving primarily language (see Schegloff 2007, pp. 3–7)

*Giovanni Rossi, Simeon Floyd & N. J. Enfield*

in which B may ignore Move A and produce no response, or a response that doesn't address the relevance of their immediate cooperation. In this case, additional measures are taken to preserve objectivity in the identification and inclusion of cases: when there is no uptake of the recruitment, we only consider cases in which: i) Move A involves an explicit, on-record practice, typically a linguistic practice, that is known to regularly solicit compliance with recruitment (e.g. imperative, explicit interrogatives such as 'can you x', etc.); ii) Move A is repeated, either in the same or in another form, showing pursuit of response. These criteria mean that we exclude cases of implicit, off-record practices that could have potentially led to someone doing something, but didn't, and were not pursued. Finally, note that in cases in which the recruitment is fulfilled or granted in Move B, the sequence may be minimally expanded with a further move – Move C – registering appreciation or satisfaction, in other words, acknowledgement by A.

The components of a recruitment sequence and the terminology to describe them can be summarized as follows.

A RECRUITMENT SEQUENCE minimally involves:

- two participants: A (the RECRUITER) producing the recruitment, and B (the RECRUITEE) responding to it;
- MOVE A (the RECRUITMENT) = the instigating action;
- MOVE B (the RESPONSE) = an action addressing the relevance of immediate cooperation as a result of the previous instigating action, including:
  - FULFILLMENT = a practical action involving physical work performed for or with A;
  - REJECTION = the conveyance of inability or unwillingness to fulfill the recruitment;
  - DEFERMENT of fulfilment;
  - INITIATION OF REPAIR (often leading to fulfilment after repair);

If B IGNORES Move A, then Move A must include an explicit, on-record practice of recruitment in order for the sequence to be included.

- The sequence can be minimally expanded by a MOVE C, doing ACKNOWLEDGMENT.

The coding scheme, presented in Chapter 2 of this volume, provides detailed commentary and examples, elaborating on each element of recruitment sequences and on the criteria for their identification presented in summary form here.

*1 Recruitments and pragmatic typology*

## 5 Pragmatic typology

Pragmatic typology is the comparative study of language use. It brings together conceptual and analytic tools from a range of disciplines including linguistics, conversation analysis, gesture studies, and anthropology. A key innovation of the approach in relation to tools for analysis in linguistics is the reference to features of sequentially ordered exchange of action in conversation, including the temporal unfolding of such exchange, and its social and normative context. Further, because of the reliance on video corpora, it incorporates both verbal and nonverbal conduct in the analysis of sequences of action. We are faced with the challenge that faces any comparative linguist, namely the need to distinguish between language-particular descriptive categories and language-independent comparative categories or “comparative concepts” (Haspelmath 2010). We submit that our appeal to features of conversational organization – outside of the usual realm of ‘concepts’ in the semantic sense – is an advance in the search for tools for linguistic comparison.

A landmark effort to carry out comparative pragmatics was the subfield of ‘cross-cultural pragmatics’, launched in the 1980s. Building on speech act theory and politeness theory, cross-cultural pragmatics studied the realization of requests across a large number of languages (House & Kasper 1981; Blum-Kulka et al. 1989; Sifianou 1992; Lee-Wong 1994; Le Pair 1996; Márquez-Reiter 2000; Tsuzuki et al. 2005; Rue & Zhang 2008; Félix-Brasdefer 2009; Ogiermann 2009; Peterson 2010, among many others). This work was motivated, on the one hand, by a search for similarities and differences in the use of language across cultures, and on the other hand, by an interest in the acquisition and development of pragmatic competence (see Woodfield 2008 for a review). Studies in this tradition have provided insights into culture-specific features of politeness and directness, and produced rich inventories of request realization patterns. However, these advances in systematic comparison of speech acts across languages have been limited by their methodology. By using written elicitation, in the form of a “discourse completion task”, this work has relied on speaker metalinguistic belief about appropriate usage, rather than on direct observation of actual usage in situ. A first problem with this is that we cannot be sure if speaker intuitions match with what they do in practice. A second problem is that such an approach is relatively low in ecological validity, and does not provide access to the kinds of empirical evidence that direct and repeated observation of behavior in recordings can provide.

Our approach to pragmatic typology has two fundamental elements: (1) empir-

*Giovanni Rossi, Simeon Floyd & N. J. Enfield*

ical analysis of verbal and nonverbal behavior in video recordings of naturally occurring interaction across languages, and (2) a coding-based methodology for systematic comparison (see Dingemanse & Enfield 2015; Rossi in press). In some previous comparative work in conversation analysis and interactional linguistics, the comparison emerges from cumulative results of distinct studies, each with their own particular focus and goals; this applies, for instance, to collections of studies of questioning (Steensig & Drew 2008), person reference (Enfield & Stivers 2007) and change-of-state tokens (Heinemann & Koivisto 2016). In other cases, the comparison is designed in advance and carried out jointly by reference to a common focus. Studies of this kind have examined, among other phenomena, the intersection of self-repair and turn-taking (Fox et al. 1996), other-initiated repair (Egbert 1996; Egbert et al. 2009), epistemically authoritative second assessments (Sidnell & Enfield 2012), and requests (Zinken 2016). Finally, some structured comparisons involve a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods, including a coding scheme with a battery of standardised questions asked of hundreds of cases for each language; these include studies of gaze behaviour (Rossano et al. 2009), turn-taking (Stivers et al. 2009), self-repair (Fox et al. 2010; 2009), question-answer sequences (Enfield et al. 2010), other-initiated repair (Dingemanse et al. 2016). The project reported on in this book falls within this third group.

Ours is a mixed methodology in six defined steps. We now outline the six-step process in idealized form, in part as a description of what we have done in this project and in part as a recipe for carrying out subsequent pragmatic typological team projects on other aspects of social interaction.

#### *Six-step method for comparative team-based pragmatic typological research*

**Step 1. Record:** Project members carry out sustained field expeditions to village/home and equivalent community settings, making high-quality video recordings of everyday interaction. This step is the foundation of each language's corpus within the project's comparative empirical work. High quality is paramount. Common practical and ethics protocols for the collection of conversational materials in fieldwork are crucial (see Enfield 2013a, Dingemanse & Enfield 2015). To guarantee that the highest quality materials are captured, and as a way of maximising the investment in field research, each field researcher collects a large number of hours of raw material which ensures availability of sufficient quality data, as well as providing extensive materials for later research if needed. This step assumes significant background work on the part of the researcher, who has likely already established the appropriate type and degree of familiarity and integration in a

## *1 Recruitments and pragmatic typology*

host community and with the relevant language.

**Step 2. Transcribe:** Project members then work with native speakers in the field to transcribe and translate the recordings collected. This is a lengthy and involved phase of the research, and represents a major commitment of research resources, but with a major payoff in result. Full transcription and translation of one minute of recorded interaction takes approximately three hours; about an hour for fine-grained transcription and about two hours for full translation (given that the researcher is not a native speaker of the language being transcribed and translated). Securing an accurate and complete account of what is being said in a free-flowing conversation is difficult and time-consuming. Many team members are working on languages that are not their first languages. These hours of transcription and translation may also require more general investigation of the language, as necessary background to the analysis of the corpora, along with the relevant biographical and ethnographic background. This means that the ‘Transcribe’ step will likely require between 9 and 12 months of dedicated fieldwork. This is a valuable investment with broader payoff: an important outcome of this step is that these corpora will then be available for further research in the future.

**Step 3. Confer:** Team members work together in intensive internal group meetings over a sustained period, in which all members of the team share data and observations from the corpora relating to the four rubrics; these are hands-on intensive meetings, carried out at close quarters with the goal of identifying and operationalizing the empirical phenomena for quantitative investigation in Step 4 below, and articulating their relation to the project’s research questions. This step is important for the project’s conceptual and theoretical outcomes, and it ensures coherence and clarity of the outcomes in subsequent steps. An important goal of this step is to ensure that the team members become so steeped in the empirical materials, not just from their own field language but from all languages in the project, that the team develops deep and shared intuitions for the phenomena at the core of this project. These sessions also have the specific goal of producing a coding scheme to be used in Step 4.

**Step 4. Code:** Team members carry out quantitative coding based on Step 3 outcomes. Coding schemes should eventually be published, so as to allow the international research community to apply them in extensions and adaptations of the research (see Chapter 2 of this volume, as well as Stivers &

*Giovanni Rossi, Simeon Floyd & N. J. Enfield*

[Enfield 2010](#), Dingemanse, Kendrick[Enfield2015](#)\*2016, for examples). The coding step can be done within a few weeks, and is done in an intensive block-out work period, with all team members in daily contact to discuss and iron out coding issues while working through the corpora.

**Step 5. Check:** After coding of individual language corpora is completed, there is a check for coding reliability. This ensures that the coding done by each team member of data in different languages is done consistently across the project. The procedure is to use a reference recording from a language common to all team members (e.g., English) and have everybody independently code the data in this recording, using the coding scheme from Step 4, in order to then make a quantitative check for reliability and consistency in coding. It is then possible to report with confidence that the coding of different languages by different researchers in Step 4 was carried out in the same way (as [Dingemanse et al. 2015](#):4 do for repair).

**Step 6. Model:** This final step involves quantitative modelling of the coding results from Step 4. The data resulting from the large-scale coding scheme enables statistical modelling for quantitative assessment of patterns of interdependence between the phenomena coded for (as formulated in Step 3 and executed in Step 4). Because multiple variables are to be coded for, it is necessary to use multivariate statistics to control for interdependence among these variables (see [Dingemanse et al. 2015](#) for an example of this). Steps 5 and 6 do not take a long time, but require special expertise.

This protocol requires a team science approach. Given the demanding combination of fieldwork (steps 1, 2), expertise in comparative linguistics, interactional linguistics, and conversation analysis (steps 3, 4), and quantitative approaches (steps 5, 6), this could never have been done in any way other than by a team. Team science in linguistics is still quite rare and we were fortunate to have had a rare opportunity to do this here.

The findings reported in the language-specific chapters in this volume issue are primarily the product of qualitative analysis but also include quantitative findings particular to each data set.

## 6 Data

Figure 1: World map figures from [FloydRossi2018](#)

## 1 Recruitments and pragmatic typology

Table 1: Languages covered in this volume, data sources, coding credits.

Language	Language family	Location	Data collected by	Coded by
Cha'palaa	Barbacoan	Ecuador	Simeon Floyd	Simeon Floyd
English	IE (Germanic)	United Kingdom	Giovanni Rossi, LSI archive <a href="http://www.sfsu.edu/~lsi/">http://www.sfsu.edu/~lsi/</a>	Kobin H. Kendrick
Italian	IE (Romance)	Italy	Giovanni Rossi	Giovanni Rossi
Lao	Tai	Laos	N. J. Enfield	N. J. Enfield
Murrinh-Patha	Southern Daly	Northern Australia	Joe Blythe	Joe Blythe
Polish	IE (Slavic)	Poland	Jörg Zinken	Jörg Zinken
Russian	IE (Slavic)	Russia	Julija Baranova	Julija Baranova
Siwu	Kwa	Ghana	Mark Dingemanse	Mark Dingemanse

This study is based on the analysis of corpora of audiovisual recordings of informal everyday language usage in social interaction in eight languages from five continents. The construction of these corpora followed a similar procedure involving the placement of an unattended camera in household and community contexts, to record social interactions as they were occurring naturally, using high standards for audio and video quality (see “Step 1” discussed in §5 for more details).

The data were transcribed and translated by language expert (see Table 1), with assistance from native speakers. The corpora range in size from about ten to over ninety hours of footage. In some cases, the corpus represents the largest available database for the language, especially in the case of unwritten minority languages like Cha'palaa, Murrinhpatha and Siwu. For larger-scale national languages like English, Italian, Lao, Polish and Russian, other corpora may be available to some degree, but most of these are limited to written language, due to the intensive de-

*Giovanni Rossi, Simeon Floyd & N. J. Enfield*

mands of transcription of spoken language; demands which make corpus-based comparative studies like this one relatively new.

Sampling procedures and criteria for inclusion/exclusion are detailed in Chapter 2.

## 7 This book

The goal of this book is two-fold: to document the conceptual and methodological framework of our project (especially here and in Chapter 2) and to provide detailed qualitative/quantitative analyses of recruitment sequences in each of the eight languages: Cha’palaa, English, Italian, Lao, Murrinhpatha, Polish, Russian, Siwu. Each language-specific study gives an overview of linguistic, gestural, sequential, and contextual features of recruitment sequences, following the categories defined in the coding scheme. While written to stand independently, the eight chapters adopt the coding scheme’s common reference structure to facilitate navigation and comparison. At the same time, the chapters develop aspects and topics that are specific to each language and data.

By focusing on the phenomenon of recruitments, this large-scale collaborative study examines a domain of social action in interaction in which social relations are exploited, maintained, and potentially tested. We find that crosslinguistic diversity in this pragmatic domain is relatively low, considerably lower than the diversity observed in phonological, morphosyntactic, and semantic systems of language. This is in line with the idea that a species-wide infrastructure for interaction underpins the use of language, largely independent of the specific shape of that language (see Levinson 2000; 2006; Schegloff 2006; Enfield 2013b; Enfield & Sidnell 2014; Stivers et al. 2009; Dingemanse et al. 2015). This is not to say that these pragmatic systems are identical. The chapters of this book show that there are differences. But we are struck by the commonalities that our new approach reveals in a domain of language where many might expect to find radical variation.

## Abbreviations

## Acknowledgements

All contributors for their input to the project, and for their patience with the editors. All collaborators for their input and intellectual engagement (see §3).

## 1 Recruitments and pragmatic typology

Our funding bodies: ERC (HSSLU and INTERACT projects), MPG (Language and Cognition Department, directed by Stephen C. Levinson), NWO, ARC.

## References

- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. & Robert M. W. Dixon (eds.). 2017. *Commands: a cross-linguistic typology* (Oxford linguistics 8). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Austin, J. L. 1962. *How to do things with words*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 166 pp.
- Blum-Kulka, Shoshana. 1982. Learning how to say what you mean in a second language: a study of the speech act performance of learners of Hebrew as a second language. *Applied Linguistics* 3. 29–59.
- Blum-Kulka, Shoshana, Juliane House & Gabriele Kasper. 1989. *Cross-cultural pragmatics: Requests and apologies* (Advances in Discourse Processes). Norwood: Ablex.
- Brown, Penelope & Stephen C. Levinson. 1978. Universals in language usage: Politeness phenomena. In Esther N. Goody (ed.), *Questions and politeness: Strategies in social interaction*, 56–311. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brown, Penelope & Stephen C. Levinson. 1987. *Politeness: Some universals in language usage* (Studies in Interactional Sociolinguistics 4). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Clark, Herbert H. 1979. Responding to indirect speech acts. *Cognitive Psychology* 11(4). 430–477.
- Clark, Herbert H. 1996. *Using language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Clark, Herbert H. & Peter Lucy. 1975. Understanding what is meant from what is said: a study in conversationally conveyed requests. *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior* 14(1). 56–72. DOI:[10.1016/S0022-5371\(75\)80006-5](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0022-5371(75)80006-5)
- Clark, Herbert H. & D. H. Schunk. 1980. Polite responses to polite requests. *Cognitive Psychology* 8(2). 111–143. DOI:[10.1016/0010-0277\(80\)90009-8](https://doi.org/10.1016/0010-0277(80)90009-8)
- Craven, Alexandra & Jonathan Potter. 2010. Directives: Entitlement and contingency in action. *Discourse Studies* 12(4). 419–442. DOI:[10.1177/1461445610370126](https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445610370126)
- Curl, Traci S. & Paul Drew. 2008. Contingency and action: A comparison of two forms of requesting. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 41(2). 129–153.
- Dingemanse, Mark & N. J. Enfield. 2015. Other-initiated repair across languages: towards a typology of conversational structures. *Open Linguistics* 1. 98–118. DOI:[10.2478/opli-2014-0007](https://doi.org/10.2478/opli-2014-0007)

Giovanni Rossi, Simeon Floyd & N. J. Enfield

- Dingemanse, Mark & Simeon Floyd. 2014. Conversation across cultures. In N. J. Enfield, Paul Kockelman & Jack Sidnell (eds.), *Cambridge handbook of linguistic anthropology*, 434–464. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.  
DOI:[10.1017/CBO9781139342872.021](https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139342872.021)
- Dingemanse, Mark, Kobil H. Kendrick & N. J. Enfield. 2016. A coding scheme for other-initiated repair across languages. *Open Linguistics* 2(1). 35–46.  
DOI:[10.1515/olpli-2016-0002](https://doi.org/10.1515/olpli-2016-0002)
- Dingemanse, Mark, Seán G. Roberts, Julija Baranova, Joe Blythe, Paul Drew, Simeon Floyd, Rósa Signý Gísladóttir, Kobil H. Kendrick, Stephen C. Levinson, Elizabeth Manrique, Giovanni Rossi & N. J. Enfield. 2015. Universal principles in the repair of communication problems. *PLoS ONE* 10(9). e0136100.  
DOI:[10.1371/journal.pone.0136100](https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0136100)
- Drew, Paul & Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen. 2014. Requesting—from speech act to recruitment. In Paul Drew & Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen (eds.), *Requesting in social interaction* (The Anatomy of Meaning), 1–34. Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins.
- Egbert, Maria. 1996. Context-Sensitivity in Conversation: Eye Gaze and the German Repair Initiator Bitte? *Language in Society* 25(04). 587–612.  
DOI:[10.1017/S0047404500020820](https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500020820)
- Egbert, Maria, Andrea Golato & Jeffrey D. Robinson. 2009. Repairing reference. In Jack Sidnell (ed.), *Conversation analysis: Comparative perspectives* (Studies in Interactional Sociolinguistics 27), 104–132. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Enfield, N. J. 2010. Questions and responses in Lao. *Journal of Pragmatics* 42(10). 2649–2665.
- Enfield, N. J. 2011. Sources of asymmetry in human interaction: Enchrony, status, knowledge, and agency. In Tanya Stivers, Lorenza Mondada & Jakob Steensig (eds.), *The morality of knowledge in conversation*, 285–312. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Enfield, N. J. 2013a. *Relationship thinking: enchrony, agency and human sociality*. London / New York: Oxford University Press.
- Enfield, N. J. 2013b. *Relationship thinking: Enchrony, agency, and human sociality*. New York: Oxford University Press.[aMHC].
- Enfield, N. J. 2014. Human agency and the infrastructure for requests. In Paul Drew & Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen (eds.), *Requesting in social interaction*, 35–54. Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins.
- Enfield, N. J. & Jerome Sidnell. 2014. Language presupposes an enchronic infrastructure for social interaction. In Daniel Dor, Chris Knight & Jerome Lewis

## 1 Recruitments and pragmatic typology

- (eds.), *The social origins of language: studies in the evolution of language*, 92–104. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Enfield, N. J. & Tanya Stivers (eds.). 2007. *Person reference in interaction: linguistic, cultural, and social perspectives* (Language, culture, and cognition 7). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Enfield, N. J., Tanya Stivers & Stephen C. Levinson. 2010. Question-response sequences in conversation across ten languages: An introduction. *Journal of Pragmatics* 42(10). 2615–2619. DOI:[10.1016/j.pragma.2010.04.001](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2010.04.001)
- Ervin-Tripp, Susan M. 1976. Is sybil there? The structure of some American English directives. *Language in Society* 5. 25–66.
- Ervin-Tripp, Susan M. 1981. How to make and understand a request. In Herman Parret, Marina Sbisà & Jef Verschueren (eds.), *Possibilities and limitations of pragmatics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Ervin-Tripp, Susan M., Jiansheng Guo & Martin Lampert. 1990. Politeness and persuasion in children's control acts. *Journal of Pragmatics* 14(2). 307–331.
- Félix-Brasdefer, Julio César. 2009. Pragmatic variation across Spanish(es): Requesting in Mexican, Costa Rican and Dominican Spanish. *Intercultural Pragmatics* 6(4). 473–515.
- Floyd, Simeon. 2017. Requesting as a means for negotiating distributed agency. In N. J. Enfield & Paul Kockelman (eds.), *Distributed agency*, 67–78. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Floyd, Simeon, Giovanni Rossi, Julija Baranova, Joe Blythe, Mark Dingemanse, Kobin H. Kendrick, Jörg Zinken & N. J. Enfield. 2018. Universals and cultural diversity in the expression of gratitude. *Royal Society Open Science*. DOI:[10.1017/S0047404516000385](https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404516000385)
- Floyd, Simeon, Giovanni Rossi, N. J. Enfield, Julija Baranova, Joe Blythe, Mark Dingemanse, Kobin H. Kendrick & Jörg Zinken. 2014. Recruitments across languages: A systematic comparison. Talk presented at the 4th International Conference on Conversation Analysis (ICCA 2014). In *University of California at Los Angeles, CA, June 25–29*.
- Fox, Barbara A., Makoto Hayashi & Robert Jasperson. 1996. Resources and repair: a cross-linguistic study of syntax and repair. In Elinor Ochs, Emanuel A. Schegloff & Sandra A. Thompson (eds.), *Interaction and Grammar* (Studies in interactional sociolinguistics 13), 185–237. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fox, Barbara A., Yael Maschler & Susanne Uhmann. 2010. A cross-linguistic study of self-repair: Evidence from English, German, and Hebrew. *Journal*

Giovanni Rossi, Simeon Floyd & N. J. Enfield

of *Pragmatics*. How people talk to Robots and Computers 42(9). 2487–2505.  
DOI:[10.1016/j.pragma.2010.02.006](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2010.02.006)

Fox, Barbara A., Fay Wouk, Makoto Hayashi, Steven Fincke, Liang Tao, Marja-Leena Sorjonen, Minna Laakso & Wilfrido Flores Hernandez. 2009. A cross-linguistic investigation of the site of initiation in same-turn self-repair. In Jack Sidnell (ed.), *Conversation Analysis: Comparative Perspectives* (Studies in Interactional Sociolinguistics), 60–103. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. DOI:[10.1017/CBO9780511635670](https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511635670)

Francik, Ellen P. & Herbert H. Clark. 1985. How to make requests that overcome obstacles to compliance. *Journal of Memory and Language* 24(5). 560–568.

Gibbs, Raymond W. 1979. Contextual effects in understanding indirect requests. *Discourse Processes* 2(1). 1–10. DOI:[10.1080/01638537909544450](https://doi.org/10.1080/01638537909544450)

Gibbs, Raymond W. 1983. Do people always process the literal meanings of indirect requests? *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition* 9(3). 524–533.

Gibbs, Raymond W. 1985. Situational conventions and requests. In Joseph P. Forgas (ed.), *Language and social situations* (Springer series in social psychology), 98–110. New York: Springer-Verlag.

Gibbs, Raymond W. 1986a. Comprehension and memory for nonliteral utterances: The problem of sarcastic indirect requests. *Acta Psychologica* 62(1). 41–57. DOI:[10.1016/0001-6918\(86\)90004-1](https://doi.org/10.1016/0001-6918(86)90004-1)

Gibbs, Raymond W. 1986b. What makes some indirect speech acts conventional? *Journal of Memory and Language* 25(2). 181–196. DOI:[10.1016/0749-596X\(86\)90028-8](https://doi.org/10.1016/0749-596X(86)90028-8)

Gibbs, Raymond W. & Rachel A. G. Müller. 1988. Conversational sequences and preference for indirect speech acts. *Discourse Processes* 11(1). 101. DOI:[10.1080/01638538809544693](https://doi.org/10.1080/01638538809544693)

Goffman, Erving. 1967. *Interaction ritual: Essays in face-to-face behavior*. Garden City, NY: Anchor Books.

Goffman, Erving. 1981. *Forms of talk*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Gordon, David P. & Susan M. Ervin-Tripp. 1984. The structure of children's requests. In R. L. Schiefelbusch & J. Pickar (eds.), *The acquisition of communicative competence*, 295–322. Baltimore: University Park Press.

Gordon, David & George Lakoff. 1971. Conversational postulates. In *Proceedings of the 7th Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*, 63–84.

Grice, H. Paul. 1975. Logic and conversation. In Peter Cole & Jerry L. Morgan (eds.), *Syntax and semantics*, vol. 3, 41–58. New York, NY: Academic Press.

## 1 Recruitments and pragmatic typology

- Haspelmath, Martin. 2010. Comparative concepts and descriptive categories in crosslinguistic studies. *Language* 86(3). 663–687.
- Heinemann, Trine. 2006. ‘Will you or can’t you?’: Displaying entitlement in interrogative requests. *Journal of Pragmatics* 38(7). 1081–1104. DOI:[10.1016/j.pragma.2005.09.013](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2005.09.013)
- Heinemann, Trine & Aino Koivisto. 2016. Indicating a change-of-state in interaction: Cross-linguistic explorations. *Journal of Pragmatics*. DOI:[10.1016/j.pragma.2016.09.002](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2016.09.002)
- House, Juliane & Gabriele Kasper. 1981. Politeness markers in English and German. In F. Coulmas (ed.), *Conversational Routine*, 157–185. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Kendrick, Kobil H. & Paul Drew. 2016. Recruitment: Offers, requests, and the organization of assistance in interaction. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 49(1). 1–19. DOI:[10.1080/08351813.2016.1126436](https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2016.1126436)
- Le Pair, Rob. 1996. Spanish request strategies: a cross-cultural analysis from an intercultural perspective. *Language Sciences* 18(3-4). 651–670.
- Lee-Wong, Song Mei. 1994. Imperatives in requests: Direct or impolite - Observations from Chinese. *Pragmatics* 4(4). 491–515.
- Levinson, Stephen C. 2000. *Presumptive meanings: The theory of generalized conversational implicature*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Levinson, Stephen C. 2006. On the human “interaction engine”. In Nick J. Enfield & Stephen C. Levinson (eds.), *Roots of human sociality: Culture, cognition, and human interaction*, 39–69. Oxford: Berg.
- Lindström, Anna. 1999. *Language as social action: Grammar, prosody and interaction in Swedish conversation*. Uppsala University. (Doctoral dissertation).
- Lindström, Anna. 2005. Language as social action: a study of how senior citizens request assistance with practical tasks in the Swedish home help service. In A. Hakulinen & M. Selting (eds.), *Syntax and lexis in conversation*, 209–233. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Márquez-Reiter, Rosina. 2000. *Linguistic politeness in Britain and Uruguay: a contrastive study of requests and apologies*. John Benjamins.
- Ogiermann, Eva. 2009. Politeness and in-directness across cultures: A comparison of English, German, Polish and Russian requests. *Journal of Politeness Research. Language, Behaviour, Culture* 5(2). 189–216.
- Peterson, Elizabeth. 2010. Perspective and politeness in Finnish requests. *Pragmatics* 20(3). 401–423.

Giovanni Rossi, Simeon Floyd & N. J. Enfield

- Rossano, Federico, Penelope Brown & Stephen C. Levinson. 2009. Gaze, questioning and culture. In Jack Sidnell (ed.), *Conversation analysis: Comparative perspectives*, 187–249. Cambridge University Press.
- Rossi, Giovanni. 2012. Bilateral and unilateral requests: The use of imperatives and Mi X? Interrogatives in Italian. *Discourse Processes* 49(5). 426–458. DOI:[10.1080/0163853X.2012.684136](https://doi.org/10.1080/0163853X.2012.684136)
- Rossi, Giovanni. 2015. Responding to pre-requests: The organization of hai x? Do you have x? Sequences in Italian. *Journal of Pragmatics* 82(Supplement C). 5–22. DOI:[10.1016/j.pragma.2015.03.008](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2015.03.008)
- Rue, Yong-Ju & Grace Qiao Zhang. 2008. *Request Strategies: a comparative study in Mandarin Chinese and Korean*. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Sadock, Jerrold M. & Arnold Zwicky. 1985. Speech act distinctions in syntax. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description*, 155–96. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A. 2006. Interaction: The infrastructure for social institutions, the natural ecological niche for language, and the arena in which culture is enacted. In Nick J. Enfield & Stephen C. Levinson (eds.), *Roots of human sociality: Culture, cognition, and human interaction*, 70–96. Oxford: Berg.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A. 2007. *Sequence organization in interaction: A primer in conversation analysis*. Vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Searle, John R. 1969. *Speech acts: An essay in the philosophy of language*. Vol. 626. Cambridge: Cambridge university press.
- Searle, John R. 1975. Indirect speech acts. In Peter Cole & Jerry L. Morgan (eds.), *Syntax and semantics*, vol. 3, 59–82. New York, NY: Academic Press.
- Searle, John R. 1976. A classification of illocutionary acts. *Language in Society* 5(1). 1–23.
- Sidnell, Jack & N. J. Enfield. 2012. Language Diversity and Social Action. *Current Anthropology* 53(3). 302–333. DOI:[10.1086/665697](https://doi.org/10.1086/665697)
- Sifianou, Maria. 1992. *Politeness phenomena in England and Greece: a cross-cultural perspective*. Oxford / New York: Clarendon Press.
- Sinclair, John McHardy & Malcolm Coulthard. 1975. *Toward an analysis of discourse: The English used by teachers and pupils*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Steensig, Jakob & Paul Drew. 2008. Introduction: questioning and affiliation/ disaffiliation in interaction. *Discourse Studies* 10(1). 5–15. DOI:[10.1177/1461445607085581](https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445607085581)
- Stivers, Tanya & N. J. Enfield. 2010. A coding scheme for question-response sequences in conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics* 42(10). 2620–

## 1 Recruitments and pragmatic typology

2626. <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/B6VCW-509Y47C-1/2/f509310660e819a5fdf00698d02b0cfe>, accessed 2010-7-5.  
DOI:[10.1016/j.pragma.2010.04.002](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2010.04.002)
- Stivers, Tanya, N. J. Enfield, Penelope Brown, Christina Englert, Makoto Hayashi, Trine Heinemann, Gertie Hoymann, Federico Rossano, Jan Peter Ruiter, Kyung-Eun Yoon & Stephen C. Levinson. 2009. Universals and cultural variation in turn-taking in conversation. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 106(26). 10587–10592. DOI:[10.1073/pnas.0903616106](https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.0903616106)
- Tsuzuki, Masako, Kazuhiro Takahashi, Cynthia Patschke & Qin Zhang. 2005. Selection of linguistic forms for requests and offers: Comparison between English and Chinese. In Robin T. Lakoff & Sachiko Ide (eds.), *Broadening the horizon of linguistic politeness*, 283–298. John Benjamins.
- Vinkhuyzen, Erik & Margaret H. Szymanski. 2005. Would you like to do it yourself? Service requests and their non-granting responses. In Keith Richards & Paul Seedhouse (eds.), *Applying conversation analysis*, 91–106. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Wierzbicka, Anna. 1991. *Cross-cultural pragmatics: The semantics of human interaction*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Woodfield, Helen. 2008. Interlanguage requests: a contrastive study. In Martin Pütz & JoAnne Neff-van Aertselaeer (eds.), *Developing contrastive pragmatics: interlanguage and cross-cultural perspectives* (Studies on language acquisition 31), 231–64. Berlin / New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Wootton, Anthony J. 1981. Two request forms of four year olds. *Journal of Pragmatics* 5(6). 511–523.
- Wootton, Anthony J. 1997. *Interaction and the development of mind*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Zinken, Jörg. 2016. *Requesting responsibility: The morality of grammar in Polish and English family interaction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Zinken, Jörg & Eva Ogiermann. 2013. Responsibility and action: Invariants and diversity in requests for objects in British English and Polish interaction. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 46(3). 256–276.
- Zinken, Jörg & Giovanni Rossi. 2016. Assistance and Other Forms of Cooperative Engagement. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 49(1). 20–26.  
DOI:[10.1080/08351813.2016.1126439](https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2016.1126439)



## Chapter 2

# A coding scheme for recruitment sequences in interaction

Simeon Floyd

Department of Anthropology, Universidad San Francisco de Quito

Giovanni Rossi

Department of Sociology, University of California, Los Angeles

N. J. Enfield

Department of Linguistics, The University of Sydney

This chapter provides an annotated coding scheme for analysing recruitment sequences in video-recorded conversational corpora. The scheme was the basis for the research presented in the eight language-specific chapters of this book, and as such it provides necessary context for understanding the comparative project reported on in the volume and associated work. It is also intended to serve as a guideline for other researchers to use in the analysis of recruitment sequences in other languages. The scheme features guidelines for building collections and aggregating cases based on interactionally relevant similarities and differences among target instances. The questions and categories featured in the scheme are motivated by inductive observations of conversational data, grounded in the framework outlined in the introduction to this volume. The scheme was developed and tested in an eight-language comparative project and can serve as a stepping stone for future work on recruitment sequences and the systematic comparative study of conversational structures, otherwise known as pragmatic typology.

## 1 Introduction

The present coding scheme provides a way to systematically analyze a core set of formal and interactional features of recruitment sequences (defined in section

*Simeon Floyd, Giovanni Rossi & N. J. Enfield*

2 of the introduction to this volume). The scheme is the product of the collaborative qualitative study of such sequences in different languages, based on the analysis of audiovisual recordings of interaction and focusing on the details of language and other conduct surrounding recruitments. Such analysis allowed us to identify recurrent social-interactional dimensions and patterns of language usage, leading to the formulation of questions aimed at capturing these aspects in different languages. The coding scheme is therefore inductively derived from an iterative process of observation, analysis, and group discussion of naturally occurring data (see also Stivers 2015; Dingemanse et al. 2016, among others).

The coding scheme (§6) is preceded by a definition of the phenomenon (§2), further specifications for inclusion/exclusion of a case from the data considered (§3), instructions for sampling and collecting cases (§4), and general guidelines for coding (§5). The questions and entries in the body of the scheme are extensively annotated to aid in the understanding of distinctions and replicability of coding.<sup>1</sup>

Besides documenting the analytical procedure of the project, the scheme is published here as a reference for future work, to foster comparable and cumulative research in the interactional domain of recruitment. The scheme can be applied to any type of face-to-face naturally occurring interaction featuring people getting others to do things for or with them.

## 2 Definition and terminology

Recruitment sequences are defined as in the introduction to this volume. A recruitment sequence is a sequence of two moves with the following characteristics:<sup>2</sup>

- Move A: Participant A does or says something to participant B, or that B can see or hear;
- Move B: Participant B does a practical action for or with participant A that is fitted to what A has done or said.

---

<sup>1</sup>We include all of the original questions and entries. However, note that a few categories were not coded with sufficient reliability by the researchers involved in this project; such categories may require further training and calibration of coders, or else reformulation to make reliable coding possible.

<sup>2</sup>By *move* we intend a unit of communicative behavior that may include language and/or other conduct (Enfield 2013: Chapter 6; cf. Goffman 1981). This is a related but distinct concept to *turn*, which we understand as a move involving primarily language (see Schegloff 2007: 3-7)

## *2 A coding scheme for recruitment sequences in interaction*

For the purpose of this coding scheme, the following components of a recruitment sequence are identified.

A recruitment sequence minimally involves:

- two participants: A (the recruiter) producing the recruitment, and B (the recruitee) responding to it;
- Move A (the recruitment) = the instigating action;
- Move B (the response) = an action addressing the relevance of immediate cooperation as a result of the previous instigating action, including:
  - fulfillment = a practical action involving physical work performed for or with A;
  - rejection = the conveyance of inability or unwillingness to fulfill the recruitment;
  - deferment of fulfilment;
  - initiation of repair (often leading to fulfilment after repair);

If B ignores Move A, then Move A must include an explicit, on-record practice of recruitment in order for the sequence to be included.

The sequence can be minimally expanded by a Move C, doing acknowledgement.

## **3 Further specifications for the inclusion/exclusion of cases**

In including and excluding cases for coding, there are a number of further specifications that can help to delimit the phenomenon of recruitment from other kinds of related sequences of interaction.

1. **Providing information vs. speech-based practical action.** While requests for information (e.g. *What time is it?*) are excluded from the collection, requests for practical actions involving speech (e.g. *Go tell him to come*) are included when they require similar kinds of physical work as other practical actions (e.g. *Go get me that knife*).
2. **Perception directives** (e.g. *Look! Listen!*). Cases in which the perception directive is used as a discourse marker (e.g. *Look I don't really know what*

*Simeon Floyd, Giovanni Rossi & N. J. Enfield*

*to do, Listen I have told you this many times) (see, e.g., Sidnell 2007)* or primarily to remark on and share a perceptual experience (e.g. *Look what a beautiful sunset*) should be excluded. On the other hand, cases in which the function is to draw B's attention to something that is relevant for a practical purpose (e.g. *Look!* – when the boiling content of a pot is spilling over), should be included, as the (re)direction of B's perception here is in the service of getting them to act (e.g. remove the pot from the gas cooker).

3. **Offers of assistance in response to “trouble”** (cf. Curl 2006-08; Kendrick & Drew 2016). These should be included as recruitment sequences (see question B04) only when the assistance provided in Move B is arguably instigated by a display of current or anticipatable trouble in Move A. Put another way, the assistance provided should be an action *required* to remedy a trouble A is having and not an *optional* action volunteered out of B's nicety. This distinction necessitates an understanding of the social context and knowledge of the practical circumstances of each particular case. Here are two example scenarios to aid in the judgement.

- i) After the table is set, A looks around in search of her plate, which is missing; B notices this and walks to the kitchen to get it.
- ii) As A bites into her hamburger, B notices that the hamburger doesn't contain mayonnaise and passes the mayonnaise jar to A.

The first case should be included insofar as having a plate is necessary for A to be able to eat, as displayed by A's looking for it. The second case should be excluded insofar as the additional ingredient is not necessary for A to be able to have her hamburger, as shown by the fact that she is already biting into it.

4. **Dependent vs. independent recruitment.** We identify as “dependent” or “responsive” recruitment a case in which a practical action is recruited as a direct result of the fulfilment of an earlier recruitment. For example:

- A: *Give me a knife*  
B: ((gets the knife))  
B: *Here you are*                        « NOT A SEPARATE RCR SEQUENCE  
A: ((reaches out to grab knife))    «

These should not be considered as separate recruitment sequences. At the same time, “dependent or “responsive” recruitments should be distinguished from cases in which a practical action is independently recruited to deal

## 2 A coding scheme for recruitment sequences in interaction

with a contingency arising along the way toward the fulfilment of an earlier recruitment. For example:

A: <i>Hold this for me</i> ((brings pot toward B))	Move A <sub>i</sub>	(Case 1)
B: <i>Wait I need to put this down first</i>	«	Move A <sub>i</sub> (Case 2)
A: ((stops))	«	Move B <sub>ii</sub> (Case 2)
B: <i>Okay</i> ((reaches out for pot))		Move B <sub>i</sub> (Case 1)

These should be analyzed as two overlapping or nested recruitment sequences.

5. **Repair initiation and solution.** When B responds to A's first attempt at recruitment (e.g. *I need a knife*) with repair initiation (e.g. *A knife?*) and A then provides a repair solution (e.g. *Yes*), this repair solution should be considered as Move A of a subsequent, separate recruitment case with its own unique identifier, even though the two cases belong to the same sequence (the sequential position of cases is coded in C01).

Case 1	Move A	<i>I need a knife</i>
	Move B	<i>A knife?</i>
Case 2	Move A	<i>Yes</i>
	Move B	((brings knife))

6. **Stand-alone vocatives.** Vocatives and address terms (e.g. *hey, Mary, Mr. Smith*) are often used to secure the recipient's attention in preparation for a further, as-yet unknown sequence of action (Schegloff 2007: Chapter 4). Although they generally cannot constitute a recruitment move alone, without additional elements, there are a few exceptions:

- i) The vocative functions as a recruitment pursuit after one or more earlier attempts at recruitment have been made, e.g.

Mom: *Stop pestering your sister John!*  
 John: ((no uptake))  
 Mom: *Stop!*  
 John: ((no uptake))  
 Mom: *John!*

- ii) The vocative accompanies a meaningful nonverbal component, e.g. *John* ((while holding out a cup))
- iii) A heavily specified context allows B to know what task they are supposed to carry out just by hearing the vocative.

*Simeon Floyd, Giovanni Rossi & N. J. Enfield*

## 4 Guidelines for sampling interactions and collecting cases

Coding must be based on a systematic and coherent collection of recruitment sequences, taken from a broad sample of face-to-face interactions. The sample should include a range of different activities, settings, and speakers; it should contain both dyadic and multi-person interactions; and it should span both interactions that are task-focused (e.g. playing a game, preparing food, doing work together) and others that are talk-focused (e.g. just gossiping or chatting). These are some guidelines for systematically sampling interactions and collecting cases.

- Begin collecting either at an arbitrary point in the recording or from the beginning.
- Wherever you begin, collect all the cases you find in a continuous stretch of interaction.
- Collect cases liberally – that is, if you are unsure whether something is an example, you should note it down anyway. It is easy to delete cases later on, but it is a lot of work to go back and look for cases that you failed to include.
- Recruitment sequences may be rare in certain kinds interactions, especially those that are talk-focused. For this reason, it is more effective to search through entire recordings rather than to take short segments of equal size. At the same time, recruitment sequences can be extremely abundant in task-focused interactions. To avoid overrepresentation of these, the number of cases from a single interaction should be capped, for example at 15.

The goal of these guidelines is to construct a sample that is representative of the diversity of the corpus at hand. How well this diversity represents social interaction in the target language will depend on how the corpus as a whole has been built.

## 5 General coding guidelines

The coding sheet should contain a transcript of the core interactional moves of each recruitment sequence (see §6A. Basic data, below), including a basic transcription of verbal elements and a concise description of nonverbal elements.

## *2 A coding scheme for recruitment sequences in interaction*

Such a transcript is intended to make the coding data intelligible to other analysts as well as a reference for coding; however, it is often not enough to be able to accurately code certain features of the sequence, for example, the strengthening of the recruitment by means of voice quality (C11) or the visibility of a target object (E05). For this reason, coding should be based whenever possible on direct inspection of audio and video streams, possibly supported by a more detailed transcript of the larger interaction.

When in doubt, coders should choose the most conservative coding choice, a choice that best reflects the potential equivocalness of the feature in question, or the ‘can’t tell’ option, if available. For any coding decision, coders should be able to provide a reasoned argument and evidence to support it. Comments about particular coding choices should be entered in a notes field at the end of the sheet so as to be available to other analysts examining the coding and as a bridge between the complexity of human behavior and its reduced and flattened representation in coding data (Stivers 2015).

In this project, we decided to compile a glossary of certain verbal practices that make up a language’s repertoire of resources for recruitment, including modal constructions (C07), mitigators and strengtheners (C11), benefactive markers (C12). The coding process provides an opportunity for easily compiling such a glossary by creating an entry in a dedicated tab of the coding sheet every time a recurrent practice is identified in connection with a coding question. Questions suitable for glossary entries are marked with a superscript gl (e.g. C07<sup>gl</sup>).

## 6 The coding scheme

### A. Basic data

---

This section records the basic data for every recruitment sequence, including Moves A and B. Each case has a unique identifier, which is used to locate it in a recording, refer to it in qualitative analysis, and for statistical purposes in quantitative analysis. Verbal elements are transcribed and translated and nonverbal elements are concisely described to make cases intelligible to other analysts.

#### A01 Language

**A02 Unique identifier for the case.** Suggested format: recording\_timecode (e.g. Housemates\_3211246). In the rare event that two cases begin simultaneously, use an additional symbol to distinguish them (e.g. Housemates\_3211246a, Housemates\_3211246b).

*Simeon Floyd, Giovanni Rossi & N. J. Enfield*

**A02 Is a child involved as either recruiter or recruitee?**<sup>3</sup>

1. yes
2. no

Make this choice according to your understanding of the duration of childhood in this particular culture.

**A03 Move A / Recruitment verbal component.** Transcription in original language or, alternatively, a code to indicate that there is no (relevant) verbal component [none] or that the verbal component is inaudible [can't tell].

**A04 Move A / Recruitment translation.** (If applicable).

**A05 Move A / Recruitment nonverbal component.** Concise description or, alternatively, a code to indicate that the participant's visible conduct is not relevant or related to the construction of the move [not relevant] or that it can't be inspected because the participant is momentarily off camera or hidden [can't tell].

**A06 Move B / Response verbal component.** Transcription in original language or, alternatively, a code to indicate that there is no (relevant) verbal component [none] or that the verbal component is inaudible [can't tell].

**A07 Move B / Response translation.** (If applicable).

**A08 Move B / Response nonverbal component.** Concise description or, alternatively, a code to indicate that the participant's visible conduct is not relevant or related to the construction of the move [not relevant] or that it can't be inspected because the participant is momentarily off camera or hidden [can't tell].

Descriptions of nonverbal behavior should be concise and pitched at an appropriate level of granularity. For example, “((gestures at the salt))” is too general, but “((raises arm and extends index finger toward the salt))” is too elaborate. Different projects will have different requirements for the description of nonverbal behavior, and cases differ in complexity, but for the example above “((points at salt))” is the right level of granularity for

---

<sup>3</sup>For different projects, different socio-demographic categories (based on age, ethnicity, socio-economic status, etc.) may be flagged to allow for sorting or comparison (see, e.g., Stivers & Majid 2007). In this project, we decided to treat recruitments involving children separately, to increase comparability among cultures and corpora.

## *2 A coding scheme for recruitment sequences in interaction*

most purposes. Moreover, descriptions of nonverbal behavior should stick to what is visible at that particular moment. For example, “((stands and walks toward spices shelf))” is more objective than “((goes to get salt))”, because at that moment it is still not certain how B’s compliance with the recruitment will develop.

In this project, we decided not to record gaze behavior in the transcription of Move A’s nonverbal component for reasons of economy, as there is a dedicated coding question about gaze (C16). However, we did record gaze in the transcript when it was used as a “pointing gesture” or “eye point” (Wilkins 2003) toward an object or location relevant to the recruitment, which made it easier to code this as a pointing gesture in question C02.

*Simeon Floyd, Giovanni Rossi & N. J. Enfield*

## B. Recruitment categories

---

This section contains questions designed to identify the main interactional “problem” or “point” of a recruitment sequence with reference to four categories, which were inductively derived from qualitative observation and analysis of recruitment episodes in our languages. This categorization serves multiple purposes, including grouping cases that share similar interactional contingencies, such as the visibility and accessibility of a target object (see questions E05, E06), and grouping cases in which Move A has a similar function, to test whether this has an effect on its form across languages.

In keeping with our recruitment approach, cases are assigned to categories primarily on the basis of B’s response (see §2). However, A’s instigating behavior, along with any subsequent pursuits, should also be considered, especially in cases where B ignores it; here, the answer will reflect an understanding of what A’s behavior is “going for” or working toward.

While it is possible to assign a case to more than one category, it is usually more useful to pick the most fitting or salient one. Also, while cases should be assigned to a category whenever possible, there will be cases that do not fit any of the categories but still fall within the broader definition of recruitment, for example, calling or motioning for a collective clinking of glasses, or initiating a joint recreational activity like playing chess.

Finally, a note on multiple cases belonging to the same recruitment sequence: when B responds to A’s first attempt at recruitment (e.g. *I need a knife*) with repair initiation (e.g. *A knife?*) and A’s subsequent action is constituted by a repair solution (e.g. *Yes*) followed by B’s fulfilment (e.g. brings knife), questions B01-B04 should be answered in the same way across the two parts of the sequence, to be treated as separate cases (the sequential position of cases is coded in C01). Example:

Case 1	Move A	<i>I need a knife</i>	
	Move B	<i>A knife?</i>	B01 = yes
Case 2	Move A	<i>Yes</i>	
	Move B	((brings knife))	B01 = yes

B01 Does B give an object to A in response to some behavior by A? Or, alternatively, was this the point of a sequence that went unfulfilled?

1. yes
2. no

## *2 A coding scheme for recruitment sequences in interaction*

‘Giving an object’ specifically refers to the physical transfer of a moveable object from the control of one person to another, usually released and grasped by the hands. This does not include cases in which, for example, B moves out of the way or otherwise facilitates A’s taking possession of an object.

**B02 Does B do a service for A in response to some behavior by A? Or, alternatively, was this the point of a sequence that went unfulfilled?**

1. yes
2. no

A ‘service’ is intended as a practical action involving some manipulation of the material environment (e.g. washing the dishes, feeding the chickens). While giving an object to someone can also be seen as a ‘service’, it is a particular kind of service that is worth considering separately (see, e.g., E05, E06), so if you have answered ‘yes’ to question B01, you should normally answer ‘no’ to B02.

**B03 Does B alter the trajectory of their in-progress behavior in response to some behavior by A? Or, alternatively, was this the point of a sequence that went unfulfilled?**

1. yes
2. no

‘Altering’ the trajectory of an ongoing behavior includes both adjusting or changing the behavior – that is, doing the “same” thing in a different way – and ceasing the behavior altogether. These two kinds of alteration have different implications for how the recruitment sequence is fulfilled (see D01): doing something differently vs. not doing something anymore. Don’t answer ‘yes’ when the cessation of a behavior is incidental to launching into a service or object transfer. Consider the following: if A says *Stop playing with your food and eat*, the cessation of eating is an integral part of the recruitment; however, if A says *Is there still some beer left?* and B stops watching the TV in order to go to the kitchen to get a beer for A, the cessation of B’s ongoing behavior is incidental to the recruitment.

**B04 Does B do a practical action to address some current or anticipatable trouble for A?**

*Simeon Floyd, Giovanni Rossi & N. J. Enfield*

1. yes
2. no

This question is aimed at capturing cases in which B provides assistance without this being solicited or expected by A, but rather instigated by A's display of current or anticipatable trouble (e.g. A arrives at a door with her hands full of heavy objects and B opens the door, or A grasps for the salt but cannot quite reach it so B pushes the salt closer).

### C. Move A / Recruitment

---

C01 In the in-progress sequence, what is the position of Move A?

1. one and only
2. first of non-minimal
3. last of non-minimal
4. nth

Here we consider the sequential position of Move A, coding whether it is: the first and only attempt in a minimal sequence that is immediately completed ('one and only'), a first attempt in a longer sequence that is not completed in one go ('first of non-minimal'), a final attempt in a longer sequence ('last of non-minimal'), or a subsequent attempt that was neither the first nor the last ('nth'). When considering the sequential position of Move A, it is important to remember that certain preliminary moves, also referred to as "pre-requests" (see Levinson 1983: Chapter 6; Rossi 2015), can function as recruitment moves on their own and lead to immediate completion.

Move A *Are you using that pen?* C01 = 'one and only'  
Move B ((passes A the pen))

However, preliminary moves may also be responded to with a go-ahead leading to a subsequent, more explicit Move A (or to multiple subsequent attempts).

Case 1    Move A *Are you using that pen?* C01 = 'first of non-minimal'  
            Move B No  
Case 2    Move A *Can I use it for a sec?*       C01 = 'last of non-minimal'  
            Move B ((passes A the pen))

## 2 A coding scheme for recruitment sequences in interaction

Other preliminary moves which could not have possibly mobilized the relevant practical action in next position should not be considered as recruitment moves, though they are part of the recruitment episode. These typically involve “generic pre-sequences”:

Summons	<i>Hey Bob!</i>	NOT A RECRUITMENT MOVE
Answer	<i>What?</i>	
Move A	<i>Come here</i>	C01 = ‘one and only’
Move B	((goes to A))	

*Only answer C02 if A05 ≠ “[not relevant]” and “[can’t tell]”*

### C02 Concerning the nonverbal behavior, what does this consist of?

1. current or anticipatable trouble
2. pointing gesture
3. reach to receive object from B
4. holding out object for B to do something with
5. iconic gesture
6. other
7. can’t tell

These types of nonverbal behavior were derived from qualitative observation and analysis across languages, and were identified as recurrent relevant behaviors that either accompanied verbal elements of the recruitment or accomplished recruitment on their own.

If multiple types of nonverbal behavior co-occur in the same recruitment move, answer this question based on the *most salient* behavior.

Pointing gestures include not only manual points, but also head points, lip points, and “eye points” (Wilkins 2003). As explained above in Section A, gaze should be considered here only when it is used to indicate an object or location relevant to the recruitment. Gaze used for recipient selection (Lerner 2003) is dealt with by question C16 and – at least in this project – should not be transcribed in A05.

*Only answer C03-C12 if A03 ≠ “[none]” and “[can’t tell]”.*

### C03 Does the verbal behavior consist of a simple or complex construction?

1. simple

Simeon Floyd, Giovanni Rossi & N. J. Enfield

2. complex

There are two main types of cases where verbal behavior should be coded as ‘complex’:

1. Self-repair (e.g. *Pass me t- uhm will you pass me the salt please?*).
2. Complex constructions packaged as a single unit including two or more predicates or target actions (e.g. *Stop playing with that bucket and get me some water*).

C04 Does the verbal behavior include a directly-involved nominal referent?

1. yes, full noun phrase
2. yes, pronominal
3. no
4. can’t tell

By ‘directly-involved nominal referent’ we intend a referent that is the target object (e.g. *Water please*) or that is otherwise implicated in the recruited action (e.g. *Is the window open?* when the goal is to have B close the window). Such a referent may be encoded either with a full noun phrase (e.g. *Pass me the salt*) or with a pronominal element (e.g. *Pass me that*). ‘Directly-involved nominal referents are easy to identify with most transitive predicates (e.g. *Clean the table*, *Light my cigarette*). With ditransitive (three-place) predicates, relevant referents will also include the “recipient” of the action (e.g. *Give {it} to Dad*, *Pass him {the lighter}*). Verbs such as *get* and *take* can also be understood as belonging to this group in that their semantics involves a location where an object is taken or gotten *from* (e.g. *Get {it} from the trolley*) (Fatigante 1977). Semantics aside, nominals can be directly involved in recruited actions in different ways and no single rule can capture all eventualities. But here are some examples that were collectively discussed during the project with an explanation of the rationale for the coding decision.

- *Sit on the chair.* Answer ‘yes’ because A is telling B to sit specifically on the chair, and not just anywhere (e.g. on the couch or floor); this referent is integral to the recruited action.
- *The stock cube is in the cupboard* (where the goal is to have B move the camera away from the cupboard). Answer ‘yes’ because the prob-

## 2 A coding scheme for recruitment sequences in interaction

lem is the specific location of the camera in front of the cupboard, and the recruited action involves moving the camera away from it.

- *Aren't those fish going to die?* (where the goal is to put more water in the pot where the fish are). Answer 'no' because although the fish benefit from the addition of water, the target action does not involve them, only the pot and the water.

'Full noun phrases' typically involve open-class items referring to people, things, locations, whereas 'pronominal' elements are reduced, closed-class pro-forms such as demonstratives and other deictics. For languages with the possibility of zero anaphora, if there is no overt pronominal form, stick to the surface and answer 'no'.

In the case of a complex verbal component (see question C03), consider it holistically; for example, a complex construction with multiple referents like *Get a pot from that cupboard and put it on the stove* should be coded as 'yes, full noun phrase'.

### C05 What is the sentence type?

1. imperative
2. interrogative
3. declarative
4. other
5. there is no predicate
6. can't tell

In most languages, it is possible to distinguish different formal types of sentences that prototypically encode asserting or informing (declaratives), asking or questioning (interrogatives) and directing or ordering (imperatives) (Lyons 1977; Sadock & Zwicky 1985; König & Siemund 2007). These are formal, logico-semantic types that encode basic ways of dealing with propositional content. The criteria for assigning utterances to these three types may vary according to the internal organization of each language, but as a rule of thumb you can ask: how would this utterance be understood out of context? Some languages may have 'other' major or minor sentence types (e.g. exclamatives, "insubordinated" *if* constructions, etc.). Since sentence type is based on there being a predicate, when Move A does not include a predicate (e.g. *Water please*), choose 'there is no predicate.'

*Simeon Floyd, Giovanni Rossi & N. J. Enfield*

*Only answer C06-C07 if C05 ≠ “there is no predicate”*

**C06 Is there a predicate that refers to the target action?**

1. yes
2. no
3. can't tell

This questions asks whether the action that is the projected outcome of the recruitment is explicitly referred to by a predicate in Move A. Examples:

<i>Give me the knife</i>	C06 = yes
<i>Don't do that!</i>	C06 = yes
<i>Do you have a lighter?</i>	C06 = no

*Only answer C07 if C05 = “interrogative”, “declarative”, or “other”*

**C07<sup>g1</sup> Does the predicate encode obligation, permission, ability or volition to perform an act?**

1. yes, obligation/necessity
2. yes, permission/authorization
3. yes, ability/possibility
4. yes, volition/willingness
5. yes, a combination of the above
6. no
7. can't tell

This question is about specific modal categories: obligation/necessity (e.g. *You must finish your dinner*, *The door is to be shut*), permission/authorization (e.g. *May I have that last piece of cake?*), ability/possibility (e.g. *Can you pass me the salt?*, *You could begin washing up*), volition/willingness (e.g. *I would like some water*, *Will you hand me that please?*). These meanings must be *semantically* encoded. For example, a sentence like *You're standing on my foot*, although it may pragmatically oblige the recipient to step away, it does not encode obligation. In English and other European languages, obligation, permission, ability and volition are frequently encoded with modal verbs such as *must*, *have to*, *need*, *may*, *can*, *will*. However other languages may use affixes or dedicated constructions. Cha'palaa, for example, encodes necessity with an infinitive verb followed by a finite 'be' verb.

## 2 A coding scheme for recruitment sequences in interaction

Only answer C08 if C05 ≠ “imperative”

### C08 Is the ‘main subject’ overtly marked for person?

1. yes, first person
2. yes, second person
3. yes, third person
4. yes, other
5. no overt marking

‘Overt grammatical person’ refers to morphosyntactic and lexical categories in the language that encode the person of the subject-like argument of the verbal component, whether as a noun or noun phrase (e.g. *Grandma needs a blanket*), pronoun (e.g. *Can you pass the salt?*), clitic, verbal inflection (etc.), or a combination of these. This must be an overt, surface form. ‘Third person’ refers to grammatical third person, regardless of whether the referent is a potential participant in the speech event (e.g. *Somebody should close the door*) or not (e.g. *The door should be closed*, *It’s cold in here*).

Vocatives (e.g. *John, water please*) do not constitute a form of person marking but stand-alone pronouns do (e.g. *You, water!*). If you find overt grammatical subjects in your sample that bridge two or more of the categories listed above, code for the most specific person value that can be obtained from the construction, or choose ‘other’ if you feel that none of the above choices apply.

### C09 Does the move include additional elements beyond core grammatical constituents?

1. yes
2. no
3. can’t tell

‘Core constituents’ refers to a predicate with its core arguments, which will normally be up to one argument with intransitive verbs (e.g. *Stop!*), up to two arguments with transitive verbs (e.g. *Can you close the door?*), and, in some languages, up to three arguments with ditransitive verbs (e.g. *You should give her a spoon*). Sometimes you will have to decide whether an element is a true ditransitive object (*Could you give him the salt?*) or is marking a non-core beneficiary (as in the Spanish: *Tenme el libro*, ”Hold me

*Simeon Floyd, Giovanni Rossi & N. J. Enfield*

the book”); in the former case, the answer to this question is ‘no’ whereas in the latter it is ‘yes’.

Additional elements beyond core grammatical constituents typically belong to one of the following four categories:

- benefactives (e.g. *Could you move that a little bit for me please?*)
- clausal explanations (e.g. *Keep stirring the sauce so that it doesn't become lumpy*).
- vocatives (e.g. *Come here John*)
- mitigators and strengtheners (e.g. *I need you to stop immediately*)

*Only answer C10-C11 if C09 = “yes”*

#### **C10 Does the move include a clausal explanation?**

1. yes
2. no
3. can't tell

A ‘clausal explanation’ makes reference to a past, present or future state of affairs or event that provides grounds for the recruitment or makes it more intelligible to B. This includes any kind of reason-giving, including ‘accounts’ for untoward or imposing behavior (e.g. *Stop talking so loudly, I have a headache*) as well as more general explanations that make the recruitment plain or understandable (e.g. *Keep stirring the sauce so that it doesn't become lumpy*).

The clausal explanation must be built into the recruitment Move A (single package). If the explanation is provided after a self-contained Move A has been produced (two-packages) then there are two possibilities:

- i. A gives a reason after no uptake comes from B or when it's not clear that B will comply. In this case the explanation effectively counts as a second attempt at recruitment and must be entered as a separate case. Example:

Case 1	Move A	<i>Bring me a knife</i>	C10 = ‘no’
		(1.0)	
Case 2	Move A	<i>I need to cut these apples</i>	C10 = ‘no’
	Move B	<i>Okay</i>	

## 2 A coding scheme for recruitment sequences in interaction

- ii. A gives a reason for the recruitment after it has been already fulfilled by B, or after B has clearly shown that they are on their way to comply. We can define this as a ‘post-hoc’ explanation, justifying the launch of the recruitment sequence after it has been complied with. Such explanations are technically not part of the recruitment sequence, and are not coded for in any question. Example:

Move A	<i>Could you give me some water?</i>
Move B	<i>Here you are ((gives water to A))</i>
	(0.5)
Post-hoc explanation	<i>It's very hot today, I'm so thirsty</i> C10 = ‘no’

### C11<sup>gl</sup> Does the move include a mitigating or strengthening element?

1. yes, mitigating
2. yes, strengthening
3. no
4. can't tell

This question asks about elements that mitigate or soften the recruitment (e.g. *Move the car if it's not too much trouble*, *Can I have a little water?*) or, alternatively, that strengthen or aggravate it (e.g. *I would really like some water*, *Get the key right now*). These elements may be clauses, phrases, adverbs, particles, affixes, or other forms. Do not consider clausal explanations (C10) when answering this question.

### C12<sup>gl</sup> Is there formal benefactive marking?

1. yes, marking A
2. yes, marking other
3. no
4. can't tell

This question asks if the verbal component includes an explicit beneficiary of the recruited action, which may be A (e.g. *Could you move that a little bit for me please?*, *Read me a book!*) or, alternatively, another participant or combination of participants: B (e.g. *Will you pass the cards, so that I can cut them for you?*, *Grab yourself a beer!*), both A and B (e.g. *Can you set the table for everyone?*), a third party C (e.g. *Get him a fork!*). Formal benefactive marking includes datives (e.g. *Read me a book!*), prepositional phrases

*Simeon Floyd, Giovanni Rossi & N. J. Enfield*

(e.g. *Could you move that a little bit for me please?*) or other resources such as specific constructions (e.g. *Do me a favor* and ...). Constructions with verbs of need (e.g. *I need a lighter*) do not qualify as including formal benefactive marking.

#### C16 Does A gaze at B during Move A?

1. yes
2. no
3. can't tell

The purpose of this question is to code gaze as a design feature of the recruitment move. What is relevant is whether A is looking at, or trying to establish eye contact with, B. So answer 'yes' on the basis of A's behavior regardless of whether B perceives being gazed at or not. If you have reasons to believe that B does not perceive being gazed at by A, it is recommended to flag this in the general notes field.

#### D. Move B / Response & Move C / acknowledgement

---

The questions in this section concern the response to the recruitment or Move B, and the potential expansion of the sequence with an acknowledgement or Move C.

##### D01 What is the response doing relative to the recruitment?

1. quickly fulfills or provides assistance
2. plausibly starts fulfilling or providing assistance
3. rejects
4. initiates repair
5. other
6. ignores
7. can't tell

'*Quickly fulfills*' versus '*Plausibly starts fulfilling*'. It is practical to distinguish between two ways of positively responding to recruitments: doing the target action within a short time frame immediately after Move A, and doing something that could plausibly be construed as the beginning of the fulfillment (but still possibly equivocal), over a longer time span. To make

## 2 A coding scheme for recruitment sequences in interaction

this decision, put yourself in the position of participant A and ask what he or she would be aware of in the first few seconds after Move A. Note that some recruited activities inherently take more time than others (e.g. laying the table for lunch, getting an object that is far away) and should be always coded as ‘plausibly starts fulfilling’. Cases in which B commits to later fulfillment (e.g. *Oh sorry I’m busy right now but I’ll do that in half an hour*) should also be coded as ‘plausibly starts fulfilling’.

**‘Rejects’.** All clearly negative responses such as refusing (e.g. *No I won’t do that*) and/or giving an account for non-compliance (e.g. *I’m too busy now*) should be coded as ‘rejects’. Different types of rejections are distinguished in subsequent questions (D02 and D03).

**‘Initiates repair’, ‘ignores’, and ‘other’.** Besides responding positively or negatively, B may respond to the recruitment in other ways. One possibility is to initiate repair. Another is to ignore the recruitment by not taking it up at all. This applies both to cases in which B would be in a position to hear/see the recruitment but intentionally ignores it and to cases in which B might not have heard/seen the recruitment (for example because they are involved in parallel activity, or too far away, etc.). Other cases in which the recruitment is taken up but the response doesn’t fit any of the above categories should be coded as ‘other’. Examples of ‘other’ responses are:

- delegating to a third party (e.g. A asks B to pass the salt; in response, B turns to C and tells them to pass A the salt)
- responding with information that A can use to do the action him/herself (A: *I need a fork*, B: *In the drawer in the kitchen*)
- making a counter-proposal (A: *Could you add oil and salt in the salad bowl?*, B: *Why don’t we leave the salad undressed?*)

### D02 Does the response include a positive or negative polar element?

1. yes, positive
2. yes, negative
3. no
4. can’t tell

Positive polar elements include verbal/vocal elements such as *yes*, *okay*, *sure*, *mm hmm* as well as nonverbal elements like a head nod. Negative

*Simeon Floyd, Giovanni Rossi & N. J. Enfield*

polar elements include verbal/vocal elements such as *no*, *mh mh* as well as nonverbal elements like a head shake. Coding should take into account that linguistic systems differ. For example, in some languages like Mandarin and Cha'palaa, one way to do a polar response is by repeating the verb.

*Only answer D03 if A06 ≠ “[none]” and “[can’t tell]”*

**D03 Does the response include a clausal explanation/account?**

1. yes
2. no
3. can't tell

See notes for question C10 on explanations and accounts.

**D04<sup>gl</sup> Is there acknowledgment by A?**

1. yes
2. no

'Acknowledgement' includes thanking (e.g. *Thanks!*), other expressions of gratitude (e.g. *Cheers*, *I appreciate it*, *Oh I'm so glad you can do this for me*), and more generally any positive conveyance of appreciation or satisfaction by the recruiter immediately after receiving a response indicating the fulfillment of the request. In some cases, fulfillment may be still ongoing or forthcoming at the time of the acknowledgment.

*Only answer D05-D06 if D04 = “yes”*

**D05 Transcribe and translate the acknowledgement** (e.g. *Muchas gracias* “Thanks a lot”). If the acknowledgement includes nonverbal behavior, briefly describe it, e.g. ((nods repeatedly)).

**D06<sup>gl</sup> Is there any subsequent move by B responding to the acknowledgment?**

1. yes (e.g. *You're welcome*, *Geen dank*)
2. no

Such a response may be conventionalized (e.g. *You're welcome*, *Don't mention it*) or not (e.g. *Oh well I owed you this one*).

*Only answer D07 if D06 = “yes”*

## *2 A coding scheme for recruitment sequences in interaction*

D07 Transcribe and translate the subsequent move by B responding to the acknowledgement.

### E. Other elements of the recruitment sequence

---

The questions in this section code for other elements of the recruitment sequence beyond Moves A, B, C.

E01 Is there an evident local immediate beneficiary for the recruitment?

1. yes, A
2. yes, other
3. no

The answer to this question is in principle independent of, and possibly incongruous with, the answer given to question C12 (which deals with *formal marking* of beneficiaries). E01 can be a tricky question, but try not to overthink the issue, and just choose the most straightforward answer. If in doubt, be conservative and answer ‘no’.

E02 Is the interaction dyadic?

1. yes
2. no
3. can’t tell

For the answer to be ‘yes’, there should normally be only two people in the video recording at the time at which the recruitment occurs; if there are three or more people, answer ‘no’. In some cases, a stretch of interaction may be considered dyadic even though other people are present in the immediate vicinity, but are clearly not part of the interaction.

E03 Is a vocative used?

1. yes
2. no
3. can’t tell

Vocatives normally involve a proper name, kin term, title, or similar and provide a way of explicitly addressing the recruitment move to a specific

*Simeon Floyd, Giovanni Rossi & N. J. Enfield*

recipient or set of recipients. The vocative may be built in Move A (e.g. *Can you pass me the knife John?*, **You two guys, come with me**) or be part of a summons-answer sequence that precedes the recruitment (see also C01):

Summons	<i>Hey Bob!</i>	E03 = ‘yes’
Answer	<i>What?</i>	
Move A	<i>Come here</i>	
Move B	((goes to A))	

**E04 Can A and B’s relationship be characterized as socially asymmetrical?**

1. yes, A > B
2. yes, A < B
3. no, A = B
4. can’t tell

In this question we code for any salient social asymmetry between A and B, based on the researcher’s knowledge of the society. The question refers to permanent asymmetries between A and B that hold across contexts. Social asymmetries can be based on age (e.g. older- younger siblings) as well as other kinds of social status (e.g. authority roles, such as husband-wife, parent-child). The answer should be based on prescriptive norms and general cultural expectations of the community, not on the instantiation of the relationship in the recruitment sequence, so you should not use the recruitment sequence as a basis for your judgment: evidence for the asymmetry must be independent of it. Social asymmetry is gradient, so judge whether a dyad is *relatively* symmetrical or asymmetrical.

*Only answer E05-E06 if B01 = “yes”*

**E05 Is the target object visible to A?**

1. yes
2. no
3. can’t tell

**E06 Does B have better access to the object in question than A?**

1. yes, B is currently using the object
2. yes, B is in possession of the object but is not using it

## *2 A coding scheme for recruitment sequences in interaction*

3. yes, B is closer to the object than A
4. no
5. can't tell

Typically, B is ‘using an object’ when he or she is currently manipulating it. Cases in which B has been making use of the object all along and has only momentarily rested it somewhere when the recruitment is made should be coded as ‘yes, B is in possession of the object but is not using it’. Possession does not require that B be the legal or socially recognized owner of the object; it applies to all cases where B has the object “on them” (e.g. in their pocket), as well as to cases where the object is enclosed into another possession of B’s (e.g. their bag). For cases where relative closeness is relevant, try not to overthink the issue and answer ‘yes’ only when there is a clear difference in distance (e.g. the object is within B’s reach and visibly far from A).

*Only answer E07 if B02 = “yes”*

### **E07 Is B in charge of, or especially responsible for, the service in question?**

1. yes
2. no

Only choose ‘yes’ if the answer is clear. The kind of responsibility implied cannot be just a matter of proximity or availability, but must be linked to an individual and his or her social role, or derived from a previous agreement to do the action (preferably documented in your corpus). As an example of the former, in Chachi society young girls are expected to bring water from the river to the house, and are more responsible for this task than males and people of other ages. As an example of the latter, in one case in the Italian corpus a woman agreed to add stock cubes to a soup but was then distracted and did not do it; fifteen minutes later, she was told to do the task. As with other questions, if you are unsure, be conservative and answer ‘no’.

Simeon Floyd, Giovanni Rossi & N. J. Enfield

## Abbreviations

## Acknowledgements

This coding scheme has benefited from the sustained input of all project contributors — Julija Baranova, Joe Blythe, Mark Dingemanse, N. J. Enfield, Simeon Floyd, Kobil H. Kendrick, Giovanni Rossi, Jörg Zinken — and of other participants and conceptual collaborators in data analysis and discussion — Tyko Dirksmeyer, Paul Drew, Rósa S. Gísladóttir, Steve Levinson, Elizabeth Manrique.

## References

- Curl, Traci S. 2006–08. Offers of assistance: Constraints on syntactic design. *Journal of Pragmatics* 38(8). 1257–1280. DOI:[10.1016/j.pragma.2005.09.004](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2005.09.004)
- Curl, Traci & Paul Drew. 2008. Contingency and action: A comparison of two forms of requesting. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 41(2). 129–153. DOI:[10.1080/08351810802028613](https://doi.org/10.1080/08351810802028613)
- Dingemanse, Mark, Kobil H. Kendrick & N. J. Enfield. 2016. A coding scheme for other-initiated repair across languages. *Open Linguistics* 2(1). 35–46. DOI:[10.1515/opli-2016-0002](https://doi.org/10.1515/opli-2016-0002)
- Enfield, N. J. 2013. *Relationship thinking: Enchrony, agency, and human sociality*. New York: Oxford University Press.[aMHC].
- Fatigante, Marilena. 1977. Scenes-and-frames semantics: Linguistic structures processing. In A. Zampolli (ed.), *Fundamental studies in computer science*, 55–81. Amsterdam: North Holland.
- Goffman, Erving. 1981. *Forms of talk*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Kendrick, Kobil H. & Paul Drew. 2016. Recruitment: Offers, requests, and the organization of assistance in interaction. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 49(1). 1–19. DOI:[10.1080/08351813.2016.1126436](https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2016.1126436)
- König, Ekkehard & Peter Siemund. 2007. Speech act distinctions in grammar. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description. Volume 1: Clause structure*, 2nd edn., 276–324. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lerner, Gene H. 2003. Selecting next speaker: The context-sensitive operation of a context-free organization. *Language in society* 32(2). 177–201.
- Levinson, Stephen C. 1983. *Pragmatics*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Lyons, John. 1977. *Semantics*. Vol. 2. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

## 2 A coding scheme for recruitment sequences in interaction

- Rossi, Giovanni. 2015. Responding to pre-requests: The organization of Hai X 'do you Have x' sequences in Italian. *Journal of Pragmatics* 82. 5–22.  
DOI:[10.1016/j.pragma.2015.03.008](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2015.03.008)
- Sadock, Jerrold M. & Arnold Zwicky. 1985. Speech act distinctions in syntax. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description*, 155–96. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A. 2007. *Sequence organization in interaction: Volume 1: A primer in conversation analysis*. Vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sidnell, Jack. 2007. 'Look'- prefaced turns in first and second position: Launching, interceding and redirecting action. *Discourse Studies* 9(3). 387–408.  
DOI:[10.1177/1461445607076204](https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445607076204)
- Stivers, Tanya. 2015. Coding social interaction: A heretical approach in conversation analysis? *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 48(1). 1–19.  
DOI:[10.1080/08351813.2015.993837](https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2015.993837)
- Stivers, Tanya & A Majid. 2007. Questioning children: Interactional evidence of implicit bias in medical interviews. *Social Psychology Quarterly* 70(4). 424–441.  
DOI:[10.1177/019027250707000410](https://doi.org/10.1177/019027250707000410)
- Wilkins, David P. 2003. Why pointing with the index finger is not a universal (in sociocultural and semiotic terms. In Sotaro Kita (ed.), *Pointing: Where language, culture and cognition meet*, 171–215. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.



## Chapter 3

# Getting others to do things in the Cha'palaa language of Ecuador

Simeon Floyd

Department of Anthropology, Universidad San Francisco de Quito

This chapter describes the resources that speakers of Cha'palaa use when recruiting assistance from others in everyday social interaction. The chapter draws on data from video recordings of informal conversation in Cha'palaa, and reports language-specific findings generated within a large-scale comparative project involving eight languages from five continents (see other chapters of this volume). The resources for recruitment described in this chapter include linguistic structures from across the levels of grammatical organization, as well as gestural and other visible and contextual resources of relevance to the interpretation of action in interaction. The presentation of categories of recruitment, and elements of recruitment sequences, follows the coding scheme used in the comparative project (see Chapter 2 of the volume). This chapter extends our knowledge of the structure and usage of Cha'palaa with detailed attention to the properties of sequential structure in conversational interaction. The chapter is a contribution to an emerging field of pragmatic typology.

## 1 Introduction

This paper offers a first description of one area of everyday interaction among speakers of the indigenous Cha'palaa language of Ecuador, sequences in which one party 'recruits' the behavior of another for some practical action such as transferring an object or physically assisting with or collaborating in an activity. The analysis of these instances is based on a video corpus of informal conversation recorded in the Chachi communities where Cha'palaa is spoken. This area of Cha'palaa interaction is characterized by a tendency toward direct recruitments, employing an extensive set of imperative formats, within the contexts of the different rights and responsibilities of individuals in Chachi society.



*Simeon Floyd*

## 1.1 The Cha'palaa Language

The Cha'palaa language is spoken by the Chachi people in small communities and homesteads along the rivers of the Ecuadorian Province of Esmeraldas between the Andean foothills and the Pacific coast. It is one of the modern members of the Barbacoan family, which was once the dominant language family of the region corresponding to northern Ecuador and southern Colombia until it was displaced by Quechuan languages and, later, Spanish, in much of the Andean highlands. The Chachi people avoided the pressure of language shift by migrating to the coastal lowlands where they live today (Jijón y Caama 1914; DeBoer 1996; Floyd 2010). Estimates of the number of speakers vary between about 6,000 (Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos 2010) and 10,000 (in Ethnologue (Lewis et al. 2014)).

Until recently, Cha'palaa was a relatively unstudied language, with only a few descriptive sources by missionary linguists produced over the last few decades (Moore 1962; Lindskoog & Lindskoog 1964; Vittadello 1988); recent work by the author has begun to bring more aspects of the language and the interactive practices of its speakers to light (Floyd 2009; 2010; 2014b,a; 2015; 2016; 2018; Floyd & Bruil 2011; Dingemanse & Floyd 2014; Floyd & Norcliffe 2016; Dingemanse et al. 2017). Like many South American languages, Cha'palaa has a basic SOV word order with extensive agglutinating verbal morphology. Some of its grammatical features that are relevant for recruitment practices include its large imperative paradigm, its egophoric system (a distinctive type of epistemic marking), its complex predicate system, its morphological case markers, and other elements that will be described in the sections that follow.

## 1.2 Data collection and corpus

The video corpus on which this work is based was constructed in accordance with a set of guidelines developed by and for the members of the comparative project being reported on in this volume (Rossi, Floyd, and Enfield, this volume). The corpora studied in this project feature informal conversation among friends and family, and participants received no special instructions other than to talk or go about their daily activities as they wished. See the introduction to this volume for a more detailed discussion of corpus building.

The Cha'palaa corpus was recorded by the author over a period between 2007 and 2015 in household and village settings in Chachi communities of north-western Ecuador. The majority of the recordings come from the Rio Cayapas area, particularly from its tributary the Rio Zapallo, and a few come from other areas. In

### *3 Getting others to do things in the Cha'palaa language of Ecuador*

most cases the camera was placed in a household or common area during regular daily activities and then retrieved after about an hour. All videos included adult participants (adolescents or older), including dyads and larger groups of family members and friends, sometimes changing configuration during filming, with children often coming and going. Participants were involved in cooking, eating, doing other household tasks, making handcrafts such as woven baskets, or simply relaxing and conversing.

The data considered for analysis consists of a sample of selections from the recordings. The goal was to identify at least 200 recruitment sequences among adults. The nature of the Cha'palaa corpus, made up primarily of recordings in multi-generational households, meant that there were many cases in which one or both of the involved participants was a small child (not yet adolescent, below about 12 years). These were excluded from the present comparison in order not to introduce complicating issues of language development. Excluding these cases, which were twice as frequent as adult-only cases, necessitated reviewing a large sample of about 9.5 hours from 16 different recordings to reach a total of 205 cases (out of the initial 653, with 448 child-involved cases that were excluded). Excerpts from this selection of cases are presented below to illustrate the range of linguistic forms and practices that make up the Cha'palaa recruitment system.

## **2 Basics of recruitment sequences**

As defined in the introduction to this volume (Rossi, Floyd, and Enfield, this volume), a recruitment is a basic cooperative phenomenon in social interaction consisting of a sequence of two moves with the following characteristics:

Move A: participant A does or says something to participant B, or that B can see or hear

Move B: participant B does a practical action for or with participant A that is fitted to what A just did or said

In general, "practical" actions were considered to be goal-driven, bodily movements or manipulations of the physical environment, and contrast with states of rest and inactivity. Such practical actions can often be thought of as "target" actions of Participant A, when they are made explicit in Move A. Also, participant A may often be a "beneficiary" of the recruited action, but in other cases both A and B together, and sometimes even mostly B, may benefit from the outcomes of the recruitment sequence. Further details relevant for this definition, including what happens when Move B rejects the recruitment or when there is no response, will be discussed in section 4. The following subsections give some

*Simeon Floyd*

basic examples of recruitment sequences.

## 2.1 Minimal recruitment sequence

Extract (1) provides an example of a minimal recruitment sequence in Cha'palaa. In Move A, participant A turns to look at participant B, his wife, and uses an interrogative format to invoke a specific target action: 'Did you sweep? Did you sweep?' As part of his recruitment, he also adds a reason for doing this action: 'the child is in all that trash'. Participant B's reaction is to walk off camera and to return shortly with a broom, sweeping the spot indicated by participant A.

- (1) CHSF2011\_01\_11S2\_1531121
- 1 A mankashyu mankashyu  
ma -n -kash -yu ma -n -kash -yu  
again-IPFV-sweep-EGO again-IPFV-sweep-EGO  
did you sweep? did you sweep?
  - 2 A na tsamantsa ujtu'paatala  
na tsamantsa ujtu'-pala -tala  
small very.much trash-place-among  
the child is in all that trash
  - ▷ 3 B ((leaves))
  - 4 (15.0)
  - 5 B ((returns with broom, sweeps))

The format selected by A in line 1 illustrates how a distinctive feature of Cha'palaa's grammar, an 'egophoric marker' (Floyd, Norcliffe, and San Roque forthcoming; also referred to as "conjunct-disjunct" markers - see Hale 1980; Bickel 2000; Creissels 2008; Curnow 2002; DeLancey 1992; Dickinson 2000; Post 2013) is employed for the interactive function of instigating a behavior on the part of B. This type of knowledge-based morphology used in this context treats the addressee as the locus of knowledge (in statements the marker might associate with the speaker's perspective in a similar way). While this is a distinctive morphological resource of Cha'palaa, its usage for recruitment also fits a more general pattern of question-like formats. Looking at Move B, the uptake by B provides evidence that functionally this question was taken as a request for the provision of a service, namely, sweeping up.

## 2.2 Extended recruitment sequence

In the simplest sequences, B takes steps to accomplish the target action in Move B immediately after A produces Move A, but this does not always occur. Recruit-

### 3 Getting others to do things in the Cha'palaa language of Ecuador

ment sequences sometimes feature more than one recruitment turn; these cases may be 'pursuits,' in which A repeats a version of the recruitment turn (Pomerantz 1985; Bolden et al. 2012) or other types of sequences in which the response to MA comes later, such as in repair sequences like that seen in Extract (2). In this case participant A, a woman who is washing her clothes on the shore, asks her friend participant B for a plastic tub, but before she passes it to A, B requests a clarifying confirmation of the target object, in line 2. After A provides this confirmation, B accomplishes the target action.

- (2) CHSF\_2012\_08\_04S4\_1712020
- 1 A Daira ñaa inu tina ka' eede  
Daira ñu -ya i -nu tina ka -tu ere -de  
Daira 2SG-FOC 1SG-ACC tub grab-SR pass-IMP  
Daira you pass me the tub
  - 2 B enstaa? ((pointing at tub))  
ensta-a  
this-Q  
this one?
  - 3 A jee tsadekee  
jee tsa-de-ke-e  
yes SEM-PL-do-IMP  
yeah do that
  - 4 B ((throws tub to A))

In these types of non-minimal sequences it is possible to observe 'side sequences' (Jefferson 1972), 'insert sequences' (Schegloff 2007) and other types of intervening interaction that may occur between the original Move A and the fulfillment of the recruitment. When the request is not fulfilled in the first Move B, this can generate further iterations of the M-A/M-B structure until the sequence is completed (or abandoned).

#### 2.3 Subtypes of recruitment sequence

Despite considerable overlap, the concept of "recruitment" is intended to capture a broader range of phenomena than terms like "request" or "directive" (see Rossi, Floyd, and Enfield, this volume). Four broad sub-types of sequence are further identified as a way to categorize and analyze cases. These categories distinguish cases in which the target action of M-A is best thought of as (i) the provision of a service, (ii) the transfer of an object, (iii) the alteration of some ongoing trajectory of behavior, or (iv) if there was no clear M-A and participant B stepped in to provide assistance in response to A's current or anticipatable trouble. This last category is not a "request" in that there is no "on-record" solicitation of a

*Simeon Floyd*

response, but is a "recruitment" in that practical assistance is instigated by A's visible trouble. The term "on-record" here refers identifiable moves in social interaction that ask for or otherwise overtly signal the need for a target action; categories (i), (ii) and (iii) were required to be on-record in this sense, while (iv) was not.

Table 1: Relative frequencies of recruitment sequence subtypes (n=205)

Recruitment subtype	# in sample	%
service provision	152	74.0%
object transfer	42	20.5%
trouble assistance	7	3.5%
alteration of trajectory	4	2.0%

Extracts 1 and 2 have already provided examples of the two most frequently occurring categories; in Extract 1 participant A requests the provision of a service, sweeping the floor, and in Extract 2 participant A asks for an object, a plastic tub. Extract 3 shows an example of an alteration of a trajectory of action: A notices that B is sitting in such a way that she appears uncomfortable, and tells her to alter the way she is currently sitting to a more restful position, giving the reason that otherwise her back will hurt. This example also helps us illustrate how benefit may be differently distributed in recruitment sequences (see Rossi, Floyd, and Enfield, this volume); here the primary beneficiary is the recruitee herself.

## (3) CHSF2011\_06\_25S2\_3916900

- 1 A leka leka leka beenbushu kiya  
rest rest rest back hurt  
rest rest rest, (your) back will hurt
- 2 B ((reclines))

As illustrated in Table 1, alterations of trajectory were the least frequent of the sequence types in the Cha'palaa sample. Preliminary analysis of the cases involving children – excluded from the comparative data set, as mentioned above in 1.2 – show many more attempts to alter and correct behavior in those cases, suggesting that social status may play a role, and that adults may try to avoid such potentially face-threatening interactions among each other, while in similar interactions with children such recruitments may be the norm. Future work with child-involved cases stands to shed more light on these issues.

### *3 Getting others to do things in the Cha'palaa language of Ecuador*

The last subtype of case that was included in the sample were sequences in which B steps in to assist A with some problem that, while usually evident from the context, has not been explicitly formulated by A. For example, in Extract 4, B and several boys were sitting in front of the kitchen door, scraping and eating coconut shavings. When A begins to approach with a heavy load of bananas, B and the others first gaze at her and then proceed to move the bowls, stools, and other objects out of her way, and to lean to the side to allow her to pass into the kitchen more easily.

(4) CHSF2012\_08\_05S5\_363190

- 1 A ((walks towards door with load of bananas))
- 2 B ((moves bowl out of way; leans away))

While in these types of cases there is no on-record M-A by A, the types of services and objects that B provides in such cases are the same types of local practical actions that are explicitly asked for in other instances (e.g. 'Move over so I can pass.' etc.).

## **3 Move A: the recruitment**

The formats used by Participant A in M-A could be fully non-verbal, fully verbal, or a composite of verbal and non-verbal elements. This section describes the composition of M-A in both the visual and the spoken channels.

### **3.1 Fully nonverbal recruitments**

Most of the recruitment formats in the Cha'palaa sample included some spoken elements; of the 205 cases sampled, only nine were fully non-verbal in M-A (excluding cases of 'trouble assistance'; see §2.3). An example of a fully non-verbal case is shown in Extract 5, in which A and B are taking care of an injured chick together. During a moment when no spoken conversation is ongoing, A holds out the chick for B to hold for a moment so A can free his hands to manipulate some thread. B responds to A holding the chick out by reaching up to take it.

(5) CHSF2012\_01\_20S6\_3387180

- 1 A ((holds out chick))

*Simeon Floyd*



(a) Frame from line 1, Extract 4. Participant B and accompanying children collecting coconut shaving in a bowl, while Participant A is approaching with a load of bananas (in front of them, off camera).



(b) Frame from line 2, Extract 4. Participant B and children see Participant A approaching and move the bowl and stool out of her way.



(c) . Frame from line 2, Extract 4. Participant B and children lean out of the way as Participant A passes with her load of bananas.

Figure 1: Family members facilitate a woman's arrival with a large load of plantains that she needs to deposit in the kitchen.

### 3 Getting others to do things in the Cha'palaa language of Ecuador



Figure 2: Participant A holds out his hand and Participant B hands the chick to him.

▷ 2 B ((takes chick))

The main formats for nonverbal requests in the sample were holding out objects, as in Extract 5, and reaching out to receive objects. These were also two of the major nonverbal formats seen accompanying verbal recruitment formats, the topic of the next section.

#### 3.2 Nonverbal behavior in recruitments

In most recruitment cases M-A includes no nonverbal behavior that is salient or relevant for the sequence; instead, target actions or other elements are expressed verbally. However, in 55 of 205 Cha'palaa recruitment cases some relevant nonverbal behavior occurred. As mentioned in the previous section, nine of these were independent nonverbal recruitments, but the other 46 were composites including verbal and nonverbal elements. While some nonverbal behavior was idiosyncratic and did not lend itself to categorization, several well-defined types of practices made up the majority of the nonverbal elements for Cha'palaa. In Cha'palaa three practices accounted for about 85% of all nonverbal behavior seen in recruitments. Pointing was the most common of these, accounting for 42% of nonverbal elements. Pointing gestures usually indicated an object, location or person that was relevant for the recruitment in some way. The next-most-common practice was holding out an object that is instrumentally involved in the recruitment, typically to be taken by B to do something with, as seen in Extract 5, above. The other major practice in the sample was reaching out to receive an object. In addition, there was one instance of iconic-symbolic gesture (beckoning

*Simeon Floyd*

for B to approach A) and about 15% were heterogeneous practices that did not fit into any of the cross-linguistic coding categories applied in the comparative project.

Table 2: Types of nonverbal behavior in recruitments (n=55).

Practice	# in sample	% of total NVB
pointing gesture	23	42.0%
holding out object	15	27.0%
reach to receive object	8	15.5%
iconic gesture	1	2.0%
other	8	15.5%

The following screenshot shows a pointing gesture that accompanied the spoken recruitment turn 'give me the string there' (full sequence shown in Extract 10). Along with his indexical point, participant A also uses lip pointing, a practice observed commonly among Cha'palaa speakers (Dingemanse & Floyd 2014) and in many other languages (Sherzer 1973, Enfield 2001).



Figure 3: Screenshot from Excerpt 16; index finger and lip pointing as part of a recruitment M-A format.

In some cases the nonverbal behavior was relatively complex, as in Extract 6 below, in which A first extends his arm and points at the menthol ointment he is requesting, saying 'give me that also' and, after a brief pause, providing a reason for the request ('I will smell a little') as he turns his palm upwards to receive the object. One interesting element of the nonverbal behavior is in this case is that A has already extended his arm by the first part of M-A in line 1, suggesting that

### 3 Getting others to do things in the Cha'palaa language of Ecuador

he has high expectations that the request will be fulfilled, possibly based on it being a relative 'low contingency' request (Curl & Drew 2008; Craven & Potter 2010).

(6) CHSF2011\_01\_11S3\_2692960

- 1 A    kuke inuba aantsa (.) jayu ishkeechi  
ku -ke    i -nu -ba    aantsa jayu    ish -kera -chi  
give-do    1SG-ACC-also that    little smell-see -INGR  
give me also that (.) (I) will smell a little

2 A    ((reaches out pointing while speaking, turns hand upward))

▷ 3 B    ((hands menthol to A))



Figure 4: A (center left) reaches out while requesting the menthol (in line 1).

In Cha'palaa, these three practices of pointing, holding out objects, and reaching to receive object made up more than 80% of the total nonverbal behavior seen in recruitments (see Table 2) (and are practices with deep roots, being among the first to appear developmentally; see Masur 1983; Cameron-Faulkner et al. 2015). However, there is an asymmetry between M-A and M-B in recruitment sequences in that while M-B tends to involve nonverbal elements, especially the accomplishment of the target action, more than two thirds of M-As were in the verbal channel (71%, n=146/205), with only 29% of M-As including nonverbal elements (n=59/205).<sup>1</sup> The next sections describe the verbal recruitment formats.

---

<sup>1</sup>Note, however, that of the 146 cases involving language, in 38 of them the presence or absence of nonverbal elements could not be ascertained due to the recruiter being off camera or with visual access impeded by another participant.

*Simeon Floyd*

### 3.3 Verbal elements: construction types and subtypes

The spoken elements of M-A are mainly made up of the morphosyntactic resources of the Cha'palaa language (sometimes also with elements of Spanish, as the primary local second language). Verbal elements were classified according to cross-linguistic syntactic categories of 'declarative', 'interrogative', 'imperative' (see König & Siemund 2007), as well as cases of 'no predicate', and 'other' cases for predicates that do not fit well with any of the main categories. Not all languages distinguish among sentence types in the same way, but in most cases Cha'palaa features very clear and unambiguous morphological distinctions on the verb associated with the three major sentence types (more on this below). As for frequency, imperatives outnumber the others considerably.

Table 3: Construction type of recruitments including spoken elements (n=192).

Sentence type	# in sample	%
imperative	137	71%
no predicate	22	11%
declarative	20	10%
interrogative	13	7%

#### 3.3.1 No predicate

Reviewing all of the different morphosyntactic types and their functions, we can start with cases in which there was no predicate, which belong to no sentence type in a strict sense. These cases can be classified by a few simple categories: of the 22 cases of 'no predicate', 12 name an object to be transferred, 6 name places that were relevant for the target action, 3 are vocatives selecting the recipient, and one was an interjection. Because the last two categories do not specify any element of the recruited action, they generally occur as a second attempt to a previous recruitment that was not successful. The other formats can generally function as independent recruitments as well as subsequent attempts. For example, speakers can name destinations as a way to tell addresses to go to those places or take things to or from those places. Sometimes other grammatical resources come into play, like the locative case marker with the first person pronoun in Extract 7 that specifies that the addressee should do something to or for participant A. Object naming usually functions to request the object in question, sometimes

### 3 Getting others to do things in the Cha'palaa language of Ecuador

with additional material like in M-A of Extract 7, which also specifies a recipient, but which leaves the target action of ‘giving’ or ‘passing’ up to the recipient’s inference. While unspecified, the requested action is usually obvious from the context, and so this type of recruitment can be considered relatively explicit or on-record (on “namings” see also [Rossi 2015b](#), chapter 2).

Also worth noting here is that in M-B B acts towards the fulfillment of the target action, but she does so in a particular way: by delegating to a third party. This was a strategy sometimes observed when the target action was obviously easier for a third party, for example when they were closer to a target object, or of lower social status, both of which were the case for Participant C in Extract (7).

- (7) CHSF2012\_08\_04S4\_1524500
- 1 A      inu jabon  
i -nu jabon  
1SG-ACC soap  
to me, soap ((in water; points at soap on shore))
  - ▷ 2 B      jabon tya'kide apa ñaa  
jabon tyatyu-ki-de apa      ñu -ya  
soap throw -do-IMP father' 2SG-FOC  
throw the soap, son, you
  - 3 B      ((points at soap))
  - 4 C      ((child throws soap to A))

Aside from the 22 cases of M-A without a predicate, all other cases with verbal material in M-A included a predicate of some kind.

#### 3.3.2 Imperatives

In contrast with the more context-dependent cases without predicates, most of the time speakers gave more information about the target action by producing a predicate (89% of recruitments with spoken M-A). Of these, as noted in Table 3, imperative forms were by far the most frequent type of predicates seen in recruitments. The imperative sentence type in Cha'palaa does not consist of a single construction, but instead features several options (see also Enfield, this volume, on Lao). Cross-linguistically, imperative verb forms tend to be relatively short, frequently consisting of just a verb root or a root with a minimal marker ([Khrakovskij 2001](#); [Aikhenvald 2010](#)). Cha'palaa fits this pattern; its two main imperative constructions are a bare verb root or a suffix, *-de*, seen in line 2 of Extract 7 above. Table 4 summarizes the different imperative formats observed in the sample.

*Simeon Floyd*

Table 4: The Cha'palaa imperative paradigm, singular and plural forms (optionally marked for plural), and percentages of each format within the total of imperatives in the sample (n=137).

Function	Form	Plural	% imperatives
bare imperative	V	(de-)V	65%
simple imperative	V-de	(de-)V-dei	27%
speaker-directed	V-ka	(de-)V-kai	5%
strong hortative	V-da	(de-)V-dai	3%
weak hortative	V-sa	(de-)V-sai	0%

The bare root option is shown by Extract 8. In a few limited contexts, declaratives can also occur as bare verb roots, so the comparable imperative format relies to a small degree on context for disambiguation. Cha'palaa has a system of complex predicates in which multiple roots combine in single predicates, where one of the roots, usually one of a set of verb classifiers, occurs farthest to the right, and takes the finite morphology (see Floyd 2014b; also see Dickinson 2000 for a description of a similar system in a related language, Tsafiki). In most cases finite predicates take at least one verbal morpheme, but one of the options for forming imperatives is to use just the verb root. In Extract 8 participant A takes this option, telling B to look at a magazine she is passing to her.

(8) CHSF2011\_06\_24S3\_1304600

- 1 A lenke' kerake  
len -ke-tu kera-ke  
read-do-SR see -do  
read this ((hands B magazine))
- ▷ 2 B ((takes magazine and reads))

In addition to the two most frequent imperative formats shown above in Extracts 7 (line 2) and 8, Cha'palaa has three further imperative markers, plus distinct plural forms of each. Table 4 shows each of the formats' frequencies relative to the other imperative options in the sample. The bare verb form sometimes occurs with a lengthened vowel and a related shift in primary stress to the right, which might be considered a kind of 'strengthener' (see section 3.4). The next most-frequent format is the general imperative *-de*, which conveys an on-record wish that the addressee do the target action, and a 'speaker-directed' imperative *-ka* that conveys that the speaker is the indirect object and beneficiary. Then there are two hortative forms for groups the speaker includes him or herself in, one

### 3 Getting others to do things in the Cha'palaa language of Ecuador

for stronger ‘command’ type recruitment (-da) and one for weaker ‘suggestion’ types of recruitments (-sa). This final polite option did not occur in the sample, perhaps in connection with the ‘maximally informal’ nature of the recordings, which may lead more formal, delicate types of recruitments to be infrequent.

When using an imperative, it is possible to mark a beneficiary of three-place predicates like ‘give’ with a full noun phrase, as in Extract 9.

(9) CHSF2011\_02\_14S3\_2673050

- 1 A     inu jayu kude aamama shipijcha ((reaches towards B))  
i -nu jayu ku -de aamama shipijcha  
1SG-ACC a.little give-IMP grandma ‘madroña’  
give me a little madroña grandma
- ▷ 2 B     ((turns towards A; begins passing fruit))

There is also a special imperative marker that is only compatible with first person beneficiaries, -ka, seen in Extract 10 line 3.

(10) CHSF2012\_01\_20S6\_2952739

- 1 A     vieja  
old lady
- 2 B     aa  
huh?
- 3 A     inu chuwa manka' kuka junu jee         ((finger and lip point))  
i -nu chuwa ma -n -ka -tu ku -ka junu jee  
1SG-ACC vine again-IMFV-grab-SR give-IMP1 there yes  
give me the string there hey
- ▷ 4 B     ((brings string))

When the speaker is included as a participant in the target action along with the interlocutor, one of two different hortatives may be used. The first, -da, was the only one of the two attested in the sample, indicating that it is probably used more frequently in general in informal contexts. Extract 11 shows a case of this hortative, when one teenager attempts to recruit another to go fishing. The sequence was unsuccessful and was abandoned when A did not respond to B after line 4.

(11) CHSF2011\_02\_14S3\_3479997

- 1 A     Gringo  
Gringo (nickname)
- 2 B     aa  
huh?

*Simeon Floyd*

- 3 A waaku tyuinsha jidaa laaba  
waaku tyui -n -sha ji-daa lala-ba  
net press-IPFV-LOC go-HORT 1PL -with  
let's go net fishing, with us
- 4 B maa waaku tyuindetsun  
mu -ya waaku tyui -n -de-tsu -n  
who-FOC net press-IPFV-PL-PROG-Q  
who is going net fishing?

Outside of the sample, looking into the video corpus more broadly, it was possible to find examples of the second hortative, *-sa*. This marker is identical to a dependent clause marker for modal complements, and it is likely that the hortative use developed through processes of ‘insubordination’ (Evans 2007; Floyd 2016; Evans & Watanabe 2016) when the dependent clause developed a conventionalized main clause usage, and became incorporated into the imperative paradigm. It alternates with *-da* as a more ‘mitigating’ option. At present it is so integrated into the imperative system that it takes the plural marker that only combines with imperative forms, *-i*. Extract 12 shows an examples of the plural form of *-sa*.

- (12) CHSF2012\_01\_07S1\_137560
- 1 A jisai lalaa  
ji-sai lala-ya  
go-HORT2.PL 1PL -FOC  
let's go
  - ▷ 2 B ((leaves house with A))

Note that, at a finer level of categorization, the social actions in Extracts 11 and 12 may be also analyzed as “proposals” (Couper-Kuhlen 2014; Stivers & Sidnell 2016). These fall within the phenomenon of recruitment, which broadly encompasses sequences in which A obtains B’s assistance or collaboration in doing something for or with them here and now (see Rossi, Floyd, and Enfield, this volume).

The imperative system is flexible with respect to grammatical norms, plural marking is available but optional, and the motivations of speakers for choosing one of the three second person imperatives or one of the two hortatives will require further research to be fully determined. This first analysis shows that such grammatical flexibility provides diverse options for different interactional contingencies.

### 3.3.3 Interrogatives

While imperatives are usually unambiguous on-record requests, the other two main sentence types, interrogatives and declaratives provide ways for instigat-

### 3 Getting others to do things in the Cha'palaa language of Ecuador

ing a fitted response to the request without going explicitly on-record, and have been discussed with respect to 'indirectness' in speech acts (Searle 1969). Interrogatives often inquire about pre-conditions for the request (Levinson 1983), potentially launching a 'pre-sequence' (Schegloff 1980; 2007; Rossi 2015a) but conventional use of interrogative formats for pre-requesting can result in the 'collapse' of the pre-sequence to the point that interrogatives can act as independent request formats (Levinson 1983; see also Fox 2015). This is the case with the format seen in line 1 of Extract 13, which inquires about the availability of an object ('Is your saw not there?'), but which ends up being taken as a request for the object.

- (13) CHSF2012\_01\_21S3\_2615530
- 1 A ñuchi serruchu tsutyuu ((off camera/outside of house))  
ñu -chi serruchu tsu-tyu-u  
2SG-POSS saw lie-NEG-Q  
is your saw not there?
  - 2 B aa  
huh?
  - 3 A serruchu tsutyuu  
serruchu tsu-tyu-u  
saw lie-NEG-Q  
is (your) saw not there?
  - 4 B enku (.) tanami ibain (.)  
en -ku ta -na -mi i -bain  
here-LOC have-be.in.POS-DECL 1SG-also  
also here, I have it,
  - 5 B jayaa finberaya  
jayu -ya fi -n -bera -ya  
little.bit-FOC eat-PFV-still-FOC  
it 'eats' a little (it saws decently)
  - 6 B seruchu tii ((to C))  
serruchu ti -i  
saw say-Q  
did (he) say 'saw'?
  - 6 C mm  
yeah
  - 7 B ((goes to get saw, returns))
  - 8 B Ebe jee ((holds out saw))  
Ebe hey  
here Ebe

Going through the interaction above line by line helps to illustrate how a question about the presence of an object is treated by the participants as a request for the object. In line 1 A inquires about the saw, using the verb 'lie', which is the appropriate positional verb for elongated objects on flat surfaces. Possibly because A is standing outside the house and did not have B's full attention, B displays some trouble hearing line 1 and initiates repair in line 2, occasioning a full repetition in line 3 (typical for an "open" repair initiator Drew 1997; see Floyd 2015 for

*Simeon Floyd*

a description of the Cha'palaa repair system). In line 4, B answers the question, confirming that the saw does in fact exist. But this is not all he does; in line 5 he also gives some information about the status of the object with respect to its function ('It saws decently'), giving evidence that he understands that lines 1 and 3 are geared towards getting the saw. Interestingly, B has chosen to respond to A even though he appears not to be fully certain of the target action, as in line 5 he requests further confirmation from his wife C. After this, B proceeds to fulfill the request in 8, but at no point has A overtly asked to be given the saw.

Interrogative recruitment formats like that seen above in Excerpt 13 are frequent in cases of requests for transfers of objects: compare 7% of interrogative recruitments in the total sample ( $n=13/192$ ) with 21% for object transfers ( $n=9/42$ ). Additionally, if the object is not visible interrogatives are used in 47% of cases ( $n=8/17$ ); this is to be expected, because these are canonical contexts in which a participant might check the pre-conditions for a request before making it, thus avoiding rejection on the grounds of a faulty presupposition that the object was available (Rossi et al. in preparation). In other situations, other interrogative formats can be used. In cases of requests for the provision of services, for example, a speaker might ask a question about a target action to convey that they would like an addressee to do this action. An example of this was seen Excerpt 1 with the question 'Did/do you sweep?' The common feature of all the different types of interrogative recruitments is that, each in different ways, they use what is on the surface a request for information as a way to request an activity.

### 3.3.4 Declaratives

Declaratives are another format for less direct or off-record requests. These work by introducing a proposition about some state of affairs, but with an implicit understanding that some action should be taken by an addressee. Relative to imperatives, this format allows speakers to avoid overtly selecting an addressee for the recruitment. In some cases the addressee may be obvious from the context - if A is gazing directly at B, for instance (see Lerner 2003), or if the interaction is dyadic - while in other cases participants might self-select and construe themselves as the addressee. One cross-linguistically common format for declarative recruitments is deontic statements about how things should be, or what things need to be done (Zinken & Ogiermann 2011; Couper-Kuhlen & Etelävä 2015; Rossi & Zinken 2016). Extract 10 provides one such example of a deontic construction in Cha'palaa, which is formed with the combination of an infinitive verb and a copula (a very common deontic construction type in South America; Müller 2013). In this case a husband A and wife B were working together to nail

### 3 Getting others to do things in the Cha'palaa language of Ecuador

in some boards to repair a wall, and when A makes a statement about the task that should be done, B responds by altering the way in which she is performing the task.

#### (14) CHSF201

- 1 A tu- tu'pushujuntsaa kanu juaa  
tu- tu'pu-shujunsta-ya ka-nu ju-ya  
nail nail -REL.CL-FOC grab-INF be-FOC  
(one) must grab the part that was nailed
- ▷ 2 B ((grabs and moves board))

Research on some European languages has shown similar usages of deontic constructions (Zinken & Ogiemann 2011; Couper-Kuhlen & Etelämäki 2015; Rossi & Zinken 2016), suggesting that this particular strategy may be cross-linguistically recurrent. Apart from the specific deontic constructions seen above, a further wide range of declarative construction types can function as recruitments in the right contexts. For example, Extract 15 is a case of a pursuit of a recruitment that was not fulfilled after the first attempt, which was an imperative: 'Look for lice on me'. While a bit taboo in Western cultures, picking parasites of each other is an important social interactive practice among peoples from different parts of the world, including the Chachis of Ecuador, for whom it is considered an affectionate form of behavior most common among family members. In this case, however, when A tells her husband B to groom her in this way, he displays no uptake, and continues a parallel line of conversation, leading to a second attempt by B in line 3, this time in a declarative format.

#### (15) CHSF2012\_08\_04S4\_1524500

- 1 A inu mu keraa  
i -nu mu kera-a  
1SG-ACC lice look-IMP  
look for lice on me ((sits with back towards B))
- 2 B ((no uptake; 88.0 unrelated conversation))
- 3 A ñaa inu mu keetyunkayu mm mm ((scratches head))  
ñu-ya i -nu mu kee-tyu-nkayu mm mm  
2 -FOC 1SG-ACC louse see-NEG-EV mm mm  
you aren't looking for lice on me, hey
- 4 B ((no uptake; continues unrelated conversation))

Participant A had been sitting with her back to her husband, giving him access to her hair, for over a minute when she makes a second attempt at the recruitment (line 3). This time she uses a declarative format, using a negation construction

*Simeon Floyd*

to call attention to a state of affairs that is not currently the case ('You aren't looking for lice') (a "negative observation", often a format for complaining; see Schegloff 1988; Rossi accepted). In light of the first, more overt recruitment in line 1, this statement can be taken as a request that B do the relevant action.

### 3.3.5 Other construction types

In addition to specific verbal morphemes, there are specialized verbal constructions that can be resources for recruitments. One good example of this is a benefactive construction using the verb 'give' as an auxiliary to indicate beneficiaries, a construction which appears in several other unrelated local languages and may be a product of areal convergence (see Bruij 2008 on Ecuadorian Spanish and Quechua). While literally this construction asks one to 'give' the action, when the verb 'give' is used with a second verb it means 'do it for someone's benefit'. An example can be seen in Extract 16.

(16) CHSF2011\_02\_14S3\_1828314

- 1 A      *panda tune' kude junka tsai kalarade*  
*panda tune-tu ku -de junka tsai kalara -de*  
 food cook-SR give-IMP there SEM take(photo)-IMP  
 Cook plantain for them, take a video like that.
- 2 A      *jee junka kera' uyudenaa tinkai*  
*jee junka kera-tu uyu -de-na -ya ti -nkayu*  
 hey there see -SR stand-PL-POS-FOC say-EV  
 Yeah, standing and looking over there, it was said.
- 3 B      *panda tsunami nain*  
*panda tsu-na -mi na -i -n*  
 food lie-POS-DECL how-become-Q  
 How is there plantain?

In line 1 A asks B to cook plantain, but uses the 'give' construction to mean that a third party, the other family members present, will benefit (the additional comment about filming is a bit of 'camera behavior; in which participants in the recording make reference to the recording equipment). This 'benefactive give' construction can occur with any of the major sentence types, and is not dedicated solely to recruitments, but when it occurs in M-A of recruitment sequences it has the effect of introducing beneficiaries through a conventionalized use of a ditransitive predicate to modify the argument structure.

### 3.4 Additional verbal elements

In addition to the predicate and its core arguments, there are other aspects of turn design that are relevant for recruitment formats. This section reviews several of these non-core elements.

### 3 Getting others to do things in the Cha'palaa language of Ecuador

#### 3.4.1 Strengtheners and mitigators

Some non-core elements can be considered ‘strengtheners’ or ‘mitigators’ with respect to how they upgrade or downgrade the recruitment terms of its claimed urgency, importance, appropriateness, ease of accomplishment, and so on. One common strengthener in Cha'palaa is the word *jee*, which shares several functions: it is the main positive polarity token ('yes'), a vocative often used to secure attention ('hey'), and a strengthening element in recruitments. Usually these different functions can be easily distinguished from their context of use, but *jee* generally needs to combine with other elements like a verb to be able to specify a target action in a recruitment sequence, as in Extract 17 where it combines with the imperative verb 'look.'

(17) CHSF2011\_06\_25S2\_1428820

- 1 A entsa ka' ura urake jee ((passes fiber to B))  
entra ka-' ura ura -ke jee  
this grasp-SR good good-do yes  
Put this away, hey.
- 2 B tse'mitya lepe pupuki ((moves fiber piece))  
tse-'mitya lepe pu -pu -ki  
SEM-because broken put-put-do  
So then put the broken pieces here.

Here A asked B to help remove some broken pieces of fiber during basket weaving, finishing the spoken part of her turn with *jee*; B then takes the proffered fiber and proceeds to fulfill by doing the task. In this position, using *jee* to help secure the attention of B can be seen as a strengthener, although it may occur in other contexts doing different things (for example, in Extract 9 line 8, *jee* occurs in the fulfillment of an object transfer request; ‘here take this’).

Another quite different format for strengthening consists of modulating the volume of the spoken elements of the recruitment. Extract 18 provides a good example of this strategy in the context of a pursuit sequence. The initial recruitment in line 1 concerns A telling his wife B to hold onto a string so he can tie it. In line 3 he produces a second recruitment giving more information about the position he wanted her to hold ('on the tip'), implying that her first attempt at fulfillment had not been totally acceptable. Then in line 5 he repeats the recruitment format from line 3, consisting of a noun *kapa*, meaning the 'side' or 'tip' of an object, and a locative suffix *-nu*, but now produces it at higher volume.

(18) CHSF2012\_01\_20S6\_2509823

- 1 A tadi  
ta-di  
have-come.into.POS  
hold (this)

*Simeon Floyd*

- ▷ 2 B ((begins to hold string))
  
- 3 A mm kapanu  
mm kápá -nu  
yeah side/tip-LOC  
yeah, on the tip
  
- ▷ 4 B ((begins to hold more firmly))
  
- 5 A KAPANU  
kapa -nu  
side/tip-LOC  
on the tip!
  
- ▷ 6 B ((holds firmly so that A can cut string))
  
- 7 A enu main kake  
e -nu main ka -ke  
here-LOC one grab-do  
grab one here

It is easy to see the difference in the two pronunciations of *kapanu* from the waveform of the audio recording, in which participant A increased the volume of a repeated recruitment to upgrade its format in a pursuit sequence.

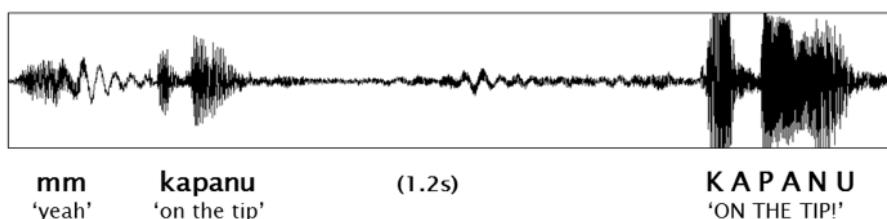


Figure 5: Waveform of lines 3-5 of Extract 18, comparing the different volume levels of two successive productions of the same word.

It is interesting to note that the two strengthening strategies discussed here, the particle *jee* and increased volume, both have connections to strategies for securing the attention of an addressee, either through using a vocative like 'hey!' or by making the words more perceptually salient by amplifying them. If other languages show a similar link between securing attention and strengthening recruitments, this may turn out to be a recurring strategy that combines securing attention a recruitment and pursuing its fulfillment.

In addition to 'strengthening' recruitments, Cha'palaa speakers also used different formats for 'mitigating' them, or downplaying the contingency of the re-

### 3 Getting others to do things in the Cha'palaa language of Ecuador

cruitment. One of these is a minimizing strategy that uses the word *jayu*, or 'a little bit', in order to frame a recruitment as something small, insignificant, or easily accomplished. Work on politeness strategies has noted that words or morphemes about smallness are a cross-linguistically common strategy for managing face-threatening acts like recruitments (Brown & Levinson 1987). In Extract 19 A tells his wife to 'make rice', but then adds the word *jayu*. The word order is relevant because Cha'palaa is in most cases verb-final and modifiers like *jayu* generally precede their nouns, suggesting that here it was added on as a late-stage calibration of the contingency of the recruitment.

(19) CHSF2011\_02\_15S4\_6949122

- 1 A arosya kee jayu  
aros-ya ke-e jayu  
rice-FOC do-IMP a.little  
Make rice, a little.
- 2 B ((gets out of hammock))

Here it appears that the quantity of rice was not really the issue, and that *jayu* has more to do with minimization of the imposition of the recruitment.

#### 3.4.2 Explanations

Another type of strategy that may be used for mitigation of recruitments is the provision of explanations (including 'accounts' and similar) in the same turn as the core recruitment, providing background information that presents the target action as more necessary, justified or reasonable (see Parry 2013; Baranova & Dingemanse 2016). For example, in Extract 20 speaker A tells speaker B to 'clean the baby's face', which is very specific about the target action and its beneficiary, and could be a complete recruitment on its own. However, A also adds the phrase 'it is dirty', which provides motivation for the target action.

(20) CHSF2011\_02\_15S4\_499970

- 1 A nanu kajuru mankijtikee kuchinuu  
na -nu kajuru ma -n -kijti-ke-e kuchinu-ju  
small-ACC face again-IPFV-clean-do-IMP dirty -be  
clean the baby's face, it's dirty
- 2 B ((gets up, takes baby and starts washing face))

Extra elements like mitigators and strengtheners were relatively uncommon. Explanations were present in 14% of cases that included a verbal element (n=27/192), while just 4% included mitigators (n=7/192), and strengtheners occurred in 10% of cases (n=20/192).

*Simeon Floyd*

## 4 Move B: the response

Like in M-A, the recruitment, M-B, the response, can also be fully nonverbal, fully verbal, or a composite. But in this sequential position, speech and nonverbal behavior are subject to different conditions than in the initial position of most recruitment sequences. Since the cases in the sample all involved practical actions that could be accomplished or begun during the interaction, most cases included some kind of relevant nonverbal behavior in the response. More than half of cases ( $n=105/205$ ) included a clearly identifiable nonverbal response, either as the only response ( $n=81/205$ ) or as part of a composite move with verbal elements ( $n=24/205$ ). In a number of cases it is impossible to see whether there is a visual element of a response due to Participant B moving off camera or behind another person or an object ( $n=79/205$ ). In a smaller number of cases, responses only included verbal elements ( $n=21/205$ ); since these cases include no practical action, they partly correlate with cases of rejection, with cases including nonverbal, practical actions tending to be cases of fulfillment.

Table 5: Fulfillment, rejection, and other response types in the Cha'palaa sample ( $n=205$ ).

response type	total cases (n=205)	%	sequence-final cases (n=125)	%
fulfillment	97	47%	69	55%
ignores	40	20%	21	17%
other	20	10%	10	8%
repair	19	9%	2	1%
rejection	8	4%	7	6%
not visible	21	10%	16	13%

Table 5 shows the breakdown of different types of responses in M-B of the recruitment sequences of the sample. The data show an overall predominance of fulfillment, but also a number of other options for response, including rejection, which will be discussed below in §4.3 First, response formats will be addressed in §4.1 and §4.2.

### 4.1 Fully non-verbal responses

Well over half (64%) of the responses in which B is visible in the video consisted of non-verbal elements only ( $n=81/126$ ); in most cases this corresponded to the accomplishment or initiation of the target action (see also Rauniomaa & Keisanen

### 3 Getting others to do things in the Cha'palaa language of Ecuador

2012). Some target recruited actions could be accomplished quickly (e.g. A: 'to me, the soap' > B: passes the soap) while for others B could only respond by beginning some activity that A can understand as projecting the completion of the target action (e.g. A: 'cook a little rice' > B: begins cooking rice). Extract 21 gives an example of the former, a case of a request for the alteration of a trajectory of ongoing activity that was fulfilled immediately after M-A. B had been holding a baby but was not devoting full attention and the baby was beginning to slip out of his grasp. A, noticing this, prompts B to hold the baby more firmly. B's change in behavior is immediate, includes no verbal elements, and is treated as a satisfactory fulfillment, in that it is no longer pursued by A beyond line 2.

(21) CHSF2011\_01\_11S3\_4728040

- 1 A kake kake kake  
ka -ke ka -ke ka -ke  
grab-do grab-do grab-do  
grab (him) grab (him) grab (him)
- 2 B ((hold baby more carefully; baby stops slipping))

Also notable is the repetition of the recruitment predicate in line 1. Stivers (2004) observes that this type of repetition can be associated with urgency, and a similar connection can be made here: in the sample, several repetitions occur in recruitments dealing with alteration of trajectory in already-ongoing activities, which in this sense are more urgent than requests for services or objects, since the potential negative effects of not fulfilling the request may be mounting while the recruitment move is being produced (see also Extract 3, above, for a similar example of repetition in a case of urgency).

#### 4.2 Verbal elements of responses

In cases in which a spoken element was part of the response, some of these were rejections, especially when only a verbal element was present, as these cases included no practical activity fulfilling the request. However, verbal elements could accomplish other things as well in the sequential position of M-A. For example, in Extract 9 above, participant B initiated repair with an interjection after the initial M-A (see Floyd 2015 on other-initiated repair in Cha'palaa). Another thing that verbal elements of responses can accomplish is to manage the temporal contingencies of the sequence. For example, in Extract 22, participant A asks participant B to take a basket, which A is holding out, but B is unable to immediately comply, so she makes it known that she intends to do the target action soon with the utterance 'wait a little'.

*Simeon Floyd*

(22) CHSF2011\_06\_25S2\_3468149

- 1 A aanku ka' tsuude  
aanku ka -tu tsure-de  
there grab-SR lie -CAUS-IMP  
there get it and set it down ((holding out basket))
- 2 B kai keedi ((continues previous activities))  
kayi kera-di  
little see -come.into.POS  
wait a little
- 3 (1.5)
- 4 B ((takes and moved basket))

In the first image A is holding out the basket for B to take, but B's hands are busy (she appears to be rubbing saliva on a dry area of her arm). Often if there is no immediate nonverbal response, speakers pursue with further recruitment turns. However, because B conveys to A she will address the target action shortly, A simply waits with the basket outstretched for a couple of seconds; in the second image, B takes the basket and sets it down as A requested.



Figure 6: Participant A holds out basket for Participant B and tells her to 'get it and set it down' (line 1)

### 4.3 Rejections and other non-fulfilling responses

Most examples shown in previous sections have been fulfillments. Fullfilments by definition will fall into the non-verbal or composite categories, since these must include a practical non-verbal action or its initiation (although some non-verbal actions did not count as fulfillment). But on the other hand, fully verbal responses tended to be rejection, as generally rejections require some on-record statement which, while possible to convey visually, tends to be spoken (n = 7/8).

### 3 Getting others to do things in the Cha'palaa language of Ecuador



Figure 7: Participant B takes the basket and sets it down (line 4), after having delayed a moment, saying ‘wait a little’ (line 2).

Outright rejections were rare in Cha'palaa, and only 4% of total cases featured rejection as the response ( $n=8/205$ ), compared to 47% which included fulfillment ( $n=97/205$ ). The fulfillment rate is even higher (55%,  $n=69/125$ ) when considering only sequence-final cases, reflecting how unsuccessful first attempts can be pursued for eventual fulfillment. Another type of spoken response to unsuccessful first attempts might be repair initiation, which accounted for 9% ( $n=19/2015$ ) of total responses (predictably, this rate was much lower in sequence-final cases). Additional options included ignoring Move-A, or “other” responses like delegating to a third party (see Extract (7)), giving information that A can use to resolve the problem him/herself, making a counter-proposal, or pursuing some unrelated sequence. These additional types of responses were generally more frequent than overt rejection, and so it seems that Cha'palaa speakers tend to opt for less explicit ways of avoiding the uptake of recruitments besides overt rejection. In addition, the types of rejections that were seen were not on-record refusals (a flat-out “no”) but tended to take other forms. In rare cases rejections could be fully nonverbal, such as in Extract 23, where a nonverbal recruitment - A reaching out for a slingshot - is not responded to with a transfer of the object by B, who instead pulls the object away out of reach.

(23) CHSF2011\_01\_11S3\_2717590

► 1 A ((reaches for slingshot))

► 2 B ((pulls hand away))

When there is spoken material in a rejection, most often it can be classified as an ‘account’ or explanation for why B is unwilling or unable to comply (87% of

*Simeon Floyd*



Figure 8: Participant A (in center in shirt with stripe) reaches for the slingshot (line 1) as Participant B (right) pulls it back out of reach (line 2)

rejections, n=7/8). Extract 24 is a good example of rejection through explanation. A, B and other friends are washing clothes together, but B is getting ready to leave while A still has more to wash. A suggests that B accompany her by doing some more washing, using a declarative format ("you'll wash"). However, B has no more clothes to wash, so she offers this state of affairs as an explanation for why she cannot fulfill the request.

(24) CHSF\_2012\_08\_04S4\_1193345

- 1 A    tsaaren manpipunaa manbije  
tsaa-ren    man -pi    -pu -nu -ya    man -bije  
SEM -PRECIS again-water-put-INF-FOC again-time  
so (you) will wash one more time
- 2 B    naaketaa manpipunu nejtaa deiñu  
naa-ke-tu-ya    man -pi    -pu -nu    nejtu -ya    de -i    -ñu  
how-do-SR-FOC again-water-put-INF because-FOC CMPL-become-DR  
how can (I) wash since (it) is already finished?
- 3 B    nejtaa yumaa deiñu  
netju -ya    yumaa de -i    -ñu  
because-FOC now    CMPL-become-DR  
since it is now finished

The format that B chooses includes a main clause that accomplishes the rejection calling into question her ability to perform the target action ('how can I wash?'), as well as a clause providing an explanation, including the word *nejtu* which can be translated as 'because' or 'since' ('since it is now finished'). Requesters generally accepted such explanations amicably and did not insist, and such rejections do not seem particularly conflictive or strongly face-threatening. Here Participant B is smiling as she rejects the request (on shore on the right).

### 3 Getting others to do things in the Cha'palaa language of Ecuador



Figure 9: Participant A (center, foreground) asks Participant B (right) if she will continue to accompany her washing clothes (line 1). Participant B rejects (line 2) and offers an explanation (line 3).

One final point about rejection formats is that there are relevant connections between the formats seen in the recruitment M-A and the formats seen in the response in M-B. Particular first pair parts make relevant the provision of ‘type-conforming’ responses (Raymond 2000; 2003). For example, the recruitment in Extract 25 is in the format of an interrogative clause inquiring about the existence of a target object, which is a common format for requesting objects that are not visible as discussed in section §3.3.3 The response in line 2 both answers the question with the appropriate format and at the same time accomplishes rejection by appealing to an explanation citing the lack of the target object.

(25) CHSF2011\_01\_11S2\_249991

- 1 A lemu tsutyyuu, lemu deii ((turns towards B))  
lemu tsu-tyu-u lemu de -i -i  
lime lie-NEG-Q lime CMPL-become-Q  
there are no limes, did the limes run out?
- 2 B lemu jutyu kaa ruku ((reaching into basket))  
lemu ju-tyu kaa-ruku  
lime be-NEG DIM-man  
there are no limes little husband

Since B has done due diligence here by checking the basket to see if there are any limes, she does not end up being held accountable for non-compliance with the recruitment (see also Rossi 2015a). In many sequences which qualify as rejections speakers are able to maintain their affiliative stance, suggesting that people avoid the most fraught exchanges altogether when possible. For example, in (25) B rejects A's recruitment with an affective, diminutive term “little husband.” In general, the high fulfillment rate and low rejection rate indicate an orientation to affiliation in such sequences in Cha'palaa interaction.

*Simeon Floyd*

#### 4.4 Acknowledgements

After M-A and M-B, recruitment sequences may optionally include a move in third position by A that acknowledges the fulfillment of the recruitment. While in principle speakers of any language can make a positive assessment in this position, in some languages, there are conventionalized resources that function as this type of ‘sequence-closing third’ (Schegloff 2007), like the English ‘thank you’. Cha’palaa speakers are familiar with such linguistic resources through contact with Spanish, that has the format ‘gracias’, but when asked if there is a Cha’palaa equivalent, they end up puzzled and unable to think of anything. This illustrates how practices like saying ‘thank you’ can be highly variable across different populations (see Floyd et al. 2018). Other research on acknowledgments has reached similar conclusions, like Apté’s (1974) observation that while thanking is relatively unmarked in American English in most contexts, in South Asia it is very marked except in a few specific contexts (a number of other studies discuss norms of thanking in different languages and cultures; e.g. Ohashi 2013; and Pedersen 2010 on Swedish; Eisenstein & Bodman 1986: many studies are concerned with second language learning; e.g. ; Hinkel 1994; Intachakra 2004; Özdemir & Rezvani 2010; Farashaiyan & Hua 2012; Cui 2012 etc.). In Cha’palaa it appears that acknowledgment is not only marked, but that there is no conventionalized format for thanking in the language at all.

In Cha’palaa recruitment sequences, speakers tend to either close the sequence or continue some other conversational trajectory after M-B, where in other languages third-position acknowledgment practices are sometimes observed. The video corpus was collected in highly informal contexts, so acknowledgments might be expected to be infrequent for mundane requests among speakers who are highly familiar to each other. However, even in these contexts speakers of other languages showed some evidence of orientation to this kind of ‘face work’ (Brown & Levinson 1987; Goffman 1955), while speakers of Cha’palaa did not (see Floyd et al. 2018). Along with its preference for direct imperative formats over less direct interrogative and declarative forms, this suggests that some of the typical practices associated with politeness in English and many other languages are quite different among speakers of Cha’palaa.

### 5 Social asymmetries

Differences in social status among people in interaction are highly significant for how recruitment sequences play out, but these are more difficult to charac-

### *3 Getting others to do things in the Cha'palaa language of Ecuador*

terize analytically than, for example, the morphosyntactic formats seen in those sequences. The most reliable method for assessing how social asymmetry may be relevant for a given society in the mundane, everyday contexts considered in this study is long-term ethnographic observation and participation in the community. Based on my experience in Chachi communities over a period of about 8 years, including one full year spending two weeks per month in the field (2008–9), it is possible to generalize that some of the most relevant types of social asymmetries are based on a combination of age, gender, and kinship relations. Grounded on this information, each dyad was classified as symmetrical or asymmetrical. While it is true that, at least to some extent, status is locally negotiated in every interaction, in practice rights and duties around recurrent household activities remain relatively stable from instance to instance (and it seems difficult for a society to function without a relatively stable distribution of rights and duties). The dyad classifications apply only for the comparable village and household settings of the corpus, involving recurrent activities like cooking and cleaning, but this relative stability is partially contingent on context and is not always stable for every dyad in every context. However, they are stable enough in these contexts to see some trends.

The Chachi people have a system of traditional law that governs questions of morality, based around strong gender roles and normative family structure, and punishing transgressions like adultery or marriage outside the ethnicity (Barrett 1925; Altschuler 1964; Floyd 2010). The male and female roles in the family are well-defined, and men and women are responsible for different tasks. Men usually participate in hunting and fishing, some agriculture, logging and canoe-making, while women are in charge of household work like cooking, cleaning and childcare, in addition to some agricultural tasks and handcrafts like basket weaving. Most of the mundane activities that made up the target actions in the sample of recruitment cases from the Cha'palaa corpus were the types of household activities that many Chachis consider to be women's responsibilities. For that reason, in most cases when men directed recruitments at women, typically men telling their wives to do things, such cases were classified as high-status recruitments directed at lower status individuals (A>B). Additionally, children are accountable for a number of household responsibilities such as carrying buckets of water from the river and assisting adults in their tasks. While cases involving young children were excluded from the sample as described in §1.1, adolescents usually continue to be accountable for such tasks until marriage, so cases of adult family members like parents, grandparents or aunts and uncles directing recruitments at adolescents and young adults were also classified as A>B. Cases with

*Simeon Floyd*

the inverse situation, when adolescents told their elders to do things or wives told their husbands to do things, were classified as low status individuals directing recruitments at higher-status individuals ( $A < B$ ). All other cases among adults with no relevant family relationships were classified as symmetrical ( $A = B$ ). This qualitative classification should be thought of as a flexible, pragmatic approach that takes into account both more stable aspects of social roles but is also attuned to situational factors for this data set.

Table 6: Relative frequencies of dyads by type of social (a)symmetry (201/205 cases; in four cases there was not enough information to classify the dyad).

(a)symmetry	# cases (n=201)	%
$A > B$	77	38%
$A < B$	18	9%
$A = B$	106	53%

The high rate of fulfillment versus rejection in the Cha'palaa recruitments sample may be in part accounted for because individuals who may not be socially entitled to make certain requests can simply avoid them as a way to avoid potential rejection. In their model of politeness, Brown and Levinson (1987:69–74) proposed this option as preferable in cases in which the potential costs are too extreme to attempt the face-threatening act. While more than half of the recruitments in the sample were between individuals classified as socially symmetrical, there were also over four times more  $A > B$  recruitments than  $A < B$  recruitments. Based on this, it appears that Cha'palaa speakers are more likely to direct recruitments at individuals with similar or lower social status than to individuals with higher social status.

There is some evidence that recruitment format selection is also sensitive to social asymmetries in that the more direct formats like imperatives and no predicate are more frequent as social entitlement increases (see also Heinemann 2006, Curl & Drew 2008 and Craven & Potter 2010 on the concept of entitlement). Imperatives are ‘direct’ in a straightforward sense, but no predicate recruitments can also be considered very direct in that, like imperatives, they are usually on-record and understood as explicitly requesting a target action by way of naming objects, recipients, places and so on. If we compare direct formats with ostensive off-record formats interrogative and declarative, we can consider this one kind of measure of directness. Table 7 compares percentages imperative and no-

### 3 Getting others to do things in the Cha'palaa language of Ecuador

predicate for the three dyad types (A>B, A<B, A=B).

Table 7: Percentage of direct (imperative + no predicate) formats in M-A by dyad type.

(a)symmetry	# imperatives + no predicate	%
A>B	(49+16)/77	84%
A<B	(12+0)/18	67%
A=B	(73 +6)/106	75%

Across all cases, the rate of direct formats was approximately 78%. In cases of recruitments from high status individuals to low status individuals, this rate rises to 84%, with a particularly high rate of no predicate recruitments. However, in cases of recruitments from lower-status individuals to higher-status individuals, the rate of direct formats falls to 67%. Among equal status individuals, the rate is between these two extremes, at 75%. These results illustrate that the relative status of the recruiter and recruitee can affect both the base rate of recruitments (Table 6) and the directness of the format selected (Table 7). Lower status individuals are less likely to begin recruitment sequences, and more likely do use less direct strategies when they do. Higher status individuals are more likely to begin recruitment sequences, and more likely to use more direct strategies. In this social context, this means that male heads of households initiate more recruitments, and women and young people are more often in the position to respond and comply, a finding that resonates with the observed social roles in the community.

## 6 Discussion

This chapter has reviewed the particular ways that speakers of Cha'palaa address the common human problem of coordinating cooperative behaviors and joint actions in light of individual concerns about being imposed on by or imposing on others. Cha'palaa speakers draw on a wide range of spoken and nonverbal resources in order to accomplish this, and calibrate the formats they use in social interaction with respect to different contingencies. In about half (n=97/205) of Cha'palaa recruitment sequences the target action was accomplished, while in only a small percentage was there overt rejection. In another considerable portion of sequences the recruitment received no uptake but was abandoned and not pursued. In some cases the risk of overt rejection may be too high a price to

*Simeon Floyd*

pay for pursuing the target action. The overall tendency in the sample appears to be to avoid rejection when possible.

The avoidance of rejection can be interpreted both as pro-social and as a reflection of social asymmetry. Chachi culture has been resilient over the centuries in part due to strict enforcement of traditional laws, but these laws are based on rigid norms concerning social roles, and there are strong expectations about the appropriate responsibilities for daily tasks linked to gender roles and age grades. On the one hand the high rate of successful recruitments shows that Cha'palaa speakers are highly affiliative and cooperative. On the other hand, cases of dis-affiliative rejections may be low in part because people 'know their place' and do not initiate recruitment sequences at all when their social rights to do so are questionable (see [Floyd 2017](#)). Sequences in which lower status individuals requested actions of higher status individuals were indeed the least frequent in the sample, while higher status individuals were not so restrained.

Many of the practices and tendencies described for Cha'palaa resemble those seen in other languages described in the literature cited above, and in this volume. However, in another ways Cha'palaa is distinct, including the grammatical forms employed (e.g. the large imperative paradigm), the types of target action requested (e.g. tasks involved in traditional basket weaving), and the cultural rationales behind the reasons and explanations offered as part of recruitments and their responses. A lack of acknowledgment practices and a low frequency of indirect formats appears to place Cha'palaa on the low end of a cross-linguistic politeness scale. Even so, perhaps a better interpretation is that Cha'palaa speakers do their face-work by other means, as recruitments are mostly successful and face-threatening conflict is rare. Whether viewed as more pro-social or more hierarchical, the Cha'palaa recruitment system reflects deep social cohesion and interconnectedness that allows for individuals to instigate actions that go beyond their own lack of ability or willingness to act, and as such it plays an important role in Chachi society.

### 3 Getting others to do things in the Cha'palaa language of Ecuador

## Abbreviations

ACC	accusative/direct object	INGR	ingressive/immediate intention
CAUS	causative	LOC	locative
CMPL	completive	NEG	negation
DECL	declarative	PL	plural
DIM	diminutive	POS	positional
EGO	egophoric	PROG	progressive
EV	evidential	Q	interrogative
FOC	focus/topic	REL.C	relative clause
HORT	hortative imperative	SG	singular
IPFV	imperfective	SR	same referent
IMP	imperative	SEM	semblative
INF	infinitive		'like this/that'

## Acknowledgments

This research was supported by European Research Council grant 240853 for the project 'Human Sociality and Systems of Language Use' (HSSLU) directed by Nick Enfield, with additional support from the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Language and Cognition Department (Director Stephen Levinson). Special thanks goes to members of the Chachi communities of Tsejpi, Zapallo Grande, Santa María and all of the Chachi people who participated in the recordings and in the analysis, particularly Johnny Pianchiche who transcribed much of the corpus. Thanks also to my collaborators in the Recruitment Project Julija Baranova, Joe Blythe, Mark Dingemanse, Paul Drew, Nick Enfield, Kobil Kendrick, Giovanni Rossi, and Jörg Zinken, and to the reviewers, for their comments and discussions that improved this work. Any errors are of course my own.

## References

- Aikhenvvald, Alexandra Y. 2010. *Imperatives and commands*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Altschuler, Milton. 1964. *The Cayapa: A study in legal behaviour*. University of Minnesota. (Doctoral dissertation). Ph.D. dissertation.

*Simeon Floyd*

- Apte, Mahadev L. 1974. "Thank You" and South Asian languages: A comparative sociolinguistic study. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 3. 67–90. DOI:[10.1515/ijsl.1974.3.67](https://doi.org/10.1515/ijsl.1974.3.67)
- Baranova, Julija & Mark Dingemanse. 2016. Reasons for requests. *Discourse Studies* 18(6). 641–675. DOI:[10.1177/1461445616667154](https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445616667154)
- Barrett, Samuel Alfred. 1925. *The Cayapa Indians of Ecuador*. New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye foundation.
- Bickel, Balthasar. 2000. Introduction: Person and evidence in Himalayan languages. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 23. 1–37.
- Bolden, Galina B., Jenny Mandelbaum & Sue Wilkinson. 2012. Pursuing a response by repairing an indexical reference. *Language and social interaction* 45(2). 137–155.
- Brown, Penelope & Stephen C. Levinson. 1987. *Politeness: Some universals in language usage* (Studies in Interactional Sociolinguistics 4). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Bruil, Martine. 2008. Give + gerund in Ecuadorian Spanish: A calque from Quichua or a large process of contact induced change? *Leiden Working Papers in Linguistics* 5(1). 1–23.
- Cameron-Faulkner, Thea, Anna Theakston, Elena Lieven & Michael Tomasello. 2015. The relationship between infant holdout and gives, and pointing. *Infancy* 20(5). 576–586.
- Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth. 2014. What does grammar tell us about action? *Pragmatics* 24(3). 623–647.
- Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth & Marja Etelämäki. 2015. Nominated actions and their targeted agents in Finnish conversational directives. *Journal of pragmatics* 78. 7–24.
- Craven, Alexandra & Jonathan Potter. 2010. Directives: Entitlement and contingency in action. *Discourse Studies* 12(4). 419–442. DOI:[10.1177/1461445610370126](https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445610370126)
- Creissels, Denis. 2008. Person variations in Akhvakh verb morphology: Functional motivation and origin of an uncommon pattern. *STUF-Language typology and universals* 61(4). 309–325.
- Cui, Xuebo. 2012. A cross-linguistic study on expressions of gratitude by native and non-native English speakers. *Journal of language teaching and research* 3(4). 753–760.
- Curl, Traci & Paul Drew. 2008. Contingency and action: A comparison of two forms of requesting. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 41(2). 129–153. DOI:[10.1080/08351810802028613](https://doi.org/10.1080/08351810802028613)

### 3 Getting others to do things in the Cha'palaa language of Ecuador

- Curnow, Timothy Jowan. 2002. Conjunct/disjunct marking in Awa Pit. *Linguistics* 40(3). 611–627.
- DeBoer, Warren. 1996. *Traces behind the esmereldas shore*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.
- DeLancey, Scott. 1992. The historical status of the conjunct/disjunct pattern in Tibeto-Burman. *Acta linguistica hafniensia* 25. 39–62.
- Dickinson, Connie. 2000. Mirativity in Tsafiki. *Studies in language* 24(2). 379–422.
- Dingemanse, Mark & Simeon Floyd. 2014. Conversation across cultures. In N. J. Enfield, Paul Kockelman & Jack Sidnell (eds.), *Cambridge handbook of linguistic anthropology*, 434–464. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dingemanse, Mark, Giovanni Rossi & Simeon Floyd. 2017. Place reference in story beginnings: A cross-linguistic study of narrative and interactional affordances. *Language in Society* 42(2). 129–158.
- Drew, Paul. 1997. ‘Open’ class repair initiators in response to sequential sources of trouble in conversation. *Journal of pragmatics* 28(1). 69–101. DOI:[10.1080/08351813.1998.9683595](https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.1998.9683595)
- Eisenstein, Miriam & Jean W. Bodman. 1986. ‘i very appreciate’: Expressions of gratitude by native and non-native speakers of American English. *Applied Linguistics* 7(2). 167–185.
- Enfield, N. J. 2001. ‘lip-pointing’: a discussion of form and function with reference to data from Laos. *Gesture* 1(2). 185–211. DOI:[10.1075/gest.1.2.06enf](https://doi.org/10.1075/gest.1.2.06enf).
- Evans, Nicholas. 2007. Insubordination and its uses. In Irinia Nikolaeva (ed.), *Finiteness: Theoretical and empirical foundations*, 366–431. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Evans, Nicholas & Honoré Watanabe (eds.). 2016. *Insubordination*. Vol. 115. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Farashaiyan, Atieh & Tan Kim Hua. 2012. A cross-cultural comparative study of gratitude strategies between Iranian and Malaysian postgraduate students. *Asian social science* 8(7). 139–148.
- Floyd, Simeon. 2009. Nexos históricos, gramaticales y culturales de los números en cha'palaa. In *Proceedings of the conference on Indigenous languages of Latin America (CILLA)-IV*.
- Floyd, Simeon. 2010. *Discourse forms and social categorization in Cha'palaa*. University of Texas at Austin. (Doctoral dissertation). Ph.D. dissertation.
- Floyd, Simeon. 2014a. ‘We’ as social categorization in cha'palaa. In Theodossia-Soula Pavlidou (ed.), *Constructing collectivity: ‘We’ across languages and contexts*, 135–158. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

*Simeon Floyd*

- Floyd, Simeon. 2014b. Four types of reduplication in the Cha'palaa language of Ecuador. In Hein Voort & Gale Goodwin Gómez (eds.), *Reduplication in Indigenous languages of South America*, 77–113. Leiden: Brill.
- Floyd, Simeon. 2015. Other-initiated repair in Cha'palaa. *Open Linguistics* 1. 467–489.
- Floyd, Simeon. 2016. Insubordination in interaction: The cha'palaa counter-assertive. In Nick Evans & Honore Watanabe (eds.), *Insubordination* (Typological Studies in Language), 341–366. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Floyd, Simeon. 2017. Requesting as a means for negotiating distributed agency. In N. J. Enfield & Paul Kockelman (eds.), *Distributed agency*, 67–78. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Floyd, Simeon. 2018. Egophoricity and argument structure in cha'palaa. In Simeon Floyd, Elisabeth Norcliffe & Lila San Roque (eds.), *Egophoricity* (Typological Studies in Language), 269–304. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Floyd, Simeon & Martine Bruil. 2011. Interactional functions as part of the grammar: The suffix -ba in cha'palaa. In Peter K. Austin, Oliver Bond, Lutz Marten & David Nathan (eds.), *Proceedings of Conference on Language Documentation and Linguistic Theory* 3, 91–100. London: SOAS.
- Floyd, Simeon & Elisabeth Norcliffe. 2016. Switch reference systems in the barbacoan languages and their neighbors. In Rik Van Gijn & Jeremy Hammond (eds.), *Switch reference 2.0*, 207–230. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Floyd, Simeon, Giovanni Rossi, Julija Baranova, Joe Blythe, Mark Dingemanse, Koen H. Kendrick, Jörg Zinken & N. J. Enfield. 2018. Universals and cultural diversity in the expression of gratitude. *Royal Society Open Science*. DOI:[10.1017/S0047404516000385](https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404516000385)
- Fox, Barbara A. 2015. On the notion of pre-request. *Discourse Studies* 17(1). 41–63. DOI:[10.1177/1461445614557762](https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445614557762)
- Fox, Barbara A. & Trine Heinemann. 2017. Issues in action formation: Requests and the problem with x. *Open Linguistics* 3(1). 31–64.
- Goffman, Erving. 1955. On face-work: An analysis of ritual elements in social interaction. *Psychiatry: Journal for the Study of Interpersonal Processes* 18. 213–231.
- Hale, Austin. 1980. Person markers: Finite conjunct and disjunct verb forms in Newari. *Papers in South-East Asian Linguistics* 7. 95–106.
- Heinemann, Trine. 2006. ‘Will you or can't you?’: Displaying entitlement in interrogative requests. *Journal of Pragmatics* 38(7). 1081–1104. DOI:[10.1016/j.pragma.2005.09.013](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2005.09.013)

### 3 Getting others to do things in the Cha'palaa language of Ecuador

- Hinkel, Eli. 1994. Pragmatics of interaction: Expressing thanks in a second language. *Applied language learning* 5(1). 73–91.
- Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos, Ecuador. 2010. *Censo nacional de población Y vivienda*. <http://www.ecuadorencifras.gob.ec/>.
- Intachakra, Songthama. 2004. Contrastive pragmatics and language teaching: Apologies and thanks in English and Thai \*T. *RELC Journal* 35(1). 37–62.
- Jefferson, Gail. 1972. Side sequences. In David N. Sudnow (ed.), *Studies in social interaction*, 294–338. New York: MacMillan/The Free Press.
- Jijón y Caama, Jacinto. 1914. *Los Aborígenes de La Provincia de Imbabura. Los Cayapas En Imbabura*. Madrid: Blass y Cía., Impresores.
- Khrakovskij, Viktor S. 2001. *Typology of imperative constructions*. Muenchen: LIN-COM publishers.
- König, Ekkehard & Peter Siemund. 2007. Speech act distinctions in grammar. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description. Volume 1: Clause structure*, 2nd edn., 276–324. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lerner, Gene H. 2003. Selecting next speaker: The context-sensitive operation of a context-free organization. *Language in society* 32(2). 177–201.
- Levinson, Stephen C. 1983. *Pragmatics*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Lewis, M. Paul, Gary F. Simons & Charles D. Fennig (eds.). 2014. *Ethnologue: Languages of the world*. 17th edn. Dallas, TX: SIL International. <http://www.ethnologue.com>.
- Lindskoog, John N. & Carrie A. Lindskoog. 1964. *Vocabulario cayapa*. Quito: ILV.
- Masur, Elise Frank. 1983. Gestural development, dual-directional signaling, and the transition to words. *Journal of psycholinguistic research* 12(2). 93–109.
- Moore, Bruce R. 1962. Correspondences in South Barbacoan Chibcha. In Benjamin F. Elson (ed.), *Studies in Ecuadorian Indian languages 1*, vol. 7 (Linguistics Series), 270–89. Norman: Summer Institute of Linguistics of the University of Oklahoma. <http://www.sil.org/acpub/repository/11769.pdf>.
- Müller, Neele Janna. 2013. *Tense, aspect, modality, and evidentiality marking in South American Indigenous languages*. Utrecht: LOT. [https://www.lotpublications.nl/Documents/324\\_fulltext.pdf](https://www.lotpublications.nl/Documents/324_fulltext.pdf). Retrieved September 20, 2014.
- Ohashi, Jun. 2013. *Thanking and politeness in Japanese: Balancing acts in interaction*. UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Özdemir, Çiğdem & Seyed Ali Rezvani. 2010. Interlanguage pragmatics in action: Use of expressions of gratitude. *Procedia - Social and behavioural sciences* 3. 194–202.

*Simeon Floyd*

- Parry, Ruth. 2013. Giving reasons for doing something now or at some other time. *Research on Language & Social Interaction* 46(2). 105–124. DOI:[10.1080/08351813.2012.754653](https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2012.754653)
- Pedersen, Jan. 2010. The different Swedish tack: An ethnopragmatic investigation of Swedish thanking and related concepts. *Journal of Pragmatics* 42(5). 1258–1265.
- Pomerantz, Anita. 1985. Pursuing a response. In J. M. Atkinson & J. Heritage (eds.), *Structures of social action* (Studies in emotion and social interaction), 152–164. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. DOI:[10.1017/CBO9780511665868.011](https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511665868.011)
- Post, Mark W. 2013. Person-sensitive TAME marking in Galo: Historical origins and functional motivation. In Tim Thornes, Erik Andvik, Gwendolyn Hyslop & Joana Jansen (eds.), *Typological studies in language*, vol. 103, 107–130. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. Studies in Interactional Sociolinguistics.
- Rauniomaa, Mirka & Tiina Keisanen. 2012. Two multimodal formats for responding to requests. *Journal of Pragmatics* 44(6-7). 829–842.
- Raymond, Geoffrey. 2000. *The structure of responding: Type-conforming and non-conforming responses to yes/no type interrogatives*. Los Angeles: University of California.
- Raymond, Geoffrey. 2003. Grammar and social organization: Yes/no interrogatives and the structure of responding. *American Sociological Review* 68(6). 939–967.
- Rossi, Giovanni. 2015a. Responding to pre-requests: The organization of hai x? Do you have x? Sequences in Italian. *Journal of Pragmatics* 82(Supplement C). 5–22. DOI:[10.1016/j.pragma.2015.03.008](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2015.03.008)
- Rossi, Giovanni. 2015b. *The request system in Italian interaction*. Radboud University Nijmegen. (Doctoral dissertation).
- Rossi, Giovanni & Jörg Zinken. 2016. Grammar and social agency: The pragmatics of impersonal deontic statements. *Language* 92(4). e296–e325. DOI:[10.1353/lan.2016.0083](https://doi.org/10.1353/lan.2016.0083)
- Schegloff, Emanuel A. 1980. Preliminaries to preliminaries: ‘Can I ask you a question?’ *Sociological Inquiry* 50(3/4). 104–152.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A. 1988. On an actual virtual servo-mechanism for guessing bad news: A single case conjecture. *Social Problems* 35(4). 442–457.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A. 2007. *Sequence organization in interaction: A primer in conversation analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Searle, John R. 1969. *Speech acts: An essay in the philosophy of language*. Vol. 626. Cambridge: Cambridge university press.

### 3 Getting others to do things in the Cha'palaa language of Ecuador

- Sherzer, Joel. 1973. Verbal and nonverbal deixis: The pointed lip gesture among the San Blas Cuna. *Language in Society* 2. 117–131.
- Stivers, Tanya. 2004. “No no no” and other types of multiple sayings in social interaction. *Human Communication Research* 30(2). 260–293.
- Stivers, Tanya & Jack Sidnell. 2016. Research on language and social interaction. *Proposals for Activity Collaboration* 49(2). 148–66.
- Vittadello, Alberto. 1988. *Cha'palachi = El idioma cayapa*. Guayaquil: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador, Museos del Banco Central del Ecuador.
- Zinken, Jörg & Eva Ogiermann. 2011. How to propose an action as objectively necessary: The case of Polish *Trzeba x* ('one needs to x'). *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 44. 263–287. DOI:[10.1080/08351813.2011.591900](https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2011.591900)



## Chapter 4

# Recruitment in English: A quantitative study

Kobin H. Kendrick

Department of Language and Linguistic Science, University of York

This chapter describes the resources that speakers of English use when recruiting assistance from others in everyday social interaction. The chapter draws on data from video recordings of informal conversation in English, and reports language-specific findings generated within a large-scale comparative project involving eight languages from five continents (see other chapters of this volume). The resources for recruitment described in this chapter include linguistic structures from across the levels of grammatical organization, as well as gestural and other visible and contextual resources of relevance to the interpretation of action in interaction. The presentation of categories of recruitment, and elements of recruitment sequences, follows the coding scheme used in the comparative project (see Chapter 2 of the volume). This chapter extends our knowledge of the structure and usage of English with detailed attention to the properties of sequential structure in conversational interaction. The chapter is a contribution to an emerging field of pragmatic typology.

## 1 Introduction

The recruitment of assistance is a basic social organizational problem for which participants in interaction have practiced solutions (Kendrick & Drew 2016; Floyd et al. 2014; Rossi et al. 2020). In our daily lives we carry out countless mundane courses of action: we may reach out and pick up a pen from a table, connect a power supply to a computer, turn the page of a book, put a dirty dish in the sink. For the most part, we execute these courses of action individually, whether alone or in the company of family, friends, or colleagues. If a trouble emerges – the pen is too far to reach, the power supply is nowhere to be found – we resolve



*Kobin H. Kendrick*

the trouble on our own as well (Kendrick 2017). But in the presence of others, a trouble in the realization of a course of action is a public event, and its resolution may become interactional achievement, not an individual one. Someone may see us visibly searching the environment (Drew & Kendrick 2018) or hear our implications as signs of trouble and therefore offer their assistance (Kendrick & Drew 2016). We need not, however, wait for those around us to take notice and volunteer to help. Using the resources of language and the body, we can agentively solicit solutions from others to practical problems that emerge in the course of our activities. We may use a gesture to point to a box of biscuits so that someone will hand it to us, ask someone to locate a bag that we cannot find, or direct someone to move over to make room for us on the couch. However someone comes to perform assisting actions such as these, whether occasioned by a trouble or solicited by a request, we will have in effect *recruited* them to give or offer assistance. This chapter presents a quantitative study of some such recruitment phenomena in English, focusing primarily on requests, as observed in a corpus of video recordings of everyday social interaction made in the U.S. and U.K.

### 1.1 Recruitment: initial specimens

We will begin with a set of cases that outline, in broad strokes, the general domain of recruitment (see Kendrick & Drew 2016; Rossi et al. 2020)). The first is a case in which we observe an opportunity for recruitment, but in which no recruitment occurs. The extract comes from an interaction between a group of friends as they prepare a barbecue in a public park. Just prior to the extract, Alison, the woman in the white shirt in Figure 1, has been playing with a dog on the grass behind the picnic table. We then see her walk towards the table, stop, direct her gaze toward it, furrow her brow – a facial gesture obscured in Figure 1 to protect her identity – and place her hand on her chin, in an elaborated form of a ‘thinking face’ (Goodwin & Goodwin. 1986)<sup>1</sup>. She holds this complex of gestures, virtually motionless, for approximately 1.4 seconds as the other participants talk about a local concert series and prepare the meal. She then turns her head slowly to the right, a movement which takes approximately 0.6 seconds.

---

<sup>1</sup>The individual frames within the figures in the chapter are designated as *a*, *b*, *c*, etc. from left to right.

4 Recruitment in English: A quantitative study

(1) BBQ 08:25

1 KIM I used to work concerts in the park, in fuckin'  
2 ( ).  
3 (0.2)  
4 KIM beer garden. +[awesome.  
5 DON +[ah:  
6 ALI +brows together, hand on chin--> -----  
7 DON it's so fun though.=like I miss#ed everyone this |  
8 □ #fig.1a (2.0)  
9 sum+m[er. |  
10 ALI +moves toward table--> -----  
11 ALI [here it i[s.  
12 KIM [we should +work it next su#mm+er.<oh  
13 ALI +reaches out----#---+picks up-->  
14 □ #fig.1b  
15 KIM wait never mind you're going +(traveling).  
16 ALI +walks around table-->  
17 (0.5)  
18 DON I'm not gonna be here. it'll be much better. ( ).  
19 (0.4)  
20 KIM yeah.=I +[heard- (0.2) +#I don't know if this would ever  
21 ALI +[okay.  
22 +,,,,,,,,,,+#sets down  
23 □ #fig.1c

Alison's visible bodily actions can be seen as a display of puzzlement, though the crux of the puzzle is initially obscure. As she turns her head, we come to see her actions as a visual search of the environment (Drew & Kendrick 2018) – she's evidently looking for something. The visible bodily resources that she uses

Kobin H. Kendrick



Figure 1: Alison (white shirt) walks towards the table, stops, furrows her brow and places her hand on her chin, making a ‘thinking face’. She then reaches out, picks up a lighter, walks to the front of the table, and sets it down.

to conduct the search, her facial and manual gestures, her head movement, allow it to be recognizable as such – she’s not only looking for something; she’s *doing* looking for something (Sacks 1984). After a search of approximately 2.0 seconds, she apparently spots the sought after object, a lighter, and announces the end of her search with *here it is* (line 11). This announcement, like her gestures, orients to the accountability of her actions (Garfinkel 1967), even though, as we can see in Figure 1a, only the eye of the camera is on her as she conducts her search. She then reaches out and picks up the lighter (see Figure 1b), walks around to the front of the table, and sets it down (see Figure 1c) as she marks the completion of the course of action with *okay* (line 21). The lighter is later used to light the coals in the grill.

In this case we can see an opportunity for recruitment emerge, and then pass. Alison begins a course of action, encounters a trouble that disrupts its progressive realization, and makes this publicly available through her visible bodily actions. As we will see, explicit displays of trouble such as this can recruit the assistance of co-participants. But the opportunity here is twofold: just as Alison’s visible bodily actions could have recruited a co-participant, so too could Alison have used resources of language to do so explicitly. Consider the following case, in which Kimmy searches for a paper bag and then asks her co-participants for its location. Paper torn from the bag had been used by Kimmy as kindling and will be used again to light the coals in the grill.

(2) BBQ 14:27

#### 4 Recruitment in English: A quantitative study

- 1 (3.7) ((Kimmy visibly searches as she walks  
2 around the table, see Fig. 2a-2b))
- 3 KIM: where the fuck is my little #fire starting bag.  
4 □ #fig.2b
- 5 CA?: (°° °°) -----  
6 ALI: ( ) (4.3)  
7 CA?: (°° + °°) -----  
8 ALI +gazes down-->  
9 KIM: +fire starting# bag.=is that i\*t?  
▷ 10 ALI +gestures with arm-->  
11 □ #fig.2c
- 12 KIM \*reaches out-->



Figure 2: Kimmy (red pants) visibly searches around the table for 3.7 seconds (a) before she asks for assistance. After 4.3 seconds in which Kimmy continues her search, Alison gazes down into a bag to her right and gestures toward it with her arm. Kimmy reaches into the bag and retrieves the sought after object.

After she visibly searches near the grill and around the table for approximately 3.7 seconds (see Figure 2a, b), she asks her co-participants to locate the bag for her. (The insertion of *the fuck* into the construction of the turn formulates this

*Kobin H. Kendrick*

not merely as an inquiry, but also as a complaint; someone has moved *her* bag.) As Kimmy rounds the table, Alison, who has been involved in a quiet conversation with another participant, looks down at a paper bag to her right (line 8), gestures towards it with her hand (while holding a bunch of scallions; see Figure 2c). Kimmy then reaches out and takes the bag (see Figure 2d).

In contrast to Extract 1, in which Alison encountered a trouble in the realization of a course of action and resolved the trouble on her own, in this case Kimmy encounters trouble, performs a remedial action that does not resolve it, and then recruits a co-participant to assist her, using linguistic resources to do so. The recruiting action, as we will call it, is an interrogative question about the location of an object. It explicitly and accountably asks the co-participants to locate the object and thereby to assist Kimmy in her search.

The diversity of linguistic and embodied practices that participants use to explicitly and accountably recruit one another to facilitate practical courses of action will be a major theme throughout this chapter (see §4). But the boundaries of recruitment are not so narrowly defined. Subtle visible bodily actions, through which a trouble becomes publicly recognizable, can recruit others to assist even when these actions are not, in the first instance, accountable as requests for assistance or other forms of solicitation. The following case, which comes from an interaction among a group of students in a common area of a university building, demonstrates this. Here Mark, the man in the patterned shirt in Figure 3, can be seen to encounter some difficulty as he looks across the table at a picture in a book held by Rachael. Rachael then holds the book up for him to see.

(3) RCE22a 23:15

- 1 RAC god that looks rude. ((about a picture in a book))
- 2 (1.3)##(0.5)
- 3 CON †leans over and gazes at book-->
- 4 □ #fig.1a
- 5 CON oh wow. .h heh
- 6 +(0.8)
- 7 MAR +leans forward and gazes at book-->
- 8 CON that really do(h)es(hh)
- 9 (0.4)+(0.6)\*#
- ▶ 10 MAR -->+tilts head to side-->

## 4 Recruitment in English: A quantitative study

11 RAC \*gazes at Ben-->  
 12 □ #fig.1b  
 13 (0.4)\*(0.8)  
 > 14 RAC -->\*....holds book up-->  
 15 MAR what exactly is happening+#[ in this.+  
 16 +untilts head+  
 17 □ #fig.1c  
 18 RAC [↑I don't know.



Figure 3: Mark leans forward and looks at Rachael's book (left). Rachael gazes up at Mark after he tilts his head to the side (middle). She then holds the book up for him to see (right).

An assessment of the picture begins the sequence (line 1) and draws the attention of Connor, seated to Rachael's right (Figure 3 a). Connor reacts to the picture with surprise (line 5), drawing the attention of Mark, who then leans forward and gazes at the picture from across the table (line 7). Mark holds this position for approximately 0.5 seconds and then torques his head back and to the side (cf. Schegloff 1998), such that the orientation of his head comes to approximate the orientation of the book (see Figure 3b). The torque of Mark's head makes public a minor trouble, namely that from his perspective, seated on the other side of the table, the picture appears upside-down and would therefore be difficult to see. Mark's head movement attracts Rachael's gaze (line 11), at which point she would be able to see his head in an unstable position and his gaze directed to the picture. Shortly thereafter she lifts the book and holds it up for Mark to see (line 14; see Figure 3c) and thereby resolves the trouble.

In contrast to Extract 2, in which Kimmy employed a linguistic practice to recruit a co-participant to assist her explicitly and accountably, in this case Mark

Kobin H. Kendrick

encounters a trouble in the realization of a course of action, performs a remedial action to resolve the trouble on his own, and thereby recruits Rachael's assistance. His visible bodily action exposes the trouble, making it public, and thereby provides an occasion for Rachael to assist him, voluntarily. The action in effect recruits Rachael, even though in the first instance it is recognizable and accountable as an action taken by Mark to resolve the trouble independently, without assistance.

## 1.2 The anatomy of recruitment

With these cases in mind, we can now characterize recruitment and the interactional environment in which it occurs in more general terms. In each case, a course of action performed by an individual is impeded or disrupted, for example, by the lack of a necessary object (Extracts 1 and 2) or constraints on the interactional space (Extract 3). A set of methods exists with which participants can resolve such troubles, either individually, via self-remediation (Extract 1), or interactionally, via recruitment (Extracts 2 and 3). The nature of these methods and their organization is a central concern of research on recruitment. The methods are organized along a continuum and include requests for assistance; reports of troubles, difficulties, or needs; trouble alerts; embodied displays of trouble; and the projection and anticipation of troubles before they occur (Kendrick & Drew 2016; Rossi et al. 2020).

A basic distinction can be made between methods that create a normative *obligation* for assistance by Other (e.g., the request in Extract 2) and those that create a systematic *opportunity* for such assistance to be given or offered voluntarily (e.g., the embodied display of trouble in Extract 3) (Kendrick & Drew 2014; 2016). This distinction also concerns who generates the possible solution to the trouble. With a request for assistance, Self generates a solution for Other to implement (e.g., Self identifies the object that will resolve her own trouble in Extract 2). In contrast, with forms of voluntary assistance, it is Other who generates the solution and either implements it directly or offers to do so (e.g., holding up the book in Extract 3). Recruitment thus encompasses the initiation of assistance by Self and Other as alternative methods for the resolution of troubles (Kendrick & Drew 2016).

The methods for recruitment include not only those implemented through language (e.g., the verbal request in Extract 2) but also those implemented through visible bodily action (e.g., the visible searches of the environment in Extracts 1 and 2 and the torque of the head in Extract 3). Visible bodily actions that display difficulty, discomfort, or exertion, for example, create systematic opportunities

#### 4 *Recruitment in English: A quantitative study*

for Others to give or offer assistance and thus constitute methods of recruitment ([Kendrick & Drew 2016](#)). Such visible bodily actions are commonly, though not exclusively, forms of self-remediation, that is, actions produced by Self to resolve troubles independently (e.g., the visible search in Extract 1). Remedial actions by Self commonly precede other methods of recruitment (e.g., a visible search precedes the request in Extract 2), which together with other evidence suggests that self-remediation is a preferred alternative in the organization of assistance in interaction ([Kendrick 2017](#)).

### 1.3 The present study

This chapter reports on a quantitative study of some recruitment phenomena in English, as observed in a corpus of video recordings of everyday social interaction in the U.S. and U.K. As a contribution to a cross-linguistic comparison, the study employs an operational definition of recruitment and examines cases along specific dimensions set out by a coding scheme ([FloydRossiEnfieldInPress](#)). The study therefore focuses primarily, though not exclusively, on requests as “moves” – a term used in this volume, after [Goffman \(1969\)](#), for social actions – that recruit others to assist. It does not consider the full continuum of methods for recruitment identified by [Kendrick & Drew \(2016\)](#). The quantitative analyses presented in this chapter are descriptive in nature, reporting the relative frequencies and proportions of various coding categories. Inferential statistics are reported in the cross-linguistic comparative studies ([Floyd et al. 2018; In preparation](#)).

The chapter is organized as follows. After a discussion of the corpus and collection (§2) and the basic structure of recruitment sequences (§3), the analysis considers the visible bodily actions and grammatical formats that participants use to construct recruiting moves (§4) and then turns to the ways in which participants respond (§5). The chapter concludes with a discussion of the operational definition of recruitment employed in the present study and the concept articulated by [Kendrick & Drew \(2016\)](#) and [Rossi et al. 2020 \[this volume\]](#).

## 2 The corpus and collection

The data for the study came from a corpus of 21 video recordings of social interactions between speakers of English in the U.S. and U.K. with a total duration of 11 hours and 53 minutes. The interactions involved various activities, such as preparing a barbecue in a public park, eating a meal with friends, and playing a board game, as well as ordinary conversation. Interactions between chil-

*Kobin H. Kendrick*

dren and caregivers were not included in the study. The video recordings came from a number of sources: (i) a set of recordings made by Giovanni Rossi in 2011; (ii) the Language and Social Interaction Archive (2014) by Leah Wingard; and (iii) a recording of a game of Monopoly by Heidi Kevoe-Feldman. Informed consent was obtained from all participants. In addition, two video recordings widely used in conversation-analytic research, *Chicken Dinner and Virginia*, were also included. A total of 211 recruitment sequences were identified, using the criteria described in Floyd Rossi Enfield In Press. The majority of recruiting moves in the resulting dataset were produced by speakers of a North American variety of English, whether recorded in the U.S. or U.K. (n=149), with the remainder produced by speakers of British varieties (n=59) or non-native speakers (n=3). The transcripts employ conventions developed by Jefferson (2004) for the transcription of talk and those developed by Mondada (n.d.) for the transcription of visible bodily actions. A description of the multimodal transcriptions conventions can be found at the end of this chapter.

### 3 The structure of recruitment sequences

#### 3.1 Minimal sequences

A minimal recruitment sequence includes two actions, referred to in the comparative study as *moves*, a recruiting move and a responding move. In the transcripts, ► and ▷ designate the recruiting and responding moves, respectively. In the following extract, for example, as Vivian and Shane sit together on a couch, Vivian tells Shane to move over.

##### (4) Chicken Dinner 00:05 (simplified)

- 1 VIV move over \*a li:tte,\* can you?
- ▷ 2 SHA \*.....\*moves over-->
- 3 ( . )\*
- 4 ->\*
- 5 SHA yep.
- 6 VIV thanks.

Even before Vivian's turn has come to possible completion, Shane begins to comply with the request, as indicated by the preparation phase of his movement

#### 4 Recruitment in English: A quantitative study

in the transcript. Upon the completion of his movement, Shane responds verbally with an answer to Vivian's tag question, at which point Vivian closes the sequence with a non-obligatory third move, a display of gratitude. The majority of recruitment sequences in the dataset were minimal, including only a single recruiting move (65.9%, n=139).

Most recruitment sequences in the dataset are organized as adjacency pairs (Sacks 1992; Schegloff & Sacks 1973; Schegloff 2007a), in which the recruiting move creates a normative obligation for a response. This includes imperative requests like *move over a little*, which make embodied compliance the conditionally relevant response (Kent 2012), as well as interrogative requests like *where the fuck is my little fire starting bag* in Extract 2. But conditional relevance, understood as a normative obligation to produce a specifiable next action, was not a criterion for the identification of recruitment sequences. Indeed, visibly bodily actions as subtle as the tilting of one's head – a move that does not accountably mandate a response – can effectively recruit another's assistance (see Kendrick & Drew 2016: p.8).

### 3.2 Non-minimal sequences

In a minority of cases, the sequence included more than two recruiting moves. One recurrent basis for this was the absence of a response to an initial move, as in the following extract. Here, after no one responds to her request for a fork, Donna pursues a response (Pomerantz 1985; Bolden et al. 2012).

- (5) BBQ 52:19
- 1 ALI >I'll've so:me.<  
 2 (0.3)
- 3 CAR heh  
 4 (0.4)
- 5 JAM it almost sounds like you're speaking an Asian  
 6 language.
- 7 ALI hHA HAH HAH hah °hah°  
 ► 8 DON is [there a fork] over the[re k i : d s ? ]  
 9 JAM [I'll: so:me.]  
 10 ALI [>I'll've so:me.<]

*Kobin H. Kendrick*

- 11 (0.2)+(0.8)+
- 12 CAR +sets sausage on Ali's plate+
- 13 ALI yay:::
- 14 (0.2)
- 15 DON no?
- 16 JAM what?
- 17 DON fork.
- 18 (0.5)
- 19 JAM oh.
- 20 \*(2.7) ((background talk omitted))
- ▷ 21 JAM \*picks up fork and hands it to Donna-->
- 22 DON thank \*you.
- 23 JAM -->\*

Although the request occurs at the possible completion of a sequence by the other participants (lines 5-7), the sequence is contingently expanded (lines 9-10), resulting in overlap that obscures the request (lines 8-10). After no one responds or attends to the request, Donna produces a candidate answer to her question, itself designed as a question, and thereby pursues a response (line 15). This attracts the attention of James, who turns to look at Donna and initiates repair (see Kendrick 2015: for a review), providing an opportunity for Donna to reissue her request to a now available recipient. In this context, after a pursuit, the subsequent request takes a minimal form, simply the name of the requested object (line 17; see §4.2.4). This successfully initiates an object transfer and completes the sequence. Overall, 79.1 percent of recruiting moves (n=167) were sequence initial, whereas 20.9 percent (n=44) were subsequent attempts (e.g., pursuits or repair solutions).

### 3.3 Recruitment types

Participants recruit each other to manage a variety of practical contingencies. To provide a general sense of the distribution, for the comparative study recruitments were classified into four types. The most frequent type was the provision

## 4 Recruitment in English: A quantitative study

of a service, that is, the performance of a practical action for the recruiter (49.8%; n=105). Transfers of objects were also especially frequent (38.8%, n=82). Less frequent were sequences in which one participant stopped or altered the trajectory of another's actions (e.g., *leave it alone*; 7.6%, n=16) and those in which a visible trouble elicited a direct provision of assistance (3.8%, n=8) Rossi et al. 2020 [this volume].

## 4 Recruiting moves

To recruit others to act on their behalf, participants in social interaction draw on an arsenal of resources, both linguistic and embodied. In this section we will review the most frequent forms of language and visible bodily action observed in the first move of recruitment sequences. We begin first with the body and examine the forms of visible bodily action that either constitute or accompany recruiting moves and then turn our attention to language and consider the grammatical formats and linguistic components that participants use to recruit others through talk.

### 4.1 Visible bodily actions

Language is not necessary for recruitment. Even a subtle movement of the body, as one maneuvers to inspect a picture from across a table or searches the local environment, can elicit a helpful action from a co-participant (see Kendrick & Drew 2016; Drew & Kendrick 2018). Such exclusively embodied recruiting moves are striking specimens, but they are rare (see also Extracts 8 and 9). Only 7.6 percent of recruiting moves in the dataset were exclusively visual (n=15). However, this number does not include visual recruiting moves that elicited offers of assistance which were not included in the operational definition of recruitment. More common were complex multimodal actions, in which the move to recruit had both linguistic and embodied components, such as asking for something and reaching for it concurrently (41.4%, n=82). But despite the abundance of visible bodily actions, a narrow majority of recruiting moves were exclusively linguistic, with no relevant visual components (51%, n=101).

When participants do use visible bodily actions, what do they look like? Table 1 presents the types, frequencies, and proportions of relevant visible bodily actions observed in the dataset.

The set of body behaviors identified as relevant is diverse, including those whose function is accountably communicative (e.g., pointing at an object) as well

*Kobin H. Kendrick*

Table 1: Frequencies and proportions of visible bodily actions in recruiting moves (n=97)

Visible bodily action	Frequency	Proportion
Pointing	30	30.9%
Reaching out	12	12.4%
Holding out	12	12.4%
Visible trouble	12	12.4%
Other gesture	9	9.3%
Instrumental	8	8.2%
Searching	6	6.2%
Other	8	8.2%

as those whose function may, in the first instance, be instrumental(e.g., visibly searching for an object, on which see [Drew & Kendrick 2018](#)). But within this diversity, one body-behavioral resource emerged as dominant: the hands. Over two thirds of all visible bodily actions in recruiting moves involved manual gestures or manual actions (64.9%, n=63). Within the dataset as a whole, a third of all recruiting moves included relevant manual movements, in one form or another.

With the exception of visible displays of trouble, an example of which was given in Extract 3, and visible searches, which can be seen in Extract 2, the remainder of this section illustrates the forms of visible bodily actions observed in the first move of recruitment sequences. As the analysis of these cases will show, the different forms of visible bodily action differ in how and to what extent they specify what the recipient should do in response.

#### 4.1.1 Pointing

By far the most common form of visible bodily action used for recruitment was a pointing gesture. Points occurred not only in recruiting objects (n=11), where they index the object in demand, but also in recruiting services (n=15), where they designate a location for the action to be done, among other possibilities. In the following extract, a pointing gesture is used to recruit a co-participant to pass an object (see also [Drew & Couper-Kuhlen 2014](#): pp. 22-23). At the possible completion of a sequence, John raises his arm and points to a box of biscuits on the table (see Figure 4).

(6) RCE14\_109822

## *4 Recruitment in English: A quantitative study*

1 ANN I'm gonna have to actually A write the paper and  
2 then B get round to sorting it out.

3 JOH .hh ye(h)ah hh in the way these things do hhh[hh

4 ANN [phh hh

5 +yeah.#

► 6 JOH +points-->

7 □ #fig.2

8 (0.3)

9 ANN which is a \*( ) (0.1)+(0.2)\*

10 \*sets down pen-\*

11 JOH -->+, , , -->

12

13 JOH \*°°c[ookie°°+

14 ->+

► 15 ANN \*reaches for box-->

16 ANN [biscuit? \*biscuit biscuit biscuit

17 ->\*sets box in front of John->

18 JOH [°biscuit biscuit°

19 ANN °yeah°\*

20 ->\*

21 (0.3)

22 ANN shall I show you what I've-

23 JOH yea[h

24 ANN [pictures I've picked up

The pointing gesture by John is recognizable as a move to recruit Anne to act on the pointed-at object. But unlike linguistic requests, in which formulate an action for the recipient to perform (e.g., “can you pass me the biscuits?”), a point

Kobin H. Kendrick



Figure 4: John points to a box of biscuits as Anne looks down at the pen in her hands.

does not specify a next action to be done. It instructs the recipient to redirect her attention to the object and invites her to search for its current relevance to the situation. In this case, the relevance of the biscuits is transparent. At the moment John’s gesture reaches its apex, Anne’s gaze is directed downward to a pen in her hands. John holds the gesture for approximately 700 ms until Anne quickly sets the pen down on the table, an action that displays her (late) recognition of the move to recruit her (lines 6-11). As he retracts his gesture and she reaches for the box, John softly names the object (line 13), a linguistic action that occurs after the recipient has begun to comply but before the recruitment has been fulfilled, a position in which linguistic recruiting moves serve to ‘expedite’ the completion of the transaction (Kent & Kendrick 2016).

#### 4.1.2 Reaching out

The shape and orientation of a manual action can not only index an object but also specify a relevant next action. Extending one’s hand towards an object, with an open, vertical orientation, is recognizable as a move to recruit the recipient of the gesture to transfer the object. The recognizability of this as a recruiting move comes from the specific hand shape, which visibly anticipates taking the

#### 4 Recruitment in English: A quantitative study

object (see Streeck 2009: p. 48 on prehensile postures). In the following extract, as Mark produces a request for candy from a bag held by Rachael, he simultaneously reaches out towards the bag (see Figure 5).

(7) RCE22a\_690761

- 1 MAR +ohh can I+ have# s\*ome.
- 2 +.....+reaches out-->
- 3 □ #fig.3a
- ▷ 4 RAC \*holds bag out-->
- 5 (0.8)+#(1.3)
- 6 MAR -->+puts fingers into bag-->
- 7 □ #fig.3b
- 8 (2.3)\*
- 9 RAC -->\*moves bag closer to Mark-->
- 10 (0.6)+(0.2)\*
- 11 MAR -->+lifts bag-->
- 12 RAC -->\*retracts-->
- 13 MAR sorry. heh heh huh



Figure 5: Mark reaches out as he asks Rachel for some candy. Rachel holds out the bag as Mark puts his fingers into it.

Even before Mark's verbal turn is complete, Rachael begins to fulfill the request, holding the bag out towards Mark (lines 1-4). Although the shape of Mark's

*Kobin H. Kendrick*

hand anticipates receiving the bag, Rachael tilts the bag towards him, such that he can reach inside. This precipitates some difficulty as he inserts his fingers into the bag and fumbles as he tries to extract the candies (lines 6-11). Unlike pointing gestures, which occurred with recruitments of all types, reaching actions such as this occurred exclusively in recruiting objects.

#### 4.1.3 Holding out

As we have seen, transferring objects is a common contingency that participants recruit each other to manage. Just as an object can move from B to A, from the recruit to the recruiter, as it were, so too can it travel in the opposite direction, from A to B. Holding out an object towards a recipient initiates a transaction in which the recipient should take the object and act on it. Similar to a pointing gesture, which directs the visual attention of its recipient to an object but does not specify what he or she should do with it, holding out an object presents the recipient with a puzzle: what should be done? It is no surprise, then, that participants use this form of recruiting move in specific contexts and for specific objects that radically constrain the possibility space of relevant next actions. In the following extract, after Ellen finishes a bowl of cheesecake, she picks up the empty bowl and holds it out toward Daniel (see Figure 6).

(8) RCE26b\_560620

- 1 DAN well but you could (.) have it with something savory.
- 2               +like some beef or someth+ing.
- 3 ELL       +.....+picks up bowl-->
- 4               (0.7)+(0.8)#
- 5 ELL       -->+holds out to Dan-->
- 6 □               #fig.4
- 7               \*(1.2)
- 8 DAN     \*steps forward, reaches out, grasps bowl-->
- 9               (0.2)+\*
- 10 ELL       -->+lets go of bowl, retracts-->
- 11 DAN       -->\*takes bowl, sets off camera-->
- 12               (0.2)

#### 4 Recruitment in English: A quantitative study

13 DAN I'm not sure meringue+ beef would be the best=

14 ELL -->+

15 DAN =combination but\*

16 DAN -->\*-->



Figure 6: Ellen holds her bowl out towards Daniel

This action recognizably recruits Daniel to take the bowl and perform some action with it. As Ellen's arm reaches maximum extension, Daniel steps forward from his position against the kitchen counter, reaches out to take the bowl, and then sets it in the sink off camera. But how does Daniel recognize that some action from him is due and select an appropriate response? The deictic aspect of Ellen's arm extension 'points' to Daniel and thereby addresses the action specifically to him. (Note that this can also be done with gaze direction, but here Ellen averts her gaze as she holds out the bowl.) Holding out an object towards a recipient, with one's arm at maximum extension, not only addresses the action but also makes accountably relevant an embodied response in which the recipient takes the object. The visible form of the action does not, however, specify that the recipient should then put the object in the sink, as Daniel does. The solution to this puzzle, one which Daniel himself may have used, lies in the routine organization of the current activity (see Rossi 2014) and the local ecology of the room.

*Kobin H. Kendrick*

Clearing dishes is a routine (and hence anticipatable) course of action after one has finished a meal, and standing near the sink, Daniel is in a position to place the bowl in the sink on Ellen's behalf. Embodied actions such as this are analytically distinct from requests (e.g., "would you put this in the sink for me?") on the grounds that, unlike such requests, they do not specify the action the recipient is to perform in next position.

#### 4.1.4 Other gestures

The most frequent forms of visible bodily action in recruiting moves, as we have seen, involve transferring objects from one participant to another, hand to hand. But manual gestures also accompany and constitute recruiting moves for practical actions, not only objects. In the following extract, after Rachael begins to turn the page of a book, revealing a picture on the next page, Mark leans forward and produces a verbal display of disgust (lines 1-3). Rachel, presumably unaware that Mark had seen the picture on the next page, abandons turning the page, allowing Mark to view the current one. (This, too, is a case of recruitment, but not the focus of the present analysis.) At this moment Mark produces two quick finger movements that iconically depict turning the page (see Figure 7).

(9) RCE22a 35:46

- 1           +(0.6)
- 2 MAR   +leans forward-->
- 3 MAR  euww:::
- 4           (0.6)+#(0.8)+
- 5 MAR       -->+flicks finger twice+
- 6 □           #fig.5a
- 7           \*(0.3)#(0.5)\*
- ▷ 8 RAC      \*turns page\*
- 9 □           #fig.5b
- 8           (0.6)
- 9 MAR  okay never mind.
- 10          (0.3)
- 11 MAR I thought that was a mouth open.

## 4 Recruitment in English: A quantitative study



Figure 7: Mark flicks his finger up and down and then Rachel turns the page of her book.

The iconic gesture visually depicts the action that Rachel should perform and thereby

The iconic gesture visually depicts the action that Rachel should perform and thereby specifies the relevant response. After Rachel fulfills the recruitment, Mark accounts for his interest in the picture and brings the exchange to a close.

#### 4.1.5 Instrumental actions

The forms of conduct we have seen thus far are used by participants to initiate transactions in which some practical action from a co-participant is accountably due. But not all forms of visible bodily actions observed in recruiting moves do this. In some cases, a participant who produces a recruiting move through language also performs an embodied action that facilitates the recruitment. In the following extract, for example, as Fabian directs Kate to put her coat on, he reaches out and pulls it up, facilitating the fulfillment of the sequence (see Figure 8).

(10) RCE02 04:00

1 FAB uhm

2 (1.8)

3 FAB but yeah.# are you co:ld.

*Kobin H. Kendrick*

4 □ #fig.6a  
5 (0.5)  
6 KAT mm hm.  
7 +(0.9)  
8 FAB +.....->  
► 9 FAB then cover yourself# up+ pro\*perly.=  
10 ->+pulls coat->  
11 □ #fig.6b  
12 KAT \*.....->  
13 KAT =well yeah but (0.5) oh  
14 (0.6)\*(0.7)  
► 15 KAT -->\*lifts herself off ground-->  
16 KAT there's \*dirt\* all+ round the back of my  
17 ->\*sits\*  
18 FAB -->+  
19 (0.6)  
20 KAT [thing.  
21 FAB [yeah.  
22 (0.6)  
23 FAB and whose fault is that.  
24 (0.7)  
25 KAT .tsk

The embodied action in this case illustrates a distinct mechanism for recruitment. In the majority of cases in the dataset, a speaker produces a recruiting move through language, using a grammatical format, such as an interrogative or imperative, that normally encodes an obligation to respond. The recruiting move is thus recognizable and accountable as a social action that combines turn-constructional and sequence-organizational practices into a mechanism for recruitment. Visible bodily actions such as points and iconic gestures are analogous

#### 4 Recruitment in English: A quantitative study



Figure 8: Fabian gazes at Kate before he asks whether she is cold. After she confirms that she is, he reaches out and begins to pull her coat up.

in that they recognizably initiate transactions in which a responding move is due (even if they do not fully specify what form it should take). A distinct mechanism, the one illustrated by this example, is for a participant to begin a course of action that *necessarily* involves co-participation. The recognition of the incipient course of action and the one's participation in its completion is a mechanism for recruitment in its own right. Here, as Fabian pulls Kate's coat up, he begins a course of action that requires participation from her and thereby recruits her to carry out the action with him. Kate evidently recognizes this and lifts herself off the ground to allow Fabian to pull her coat up.

#### 4.2 Grammatical formats

The grammar of a language includes a multitude of forms and formats that speakers use to construct turns at talk and produce recognizable social actions. For the recruitment of co-participants to act on one's behalf – surely one of the most basic of all social actions – the forms of grammar that speakers of English use most frequently come from only three basic types. Over 90 percent of linguistic recruiting moves in the dataset have an interrogative, imperative, or declarative grammatical format (see Table 2).

Referred to as sentence types by linguists (Sadock & Zwicky 1985; Palmer 2001; König & Siemund 2007), these grammatical formats institutionalize basic social relations (e.g., epistemic and deontic authority) and recurrent interactional contingencies (e.g., the redistribution of knowledge and the performance of practical actions) that all participants in social interaction must have ways to manage. The intricate relations between grammatical formats and social actions form a complex web, with no simple one-to-one correspondences (Schegloff 1984; Levinson 2013). Imperatives, for example, can and frequently do direct the actions of others

Kobin H. Kendrick

Table 2: Frequency and proportion of grammatical formats in recruiting moves (n=196).

Grammatical format	Frequency	Proportion
Interrogative	78	39.8%
Imperative	73	37.2%
Declarative	33	16.8%
Non-clausal	11	5.6%
Other	1	0.5%

(e.g., *drink that*), but so too can they offer (e.g., *have the last one*), admonish (e.g., *just watch it, okay?*), initiate repair (e.g., *pardon me*), or grant a request (e.g., *go for it*), among other possibilities Kent & Kendrick (2016). But even within such a complex web of relations, order emerges, as particular forms are tied to general domains of action (Couper-Kuhlen 2014a).

Given the large number of recruiting moves in the dataset that employ these basic formats, a complete enumeration of all types and subtypes is not possible within the confines of this chapter. Instead, for each format, we will examine a small set of cases in order to address a specific question or to bring a novel phenomenon into view. And for those recruitments without a predicate, which therefore do not belong to one of the three basic types, a simple discussion of their rather restricted context of use will suffice.

#### 4.2.1 Interrogatives

To recruit a co-participant to perform a practical action one can simply ask him or her to do so. In the dataset, the most frequent grammatical format for linguistic recruiting moves is the interrogative. Speakers generally use interrogatives to query the abilities or desires of recipients to perform an action (e.g., *can you pass me the butter*, *will you hand me that*) or to ask about the availability or location of objects (e.g., *do you have a cup*, *where's the bottle opener*). Such questions exploit an asymmetry between an unknowing speaker and a knowing recipient, indexed by the epistemic stance of interrogative grammar (Heritage & Raymond 2005; Heritage 2012), as a generic mechanism for recruitment. Traditionally referred to as indirect speech acts (Searle 1975; Brown & Levinson 1987) because they ostensibly concern the practical and personal contingencies of performing an action and not its performance per se, interrogatives such as these are better

#### 4 Recruitment in English: A quantitative study

thought of as social action formats (Fox 2007) for recruitment, each with its own quirks and specifiable domains of use.

Table 3 presents the frequencies and proportions of interrogative recruiting moves identified in the dataset. Those with fewer than two attestations appear under other.

Table 3: Frequency and proportion of interrogative formats in recruiting moves (n=78).

Format	Frequency	Proportion
can I/we	14	17.9%
can/could you	14	17.9%
do you have	12	15.4%
will/would you	9	11.5%
where is	7	9.0%
do you want	6	7.7%
how about	2	2.6%
is there	2	2.6%
are we	2	2.6%
other	10	12.8%

Although in principle one could investigate each of these forms to arrive at a description of the specific socio-interactional conditions under which they occur (see Rossi 2015; Fox & Heinemann 2016; Fox & Heinemann 2017; Zinken 2015), we will here restrict our discussion to a comparison of just two of these forms.

It has been suggested that the distinction between *can/could you* and *will/would you* is “of relatively minor significance” An examination of the distribution of these formats in the present dataset, however, suggests at least two possible differences. The first concerns the grantability of the request. The selection of *will/would you* over *can/could you* appears to orient to possible contingencies that may affect the grantability of the request, in line the observation by Curl and Drew that *can/could you* displays relatively little orientation to such matters. Consider, for example, the request in the following extract, which comes from the early moments of a family mealtime. After Britney hands her mother a plate, and as her mother begins to take her seat, she asks for the butter, using the form *can you*.

(11) SLF 24:53

Kobin H. Kendrick

1           +(2.4)+\*(0.2)\*  
2 BRI       +picks up plate and holds out it to Mom+  
3 MOM           \*takes plate\*  
4 MOM \*tha:nk yo:u.  
5           \*sets it on table->  
6           (1.1)\*  
7 MOM       -->\*  
► 8 BRI c'n #you pass me the butter:.  
9 □           #fig.9  
10           (0.4)\*(0.4)  
▷ 11 MOM       \*picks up butter-->  
12 MO? mm:  
13           (0.8)  
14 MOM \*d'we (.) go through enough butter\* and bread last  
15           \*holds it out to Britney---\*  
16           night?  
17 BRI oh my go:sh.

There are few, if any, contingencies that could affect the grantability of this mundane request. It occurs in a setting where such requests (and their granting) are common. It is produced at a very precise moment – immediately after the mother has set her plate on the table, but before she has had an opportunity to begin a next course of action (lines 5-7) – thereby obviating one possible source of contingency. And it requests an object, the butter dish, that is directly next to the mother's plate, readily within her reach (cf. [Keisanen & Rauniomaa 2012](#)).

The request in the following extract, in contrast, occurs under less opportune circumstances. As Kimmy recounts a problem with a client at her work to Carrie (lines 1-6), Donna, who has not been involved in the telling, looks around the table, pick up a bottle of beer, inspect it, and set it back down. She then points to a bottle of beer on the other side of the table and asks Carrie, the recipient of Kimmy's telling, to hand it to her, using the form *will you*.

4 Recruitment in English: A quantitative study



Figure 9: Immediately after the mother (in black) sets down her plate, Britney points to the butter and asks her to pass it.

(12) BBQ 27:27

- 1 KIM if a seventy eight year old man I can teach to  
2 swim, and I can teach like a five year old kid  
3 to swim, you should be able to swim lady.=if  
4 you can't something's fuckin wrong with you.  
5 (0.4)
- 6 KIM it's not me.
- 7 CAR +(honey) will yo+u #hand me [that.  
8 +.....+points at beer across table->  
9 □ #fig.10a
- 10 KIM [it's you.
- 11 DON that's so wei:rd.
- 12 KIM \*yea:h.

*Kobin H. Kendrick*

13 DON \*leans forward and looks around on table-->  
14 (0.3)  
15 DON what'd you\* need?  
16 ->\*  
17 (0.2)  
18 CAR +the beer.+  
19 ->+,,,,,+  
20 \*(0.7)  
▷ 21 DON \*picks up beer and holds it out to Carrie-->  
22 DO? ( )  
23 KIM and I'd be totally\*# nicer \*about it but (.) she  
24 DON - ->\*  
25 □ #fig.10b  
26 was a bitch.



Figure 10: Donna points to a bottle of beer as she asks Carrie to hand it to her.

Although Donna's request is produced at the possible completion of a turn-constructional unit (lines 6-7), suggesting that she has timed it so as not to interrupt, it occurs at a position in which the telling sequence is not yet possibly complete. (Note that Carrie has not yet responded to the telling, which she does at line 10 before she fulfills the request.) The request is thus interjected into an

## 4 Recruitment in English: A quantitative study

on-going activity and addressed to a participant whose status as the recipient of the telling renders her less than fully available to grant the request at that moment. To do so immediately would require that she suspend or postpone one action (i.e., responding to the telling) in order to produce the other. The selection of *will you* over *can you* in this case appears to orient to local contingencies such as these that influence the grantability of the request. Note that the request indeed runs into trouble as Carrie must initiate repair before she can fulfill it (lines 15-18). In the dataset, interrogative requests for which no discernable contingencies exist occur as *can/could you* whereas those that involve subtly more complex circumstances or actions appear as *will/would you*.

A second distinction between *can/could you* and *will/would you* concerns a specific type of request that occurs in one form but not the other. Requests that find fault in the actions – or more specifically the *inactions* – of the recipient occur as *can/could you* but not as *will/would you* (cf. Kent & Kendrick 2016). The following extracts illustrate such ‘fault-finding’ requests.

(13) RCE06 15:48

- ▶ 1 JES can you move up cause I'm like \*really [long=
- 2 SAR \*.....-->
- 3 SAR [ye:ah..
- 4 JES =and you're just hogging the whole thing.\*
- ▷ 5 SAR .....prepares to move over.....->\*moves-->
- 6 (0.4)\*
- 7 SAR -->\*
- 8 SAR †why'd you say that.†

(14) RCE08 04:05

- ▶ 1 BEN can you get the milk off your chin cause you're
- 2 being filmed and the milk on your chin is not a
- 3 good im\*pession.
- 4 KER \*.....-->
- 5 \*(0.6)
- ▷ 6 \*wipes chin-->

*Kobin H. Kendrick*

7 BEN well done.

In the first case, as Jessica and Sarah sit on a blanket on the lawn of a university campus, Jessica asks Sarah to move over to make room for her. The request includes an account that finds fault with Sarah's inaction, blaming the trouble (i.e., that Jessica does not have enough space on the blanket) on her. Note that after Sarah complies with the request, she immediately challenges the account, orienting to its fault-finding character. In the second case, after Ben evidently notices that Kerry, who has been eating a bowl of cereal, has milk on her chin, he asks her to remove it, and like the first case he also includes an account that (teasingly) finds fault with her inaction. In each of these, the speaker produces a multi-unit turn in a REQUEST + ACCOUNT format with no prosodic boundary between the two units, and the complex action that results both asks the recipient to perform an action and holds her to account for not having already done so. The motivation for the selection of *can/could you* over *will/would you* for such requests supports the conclusion that *will/would you* indexes greater contingency. For the speaker to find fault with the recipient's inaction, there should be no local contingencies that would have impeded the performance of the action and could therefore provide an account for the recipient's inaction.

In comparison to the differences that [Curl & Drew \(2008\)](#) observed between *can/could you* and *I wonder if* – a form of request that does not occur in the present dataset – the distinction between *can/could you* and *will/would you* is indeed subtle, and additional data must be brought to bear on this issue before a final verdict can be reached. But the data at hand suggest the two forms are not equivalent and the differences between them, while perhaps minor, are interactionally significant.

#### 4.2.2 Imperatives

Under what circumstances does one participant *tell* another to perform an action rather than *ask* him or her to do so? In general, speakers use imperatives in interactional contexts in which the sequential contingency of an interrogative request, which orients to a recipient's right to refuse, is unnecessary, such as after participants have agreed explicitly or tacitly to a collaborative activity ([Wootton 1997](#); [Rossi 2012](#); [Zinken & Ogiermann 2013](#)), or is otherwise inexpedient, such as when the situation calls for immediate action. In contrast to the epistemic stance of interrogatives, imperatives typically encode a deontic stance in which the speaker claims the authority ([Stevanovic & Peräkylä 2012; 2014](#)) or the entitlement ([Craven & Potter 2010](#)) to direct the actions of the recipient. Although

#### 4 Recruitment in English: A quantitative study

imperatives implement a diversity of social actions (see §3.2 for examples), the recruitment of a co-participant to perform a practical action is among the most common. Referred to as directives by some (Goodwin 2006; Kent 2011; 2012) and requests by others (Rossi 2012; Couper-Kuhlen 2014b), such imperatives name a practical action and thereby make relevant the performance of that action as a preferred response (see Kent 2011), on the preference organization of directive sequences, as well as Rossi et al. in preparation [this volume]).

A basic distinction that runs through the set of imperatives in the dataset involves the complex relationship between (i) the imperative, (ii) the practical action it makes relevant, and (iii) the course of action in which they both occur (see Kent & Kendrick 2016). As Wootton (1997) and Rossi (2012) have observed, a common home for imperatives is in the midst of a collaborative activity. While speakers can use imperatives to initiate courses of action (e.g., the passing of plates at the dinner table), it is more common that they use them to manage courses of action that have already been set in motion.

In Extract 10 above, for example, before Fabian directs Kate to cover herself up properly with an imperative, he initiates the course of action with an interrogative (i.e., *are you cold?*). Similarly, in the following extract, after Hailey offers Britney pickles, an action that initiates a course of action, she uses an imperative to direct her to ask their father, an action that progresses the course of action.

(15) Sunday Lunch

- 1 HAL did you want pickles Britney?
- 2 BRI un-uh.
- 3 HAL ask dad.
- 4 (0.5)
- 5 BRI DA:::D.

The courses of action in which imperatives occur can have recognizable structures, such that the relevance of a specific next action is projectable on the basis of prior actions or events. In the example above, while the relevance of a subsequent offer to another member of the family may be projectable (e.g., on the basis of etiquette or other social norms), the delegation of this task to Hailey surely is not. It is a contingent and opportunistic development of the course of action (i.e., Britney's declination), not one that is anticipatable on the basis of the initial offer. As a point of contrast, consider the course of action in the following extract. Here an imperative directs a recipient to perform an action whose relevance *precedes*

*Kobin H. Kendrick*

the imperative itself. During a break in a game of Monopoly, after Luke opens a can of beer, he notices that the beer is partially frozen (line 4). The beer then begins to overflow from the can (the result of a chemical reaction as the sudden decrease in pressure in the can lowers the freezing point of the beer, causing it to freeze and expand). As a solution to this emergent problem, Luke sips the frozen beer intermittently as it comes out.

(16) Monopoly Boys 37:41

```

1      *(0.2) *
2  LUK    *opens can*
3      (0.3)
4  LUK  o:h, [it's slushy.
5  RIC      [aw:.
6      *(0.7) *(0.8) *(0.6) *(0.8)#
7  LUK    *raises can*sips beer*lowers can*holds-->
8  □                      #fig.11
9  RIC  what the hell.
10     (0.5)
11 LUK  do you have a *cup?
12     ->*raises can->
13     (0.6)*
14 LUK      -->*sips beer-->
15 RIC  yeah but what's going on *with that. I've never seen
16 LUK      -->*lowers can-->
17     that before.
18     (.)*
19 LUK  -->*
► 20 RIC  hey. (.) drink that.=↑quick.↑=↑it's coming ba:ck.↑↑
21     (0.2)
22 LUK  I- (.) ahh

```

## 4 Recruitment in English: A quantitative study

23 RIC COME ON.=IT'S COMING OUT.=IT'S GONNA GET ON MY  
 24 my-\* (.) ta:bl:e.\*  
 25 LUK \*raises can-->\*sips-->>



Figure 11: Luke (white shirt) holds his gaze on the beer can for 0.8 seconds as frozen beer begins to emerge.

The course of action that develops as Luke manages the problem has a projectable structure. At least two bases for this can be identified. Firstly, the very recognition of the problem allows for the projection of a set of possible solutions, such as sipping the frozen beer (lines 7 and 14) or pouring it into a cup (line 11). Thus once a problem has been recognized and publicly registered, as Rick does with *what the hell* in line 9, the provision of a possible solution becomes relevant. Secondly, after Luke has twice sipped the beer after it began to overflow, that he could or should do so again becomes anticipatable as a possible solution to the problem. In this way, the local structure of the sequence provides a basis for the projection of possible next actions.

*Kobin H. Kendrick*

With this in mind, we can now see that the imperative that Rick produces at line 20 (*drink that*) occurs in a position at which the action it directs Luke to perform is already relevant as a possible solution to the problem. Furthermore, before Rick directs him to do so, Luke has had an opportunity to perform the relevant action. Note that Rick produces the particle *hey*, a minimal form that alerts Luke of the reemergence of the trouble, and then pauses briefly before he issues the imperative (line 20). This prompts action from Luke and creates an opportunity for him to act, one that he does not take. Thus both the relevance of the requested action and an opportunity to perform it *precede* the imperative. This stands in clear contrast to the imperative in Extract 15 (*ask dad*), in which the relevance of the directed action and the opportunity to perform it both *follow* the imperative.

What is the consequence of this difference? The position in which an imperative request occurs ‘colors’ its action, such that imperatives that follow the relevance of the requested action and an opportunity to perform it not only request a recipient to perform an action but also ‘admonish’ him or her for not having already done so (Kent & Kendrick 2016). Within the present dataset, imperatives frequently occur in this position and frequently do more than just recruit a co-participant to act (cf. Mandelbaum 2014). The data therefore suggest that speakers use imperatives not only for the management of practical courses of action – to recruit others to do things per se – but also for the *ex post facto* enforcement of social norms that regulate practical courses of action.

#### 4.2.3 Declaratives

Just as one can ostensibly inquire into the abilities, desires, and future actions of co-participants to recruit them, so too can one inform co-participants of one’s own desires, needs, or future actions to do so (see Stevanovic 2011; Childs 2012). The majority of declaratives in the dataset (n=19, 58%) include linguistic forms that index the obligations, volitions, or abilities of either the speaker or recipient. The most frequent forms (i.e., those with multiple attestations) are *you should* (n=4, 12%), *I want* (n=4, 12%), *I need* (n=2, 6%), *I'll have* (n=2, 6%), and *we need* (n=2, 6%).

Typically declarative grammar encodes an epistemic stance that is the inverse of interrogatives: the speaker has knowledge that the recipient lacks (Heritage & Raymond 2005; Raymond 2010; Heritage 2012). But as recruiting moves, declaratives nonetheless frequently exploit an epistemic asymmetry in which the recipient is in a K+ position. A speaker who informs a recipient of a need, as in the following extract, claims to know what should be done but not how to do it.

4 Recruitment in English: A quantitative study

(17) BBQ 23:09

- 1 JAM I was expecting like [a deposit in my accou(h)nt.
- 2 ALI [oh James.
- 3 JAM heh heh heh
- 4 ALI James.
- 5 (0.2)
- 6 ALI really quick?=
- 7 JAM wha[:t.
- 8 ALI [can I get he:lp for something.
- 9 JAM what's up.
- 10 ALI can you put that down for just a minute.
- 11 JAM hold on lemme just get done with (this last piece)
- 12 ((four lines omitted))
- 13 JAM wh[at's up babe.
- 14 ALI [I need to check- I need to check th\*e uhm (0.2) the
- ▷ 15 JAM \*stands up-->
- 16 microphone quality?
- 17 (0.5)
- 18 JAM do you have earphones?\*
- 19 ->\*holds->
- 20 (0.3)
- 21 ALI yeah I do but I don't know \*where the earphone plugin is.
- 22 JAM \*walks behind camera-->
- 23 JAM °okay..°

The mechanism of recruitment in such cases is analogous to that of a ‘my side’ telling (Pomerantz 1980), in which a speaker reports his or her limited access to an event and thereby elicits additional information from a recipient who has greater access (Childs 2012). In recruiting moves, however, a speaker reports his or her knowledge of a situation that requires action (i.e., a practical problem)

*Kobin H. Kendrick*

and thereby elicits action from a recipient (i.e., a practical solution) who has a greater ability, availability, or obligation to perform the action. In the example above, the basis for James's ability to resolve the problem is made explicit earlier in the conversation when Alison reports that he used to own the same model of video camera. Recruitments such as this reveal a complex relationship between the epistemic status of the recipient (i.e., James knows how to operate the camera) and the recipient's obligation to provide assistance.

The selection of a declarative over other formats does not necessarily depend on the epistemic and deontic status of the speaker, however. The grammatical format of a recruiting move also affects the opportunity for response in important ways. Whereas interrogative requests constrain the response such that non-granting responses are dispreferred actions, declarative requests leave the response relatively open, allowing for a larger set of possible next actions (Vinkhuyzen & Szymanski 2005; Rossi & Zinken 2016: cf.). In the present dataset, the influence of the grammatical format can be seen indirectly in the quantitative distribution of responses. While over two thirds of interrogatives received a verbal response (69.2%, n=54), only half of the declaratives did (51.5%, n=17), with the remainder receiving an embodied response or no response at all. This shows that participants orient to the two formats in different ways. The preference for polar interrogatives to receive polar responses (Raymond 2003) may have contributed to this difference. Polar tokens, such as *yeah*, *okay*, *no*, and *nah*, occurred in response to 40.9 percent of polar interrogatives (n=27), in contrast to only 15.2 percent for declaratives (n=5). The quantitative distribution of responses in the dataset supports Vinkhuyzen and Szymanski's observation that declarative requests place fewer, or at least different, constraints on the response space than interrogatives do. The selection of a declarative format for recruitment thus affords greater agency to the recipient, who has an opportunity to select a response from a larger set of alternatives, including sequence initiating actions (p. 111 Kendrick & Drew 2014: cf.).

Although the majority of declaratives in the dataset are modal statements that index the desires, abilities, or obligations of the participants, many are not. One type that calls co-participants to action without reference to such personal states is the announcement of the completion of a task (e.g., the familiar *dinner's ready*) (p. 384 Rossi 2018: cf.). Announcements of task completion exploit the normative organization of complex activities, which can involve transformations of the participation framework, as a mechanism for recruitment. For this to work, the course of action that comes to completion (e.g., the preparation of food) must belong to a complex activity (e.g., the meal as a whole) that includes a subsequent

*4 Recruitment in English: A quantitative study*

course of action (e.g., serving and eating the food). The completion of one course of action makes the initiation of a next conditionally relevant (pp. 213-215 Sche-gloff 2007a: cf.). For some activities, the participation framework also changes; a course of action that involves few participants (e.g., those who prepared the food) can transform into one that involves many (e.g., those who will eat the food). The relevance of the announcement thus derives from the need to solicit participation in the next phase of the activity. In the following extract, which again comes from the interaction between friends as they prepare a barbecue, an announcement by Kimmy that the coals are ready recruits Carrie to begin the relevant next course of action.

## (18) BBQ 36:16

- 1 KIM I think those coals# are ready for your sausages.
- 2 □ #fig.12a
- 3 ALI Yeah man.
- 4 JAM I think you \*might wanna# pull up +the ra:ck? a little bit.
- 5 □ #fig.12b
- 6 CAR \*reaches for sausages-->
- 7 KIM +walks over to grill-->
- 8 (0.2)
- 9 KIM \*yep.
- 10 CAR \*picks up sausages-->
- 11 (0.5)\*(1.6)
- 12 CAR \*moves towards grill-->
- 13 JAM (it's)+ pretty hot.
- 14 KIM -->+

The announcement also marks a transformation of the participation framework in the activity as a whole. Earlier in the interaction Kimmy had been recruited to light the coals (cf. Extract 2) and Carrie had revealed that she had brought sausages to cook on the grill. With the announcement, Kimmy informs Carrie that her task is complete and that the relevant next course of action can

Kobin H. Kendrick



Figure 12: Kimmy (red pants) announces that the grill is ready for Carrie's sausages. Carrie (black hat) then reaches for the sausages before she moves towards the grill.

commence. Note that while Kimmy does return to the grill (see lines 7 and 14), she does not do so to assist Carrie with the preparation of the food, but rather to resolve a practical problem in the course of action that she had just announced as complete (see line 3, which is also a recruiting move). As this example shows, announcements of task completion can be used by participants to manage a transformation of participation across successive courses of action within a complex activity and thereby recruit others to assist.

#### 4.2.4 Non-clausal

As we have seen, the three most frequent grammatical formats for recruiting moves – interrogatives, imperatives, and declaratives – differ in important ways. But behind such differences lies a common linguistic structure: the clause. Defined as a predicate (e.g., a verb or a verb complex) and its associated arguments (e.g., noun phrases), a clause is a linguistic structure that, in the words of Thompson & Couper-Kuhlen (2005), “can be thought of as a crystallization of solutions to the interactional problem of signaling and recognizing social actions” (p. 484). The observation that 93.8 percent of verbal recruiting moves in the dataset have clausal formats (see Table 3) clearly supports the dominance of clausal formats in this domain of social action (or perhaps sequence-initiation more generally).

But what about the linguistic moves that do not have a clausal format? There are three recurrent types of phrasal recruiting moves in the dataset. First, a phrasal format can occur as a response to an other-initiation of repair that locates a clausal recruitment as a trouble source (e.g., A: *is there a fork over there kids?* B: *what?* A: *fork.* in Extract 4). Second, a phrasal format can occur as a pursuit of a response to a clausal format (e.g., A: *l'mme have that butter when yer*

## 4 Recruitment in English: A quantitative study

*through there.* A: *butter please*). Third, a phrasal format can occur as an address term that either pursues a response (e.g., A: *Britney do you wanna help me set the table?* A: *Brit*) or admonishes a recipient's actions (e.g., *shhh. Ow:en*, after an inappropriate remark). As this list indicates, aside from the use of address terms as admonishments, phrasal formats tend to occur in sequence-subsequent positions after an initiation of a sequence by a clausal format. An exception to this generalization is the phrasal “*cookie*” in Extract 5, which occurs after an embodied recruiting move, a pointing gesture to a box of cookies, not a verbal one. This case nonetheless shows that phrasal formats tend to occur in sequence-subsequent positions after a more explicit move to recruit a co-participant, even if the initiation of the sequence is done without language.

### 4.3 Additional turn components

In addition to the grammatical format of the recruiting move, participants also optionally select among a set of turn-constructional components that adjust or modify the action in various ways. In this section we review three such components that were frequently observed in the dataset: address terms, mitigations, and accounts.

#### 4.3.1 Address terms

Address terms, such as names (e.g., *Haley can you get the salt and peppy*), terms of endearment (e.g., *honey will you hand me that*), and person reference categories (e.g., *is there a fork over there ki:ds?* in Extract 5), frequently occurred with recruiting moves in the dataset. Nearly 20 percent (n=39) of linguistic recruiting moves included an address term, either as a turn-constructional component in turn-initial or turn-final positions or as a generic pre-expansion of the sequence (see, e.g., Extract 17, lines 2 and 4). In comparison, a study of 328 questions in English conversation – most of which were requests for information, confirmation, or repair – found that only 2.1 percent (n=7) occurred with an address term (Stivers 2010: p. 2777). This suggests that address terms occur more frequently with recruiting moves than in other domains of social action in English.

Two possible explanations for the conspicuously high proportion of address terms in recruitments present themselves. The first concerns a generic problem of social interaction, one that is especially acute when more than two participants are involved: the selection of who should act or speak next. (Note that 86.3% of sequences in the dataset, n=182, came from multiperson interactions.) A participant can use an address term to designate a particular co-participant

Kobin H. Kendrick

as the addressed recipient of the recruiting move and thereby select him or her as the one who should respond (Sacks et al. 1974; Lerner 2003: cf.). Similarly, an address term can be used as a generic pre-expansion to secure the attention a particular co-participant before a base sequence (Schegloff 1968; 2007a: cf.). Because recruiting moves so frequently initiate courses of action – in contrast to requests for information, confirmation, or repair, which also frequently occur in non-initial positions (e.g., as insert expansions, post-expansions, and various ‘follow-up’ questions) – the socio-interactional problem for which address terms are a solution arises with greater frequency. Some indirect evidence for this comes from the relatively low proportion of address terms with imperatives, which tend to occur in non-initial positions within a course of action (see §4.2.2): only 8.2 percent ( $n=6$ ) of imperatives include an address term, whereas 30.8 percent ( $n=24$ ) of interrogatives do (p. 271, fn. 7 Zinken & Ogiermann 2013: cf.).

The second explanation for the high proportion of address terms concerns the nature of the action itself. A special relationship between requests, broadly understood, and address terms was first noted by Brown & Levinson (1978; 1987) who argued that such terms signal in-group membership between speaker and recipient and thereby mitigate the request’s threat to the recipient’s negative face (p. 1207 Rendle-Short 2010: cf.). In an analysis of sequence-initiating actions in general, Lerner (2003) distinguishes between turn-initial and turn-final address terms and argues that the latter can “demonstrate a particular stance toward or relationship with a recipient under circumstances where that demonstration is particularly relevant” (Lerner 2003: 185; see also Clayman 2010; Butler et al. 2011). Although the present analysis does not distinguish between turn-initial and turn-final positions, the use of address terms to affirm one’s relationship with a recipient as one solicits his or her assistance – a circumstance in which the relationship is especially relevant – is also a plausible explanation for the high proportion of address terms observed with recruitment.

#### 4.3.2 Mitigators

The linguistic construction of a recruiting move may also include a variety of practices that, in various ways, mitigate the action (e.g., *can I have a little bit*). The observation that speakers use linguistic devices to mitigate particular social actions can be traced back to linguistic research by Lakoff (1973) and Brown & Levinson (1987) on ‘hedges’. From a conversation-analytic perspective, the use of practices to mitigate a recruiting move orients to the preference for agreement in conversation (Sacks 1987), as well as a general principle of social solidarity

#### 4 Recruitment in English: A quantitative study

(Heritage 1984a), in that such practices minimize what the recipient must do to comply and thereby maximize the opportunity for an affiliative response. Consider, for example, the following extract. As James and his housemates prepare their respective dinners in a communal kitchen, he asks for an onion.

(19) RCE09 11:43

- 1 JAM has anyone got a spare onion I can borrow.
  - 2 (.)
  - 3 half an onion.
- ▷ 4 BEN ye:ah, go in there.

The construction of the request includes at least three practices that mitigate the action. First, the selection of *a spare onion* over *an onion* anticipates a possible basis for rejection, namely that one of the housemates may have an onion but may need it for his or her own meal. This provides a recipient who wishes to reject the request with a means to do so, thereby minimizing the potential for discord. Second, the selection of the word *borrow* over *have* implies only a temporary transfer of possession. Even though one is not expected to return consumables such as onions, the selection of *borrow* nonetheless orients to the preference for agreement in that it ostensibly makes the request easier to grant. Third, after a short pause (just under 200 ms) in which no one responds, James issues a self-repair that minimizes the request in an even more transparent manner, cutting it in half. Transition space self-repairs such as this are common in requests and orient to the possibility of rejection that the absence of a response can indicate (Davidson 1984).

##### 4.3.3 Accounts

An account is an action, defined as a clausal turn-constructional unit in the present study, that provides a reason or explanation for a participant's action or inaction (see Robinson 2016: for a review). Early conversation-analytic research on accounts by Atkinson & Drew (1979) and Heritage (1984a), among others, showed that participants commonly provide accounts for responding actions that fail to align with normative expectations set by initiating actions (i.e., for dispreferred responses). Subsequent research has shown that accounts also accompany some initiating actions, most notably requests and directives (Goodwin 1990; Houtkoop-Steenstra 1990; Schegloff 2007b; Raevaara 2011; Parry 2013;

Kobin H. Kendrick

Baranova & Dingemanse 2016). A possible explanation for the occurrence of accounts with requests comes from Schegloff (2007b), who argues that requests are dispreferred actions and that the construction of requests reveals a preference for offers (see Kendrick & Drew 2014 for counterarguments). One piece of evidence that Schegloff cites to support the dispreferred status of requests is the “regular” provision of accounts with them (p. 83). In light of the previous research on the relationship between requests and accounts, one would expect that accounts should be frequent within the present dataset. But in fact they are rare. Only 13.3 percent of linguistic recruiting moves (n=26) include an account (see Extracts 13, 14, and 16).

Why are accounts for recruiting moves so rare? To answer this question we must first take a step back and review the organization of recruitment (Kendrick & Drew 2016). In general terms, a recruiting move solicits or occasions a practical action from a co-participant in order to resolve a trouble encountered by its speaker in a practical course of action. The nature of such troubles varies: one may not have enough space on a couch (Extract 4); one may need a utensils in order to eat a meal (Extract 5); one may not be able to see a picture in a book from across a table (Extract 3); and so on. The recruiting move frequently, but not invariably, formulates a possible solution to the trouble for the co-participant to perform. An imperative such as *move over* (Extract 4) formulates an action that constitutes a possible solution to a practical problem, and an interrogative such as *is there a fork over there* (Extract 5) similarly refers to an object that could resolve the participant’s problem. In contrast to the explicitness of the solutions, often embodied in the form of the recruiting move, the nature of the trouble is frequently left implicit, as participants treat the problems as transparently recognizable. In some cases, a problem has emerged in the interaction (e.g., the overflow of beer in Extract 16) and thus need not be stated. In others, the problem is recognizable by reference to the norms of an activity such as a meal (e.g., the lack of a fork). The explicit articulation of such troubles is the most common function that accounts for recruiting moves serve. Accounts are thus rare in the dataset because the ‘here and now’ troubles that arise in face-to-face interaction are routine, often manifest explicitly in the situation, and are transparently recognizable to co-participants. Given this, the question becomes not why accounts are so rare, but why they should occur with requests at all. The fault-finding character of those requests that do include accounts (e.g., Extracts 13, 14, and 16) points to one possible answer and an avenue for future research.

## 4 Recruitment in English: A quantitative study

### 5 Responding moves

The recipient of a recruiting move finds him- or herself in a position to respond. In this section we will consider this second move in a recruitment sequence. In contrast to the technical definition of a response as the second pair part of adjacency pair (Schegloff & Sacks 1973; Schegloff 2007b), the term is used more freely in the comparative study to refer to any relevant action in a next position to the recruiting move (Floyd 2020 [this volume])). This includes not only actions that complete the sequence, such as a move to fulfill a request, but also actions that, in one way or another, orient to the recruitment but leave the sequence open (e.g., a repair initiation). This includes cases in which participants recognize a trouble and volunteer assistance, thereby *initiating* a course of action from a second position (cf. Schegloff 2007b, on retro-sequences). We will first consider the distribution of some general types of responding moves, so defined, that were observed in the dataset before we turn our attention to two specific types – deferring the recruitment and recruiting the recruiter – that require more detailed discussion.

#### 5.1 Response types

At the most general level, the recipient of a recruiting move can either fulfill the sequence, that is, carry out a relevant practical action, or opt not to do so. As Table 4 shows, in the majority of cases (61.6%, n=130) the sequence is fulfilled. Furthermore, if one considers only those recruiting moves that occur in a sequence-final position, including minimal two-move sequences and terminal moves in expanded sequences (see §2), the proportion of fulfillment increases to over 70 percent. This is clear evidence for the preference for agreement (Sacks 1987) and the principle of social solidarity (Heritage 1984b), two specifications of the general bias towards cooperation in social interaction (see also Floyd et al. 2018).

Consistent with this, rejection was rare in the dataset. Less than one in ten moves to recruit co-participants were rejected. This included explicit rejections, such as *no* and *fuck you*, as well as various accounts that accomplish rejection (Drew 1984), such as *I don't know how to* and *I'll leave it to you*. More common were recruiting moves that received no response whatsoever. In such cases, the recipient produced neither a verbal response to the move nor a practical action that recognizably fulfilled (or began to fulfill) the sequence. This can be understood as an alternative to rejection, in that the recipient opts not to provide assistance but also not to reject the recruiting move explicitly. It can also be the

*Kobin H. Kendrick*

Table 4: Frequency and proportion of response types for all cases (n=211) and for sequence-final cases (n=166)

Response	All cases		Sequence-final cases	
	Frequency	Proportion	Frequency	Proportion
Fulfillment	130	61.6%	118	71.1%
Other	28	13.3%	20	12.1%
No response	27	12.8%	14	8.4%
Rejection	18	8.5%	11	6.6%
Repair initiation	8	3.8%	3	1.8%

result of a failure in addressing the move to a particular co-participant (see, e.g., Extract 5). And in a small number of cases, the recipient of a recruiting move initiates repair (again, see Extract 5). Responding moves that did not correspond to the types described thus far were analyzed as ‘other’ for the comparative study. Three of these will be examined in detail in subsequent sections.

As for the modality of the responding move, nearly three quarters included relevant visible bodily actions (72.6%, n=143). Given that recruitment involves the performance of a practical action (and not, for instance, the provision of information), this comes as little surprise. Fully nonverbal responses were not the norm, however, as these accounted for just over a third of all cases (35%, n=69), whereas multimodal responses with both verbal and nonverbal components were slightly more frequent (37.6%, n=74). Fully verbal responses without relevant nonverbal behavior were relatively infrequent (18.8%, n=37).

## 5.2 Deferring the recruitment

Recruitment, by definition, involves the relevance of practical action in the here and now of the interaction and not proposals for some other time and place. The immediacy of recruitment poses a practical problem for participants who are already engaged in a course of action when a move to recruit them comes. The practical problem of multiple involvements (Toerien & Kitzinger 2007; Raymond & Lerner 2014) or multiactivity (Mondada 2011; Haddington et al. 2014) is one for which participants have practiced solutions. In this and the next section, we will review two practices that recipients of recruiting moves use to manage the emergence of multiple involvements.

The first is deferring the recruitment. Rather than abandon or suspend the

*4 Recruitment in English: A quantitative study*

course of action the recipient is engaged in, the recipient can continue the course of action, using resources of the body, and defer the recruitment verbally, as in the following cases.

(20) BBQ 23:09

- 4 ALI James.
- 5 (0.2)
- 6 ALI really quick?=
- 7 JAM wha[:t.]
- 8 ALI [can I get he:lp for something.]
- 9 JAM what's up.
- 10 ALI can you put that down for just a minute.
- ▷ 11 JAM hold on lemme just get done with (this last piece)

(21) RCE22b 08:23

- 1 LIS Megan, do you know how to projector::ize::
- 2 [↑th:i:[ng:s:?]
- 3 MAR [yeah?
- ▷ 4 MEG [yep. #can you give me like two:: se:cs::.
- 5 □ #fig.13

In Extract 20, repeated in part from Extract 17, after Alison asks James to stop the course of action he is engaged in – peeling carrots – to help her, he responds with a request to defer his assistance until the completion of his task. In this way, James tacitly commits to assist Alison, but he prioritizes the progressive realization of his current task over that of the recruitment. Likewise, in Extract 21, while Megan is engaged with her computer, Lisa asks her whether she knows how to use a video projector, which can be understood in the situation as a request for Megan to assist her. Megan first responds to the format of the recruiting move, confirming that she does know how, and then responds to its action implication, deferring her assistance to a later point in time. In sequence-structural terms, deferments initiate pre-second insert sequences that displace the relevant next action (i.e., the assisting action) from next position in the sequence (Schegloff 2007b) and thereby constitute one method that recipients have to manage the emergence of multiple involvements.

Kobin H. Kendrick

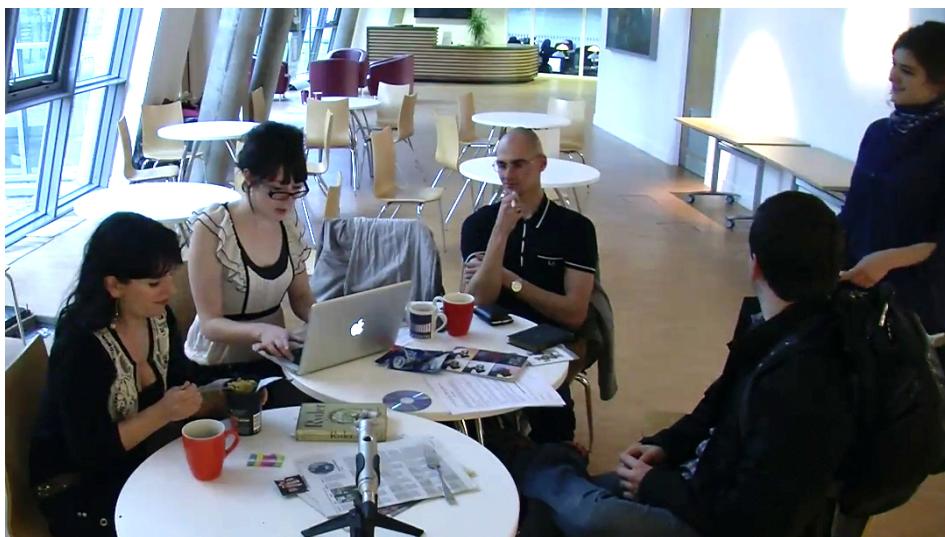


Figure 13: Lisa (far right) asks Megan, who is using a computer, whether she knows how to use the projector.

### 5.3 Recruiting the recruiter

A second practice that participants have to manage the emergence of multiple involvements is for a recipient of the recruiting move to invert the recruitment sequence, that is, to recruit the recruiter to perform the action him- or herself. In the following extract, repeated with additional detail from Extract 19, a recipient of a request, Ben, recruits its speaker, James, to fulfill the request himself.

(22) RCE09 11:43

- 1 JAM has anyone got a spare onion I can borrow#ow.
- 2 □ #fig.14a
- 3 \*(.)
- 4 BEN \*turns to left-->
- 5 JAM half an onion.
- 6 BEN \*ye:ah,\* #go in there.
- 7 \*.....\*points—»
- 8 □ #fig.14b

#### 4 Recruitment in English: A quantitative study



Figure 14: Ben stands (white shirt) in front of the microwave as he waits for his food to be heated. In response to the recruiting move by James, Ben turns and points into the adjacent room as he recruits James to fulfill the recruitment on his own.

The request comes as Ben waits for his food to be heated in the microwave in front of him (see Figure 14a). In response to the request, Ben rotates his body and gazes and points into an adjacent room (see Figure 14b). He confirms verbally that he has an onion for James and then directs him to go into the adjacent room to retrieve it. In principle, Ben could have walked into the adjacent room, retrieved the onion, and given it to James. That is, one solution to the problem of multiple involvements is for a recipient of the recruiting move to abandon a course of action. By recruiting the recruiter, however, Ben neither abandons the course of action he is engaged in nor defers the recruitment until the course of action is complete; he suspends one course of action (the preparation of the meal) in order to recruit James to pursue the second course of action in his stead.

## 6 Discussion

This chapter has presented a quantitative study of recruitment phenomena identified in a sample of video recordings of everyday interactions among speakers of English. Using an operational definition of recruitment designed for a cross-linguistic comparison (Floyd et al. 2020 [this volume]), the present study has documented diverse forms of linguistic and embodied action that participants use to recruit the assistance of others. As we have seen, visible bodily actions were common; about half of all recruiting moves in the dataset included a relevant visual component. Recruiting assistance through visible bodily action alone, however, was relatively rare. The most frequent visible bodily actions observed in recruiting moves involved manual actions, such as pointing, reaching out, or

*Kobin H. Kendrick*

holding out an object to be taken, which reflects the high proportion of hand-to-hand object transfers in the dataset. Of the grammatical formats observed in recruiting moves, interrogatives were the most frequent and exhibited the greatest variation, with multiple recurrent subformats (Fox & Heinemann 2016; Fox & Heinemann 2017: see). In contrast, imperatives, the second most frequent format, showed relatively little structural variation. Regardless of format, recruiting moves overwhelmingly elicited cooperative responses, a statistical trend that reflects the general preference for agreement in interaction (Sacks 1987) and testifies to the fundamentally prosocial nature of human behavior – one important finding to emerge from the comparative study (Floyd et al. *In preparation*).

The operational definition of recruitment developed for the cross-linguistic comparison, to which the present study is but one contribution, differs in important respects from the articulation of the concept by Kendrick and Drew (2016; see also Drew and Kendrick, 2017). Our articulation was rooted in the observation that offering and requesting, which had been understood as distinct forms of action, each with its own grammatical formats and sequential environments (Curl 2006-08; Curl & Drew 2008: see, e.g.,), in fact have an organizationally symbiotic relationship (Kendrick & Drew 2014). This observation, which itself has antecedents in previous research (Schegloff 1995; see also Heritage 2016), prompted us to collect and analyze not only requests in all forms, as indeed the present study has done, but also all *offers* and all actions that systematically occasion them, whether delivered through talk or embodied conduct. It became clear that the organizational symbiosis between offering and requesting centers on the recognition of troubles in the realization of practical courses of action and the alternative methods available to participants to resolve them (Kendrick & Drew 2016). Offers and requests, we observed, differ in two principal ways: who initiates the recruitment of assistance and who generates a possible solution to the trouble. With a request, the one who experiences the trouble, Self, formulates a possible solution for an Other to perform and thereby initiates the assistance (e.g., *move over a little, can you?* in Extract 4). With an offer, it is the Other who formulates a possible solution and initiates the assistance (e.g., *you want that*, [Kendrick & Drew 2016: p.7]). The two actions thus involve an inversion of social relations (e.g., who initiates and who responds) and interactional contingencies (e.g., who generates the solution), yet both constitute methods for the recruitment of assistance. The cross-linguistic comparison, however, has its roots an investigation of requesting across cultures, one vestige of which is a somewhat equivocal treatment of offers (Floyd et al., this volume).

Another difference in the two articulations concerns the use of the term “re-

#### 4 Recruitment in English: A quantitative study

ruitment” itself. Having conceptualized offers and requests as alternative methods by Self and Other for the resolution of troubles, we came to recognize them as parts in a complex social organization of action, which we termed *the organization of assistance* (Kendrick & Drew 2016). Recruitment – that is, one’s having been recruited – is central to the organization of assistance. But it should not be understood as a category of action, one that somehow subsumes offering and requesting within it. Indeed, it was the very tendency towards the analytic conflation of interactionally distinct actions into categories that we meant to disrupt with the concept of recruitment. As we see it, recruitment does not refer to a type of social action, but rather to an outcome or effect that participants have alternative methods to achieve (Kendrick & Drew 2016: p.2). In the language of speech act theory, recruitment is more akin to a perlocutionary effect (Austin 1962) than a class of illocutionary force (Searle 1976).

To illustrate the distinction and its ramifications, consider a recurrent source of trouble that routinely impedes practical courses of action and two alternative methods to resolve it. If a course of action requires an object for its completion (e.g., the lighter in Extract 1 or the bag in Extract 2), the absence of the object will necessarily disrupt the progressivity of the course of action. Among the set of methods that participants have to resolve such troubles interactionally are requests (e.g., Extract 2) and visible searches of the environment, which may occasion offers of assistance (Drew & Kendrick 2018: see). In both cases, we would say that the Other provides assistance, whether solicited or volunteered, and has therefore been recruited. We would not say, however, that requests for objects and visible searches of the environment are themselves “recruitments”. To do so would conflate analytically distinct forms of action into one conceptual category and thereby obscure the systematic, interactionally-relevant differences between them.

At risk of belaboring the point, consider the ways in which requests for objects differ from visible searches of the environment (cf. Kendrick & Drew 2016: pp.10-11). First, the resources with which the participants construct the actions differ completely. A request specifies a solution to a trouble through linguistic forms or communicative gestures. In contrast, a visible search is in the first instance recognizable as an instrumental visible bodily action. Second, who initiates the sequence that comes to resolve the trouble differs. With a request Self initiates the sequence whereas with a visible search it is Other who does so. Third, the two actions differ in who generates the solution to the trouble. A request for an object formulates a solution for Other to perform whereas a visible search requires that Other recognize the trouble and generate a solution independently.

Kobin H. Kendrick

Fourth, how the trouble manifests and hence becomes recognizable differs. With a visible search Self's actions embody the trouble whereas with a request the nature of the trouble is left implicit. Fifth and finally, the actions also differ in whether they establish a normative obligation for assistance as a response. A request for an object initiates an adjacency pair sequence in which assistance is a conditionally relevant response whereas a visible search for the environment does not.

On what basis, then, could one say that requests for objects and visible searches of the environment are instances of the same action or the same type of action? What unites them is not a similarity of *action*. A participant who searches for an object is not performing the same action, or even the same kind of action, as one who asks a co-participant for it. What unites them is the outcome they may achieve: the recruitment of assistance and the resolution of a trouble. If a category of “recruitments” exists, it is by virtue of this common interactional outcome, not a similarity in the methods participant use to arrive at it. The same argument holds equally for other methods of recruitment. Reports of troubles, for example, are analytically and interactionally distinct from requests (Kendrick & Drew 2016), and neither should be conflated into a single category of action, though each has its place in the organization of assistance.

Terminology aside, research on recruitment marks a shift of analytic focus away from singular actions (e.g., requests) and theoretical categories of action (e.g., directives). Rather than begin with an action and examine its implementation, research on recruitment begins with a social organizational problem – how do participants in interaction recognize and resolve troubles that emerge in practical, embodied courses of action? – and investigates its various solutions, the recruitment of assistance being one. This mode of analysis, which has its roots in classic conversation analytic research on the organization of interaction, is generic and widely applicable to the study of action.

## 7 Conventions for multimodal transcription

Embodied actions are transcribed according to the following conventions developed by Mondada (n.d.).

#### 4 Recruitment in English: A quantitative study

\* \*

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

## References

- Atkinson, J. Maxwell & Paul Drew. 1979. *Order in court: The organisation of verbal interaction in judicial settings*. Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Oxford Socio-Legal Studies.
- Austin, J. L. 1962. *How to do things with words*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 166 pp.
- Baranova, Julija & Mark Dingemanse. 2016. Reasons for requests. *Discourse Studies* 18(6). 641–675. DOI:[10.1177/1461445616667154](https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445616667154)
- Blum-Kulka, Shoshana, Juliane House & Gabriele Kasper. 1989. *Cross-cultural pragmatics: Requests and apologies* (Advances in Discourse Processes). Norwood: Ablex.
- Bolden, Galina B., Jenny Mandelbaum & Sue Wilkinson. 2012. Pursuing a response by repairing an indexical reference. *Language and social interaction* 45(2). 137–155.
- Brown, Penelope & Stephen C. Levinson. 1978. Universals in language usage: Politeness phenomena. In Esther N. Goody (ed.), *Questions and politeness: Strategies in social interaction*, 56–311. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brown, Penelope & Stephen C. Levinson. 1987. *Politeness: Some universals in language usage* (Studies in Interactional Sociolinguistics 4). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Kobin H. Kendrick

- Butler, Carly W., Susan Danby & Michael Emmison. 2011. Address terms in turn beginnings: Managing disalignment and disaffiliation in telephone counseling? *Research on Language & Social Interaction* 44. 338–358.
- Childs, Carrie. 2012. Directing and requesting: Two interactive uses of the mental state terms want and need. *Text* 32. 727.
- Clayman, Steven E. 2010. Address terms in the service of other actions: The case of news interview talk. *Discourse & Communication* 4. 161–183.
- Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth. 2014a. What does grammar tell us about action? *Pragmatics. Quarterly Publication of the International Pragmatics Association (IPrA)* 24(3). 623–647.
- Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth. 2014b. What does grammar tell us about action? *Pragmatics* 24(3). 623–647.
- Craven, Alexandra & Jonathan Potter. 2010. Directives: Entitlement and contingency in action. *Discourse Studies* 12(4). 419–442.  
DOI:[10.1177/1461445610370126](https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445610370126)
- Curl, Traci S. 2006–08. Offers of assistance: Constraints on syntactic design. *Journal of Pragmatics* 38(8). 1257–1280. DOI:[10.1016/j.pragma.2005.09.004](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2005.09.004)
- Curl, Traci & Paul Drew. 2008. Contingency and action: A comparison of two forms of requesting. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 41(2). 129–153. DOI:[10.1080/08351810802028613](https://doi.org/10.1080/08351810802028613)
- Davidson, Judy. 1984. Subsequent versions of invitations, offers, requests and proposals, dealing with actual or potential rejection. In J. M. Atkinson & J. Heritage (eds.), *Structures of social action: Studies in conversation analysis*, 102–128. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Drew, Paul. 1984. Speakers' reportings in invitation sequences. In J. M. Atkinson & J. Heritage (eds.), *Structures of social action: Studies in conversation analysis*, 129–151. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Drew, Paul & Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen. 2014. Requesting—from speech act to recruitment. In Paul Drew & Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen (eds.), *Requesting in social interaction (The Anatomy of Meaning)*, 1–34. Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins.
- Drew, Paul & Kobin H Kendrick. 2018. Searching for trouble: Recruiting assistance through embodied action. *Social Interaction. Video-based Studies of Human Sociality* 1(1). DOI:[10.7146/si.v1i1.105496](https://doi.org/10.7146/si.v1i1.105496)
- Floyd, Simeon. 2020. Getting others to do things in the Cha'palaa language of Ecuador. In Simeon Floyd, Giovanni Rossi & N. J. Enfield (eds.), *Getting others to do things: A pragmatic typology of recruitments*, 49–89. Berlin: Language Science Press. DOI:[??](#)

#### 4 Recruitment in English: A quantitative study

- Floyd, Simeon, Giovanni Rossi, Julija Baranova, Joe Blythe, Mark Dingemanse, Koen H. Kendrick, Jörg Zinken & N. J. Enfield. In preparation. Human interdependence in everyday life. Universals and cultural variation in the recruitment and provision of assistance. *Current Anthropology*.
- Floyd, Simeon, Giovanni Rossi, Julija Baranova, Joe Blythe, Mark Dingemanse, Koen H. Kendrick, Jörg Zinken & N. J. Enfield. 2018. Universals and cultural diversity in the expression of gratitude. *Royal Society Open Science*. DOI:[10.1017/S0047404516000385](https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404516000385)
- Floyd, Simeon, Giovanni Rossi & N. J. Enfield. 2020. A coding scheme for recruitment sequences in interaction. In Simeon Floyd, Giovanni Rossi & N. J. Enfield (eds.), *Getting others to do things: A pragmatic typology of recruitments*, 21–47. Berlin: Language Science Press. DOI:??
- Floyd, Simeon, Giovanni Rossi, N. J. Enfield, Julija Baranova, Joe Blythe, Mark Dingemanse, Koen H. Kendrick & Jörg Zinken. 2014. Recruitments across languages: A systematic comparison. Talk presented at the 4th International Conference on Conversation Analysis (ICCA 2014). In *University of California at Los Angeles, CA, June 25–29*.
- Fox, Barbara A. 2007. Principles shaping grammatical practices: An exploration. *Discourse Studies* 9(3). 299–318.
- Fox, Barbara A. & Trine Heinemann. 2017. Issues in action formation: Requests and the problem with x. *Open Linguistics* 3(1). 31–64.
- Fox, Barbara & Trine Heinemann. 2016. Rethinking format: An examination of requests. *Language in Society* 45(4). 499–531. DOI:[10.1017/S0047404516000385](https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404516000385)
- Garfinkel, Harold. 1967. *Studies in ethnomethodology*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Goffman, Erving. 1969. *Strategic interaction*. Philadelphia, PA.: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Goodwin, Marjorie Harness. 1990. *He-said-She-said: Talk as social organization among black children*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Goodwin, Marjorie Harness. 2006. Participation, affect, and trajectory in family directive/response sequences. *Text & Talk-An Interdisciplinary Journal of Language, Discourse Communication Studies* 26. 515–543.
- Goodwin, Marjorie Harness & Charles Goodwin. 1986. Gesture and coparticipation in the activity of searching for a word. *Semiotica* 62(1-2). 51–76. DOI:[10.1515/semi.1986.62.1-2.51](https://doi.org/10.1515/semi.1986.62.1-2.51)
- Haddington, Pentti, Tiina Keisanen, Lorenza Mondada & Maurica Nevile. 2014. *Multiactivity in social interaction: Beyond multitasking*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Kobin H. Kendrick

- Heritage, John. 1984a. *Garfinkel and ethnomethodology*. Cambridge; New York: Polity Press.
- Heritage, John. 1984b. *Garfinkel and ethnomethodology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Heritage, John. 2012. Epistemics in action: Action formation and territories of knowledge. *Research on Language & Social Interaction* 45(1). 1–29.
- Heritage, John. 2016. The recruitment matrix. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 49(1). 27–31. DOI:[10.1080/08351813.2016.1126440](https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2016.1126440)
- Heritage, John & Geoffrey Raymond. 2005. The terms of agreement: Indexing epistemic authority and subordination in talk-in-interaction. *Social Psychology Quarterly* 68(1). 15–38.
- Houtkoop-Steenstra, Hanneke. 1990. Accounting for proposals. *Journal of Pragmatics* 1. 111–24.
- Jefferson, Gail. 2004. Glossary of transcript symbols with an introduction. In Gene H. Lerner (ed.), *Conversation analysis: Studies from the first generation*, 13–31. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Keisanen, Tiina & Mirka Rauniomaa. 2012. The organization of participation and contingency in prebeginnings of request sequences. *Research on Language & Social Interaction* 45(4). 323–51.
- Kendrick, Kobin H. 2017. The preference for self-remediation in interaction. Paper presented at the 15th Annual International Pragmatics Association Conference. Belfast, UK.
- Kendrick, Kobin H. & Paul Drew. 2014. The putative preference for offers over requests. In Paul Drew & Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen (eds.), *Requesting in social interaction*, 87–114. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Kendrick, Kobin H. & Paul Drew. 2016. Recruitment: Offers, requests, and the organization of assistance in interaction. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 49(1). 1–19. DOI:[10.1080/08351813.2016.1126436](https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2016.1126436)
- Kendrick, Kobin H. 2015. Other-initiated repair in English. *Open Linguistics* 1.
- Kent, Alexandra. 2011. *Directing dinnertime: Practices and resources used by parents and children to deliver and respond to directive actions*. Loughborough University. (Doctoral dissertation).
- Kent, Alexandra. 2012. Compliance, resistance and incipient compliance when responding to directives. *Discourse Studies* 14(6). 711–730. DOI:[10.1177/1461445612457485](https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445612457485)
- Kent, Alexandra & Kobin H Kendrick. 2016. Imperative directives: Orientations to accountability. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 49(3). 272–288. DOI:[10.1080/08351813.2016.1201737](https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2016.1201737)

4 *Recruitment in English: A quantitative study*

- König, Ekkehard & Peter Siemund. 2007. Speech act distinctions in grammar. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description. Volume 1: Clause structure*, 2nd edn., 276–324. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lakoff, George. 1973. Hedges: A study in meaning criteria and the logic of fuzzy concepts. *Journal of Philosophical Logic* 2(4). 458–508.
- Lerner, Gene H. 2003. Selecting next speaker: The context-sensitive operation of a context-free organization. *Language in society* 32(2). 177–201.
- Levinson, Stephen C. 2013. Action formation and ascription. In Jack Sidnell & Tanya Stivers (eds.), *The handbook of conversation analysis*, 101–130. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd. DOI:[10.1002/9781118325001.ch6](https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118325001.ch6)
- Mandelbaum, Jenny. 2014. How to do things with requests: Request sequences at the family dinner table. In Paul Drew & Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen (eds.), *Requesting in social interaction*, 215–241. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Mondada, Lorenza. N.d. *Conventions for multimodal transcription*. [https://franz.unibas.ch/fileadmin/franz/user\\_upload/redaktion/Mondada\\_conv\\_multimodality.pdf](https://franz.unibas.ch/fileadmin/franz/user_upload/redaktion/Mondada_conv_multimodality.pdf).
- Mondada, Lorenza. 2011. The organization of concurrent courses of action in surgical demonstrations. In Charles Goodwin Jörgen Streeck & Curtis LeBaron (eds.), *Embodied interaction: Language and body in the material world*, 207–226. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Palmer, F. R. 2001. *Mood and modality*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Parry, Ruth. 2013. Giving reasons for doing something now or at some other time. *Research on Language & Social Interaction* 46(2). 105–124. DOI:[10.1080/08351813.2012.754653](https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2012.754653)
- Pomerantz, Anita. 1980. Telling my side: ‘limited access’ as a ‘fishing’ device. *Sociological Inquiry* 50. 186–198.
- Pomerantz, Anita. 1985. Pursuing a response. In J. M. Atkinson & J. Heritage (eds.), *Structures of social action* (Studies in emotion and social interaction), 152–164. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. DOI:[10.1017/CBO9780511665868.011](https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511665868.011)
- Raevaara, Liisa. 2011. Accounts at convenience stores: Doing dispreference and small talk. *Journal of Pragmatics* 2. 556–571.
- Raymond, Geoffrey. 2003. Grammar and social organization: Yes/no interrogatives and the structure of responding. *American Sociological Review* 68(6). 939–967.
- Raymond, Geoffrey. 2010. Grammar and social relations: Alternative forms of yes/No type initiating actions in health visitor interactions. In A. F. Freed &

Kobin H. Kendrick

- S. Ehrlich (eds.), *Why do you ask?: The function of questions in institutional discourse*, 87–107. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Raymond, Geoffrey & Gene H. Lerner. 2014. A body and its involvements: Adjusting action for dual involvements. In Pentti Haddington, Tiina Keisanen, Lorenza Mondada & Maurice Nevile (eds.), *Multiactivity in social interaction: Beyond multitasking*, 277–245. Amsterdam ; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Rendle-Short, Johanna. 2010. ‘Mate’ as a term of address in ordinary interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics* 42(5). 1201–18.
- Robinson, Jeffrey D. 2016. Accountability in social interaction. In J. D. Robinson (ed.), *Accountability in social interaction*, 1–45. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Rossi, Giovanni. 2012. Bilateral and unilateral requests: The use of imperatives and Mi X? Interrogatives in Italian. *Discourse Processes* 49(5). 426–458.  
DOI:[10.1080/0163853X.2012.684136](https://doi.org/10.1080/0163853X.2012.684136)
- Rossi, Giovanni. 2014. When do people not use language to make requests? In Paul Drew & Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen (eds.), *Requesting in social interaction*, 303–334. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. Studies in Language and Social Interaction.
- Rossi, Giovanni. 2015. *The request system in Italian interaction*. Radboud University Nijmegen. (Doctoral dissertation).
- Rossi, Giovanni. 2018. Composite social actions: The case of factual declaratives in everyday interaction. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 51. 379–397. DOI:[10.1080/08351813.2018.1524562](https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2018.1524562)
- Rossi, Giovanni, Simeon Floyd, Julija Baranova, Joe Blythe, Mark Dingemanse, Kobin H. Kendrick, Jörg Zinken & N. J. Enfield. in preparation. Grammar is shaped by universal pragmatics: Evidence from requests in eight languages. *Journal of Linguistics*.
- Rossi, Giovanni, Simeon Floyd & N. J. Enfield. 2020. Recruitments and pragmatic typology. In Simeon Floyd, Giovanni Rossi & N. J. Enfield (eds.), *Getting others to do things: A pragmatic typology of recruitments*, 1–20. Berlin: Language Science Press.
- Rossi, Giovanni & Jörg Zinken. 2016. Grammar and social agency: The pragmatics of impersonal deontic statements. *Language* 92(4). e296–e235.
- Sacks, Harvey. 1984. On doing ‘being ordinary.’ In J. Maxwell Atkinson & John Heritage (eds.), *Structures of social action: Studies in conversation analysis*, 413–29. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

4 *Recruitment in English: A quantitative study*

- Sacks, Harvey. 1987. On the preferences for agreement and contiguity in sequences in conversation. In John R. E. Lee Graham Button (ed.), *Talk and social organisation*, chap. 2, 54–69. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Sacks, Harvey. 1992. *Lectures on conversation*. Gail Jefferson (ed.). Vol. 1 & 2. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Sacks, Harvey, Emanuel A. Schegloff & Gail Jefferson. 1974. A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking for conversation. *Language* 50(4). 696–735.
- Sadock, Jerrold M. & Arnold Zwicky. 1985. Speech act distinctions in syntax. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description*, 155–96. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A. 1968. Sequencing in conversational openings. *American Anthropologist* 70(6). 1075–1095. New Series.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A. 1984. On some questions and ambiguities in conversation. In J. Maxwell Atkinson & John Heritage (eds.), *Structures of social action: Studies in conversation analysis*, 266–98. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A. 1995. Discourse as an interactional achievement III: The omnirelevance of action. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 28(3). 185–211. DOI:[10.1207/s15327973rlsi2803\\_2](https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327973rlsi2803_2)
- Schegloff, Emanuel A. 1998. Body torque. *Social Research* 65(3). 535–96.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A. 2007a. *Sequence organization in interaction: A primer in conversation analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A. 2007b. *Sequence organization in interaction: Volume 1: A primer in conversation analysis*. Vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A. & Harvey Sacks. 1973. Opening up closings. *Semiotica* 8(4). 289–327.
- Searle, John R. 1975. Indirect speech acts. In Peter Cole & Jerry L. Morgan (eds.), *Syntax and semantics*, vol. 3, 59–82. New York, NY: Academic Press.
- Searle, John R. 1976. A classification of illocutionary acts. *Language in Society* 5(1). 1–23.
- Stevanovic, Melisa. 2011. Participants' deontic rights and action formation: The case of declarative requests for action. *InLiSt - Interaction and Linguistic Structures* 53.
- Stevanovic, Melisa & Anssi Peräkylä. 2012. Deontic authority in interaction: The right to announce, propose, and decide. *Research on Language & Social Interaction* 3(45). 297–321.

Kobin H. Kendrick

- Stevanovic, Melisa & Anssi Peräkylä. 2014. Three orders in the organization of human action: On the interface between knowledge, power, and emotion in interaction and social relations. *Language in Society* 02(43). 185–207.
- Stivers, Tanya. 2010. An overview of the question-response system in American English conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics* 42(10). 2772–81.
- Streeck, Jürgen. 2009. *Gesturecraft: The manu-facture of meaning*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Thompson, Sandra A. & Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen. 2005. The clause as a locus of grammar and interaction. *Discourse Studies* 7(4). 481–505. DOI:[10.1177/1461445605054403](https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445605054403)
- Toerien, Merran & Celia Kitzinger. 2007. Emotional labour in action: Navigating multiple involvements in the beauty salon. *Sociology* 41. 645–662.
- Vinkhuyzen, Erik & Margaret H. Szymanski. 2005. Would you like to do it yourself? Service requests and their non-granting responses. In Keith Richards & Paul Seedhouse (eds.), *Applying conversation analysis*, 91–106. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Wootton, Anthony J. 1997. *Interaction and the development of mind*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Zinken, Jörg. 2015. Contingent control over shared goods: Can I have x? Requests in British English informal interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics* 82. 23–38. DOI:[10.1016/j.pragma.2015.03.005](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2015.03.005)
- Zinken, Jörg & Eva Ogiermann. 2013. Responsibility and action: Invariants and diversity in requests for objects in British English and Polish interaction. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 46(3). 256–276.

## Chapter 5

# The recruitment system in Italian

Giovanni Rossi

University of Helsinki

This chapter describes the resources that speakers of Italian use when recruiting assistance from others in everyday social interaction. The chapter draws on data from video recordings of informal conversation in Italian, and reports language-specific findings generated within a large-scale comparative project involving eight languages from five continents (see other chapters of this volume). The resources for recruitment described in this chapter include linguistic structures from across the levels of grammatical organization, as well as gestural and other visible and contextual resources of relevance to the interpretation of action in interaction. The presentation of categories of recruitment, and elements of recruitment sequences, follows the coding scheme used in the comparative project (see Chapter 2 of the volume). This chapter extends our knowledge of the structure and usage of Italian with detailed attention to the properties of sequential structure in conversational interaction. The chapter is a contribution to an emerging field of pragmatic typology.

## 1 Introduction

Social life would not be called such if there weren't a system for people to get one another's help. Whatever their language, people need others to get by in the small and big practicalities of everyday life, be it getting the salt, moving a sofa, or cooking a meal. This chapter documents the main practices that speakers of Italian use to recruit assistance and collaboration, as found in a corpus of video recordings of naturally occurring interaction, analysed as part of the comparative project that is the topic of this volume. After a brief description of the Italian language (§1.1) and of the procedures of data collection (§1.2), the chapter begins by illustrating the basic structure of recruitment sequences (§2). It then surveys



*Giovanni Rossi*

all the major forms of recruitment (§3), from nonverbals, to minimal utterances, to clausal forms (imperatives, interrogatives, declaratives), to the elements that can be added to clausal forms. The chapter then turns to responses, focussing on how their form is fitted to the form of the preceding recruitment (§4), and finally touches also on the use of acknowledgements that expand the recruitment sequence (§5) and on the role of social asymmetries (§6). The conclusion situates the findings in the cross-linguistic perspective pursued in this volume.

## 1.1 The Italian language

Italian is spoken by over 60 million people in Italy, Southern Switzerland, and by migrant communities in several other countries including the United States, France, and Canada (Lewis et al. 2014). Descriptions of the language can be found in many reference and pedagogical grammars (e.g. Lepschy & Lepschy 1988; Aust & Zollo 2006; Maiden & Robustelli 2007).<sup>1</sup> For a usage-based account centred around conversational functions, see also Proudfoot & Cardo (1996). While it is reasonable to treat Italian as one language, most speakers use regional and local varieties that are significantly influenced by the substrate Romance languages which have always coexisted with the national language (see Tosi 2001). The basic word order in all varieties of Italian is SVO, with subject pronouns often dropped. Verbal morphology distinguishes person, number, tense and mood. And also nouns, pronouns, adjectives and articles inflect for gender and number. While Italian has both morphological and syntactic means to distinguish imperatives from other sentence types (see §3.3.2), these are generally not available to distinguish polar interrogative from declarative sentences. This lack, however, is compensated for by a systematic use of distinct intonation contours (see §3.3.3).

A fair amount of research has been done on social interaction in Italian, including studies on family interaction and socialisation (e.g. Sterponi 2003; Fatigante 2007; Galeano & Fasulo 2009; Arcidiacono & Pontecorvo 2010), storytelling (Monzoni & Drew 2009), medical interaction (e.g. Pino & Mortari 2012; Mortari & Pino 2014), and basic domains of social organisation such as gaze behaviour (Rossano 2012), the mobilisation of response (Stivers & Rossano 2010), and the question-response system (Rossano 2010). However, little of this work has focussed on how people get others to do things, one notable exception being a study by Galeano & Fasulo (2009), which explores several aspects of requests between parents and

---

<sup>1</sup> Among the most comprehensive grammars written in Italian are Serianni (1989); Renzi et al. (1991); Dardano & Trifone (1995). Also, the contributions in Sobrero (1993) cover all the main levels of linguistic description, including phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicon and prosody.

## 5 *The recruitment system in Italian*

children, including the use of address terms, preliminary questions, forms of requesting that are more or less coercive, as well as the role of normative reasoning, and the structure of sequences of "concatenated" requests.

More recently, work by the author has produced the first comprehensive study of this domain ([Rossi 2015c](#)), including a classification of alternative forms of recruitment and an account of how they are selected. This research helps to inform the findings reported in the present chapter.

### 1.2 Data collection and corpus

The video corpus on which this work is based was constructed in accordance with a set of guidelines developed by and for the members of the comparative project being reported on in this volume (see the introduction). The video recordings were made by the author between 2009 and 2013 in several locations within the province of Trento and the urban area of Bologna (Northern Italy). The interactions recorded were all informal, among family and friends, and involved not only casual conversation but also everyday activities such as cooking, having meals, playing games. Participants received no instruction other than to go about whatever activity they were engaged in. From this corpus, a total of 15 interactions were sampled, yielding a total of 221 recruitments in 3,5 hours.

### 1.3 A note on transcription

Transcripts are generally left unadorned in terms of phonetic and prosodic details (see [Walker 2004](#): 39–51). Where relevant, such details are transcribed according to the Gesprächsanalytisches Transkriptionssystem 2 (GAT 2) ([Selting et al. 2011](#)).

## 2 Basics of recruitment sequences

As defined in the introduction to this volume ([Rossi, Floyd, & Enfield 2018tv](#)), a recruitment is a basic cooperative phenomenon in social interaction consisting of a sequence of two moves with the following characteristics:

- **Move A:** Participant A does or says something to participant B, or that B can see or hear
- **Move B:** Participant B does a practical action for or with participant A that is fitted to what A just did or said

*Giovanni Rossi*

This is the basic and canonical development of a recruitment sequence, an example of which is given in the following section. Other details of what can happen, including what B can do in Move B to fulfil or reject the recruitment, are illustrated in later sections.

## 2.1 Minimal recruitment sequence

Extract 1 is an example of a typical recruitment sequence. Sergio and Plinio are doing the washing-up. As Sergio finishes rinsing a baking pan, he turns to Plinio, who is wiping cutlery, and makes a recruitment in the form of an imperative (*Plinio asciuga anche questa* 'Plinio dry this one up too', Move A). He then walks to Plinio and hands him the baking pan. In response, Plinio takes the baking pan and begins wiping it on the worktop (Move B).

- (1) CampFamLava\_1518767
- 1 (0.33)
  - ▶ 2 SER Plinio asciuga anche questa ((shakes baking pan over sink))  
NAME dry-IMP.2SG also this  
Plinio dry this one up too
  - 3 SER ((walks to Plinio holding baking pan))
  - ▷ 4 PLI ((takes baking pan from Sergio))
  - 5 PLI ((sets baking pan on worktop and begins wiping it))

In Move A, Sergio uses an imperative, a form that is intimately connected to the act of recruitment by virtue of its semantics, which encodes the speaker's attempt to get another to do something (Lyons 1977: 746–8; Sadock & Zwicky 1985: 170–1). One of the properties of this verbal form is that it expects only the fulfilment of the recruitment, which is what Plinio proceeds to do in Move B. Very often, a recruitment sequence unfolds as an adjacency pair (Schegloff 1968; Schegloff & Sacks 1973), where the fulfilment of a practical action by B is made conditionally relevant, or normatively expected, by what A says or does. In other cases, however, B's practical action is not obliged by the recruitment, but rather occasioned by it, meaning that its absence would not be accountable or sanctionable (see the Floyd, Rossi, & Enfield 2018tv).

## 5 The recruitment system in Italian

## 2.2 Non-minimal recruitment sequence

People are often successful in recruiting others at the first go. But there are times at which a first attempt fails, either because the recruitment is not heard, seen, or understood, or else because it is ignored. In yet other cases, the recruitment may be rejected. Extract 2 gives an example of this, showing how a first attempt at stopping someone from doing something is pursued with further attempts, generating a non-minimal sequence.

During a family dinner, Luca picks up a piece of the dessert before everyone has finished the main course (line 1). Olga, who is sitting across the table from him, notices this and tries to rectify his behaviour with a declarative recruitment (*intanto il dolce si mangia mia adesso* (.) *dopo* 'by the way the dessert is not to be eaten now (.) later', lines 3 and 5). This first attempt is only partially successful: Luca doesn't bite into the pastry yet, but holds it up close to his mouth. He then makes explicit his opposition to the recruitment with a purse hand gesture (Kendon 1995), with all the fingers extended and drawn together so as to be in contact with one another at the tips (Figure 1). This leads Olga to pursue the recruitment with further attempts.

(2) PranzoAlbertoni01\_1837927

- 1 LUC ((picks up a pastry and begins unwrapping it))
- 2 (1.5)
- 3 OLG intanto il dolce si mangia mia adesso  
meanwhile the sweet IM eat-3SG PTC now  
by the way the dessert is not to be eaten now
- 4 (.)/((Luca brings pastry to mouth))
- 5 OLG dopo  
after  
later
- ▷ 6 [((Luca holds up pastry))]
- 7 (1.8)/((Luca looks at Olga))
- 8 (0.6)/((Luca makes 'purse hand' gesture))
- 9 OLG puoi metterlo là 'l dolce ((points to tray))  
can.2SG put=INF=3SG.ACC there the sweet  
can you put the dessert there
- 10 (0.3)
- ▷ 11 LUC perché  
why  
Why?

Giovanni Rossi

- 12 OLG perché si mangia dopo te dao questo ((points to other cake))  
because im eat-3SG after 2SG.DAT give-1SG this  
because it is to be eaten later - I'll give you this
- 13 LUC ma io non lo mangio  
but 1SG.NOM not 3SG.ACC eat-1SG  
Why? But I'm not going to eat it
- 14 (0.6)
- 15 LUC anche se mi piace però  
even if 1SG.DAT please-3SG but  
even though I do like it but
- 16 (1.2)/((Luca eats pastry))
- 17 OLG lo sai cos'è ((points to other cake))  
2SG.ACC know-2SG what=be.3SG  
do you know what it is



Figure 1: Frame from line 8, Extract 2. Luca challenges Olga's recruitment with a purse hand gesture ('what's the problem?!')

Olga's recruitment in lines 3 and 5 is not complied with. Luca does not put the pastry back onto the tray and then makes plain his reluctance with a purse hand gesture, which expresses criticism at the recruitment, calling its motives into question, as in 'what's the problem!?'(Poggi 1983; Kendon 1995). At this point, Olga pursues the recruitment by changing strategy and using an interrogative form instead (*puoi metterlo là 'l dolce* 'can you put the dessert there?', see §3.3.3 below). This other attempt, however, is again unsuccessful. Luca continues his challenge to the recruitment by soliciting an account ('why', line 11). Olga then restates the norm of behaviour invoked a few lines earlier (*perché si mangia dopo* 'because it is to be eaten later') and adds an inducement (*te dao questo* 'I'll give you this'), referring to another cake on the table. Focussing the attention to the second part of Olga's pursuit, Luca rejects it as grounds for complying, on the

## 5 The recruitment system in Italian

account that he is not going to have that other cake ('but I'm not going to eat it', line 13), shortly after which he eventually eats the pastry (line 16).

The development of the sequence shows the relevance of compliance to Olga's recruitment, which she pursues with multiple attempts. This leads to an expansion of the basic two-move structure illustrated by Extract 1.

### 2.3 Subtypes of recruitment sequence

The phenomenon investigated in this project covers a range of social-interactional events that have in common the mobilisation of someone's practical behaviour. As explained in the introduction to this volume, most recruitment sequences can be categorised as belonging to one of four subtypes. The two cases examined in the previous section illustrate services, where B is recruited to perform a manual task (Extract 1), and alterations of trajectory, where B is recruited to stop or change their ongoing behaviour (Extract 2). In this section, I illustrate the two remaining subtypes, starting with object transfers.

Some time before Extract 3 begins, Furio has offered Sofia a piece of his banana. In line 2, she asks him for another piece.

- (3) BiscottiPome01\_2168783
- 1 (1.3)
  - 2 SOF me ne dai un altro pezzo  
1SG.DAT PTV give-2SG one other piece  
will you give me another piece
  - 3 (4.4)
  - 4 SOF per favore  
for favour  
Please
  - 5 (1.4)
  - ▷ 6 FUR ((gives her piece of banana))

Silvia's Move A is first met with silence (Furio seemingly ignores it). This prompts her to pursue the recruitment with the formulaic expression *per favore* 'please'. After another, shorter silence, Furio eventually fulfils the recruitment by giving Sofia another piece of his banana.

The fourth and last subtype of recruitment sequence is trouble assistance, where B steps in to help in response to A's current trouble. In Extract 4, Sergio is dyeing Greta's hair. During the process, a strand of hair rolls down on Greta's face (Figure 2), causing her to suddenly gasp (line 2). As Sergio realises what has hap-

*Giovanni Rossi*

pened (u:h, line 3), he promptly pulls the hair away from Greta's face and folds it back over her head (Figure 3).

(4) Tinta\_1445710

- 1           ((strand of hair falls down on Greta's face))  
► 2 GRE .HHHH ((gasps and tilts head))  
  
3 SER u:h ((looks down))  
▷ 4 SER ((folds hair back over Greta's head))



Figure 2: Frame from line 1, Extract 4. Sergio helps Greta by pulling away the hair from her face

Greta's gasp in line 2 is produced as an instinctive response to the sudden discomfort of dye-soaked hair falling onto her face and possibly into her eye; it is arguably not intended or designed to elicit Sergio's help. What this shares with other Move A behaviours, however, is that it makes visible Greta's need of assistance, and so instigates Sergio to step in. Rather than being solicited, Sergio's help here is volunteered (see also [Kendrick & Drew 2016](#)).

### 3 Formats in move A: the recruitment

It has long been noticed that people are able to get others to do things through a wide range of forms (see the introduction to this volume). In the framework of this project, this means looking at what Participant A can do in Move A. Most of the literature on the topic focuses on verbal strategies. But in face-to-face

5 *The recruitment system in Italian*

Figure 3: Frame from line 4, Extract 4. A strand of hair rolls down on Greta's face

interaction recruitment moves are often a composite of verbal and nonverbal elements, and may also be fully nonverbal. This section surveys the space of options at the disposal of Italian speakers.

### 3.1 Fully nonverbal recruitments

Fully nonverbal recruitments in Italian are much less frequent than recruitments involving speech, making up only about 9% ( $n=20/218$ ) of the cases, a trend seen across the chapters in this volume (see, e.g., Floyd 2018tv).<sup>2</sup> One reason for this is that recruitments can take a fully nonverbal form only in relatively constrained contexts. Extract 5 gives an example. Four friends are playing cards. In line 1, Flavia announces the points that have to be "paid" by her team, that is to say subtracted from the team's previous score. Bianca's request is about the notepad on which the scores are kept.

(5) Circolo01\_402024

- |       |  |
|-------|--|
| 1 FLA | e ades te pago zinquantazin[que<br>and now 2SG.DAT pay-1SG fifty-five<br>and now I'll pay you fifty-five |
| 2 BIA | [si<br>yes   |
| 3     | yes<br>(0.6)   |

<sup>2</sup>This count excludes 3 cases of trouble assistance, where Move A is not designed to recruit B's help, which is rather volunteered (see §2.3).

*Giovanni Rossi*

- 4 FLA [cinquantacinque ((sets cards on the table))  
fifty-five  
Fifty-five]
- 5 BIA [((puts last cards on top of drawing deck))
- 6 BIA ((turns to her left))
- 7 BIA ((extends arm towards notepad and points to it))
  
- ▷ 8 SIL ((turns towards notepad and lifts her arm))  
((takes notepad and passes it to Bianca))



Figure 4: Frame from line 8, Extract 5. As Bianca points to the notepad, Silvia lifts her arm in order to take it and pass it to her

Shortly after approving Flavia’s count (line 2), Bianca turns to the other side of the table, where Silvia is sitting, and gazes in the direction of the notepad, which is visibly out of Bianca’s reach. She extends her arm towards the notepad and points to it (Figure 4). Silvia then picks up the notepad and passes it to Bianca. Note that Silvia can be expected to comply with Bianca’s recruitment in that it is made in contribution to an activity she is currently participating in (see §3.3.2).

The action recruited here is embedded in the ordinary development of the ongoing activity (Rossi 2014). At the end of each game, the points for each team are counted and the scores updated in the game’s record. The last of these steps has been carried out for all previous games by Bianca, who knows the rules best. So when in line 4 Flavia marks the end of the count by setting her cards on the table, the projectable next action is Bianca’s writing down the scores. This is an environment in which Bianca’s pointing to the notepad is all that is needed for Silvia to understand that she is being recruited to pass it.

## 5 The recruitment system in Italian

For a recruitment move to be fully nonverbal, the recruited action has to be projectable by B. A common source of projection in informal interaction is the structure of everyday activities, which sets up expectations about people's actions (see Levinson 1979; Robinson 2013), among others) and is therefore a form of common ground (Clark 1996: 93). This common ground can and should be drawn on by A when recruiting B's assistance or collaboration. When the passing of an object is projectable, as in Extract 5, A can minimise the form of the recruitment by simply making known the wanted object to B and preparing to receive it. Such minimisation is motivated by fundamental principles of human communication (Grice 1975; Levinson 2000). These principles give nonverbal recruitments a potentially shared basis across languages (Rossi et al. *in preparation*).

### 3.2 Nonverbal behaviour in recruitments

Nearly half of recruitment moves in the Italian dataset involve a combination of verbal and nonverbal elements (47%, n=95/203).<sup>3</sup> The types of nonverbal behaviours that co-occur with speech in these recruitments are given in Table 1.

Table 1: Nonverbal behaviours in composite recruitments, ranked by frequency

Type	Frequency (n=95)
Pointing	44% (n=42)
Holding out	11% (n=10)
Iconic gesture	9% (n=9)
Placing	9% (n=9)
Reaching out	5% (n=5)
Other	21% (n=20)

More than half of the nonverbal behaviours fall into three basic types: pointing, holding out an object for B to take and do something with, and reaching out to receive an object. In addition, there are two other types that figure prominently. One is placing an object in a meaningful location for someone to do something with (Clark 2003: 249-50). The other is iconic gestures, which depict the shape of the target object or action.

---

<sup>3</sup>18 cases were excluded from this count in which A is momentarily off camera or hidden by someone else at the time of the recruitment.

*Giovanni Rossi*

Previous research looking at the use of gesture for recruiting assistance and collaboration has mostly focussed on the development of gesture practices in infants, in comparison with apes (Tomasello 2008; Halina et al. 2013; van der Goot et al. 2014; Thorgrimsson 2014; Rossano & Liebal 2014). As a result, this research has been mostly concerned with fully nonverbal recruitments (but see Mondada 2014a,b). However, the broader literature on co-speech gesture contains findings that can be brought to bear on the multimodal composition of recruitments. One of these findings concerns the use of pointing gestures.

When used by speakers to refer to localities, pointing gestures have been shown to take two main forms: "big" and "small" (Enfield et al. 2007). "Big points" are articulated with the whole arm, usually with head and gaze also oriented to the target; "small points", on the other hand, are reduced in size and articulatory effort, with head and gaze less frequently oriented to the target. When accompanying speech, these two pointing forms are functionally distinct. When a "big point" is used, the information in the gesture is the primary, foregrounded component of the message; when a "small point" is used, it is the speech that is informationally foregrounded, with the gesture adding to it in the background. Enfield et al. (2007) show that "big points" occur when the location of a referent is focal (see Lambrecht 1994: chap. 5). Here, the speech typically contains a deictic element (such as 'here', 'there', 'this', 'that') while the gesture supplies the key information - therefore it needs to be maximally accurate. "Small points", on the other hand, occur in a variety of contexts where a referent seems "likely but not certain to be recognisable" (Enfield et al. 2007: 1730). Here, the speech should be sufficient for reference to be secured, but it might not; speakers therefore strike a balance between the risks of under-telling and over-telling (see also Grice 1975; Levinson 2000; Schegloff 2007a: 140) by adding just a bit of extra information in their gesture.

Back to recruitments, the Italian data suggest that the form of pointing gestures in composite recruitments is sensitive to the distinctions proposed by Enfield et al. Compare the following two cases, taken from the same interaction, where friends are making cocktails for a party. When Extract 6 begins, Silvio has just stopped pouring soda in a carafe and is proceeding to add gin. In lines 1-2, however, Bino and Fabio point out that the soda bottle is still more than half full. This works as a recruitment for Silvio to add more soda before adding the gin (line 3). As Silvio picks up the soda bottle again, Fabio makes a second recruitment, aimed at altering the trajectory of his action, by telling him to pour the soda 'in here' - that is, in another carafe. The location of 'here' is supplied by a "big" pointing gesture.

## 5 The recruitment system in Italian

## (6) MasoPome\_2058866

- 1 BIN non è mezza [bozza ancora  
not be.3SG half bottle yet  
it's not yet half bottle
- 2 FAB [sì non è mezza bozza  
yes not be.3SG half bottle  
right it's not half bottle
- 3 SIL ((puts down gin bottle and picks up lemon soda bottle again))
- 4 FAB buttalo giù qua ((points to other carafe))  
throw-IMP.2SG=3SG.ACC down here  
pour it in here
- 5 (1.1)//((Silvio keeps pouring lemon soda in the same carafe))
- 6 FAB buttalo giù lì  
throw-IMP.2SG=3SG.ACC down there  
pour it in there
- 7 SIL aspetta  
wait-IMP.2SG  
wait



Figure 5: Frame from line 4, Extract 6: Fabio makes a "big point" while saying *buttalo giù qua* 'pour it in here' to Silvio

While saying 'pour it in here' (line 4), Fabio makes a "big point", with the arm stretched out and the finger fully extended to pick out the target carafe with precision (Figure 5); his gaze is fixed on the referent. As Silvio doesn't comply immediately (line 5), Fabio repeats the same composite utterance (line 6), changing only the deictic form ('here' > 'there'), and making the same "big point" again.

In Enfield et al.'s terms, we could say that Fabio's recruitment here has a "location focus" (1726): it is about where Silvio should pour the soda; it is designed to direct him to another carafe which he hasn't apparently considered using for the current purpose. A "big point" is therefore fitted to pinpointing the target.

*Giovanni Rossi*

The next case contains another recruitment made by the same person (Fabio), using an analogous verbal form (the imperative), coupled with another pointing gesture - this time, a "small" one.

When Extract 7 begins, the participants are debating over the two different liquors they have on the table to make cocktails: vodka and gin. Fabio and Silvio argue that 'gin is disgusting' (lines 3-4), which is reason for mixing it with a larger quantity of another beverage. Bino's subsequent repair initiation (line 5, 'what do you mean') projects his disagreement with the assessment (see Rossi 2015a: 279, and references therein). To settle the issue, Fabio then makes a recruitment for Bino to taste the gin.

(7) MasoPome\_1912588

- 1 BIN ne fa due in più questa del gin  
PTV make-3SG two in more this of-THE gin  
this contains 2% more alcohol than gin
- 2 (0.6)
- 3 FAB sì vabè ma::[: il gin fa schifo  
es PTC but the gin make-3SG disgust  
yes well but gin is disgusting
- 4 SIL [sì ma il gin fa cagare è quello magari che  
yes but the gin make-3SG shit-INF be.3SG that perhaps REL  
yes but gin is disgusting - that's perhaps what
- 5 BIN come fa cagare  
how make-3SG shit-INF  
what do you mean 'it's disgusting'
- 6 (0.2)
- 7 FAB prova a tastarne en gozat ((points to gin bottle))  
try-IMP.2SG to taste-INF=PTV one drop  
try and taste some
- 8 (.)
- 9 FAB tas[ta  
taste-IMP.2SG  
taste
- 10 BIN [ma no così liscio  
but no like.this straight  
well not straight like this

The form of Fabio's pointing gesture in this case is quite different from the previous: it is articulated with the lower-arm only and with the finger not fully extended (Figure 6). Also, instead of looking at the target throughout, Fabio glances at it only around the gesture's stroke, keeping his gaze on Bino before and after it. The gaze to Bino continues also during the second imperative ('taste', line 9), where notably Fabio does not redo the pointing gesture, unlike in the previous case. All this contributes to characterise Fabio's gesture in line 7 as a "small point", conveying supplemental, probably dispensable information.

## 5 The recruitment system in Italian



Figure 6: Frame from line 7, Extract 7. Fabio makes a "small point" while saying *prova a tastarne en gozat* 'try and taste some' to Bino

The recruitment here is not "location focused"; the matter isn't where something should be put or done, but rather to instigate an action on a referent that has been already topicalised ('try and taste some'). Straight gin is the topic of the lines leading up to the recruitment (lines 3-5). This should make it relatively clear that Fabio is referring to the straight gin contained in the glass bottle with the yellow label (see Figure 6). However, a less likely but still potentially entertainable interpretation of 'some' may be as referring to the gin contained in one of the just-made cocktails (in the green plastic bottles). Here, a "small point" works as an "informational safety net" (Enfield et al. 2007: 1734), available but inconspicuous, provided just in case the reference turned out to be ambiguous.

I conclude this section on composite recruitments with a note on iconic gestures. These gestures are infrequent in recruitment sequences, but Italian speakers use them more than speakers of other languages (9%, n=9/95, see above). Although the numbers in question are small, this finding is consistent with recent studies showing that, in other contexts, Italians use more iconic gestures compared to others (Campisi 2014).

An example of iconic gesture used for recruiting assistance is given below. Before Extract 8 begins, Rocco has tried to get Loretta's attention. Moments later, in line 1, Loretta responds to Rocco's summons. He then makes his recruitment.

## (8) CampFamTavolo\_1803413

- |   |  |                |              |
|---|--|----------------|--------------|
| 1 | BIN dimmi  | scusa          | ((to Rocco)) |
|   | say-IMP.2SG=1SG.DAT  | excuse-IMP.2SG |              |
|   | tell me - sorry  |                |              |
| 2 | (0.9) / ((Rocco makes room for Romeo to sit on banquette)) |                |              |

Giovanni Rossi

- 3 Roc mi passeresti un bicchier d'acqua normale  
   1SG.DAT pass-CND-2SG one glass of=water normal  
   would you pass me a glass of plain water  
 4 LOR ((nods and walks to sink to get water))



Figure 7: Frame from line 3, Extract 8. Rocco makes an iconic gesture while saying *mi passeresti un bicchier d'acqua normale* 'would you pass me a glass of plain water' to Loretta

### 3.3 Verbal elements: construction types and subtypes

In this section, I give an account of the formal variation in the verbal component of recruitments. Italian features all three basic sentence or construction types that are found cross-linguistically: imperatives, interrogatives and declaratives. Although imperatives are the most frequent type, as in all other languages, interrogatives and declaratives are also common. The dataset features also one case of "other" construction type - the protasis or if-clause of a conditional sentence used as a main clause (questo se me lo mettete dentro 'this one if you put it away for me') - which is more frequent in other languages in this volume (see Dingemanse 2018tv). Finally, Italian makes also use of utterances without a predicate. Since the use of such utterances is sensitive to the same criteria described above for fully nonverbal forms (§3.1), I will start with these, and then move up the scale to examine various sentence types and subtypes.

#### 3.3.1 No predicate

In Section 3.1, we saw that people do not use language for recruiting cooperation when the target action is projectable from the development of the activity. How-

## 5 The recruitment system in Italian

ever, projectability is not an all-or-nothing dimension. Besides fully projectable actions, there are also partially projectable actions, some element of which cannot be anticipated by the recruitee and therefore needs to be verbally specified (Rossi 2015c: 54–7).

In Extract 9, the card players we have encountered in Extract 5 above are starting a new game. In line 1, Bianca begins dealing the cards, giving out two at a time.

(9) Circolo01\_1948857

- 1 BIA ((begins dealing cards two at a time))
- 2 FLA [una  
one
- 3 BIA (((places two cards before Silvia))
- 4 FLA una  
one
- 5 BIA ((moves one of the two cards to her side of the table))

As the players themselves have previously discussed, dealing two cards at a time is not ideal, as it increases the chances that cards will cluster in combinations from the prior game. When the extract begins, Bianca has apparently forgotten about this. So Flavia makes a recruitment for her to alter the way she is dealing the cards by saying una 'one'. The first version of Flavia's "naming" is simultaneous with Bianca's dealing another couple of cards to Silvia. This motivates Flavia to repeat it a second time, at which point Bianca complies by moving one of the two cards she has just dealt from Silvia's side of the table to her own.

In this environment, most elements of the recruited action are projectable: the target object (cards) and the action to be done with it (dealing). What is not projectable - since Bianca has got it wrong - is the object's quantity, which is what gets named.

Other "no predicate" cases include nominal references to the object to be passed or manipulated (e.g. *coltello* 'knife'), or to its location (e.g. *quell'altro* 'the other one'), or destination. In all these cases, the form of the recruitment allows the recruiter to verbally specify only what is necessary, leaving out what isn't (see also Mondada 2011; 2014a; Sorjonen & Raevaara 2014).

### 3.3.2 Imperatives

Imperatives are the sentence or construction type that is most frequently used by Italian speakers to recruit assistance and collaboration in everyday informal

*Giovanni Rossi*

interaction (35% of all recruitments, n=77/218, see fn. 2). The Italian language has both morphological and syntactic means to distinguish imperatives from interrogative and declarative sentence types. Dedicated imperative marking exists for the second person singular of verbs in the first conjugation ending in *-are* (e.g. *parl-a* 'speak!' vs. *parl-i* 'you speak', from *parlare*) and for some irregular verbs. Another reliable cue - especially for morphologically ambiguous cases - is the position of pronominal elements in the clause. In interrogative and declarative sentences, pronouns like *mi* 'to/for me' stand as an autonomous phonological word before the verb (*mi leggi un libro* 'you read a book for me'), whereas in imperatives pronouns are positioned after the verb and are enclitic on it (*leggimi un libro* 'read me a book').

We have already encountered cases of imperatives in the previous sections. Extract 1 illustrates the typical environment for this sentence type: before the recruitment, A and B have engaged in a joint activity or project (doing the washing-up) and the recruitment is made within this joint project, to solicit an action that contributes to it (*Plinio asciuga anche questa* 'Plinio dry this one up too').

We have also seen that imperatives are not the only form occurring in such environments. Similar recruitments that further a joint project may also be formatted nonverbally (Extract 5) or without a predicate (Extract 9). In order to be understood, nonverbal and no predicate recruitments require the full or partial projectability of the target action. The use of an imperative, on the other hand, is sensitive to the action being not projectable. Extract 1 serves again to illustrate this. When Sergio makes his recruitment for Plinio to dry up the baking pan, Plinio is wiping cutlery (Figure 8), which is being passed to him on the worktop by another person. Drying up the baking pan is not a projectable next action at this point of the activity; it has to be "slotted into" what Plinio is currently doing (Rossi 2014: 318). This motivates Sergio to use a clausal form that fully specifies the target action.

Consider another similar case, which can be directly compared with the non-verbal and no predicate recruitments in Extracts 5 and 9. During the same card game, Flavia has just drawn a card that allows her to lay down a first combination (lines 1-2). Upon inspecting the cards played by Flavia, Bianca indicates a problem (line 4). She leans across the table and counts the cards while pointing at them (line 6) and then, after a brief pause, tells Flavia to 'put down another double', which is needed to complete the combination. Moments later, Flavia fulfils the recruitment by laying down two sevens (line 11).

(10) Circolo01\_677062

## 5 The recruitment system in Italian



Figure 8: Frame from line 2, Extract 1. Sergio says 'Plinio dry this one up too' while Plinio is wiping cutlery

- 1 FLA [una due tre quattro (che) te l'ho pescada (.) to  
one two three four (CN) 2SG.DAT 3SG.ACC=have-1SG draw-PSTP ITJ  
one two three four - I've finally drawn it here we go
- 2 FLA ((lays down cards in a new combination))
- 3 CLA ah [per-  
oh because  
oh bec-
- 4 BIA [no: ((leans forward across the table))  
no:
- 5 SIL por[ca miseria  
piggy misery  
holy cow
- 6 BIA [due quattro:: ((points to and counts cards))  
two four  
two four  
7 (1.2)
- 8 BIA meti zo 'n altro ambo ((keeps pointing to cards))  
put-NPST-2SG down one other double  
put down another double
- 9 (2.5)//((Flavia looks at cards in her hand))
- 10 FLA de sete 'l g'ho  
of seven 3SG.ACC EXT=have-1SG  
I have one of sevens  
- ((10 seconds omitted))
- 11 FLA ((lays down a double of sevens))

Bianca makes her imperative recruitment after Flavia has laid down an illegal combination of cards. The recruitment is aimed at solving a problem that has arisen during the game, but that was not projected by its structure. After Bianca first raises the problem ('no:', line 4), Flavia's silence indicates her uncertainty

*Giovanni Rossi*

as to how to proceed. Also, the fact that Bianca needs to count the cards before she can instruct Flavia (line 6) shows that the next relevant action is hard to anticipate. Here Bianca's pointing to the incriminated cards (cf. Extract 5) would not be enough for Flavia to understand what to do next. The recruited action needs to be fully articulated.

In sum, the imperative form is typically used to solicit actions that contribute to an already established joint project and that cannot be projected from its advancement. The imperative so used is usually bare and unmitigated (Rossi 2017). Other less frequent uses of the imperative are more likely to be mitigated by additional elements (see (§3.4)).

### 3.3.3 Interrogatives

Interrogatives are the second most frequent sentence type after imperatives (23% of all recruitments, n=50/218, see fn. 2). This sets Italian - together with English (see Kendrick 2018tv) - apart from all the other languages in this volume, where interrogatives are much less common (cf., e.g., Baranova 2018tv, Dingemanse 2018tv, Zinken 2018tv, among others).

Italian has generally no morphosyntactic means to distinguish polar interrogatives from declaratives.<sup>4</sup> This lack, however, is compensated for by a systematic use of intonation. In the variety of Italian represented in this corpus - Trentino Italian - polar questions are normally produced with either a rise-fall or a rise from low contour, both of which are distinct from the falling contours used for statements. A more detailed presentation of these contours can be found in Rossi (2015a, forthcoming). These contours fulfil a criterion of formal distinguishability between sentence types in that they "form a system of alternative choices that are mutually exclusive" (König & Siemund 2007: 278). On this account, I refer to utterances systematically produced with contours for questions as interrogatives.

There are three main subtypes of interrogative used for recruiting assistance and collaboration in Italian, which occur in different environments. The most

---

<sup>4</sup>Some Romance languages that coexist with Italian, however, do have these means (Lusini 2013). In the Trentino language, for example, which is occasionally spoken in the present corpus, polar interrogatives and declaratives are distinguished by the position of subject pronominal elements: pre-verbal (*te gai* 'you have') versus post-verbal (*ga-t* 'do you have'). Before Italian was introduced as the national language, Trentino was the predominant language in the north-eastern province of the same name. Similarly to other Romance languages such as Lombard, Neapolitan, Sicilian and Venetian, it is nowadays in a diglossic – or rather “dilalic” (Berruto 1987) – relation with the national language, while still constituting the substrate that influences its local variety (Trentino Italian).

## 5 The recruitment system in Italian

frequent subtype is what I refer to as the simple interrogative - an utterance that does not contain any modal verb and simply asks if the recipient will do a certain action (Rossi 2015c: chap. 3). This is illustrated in the following extract, where a group of friends are playing cards. Before the extract begins, Franco has torn off a piece of paper from a kitchen roll to blow his nose. As he finishes blowing his nose (line 2), he picks up his cards (line 4) and reengages in the game. This is the context in which Beata makes the recruitment.

## (11) CampUniTaboo01\_172458

- 1 FLO [ho detto magari tocca a me= have-1SG say-PSTP perhaps touch-3SG to 1SG.DAT  
I thought perhaps it's my turn  
2 [((Franco finishes blowing nose))  
3 FLO =e non me ne sono accorta and not RFL PTV be.1SG become.aware-PSTP  
and I didn't realize it  
4 ((Franco turns back to table and picks up his cards))  
► 5 BEA mi (b-) ^DAi anche a me un 1SG.DAT (b-) give-2SG also to 1SG.DAT one will you give a piece of kitchen paper to me too  
▷ 6 FRA [sì ((turns to get))  
Yes

Unlike the imperative and no predicate recruitments examined above, Beata's recruitment is not part of any joint project with her recruitee; it is disconnected from what he is doing. When the recruitment is made, Franco has just repositioned his body facing the other players, thereby reengaging in the game. Turning back to get another piece of kitchen paper requires him to disengage again from the game to do an action unrelated to it. When a simple interrogative is used, this relation of discontinuity typically correlates with the fact that the recruited action - unlike one solicited within a joint project - is in the interest of the requester as an individual. Rather than contributing to a shared goal, the action benefits the recruiter alone (see Rossi 2012; 2015c: chap. 3).

Another subtype of interrogative is *puoi x* 'can you x' - a modal construction with a verb encoding ability inflected for second person, which we have already encountered in Extract 2 (*puoi metterlo là 'l dolce* 'can you put the dessert there', line 9). Much like in simple interrogative sequences, actions recruited through *puoi x* 'can you x' normally constitute a departure from what the recruitee is currently doing. What motivates the use of *puoi x*, however, is the anticipation of the recruitee's unwillingness to comply, which is absent from simple interrogative sequences. In Extract 2, Olga asks Luca if he can put the dessert back to the tray (line 9) after he has displayed his resistance to postponing eating it (lines 6-8). By using a *puoi x* interrogative, Olga recognises the problematic nature of the

*Giovanni Rossi*

recruitment and attempts to overcome the recruiter's unwillingness, appealing to his cooperation (Rossi 2015c: chap. 4).

The third main subtype of interrogative found in Italian is *hai x* 'do you have x' - a construction built around the auxiliary verb *avere* 'have' inflected for second person, asking if the recipient is in possession of an object (Rossi 2015b). In Extract 12, a group of people are hanging out in the living room. Snacks and drinks are on the table, including beer and juice, but not milk.

(12) DopoProve09-2\_293350

- 1 MAG Ada  
NAME  
Ada
- 2 ADA ((looks up))
- 3 MAG ^HAI un goccio di ^LAtte  
have-2SG one drop of milk  
do you have a bit of milk
- 4 (0.5)
- ▷ 5 ADA mh mh[::: ((nods))
- 6 MIN [vuoi il succo ((to Magda))  
want-2SG the juice  
do you want juice?
- 7 (0.5)
- 8 MAG [no grazie (\-)  
no thanks (\-)  
no thanks
- ▷ 9 ADA [((stands up and walks to kitchen))

In line 1, Magda addresses Ada - the group's host - and asks if she has milk, which is not among the beverages available on the table. Ada responds to Magda's *hai x* with a positive polar element (mh mh, line 6), accompanied by nodding, and shortly afterwards proceeds to fulfil the request (line 10).

The availability of an object is a precondition - that is, a necessary requirement - for it to be shared, passed, or manipulated by someone. The function of a *hai x* 'do you have x' interrogative is to check availability when this is uncertain, for example because the object is not visible, like in Extract 12. This subtype of interrogative, in other words, works as a pre-request (Sacks 1992: 685; Schegloff 1980: 114; Levinson 1983: 356). Forms such as *hai x* 'do you have x' functioning as pre-requests are found also in other languages in this volume (see, e.g., Floyd 2018tv). Preparing the ground for a prospective recruitment by checking a precondition for it therefore seems to be a cross-linguistically relevant concern (Rossi et al. in preparation). If the target object is available, Italian recruits often respond to a

## 5 The recruitment system in Italian

*hai x* 'do you have x' pre-request by fulfilling the projected recruitment immediately (Rossi 2015b; see also Fox 2015), as Ada does in Extract 12. Other response affordances of this form are illustrated in Section 4.2.

To conclude this section, all subtypes of interrogative make the fulfilment of the recruitment contingent upon the recruitee's response. This distinguishes interrogatives from imperative recruitments, which instead assume compliance. One reason for not assuming compliance is that the recruited action is unconnected to what the recruitee is doing and, rather than contributing to a joint project, serves an individual goal of the recruiter. This is when a simple interrogative is normally used. If, in addition to this, the recruiter anticipates that the recruitee may be unwilling to comply, he or she can select a semantically and syntactically more complex interrogative - *puoi x* 'can you x' - to recognise the problematic or delicate nature of the recruitment. Finally, a third reason for not assuming compliance is that the precondition for a recruitment is uncertain. When the target object may not be available, recruiters use a *hai x* 'do you have x' interrogative to check on it.

### 3.3.4 Declaratives

Declarative recruitments in Italian are as frequent as interrogatives (22% of all recruitments, n=49/218, see fn. 2), and noticeably more frequent compared to most other languages in this volume (see also Zinken 2018tv on Polish). Like interrogatives, declarative forms of recruitment in Italian fall into three main subtypes. The first is constituted by modal constructions that state an obligation or desire referred to a specific person, which can be termed personal modal declaratives. The most common form within this subtype is *devi x* 'you have to x' - a construction that encodes obligation marked for second person, translatable as 'you have to x' or 'you must x'. An example of this is given below.

Sofia and Furio are making biscuits in Furio's kitchen. Before the extract begins, Sofia has left the table to weigh some of the ingredients on the scales. In line 1, she complains that she is having a problem turning the scales on.

#### (13) BiscottiMattina01\_3000055

- 1 SOF non si accende non so ((fiddles with scales))  
not RFL turn.on-3SG not know-1SG  
it doesn't turn on - I don't know
- 2 FUR devi cliccare:: [plurime volte]  
must-2SG click-INF multiple times  
you have to press:: multiple times
- 3 SOF [mh mh ((presses button again))

*Giovanni Rossi*

4	SOF	fatto			
		done			
		Done			
5	FUR	devi	convincerla		
		must-2SG	convince-INF=3SG.ACC		
		you have to	persuade	it	

Furio's recruitment is responsive to Sofia's trouble. As she fiddles with the scales and signals her problem, Furio instructs her on how to solve it. Sofia then complies (line 3) and announces that she has succeeded (line 4). Note that, after the recruitment sequence is complete, Furio uses again the same *devi x* 'you have to x' form to reiterate how Sofia should handle the scales (line 5). While still connected to what Sofia has just done, in this position the instruction does no longer refer to a here-and-now action, but has broader relevance. This use betokens the functional distinction of *devi x* relative to other recruitment forms that may be found in similar environments. Similarly to the imperative, this form is typically used to solicit actions that contribute to an undertaking that has been committed to by the recruitee (see §3.3.2). What appears to distinguish imperative and *devi x* recruitments, however, is the scope or temporal applicability of what the recruitee is directed to do. While imperatives are used to request one-off actions, limited to the here-and-now, *devi x* declaratives function as more general or "global" directives, which go beyond the local circumstances and are applicable in the future (see Parry 2013; Raevaara 2017). Pressing the scales' button multiple times to turn them on is relevant not only for the current purpose, but more generally every time Sofia will have to operate it.

The second subtype of declarative is constituted by impersonal deontic declaratives like *bisogna x* 'it is necessary to x', which state the obligation or necessity to do an action without tying it to any particular individual.<sup>5</sup> The use of impersonal deontic declaratives is interactionally complex and can't be dealt with at length here (for a more comprehensive account, (see Rossi & Zinken 2016)). But one important affordance of this form is that it can make participation in the necessary action negotiable. This means that different people might have to sort out who will take on the action.

In Extract 14 Sergio, Greta and Dino are chatting in a kitchen while Sergio dyes Greta's hair. Before the extract begins, Greta has asked Sergio to remove a 'thingy' from her forehead, which turns out to be a wisp of hair (line 1). Sergio realises that the hair has glued up because some dye has run down on Greta's fore-

---

<sup>5</sup>Grammatically, this can be achieved either by using an impersonal verb (e.g. *bisogna tagliare il pane* 'it is necessary to') or by an intransitive construction with a non-human subject (e.g. *c'è il pane da tagliare* 'the bread is to be cut').

## 5 The recruitment system in Italian

head. This leads him to make a recruitment using an impersonal deontic declarative.

(14) Tinta\_2051380

- 1 SER [questo- ((gets hold of wisp of hair))  
this-
- this-
- 2 GRE [(eh non lo so) c'ho un coso  
(PTC not 3SG.ACC know-1SG) EX=have-1SG a thingy  
(well dunno) I've got a thingy'
- 3 SER scusa sì bisogna pu[lire:: anche la crema dalla fronte  
sorry yes necessitate-3SG clean-INF also the cream from-the forehead  
sorry yes it is necessary also to wipe away:: the dye from the forehead'
- 4 DIN [((turns and reaches)) faccio io  
do.1SG 1SG.NOM
- I'll do it
- 5 GRE [((reaches out for kitchen paper

Wiping away the dye here could be done by any of the three participants, including the recruiter himself. For one thing, Sergio is the one most immediately involved in the dyeing process, and responsible for having let the dye drip on Greta's forehead, as indicated by his apology *scusa* 'sorry'. While saying the word *bisogna* 'it is necessary to', Sergio moves a hand towards the table, possibly in the direction of the kitchen paper, but then hesitates. At the same time, he gazes at Dino, and in so doing invites him to get involved (see Stivers & Rossano 2010; Rossano 2012: chap. 3, among others). Dino is arguably in a better position to do the cleaning than Sergio, because Sergio is wearing gloves that are stained with dye. Also, Dino has already assisted Sergio earlier in the interaction, including seeing to side tasks such as cleaning. So, in response to this situation, Dino volunteers his help (line 4). But, as he reaches for the kitchen paper, the third participant, Greta, gets to it before him and proceeds to wipe her own forehead.

This example shows that an impersonal deontic declarative such as *bisogna x* 'it is necessary to x' doesn't constrain participation in the recruited action, and so can make a response relevant for multiple people. Although sometimes the responsibility for the action in question falls on a specific person (see Rossi & Zinken 2016), an impersonal deontic declarative has the potential to generate a negotiation of who the doer is eventually going to be.

The last declarative subtype can be referred to as "factual descriptions". These are non-modal declaratives that describe a certain state of affairs in the near environment, often the lack of something (e.g. *manca sale* 'there isn't enough salt') or the reaching of a stage in a process (e.g. *bolle l'acqua* 'the water is boiling'). Like impersonal deontic declaratives, factual descriptions don't specify a recruitee. In addition, they also don't specify any target action. Rather, the requester relies

*Giovanni Rossi*

on the requestee's ability to infer the target action from what is reported. Utterances like these have been traditionally referred to as "indirect requests" or "hints", which allow the speaker to not commit to a request intention, and to instead leave the interpretation up to the recipient, thus also the option not to be involved (Ervin-Tripp 1976: 42; Brown & Levinson 1987: 216; see also Weizman 1989). Recent research by the author shows that the use of factual descriptions is not simply a matter of indirectness, but rather of accomplishing more interactional work than just getting another person to act (Rossi 2013). In everyday interaction, one function that factual descriptions often have in addition to recruiting cooperation is to inform the recipient.

In Extract 15, Mirko is working with others in the kitchen. At the beginning of the extract, Emma walks in, addresses Mirko, and tells him that the 'feed drip has finished', referring to the intravenous drip being administered to a relative of theirs in another room.

(15) Camillo\_ 2039498

- 1 EMM Mirko  
NAME  
Mirko
- 2 MIR sì  
yes  
Yes
- 3 (0.5)
- 4 EMM volevo dirte che è finì la flebo  
want-IPF-1SG say-INF=2SG.DAT CMP be.3SG finish-PSTP the feed.drip  
I wanted to let you know that the feed drip has finished
- 5 (0.3)
- 6 MIR a::h  
ITJ  
o::h
- 7 (0.8)
- 8 MIR buono possiamo liberare la Milena allora  
good can-1PL free-INF the NAME then  
good we can release Milena then
- 9 EMM eh  
ITJ  
right

The focal content of Emma's turn ('the feed drip has finished') is prefaced by a formulation of the turn as an informing ('I wanted to tell you that'). This characterisation of Emma's action is consonant with Mirko's first response (line 6) in the form of a change-of-state token a::h 'o::h' (Heritage 1984b), which signals that his state of knowledge has changed and thus receipts the information reported by Emma as news. A moment later, Mirko expands his response with another unit,

## 5 The recruitment system in Italian

which includes an assessment of the news as 'good' and then a commitment to going and nursing Milena in her bedroom ('we can release Milena then'), showing his understanding of Emma's action not only as an informing but also as a recruitment.

So factual descriptions often inform the recruitee about something they don't know, which is at the same time reasons for taking a certain action. Unlike impersonal deontic declaratives, which may not be equally available in other languages (see Zinken & Ogiemann 2011), this recruitment form is potentially universal: any language will provide its speakers with resources to describe states of affairs or events in the near environment, relying on another's ability to infer the recruited action from what is reported (see, e.g., Dingemanse 2018tv, cf. Brown & Levinson 1987).

### 3.4 Additional verbal elements

This section looks at verbal elements in the recruitment turn besides core grammatical constituents, that is, the predicate with its core arguments (see the introduction and coding scheme). Across languages, additional elements tend to fall into four main categories: vocatives (e.g. *Plinio asciuga anche questa* 'Plinio dry this one up too', Extract 1), benefactives (e.g. *tienimi questi un attimo* 'hold these for me one second'), explanations, and mitigators or strengtheners. The following subsections focus on the latter two categories and illustrate them in the context of imperative recruitments, to make comparison easier with cases in earlier sections.

#### 3.4.1 Explanations

Explanations, accounts, or more generally reason-giving occurs at various places in interaction (see Goodwin 1987; Drew 1998; Antaki 1994; Waring 2007; Parry 2009; Bolden & Robinson 2011). In recruitment sequences, explanations make reference to states of affairs or events that are grounds for the recruitment to be made, or that make it more understandable or warranted (see Parry 2013; Baranova & Dingemanse 2016; Rossi 2017).<sup>6</sup> In Extract 16, a group of people is doing the washing-up in the kitchen of a holiday camp. Plinio and Rocco are in charge of drying the dishes that others are washing. While waiting for the next round of clean dishes to dry, Plino picks up a dishwasher tray and asks if it is going to

---

<sup>6</sup>In order to count as an additional element rather than a stand-alone recruitment (cf. §3.3.4), the explanation must be built into a recruitment turn constructed around another main clause, forming a single package with it (see the coding scheme).

*Giovanni Rossi*

be used again (line 1). After Agnese responds 'no', Plinio puts the tray away (line 4). Shortly after this, Rocco tells Plinio to put away another tray that is lying on the floor.

(16) CampFamLava\_591294

- 1 PLI ((holds up white tray)) questo servirà ancora  
this serve-FUT-3SG again/still  
is this going to be used again
- 2 (2.1)
- 3 AGN no
- 4 no  
(5.0)/((Plinio puts tray away))
- 5 (9.5)/((Plinio wanders between sink and dishwasher))
- 6 Roc metti via anche quello lì giallo  
put-NPST-2SG away also that there yellow  
put away that yellow one too
- 7 Roc che se no gli pestiam sopra  
CON if no 3SG.DAT step-1P1 above  
otherwise we're going to step on it
- 8 PLI ((picks up yellow tray and puts it away))

The recruitment is made within a joint project in which both recruiter and recruitee are involved (see §3.3.2). The explanation appended to the imperative, constructed with first person plural, indicates that the recruitment is made in the interest of both participants, pointing out an unwanted consequence that the recruited action is aimed at preventing, and thus articulating and specifying its contribution to the ongoing joint project. Of 17 explanations added to imperative recruitments in the Italian sample, 13 have an analogous function. For an account of the contexts in which explanations are added, see Baranova & Dingemanse (2016) and Baranova (2018tv).

### 3.4.2 Mitigators

Recruitments can be modulated so as to soften or emphasise the imposition or urgency of the recruited action (see Brown & Levinson 1987; Blum-Kulka et al. 1989). The following case gives us an example of softening or mitigation.

Extract 17 is taken from the same card game as several cases above. Teammates Bianca and Flavia are consulting on their next move, while Clara and Silvia are waiting for their turn to come. In line 3, Silvia takes a piece of cake from a shared plate on the table. This occasions Clara's recruitment.

(17) Circolo01\_1270484

## 5 The recruitment system in Italian

- 1 BIA se te ghe n'hai doi  
if SCL EX PTV=have-2SG two  
if you have two of them
- 2 FLA no no ghe n'ho doi no  
no not EX PTV=have-1SG two no  
no I don't have two of them
- 3 (1.9)/((Silvia takes a piece of cake))
- 4 CLA dame quel migolin li valà per piazer ((points to cake))  
give-IMP.2SG=1SG.DAT that crumble there PTC for favour  
'give me that tiny piece there please *valà* (~ will you)
- ▷ 5 SIL ((passes cake to Clara))
- 6 CLA grazie  
thanks

The recruitment turn includes two mitigators: *per piazer* 'please' and *valà*, a particle found in Northern varieties of Italian, which in this context can be rendered with the English tag 'will you' - an appeal to the recipient's benevolent understanding. Both these elements mark the recruitment as requiring some kind of redress (Brown & Levinson 1987). Such mitigators are normally not found in imperative recruitments of the kind represented by Extracts 1,10 and 16. Unlike *meti zo 'n altro ambo* 'put down another double' (Extract 10), which is made during the same interaction, the imperative recruitment here does not contribute to the progress of the card game. It is made to obtain a good to be consumed by the recruiter alone, much like the simple interrogative recruitment in Extract 11 (*mi dai anche a me un pezzo di scottex* 'will you give a piece of kitchen paper to me too'). For an account of the distinction between unmitigated imperatives, mitigated imperatives, and simple interrogative recruitments, see Rossi (2017).

To sum up this whole Section §3, I have surveyed a range of verbal and nonverbal resources that speakers of Italian have at their disposal for making recruitments. Like in other languages, this repertoire includes fully nonverbal forms, the selection of which is constrained to contexts that afford the projectability of the recruited action. If language is needed to specify the action, Italian speakers calibrate the verbal component of the recruitment from namings (e.g. *una* 'one') to full clauses (*meti zo 'n altro ambo* 'put down another double'). The selection of alternative clausal types (imperative, interrogative, declarative) and sub-types is sensitive to a range of factors including the sequential and functional relation of the recruitment to what the recruitee is currently doing, the benefit brought by the recruited action, the availability of objects, the recruitee's anticipated unwillingness, the potentially open participation in the recruited action, and the implementation of further actions besides recruiting. I have also made some preliminary observations about the combination of a recruitment's verbal

*Giovanni Rossi*

component with different types of nonverbal action, including iconic and especially pointing gestures. Finally, the verbal component can be enriched beyond the main predicate and its core arguments with additional elements including accounts that articulate the contribution of the recruitment to an ongoing joint project and mitigators that modulate alternative uses of the imperative.

## 4 Formats in move B: the response

Move B is a fundamental component of recruitment sequences. It is what it minimally takes to make the sequence complete. This is true not only for cases in which a response is normatively expected, but also for cases where the recruitee's uptake is crucial in characterising an ambiguous Move A as a recruitment, by treating it as such. Just like Move A, Move B can include verbal and/or nonverbal behaviour. Because the point of a recruitment sequence is mobilising practical action, fulfilment obviously involves nonverbal behaviour. And this is often all that is needed. At other times, however, responders add verbal elements. We will see that the presence and form of these verbal elements can tell us something about the nature of Move A. Finally, when Move B is only verbal, it normally indicates a problem, conveying that fulfilment is either not straightforward (initiation of repair, deferral) or not forthcoming at all (rejection).

### 4.1 Fully nonverbal responses

The most frequent modality of Move B is fully nonverbal (49.7%, n=101/203). This is illustrated by several examples above, many of which feature an imperative recruitment (Extracts 1,6,10,16,17). The imperative has been shown to be a form of recruitment that expects only fulfilment (Wootton 1997; Craven & Potter 2010; Rossi 2012; 2015c: chap. 3), so doing the recruited action without adding any verbal element can be considered as a "type-conforming response" to it (Raymond 2003). Nonverbal fulfilment is also frequent after nonverbal recruitments (Extract 5) and namings (Extract 9). Verbal elements come into play when the work done by Move B goes beyond fulfilment. This happens especially when Move A is formatted as an interrogative or declarative.

## 5 The recruitment system in Italian

### 4.2 Verbal elements of responses

#### 4.2.1 Complying

Interrogatives are a form of recruitment that is legitimately responded to with acceptance before fulfillment or with a negative answer (Wootton 1997; Craven & Potter 2010; Rossi 2012; 2015c). Unlike an imperative, an interrogative conveys that the recruitee's compliance is not assumed (cf. Searle 1975: 74; Ervin-Tripp 1976: 60; Wierzbicka 1991: 159, among others). In Italian, the canonical way to accept a recruitment is with a positive polar element, that is, with words that confirm a proposition (e.g. *sì* 'yes', *certo* 'sure').<sup>7</sup> In Extract 11, for example, Franco says *sì* 'yes' before fulfilling Bianca's simple interrogative recruitment. Although interrogative recruitments are not always accepted before being fulfilled, they are significantly more likely to be than other forms like imperatives (Rossi 2015c: chaps.3–4).

Among interrogative forms, something more should be said about *hai x* 'do you have x' interrogatives. Like simple and *puoi x* 'can you x' interrogatives, they make fulfilment contingent on the recruitee's response. But they do so in a different way. In Section §3.3.3, we saw that a *hai x* interrogative functions as a pre-request checking a precondition for the recruitment. This affords two types of responses that support the accomplishment of the sequence: one is immediate fulfilment, optionally combined with a positive polar element (see Extract 12); the other is the go-ahead response (Schegloff 2007b: 30; Rossi 2015b), confirming that the precondition obtains without going on to fulfil the recruitment. An example of this is given in the following extract.

(18) Circolo01\_2718316

- |   |     |   |                                  |
|---|-----|---|----------------------------------|
| 1 | SIL | ghe nat<br>EX PTV=have-2SG=2SG.SCL                      | ((points to a card combination)) |
|   |     | do you have any   |                                  |
| 2 | CLA | una<br>one<br>one                                       |                                  |
| 3 | SIL | damela<br>give-IMP.2SG=1SG.DAT=3SG.ACC<br>give it to me |                                  |
| 4 | SIL | ((passes card))   |                                  |

Clara responds to Silvia's *hai x* by asserting that she has one unit of the target object ('one'). This invites Silvia to produce another first pair part, this time in the

---

<sup>7</sup>Note that polar elements may also be nonverbal. In Extract 8, before Loretta fulfils Rocco's recruitment, she accepts it with a head nod, which has a confirmative function comparable to 'yes'.

*Giovanni Rossi*

form of an imperative, which is eventually responded to with fulfilment (see also Merritt 1976; Levinson 1983: chap. 6; Schegloff 2007b: chap. 4). For an account of expanded sequences like this, see Rossi (2015b).

If interrogatives allow for two alternative types of verbal responses, declarative forms of recruitment have been shown to offer an even wider, relatively open space of options (Vinkhuyzen & Szymanski 2005; Rossi & Zinken 2016). We have already seen examples of these options in earlier sections. In Extract 15, Mirko responds to Emma's description with two distinct responses that take up two different actions implemented by the description: the change of state token ah 'oh' (line 6) treats what Emma has told him as news, and the subsequent commitment to releasing Milena from the feed drip (line 8) orients to it as a recruitment. And in Extract 14, Dino responds to Sergio's *bisogna x* 'it is necessary to x' declarative by volunteering to do the necessary action: *faccio io* 'I'll do it' (line 4).

The following extract illustrates yet another response option afforded by declarative recruitments: agreement. Fabio, Rino and other friends are planning activities for a holiday camp. Prior to this extract, they have considered several excerpts from a book to read together, and it is now time for these excerpts to be typed up on the computer. Fabio has just volunteered to dictate them to Rino. His question in line 1 'which one should we write up first' implies that all the excerpts that they have considered will eventually be included.

(19) Precamp01\_831126

- |     |     |  |
|-----|-----|--|
| 1   | FAB | no qual            è            che mettiam giù prima<br>no which.one be.3sg. CMP put.1PL. down before<br>well so which one should we write up first |
| 2   | RIN | eh no bisogna            sceglierle<br>PTC no necessitate.3SG. choose.INF=3PL.ACC.<br>well no it is necessary to make a selection                    |
| ► 3 | FAB | eh esatto (.) bisogna            scegliere<br>PCL exactly (.) necessitate.3sg choose.INF<br>right exactly it is necessary to make a selection        |
| 4   |     | ((points to one sheet))  |

Rino's recruitment in line 2 is for everyone to collaborate in making a selection of excerpts. Before beginning to comply with the recruitment by pointing to one of the excerpts (line 4), Fabio says eh esatto 'right exactly': he agrees with the view of the world expressed by Rino's statement. He then strengthens his agreement with a near-verbatim repeat of the statement, a practice that is elsewhere used to assert one's epistemic right over what is said (Stivers 2005; cf. Schegloff 1996).

5 *The recruitment system in Italian*

## 4.2.2 Rejecting

Another function of verbal elements in Move B is to tender rejections. Rejections are a dispreferred second pair part to a recruitment, which works against the accomplishment of the course of action, constituting a potential threat to social solidarity (see Heritage 1984a: 265–80; Brown & Levinson 1987; Schegloff 2007b: chap. 5). The dispreferred status of rejections is reflected in their design. Consider the following cases.

## (20) Capodanno02\_655722

- 1 EVA ma meteghe 'l coso prima  
but put.NPST.2SG=DAT the thingy before  
but put the thingy first'
- 2 (0.7)
- 3 ADA ma: pensavo sora  
but put.NPST.2SG=DAT the thingy before  
but: I was thinking to put it on top
- 4 EVA ah [vabem  
oh PTC  
oh okay
- 5 ADA [sora l'è pu gudurioso  
above SCL=be.3SG more pleasurable  
on top is more delicious

## (21) BiscottiPome01\_1884369

- 1 AZI Furio mi presti le chiavi del garage  
NAME 1SG.DAT lend-2SG the keys of-the garage  
Furio will you lend me your garage keys
- 2 (3.6)
- 3 AZI non ce le ho  
not EX 3PL.ACC have-1SG  
I don't have mine
- 4 (0.3)
- 5 FUR eh öh eh sono mi- anche le mie chiavi di cat- di casa  
PTC uh PTC be.3PL m- also the my keys of ho- of house  
well uh well they're m- also my c- house keys

These two cases illustrate some of the typical features of dispreferred responses that have been extensively documented in the literature: prefatory particles (ma 'but', eh 'well'), hesitations (uh), and most importantly the provision of reasons for not complying. These features are normally present in negative responses to recruitments in various forms, including imperatives (Extract 20) and simple interrogatives (Extract 21).<sup>8</sup> But now consider the following case, where the recruitment is formatted as a *hai x 'do you have x'* interrogative.

<sup>8</sup>See also the rejections to the *pui x 'can you x'* interrogative in Extract 2 and to the impersonal deontic declarative in Extract 23 below.

*Giovanni Rossi*

(22) Circolo01\_2718316

- 1 SIL suo ((points to Clara))  
hers  
it's hers  
2 (0.66)
- 3 FLA öh ti ghe nat ((to Bianca))  
uh 2SG.NOM EX PTV=have-2SG=2SG.SCL  
uh do you have any
- 4 BIA no ((shakes head))  
no

Like in the previous two cases, Bianca's no 'no' is structurally dispreferred, in that it does not support the accomplishment of the course of action initiated by the recruitment. Yet it lacks all the features seen above. The explanation for this lies in the nature of the particular action performed by a *hai x* 'do you have x' interrogative. In Section §3.3.3, we saw that pre-requests check a precondition for a recruitment, or better, a request to be made successfully. This means that a negative response to the pre-request is not a response to the projected request, in other words, it is not a rejection, but rather a blocking response (Schegloff 2007b:30). A blocking response reports on a state of affairs that prevents the further development of the activity - in the case of *hai x* 'do you have x', the unavailability of an object - which is normally beyond the control of the recruitee, and therefore not a matter of disposition or uncooperative behaviour. For this reason, the negative response doesn't need to be mitigated (Rossi 2015b).

The last example of this section illustrates a particular form of rejection that is made available by declarative forms of recruitment - in this case, a *bisogna x* 'it is necessary to x' declarative (see Extracts 14 and 19 above). Elena is sitting at the table, finishing her food; Agata is loading the dishwasher, but is doing so without pre-rinsing the dishes. In line 1, Elena points out the need of selecting a heavy wash cycle to wash the dishes (lines 1-2) because, according to her, the food they have eaten is hard to come off in the dishwasher if they aren't pre-rinsed (lines 2 and 4).

(23) Capodanno02\_21779

- 1 ELE bisogna darghe en programma molto alto  
necessitate-3SG give-ING=3SG.DAT one programme very high  
  
Agata [eh per]ché=  
NAME [PTC bec]ause  
it's necessary to choose a very intense programme Agata you know because
- 2 AGA [macché]  
not at all PCL
- 3 ELE =questo s' attacca en d' en m[odo]  
this RFL attach-3SG in of one manner  
this sticks so much

5 *The recruitment system in Italian*

4 AGA	[sì ma l'è l-la yes but SCL=be.3SG LOC
	yes but it's l-
5 AGA	g'avem giusto magnà non è arrivà neanche EX=have-1PL just eat-PSTP not be.3SG arrive-PSTP neither
	a secarse to dry.up-INF=RFL we've just eaten it hasn't even had the time to harden

Agata's response begins with the particle macché, translatable as 'not at all' or 'of course not', by which she confutes the veracity of Elena's assertion, in other words, she disagrees with it. Disagreements are normally not found in rejections of imperative and interrogative recruitments, as these are not treated as statements committing to the truth of a proposition. A statement of need like bisogna darghe en programma molto alto 'it is necessary to choose a very intense programme', on the other hand, makes a claim about the material and social world, and exposes it to the evaluation of others against their own understanding of the world.

In Extract 19, we saw that Furio agrees with Rino's bisogna x 'it is necessary to x' statement with eh esatto 'right exactly' and then strengthens his agreement by repeating the same view of the world. In Extract 23, on the other hand, Agata does the opposite: after expressing her disagreement with macché 'not at all', she goes on to dispute the grounds upon which the Eva's claim is based: although it may be true that this food sticks on pottery, they have just finished eating, therefore the food hasn't had the time to cake on the plates yet. This means that the plates are in fact easy to wash and makes the choice of a heavy cycle unnecessary.

In sum, this whole Section §4 has shown that formats for Move B are intimately connected to formats in Move A. The grammar and particular social action of alternative recruitment formats places different constraints on, and provides different affordances for, how the recruitment is to be complied with or rejected. For complying responses, imperatives make relevant nonverbal fulfilment; interrogatives allow the recruitee to accept before fulfilling or to refuse; and declaratives provide a wider range of options, including volunteering and agreement. For rejections, negative responses to most recruitment forms are normally designed as dispreferreds; this includes, most importantly, reasons for not complying, with declaratives allowing for disagreement. Negative responses to the hai x 'do you have x' interrogative form, however, are normally exempt from reasons-giving, in that they do not, strictly speaking, constitute a rejection, but rather a blocking response to a pre-request.

Giovanni Rossi

## 5 Acknowledgments

Across the languages in this volume, acknowledging the fulfilment of a recruitment with a third-position turn like 'thank you' is very rare. Together with English, however, Italian shows a significantly higher proportion of such turns than in other languages (13.5% (n=20/148). This includes 8 cases of the dedicated acknowledgment formula grazie 'thank you', an instance of which can be found in Extract 17 above (line 6). Other cases involve forms of positive assessment or approval. An example of this is the particle eh 'right' in line 9 of Extract 15, which ratifies the recruiter's compliance as the sought-after outcome; another example can be found in the following extract, where people are working in the kitchen.

(24) Camillo\_263243

- 1 ADA la centrifuga dov'è ((opens cupboard))  
the salad.spinner where=be.3SG  
where is the salad spinner  
- ((7 seconds omitted))
- 2 AZI centrifuga ((takes salad spinner out of cupboard))  
salad.spinner  
salad spinner
- 3 (3.1)
- 4 AZI qua ((holds salad spinner out to Ada))  
here  
here
- 5 (0.4)
- 6 ADA beh l'altra può essere questa  
PTC the=other can-3SG be-INF this  
well the other may be this one-
- 7 ADA ah ottimo ottimo  
PTC excellent excellent  
excellent excellent

Ada's question in line 1 la centrifuga dov'è 'where is the salad spinner' is not addressed to anyone in particular; it is produced almost as self-talk while she opens a cupboard to see if the salad spinner is in there. The question, however, is enough to solicit help from Azio, who has better knowledge of where utensils are stored in the kitchen. A moment later, Azio takes the salad spinner out of another cupboard (line 2) and gives it to Ada (line 4), thereby fulfilling the recruitment. The sequence is then "minimally expanded" (Schegloff 2007b: 118–48) with the turn ah ottimo ottimo 'oh excellent excellent', which gives a positive evaluation of what Azio has done as a contribution to the ongoing activity.

It is difficult to pinpoint a single reason why Italian recruiters do, in a few cases, acknowledge the satisfactory completion of the recruitment sequence. The cases at hand suggest more than one contributing factor. One seems to be the nature of the provided object as a good (e.g. beverage, food, utensil) that is in control of

## 5 *The recruitment system in Italian*

the recruitee (cf. Zinken 2015) and that is transferred to the recruiter. Another is sequence boundedness: an acknowledgement can serve to mark the closure of the recruitment sequence when this is inserted within a larger unrelated activity (cf. Mazeland 2007 on parenthetical sequences). Extract 17 above features both these elements: the transaction occurs on the side of the card game, and when the recruitment is made the recruitee is in control of the target object, a piece of cake to be consumed by the recruiter. Finally, a third motivation for acknowledging seems to be to mark fulfilment as potentially unexpected, or to recognise it as not obvious or straightforward. In Extract 15, Emma's eh 'right' ratifies Mirko's uptake as the correct understanding of her rather indirect recruitment. In Extract 24, Ada's question *la centrifuga dov'è* 'where is the salad spinner' is not addressed to anyone and is produced almost as self-talk: Azio's uptake is not projected, but rather volunteered; the possible unexpectedness of fulfilment here is also suggested by the change-of-state token *ah* 'oh' (Heritage 1984b) in the acknowledgement turn.

## 6 Social asymmetries

In the sample of Italian interactions used for this study, no social asymmetries - in the sense of stable inequalities between people (see the introduction) - were identified among the participants to recruitment sequences. In the Italian society, relations among adult family members and friends can be said to be mostly symmetrical. In some areas of Italy, asymmetries may exist between parents and adult children, but this is generally not the case in the province of Trentino and the urban area of Bologna where the present data come from. In these areas, asymmetries may still exist between parents-in-law and children-in-law, depending on the particular circumstances and history of the family. The present corpus contains one such dyad, where the daughter-in-law addresses her mother-in-law using the second person formal pronoun (*Lei* instead of *tu*) and the corresponding verb inflections. However, no recruitments were found among these two individuals in the sample taken for this study. The predominant social symmetry among Italian adults in informal settings is especially interesting when contrasted with highly asymmetrical societies such as rural Laos (Enfield 2018tv) and the Chachi communities of Ecuador (Floyd 2018tv).

An interesting question for future work will be to compare the findings reported here with data from Italian institutional settings, where asymmetrical social statuses are more likely to occur and to influence the recruitment of co-operation.

*Giovanni Rossi*

## 7 Discussion

This chapter has provided an overview of the resources at the disposal of Italian speakers for making a recruitment (Move A) and for responding to it (Move B), paying particular attention to the functional connections between the resources used in the two moves.

The findings point to several common cross-linguistic trends. For the verbal component of Move A, Italian speakers use all three main sentence or construction types: imperatives, interrogatives, and declaratives, as well as no predicate utterances such as namings (e.g. *una* 'one', Extract 9). The nonverbal component of Move A often consists of one of three basic behaviours found across the languages in this volume: pointing, holding out an object for B to take and do something with, and reaching out to receive an object; these behaviours can also function as recruitment strategies on their own, without the addition of speech. In speech-plus-gesture composites, interesting functional distinctions can be observed between different forms of pointing that have already been documented in other languages (Enfield et al. 2007). Finally, the verbal component can be enriched with additional elements including explanations and mitigators, which too have a cross-linguistically shared functional basis (Brown & Levinson 1987; Blum-Kulka et al. 1989, among others).

For the construction of Move A, Italian also shows features that aren't widely shared. Like English, Italian makes more extensive use of interrogatives and, like Polish, it also makes more use of declaratives compared to most other languages in this volume. For the nonverbal component of Move A, Italian uses more iconic gestures than other languages, though these are still less frequent than other cross-linguistically common forms.

While surveying the formal repertoire available to Italian speakers for making a recruitment, the chapter has also tried to account for the selection between alternative forms, pointing to a number of social-interactional factors that have a bearing on the design of Move A. One is the projectability of the recruited action (Rossi 2014; Rossi 2015c: 54–7), which influences the selection of forms from nonverbals to namings to imperatives. This factor is grounded in interactional and semiotic requirements – recognisability of action and informational calibration – that are shared across languages (Grice 1975; Clark 1996; Levinson 2000). Another important criterion is the continuity or discontinuity between the recruitment and what the recruitee is doing at the time of recruitment, which influences the choice between imperatives and interrogatives (Rossi 2012; 2015c: chap. 3). This distinction is based in the sequential and functional relation of

## 5 *The recruitment system in Italian*

the recruited action to the line of action of the recruitee. As a factor affecting recruitment form, sequential relation may be more prone to cultural specification, though here too there is evidence of considerable commonalities (Zinken & Ogiermann 2013; Zinken & Deppermann 2017; Rossi et al. *in preparation*) Yet another selection factor is the delicacy of the recruitment, or better, the anticipation of the recruitee's unwillingness to comply, which is grounds for using a puoi x 'can you x' interrogative. While the concern for recognising the problematic nature of a recruitment is likely to be present in other languages, the resources used to do this probably differ. By contrast, a function-form mapping that seems to be cross-linguistically valid is the one between the need to check the availability of an object and the use of an interrogative pre-request (Rossi et al. *in preparation*), which in Italian often takes the form of hai x 'do you have x'. As for declarative recruitments, the use of impersonal deontic declaratives such as bisogna x 'it is necessary to x' to manage the potentially open participation in the recruited action has been shown to be shared at least with Polish (Zinken & Ogiermann 2011; Rossi & Zinken 2016); but it remains to be seen to what extent other languages make available similar forms to manage the same social-interactional concern. In this respect, the use of factual descriptions (e.g. è finì la flebo 'the feed drip has finished') to implement other actions besides recruiting cooperation (e.g. informing) is another strong candidate for cross-linguisitc commonality (Rossi et al. *in preparation*).

Coming now to Move B, the chapter has surveyed a range of options for both complying with and rejecting a recruitment, and has shown their connection to the nature of Move A. Nonverbal fulfilment is an appropriate response to recruitment forms that expect only compliance, first and foremost imperatives; accompanying fulfilment with verbal acceptance - in Italian this is normally a positive polar element (e.g. sì 'yes') - is instead appropriate when the recruitment form anticipates the possibility of rejection, that is, when it is a polar interrogative. Both these principles are cross-linguistically valid (Rossi et al. *in preparation*). When the polar interrogative is a pre-request such as hai x 'do you have x', the recruitee may also respond with a go-ahead, confirming that the precondition for recruitment obtains, or with a blocking response, which unlike a rejection does not need to be justified or mitigated (Rossi 2015b). This pattern is based in universal properties of action and sequential structure (Schegloff 2007b)and is therefore potentially shared across languages. Finally, declarative forms of recruitment afford an even wider response space. For one thing, when a description conveys new information to the recruitee, this can be taken up with a news receipt (e.g. ah 'oh'). At the same time, the declarative packaging of a proposition, as in an

*Giovanni Rossi*

impersonal deontic declarative, makes a claim about the world, which can be agreed or disagreed with.

The last two sections of the chapter have focussed on properties of recruitment sequences beyond Moves A and B, starting with the production of acknowledgements as Move C. While conforming to a strong tendency to not acknowledge fulfilment, Italian shows, together with English, a significantly higher proportion of acknowledgements compared to all other languages, the resources for which include the formulaic grazie 'thanks' and other forms of positive assessment or approval (e.g. eh 'right', ah ottimo ottimo 'oh excellent excellent'). Italian also stands out from other languages for its lack of social asymmetries, which seem to have no role to play in the recruitment of cooperation in everyday informal interaction.

In conclusion, this chapter has shown a tightly organised system of resources for recruiting and providing assistance and collaboration shaped by a set of recurrent social-interactional concerns. Although the system is locally inflected according to the Italian language and culture, it shares many formal and functional elements with the recruitment system of other languages, pointing to a common infrastructure for the management of cooperation in human social life.

## References

- Antaki, Charles. 1994. *Explaining and arguing: The social organization of accounts*. London: SAGE.
- Arcidiacono, Francesco & Clotilde Pontecorvo. 2010. The discursive construction of the fathers' positioning within family participation frameworks. *European Journal of Psychology of Education* 25(4). 449–472.
- Aust, Derek & Mike Zollo. 2006. *Azione grammatica!* 3rd edn. London: Hodder Murray.
- Baranova, Julija & Mark Dingemanse. 2016. Reasons for requests. *Discourse Studies* 18(6). 641–675. DOI:[10.1177/1461445616667154](https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445616667154)
- Berruto, Gaetano. 1987. Lingua, dialetto, diglossia, dilalia [language, dialect, diglossia, dilalia]. In Günter Holtus & Johannes Kramer (eds.), *Romania et slavia adriatica. Festschrift für zarko muljačić*, 57–81. Hamburg: Helmut Buske.
- Blum-Kulka, Shoshana, Juliane House & Gabriele Kasper. 1989. *Cross-cultural pragmatics: Requests and apologies* (Advances in Discourse Processes). Norwood: Ablex.

## 5 The recruitment system in Italian

- Bolden, Galina B. & Jeffrey D. Robinson. 2011. Soliciting accounts with why-interrogatives in conversation. *Journal of Communication* 61(1). 94–119.  
DOI:[10.1111/j.1460-2466.2010.01528.x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2010.01528.x)
- Brown, Penelope & Stephen C. Levinson. 1987. *Politeness: Some universals in language usage* (Studies in Interactional Sociolinguistics 4). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Campisi, Emanuela. 2014. The interplay of culture and communicative intention in shaping iconic gestures for adults and children. Paper presented at the 6th Congress of the International Society for Gesture Studies [ISGS VI], University of California at San Diego, CA.
- Clark, Herbert H. 1996. *Using language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Clark, Herbert H. 2003. Pointing and placing. In Sotaro Kita (ed.), *Pointing: Where language, culture, and cognition meet*, 243–68. Mahwah NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Craven, Alexandra & Jonathan Potter. 2010. Directives: Entitlement and contingency in action. *Discourse Studies* 12(4). 419–442.  
DOI:[10.1177/1461445610370126](https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445610370126)
- Dardano, Maurizio & Pietro Trifone. 1995. *Grammatica italiana: Con nozioni di linguistica*. 3rd edn. Bologna: Zanichelli.
- Drew, Paul. 1998. Complaints about transgressions and misconduct. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 31(3/4). 295–325.  
DOI:[10.1080/08351813.1998.9683595](https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.1998.9683595)
- Enfield, N. J., Sotaro Kita & Jan Peter de Ruiter. 2007. Primary and secondary pragmatic functions of pointing gestures. *Journal of Pragmatics* 39(10). 1722–1741. DOI:[10.1016/j.pragma.2007.03.001](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2007.03.001)
- Ervin-Tripp, Susan M. 1976. Is sybil there? The structure of some American English directives. *Language in Society* 5. 25–66.
- Fatigante, Marilena. 2007. Conflitti, ambivalenze e rappresentazioni in famiglia [conflicts, ambivalences and representations in the family]. In P. Di Cori & C. Pontecorvo (eds.), *Modernità e vita quotidiana: Tra ordinario e straordinario*, 185–195. Rome: Carocci.
- Fox, Barbara A. 2015. On the notion of pre-request. *Discourse Studies* 17(1). 41–63.  
DOI:[10.1177/1461445614557762](https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445614557762)
- Galeano, Giorgia & Alessandra Fasulo. 2009. Sequenze direttive tra genitori e figli [directive sequences between parents and children]. *Etnografia e ricerca qualitativa* 2. 261–278.
- Goodwin, Charles. 1987. Unilateral departure. In Graham Button & John R. E. Lee (eds.), *Talk and social organisation*, 206–216. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Giovanni Rossi

- Grice, H. Paul. 1975. Logic and conversation. In Peter Cole & Jerry L. Morgan (eds.), *Syntax and semantics*, vol. 3, 41–58. New York, NY: Academic Press.
- Halina, Marta, Federico Rossano & Michael Tomasello. 2013. The ontogenetic ritualization of bonobo gestures. *Animal Cognition* 16(4). 653–666. DOI:[10.1007/s10071-013-0601-7](https://doi.org/10.1007/s10071-013-0601-7)
- Heritage, John. 1984a. *Garfinkel and Ethnomethodology*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press / Blackwell.
- Heritage, John. 1984b. Structures of social action: Studies in conversation analysis. In J. Maxwell Atkinson & John Heritage (eds.), *Structures of social action: Studies in conversation analysis*, 299–345. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Kendon, Adam. 1995. Gestures as illocutionary and discourse structure markers in Southern Italian conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics* 23(3). 247–279. DOI:[10.1016/0378-2166\(94\)00037-F](https://doi.org/10.1016/0378-2166(94)00037-F)
- Kendrick, Kobil H. & Paul Drew. 2016. Recruitment: Offers, requests, and the organization of assistance in interaction. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 49(1). 1–19. DOI:[10.1080/08351813.2016.1126436](https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2016.1126436)
- König, Ekkehard & Peter Siemund. 2007. Speech act distinctions in grammar. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description. Volume 1: Clause structure*, 2nd edn., 276–324. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lambrecht, Knud. 1994. *Information structure and sentence form: Topic, focus, and the mental representations of discourse referents* (Cambridge Studies in Linguistics). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Lepschy, Anna Laura & Giulio Lepschy. 1988. *The Italian language today*. 2nd edn. London/New York: Routledge.
- Levinson, Stephen C. 1979. Activity types and language. *Linguistics* 17(5/6). 365–400.
- Levinson, Stephen C. 1983. *Pragmatics*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Levinson, Stephen C. 2000. *Presumptive meanings: The theory of generalized conversational implicature*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Lewis, M. Paul, Gary F. Simons & Charles D. Fennig (eds.). 2014. *Ethnologue: Languages of the world*. 17th edn. Dallas, TX: SIL International. <http://www.ethnologue.com>.
- Lusini, Sara. 2013. *Yes/no question-marking in Italian dialects: A typological, theoretical and experimental approach*. Utrecht University. (Doctoral dissertation).
- Lyons, John. 1977. *Semantics*. Vol. 2. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

## 5 The recruitment system in Italian

- Maiden, Martin & Cecilia Robustelli. 2007. *A reference grammar of modern Italian*. 2nd edn. London/New York: Hodder Education.
- Mazeland, Harrie. 2007. Parenthetical sequences. *Journal of Pragmatics* 39. 1816–1869.
- Merritt, Marilyn. 1976. On questions following questions in service encounters. *Language in Society* 5(3). 315–357. DOI:[10.1017/S0047404500007168](https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500007168)
- Mondada, Lorenza. 2011. The organization of concurrent courses of action in surgical demonstrations. In Charles Goodwin Jörgen Streeck & Curtis LeBaron (eds.), *Embodied interaction: Language and body in the material world*, 207–226. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Mondada, Lorenza. 2014a. Instructions in the operating room: How the surgeon directs their assistant's hands. *Discourse Studies* 16(2). 131–161. DOI:[10.1177/1461445613515325](https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445613515325)
- Mondada, Lorenza. 2014b. Requesting immediate action in the surgical operating room: Time, embodied resources and praxeological embeddedness. In Paul Drew & Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen (eds.), *Requesting in social interaction*, 267–300. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. (Studies in Language and Social Interaction).
- Monzoni, Chiara M. & Paul Drew. 2009. Inter-interactional contexts of story-interventions by non-knowledgeable story recipients in (Italian) multi-person interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics* 41(2). 197–218. DOI:[10.1016/j.pragma.2008.06.002](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2008.06.002)
- Mortari, Luigina & Marco Pino. 2014. Conversational pursuit of medication compliance in a therapeutic community for persons diagnosed with mental disorders. *Disability and Rehabilitation* 36(17). 1419–1430.
- Parry, Ruth. 2009. Practitioners' accounts for treatment actions and recommendations in physiotherapy: When do they occur, how they are structured, what do they do? *Sociology of Health and Illness* 31(6). 835–853.
- Parry, Ruth. 2013. Giving reasons for doing something now or at some other time. *Research on Language & Social Interaction* 46(2). 105–124. DOI:[10.1080/08351813.2012.754653](https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2012.754653)
- Pino, Marco & Luigina Mortari. 2012. Problem formulation in mental health residential treatment: A single case analysis. *Ricerche di Pedagogia e Didattica [Journal of Theories and Research in Education]* 7(1). 73–96.
- Poggi, Isabella. 1983. La mano a borsa: Analisi semantica di un gesto emblematico olorfrastico [the purse hand: Semantic analysis of an emblematic, holophrastic gesture]. In Grazia Attili & Pio E. Ricci Bitti (eds.), *Comunicare senza parole: La comunicazione nonverbale nel bambino e nell'interazione sociale tra adulti*

Giovanni Rossi

- [communicating without words: Nonverbal communication in the child and in social interaction among adults], 219–238. Roma: Bulzoni.
- Proudfoot, Anna & Francesco Cardo. 1996. *Modern Italian grammar: A practical guide*. New York: Routledge.
- Raevaara, Liisa. 2017. Adjusting the design of directives to the activity environment: Imperatives in Finnish cooking club interaction. In Marja-Leena Sorjonen, Liisa Raevaara & Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen (eds.), *Imperative turns at talk: The design of directives in action*, 381–410. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. Studies in Interactional Sociolinguistics.
- Raymond, Geoffrey. 2003. Grammar and social organization: Yes/no interrogatives and the structure of responding. *American Sociological Review* 68(6). 939–967.
- Renzi, Lorenzo, Giampaolo Salvi & Anna Cardinaletti (eds.). 1991. *Grande grammatica italiana di consultazione*. Vol. 3. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Robinson, Jeffrey D. 2013. Overall structural organization. In Jack Sidnell & Tanya Stivers (eds.), *The handbook of conversation analysis*, 257–280. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell. (3 October, 2012).
- Rossano, Federico. 2010. Questioning and responding in Italian. *Journal of Pragmatics* 42(10). 2756–2771. DOI:[10.1016/j.pragma.2010.04.010](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2010.04.010)
- Rossano, Federico. 2012. *Gaze behavior in face-to-face interaction*. Radboud University Nijmegen. (Doctoral dissertation).
- Rossano, Federico & Katja Liebal. 2014. ‘requests’ and ‘offers’ in orangutans and human infants. In Paul Drew & Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen (eds.), *Requesting in social interaction* (Studies in Language and Social Interaction), 335–364. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Rossi, Giovanni. Forthcoming. Prosody and grammar of other-repetitions in Italian. *Language in Society*.
- Rossi, Giovanni. 2012. Bilateral and unilateral requests: The use of imperatives and Mi X? Interrogatives in Italian. *Discourse Processes* 49(5). 426–458. DOI:[10.1080/0163853X.2012.684136](https://doi.org/10.1080/0163853X.2012.684136)
- Rossi, Giovanni. 2013. Indirect requests in everyday interaction. Paper presented at the 13th International Pragmatics Conference [IPrA 2013], July 3–8, Indian Institute of Technology, New Delhi, India.
- Rossi, Giovanni. 2014. When do people not use language to make requests? In Paul Drew & Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen (eds.), *Requesting in social interaction*, 303–334. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. Studies in Language and Social Interaction.

5 *The recruitment system in Italian*

- Rossi, Giovanni. 2015a. Other-initiated repair in Italian. *Open Linguistics* 1. 256–282. DOI:[10.1515/opli-2015-0002](https://doi.org/10.1515/opli-2015-0002)
- Rossi, Giovanni. 2015b. Responding to pre-requests: The organization of hai x? Do you have x? Sequences in Italian. *Journal of Pragmatics* 82(Supplement C). 5–22. DOI:[10.1016/j.pragma.2015.03.008](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2015.03.008)
- Rossi, Giovanni. 2015c. *The request system in Italian interaction*. Radboud University Nijmegen. (Doctoral dissertation).
- Rossi, Giovanni. 2017. Secondary and deviant uses of the imperative for requesting in Italian. In Marja-Leena Sorjonen, Liisa Raevaara & Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen (eds.), *Imperative turns at talk: The design of directives in action*, 103–137. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. Studies in Interactional Sociolinguistics.
- Rossi, Giovanni, Simeon Floyd, Julija Baranova, Joe Blythe, Mark Dingemanse, Koen H. Kendrick, Jörg Zinken & N. J. Enfield. in preparation. Grammar is shaped by universal pragmatics: Evidence from requests in eight languages. *Journal of Linguistics*.
- Rossi, Giovanni & Jörg Zinken. 2016. Grammar and social agency: The pragmatics of impersonal deontic statements. *Language* 92(4). e296–e325. DOI:[10.1353/lan.2016.0083](https://doi.org/10.1353/lan.2016.0083)
- Sacks, Harvey. 1992. *Lectures on conversation*. Gail Jefferson (ed.). Vol. 1 & 2. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Sadock, Jerrold M. & Arnold Zwicky. 1985. Speech act distinctions in syntax. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description*, 155–96. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A. 1968. Sequencing in conversational openings. *American Anthropologist* 70(6). 1075–1095. New Series.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A. 1980. Preliminaries to preliminaries: ‘Can I ask you a question?’ *Sociological Inquiry* 50(3/4). 104–152.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A. 1996. Confirming allusions: Toward an empirical account of action. *The American Journal of Sociology* 102(1). 161–216.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A. 2007a. Conveying who you are: The presentation of self, strictly speaking. In N. J. Enfield & Tanya Stivers (eds.), *Person reference in interaction: Linguistic, cultural and social perspectives*, 123–148. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A. 2007b. *Sequence organization in interaction: A primer in conversation analysis*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A. & Harvey Sacks. 1973. Opening up closings. *Semiotica* 8(4). 289–327.

Giovanni Rossi

- Searle, John R. 1975. Indirect speech acts. In Peter Cole & Jerry L. Morgan (eds.), *Syntax and semantics*, vol. 3, 59–82. New York, NY: Academic Press.
- Selting, Margret, Peter Auer, Dagmar Barth-Weingarten, Jörg Bergmann, Pia Bergmann, Karin Birkner, Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen, et al. 2011. A system for transcribing talk-in-interaction: GAT 2. *Gesprächsforschung-Online-Zeitschrift zur verbalen Interaktion* 12. 1–51.
- Serrianni, Luca. 1989. *Grammatica italiana: Italiano comune e lingua letteraria [Italian grammar: Everyday Italian and literary language]*. Torino: UTET.
- Sobrero, Alberto A (ed.). 1993. *Introduzione all’italiano contemporaneo: Le strutture [introduction to contemporary Italian: Structures]* (Manuali Laterza 42). Roma: Laterza.
- Sorjonen, Marja-Leena & Liisa Raevaara. 2014. On the grammatical form of requests at the convenience store: Requesting as embodied action. In Paul Drew & Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen (eds.), *Requesting in social interaction*, 243–268. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins. Studies in Language and Social Interaction.
- Sterponi, Laura. 2003. Account episodes in family discourse: The making of morality in everyday interaction. *Discourse Studies* 5(1). 79–100. DOI:[10.1177/14614456030050010401](https://doi.org/10.1177/14614456030050010401)
- Stivers, Tanya. 2005. Modified repeats: One method for asserting primary rights from second position. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 38(2). 131–158. DOI:[10.1207/s15327973rlsi3802\\_1](https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327973rlsi3802_1)
- Stivers, Tanya & Federico Rossano. 2010. Mobilizing response. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 43(1). 3–31. DOI:[10.1080/08351810903471258](https://doi.org/10.1080/08351810903471258)
- Thorgrimsson, Guimundur Bjarki. 2014. *Infants’ understanding of communication as participants and observers*. Radboud University Nijmegen. (Doctoral dissertation). (18 May, 2013).
- Tomasello, Michael. 2008. *Origins of human communication*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Tosi, Arturo. 2001. *Language and society in a changing Italy*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- van der Goot, Marloes H., Michael Tomasello & Ulf Liszkowski. 2014. Differences in the nonverbal requests of great apes and human infants. *Child Development* 85(2). 444–455. DOI:[10.1111/cdev.12141](https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12141)
- Vinkhuyzen, Erik & Margaret H. Szymanski. 2005. Would you like to do it yourself? Service requests and their non-granting responses. In Keith Richards & Paul Seedhouse (eds.), *Applying conversation analysis*, 91–106. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

## 5 The recruitment system in Italian

- Walker, Gareth. 2004. *The phonetic design of turn endings, beginnings, and continuations in conversation*. UK: University of York. (Doctoral dissertation).
- Waring, Hansun Zhang. 2007. The multi-functionality of accounts in advice giving. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 11(3). 367–379.
- Weizman, Elda. 1989. Requestive hints. In Shoshana Blum-Kulka, Julianne House & Gabriele Kasper (eds.), *Cross-cultural pragmatics: Requests and apologies*, 71–95. Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Corporation.
- Wierzbicka, Anna. 1991. *Cross-cultural pragmatics: The semantics of human interaction*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Woottton, Anthony J. 1997. *Interaction and the development of mind*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Zinken, Jörg. 2015. Contingent control over shared goods: Can I have x? Requests in British English informal interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics* 82. 23–38. DOI:[10.1016/j.pragma.2015.03.005](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2015.03.005)
- Zinken, Jörg & Arnulf Deppermann. 2017. A cline of visible commitment in the situated design of imperative turns. In Marja-Leena Sorjonen, Liisa Raevaara & Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen (eds.), *Imperative turns at talk: The design of directives in action*, 27–63. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Zinken, Jörg & Eva Ogiermann. 2011. How to propose an action as objectively necessary: The case of Polish *Trzeba x* ('one needs to x'). *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 44. 263–287. DOI:[10.1080/08351813.2011.591900](https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2011.591900)
- Zinken, Jörg & Eva Ogiermann. 2013. Responsibility and action: Invariants and diversity in requests for objects in British English and Polish interaction. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 46(3). 256–276.



## Chapter 6

# Recruitments in Lao

N. J. Enfield

Department of Linguistics, The University of Sydney,

This chapter describes the resources that speakers of Lao use when recruiting assistance from others in everyday social interaction. The chapter draws on data from video recordings of informal conversation in Lao, and reports language-specific findings generated within a large-scale comparative project involving eight languages from five continents (see other chapters of this volume). The resources for recruitment described in this chapter include linguistic structures from across the levels of grammatical organization, as well as gestural and other visible and contextual resources of relevance to the interpretation of action in interaction. The presentation of categories of recruitment, and elements of recruitment sequences, follows the coding scheme used in the comparative project (see Chapter 2 of the volume). This chapter extends our knowledge of the structure and usage of Lao with detailed attention to the properties of sequential structure in conversational interaction. The chapter is a contribution to an emerging field of pragmatic typology.

## 1 Introduction

### 1.1 Introduction

This chapter describes and analyzes aspects of the system of semiotic practices that speakers of Lao use when getting people to do things in the course of everyday life. As defined in this collaborative project (see Rossi, Floyd, and Enfield DATE, and this volume), a recruitment sequence involves one participant A doing or saying something to B, or such that B can see or hear it, and next, as a response, B doing something for or with A. The data are drawn from a corpus of video-recorded interaction collected in home and village settings in Vientiane, Laos. The approach taken here assumes that the relevant unit of analysis is the



N.J. Enfield

pair of moves that constitutes the recruitment sequence, that is, both an initiating move by Person A—for example, a ‘request’ or ‘command’, or a visible display of a need or difficulty—that would precipitate some assisting behavior, as well as the move by Person B that responds to it with a form of assistance or collaboration that benefits Person A or a larger social unit of which A is a part, whether it is an act of compliance, rejection, or something else. In this chapter, we examine properties of both moves in the sequence, and ask as to their forms, functions, and interrelations.

The observations offered here arise from research done in a major crosslinguistic project (see introduction and other chapters in this volume).<sup>1</sup> To maximize comparability, the data collected is tightly defined in scope. The studies rely solely on corpus materials from recordings of everyday home and village life. The interactions take place between relatives, neighbors, or people who otherwise know each other well. This implies that none of the interactions are formal or institutional in kind, which in turn means that the phenomena described in this chapter do not exhaust the resources that Lao speakers use in getting people to do things. For example, we shall see that in Lao village life, people seldom acknowledge the assistance given, for example by saying ‘Thank you’, while in the more formal settings that are beyond the scope of this work, an idiom meaning ‘Thank you’ is often used. A comprehensive account of the resources that Lao speakers rely on in recruitment sequences would require a broader collection of data.

## 1.2 The Lao language

Lao is an isolating/analytic language of the Southwestern Tai branch of Tai-Kadai. It is spoken by about 20 million people mostly in Laos, Thailand, and Cambodia. It is a tone language, with five lexical tones. The tones are indicated in this chapter by a numeral at the end of each word (see Enfield 2007 for glossing conventions). Lao has open classes of ideophones, nouns, verbs and adjectives, and closed classes of tense/aspect/modality markers, modifier classifiers and noun class markers, and phrase-final and sentence-final particles. There is no inflectional morphology. Grammatical relations tend to be signaled via constituent order, though there is widespread zero anaphora, and movement licensed by information-structure considerations. Several grammars of Lao are available (see

---

<sup>1</sup>With thanks to research collaborators in the *Human Sociality and Systems of Language Use* project (Max Planck Institute Nijmegen 2010–2014); see Floyd et al (2014; see also Enfield 2011a,b, Rossi 2012; 2014; 2015b,a; Couper-Kuhlen 2014, Enfield 2014, Kendrick & Drew 2016, Rossi & Zinken 2016, Enfield & Sidnell 2017).

*6 Recruitments in Lao*

Enfield 2007 and many references therein). For recent work on semantic, pragmatic, and conversational patterns in Lao, see Enfield (2009; 2010; 2013; 2015a; 2015b; Zuckerman 2017).

## 2 Data collection and corpus

The corpus on which this work is based was constructed in accordance with guidelines developed by and for the members of the comparative project being reported on in this special issue (see introduction for further information). Here are the key properties of the data:

Table 1: Key properties of the data collected for this study

- Recordings were made on video
- Informed consent was obtained by those who participated
- Target behavior was spontaneous conversation among people who know each other well (family, friends, neighbors, acquaintances), in highly familiar environments (homes, village spaces, work areas)
- Participants were not responding to any instruction, nor were they given a task—they were simply aware that the researcher was collecting recordings of language usage in everyday life
- From multiple interactions that were collected in the larger corpus, the selection for analysis in this study was of a set of 10-minute segments, taken from as many different interactions as possible (allowing that some interactions are sampled more than once), to ensure against bias from over-representation of particular interactions or speakers

The corpus from which the cases were drawn were video recordings collected by the author in Vientiane, Laos, between 2001 and 2011. Twelve interactions were sampled, with a combined duration of 2 hours 46 minutes, and a total of 222 cases of recruitments for this study. All interactions involved 3 or more participants. All recordings were made in family homes and village settings.

*N.J. Enfield*

### 3 Basics of recruitment sequences

This is a study of recruitment sequences, defined by members of the collaborative subproject on this topic (cf. Enfield 2011a, Rossi 2012; 2014; 2015b,a; Floyd et al. 2014; Kendrick & Drew 2016; Floyd 2017) in the following way:

“The subproject on recruitment (ways that cooperative action gets mobilized) focuses on sequences in which a move by one participant (“[M<sub>A</sub>]”, whether or not the move includes speech) leads immediately to a cooperative uptake behaviour by another participant (“[M<sub>B</sub>]”; this should be a practical bodily action, such as passing the salt, not simply giving information). We limit our scope to the here and now, thus precluding things like invitations where the uptake behaviour would happen at a later place and time. ... On this definition, ‘recruitments’ straightforwardly subsumes things like requests and proposals, but also includes cases in which it may be unclear or equivocal whether the initiating move [M<sub>A</sub>] was an overt ‘request’ or similar, so long as it results in the cooperative behaviour.” (Enfield 2011b)<sup>2</sup>

#### 3.1 Minimal sequence

A basic or minimal recruitment sequence in the Lao data consists of these two moves, labelled M<sub>A</sub> (‘Move A’) and M<sub>B</sub> (‘Move B’) in the examples to follow, by Person A and B respectively.

Here is a typical example. Person A says ‘Grind (it)’, while holding some herbal medicine out for Person B, who is holding the relevant medicine-grinding paraphernalia:

- (1) INTCN\_020727a\_326860
- 1 A      fon3 vaj2     ((holding medicine for B to take))  
grind IMP.RUSH  
Grind (it).
- 2 B     ((takes the medicine from A, prepares to grind it))

In another example, Person A is in an outdoor kitchen area, using a hose that delivers water pumped up from a well in the back yard. The pump is an electric one, and the switch that turns it on and off is located inside the house, several metres away from where Person A is standing. Two men are inside the house, close to the switch that turns the pump on and off. Person A calls out to them:

- (2) INTCN\_030806e\_191591

---

<sup>2</sup>The original source had ‘X and Y

6 *Recruitments in Lao*

- 1 A mòòt4 nam4 haj5 nèè1  
extinguish water give IMP.SOFT  
Turn off the water please.
- ▷ 2 B (One of the men gets up and walks to the switch and turns the power for the water pump off))

A third example involves transfer of an object (as opposed to provision of a service as seen in the last two examples). Person A and Person B are in a household food preparation area. Person A asks Person B to pass a papaya:

- (3) CONV\_020723b\_RCR\_978740
- 1 A qaw3 maak5-hung1 qaw3 maa2 mèè4  
take CM.FRUIT-papaya take come IMP.UNIMP  
Bring (me) a/the papaya.
  - ▷ 2 B qaw2 ((passing the papaya to A))  
take  
(Here) take (it).

### 3.2 Non-minimal sequence

Recruitment sequences sometimes feature more than one initiating turn. Often this is because a first attempt does not get a response, and so the M<sub>A</sub> part of the sequence is re-done. This happens in the following case, in which Person A is asking her father to pass her a knife. Both attempts are done using an interrogative formulation, with the second attempt being done in more specific fashion than in the first attempt:

- (4) CONV\_020723b\_RCR\_970010
- 1 A miit4 dêê3 phòq1  
knife Q daddy  
The knife Daddy?
  - 2 B ((no response))
  - 3 A phòòl1 miit4 thaang2 lang3 caw4 mii4 bòò3  
father knife way back 2SG.P exist QPLR  
Dad a knife behind you, is there (one)?
  - ▷ 4 B nii4 nii4  
here here  
Here here ((Reaches behind to look for the knife, finds it, passes it towards A))

Another reason a recruitment sequence can be extended beyond the minimal structure is that Person B may immediately delegate to another person, rather than carrying out the action herself. In the next example, when Person B is asked to go and get some trays in preparation to serve food, she does not carry out the action. Instead, she turns to her younger sibling—Person C—and re-issues the initiating move, which Person C then immediately fulfils:

*N.J. Enfield*

(5) INTCN\_111202n\_RCR\_989020

- 1 A sòòng3 phaa2 nan4 song1 khaw5 maa2 haa3 kan3 ((to B))  
two tray.table DEM.EXT send enter come seek COLL  
Those two tray tables, bring them in here together
- 2 B paj3 qaw3 maa2 ((to C, eye-pointing to trays))  
go take come  
Go get ((them))
- ▷ 3 C ((Goes and gets trays))

### 3.3 Subtypes of recruitment sequence

The recruitment sequences collected for this study were divided into four categories, distinguished by the kind of behavior they would elicit from Person B (see introduction to this volume for discussion). The four categories are: (1) a service (such as turning off a switch), (2) transfer of an object (such as a papaya), (3) altering a current trajectory of action that Person B was on (such as telling someone to stop pouring), and (4) assistance with some trouble that Person A was perceptibly experiencing (such as holding a door open for someone whose hands are full). Cases of service and object transfer are amply illustrated in above examples, and elsewhere throughout this chapter. We now illustrate the other two categories.

Following is an ‘alter trajectory’ example. In this case, Person B is about to sit down on a rickety railing that appears unlikely to be able to bear his weight without breaking. Person A calls out repeatedly ‘Don’t sit down!’. B responds by altering his trajectory of behaviour, desisting from his path of sitting down, instead moving to sit elsewhere:

(6) INTCN\_030731b\_441300

- 1 A jaal1 paj3 nang1 dêj2 han5 jaal1 paj3 nang1  
NEG.IMPV go sit FAC.NEWS DEM.DIST NEG.IMPV go sit  
dêj2 han5  
FAC.NEWS DEM.DIST  
Don’t sit down, Don’t sit down ((addressee is going to sit on a weak railing))
- ▷ 2 B ((desists from going to sit down on a rickety railing))

Next is a ‘trouble assist’ example. Person A is preparing a salad-type dish, putting ingredients into a large pestle. She is holding a pestle in her hand. This type of dish needs to be tossed prior to serving, and this is normally done using a spoon and a mortar-and-pestle in combination. At the moment in the interaction that we are focusing on in this example, Person B is looking directly at Person A,

## 6 *Recruitments in Lao*

and can see that Person A does not have a spoon. Rather than waiting for person A to ask, or letting them find a spoon themselves, Person B looks for a spoon, locates one, picks it up, and places it in reach of Person A, where Person A is subsequently able to pick it up and use it:

(7) INTCN\_030731b\_385660

- 1 A ((Involved in a course of food preparation where next step requires a spoon; does not have a spoon))
- ▷ 2 B ((Looks for spoon, walks to pick one up, places it down within arm's reach for A))

Another example of the ‘trouble assist’ type is discussed in Enfield (2014: 42). In the example described there in more detail, Person A is walking up a steep staircase with his arms full, holding a full basket of laundry. He approaches a nearly-closed safety gateway at the top of the stairs, which is blocking his way. He does not have a free hand to open the gate and pass. Seeing this, Person B—who is sitting at the top of the stairs with the gateway within arm’s reach—does not wait for Person A to say anything, but reaches out to the gate and holds it open for Person A.

While these ‘trouble assist’ cases are obviously not requests as such, they are recruitments as defined for the purposes of this study. For Person A to get Person B to do something, it is not necessary that their  $M_A$  is an on-record or intended signal for Person B. What is important is that Person B acts upon a sign, in the broadest sense, from Person A, and does so with an action that is, in some relevant sense, *for* Person A. Whether Person A means it or not, in these cases Person A’s behaviour results in Person B doing something for them. (This phenomenon relates to the kinds of action we would call ‘offers’: often, when one person states a problem, another will offer to help. In that sense, offers are seldom truly initiating moves, but are occasioned by certain types of prior move. In the case just described, Person B does not offer to help. Rather, they simply do the helping action in response to the prior move that revealed the need for assistance.)

The following table shows the relative frequencies and proportions of the four types of initiating move in the Lao corpus:

The relative distribution of the types is heavily skewed. Moves that elicit a service account for over half of all cases, and object transfers for over a third of all cases. By contrast, alter trajectory and trouble assist recruitments are infrequent, together accounting for fewer than one out of ten cases.

N.J. Enfield



(a) Person A (seated, toward back of frame), is involved in food preparation in which the next step requires a spoon; Person B (standing) is looking directly at Person A and can see that there is no spoon at hand



(b) Person B turns and retrieves a spoon



(c) Person B places the spoon within direct reach of Person A



(d) Person A picks up the spoon to use

Figure 1: Transfer of a spoon

## 6 *Recruitments in Lao*

Table 2: Relative frequencies and proportions of the four types of responsive move in the Lao corpus.

Response subtype	# in sample	%
service	118	56%
object transfer	76	36%
alter trajectory	14	6.6%
trouble assist	3	1.4%

## 4 Formats in Move A: the initiating move.

Initiating moves in recruitment sequences may be formulated using verbal material alone (i.e., linguistic forms including words and grammatical constructions), nonverbal material alone (i.e., visible bodily behavior), or a combination of both verbal material and nonverbal material (referred to here as composite; cf. Enfield 2009).<sup>3</sup> As Figure 3 shows, 97% of all initiating moves in recruitment sequences have a verbal component, with a third of these featuring a nonverbal component in addition.

Table 3: Modality of initiating move

Modality	# in sample	%
Verbal only	135	65%
Composite	67	32.2%
Nonverbal only	6	2.9%

### 4.1 Purely non-verbal initiating moves

While fully nonverbal initiating moves are rare, they do occur. In an example, Speaker A points to a bag that had tamarind in it, which people present had been snacking on. Person B responds by stating that there is none left in the bag,

---

<sup>3</sup>I use ‘verbal’ to roughly denote the ‘linguistic, symbolic, lexico-syntactic, vocal’ behaviour in these Lao data, and ‘nonverbal’ to roughly denote the ‘visual, manual, gestural’ behaviour. I use this distinction in the usual common sense way, despite known problems making the distinction definitive (see Enfield 2009).

*N.J. Enfield*

thus orienting to the pointing gesture as something like a request to pass some of the tamarind.

- (8) INTCN\_111204x\_RCR\_495541  
 ▶ 1 A ((points at item))

- ▷ 2 B bet2 lèèw4  
 finished PRF  
 ((It's)) finished ('there's none left')

For another case, see Enfield 2013: 19–21,46: Person A crawls forward in the direction of a basket that contains betel nut paraphernalia, and B responds by passing the basket to her and saying ‘You’ll chew?’. The behavior of crawling forward and reaching toward the basket was understood to be at least an attempt to obtain the contents of the basket to chew, and was perhaps even designed to elicit the other person’s help.

It is notable that the initiating moves that were fully nonverbal include all of the ‘trouble assist’ examples.

#### 4.2 Types of non-verbal behaviour in initiating moves

As noted above, around a third of all initiating moves in recruitments in Lao have a component of visible bodily behavior. These forms of bodily conduct are of course quite varied, but there are some recurring types of visible behavior, as shown in this table:

Table 4: Visible behaviour

Behaviour	# in sample	%
Pointing	27	38%
Holding out	18	25.4%
Reaching	9	12.7%
Other	17	23.9%

A large number of examples involve pointing gestures, either by hand or some other vector-projecting body part (eyes, lips, etc.). These gestures often help to locate something that is being asked for, or they may help to otherwise clarify what is intended. For example, in Extract (5), above, a speaker eye-points to a tray table as she asks her younger sibling to go and get them. For other examples in

## 6 *Recruitments in Lao*

this chapter involving pointing, see Extracts 5 (INTCN\_111202n\_RCR\_989020), 9 (INTCN\_111204x\_RCR\_495541), and 22 (INTCN\_111203l\_682150).

Another common visible behavior accompanying initiating moves is for Person A to hold something out towards Person B. The following is a typical example, in which a man asks his son to cut some rattan shoots, while holding out the knife that he should use:

(9) INTCN\_111204x\_RCR\_48410

- 1 A qaw3 qaw3 – qaw3 tat2  
take take take cut  
Take ((this knife)) – cut ((that))
- 2 B ((takes knife to start cutting))



Figure 2: (INTCN\_111204x\_RCR\_48410\_0048.png) Person A (man in foreground, to right of frame) holds out a knife as he says ‘Cut (them)’ to Person B (man seated further back, to left of frame).

The third major category of visible behaviour that accompanies initiating moves is reaching for something, usually an object that is being requested. See, for example, Extract 19, below (INTCN\_111204x\_RCR\_296281), in which Person A is asking for a piece of medicinal root as she holds out her hand, as if reaching to receive it.

*N.J. Enfield*

### 4.3 Verbal elements

#### 4.3.1 Major sentence types

In terms of linguistic form, a majority of the initiating moves in this Lao collection are full clauses marked as one or another of the three main sentence types: declarative, imperative, interrogative. As the following table shows, the relative frequency of these types is heavily skewed. Imperative forms account for around four fifths of all cases, with interrogatives and declaratives far less frequent:

Table 5: Sentence type

Sentence type	# in sample	%
Imperative	149	82.8%
Interrogative	20	11.1%
Declarative	11	6.1%

In the following example of declarative formatting, Person A is sitting close to a large pot with live fish at the bottom of it. The water level in the pot is too low. Person B starts pouring water into the pot. As the water level rises, the fish start to thrash about, and water splashes onto Person A. He states '(That's) enough!'. This assertion results immediately in Person B desisting and moving back from the pot.

- (10) INTCN\_111203l\_618100
- 1 A qeej<sup>4</sup> phòò<sup>2</sup> lèèw<sup>4</sup> - huaj<sup>5</sup>  
yeah enough PRF - INTJ.ANNOYED  
Hey, that's enough, gosh! ((moves body back away from pot that is splashing water from the fish))
  - ▷ 2 B ((stops pouring water into the pot and moves back))

For another example of declarative formatting, see Extract 21 (INTCN\_111204x\_-RCR\_153391) below, in which Person A's statement 'You're blocking your brother' is an attempt to get Person B to move away.

These examples of declarative formatting illustrate the indirect strategy by which people can get people to do things simply by describing a problem that needs solving (see Rossi & Zinken 2016). When Person A describes a problem, a cooperative Person B may respond by fixing that problem.

Cases with interrogative formatting in the Lao data are mostly of two types. One type asks as to the existence or whereabouts of an object that Speaker A

6 *Recruitments in Lao*

wants. For example, here Person A wants some betel nut to chew. She first asks ‘permission’ (a kind of ritual preliminary to issuing a request), and then asks ‘Is there anything to chew?’:

(11) INTCN\_020727a\_197007

- 1 A beng<sup>1</sup> dee<sup>4</sup> qanuñaat<sup>4</sup> dèèl ( ) khiaw<sup>4</sup> maak<sup>5</sup> mii<sup>2</sup> ñang<sup>3</sup>  
look FAC.ONRCD permission IMP.SOFT chew betel exist anything  
khiaw<sup>4</sup> bòò<sup>3</sup> ((Looking around for betel nut, grabbing hold of basket herself))  
chew QPLR  
Look, If I may () (I want to) chew betel nut, is there anything to chew?
- ▷ 2 B qoo<sup>4</sup> mii<sup>2</sup> laø.bòò<sup>3</sup> ((allows A to proceed))  
INTJ exist of.course  
Oh, yes of course

See also Extract 4 (CONV\_020723b\_RCR\_970010) above. In that example, Person A wants a knife for food preparation. She first asks Person B (her father) a very general question, roughly ‘The knife?’, following it up with a more specific question ‘Dad is the knife behind you?’. He then reaches back to retrieve the knife and pass it to her. Questions about where an object is, or whether it is available, are appropriate in precisely those situations in which the question is apposite—namely, when it is not known that the object can be provided or not (see Rossi 2015a).

In a second kind of question that is used for getting others to do things, a question may serve to somewhat indirectly draw attention to a problem that needs solving. In the next example, Speaker A is sitting at a neighbour’s shop stall, watching as her neighbour threads pieces of meat onto skewers and piling them up, in preparation to grill meat for sale at her stall. Her question — ‘Why don’t you ever grill any of these?’ — can be interpreted as an oblique way of implying that Person A would like some to eat, and suggesting that Person B start grilling the skewered meat.

(12) INTCN\_111204q\_RCR\_15060

- 1 A khùù<sup>2</sup> bòò<sup>1</sup> piing<sup>4</sup> cak<sup>2</sup> thùa<sup>1</sup>  
why NEG grill any time  
Why don’t you ever grill any of these
- ▷ 2 B ((no response; continues threading meat onto skewers))

The imperative sentence type is the dominant one used in getting people to do things. In this sentence type, there is usually no subject (or if there is one, it is a form of person reference referring to the addressee, the intended agent of the requested action), and the verb has no marking for aspect or modality. In many

N.J. Enfield

cases, there is no further marking, while in others there is explicit marking by means of a sentence-final particle from a dedicated system of such particles. The different particles allow speakers to denote a range of subtle or not-so-subtle distinctions in features such as expectation of compliance, minimization of imposition, and urgency (see Enfield 2007:63ff for detailed explication). Here are the figures for the forms of marking that occur more than 5 times in the Lao data (accounting for 124 cases):

Table 6: Forms of marking

Particle	# in sample	%
zero	46	37.1%
mèè4	21	16.9%
dèè1	18	14.5%
dee4	10	8.1%
duu2	10	8.1%
naø	7	5.6%
paj3	6	4.8%
vaj2	6	4.8%

Finally, there is a dedicated negative imperative marker *jaa1*, meaning ‘desist’. There are three cases in my corpus: see Extract 7 (INTCN\_030731b\_441300), above, and the following example. In this example, a group of people are seated in a village home, eating and talking. They are seated in a circle, without much space between them. On this occasion, one of the people, a middle-aged man, who is a son-in-law to the household, has been a guest in the house and is preparing to leave the village and not return for an extended period. Extended family members are gathering on this occasion. The man’s niece wants to sit close to him, and she begins to push into the space next to him, requiring people to shift and make space. Her father (the man’s brother-in-law) reacts by telling her not to go too close. (This is an example of an ‘alter trajectory’ type of recruitment.) She ignores this, which is to say that she simply continues her trajectory of action.

(13) INTCN\_111204x\_RCR\_196441

► 1 A nithaa3 jaal paj3 kaj4 phen1  
 N NEG. IMPV go near 3.POL  
 Nithaa don’t go close to him

► 2 B ((no verbal response, continues to move into the space next to her uncle))

## 6 Recruitments in Lao

### 4.3.2 Additional verbal types

Here I note two further types of linguistic form that were used in initiating moves in the Lao data. First is the ‘no predicate’ type, in which someone simply refers to the object being requested. Here is an example:

- (14) INTCN\_111201k\_RCR\_343251
- 1 A phaa2 khaw5 lèk1 hanø naø luuk4  
tray.table rice steel DEM.DIST TPC child  
The steel tray table, child
  - ▷ 2 B ((outside the room, eventually returns with the tray table as  
requested))

It is worth noting the use here of the kin term *luuk4* ‘child’ as a vocative. This may help contribute to the understanding that the speaker is seeking to mobilize the child’s assistance.

Second is the ‘bare vocative’ type. In this type of utterance, a person is summoned by saying their name. That is, calling out ‘John!’ is functionally equivalent to saying ‘John, come here!’. In one case (INTCN\_111202n\_RCR\_881960), a foreman wants his tradesmen, who are working in a nearby building, to come and assemble for lunch. He calls out *saang1 saang1* ‘tradesman tradesman!’ (see also Example 17 INTCN\_111202n\_RCR\_892800, above). In another case (INTCN\_-111202s\_980631), a girl is at her family rice fields, and wants her older brother, who is in a paddy field a hundred or so metres away, to come and help with a task. She calls *qaaj4-dong3* ‘elder brother Dong!’. This would mobilize him to go and help her.

## 5 Formats in Move B: the response

There is a range of things that Person B can do in the response move of a recruitment sequence. Here is a breakdown, from the 181 cases in the Lao data where it is possible to tell how initiating moves were responded to:

It is striking that nearly half of all cases are ‘no uptake’ or ‘other’. This may seem to imply that requests and similar actions are ignored half of the time. But this is not what is going on. Often it is because Person B doesn’t hear or notice that the request is issued (recall that these are noisy village environments). Sometimes it is because people re-issue an initiating move before the other person has heard or had a chance to respond. When we restrict the count to ‘last of non-minimal sequence’ plus ‘one and only’, the proportions change a bit, specifically the proportion of ‘quickly fulfils’ to ‘other’:

*N.J. Enfield*

Table 7: Response action

Response action	# in sample	%
No response taken or 'other'	86	47.5%
Quickly fulfils	53	29.3%
Plausibly starts fulfilling	34	18.8%
Rejects	7	3.9%
Initiates repair	1	0.6%

Table 8: Response action in 'last of non-minimal sequence'

Response action	# in sample	%
No response taken or 'other'	40	38.5%
Quickly fulfils	40	38.5%
Plausibly starts fulfilling	17	16.3%
Rejects	6	5.8%
Initiates repair	1	1%

A different breakdown of responses can be done using simple formal criteria. This table shows the relative frequency and proportions of responses that are (1) nonverbal only, (2) verbal only, and (3) composite of both verbal and relevant nonverbal behaviour.

Table 9: Response modality

Modality	# in sample	%
Nonverbal only	137	60.7%
Verbal only	65	28.8%
Composite	24	10.6%

The majority of responses in recruitment sequences (nearly two thirds) are fully nonverbal, and nearly three-quarters involve some form of relevant visible behavior.

### 5.1 Fully non-verbal responses

Fully non-verbal responses include behavior like the following:

- Person B moves towards the television and reaches and switches it on (INTCN\_111204t\_827370) 13.50
- Person B stops what he's doing and walks up the stairs. goes into the kitchen, and tosses the rice (INTCN\_111203l\_427440)
- Person B reaches for the thing Person A wants, picks it up and hands it to Person A (INTCN\_111203l\_644660)
- Person B slides bowl with juice in direction of Person A (INTCN\_030731b\_-192570)

These are common and straightforward kinds of scenario. Nothing more is done by Person B than simply complying with the desired behavior.

### 5.2 Verbal elements of responses

The functional core of a response in a recruitment sequence is the bodily conduct that constitutes the assisting behaviour. As noted in the previous section, only a minority of the responses surveyed here have a verbal component. Few generalizations about these verbal aspects of responses are possible, but two points are worth mentioning.

First, there are cases in which the requested action is itself a piece of verbal behavior, and not a bodily action like turning off a switch or passing something. In the following example, a mother-daughter pair (both adults) are sitting in a village house. The daughter's baby is asleep in a cradle in a nearby house. The daughter has sent a young girl to go and check on the baby, to see if it has woken up. As the young girl is walking over to the other house, the mother tells her daughter to call out to the young girl and instruct her to bring the baby over to them if it has awoken:

(15) INTCN\_111204t\_769065

- 1 A khan<sup>2</sup> man<sup>2</sup> tūn<sup>1</sup> qaw<sup>3</sup> maa<sup>2</sup> haj<sup>5</sup> kuu<sup>3</sup> sii<sup>4</sup> vaal  
if 3SG.BARE wake take come give 1SG.BARE thus say  
Say "If she's awake bring her to me" ((addressed to B, the speaker's adult daughter))
- 2 B khan<sup>2</sup> man<sup>2</sup> tūn<sup>1</sup> laø qaw<sup>3</sup> nòøng<sup>4</sup> maa<sup>2</sup> haj<sup>5</sup> dee<sup>4</sup>  
if 3SG.BARE wake then take y.sibling come give FAC.ONRCRD  
If she's awake, bring her to me, y'hear! ((called out to girl on her way to other house))

*N.J. Enfield*

In another example, an elderly man is sitting in a village temple building where lunch has been prepared for a group of tradesmen who are working some distance away, in the temple grounds. He is with the tradesmen's foreman, who has just called out to the tradesmen to come and eat lunch. He wonders if the tradesmen did not hear him, and then asks if the elderly man—who he says has a suitably loud voice—could call out to them:

(16) INTCN\_111202n\_RCR\_892800

- 1 A qoo4 phoø-tuu4 pêê3 nan5 lèq1 (,) siang3 dang3 niø qaw2 (,)  
INTJ grandfather P DEM.Ext PRF (,) voice loud TPC INTJ (,)  
khù2-khù2 niø (.) hòòng4 beng1 duu2  
RDP-suitable TPC (.) call look IMP.PLEAD  
Oh Grandpa Pêê, He has a loud voice, it is suitable (for calling out to people far away), call them please
- ▷ 2 B saang1 qeej4  
tradesman VOC  
Hey tradesmen!

Second, rejecting a request or declining to comply is often done by verbally stating a reason for the rejection or declination. In 18 cases in the Lao data, there is a clausal statement of a reason. None of these are cases of fulfilling, or plausibly beginning to fulfil, a request. Stated reasons for rejection include, for example, that the thing being asked for is not available, or that the addressee is not free to do the act being requested. See examples of reasons given with rejections in the following section.

### 5.3 Types of rejections

The Lao examples yield only seven cases of a response that rejects or explicitly signals that the person will not do what is asked. In most of the observed cases, the rejection or declination is done by stating a reason why Person B cannot do what is asked of them. This aligns with the classical analysis of speech acts that refers to the felicity conditions of an action (Austin 1962). These conditions need to be presupposed if the intended speech act is to be consummated. For example, if a request is made, there are certain 'preparatory conditions', including that Person B should be able to carry out the requested act (Searle 1969: 66). One way in which a person can reject or decline a request is to state or suggest that a preparatory condition does not hold.

In an example, Person A asks Person B to turn on the television. Person B's way of declining is to suggest that the television does not work:

(17) INTCN\_111204t\_818990

6 *Recruitments in Lao*

- 1 A peet5 tholathat1 beng1 mèè4  
open television look IMP.UNIMP  
Turn on the television for us to watch
- ▷ 2 B peet5 bøø daj4 tii4  
open NEG can QPLR.PRESM  
I'm pretty sure it doesn't work (it can't be turned on)

Person B's line is formally a question, but the use of the question particle *tii4* is a way of conveying that you strongly suspect that the answer to your question is yes. By suggesting in this way that the television doesn't work, Person B is directly attending to one of the preparatory conditions of the request or command being issued, namely that it is in fact possible to carry out the service requested (see also Example 9 INTEN\_111204x\_RCR\_495541, in which the rejection move is done by stating that a requested food is finished up).

In a second example, Person A directly asks Person B to give them some of the herbal medicinal root that they are holding. Person B declines to do so, by stating that 'there is only one piece' of the root:

- (18) INTEN\_111204x\_RCR\_296281
- 1 A qaw3 maa2 qaw3 maa2 ((reaching for requested object))  
take come take come  
give it here, give it here
  - ▷ 2 B mii2 khòø5 diaw3 nùng1  
exist joint single one  
There's only one piece.

By saying that there is only one piece, Person B directly attends to one of the preparatory conditions of the request, namely that it is possible to fulfil it. Here it is not technically impossible to give the medicine, but the speaker is appealing not so much to what is possible, but to what is reasonable. When it comes to goods such as medicines, Lao speakers tend to be willing to share, but in this case the addressee has only one piece of the medicine, and it is medicine that he is using to treat a current illness. His rejection appeals to the absence of a condition that would define a *reasonable* possibility to comply.

In a third example, Person A directly asks Person B to go and get a mortar and pound some papaya. Person B declines to do so, by conveying that 'there is no hurry' to do it, given the time frame of the food preparation that is going on.

- (19) INTEN\_030731b\_695170
- 1 A paj3 qaw3 khok1 mao tam3 paj3  
go take mortar DIR.ALL pound go  
Go and get a mortar to do the pounding

*N.J. Enfield*

- ▷ 2 B qoo4 jaa1 faaw4 thòòq2  
 INTJ NEG.IMPV rush JUS  
 Oh, ((let's)) not rush.

Here, Person B is not disputing that the requested service is appropriate, nor that they are able to carry it out, but rather they are disputing that it needs to be done *now*.

A fourth example is from an ‘alter trajectory’ sequence. A preparatory condition for this type of sequence is that Person B is currently engaged in a behavior that is somehow (potentially) problematic, such that it should be altered or halted. In Example 7 (INTCN\_030731b\_441300) above, this condition was satisfied by the evident fact that the railing Person B was about to sit on was rickety. In the following case, Person A states that Person B is ‘blocking her brother’. This kind of statement of a problem is a well-known way of getting someone to do something—or at least, people may respond to such statements by helping, or at least offering to help. But in this case, Person B explicitly disputes the truth of the assertion made, thus denying that there is any problem in need of solving:

(20) INTCN\_111204x\_RCR\_153391

- 1 A qaw4 bang3 qaaaj4  
 INTJ.SRPRS block elder.brother  
 Hey you're blocking your brother
- ▷ 2 B bang3 qiñang3 kòq2 qaaaj4-nik1 laaw2 hén3 dòòk5  
 block what Q.AGAIN elder.brother-Nick 3SG.FA see FAC.RESIST  
 What am I blocking? Nick can see fine.

In a final case, a man has been skinning catfish for some time and is now evidently tired of it, but he has not yet finished the job. He directs his wife, who is sitting nearby and also busy with laborious food preparation, to do this for him. She refuses, not by saying ‘no’, but by asking a question ‘Why don’t you do it?’.

(21) INTCN\_111203l\_682150

- 1 A qaw3 nang3 maa2 saj1 phi4  
 take skin come put here  
 Put the skin (of the fish) in here ((Pointing in direction of the fish skin, then to the bowl where it is to go))
- ▷ 2 B caw4 khù2 bò1 hêt1 san4  
 2SG.POL why not do so  
 Why don't you do it. ((Pointing to fish that A already has in front of him, and could skin by himself))

Her question challenges a key presupposition of the initiating move by Person A, namely that her husband cannot (reasonably) do the action himself. This

## 6 *Recruitments in Lao*

comes across in the context as a blunt refusal, yet it is still done using an indirect strategy.

The various forms of rejection observed in this section have the ‘indirect’ quality that would be predicted by well-known social theories of language use. Brown and Levinson’s (1987) theory of politeness predicts that ‘face-threatening acts’ such as refusals will be more likely handled by off-record means. Instead of saying ‘no’ in the above cases, people instead give reasons, in the form of a reference to a problem with a preparatory condition for the speech act in question.

### 5.4 Acknowledgements in third position

Lao speakers in informal family and village settings seldom say ‘Thank you’ or anything resembling it. There are only two cases in the corpus in which there is arguably an acknowledgement by Person A that Person B has fulfilled a request or otherwise assisted. In both cases, this acknowledgement is a simple interjection of confirmation, meaning ‘Yes’ or ‘That’s right’:

(22) INTCN\_111203l\_636171

- 1 AA qaw3 nii3 paj3 kaj3-kaj3  
take this go RDP-far  
Take it far away
- 2 BB ((picks up pot to move it))  
Why don’t you do it. ((Pointing to fish that A already has in front of him, and could skin by himself))
- 3 Ac qee5  
yeah  
Yeah ((=Yes, That’s right))

(23) INTCN\_020727a\_559100

- 1 AA ((crawls forward in direction of basket))
- 2 BB caw4 khiaw4 vaa3  
2SG.POL chew QPLR.INFER  
You’ll chew? ((Passes basket to A))
- 3 Ac mm5  
yeah  
Yeah ((=Yes, That’s right))

The data in this study are from highly informal settings. Acknowledgements of compliance or assistance are almost entirely non-existent in these settings, and when they do happen, as in these cases, they are not of the ‘Thank you’ variety. Lao speakers do have a way of saying thank you—the term for thank you is

*N.J. Enfield*

*khòòp5 caj3*—but it is restricted to more formal situations, or when speaking to strangers.

Other kinds of third position uptake practices following compliance moves in recruitment sequences are not frequent in this action context either. The following examples are typical of the Lao data in that they do not feature any acknowledgement following Move B.

(24) INTCN\_111203l\_644660

- 1 A qaw3 tanaang1 dèèng3 maa2  
take netting red come  
Bring the red netting here
- ▷ 2 B ((reaches for the thing A wants, picks it up and hands it to A))
- 3 ((interaction continues))

(25) INTCN\_030731b\_192570

- 1 A qaw3 maa2  
take come  
Bring it here (the bowl of leaf juice)
- ▷ 2 B ((slides bowl with juice in direction of A))
- 3 ((interaction continues))

(26) INTCN\_111204q\_RCR\_890111

- 1 A thêèk5 gan3 nan4 qòòk5 kòònl1 dèèl luuk4  
pour CLF.INAN exit before IMP.SOFT child  
Pour that stuff out first, child
- ▷ 2 B ((pours the water as asked))
- 3 ((interaction continues))

## 6 Social asymmetries

Social asymmetries in Lao social interaction can be defined in terms of a metaphor of height (see [Enfield 2015b](#)). In most dyads, one person is considered to be socially ‘above’ the other person. Naturally it is not always a straightforward judgement as to who is above whom, given the sometimes fluid and contestable nature of social relations. But in the kinds of home and village settings focused on in this study, the social order is clear (which is not to say that people follow its associated linguistic norms to the letter; the norms can be flouted, negotiated, and contested in numerous ways). The core measure of social asymmetry in dyads is the relative birth order of siblings, and associated practices, many of which are

6 *Recruitments in Lao*

linguistic in nature (Enfield 2015b). In the home and village, there is no ambiguity as to how most people relate to each other within this height-based conception of social difference. People are either related by kin or they are classified as such.

Where it was possible to determine the social asymmetries between dyads in the data described in this study—the three possibilities being that Person A is higher than Person B, the two are equal in status, or Person A is lower than Person B—here is what I found:

Table 10: Social asymmetry

Relation	# in sample	%
A>B	123	60.9%
A=B	38	18.8%
A<B	41	20.3%

Only one in five recruitment sequences features a lower-ranked person getting help from a higher-ranked one. Three in five are issued in a downward direction. This suggests support for Brown and Levinson's (1987) flow-chart model by which people select from among various options when planning to carry out potentially face-threatening acts. At the first point of choice in their model, if a person judges that the potential threat to face is particularly high, they can choose not to carry out the act at all. This is arguably what accounts for the lower frequency of requests and similar actions directed toward higher-ranked people.

When Lao speakers get lower-ranked people than themselves to do things, this is not just a preference, it reflects a strong asymmetry in entitlements (to expect assistance from lower-ranked people) and obligations (to provide assistance to higher-ranked people). This is especially apparent in cases of *delegation*: Person A asks lower-ranked Person B to do something, and Person B immediately delegates the task to Person C, who in turn is ranked lower than B.

In a case from a family food preparation scene, when Person B is asked to go and scoop some jugged fish and bring it to use in cooking, she does not carry out the action. Instead, she turns to her younger sibling—Person C—and re-issues the command, which Person C then immediately fulfils:

(27) CONV\_020723b\_RCR\_126590

- 1 A tak2 paø-dèèk5 hêt1 viak4 lèèw4 laø cang1 paj3 ((to B))  
scoop CM.FISH-jugged.fish do work finish PRF then go  
scoop some jugged fish and do your work, and then go

N.J. Enfield

- 2 B      qee5 khiaw5 paj3 tak2    paø-dèèk5                         paj3 ((looking at C))  
yeah hurry go scoop CM.FISH-jugged.fish go  
Yeah, go and scoop some jugged fish
- 3 C      ((Gets up to walk over to jugged fish to scoop some up))

Another example of delegation by lower-ranked Person B to a yet lower-ranked person is Extract 5 (INTCN\_111202n\_RCR\_989020), above.

## 7 Conclusion

This survey of semiotic resources for getting people to do things in Lao has concentrated on home and village interaction. The observations made here are not claimed to hold for the full range of contexts and domains in which Lao speakers operate, such as the formal and institutional settings that people sometimes find themselves in. That said, the informal home and village contexts discussed here are arguably the dominant ones in ordinary people's lives, and therefore require the core set of practices that any member of the Lao-speaking community should command. The overview presented here is therefore offered as a reference point for further work in this area.

Taken together, the above-described practices that Lao speakers use in getting each other to do things show two striking properties. First, they are varied and textured in kind: Lao speakers draw from a range of semiotic options (linguistic or otherwise) for formulating their moves in recruitment sequences. Second, when observed in operation in a corpus, these sets of options show characteristic properties of a functional system. The numerous statements of relative frequency of options summarized in the many figures provided above show precisely the skewed frequency distributions that are typical of functional systems across widely varying domains, from national economies to academic citation patterns to TV remote control handsets. Here we see the Pareto Principle—or the Law of the Vital Few and the Trivial Many<sup>4</sup>—at work (Pareto 1971, Zipf 1949). While many tools are available, a small number of them will carry the greatest functional load for those who use the system.

## References

Austin, J. L. 1962. *How to do things with words*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 166 pp.

---

<sup>4</sup>This phrase is attributed to Joseph M. Juran in 1941.

## 6 Recruitments in Lao

- Brown, Penelope & Stephen C. Levinson. 1987. *Politeness: Some universals in language usage* (Studies in Interactional Sociolinguistics 4). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth. 2014. What does grammar tell us about action? *Pragmatics* 24(3). 623–647.
- Curl, Traci & Paul Drew. 2008. Contingency and action: A comparison of two forms of requesting. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 41(2). 129–153. DOI:[10.1080/08351810802028613](https://doi.org/10.1080/08351810802028613)
- Enfield, N. J. 2007. *A grammar of Lao*. Vol. 38. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Enfield, N. J. 2009. *The anatomy of meaning: Speech, gesture, and composite utterances*. Vol. 8. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Enfield, N. J. 2010. Questions and responses in Lao. *Journal of Pragmatics* 42(10). 2649–2665.
- Enfield, N. J. 2011a. Elements of action ascription: A generative account. In *Workshop on proposals and action ascription in conversation, Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen, The Netherlands*.
- Enfield, N. J. 2011b. Summary of interactional foundations of language/human sociality and systems of language use retreat, 20 April 2011 (attended by Nick Enfield, Julija Baranova, Giovanni Rossi, Penelope Brown, Simeon Floyd, Rosa Gisladottir, Joe Blythe, Lilla Magyari, Gertie Hoymann, Paul Drew, Kobil Kendrick, Tyko Dirksmeyer, Lorena Pool Balam, Mark Dingemanse, Elizabeth Manrique, Francisco Torreira, and Stephen Levinson). In *Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen, 28 April 2011*.
- Enfield, N. J. 2013. *Relationship thinking: Enchrony, agency, and human sociality*. New York: Oxford University Press.[aMHC].
- Enfield, N. J. 2014. Human agency and the infrastructure for requests. In Paul Drew & Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen (eds.), *Requesting in social interaction*, 35–54. Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins.
- Enfield, N. J. 2015a. Other-initiated repair in Lao. *Open Linguistics* 1(1). 119–144.
- Enfield, N. J. 2015b. *The utility of meaning: What words mean and why*. Oxford: OUP Oxford.
- Enfield, N. J. & Jack Sidnell. 2017. *The concept of action*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Floyd, Simeon. 2017. Requesting as a means for negotiating distributed agency. In N. J. Enfield & Paul Kockelman (eds.), *Distributed agency*, 67–78. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Floyd, Simeon, Giovanni Rossi, N. J. Enfield, Julija Baranova, Joe Blythe, Mark Dingemanse, Kobil H. Kendrick & Jörg Zinken. 2014. Recruitments across lan-

N. J. Enfield

- guages: A systematic comparison. Talk presented at the 4th International Conference on Conversation Analysis (ICCA 2014). In *University of California at Los Angeles, CA, June 25–29.*
- Kendrick, Kobil H. & Paul Drew. 2016. Recruitment: Offers, requests, and the organization of assistance in interaction. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 49(1). 1–19. DOI:[10.1080/08351813.2016.1126436](https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2016.1126436)
- Pareto, Vilfredo. 1971. *Translation of manuale di economia politica* (“manual of political economy”). Alfred N Page & Ann S. Schwier (eds.). New York: AM Kelley.
- Rossi, Giovanni. 2012. Bilateral and unilateral requests: The use of imperatives and Mi X? Interrogatives in Italian. *Discourse Processes* 49(5). 426–458. DOI:[10.1080/0163853X.2012.684136](https://doi.org/10.1080/0163853X.2012.684136)
- Rossi, Giovanni. 2014. When do people not use language to make requests? In Paul Drew & Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen (eds.), *Requesting in social interaction*, 303–334. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. Studies in Language and Social Interaction.
- Rossi, Giovanni. 2015a. Responding to pre-requests: The organization of hai x? Do you have x? Sequences in Italian. *Journal of Pragmatics* 82(Supplement C). 5–22. DOI:[10.1016/j.pragma.2015.03.008](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2015.03.008)
- Rossi, Giovanni. 2015b. *The request system in Italian interaction*. Radboud University Nijmegen. (Doctoral dissertation).
- Rossi, Giovanni & Jörg Zinken. 2016. Grammar and social agency: The pragmatics of impersonal deontic statements. *Language* 92(4). e296–e325. DOI:[10.1353/lan.2016.0083](https://doi.org/10.1353/lan.2016.0083)
- Schegloff, Emanuel A., Gail Jefferson & Harvey Sacks. 1977. The preference for self-correction in the organization of repair in conversation. *Language* 53(2). 361–382.
- Searle, John R. 1969. *Speech acts: An essay in the philosophy of language*. Vol. 626. Cambridge: Cambridge university press.
- Zipf, George Kingsley. 1949. *Human behaviour and the principle of least-effort*. Cambridge MA edn. Reading: Addison-Wesley.
- Zuckerman, Charles HP. 2017. Disrupting agents, distributing agency. In N. J. Enfield & Paul Kockelman (eds.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

## Chapter 7

# Recruitments in Murrinhpatha and the preference organisation of their possible responses

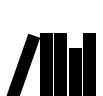
Joe Blythe

Department of Linguistics, Macquarie University

This chapter describes the resources that speakers of Murrinhpatha use when recruiting assistance from others in everyday social interaction. The chapter draws on data from video recordings of informal conversation in Murrinhpatha, and reports language-specific findings generated within a large-scale comparative project involving eight languages from five continents (see other chapters of this volume). The resources for recruitment described in this chapter include linguistic structures from across the levels of grammatical organization, as well as gestural and other visible and contextual resources of relevance to the interpretation of action in interaction. The presentation of categories of recruitment, and elements of recruitment sequences, follows the coding scheme used in the comparative project (see Chapter 2 of the volume). This chapter extends our knowledge of the structure and usage of Murrinhpatha with detailed attention to the properties of sequential structure in conversational interaction. The chapter is a contribution to an emerging field of pragmatic typology.

### 1 Introduction

This chapter presents a first survey of recruitment moves and their responses in informal face-to-face conversation conducted in the Australian Aboriginal language Murrinhpatha. I begin by introducing the language and its speakers, and by discussing the corpus that informs this collection. In §2 I then illustrate some basic recruitment sequences and present the recruitment subtypes that we consider in this larger comparative project. In §3, I present the formats used as recruitment moves, while in §4 I present the formats used as responses. The survey



*Joe Blythe*

reveals a hierarchically governed array of responses, including structurally preferred compliant responses, as well as a range of dispreferred refusal formats, which either overtly or implicitly reject the recruitment proposal. In §5 I discuss the possible effects of social asymmetry on recruitments in Murrinhpatha before concluding the chapter in §6.

### 1.1 The Murrinhpatha language

Murrinhpatha is an indigenous regional lingua franca spoken by approximately 2700 people in Wadeye, Nganmarriyanga and in various smaller communities within the Fitzmaurice and Moyle Rivers region of Australia's Northern Territory (see Figure 1). It is spoken by people affiliated to the Murrinhpatha, Marri Ngarr, Marri Tjevin, Marri Amu, Magati Ke, Ngan'gityemerri and Jaminjung languages, who prior to the 1940s and 50s, would have been multilingual hunter-gatherers. Today all Aboriginal people in this region speak Murrinhpatha natively on a daily basis. It is one of only 18 traditional Australian languages still being acquired by children (AIATSIS 2005: 3). Until they encounter English at school, most children in Wadeye grow up as monolingual Murrinhpatha speakers (Kelly et al. 2010; Forshaw et al. 2017).

Murrinhpatha is a polysynthetic, headmarking language with grammaticalized kinship inflections. Its verbal morphology is templatic (Nordlinger 2010b). Complex predicates are comprised of bipartite stems, often consisting of discontinuous morphs. Nominal entities are classifiable in terms of ten semantically transparent noun classes, which do not form the basis for verbal agreement.

Previous research has described the language's genetic status (Green 2003), its complex polysynthetic verbal morphosyntax (Blythe 2009; 2010a; 2013; Nordlinger 2010a,b; Mansfield 2014b; Street 1980; 1987; Walsh 1976; 1996; 1987; Forshaw 2016; Forshaw et al. 2017), the system of nominal classification (Walsh 1993; 1997), syntax (Nordlinger 2011; Mujkic 2013), the marking of tense, aspect and mood categories (Nordlinger & Caudal 2012), and the kinship system (Blythe in press). Interactional research has investigated person reference (Blythe 2009; 2010b; 2013), spatial reference (Blythe et al. 2016), teasing (Blythe 2012), and other-initiated repair (Blythe 2015).

### 1.2 Data collection and corpus

Of the seventeen Murrinhpatha interactions sampled in this study, thirteen were collected by the author between 2007 and 2012 and four were collected in 2012 by John Mansfield. The recordings were made either in the communities of Wadeye,

## 7 Recruitments in Murrinhpatha and the preference organisation of responses

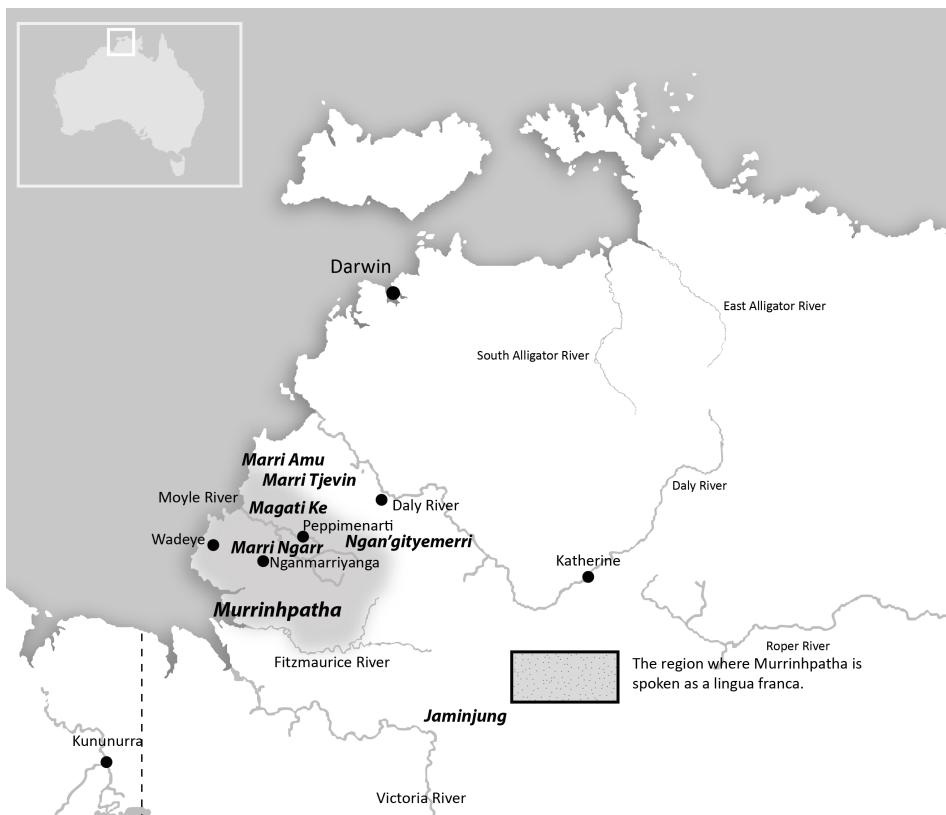


Figure 1: The Fitzmaurice and Moyle Rivers region of Australia's Northern Territory.

Nganmarriyanga, or on the estates of one of the local clan groups. From 3.5 hours of transcribed Murrinhpatha conversation 145 recruitments were sampled.

Most of the recordings were made on picnics in the bush, away from the noisy community of Wadeye. For this reason many of the recruitments under examination relate to procurement of cigarettes or tobacco, or to the production of billy tea. They are generally low cost, low contingency requests for imminent action. In accordance with the guidelines of the project (Rossi, Floyd, and Enfield, this volume) higher contingency requests for more distant future action have been excluded from the collection.

*Joe Blythe*

## 2 Basics of recruitment sequences

As defined in the introduction to this volume (Rossi, Floyd, and Enfield this volume), a recruitment is a basic cooperative phenomenon in social interaction consisting of a sequence of two moves with the following characteristics:

- **Move A:** participant A does or says something to participant B, or that B can see or hear
- **Move B:** participant B does a practical action for or with participant A that is fitted to what A just did or said

Such sequences encompass requests for objects or other services as well as directives to move or modify behaviour. They also include actions that occasion assistance or collaboration without necessarily having been produced with the intention to elicit that effect.

The basic minimal sequence will be illustrated below in §2.1 while non-minimal sequences will be discussed in §2.2. The subtypes will be elaborated in §2.3.

### 2.1 Minimal recruitment sequence

Extract (1) exemplifies a minimal recruitment sequence. The initial move by Mary in extract (1) is multimodally packaged as a composite utterance (Kendon 2004; Enfield 2009). The second person singular imperative verb *nangamutkathu* in line 2 is accompanied by eye-gaze toward Lily, directing her to ‘give {something} here to me’. The vaguely expressed entity of the vegetable *mi*-class is minimally specified by the accompanying gesture. Mary’s outstretched hand is open, ready to receive an item small enough to be passed by hand. This is inferable as either tobacco or a tobacco product. When ready, Lily passes Mary a *larrwa*, a conical tobacco pipe, packed with tobacco (*mi beka*, line 4).

- (1) Da Ngarne 20091121JBvid03\_906530\_915256
- 1 MAR [ °Ya mi nangamutkathuya; °  
          Ya mi na -nga -mut -gathu =ya  
          HES NC:VEG 2SG.S.poke(19).FUT-1SG.IO-give-hither=CL  
          Ah, give me some vegetable class stuff.]
- 2 MAR [((Reaches out to Lily with an open hand)) ]
- 3 (4.7)
- 4 LIL ((passes conical smoking pipe to Mary))

## 7 *Recruitments in Murrinhpatha and the preference organisation of responses*

This canonical minimal sequence consists of an initiating move (M-A, ►) by participant A and a subsequent move (M-B, ▷) by participant B. These canonical minimal sequences form the building blocks for non-minimal sequences.

### 2.2 Non-minimal recruitment sequence

Interactionally, non-minimal sequences are less straightforward than the minimal sequences. Usually their non-minimality is brought about because the initiating recruitment is problematic, because the expected recruitment move M-B isn't easily complied with, or because the recruitee is either unable to fulfill, or is reticent about fulfilling the recruitment.

The non-minimal sequences are numerous and varied in type. In some sequences, the responsive move (M-B) becomes an initiating move for a subsequent sequence, as a counter or deflected sequence (see §4.2.2). This sequence might also be non-minimal. In other non-minimal sequences, the expected responsive move (M-B) does not eventuate and participant A pursues a response by reissuing, modifying or elaborating upon the prior move (M-A<sub>2</sub>). Alternatively (or additionally), there may be contingencies to be attended to by participant B before the responsive move can be produced. Thus, before committing to comply with a request, the recruitee might need convincing that s/he is capable of performing the requested action. This is exemplified in extract (2).

The three young men in extract (2) speak very little English and have few dealings with white people. Because they have no tobacco, one of them, Dave, tries to encourage Dom to procure some from a white man standing nearby.

(2) Ngandimeli 20120715\_JB\_video\_GYHM100\_02\_51660\_68736

- 1 DAV Ngawu!  
Hey!
- 2 (1.2)
- 3 DAV tjewirndurt thanadharrpu [mi beka ngarra ku karrim pangu warri ]  
tje -wirndurt tha -rna -dharrpu  
2SG.S.poke.RR(21).FUT-arise 2SG.S.poke(19).FUT-3SG.M.IO-ask  
  
mi beka ngarra ku karrim pangu warri  
NC:VEG tobacco LOC NC:ANM 3SG.S.stand(3).EXIST DIST Fa/So  
Son, get up and ask the white bloke standing there for tobacco.
- 4 DAV [((turns head, lip-points)) Figure 2 ]
- 5 DOM [((turns head to follow Dave's gaze))]
- 6 (0.4)
- 7 DAV narnawu:; (0.6) manitjpirr charge up ngamanu  
na -rna mani-dhatjpirr charge\_up ngama -nu  
2SG.S.say(8).FUT-3SG.M.IO like-INTS recharge 1SG.S.say(34).FUT-FUT  
Tell him something like, "I'll become more lively..."

*Joe Blythe*

- 8 DAV mi ngurduwinungi kardamatha (.) mangini pirditjme ngengerennimenu.  
 mi ngurdu -wi -nu =ngi kardamatha  
 NC:VEG 1SG.S.shove(29).FUT-smoke-FUT=1SG.S.sit(1).FUT right\_here  
 mangini pirditjme nge -ngerren -neme -nu  
 similar long\_time 1DC.EX.S.sit(1).FUT-beSpeaking-PC.M.NSIB-FUT  
 as I sit here smoking, and thus we'll be able to sit and talk for ages.“
- 9 (0.4)
- 10 DAV [kardu pa̱tha::; ]  
 kardu patha-wa  
 NC:HUMAN good -EMPH  
 {He's a} good bloke!
- 11 DAV [((points with thumb))]
- 12 (0.2)
- 13 DOM I want- (0.2) Give me smoke (.) I you:: (0.4) [(fix one and)] story.
- 14 DAV [(( ))]
- 15 DAV [Yu.  
 yeah.
- 16 DOM [((gets up to go))]



Figure 2: Dom lip-points toward the white man off-screen who has tobacco (line 4).

Having secured Dom's recipiency with a summons (line1), Dave lip-points toward the white man nearby (line 4) and tells Dom to get up and ask him for tobacco (line 3, M-A<sub>1</sub>). When Dom doesn't move after 0.4 seconds, he adds that

## 7 *Recruitments in Murrinhpatha and the preference organisation of responses*

he should provide the following rationale for providing tobacco: namely, that the boys will be revitalised and able to sit and talk for much longer (lines 7 and 8, M-A<sub>2</sub>). When Dom (although smiling) still doesn't move after 0.4 seconds, Dave reassures him in line 10 that the white man is a good bloke (*kardu pathawa*, M-A<sub>3</sub>)<sup>1</sup>. Before complying with the request, at line 13 Dom rehearses what he will say to the white man in English. As Dave ratifies this rehearsal as adequate (line 15), Dom fulfils the request (line 16, M-B) by getting up to go and ask. Here the contingencies – what exactly to say to the white man in a language he seldom uses – are dealt with before the responsive move is enacted.

A handful of sequences can be considered non-minimal because they consist of an initial move by participant A (►) followed by two responsive moves by participant B. The first of these responsive moves (M-B1) expresses B's commitment to fulfil the recruitment, whereas the second (M-B2) constitutes the actual fulfilment. We will encounter two of these three-move sequences below in extract (14).

### 2.3 Subtypes of recruitment sequence

As outlined in the introduction to this volume, recruitments mobilize a range of cooperative actions, which can be broadly categorized as being of four sub-types: i) *service provision*, i.e. performing a practical task for or with someone, ii) *object transfer*, i.e. giving someone an object, iii) *alteration of trajectory*, i.e. changing or stopping one's behavior, and iv) *trouble assistance*, i.e. stepping in to help someone in response to current or anticipatable trouble. Table 1 shows the relative proportions of the various recruitment sub-types within the Murrinhpatha corpus.

*Service provision* and *object transfer* sequences have already been exemplified in extracts (2) and (1) respectively. The Murrinhpatha corpus contained no offers of assistance for evident trouble, possibly because all of the recordings were made outdoors in the open, rather than confined indoors where people may need, for

---

<sup>1</sup>The nominal *kardu* class ordinarily pertains to Aboriginal people who can be related to as actual or classificatory kin. Non-Aboriginal people (social outsiders, effectively) are ordinarily grouped with animates in the nominal *ku*-class (Walsh 1997; Blythe 2015). Dave's initial reference to the white man at line 3 is with the *ku* classifier (*ku karrim pangu*: approximately, 'the non-Aboriginal standing over there'). In the subsequent reference at line 10 Dave refers to him as *kardu patha*: literally 'good Aboriginal person'. The shift in classifier signals a pragmatic construal of the erstwhile alien as, for all intents and purposes, *kardu darrikardu* ('a fellow countryman'), and thus as someone who can effectively be coerced into providing tobacco.

*Joe Blythe*

Table 1: Relative proportions of the various recruitment sub-types.

Recruitment subtype	# in sample	%
service provision	110/145	76%
object transfer	41/145	28%
alteration of trajectory	21/145	14%
troubles assistance	0/145	0%

example, to make way for each other (see Enfield, this volume). Extract (3) illustrates an *alteration of trajectory* recruitment. In this case the recruitee is exhorted to not cease an activity she was already engaged in.

(3) Dingalngu 20110730\_JB\_video\_GYHM100\_04\_253128

- 1 LAU ((Stares behind Maggie's ear))
- 2 LAU ((Reaches into Maggie's hair)) [1.9 sec]
- 3 LAU ((Stops and scratches her own head)) [2.7 sec]
- 4 MAG Awu kuka mere nawey- (.)  
Awu kuka mere nawey  
no NC:ANM-TOP NEG STRI  
No!, don't sto-
- 5 MAG [nangiwaytji [kuka tjirrangiwertirt weyida.  
na -ngi -weway =tji  
2SG.S.GRAB(9).FUT-1S.D0-examine\_hair=2SG.S.SIT(1).FUT  
ku -ka tjirra -ngi -wertirt-weyida  
NC:ANM-TOP 2SG.S.WATCH(28).FUT-1S.D0-delouse-continue  
Keep on looking in my hair for lice.
- 6 ALI [hm hm hm hm[ ha ha ha ha
- 7 LAU ((resumes searching for lice))

- 8 KAR Yu  
yeah
- 9 (0.5)

In extract (3) Laura (at line 1) appears to notice something behind Maggie's ear (presumably, a louse) so reaches into her hair (line 2) to search for it. At line 3 she stops reaching and scratches her own head. At line 4 Maggie begins a negatively framed recruitment that is truncated midway through the verb. The negative morphosyntactic framing is replaced in self-repair by a positively framed recruitment which exhorts Laura to continue searching for the louse.<sup>2</sup> Laura resumes

<sup>2</sup>The repairable is not easy to translate. In all likelihood, the animate *ku* classifier is used to evoke the louse. The negatively framed repairable appears to have been shooting for something like, 'Don't stop searching for the critter'.

## *7 Recruitments in Murrinhpatha and the preference organisation of responses*

the search (line 7) before Maggie has even finished articulating her recruitment.

### **3 Formats in Move A: the recruitment**

In multiparty interaction, two key dimensions of recruitments are the question of who is being recruited, and how that person comes to recognize what they are being recruited for. The successful recruitment move must address both the person-selection dimension (Lerner 2003) and the action ascription dimension (Levinson 2013). These dimensions can be separately handled through the visuo-corporal modality, through the audio-vocal modality, or jointly handled through both as a composite, multimodal utterance. The *move* is the fundamental unit of social action within interaction (Enfield 2009; Goffman 1981). This semiotically rich unit is more often than not multimodal, that is, comprises verbal and kinesic components (see also Kendon 2004). In this paper, both kinesic behaviour and spoken behaviour are represented in the transcripts; and I'll be considering both person-selection and action ascription dimensions of the recruitment, as well as functional distinctions between the various forms of the recruitment moves.

#### **3.1 Nonverbal behavior in recruitments**

Of the 145 initial recruitment moves in the collection 92 (63%) have a seemingly relevant kinesic component. These non-verbal components include pointing, reaching out a hand to receive an object, holding out an object for a recipient to take, as well as iconic and conventionalized gestures.

Eye gaze and/or body torque toward the targeted recruitee can be critical in achieving the person-selection dimension of recruitment. Thus in extract (1) Mary manages the person selection issue by gazing toward Lily and reaching her arm out in her direction.<sup>3</sup> Other examples where person selection is successfully managed through eye gaze and physical embodiment include extracts (4), (13), (14), (16) and (17).

#### **3.2 Fully nonverbal recruitments**

Six of the 92 recruitment moves incorporating kinesic components were delivered entirely without speech. Extract (4) exemplifies this phenomenon.

---

<sup>3</sup>The same arm also manages aspects of the action-ascription dimension. The open hand is ready to receive a small passable object.

*Joe Blythe*

(4) Thuykem2011 0901\_JB\_video\_GYHM100\_02

1 DAV [Kigay matha purrunimenu marnanu. Kigay damatha purrunimenu.]  
 kigay matha purru -nime -nu ma -rna -nu  
 young\_men INTS 1NS.INC.S-PC.M.NSIB-FUT 1SG.S.SAY(34)-3SG.M.IO-FUT

Kigay damatha purru -nime -nu  
 young\_men INTS 1NS.INC.S-PC.M.NSIB-FUT  
 "We boys will go", I'll tell him, "we'll go".

2 BRU [ ((pours tea into his own cup)) ]

► 3 BRU ((rubs fingers together, Figure 3))

▷ 4 DAVE ((passes Bruce the spoon))

5 DAVE nakurlu kardu::; (0.9) femili ngamanu pigarrkatngime.  
 nakurl-nu kardu femili ngama -nu  
 later -FUT NC:HUMAN family 1SG.S.SAY(34).FUT-FUT

pi -garrkat-ngime  
 1INC.S.sit(1),FUT-?? -PC.F.NSIB  
 Later they::; (0.9) I'll tell the family, "we'll go".



Figure 3: Bruce, gazing at the spoon in Dave's cup, rubs his index- and middle-finger against his thumb (line 3).

In extract (4) Dave's left hand holds a cup of tea that is sitting on the ground. The cup has a spoon in it. At line 1 Dave is announcing his intention to convey a message in the future to somebody who isn't present. As he does this, Bruce fills his cup with tea (line 2). When he finishes this, he turns to face Dave and rubs his index- and middle-finger against his thumb (line 3, Figure 3). This abstract

## 7 *Recruitments in Murrinhpatha and the preference organisation of responses*

(and perhaps conventionalised) gesture is at least partly indexical in that it is oriented toward the spoon in Dave's cup – as is Bruce's eye gaze. Dave pauses as he passes the spoon to Bruce (line 4), and then resumes his announcement (line 5). The momentarily suspended lexico-syntactic channel belies no evidence for there even being a recruitment, as this sequence takes place entirely within the visuo-corporal modality.<sup>4</sup> Bruce manages the person-selection dimension of the recruitment by twisting his body and gaze toward Dave (and the spoon in his possession) and away from co-present Phil.

### 3.3 Verbal elements: construction types and subtypes

In this section we consider the various grammatical structures that best characterize the verbal components of recruitments. As well as the three basic sentence types, imperative, declarative and interrogative, we also consider those that lack a predicate altogether. The relative proportions of these format types are given in Table 2.

Table 2: Proportions of construction types in the sample that include a verbal component (n=139).

Sentence type	# in sample	%
imperative	67	48%
no predicate	46	33%
declarative	13	9%
interrogative	4	3%

#### 3.3.1 Imperatives

Imperative constructions are the most frequent of the verbal components of recruitments. Because they explicitly name the action to be performed and because the grammatical form of the predicate indexes the elicitation of action (Lyons 1977: 774–78; Sadock & Zwicky 1985: 170–71), in this collection they are the most overt, on-record method for recruiting action. Those that have second singular

---

<sup>4</sup>However, the recruitment sequence is at least partly evidenced by prosodic lengthening of the 'human' classifier *kardu::* followed by the 0.9s of silence in line 5. This combination does suggest possible non-verbal activity.

*Joe Blythe*

subjects (the majority) are used to single out the person being recruited. The imperative mood is morphologically distinguished from other moods. Both future and past indicative, as well as future and past irrealis moods are double-marked within the template of the polysynthetic verb; firstly in the initial portmanteau classifier stems, then secondly in a morphological slot dedicated to marking TAM distinctions. This is not the case, however, with imperatives. In the imperative mood, the dedicated TAM slot remains unfilled (Nordlinger & Caudal 2012).

We've already encountered second person singular imperatives in extract (1) (*nangamutkathuya*, line 1) and extract (2) (*tjewirndurt* and *thanadharrpu*, line 3, and *narna*, line 7). Table 3 compares the imperatives *tjewirndurt* and *thanadharrpu* to their future indicative counterparts. The imperatives lack the future tense morpheme *-nu* that otherwise appears within future indicatives.

Table 3: Imperative forms compared with their future indicative counterparts; future indicative forms are doubly marked for future tense.

Imperative			Future Indicative		
tje-	wirndurt		tje	-wirndurt	-nu
2SG.S.poke.RR(21).FUT-	arise		2SG.S.poke.RR(21).FUT	-arise	-FUT
[CS]-	[LS]		[CS]	-[LS]	-[TAM]
'Stand up.'			'You will stand up.'		
tha	-rna	-dharrpu	tha	-rna	-dharrpu -nu
2SG.S.poke(19).FUT	-3SG.M.IO	-ask	2SG.S.poke(19).FUT	-3SG.M.IO	-ask -FUT
[CS]	-[Obj]	-[LS]	[CS]	-[Obj]	-[LS] -[TAM]
'Ask him.'			'You will ask him.'		

While the participation framework evoked by an imperative predicate with a second person singular subject will convey that specific addressing is being performed, recipients' identification of the intended target, within a multiparty setting, hinges on the particular person selection devices which accompany the predicate.<sup>5</sup> In extract (1) Mary's eye gaze and outstretched arm toward Lily serves to select Lily as the proper recipient for the 2SG.S inflected predicate *nangamutkathuya* ('give it here to me'). In extract (2) the kinterm *warri* ('father'/'son',

<sup>5</sup>Lerner (2003: 182) suggests the 2nd person pronoun *you* is a 'recipient indicator' but not a 'recipient designator'. "[S]peakers can indicate that they are addressing a specific participant in a manner that does not itself reveal who that individual is" (ibid, 183). In multiparty interaction, who specifically is being addressed through the use of the pronoun is managed through eye gaze or some other device, or inferentially when epistemic or deontic advantage is skewed toward a particular individual. However, as discussed in fn. 7, the inferences to be drawn from the English pronoun *you* differ from its Murrinhpatha counterparts.

## 7 Recruitments in Murrinhpatha and the preference organisation of responses

line 1)<sup>6</sup> serves to select Dom and not co-present Bruce (Dave's classificatory brother) as the intended target for the recruitment, and as the addressee for the 2SG.S inflected predicates *tjewirndurt* ('get up') and *thanadharrpu* ('ask him') in line 3. However, when recruiters are unconcerned about who specifically should fulfill the recruitment, the second person imperative predicate will have a non-singular subject.

(5) Thuykem20110901\_JB\_video\_GYHM100\_01\_381373

- 1 DAV [puy nangkarnuwardangu kura tiyu.  
puy na -ngkarnu-warda-wangu kura ti -yu  
go\_on 2DU.SIB.S.go(6).FUT-mix\_up -TEMP -thither NC:WATER tea-CL  
Go on, you two brothers, mix up some tea.
- 2 DAV [((points at billycan))
- 3 PHI [((removes his cap))
- 4 ((uses cap to take the hot billycan off the fire))

The three boys in extract (5) are classificatory brothers. In line 1 Dave exhorts his brothers to make some tea. The imperative verb *nangkarnuwardangu* is inflected as second person dual sibling ('you two siblings go on and mix it up'). The non-specific second person dual sibling subject is not accompanied by a vocative. As Dave issues the recruitment he points at the billycan on the fire (line 1). He doesn't gaze at either of his two brothers. Thus, specifically which brother should concern himself with making the tea is left up to them to decide upon.<sup>7</sup> Actually,

---

<sup>6</sup>The 'kinterm' *warri*, a recent innovation, is mainly used by young men. In Australian kinship systems it is very unusual for reciprocal kinterns (e.g., terms like *cousin* which apply equally in both directions, unlike *father* and *son*) to be used for persons separated by a single generation – although exceedingly common for two generations of separation. *Warri* may be a reanalyzed borrowing from the interjection *warriwarri*, which in the East Kimberley region of Western Australia and the Victoria River district of the Northern Territory (in the Jaru, Gija and Gurindji languages, amongst others), is produced as a sympathetic response by recipients who hear mention of a certain kinsman. In these languages, the term is used for fathers, sons, and other kin besides. Under similar circumstances, contrasting interjections are used for different classes of kin (McConvell 1982: 99; Blythe, Gija & Jaru fieldnotes 2016).

<sup>7</sup>In Murrinhpatha, second person predicates are marked for number (SG/DU/PC/PL), and (when DU or PC) gender (M/F), as well as siblinghood (siblings/non-siblings). In English however, the pronoun *you* is unmarked for number, or any other contrasts. This gives the languages different inferential affordances within in multiparty interaction. Upon hearing a Murrinhpatha inflected predicate with a 2SG subject, recipients can infer that the speaker *definitely* has as specific addressee in mind; whereas the English pronoun *you* conveys that the speaker *perhaps* has a specific individual in mind – except when the participation frame is dyadic. The converse is also true for Murrinhpatha. When a second person predicate is *not* singular, then the inference to be drawn is that the speaker is *not* singling out any specific individual from the group

*Joe Blythe*

while Dave is speaking at line 1, Phil has apparently already taken it upon himself to make the tea. At line 3 he removes his cap, which at line 4 he uses to insulate his hand as he removes the hot billycan from the fire. He then goes on to make the tea.

### 3.3.2 No predicate

Because, as the name suggests, the ‘no-predicate’ recruitments lack a predicate that expresses the action being elicited from the recruitee, they constitute a grab-bag mixture of structural possibilities. This category includes examples in which the sole lexical content is either an interjection or a vocative devoted to managing the person-selection dimension of the recruitment, leaving the action-ascription dimension to be handled gesturally or through inference. More often however, with object-transfer requests, the object required is explicitly mentioned, as in extract (6).

(6) Nanthak2011 0828\_JB\_video\_GYHM100\_03\_472600\_479711

- 1 KAR Ay kuraka djiwa karrimbuk[tharr.  
Ay kura -ka djiwa karri -buktharr  
Oh NC:WATER-TOP that 3SG.S.stand(3)NFUT-be\_red  
Ay that tea is too strong ((too red)).
- 2 ALI [Yawu munak [kura path- pathayu]=  
yawu munak kura STRI patha=yu  
hey sister NC:WATER STRI good =CL  
Hey sis, fresh water,
- 3 ALI [ ((points to car))]
- 4 ALI =murruwurlnyingka  
murruwurl-nyi -ngka  
beautiful-2SG.D0-eye/face  
beautiful face.
- 5 (0.7)
- 6 KAR Ma Rita ma nyinyirda tjewirndurttharra  
Ma Rita ma nyinyirda tje -wirndurt-tharra  
but əname but ANAPH 2SG.S.POKE.RR(21).FUT-arise -ahead  
Hey Rita, you get up for it.

In extract (6) when Karen complains that the tea she is making is too strong (line 1), Alice, addressing her as *munak* ('sister'), points to the car nearby and names the item required to solve the problem (*kura patha*, 'fresh water') and mitigating the illocutionary force of the directive with the compliment *murruwurl-*

---

of addressed recipients. Dave's gaze at the billycan, rather than at either of the two brothers, accords with the inference of *non-specificity* to be drawn from dual inflected subject.

## 7 Recruitments in Murrinhpatha and the preference organisation of responses

*nyingka* ('you are beautiful', line 4.) Karen rejects the recruitment by deflecting it toward a somewhat younger woman (line 6).

Thirty percent of the 'no predicate' verbal recruitments (14/46) we can call *nominal-hither* constructions. These are exclusively used for object transfer recruitments. In these expressions an overt noun phrase is used to refer to the item being requested. The first element in the majority of Murrinhpatha noun phrases is the nominal classifier applicable to the relevant noun class. The nominal classifier may be followed by a noun, an adjective, a demonstrative and/or a numeral. However most Murrinhpatha noun phrases are under-elaborated: as bare nouns, as bare nominal classifiers, or as the nominal classifier plus a noun/adjective/demonstrative or numeral. If an item is being requested, eye gaze toward the desired item makes the targeted referent reasonably clear. Extract (7) exemplifies.

(7) Nanthak2011 0828\_JB\_video\_GYHM100\_03\_879400

- 1 LIL kapkathu [tepala;  
kap -gathu tepala  
receptacle-hither deaf  
The billycan here, deaf one
- 2 ALI [((passes billycan to Lily))]

In line 1 Lily leans toward her classificatory sister Alice and addresses her as *tepala* ('deaf one')<sup>8</sup>. The recruitment consists of the noun *kap*, used to refer to the item being requested ('receptacle' < *cup*), here encliticised with the directional adverbial *-gathu* 'hither'. As she says this Lily gazes toward the billycan of tea which Alice then passes to Lily.

(8) Ngantimeli20120715\_JB\_video\_GYHM100\_02\_389636

- 1 DOM [Warri (0.3) kurathu;  
warri kura -gathu  
Fa/So NC:WATER-hither  
Dad, a drink here!
- 2 DOM [((Points at billycan, Figure 4))]
- 3 DAV ((passes billycan to Dom))

Extract (8) is almost identical to (7), except that rather than use a noun to specify the requested item, Dave, while pointing to the nearby billycan (line 2, Figure 4), uses the bare 'water-class' classifier *kura* in conjunction with the 'hither' adverbial *-gathu* (line 1). In the absence of an explicit predicate, the deictic adverbial *-gathu* implies an object transfer recruitment by indicating the direction

---

<sup>8</sup>In face-to-face conversation, sisters and female cousins tend to address each as *tepala* ('deaf one'), rather than address each other by name. This mild form of personal name avoidance doesn't extend to third person reference.

*Joe Blythe*



Figure 4: Whilst holding an empty cup, Dom points to the billycan.

that the requested object ought to be transferred. The vast majority of these recruitments (92%, n = 13/14) are accompanied by eye gaze toward the object of desire.

### 3.3.3 Interrogatives

In some languages like English and Italian interrogatives are a major sentence type utilized in recruitments (see chapters by Kendrick and Rossi, this volume), while in other languages (e.g., Siwu, Cha’palaa, Polish, Lao and Russian), interrogatives are much less frequent (see chapters by Dingemanse, Floyd, Zinken, Enfield, and Baranova, this volume). In the Murrinhpatha dataset, there are only 4 recruitments that are built using interrogative structures. Three of these are built around the interrogative word *ngarra* ‘what’/‘where’, as extract (9) illustrates.

- (9) Dingalngu20110730\_JB\_video\_GYHM100\_04\_231240 (Transcript Simplified)<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup>This section of the multiparty conversation has undergone a schism. To facilitate legibility,

## *7 Recruitments in Murrinhpatha and the preference organisation of responses*

- 1 ALI Bere memnginthawarrk (0.2) ng(h)arra  
     bere      mem                          -ngintha    -warrk      ngarra  
     completion 3SG.S.10RR.NFUT-DU.F.NSIB-lose\_oneself LOC  
     The two of them got lost going

2 ALI (k(h)unungumng(h)intha) (0.4) ngarra Yilimu (1.0) Ah ha  
     kunungam                          -ngintha    ngarra yilimu  
     3SG.S.7go.EXIST-DU.F.NSIB LOC      ?name  
     to where Yilimu is (laughing)).

4 (.)

► 5 MAG ngarra mi thawuy:.  
     ngarra      mi      thawuy  
     where/what NC:VEG chewing\_tobacco  
     Where {is} some chewing tobacco?

6 (1.0)

► 8 CAR mi thawuy:ka::: tjiimngemardamardaka Yilimu damatha;=  
     mi      thawuy                          -ka   tjiim                          -nge      -mardamarda-ka  
     NC:VEG chewing\_tobacco-TOP 2SG.S.1sit.NFUT-3SG.F.IO-wait\_for -TOP  
     yilimu damatha  
     ?name INTS  
     As for chewing tobacco, you {should} really wait for Yilimu.

9 CAR =mi wunku mi thawuy yulirn kandjinkadhuwurran.  
     mi      wunku      mi      thawuy      yulirn  
     NC:VEG also   NC:VEG chewing\_tobacco ashes  
     kandjin                          -kadhuw=wurran  
     3SG.S.22bring/take.NFUT-EXIST =3SG.S.6go.NFUT  
     She has both chewing tobacco and ashes.

10 (0.7)

At line 5 of extract (9) Maggie requests chewing tobacco from anyone who might be able to provide it. She does so with the ‘where/what’ interrogative *ngarra*. At lines 8 and 9 Carol informs her that no-one present is able to fulfill her request and that if she wants chewing tobacco, she will have to wait for another woman to return from fishing.

The remaining, solitary example of a polar interrogative recruitment isn't fulfilled, possibly because the polar question is produced in overlap. In Murrinh-patha, polar questions are not distinguished morphosyntactically from declaratives, and like declarative assertions, generally have falling intonation contours. Given that the linguistic cues to interrogativity are relatively thin, they may be poorly disposed toward recruiting assistance from others.

### 3.3.4 Declaratives

The declaratives are less-direct recruitments than interrogatives. They don't make explicit the action being elicited. Furthermore, because they mostly have third

extraneous overlapping talk has been removed from the transcript.

*Joe Blythe*

singular subjects, they don't specify a particular target for the recruitment. As such, they generally highlight a problem. One of those present must take it upon themselves to remedy the issue, if they see fit to do so. Extract (10) contains a non-minimal sequence. Initially Mary tries to get Edna to fill her cup with water (lines 1 and 2). At line 3 Mary implicitly rejects the recruitment, accounting for her non-compliance by both exclaiming the bottle to be empty (line 3) as well as demonstrating it to be empty by holding it up for Mary to see (Figure 5).



Figure 5: Edna holds up bottle and says *makura karrim*, 'there's no water'.

(10) 20070728JBvid01c\_10378\_16778

- 1 MAR [kurathu (1.3) xxxx xxx ]  
kura -gathu  
NC:Water-hither  
water here!
- 2 MAR [((holds empty cup out towards Edna))]
- 3 EDN [Makuraya karrim. ]  
ma -kura =ya karrim  
NEG-NC:WATER=CL 3SG.S.stand(3).EXIST  
There's no water.
- 4 EDN [((Holds up empty water bottle, Figure 5))]
- 5 MAR ((gets up to get water)).

As well as being an account for Edna's non-compliance, the syntactically declarative *makuraya karrim* also serves as a counter-recruitment. It doesn't specify

## 7 Recruitments in Murrinhpatha and the preference organisation of responses

what needs doing, nor who specifically should do it. Mary instantly gets up (line 5) and takes it upon herself to get some water.

As was the case in the previous extract, the 3<sup>rd</sup> singular declarative predicate in extract (11) also doesn't specify a target for the recruitment. Feasibly, it mightn't even have been intentionally produced as a recruitment.

(11) Thuykem 20110901\_JB\_video\_GYHM100\_01\_810540

- 1 PHI milkka ngarrai  
milk-ka ngarra  
milk-TOP where  
Where's the milk?  
(1.0)
- 2
- 3 PHI wurda damatha ma-nandji marndarri.  
wurda damatha ma -nandji mam -rdarri  
NEG INTS NEG-NC:RES 3SG.S.do(8).NFUT-BACK  
There isn't any. It {must be} behind {in Wadeye}.  
(0.3)
- 4
- 5 DAV [awu milk karrimwa:. ]  
awu milk karrim -wa  
no milk 3SG.S.stand(3).EXIST-EMPH  
no, there's milk!
- 6 DAV [((turns and gazes at camping box))]
- ▷ 7 BRU ((stands up))
- 8 DAV [na:; manganart nawa:; ]  
na mangan -art na -wa  
TAG 3SG.S.grab(9).NFUT-get/take TAG-EMPH  
Hey, he brought it, eh?
- 9 BRU [((goes to look for milk))]

In extract (11), when Phillip's inquiry about where the milk for the tea might be (line 1) yields no response after one second, he complains at line 3 that it must have been left behind in Wadeye. However, whilst turning to gaze toward the camping box where the milk ought be, Dave contradicts him, 'No', and reassures him that 'there *is* milk' (*Awu karrimwa*, line 5), then further asserting that 'he' (the ethnographer) *did* in fact bring the milk! (line 8). Upon hearing this, Bruce gets up (line 7) and takes it upon himself to retrieve it (line 9), fulfilling the recruitment at line 5 that may not have been intentionally produced for him specifically to act upon. Feasibly, the recruitment is perhaps an incidental outcome of Dave's correcting Phillip's misunderstanding (and perhaps also incidental on Dave, like Phil, wanting milk in his tea).

*Joe Blythe*

### 3.4 Additional verbal elements

In this section we examine additional elements within the initial recruiting move that are not core grammatical constituents. These might include vocative expressions like names and kinterms, interjections, benefactives, strengtheners and mitigators, and explanations.

#### 3.4.1 Names, kinterms and interjections

Personal names and kinterms used as vocatives address the person selection dimension of recruitments by picking out the intended recipient. We see personal names functioning as ‘recipient designators’ (Lerner 2003: 182) in extracts (20) and (22) and similarly functioning kinterms in extracts (1), (6), (8), (15) and (21). In extracts (7) and (23) we see similar use of *tepala* (‘deaf-one’) as a characteristic form of address between women who are actual or classificatory sisters.

The interjection *yawu* (‘hey’), when used turn initially, can also be used as a recipient designator to elicit mutual eye gaze between recruiter and would-be recruitee. In line 5 of extract (18) the recruiter (Karen) does this before redirecting the recruitee’s attention, with a point, to someone else.

#### 3.4.2 Benefactives, strengtheners and mitigators

Benefactive marking in recruitments makes explicit an alleged beneficiary. These are usually marked within the verbal template by bound indirect object pronouns; such as the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular *-nga* in *mi nangamardakutkathungadha*, ‘take a bit out **for me**’, in extract (16), and the 1<sup>st</sup> person non-singular inclusive *-nye* in *nanyengkarnu*, ‘mix in some fresh water **for us**’, in extract (15). Recruiters can use 1<sup>st</sup> person non-singular inclusive pronouns strategically by including the addressee as a potential beneficiary of the solicited action, thus downplaying the perception of the benefit being for the recruiter alone.

Murrinhpatha deontic adverbials occur both as free-standing words or as bound morphs, some being incorporated into dedicated slots within the polysynthetic verbal template. Those that strengthen are more semantically transparent than those that mitigate. The strengtheners include the emphatic suffix *-wa* and the intensifiers *dhatjpirr* and *damatha* (as in *kura burrburr damatha*, ‘{put in} cold water!’). The mitigating adverbials like *-ngadha* (often translated as, ‘for a while’) are difficult to gloss and are less well understood.<sup>10</sup> Other mitigators include ad-

---

<sup>10</sup>Some of these adverbials are translated, at least sometimes, with temporal semantics.

## 7 Recruitments in Murrinhpatha and the preference organisation of responses

hoc compliments being paid to the recruitee (such as *murruwurlnyingka*, ‘you are beautiful’, in line 4 of extract (6)).

### 3.4.3 Explanations

Explanations or accounts for the recruitment may be added after the recruitment (as in line 9 of extract (23)), or they may precede it, as in extract (12).

(12) Nanthak 20110828\_JB\_video\_GYHM100\_03\_537800\_546223

- 1 KAR [Ngawu (1.0) thagilkilktharra  
ngawu tha -gilkilk-tharra  
Hey! 2SG.S.POKE(19).FUT-hang -ahead  
Hey! (1.0) Poke {this} through the handle and carry it.
- 2 KAR [((picks up billycan with a stick, passing it toward Rita))  
(0.5)
- 4 KAR [karduka tjinengirdarribangnukun.] =Panguwangu nabatjtharra.  
kardu -ka tjina -ngi -rdarri-bang -nukun  
NC:HUM-TOP 2SG.S.HEAT(27).FIRR-1S.IO-back -scald-FIRR  
pangu-wangu na -batj -tharra  
DIST-thither 2SG.S.GRAB(9).FUT-get/take-ahead  
You might scald me on the back. Take it over that way.
- 5 KAR [ ((hands the stick to Rita)) ]
- 6 RIT ((takes the hot billycan away to fill with cold water))

In extract (12) Rita is standing up on the beach ready to take a very hot billycan to where there is water with which to cool down the tea. At line 2 Karen picks up the billycan with a stick, placing the billy on the ground near Rita, meanwhile telling her to poke the stick though its handle in order to carry it (line 1). As she passes the stick to Rita, she explains to Rita in line 4 that she might scald her with the hot tea (*karduka tjinengirdarribangnukun*) then instructs her to ‘take it over that way’ (*Panguwangu nabatjtharra*), through the gap where no one is sitting.

In the next section we consider the range of possible ways that would-be recruits respond to recruitments, or not as the case may be.

## 4 Formats in Move B: the response

A substantial body of research in CA investigates how the design of turns delivering initiating actions (Curl 2006-08; Curl & Drew 2008; Craven & Potter 2010; Kendrick & Drew 2016; Rossi 2012; Enfield et al. 2010; Stivers & Rossano 2010; De Ruiter 2012; Vinkhuyzen & Szymanski 2005; Wootton 1997) impose constraints upon the sorts of responses they receive (Raymond 2003; Fox & Thompson 2010-05-21; Schegloff & Lerner 2009-05-14; Thompson et al. 2015; Lee 2013). In this

*Joe Blythe*

Murrinhpatha dataset, only 46% of recruitments were either fulfilled promptly ( $n=35$ , 24%), or indications were provided suggesting possible imminent fulfilment ( $n=32$ , 22%). Counts on response types to particular recruitment formats do *not*, at this stage, suggest that any particular initiating format (e.g., imperative, declarative, interrogative, etc.) is more or less likely to successfully elicit the desired response than any other format.

Just as the formats used in initial recruitment moves range between the overt, on-record strategies, through to more covert, off-record strategies, so too do the range of possible responses. Overt on-record responses include both immediate compliance and relatively prompt rejection of the recruitment, while physical movements suggestive of possible compliance are more covert and less on-record. In this corpus overt on-record rejections are considerably less frequent than implicit rejections or non-fulfillments; such as counter-recruitments, deflected recruitments, and generally just ignoring the recruitment. Non-responses evade overt refusal or rejection of the recruitment. We'll see evidence below that by neither complying nor committing to complying, ignoring a recruitment can usually be taken as an implicit refusal to comply.

#### 4.1 Prompt or imminent compliance

We have already encountered many recruitment sequences in which the response is physical compliance delivered relatively promptly without an accompanying verbal component (extracts (1), (2), (3), (4), (5), (7) and (8)). We've also seen in extract (5) how removing a hat and then removing a billycan from the fire suggest possible imminent compliance, which is ultimately followed by actual compliance. Possible imminent compliance can also be verbally hinted at without giving a commitment to actually comply, as extract (13) demonstrates.

(13) Nanthak 20110828\_JB\_video\_GYHM100\_03\_427300

- 1 LIL    Ngarra kurayu.  
ngarra      kura      =yu  
what/where NC:WATER=CL  
Where's the water/tea?
- 2 LIL    ((Gazes at Alice, See Figure 6}))
- 3            (0.5)
- 2 ALI    kuguk marrawangu.  
kuguk marra -wangu  
wait new/now-thither  
Wait it's coming.

Extract (13) occurs near the beginning of a protracted episode of multiple recruitments, all of which deal, in some fashion, with the procurement of cold water

## 7 Recruitments in Murrinhpatha and the preference organisation of responses



Figure 6: Lily gazes at Alice (line 2).

for a very hot billy of tea.<sup>11</sup> Lily's question at line 1 *Ngarra kurayu* is built around the 'where'/'what' interrogative *ngarra* and the bare *water*-classifier ('Where is the tea/water?'). Whilst certainly a request, it can also be heard as a possible complaint. Although Lily's eye gaze is directed on Alice who is seated near the billycan, it is Karen, rather than Alice, who is preparing the tea. While Alice's reply *kuguk marrawangu* ('Wait, it's coming') does address the substance of the possible complaint (being slow in arriving), it doesn't commit to future compliance and is agnostic as to who will be responsible for ultimately fulfilling the request. The question of who will get the water remains unresolved for quite some time.

Extract (14) consists of two interlocking non-minimal sequences commencing with non-verbal recruitments. Each non-minimal sequence is of the three-move variety previously mentioned in §2.2, where participant B firstly commits to complying (M-B<sub>1</sub>) with the recruitment, then actually complies with it soon after (M-B<sub>2</sub>).

At line 2 of (14) Dom (who has a cigarette in his mouth) leans forward. Whether leaning forward was intended as an offer is unclear; but, whether it was or it wasn't, it seems to occasion a recruitment from Dave at line 3, where he holds

---

<sup>11</sup>The four, mostly elderly, women in this conversation are tired and feeling lethargic. The water required to cool the hot billycan is nearby on the beach, in a heavy 20 litre container. The women each display justifiable resistance to getting up and retrieving the water.

*Joe Blythe*

his hand out to receive the cigarette (M-A<sub>S1</sub>). Dom's response to this recruitment is semiotically and sequentially complex. The sweeping point from Dave to Bruce (see Figure 7) is an iconic depiction of the trajectory Dom intends the cigarette to travel along when Dave finishes with it. The drawing in the air conveys graphically that the intended recruitment is of the object transfer variety.

(14) Ngantimeli 20120715\_JB\_video\_GYHM100\_02\_196571

- 1 DOM [Mhm]
- 2 DOM [((leans toward Dave with cigarette in mouth))]
- 3 DAV ((holds out hand to receive cigarette))
  
- 4 DOM [((Sweeping point Dave -> Bruce, Figure 7))]
  
- ▷ 5 DAV [nakurl ngaliwe nganamutnu. ]  
nakurl ngaliwe nga -rna -mut -nu  
later short 1SG.S.poke(19).FUT-3SG.M.IO-give-FUT  
I'll give a bit to him after.
- ▷ 6 DAV [((Sweeping point from Dave toward Bruce))]
  
- 7 DOM ((takes a drag on the cigarette))
- ▷ 8 DOM ((passes cigarette to Dave))
  
- 9 ((Thirty seconds of talk deleted, Dave smokes cigarette))
- ▷ 10 DAV ((Dave passes cigarette to Bruce)).



Figure 7: Dom points from Dave to Bruce, line 4. This sweeping point is both an explicit-object transfer request and an implicit commitment to imminently comply with Dave's request for the cigarette.

This depictive point is repeated at line 6.<sup>12</sup> The gesture recruits Dave to pass

---

<sup>12</sup>The repetition of the point is instantaneous and fluidly produced (and is hence more akin to

## 7 *Recruitments in Murrinhpatha and the preference organisation of responses*

the cigarette to Bruce when he is finished with it. In overlap with the repeat of the point, at line 5 Dave gives a verbal undertaking to comply with this recruitment (*nakurl ngaliwe nganamutnu*, 'I'll give him the stub later') This is the only vocal move in either of the two sequences.

Dom's sweeping points (lines 4 and 6) do more than merely recruit. By virtue of the fact that the cigarette is retained in Dom's mouth, they also can be seen as him giving an implicit undertaking to imminently comply with Dave's recruitment at line 3. Dom's passing of the cigarette at line 8 is the eventual fulfilment implicitly promised at lines 4 and 6. Likewise, when Dave passes the cigarette to Bruce at line 10, this can be seen as the fulfilment of Dom's recruitment that Dave had already committed to fulfilling at lines 4 and 6.

Imminent possible compliance, or incipient compliance (Schegloff 1989; Kent 2012), can be projected visibly (as Dom does in lines 4 and 6 of extract (14)) or verbally (as Dave does in line 3 extract (14) and Alice does in line 4 of extract (13)). In the next section we'll encounter a mixed-message example, where the physical responsive behaviour contradicts the verbally delivered response.

### 4.2 Rejection and non-compliance

The preferred response to a request, or any sort of recruitment, is to comply or fulfil the request, or at least display that probable compliance is forthcoming. Anything less is dispreferred. The range of dispreferred alternatives is scalar. The most dispreferred alternatives are the overt refusals or rejections, which are vanishingly rare in this collection (n=3 from 145 recruitments, 2%). Only two refusals include the rejection token *awu* ('no').

Of the 145 recruitment sequences in the Murrinhpatha collection 54% (n=78) were not promptly complied with, nor was possible compliance projected as imminent. This may be because a request is problematic, unreasonable, or that other matters must be attended to before the recruitment can be fulfilled. The various possible alternatives to the preferred response include both explicit and implicit refusal. Delaying dispreferred responses can project that an imminent refusal is forthcoming (perhaps to be delivered with an overt rejection token), or that non-compliance is to be inferred from the silence that ensues. Other-initiated repair (whether intentionally or otherwise) has the effect of delaying the expected compliance or refusal, such that potentially problematic requests become vulnerable to sequential deletion.

---

reduplication than actual repetition), as if the invisible line in the air is being heavily bolded.

*Joe Blythe*

#### 4.2.1 Overt rejections

Overt refusals or rejections are socially dispreferred responses. As such, dispreferred responses tend to be delayed, mitigated, and the dispreferred responses are accounted for (Heritage 1984: 265–80; Schegloff 2007: 58–96 Pomerantz (1984); Pomerantz & Heritage (2013)).

Just prior to the extract (15), the ethnographer poured himself a cup of hot tea from the billy and, before walking away from the scene, remarked that he likes hot unsweetened black tea. This is anathema to the four women in this extract, as they normally drink sweet white lukewarm tea from metal pannikins, which heat up when hot liquid is poured into them.

(15) Nanthak 20110828\_JB\_video\_GYHM100\_03\_453900\_460860

- 1 ALI [munak kura pathadhatjpirr nanyengkarnu.  
munak kura patha-dhatjpirr na -nye -ngkarnu  
sister NC:WATER good -INTS 2SG.S.do(8).FUT-1NS.INC.IO-mix\_into  
sister, mix in some fresh water for us.
- 2 ALI [(points to water-bottle/vehicle))
- 3 (0.3)
- 4 KAR [Ya beremanangatha dendurr pigurdugurduk.  
ya beremanangatha dendurr pi -gurdugurduk  
HES never\_mind.INTS hot 1NS.INC.sit(1).FUT-RDP-drink  
Um, it really doesn't matter, we'll drink it hot.
- 5 KAR [(points into billycan))
- 6 (.)
- 7 ALI [Auw ku(h)rdu]nyidham(h)arrarrnukun[::;  
Auw kurdu -nyi -dhamarrarr -nukun  
No 3SG.S.shove(29).FIRR-1NS.INC.D0-burn\_throat-FIRR  
No! I(h)t might b(h)urn our throats!
- 8 LIL [(h)A:wu;! ] [↑Karraya;↑  
Auw no karaya  
no goodness!!  
N(h)o! Good grief!!

At line 1 Alice, addressing Karen with the kinterm *munak* ('sister'), tells her to mix cold water into the hot tea. Karen refuses the request at line 4. Her tongue-in-cheek refusal echoes the ethnographer's earlier remark by insisting (sarcastically) that they will drink their tea hot. Despite the proposal being non-serious, the refusal is genuine. The dispreferred nature of the response is evident in the delay provided by the hesitation marker *ya* (approximately 'Um'/'Ah') and the adverbial interjection *beremanangatha* ('it doesn't really matter'). The refusal to comply is implicit in the reason (albeit, a preposterous one) for not complying (we'll drink it hot!). The refusal elicits both disagreement and complaint from

## 7 *Recruitments in Murrinhpatha and the preference organisation of responses*

both Alice and Lily, whose responses at lines 7 and 8, respectively, are infused with laughter particles.

The overt refusal in extract (15) is verbally delivered. Furthermore Karen's physical behaviour doesn't suggest any likelihood of her possibly complying in the future. Her physical behaviour accords with her verbal behaviour. However, in extract (16) the overt, vocally delivered dispreferred refusal is somewhat contradicted by the refuser's physical actions, which instead suggest possible imminent compliance.

(16) Nanthak 2011 0828\_JB\_video\_GYHM100\_03\_760030\_770043

- 1 KAR (Nga mi nanyemawathawarra.) Ba berenguny berenguny  
 nga mi na -nye -ma -watha-warra  
 hey NC:VEG 2SG.S.hands(8).FUT-1NS.INC.IO-hand-make -ahead  
 ba berenguny berenguny  
 STRI OK OK  
 (Hey roll us a cigarette.) Oh it's alright, it's alright.
- 2 ALI [Aa mi numigathungadha aa mi nangamardakutkathungadha.  
 aa mi numi-gathu -ngadha aa mi  
 Ah NC:VEG one -hither-while Ah NC:VEG  
 na -nga -mardakut-gathu -ngadha  
 2SG.S.hands(8).FUT-1SG.IO-take\_out-hither-while  
 Ah, give me one, take a bit out for me.
- 3 ALI [((holds out hand to receive)) -->  
 4 (0.5)
- 5 ALI [Awu; mi nukunudha nginarr puleyu.  
 awu mi nukunu-dha nginarr pule =yu  
 no NC:VEG 3SG.M-PIMP poison\_cousin esteemed=CL  
 No it's from him (your) poison cousin (FMBS).
- 6 [((Figure 8) Karen gets out tobacco, Alice holds out hand))
- 7 ALI mi mamawatha;  
 mi ma -ma -watha  
 NC:VEG 1SG.S.hand(8).FUT-hand-make  
 I want to roll some.
- 8 ALI --> ((holds out hand to receive)) -->  
 9 (0.7)
- 10 KAR [thaninapartwardaya,  
 thani -rna -part -warda=ya  
 2SG.S.be(4).FUT-3SG.M.IO-leave-TEMP =CL  
 Leave it for him.
- 11 [((Karen looks into tobacco tin, Alice holds out hand))

The group of conversationalists in extract (16) have been sitting on the beach for a while, drinking tea and smoking. None of them have much tobacco left. At line 1 Karen seems to request something, but then backs down, cancelling

*Joe Blythe*



Figure 8: While taking her tobacco out of her pocket, Karen says, *Awu mi nukunudha nginarr puleyu* ('No it's from your poison cousin', line 5).

the request.<sup>13</sup> At line 2 Alice combines a nominal-hither construction (*mi numi-gathungadha*, 'one portion of/more tobacco over here') with an imperative verb (*nangamardakutkathungadha*, 'take some out for me over here') to request tobacco from Karen's tin, meanwhile holding her hand out to receive it. At line 5 Karen refuses the request (*Awu*, 'no'), accounting for the refusal by claiming that it was provided by (or that it belongs to) her husband. However, rather than referring to him by name, or with a self-anchored kinterm as 'my husband' (*nangkun ngay*) (Blythe 2010b), she instead uses the alternative recognitional (Stivers 2007) *nginarr puleyu*, '{your} poison cousin', implicitly anchored to her addressee, Alice. The kinterm *nginarr* (here, 'father's mother's brother's son') connotes extreme avoidance; the implication being that the tobacco, like the kinsman, ought best be avoided. Despite this rationale being provided, Karen gets out the tobacco tin from her pocket, hinting that the provision of some tobacco is not out of the question (see Figure 8). Unfazed, Alice, still holding her hand out, pursues the request

<sup>13</sup>The translation alleged for the utterance *Nga mi nanyemawathawarra* is 'Hey, roll us a cigarette'. Why Karen would say this is unclear, as she already has an unlit cigarette in her mouth! That said, her motives for cancelling the request are perhaps clearer.

## 7 *Recruitments in Murrinhpatha and the preference organisation of responses*

with *mi mamawathangadhaya* ('I'd like to roll some', line 7).<sup>14</sup> At line 9 Karen again declines the request verbally (*thaninapartwardaya*, 'leave it for him/on account of him') whilst inspecting the tobacco tin's contents (line 10), again hinting that possible compliance might be forthcoming. Despite the overt, verbally delivered refusals, Alice ultimately receives skerrick's of tobacco from both Karen and co-present Lily, sufficient to roll herself a cigarette.

The dispreferred nature of the refusals are evident in the silence preceding the replies (0.5s at line 4 and 0.7s at line 9)<sup>15</sup> and in the reason provided at line 5. The hard line of the vocally delivered refusal is mitigated somewhat by the visual behaviour that projects an alternative reality to that being projected verbally.

### 4.2.2 Implicit refusals: Counters, deflections and accounts.

In the absence of an overt rejection token, with implicit refusals, rejection of the recruitment proposal is inferable from the respondent's reply. Implicit refusal may be delivered solely as an account for not complying (as in line 6 of extract (17)). Two further varieties are counters and deflections. Both can have the effect of derailing recruitments. This is because the opportunities for compliance to be fitted sequentially, as responses to initiating actions, tend to rapidly evaporate. Extract (17) illustrates this with a counter-recruitment.

(17) Thuykem 2011 0824\_JB\_video\_GYHM100\_02\_1214705

- 1 GRE [Dadhawibuwathu.  
da -dhawibu -gathu  
2SG.S.BASH(14).FUT-ignite\_cigarette-hither  
Light this cigarette.
- 2 GRE [((holds out an unlit cigarette for Mike to take))
- 3 (0.7)
- 4 MIK Dadhawibu.  
da -dhawibu  
2SG.S.BASH(14).FUT-ignite\_cigarette  
Light the cigarette.
- 5 (1.0)

<sup>14</sup>When Karen mentions *nginarr puleyu*, {your} 'poison cousin', Alice waggles the hand she is holding out (see Figure 8), and then continues to hold it there; thereby demonstrating that either, if the kinship relation is a genuine cause for concern, then she is prepared to wear the consequences; or, that Karen's excuse is fanciful, and won't wash with her.

<sup>15</sup>While strictly speaking these gaps aren't necessarily longer than various others which precede certain *preferred* second pair parts (cf. Gardner & Mushin 2015 for Garrwa conversation), they nevertheless reveal diminishing prospects for prompt compliance.

*Joe Blythe*

- ▷ 6 GRE ngay merengadha ngiku.  
 ngay mere-nгадha ngi -ku  
 1SG NEG -still 1SG.S.sit(1).FUT-get\_going  
 I can't move

At line 2 of extract (17) Greg holds out an unlit cigarette toward Mike who is seated in front of him. In the absence of a lighter, at line 1 he produces an imperatively formatted recruitment *dadhawibuwathu*, 'light the cigarette'. After 0.7s delay, Mike counters by firing back more-or-less the same recruitment, *dadhawibu* (effectively, 'light the cigarette' {yourself}, line 4). Greg refuses the counter recruitment by literally providing a 'lame' excuse (*ngay merengadha ngiku*, 'I can't move', line 6); the account here serves as an implicit rejection. Greg's recruitment remains unfulfilled.<sup>16</sup> In the next section below, we'll see a further dramatic rejection delivered as a counter (at line 7 of extract (23)).

In extract (18) we see an implicit refusal via a deflected recruitment. Karen and Alice are both speaking to Maggie, a woman of about 90 years of age, who is hard of hearing. Just prior to this extract Maggie had been requesting chewing tobacco, but none was available (see extract (9)). Karen has just lit a cigarette, which she is holding in her hand. At line 3, Alice whispers to Karen that Maggie wants to smoke. Thus, she attempts to recruit Karen into passing Maggie her cigarette. Karen's dispreferred response is delayed initially by 0.7 seconds (line 4) and further delayed by the interjection *Yawu* ('Hey!', line 5). The interjection initially draws Maggie's eye gaze toward her (Figure 9, left), and then subsequently in the direction of her classificatory brother standing off-screen (Figure 9, right). Karen then directs Maggie to ask the man off-screen (for permission to be granted the request).<sup>17</sup>

(18) Dingalngu 2011 0730\_JB\_video\_GYHM100\_04\_845780\_855106

- 1 KAR nyiniwa kangkurl nyinyiyu kumban nyiniyu.  
 nyini-wa kangkurl nyinyi=yu kumban nyini=yu  
 ANAPH-EMPH wBSC 2SG =CL 3PL.S.6go.EXIST ANAPH=CL  
 they're your grandsons, all of them
- 2 (0.3)
- 3 ALI °°purdiwinuwarda°°  
 purdi -wi -nu -warda  
 3SG.S.30.FUT-swell-FUT-TEMP  
 She wants to smoke.

<sup>16</sup> After further unsuccessful attempts by Greg at recruiting someone to light it (see extract (20)). Mike eventually offers to light it. Offers, however are initiating moves rather than responsive moves.

<sup>17</sup> Karen's classificatory brother (*Kembutj*) has brought Maggie out bush, from the frail-aged hostel in Wadeye. By evoking him as a responsible person (given that he has taken responsibility for her wellbeing, at least for the day), she thereby abdicates any responsibility she might have, as provider of cigarettes, for the potentially detrimental effects smoking could have for an old woman.

## 7 Recruitments in Murrinhpatha and the preference organisation of responses

- 4 (0.7)
- ▷ 5 KAR [Yawu! (. )]thadharrpu ngawu.(0.4)[kardu ngaynukun;]  
 yawu tha -dharrpu ngawu kardu ngay-nukun  
 hey! 2SG.S.19Poke.FUT-ask Hey! NC:HUM 1SG -FIRR  
 Hey, you ask hey! The {brother} of mine.
- 6 □ [Figure 9, Left] [Figure 9, Right]
- 7 (0.2)
- 8 ALI Kembutj [thadharrpu.  
 kembutj tha -dharrpu  
 man's\_name 2SG.S.19Poke.FUT-ask  
 ask Kembutj. ((for permission))
- 9 KAR [mama thadharrpu; (0.7) ngathan narna.  
 mama tha -dharrpu ngathan na -rna  
 mother 2SG.S.19Poke.FUT-ask brother 2SG.S.say(8).FUT-3SG.M.IO  
 Ask him mum. (0.7) Ask {my} brother.



Figure 9: Left: *Yawu* ('Hey!'). Right: *Kardu ngaynukun* ('to my {brother}').

The classificatory brother then becomes drawn into the conversation (not shown in the extract). Maggie doesn't ask him for permission, and she doesn't receive a smoke. Her desire to smoke remains unaddressed. Alice's recruitment is derailed without the need for an overt refusal. Deflected recruitments reallocate responsibility for complying to a third party, such that the likelihood of the desired outcome arising is diminished.

### 4.2.3 Other-Initiations of Repair

As responsive moves that neither comply nor project compliance to recruitments, nor outrightly reject recruitments, other-initiations of repair (OIR) produced by the target of a recruitment are dispreferred responses. Not being of the category type projected by the recruiting turn (Raymond 2003; Heritage & Raymond 2012),

*Joe Blythe*

other-initiations of repair results in delay of the expected category type response. This characteristic feature of dispreference can forecast imminent refusal of the recruitment (Schegloff et al. 1977: 380).

In extract (19) Karen, Alice, Lily and Maggie are conversing in a group as they sit on one side of a 4WD which has a trailer behind it. On the other side of the trailer, another group of women are also seated on the ground, and also being recorded on video as they converse. The car and the trailer creates a visual barrier between the groups that obscures their lines of sight. At line 1 of extract (19) Karen summons one of the women in the other group (Lily, apparently) to come and explain something to Alice. She does this with two interjections *Yawu* (hey!) and *kagawu* (come here!) and with the second person singular imperative verb *thurduriyitjmani*, 'try and explain it'. As she yells this summons she tries to look underneath the trailer to get a visual on her target. When this summons yields no result after 1.5s (line 2), Karen reissues the summons with another second person singular imperative verb *thurrumaniyethu* ('come here will you', line 3). After further delay (0.6s, line 4), Lily initiates repair on the second person singular subjects of these verbs with the person-specific content question *nangkal* ('who'). At line 7 Karen specifies the previous speaker, Lily, as the target of the intended summons (*nyinyi nyinyi*, 'you, you'), which is echoed by Alice at line 8. At line 10 Lily refuses the summons, invoking the video camera in accounting for the refusal.

(19) Dingalngu 2011 0730\_JB\_video\_GYHM100\_04\_341515\_350670

- 1 KAR ↑YAWU kardu thurduriyitjmani kagawu!↑  
Yawu kardu thurduriyitjmani kagawu!  
Hey! NC:HUMAN 2SG.S.29.FUT-explain-try\_to come\_here  
Hey!! Try come here and explain {to her}.
- 2 (1.5)
- 3 KAR thurrumaniyethu  
thurrumaniyethu  
2SG.S.go(6).FUT-be\_able-HITHER  
Come here will you.
- 4 (0.6)
- 5 LIL nangka:l;  
who  
Who?
- 6 (0.2)
- 7 KAR nyinyi [nyinyi.  
2SG 2SG  
You, you!
- 8 ALI [nyinyi.  
2SG  
You!
- 9 (.)

## 7 Recruitments in Murrinhpatha and the preference organisation of responses

- 10 LIL Ya nandji kanyinu nga ngay ngurdamyitjnganam.  
          ya nandji kanyi-nu nga ngay  
  HES NC:RES PROX -DAT Hey 1SG  
          ngurdam-yitj=nganam  
  1SG.SB.SHOVE.RR(30).NFUT.tell-1SG.SB.BE(4).NFUT  
  I'm telling stories into this thing ((a video camera)).

The delay induced by an other-initiation of repair can also have the effect that the necessity for the recruitee to comply, or account for not complying, disappears through the unrolling of interactional events. Thus in extract (20) Greg continues attempting to enlist someone to light the cigarette. Turning to his right, he addresses Dom by name and instructs him with an imperatively formatted predicate (*dadhawibu*, line 1) to light the cigarette previously mentioned in extract (17). Dom does not have a clear view of Greg because Ray is sitting between them (see Figure 10). After two seconds delay, Dom initiates repair with the ‘open’ interrogative *thangku* (Blythe 2015). Greg doesn’t bother repairing the problematic recruitment because by this stage, Mike (the target of the request in extract (17)), offers to light the cigarette by wiggling the fingers of the hand he is reaching out toward Greg (line 5). Greg then passes him the cigarette (line 6) who lights it on a coal from the fire.

(20) Thuykem 2011 0824\_JB\_video\_GYHM100\_02\_1222731\_1242143

- 1 GRE Dom dadhawibu.  
          Dom da -dhawibu  
          ♂name 2SG.S.BASH(14).FUT-ignite\_cigarette  
          Dom light the cigarette.  
 2 (2.0)  
 3 DOM [Thang[ku.]  
          what?  
 4 [Figure 10]  
 5 MIK ((wiggles fingers))  
 6 GRE ((passes cigarette to Mike))  
 7 MIK ((lights cigarette from a coal)).

### 4.2.4 Ignoring

Of the 78 recruitments that weren’t promptly complied with, or for which possible compliance was projected as imminent more than half were not noticeably responded to at all, and thus apparently ignored. That the lack of response should

*Joe Blythe*



Figure 10: As Dom initiates repair at line 3 (*Thangku*, ‘what?’) his view of Greg is obscured by Ray.

be taken as off-record implicit refusals cannot always be evidenced interactionally, as extract (21) demonstrates.

(21) Dingalngu 2011 0730\_JB\_video\_GYHM100\_04\_384070\_389631

- 1 KAR purrimanukun na panawayu;  
purima -nukun na pana-wa =yu  
wHuZi/wBrWi-DAT TAG RECN-EMPH=CL  
those belong to [your] purrima ((BrZiWi)).
- 2 (0.4)
- 3 KAR .hh >nginarr kura ti yawu.<  
nginarr kura ti yawu  
MBDD/FZDD NC:WATER tea hey!  
Hey [daughter]-in-law, {more} tea.
- 4 (1.5)
- 5 ALI Yu ngatin kaya kanyi; (0.4) †Aa kanyika ku nyinyiwa; †  
Yu ngatin kaya kanyi aa kanyi-ka ku nyinyi-wa  
Yeah raw DEM PROX Ah! PROX -TOP NC:ANM 2SG -EMPH  
Yeah these are raw, Oh! Are these yours?

In extract (21) Karen and Alice have been talking about some shellfish they've been eating. At line 2 Karen looks up to see Laura walking in front of her, rejoining the group. Gazing at Laura, Karen addresses her with the kinterm *nginarr* (MBDD, line 3) and requests that she make more tea. Laura continues walking slowly and then sits down where she had been previously been sitting. She doesn't make any tea, Karen doesn't pursue a response and tea isn't mentioned

## 7 Recruitments in Murrinhpatha and the preference organisation of responses

again for some time. Although we can't be entirely sure that Laura heard Karen's recruitment, the recording reveals clear articulation from Karen and Laura was standing in front of her, right where her voice is being projected. There is no reason therefore to think Laura didn't hear it. She appears instead to ignore the request completely.

For other examples, such as extract (22), we can be quite convinced that would-be recruits refuse to acknowledge the recruitment, by ignoring the recruiter altogether. At line 1 Dom picks up an empty billycan and peers into it. At line 2 he then targets co-present Mike (by name) and requests water from him with the nominal-hither construction (*kura pathathu kura patha*). Whether Mike actually hears Dom's request, or merely ignores him, is unclear.<sup>18</sup> Mike has been engaged in discussion with Bill, an ethnographer, about how much they will be paid for being recorded on camera, a discussion that Bill concludes at line 6, as he walks away from the scene.

(22) 20110824\_JB\_video\_GYHM100\_02\_1886635

1 DOM ((picks up empty billycan, peers into it, replaces it))

2 DOM Mike kura pathathu kura pa̱tha.  
 Mike kura patha-gathu kura patha  
 ♂name NC:WATER good -hither NC:WATER good  
 Mike, some fresh water here.

3 (0.4)

4 MIK We'll get two hour Bill.

5 (0.2)

6 BILL Ok, (.) [ (0.4) [puyya.  
 OK puy =ya  
 OK onward=CL  
 Alright, (0.5) carry on!

7 DOM [kura pathath[u.)  
 kura patha-gathu  
 NC:WATER good -hither  
 Water here.

8 DOM [(gazes to his left))

9 (0.3)

10 MIK Alright.

11 (0.3)

12 DOM [mi biskitkathu.  
 mi biskit -gathu  
 NC:VEG biscuit-hither  
 Give me a biscuit/the biscuits.

---

<sup>18</sup>Dom himself is unclear. His utterances at lines 2, 7 and 12 are all mumbled.

*Joe Blythe*

13 DOM [((touches Ray's leg twice, see Figure Figure 11))]

14 RAY ((no response))



Figure 11: Dom touches Ray on the leg twice.

At line 7 Dom reissues the recruitment with a repetition of the same construction *kura pathathu* ('water-hither'). He says this whilst gazing at various items located on the ground between Greg and Mike. Thus, in the absence of an explicit vocative, no particular recruitee is being targeted; and there is no uptake from the other young men. At line 13 Dom touches Ray twice on the leg (see Figure 11) and, with another nominal-hither construction (*mi biskitkathu*, line 12), requests biscuits from Ray. Ray does not respond and does not move. In order to avoid Dom's gaze, Ray turns his head slightly to his left, away from Dom who is seated slightly to Ray's right, but very much within Ray's 'transactional segment' (Kendon 1990).<sup>19</sup> He is thus actively ignoring Dom. We know nothing of the reason for the non-fulfillment. Evidently, however, this is an utter, albeit implicit, refusal to comply with the request, and a refusal to even acknowledge the requestor's presence.

In extract (23) the rejection implicit in the silence that follows an ignored recruitment is made explicit when the recruitment is then pursued. The extract continues on from extract (15) left off.

(23) Nanthak 2011 0828\_JB\_video\_GYHM100\_03\_453900\_460860

<sup>19</sup>An individual's 'transactional segment' is 'the space into which he looks and speaks, into which he reaches to handle objects' (Kendon 1990: 211). It encompasses the arc projected 30° either side of the sagittal plane, as radiating out from individual's lower body (ibid: 212). When Ray tilts his head to the left, he torques his head to the left edge of his transactional segment, relegating Dom to the right periphery of his field of view. Thus, not looking at Dom requires active gaze avoidance on Ray's behalf.

## *7 Recruitments in Murrinhpatha and the preference organisation of responses*

- 1 ALI [Auw ku(h)rdu]nyidham(h)arrarrnukun[:;  
Auw kurdu -nyi -dhamarrarr -nukun  
No 3SG.S.shove(29).FIRR-1NS.INC.DO-burn\_throat-FIRR  
No! I(h)t might b(h)urn our throats!

2 ALI [ (h)A:wu; ! ] [Karraya;  
Auw karraya  
no goodness!!  
N(h)o!  
Good grief!!  
(0.7)

3

4 LIL→ Cupwangu nanyekut yawu. (.) haphapnu.  
kap -wangu na -nye -kut  
receptacle-thither 2SG.S.grab(9).FUT-1NS.INC.IO-gather  
yawu hap-hap -nu  
hey! RDP-half-DAT  
Hey! Put it evenly into our cups.

5 (1.3) ((Karen pours milk into billycan, Alice ignores Lily))

6 LIL→ Yawu tepala (0.4) Kap!  
yawu tepala kap  
Hey deaf receptacle  
Hey deaf one! (0.4) Cup!

7 ALI→ >KURA PATHAWARRA NGAY YAWU!< (0.3)  
kura patha-warra ngay yawu  
NC:WATER good -ahead 1SG hey  
HEY! {Bring] me/I {want} water first!!!  
(0.8)

8

9 ALI [PURDUNYIDHAMA]rrarrnu!  
purdu -nyi -dhamarrarr -nu  
3SG.S.shove(29).FUT-1NS.INC.DO-burn\_throat-FUT  
It will burn your throat!

10 KAR [XXXXXXXXXXXX]

11 (0.4)

12 ALI Dendurr.  
dendurr  
hot  
It's hot!

At line 4 Lily instructs Alice (presumably, it is Alice she is gazing at) to ‘Put the tea ‘half-and-half’ into the cups’. Alice does not return Lily’s gaze, nor, while Karen pours milk into the billycan at line 5, does she concern herself with either tea or cups. When Lily at line 6 pursues a response with the interjection *yawu* ('Hey!') and by addressing Alice as *tepala* ('deaf one'), she elicits a fiery response from Alice in the form of a shouted counter-recruitment, ‘HEY! {Bring} me/I {want} water first!', followed by a reason (line 9) for not serving out the tea prematurely (It will burn your throat!). The bald counter recruitment (which, incidentally, is also ignored) is neither delayed nor mitigated. In overlap with Alice, Karen at line 8 also shouts something that cannot be discerned. Karen, who at line 5 had been pouring milk into the billycan, like Alice, displays the irritation she had previously suppressed.

*Joe Blythe*

That such a substantial number of recruitments elicited no response, and are seemingly ignored, is alarming. Although this collection of sequences clearly deserves expanded investigation, it's already evident that 'no-response' is to be considered a valid response. In some cases the initiating move is clearly problematic or perhaps difficult to comply with, but in other cases, we can evidently infer that the would-be recruitee considers the substance of the recruitment proposal to not even merit an overt refusal.

### 4.3 Acknowledgements

Of the languages surveyed in this cross-linguistic project, only Italian and English showed at least some degree of acknowledgement of the recruitments' fulfillment. Most languages had only a few if any (Floyd et al. submitted). There were only three in the Murrinhpatha collection, one being a simple nod, the others being seemingly ad-hoc acknowledgements which I won't elaborate on here.

## 5 Social asymmetries

Most Australian Aboriginal societies are generally held to be egalitarian and non-hierarchical (e.g., Peterson 1993; Flanagan 1989; Boehm 1993). Social asymmetries are generally not reflected within grammatical contrasts, nor in the choice of lexical items used for address. In this dataset there are only on a few occasions that we notice social asymmetry being born out within the interaction. One asymmetry that is brought into play is age, and the seniority that comes with greater experience. Elders are held in great esteem and may be referred to as *pule* ('respected'/'boss'). Age related seniority may lie behind Ray's refusal in extract (22) to even acknowledge his pesky younger brother's existence. Ray is the eldest of a group of brothers and cousins who name themselves after a particular heavy metal band (Mansfield 2013; 2014a). Ray is said to be 'boss' for that group.

The by now familiar episode on the beach in which the four women resist fetching water for the hot tea is ultimately resolved when the three eldest women assert their seniority over Rita. In extract (24) particularly, Karen launches a sarcastic, melodramatic tirade at Rita.

- (24) Nanthak 2011 0828\_JB\_video\_GYHM100\_03\_509480 (simplified transcript)

1 KAR †Ya [KARDU MARDINYBUYKA] panguwardathu kem-  
Ya kardu mardinybuy-ka pangu-warda-gathu kem-  
HES NC:HUM young\_girl-TOP DIST -TEMP -hither STRI  
Ah there's a young girl over there sit-

## 7 Recruitments in Murrinhpatha and the preference organisation of responses

- 2 KAR [((points at Rita))]
- 3 KAR panguwardathu kemnyekenkime panguwathu.  
 pangu-warda-gathu kem -nye -kek -ngime  
 DIST -TEMP -hither 3SG.S.SIT(1).EXIST-NS.INC.IO-be\_rainbow-P.CF.NSIB  
 pangu-gathu  
 DIST -hither  
 sitting over there gleaming at us like a rainbow.
- 4 (0.8)
- 5 KAR kardu nekingimedangu (0.4) kardu mani pubernungkardunungime.  
 kardu nekingime -wangu kardu mani  
 NC:HUM 1PC.INC.NSIB-thither NC:HUM similar  
 pube -nu-ngkardu -nu -ngime  
 1NS.INC.S.BASH.RR(15).FUT-RR-see/look-FUT-PC.F.NSIB  
 {facing} towards us. Like we'll see ourselves {in the video}.
- 6 (1.8)
- 7 KAR kardu nginipuny mani pubernungkardungime; (0.5)  
 kardu nginipuny mani  
 NC:HUM similar similar  
 pube -nu-ngkardu -nu -ngime  
 1NS.INC.S.BASH.RR(15).FUT-RR-see/look-FUT-PC.F.NSIB  
 It's like we'll see ourselves {in the video}.
- 8 KAR kardu [damnyiwebawaywardangime.  
 kardu dam -nyi -we -baway -warda-ngime  
 NC:HUM 3SG.S.POKE(19).NFUT-1NS.INC.IO-hair-be\_white-TEMP -PC.F.NSIB  
 with our white hair on our heads
- 9 RIT [(Rita stands up)]
- 10 (1.6)
- 11 KAR ku wakay warda manda warda  
 ku wakay warda manda warda  
 NC:ANM finish TEMP near TEMP  
 for whom death is near.

Karen contrasts Rita, as young (line 1, *kardu mardinybuy*, a young girl) and radiant (literally: a rainbow, *kemnyekenkime*, line 3) with the other white-haired women (*damnyiwebawaywardangime*, line 8) with one foot in the grave (*ku wakay warda manda warda*, line 11, ‘for whom death is near’). This fanciful comparison breaks the deadlock because Rita gets up (at line 9) in order to take the billycan to get some cool water (see extract (12)). She has drawn the short straw here as she herself is a grandmother and is Karen’s junior by merely two years!

## 6 Discussion

In most CA research on preference structure, dispreferred second pair parts are analysed in terms of their dispreference features as delayed, hedged, accounted for, etc. An implicit criterion for this approach is detection of the dispreferred second pair part for analysis of these features. An empirical question then is,

*Joe Blythe*

‘When an expected response is absent, can its notable absence be legitimately read as a dispreferred response?’

When CA was in its infancy, telephone recording technologies were adopted more widely by conversation analysts than was video. Most of the seminal works on preference organisation were conducted on phone call data. Because participants speaking on the phone are not co-located in space, when requests are made, seldom can the substance of the request be fulfilled immediately. Thus phone call requests are normally higher contingency, future actions, for which arrangements need to be made in advance. The substance of the request may well be the actual reason for the call (Sacks 1992; Schegloff & Sacks 1973; Couper-Kuhlen 2001). Usually, the possible imposition on the recruitee is foregrounded, becoming the substance of deferential behaviour and politeness considerations. Preliminaries need to be dealt with through backgrounding and pre-sequences (Schegloff 1980; Schegloff et al. 2002; Schegloff 2007). However, like each dataset in our comparative project, the Murrinhpatha corpus consists entirely of casual face-to-face conversation amongst friends and family. All of the recruitments call for comparatively immediate action to be performed within the general vicinity. A likely outcome of this is that (in the Murrinhpatha corpus) there are no pre-recruitment sequences (however, see Rossi 2015).

What is presented here is the Murrinhpatha system of language use pertaining to recruitments. As per the other chapters, I firstly present the range of possible recruitment formats followed by the array of possible responses to these recruitment formats, giving the relative proportions of each recruitment format and the relative proportions of their possible responses. The payoff in considering these paradigmatically, as an array of alternatives, is immediately evident. From among the range of possible responses, ‘no-response’ (ignoring) substantially emerges as a legitimate option existing intermediately between overt compliance and overt rejection (see Figure 12).<sup>20</sup> Extracts (21)-(23) show that, at least for Murrinhpatha speakers, silence plus a lack of physical action following a recruitment can be understood not as a harbinger of imminent refusal, but as actual implicit refusal. There is reason, however, to think that this state of affairs is not culturally specific to Murrinhpatha speakers.

Levinson (1983: 320-321) demonstrates how a two second silence following a pre-request is taken to be a negative response to the pre-request. The pre-request deals with the call-taker’s availability, a prerequisite condition for arranging a

---

<sup>20</sup>The denominator has been reduced here from 145 to 139 due to the untypable responses: those where the vocal component of the move is insufficiently audible to be adequately categorized, and/or when the respondent is obscured from view or off-screen.

## 7 Recruitments in Murrinhpatha and the preference organisation of responses

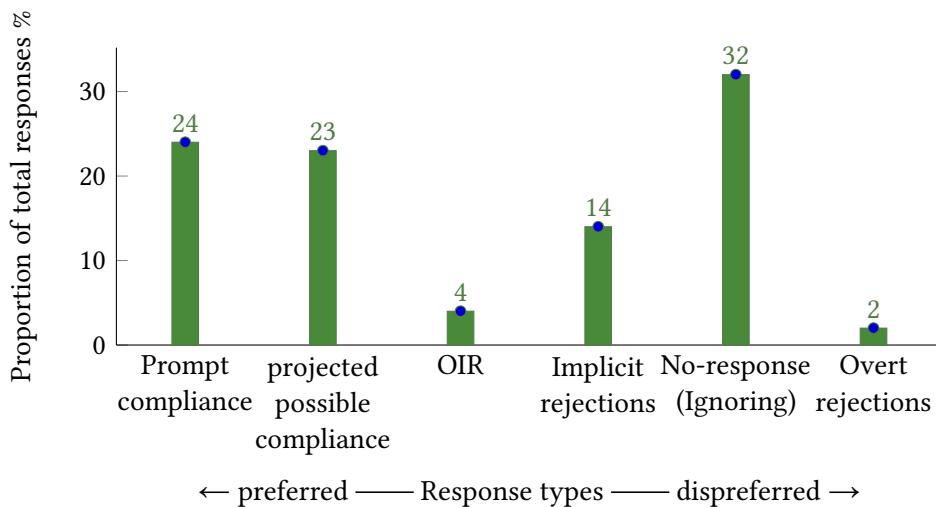


Figure 12: Relative proportions of response types. Projected possible compliance includes visible behaviour that hints at fulfilling the recruitment, as well as explicit commitments to future compliance. Alongside ‘prompt compliance’ these are the preferred responses. ‘Implicit rejections’ included counters and deflections, as well as rejections delivered as accounts for non-compliance (see §4.2.2). Pragmatically, ‘ignoring’ is a morphologically unrealised sub-type of implicit rejection.

future meeting.<sup>21</sup> The caller’s reading of the silence as conveying ‘unavailability’ ultimately proved to be unfounded (presumably, the call-taker was actually checking his/her schedule during the silence). Irrespective of the caller drawing the wrong conclusion, the extract illustrates how silence following a specifically allocated first-pair part mobilizes the inferential machinery such that a sub-optimal outcome is imagined.

(25) (Levinson 1983: 320-21)

<sup>21</sup>Levinson suggests that the 2 second silence at line 3, following the caller’s prerequest, is allocated by the turntaking system to the call-taker, as the next-selected speaker. As such, the call-taker owns the silence. The caller hears the silence as projecting a dispreferred negative response to the pre-request, which would effectively block the caller’s projected request. Pre-empting the blocking response, the caller answers his/her own question, wrongly as it seems. Having then established the call-taker’s availability, the request eventuates at line 8. “Note here the remarkable power of the turn-taking system to assign the absence of any verbal activity to some particular participant as his turn: such a mechanism can then quite literally make something out of nothing, assigning to a silence or pause, itself devoid of interesting properties, the property of being A’s, or B’s, or neither A’s nor B’s.” (Ibid: 321)

*Joe Blythe*

1 CAL So I was wondering would you be in your office on  
 2 Monday (.) by any chance?  
 3 (2.0)  
 4 CAL Probably not  
 5 TAK Hmm yes=  
 6 CAL =You would?  
 7 TAK Ya  
 8 CAL So if we came by could you give us ten minutes of your time?

In the absence of pre-sequences, a ‘no-response’ following a conditionally relevant first-pair part is hearable *not* as projecting an impending block of a yet-to-emerge base-sequence, it is hearable as non-fulfilment of, or non-compliance with, the base recruitment first pair part (►). ‘Ignoring’ is the ‘zero-morph’ of recruitment responses. ‘No-response’ is a meaningful declining response that stands in paradigmatic opposition to fulfilment, as one ‘format’ within a range of dispreferred alternative formats that explicitly reject the substance of the recruitment (overt refusals), implicitly reject it (ignoring, counters, deflections, accounts as rejections), or defer the expected base second pair part (OIR).<sup>22</sup> The utility of ‘no-response’ lies in conveying rejection without leaving any on-record token of rejection.

While the rate of non-compliance in Murrinhpatha is high, the rate of no-response is strikingly high. However, we should be careful to interpret these high rates as reflecting a cultural difference, as they might at least partly influenced by the nature of the interactions and people represented in the sample used for this study. Many cases come from interactions among old and relatively infirm participants who are recruited to do things such as lifting heavy water bottles, which requires a high level of physical exertion. Other cases involve demands that are silly or unreasonable, such as Karen’s instructions to Maggie in extract (18) that she ask her brother for permission to smoke (Blythe 2017). Nevertheless, the high ‘no-response’ rate still raises interesting questions, especially for politeness theorists and intercultural communication researchers. If making requests is inherently face-threatening for the requestor, why would Murrinhpatha speaking recruiters risk threats to their positive face when the likelihood of refusal is so substantial? Do cultural expectations based on demand sharing

---

<sup>22</sup>In the protracted episode with the hot billycan on the beach, all participants but especially Rita use the full range of these refusal formats to doggedly resist recruitment after recruitment. In this battle of wits, twenty-seven recruitment moves were produced before possible imminent compliance was projected!

## 7 *Recruitments in Murrinhpatha and the preference organisation of responses*

(Peterson 1993) diminish potential threats to the requestor's positive face such that the chance of refusal merits the risk? Might 'ignoring' recruitments actually be the politest method for declining them? Is 'ignoring' a mechanism for coping with *humbug*?<sup>23</sup> Is the reason many Europeans working in Aboriginal communities feel excessively overburdened by *humbug* (Gerrard 1989) because they don't imagine 'ignoring' to be an acceptable option for refusing requests? I won't attempt to answer any of these questions here. However, the fact that they emerge from these results underscores the immense value in taking an emic perspective on social interaction: taking video recordings of informal conversation conducted within a single social group as baseline interactional data; allowing researchers to ground their understanding of cultural expectations upon members' normative responses to recurrent social actions. Having then compared practices from other social groups, using analogous datasets (the approach of pragmatic typology), intercultural communication researchers can draw on these data to better understand communication between participants from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

---

<sup>23</sup>'Humbug' is a colloquial Aboriginal English term for the annoying pressure placed on an individual with the intention of eliciting material goods or future deeds. When a person 'humbugs' someone, they make persistent demands and requests for such things as food, money, tobacco, and lifts in vehicles; perhaps even performed with a degree of menace or intimidation (Gerrard 1989; Blythe 2001: 40–42).

*Joe Blythe*

## Abbreviations

ANAPH	anaphoric	NC:RES	'residue' noun class
	demonstrative	NC:SPEECH	'speech' noun class
BRZIWI	brother's sister's wife	NFUT	non-future
CL	clitic	NSIB	non-sibling
CS	classifier stem	NS	non-singular
DIST	distal demonstrative	PIMP	past imperfective
EMPH	emphatic	PC	paucal
F	feminine	RECN	recognitional
FUT	future		demonstrative
FIRR	future irrealis	S	subject
HES	hesitation	SG	singular
INC	inclusive of the	SIB	sibling
	addressee	STRI	same turn initiation of repair
INTS	intensifier		tag particle
LOC	locative	TAG	tense/aspect/mood
LS	lexical stem	TAM	temporal adverbial
NC:ANM	'animate' noun class	TEMP	topic
NC:HUMAN	'human' noun class	TOP	
NC:PL/T	'place/time' noun class		

## Acknowledgements

The corpus was prepared with the consultative assistance of Kinngirri Carmelita Mardigan, Mawurt Ernest Perdjert, Lucy Tcherma, Phyllis Bunduck, Gertrude Ne-marlak, Desmond Pupuli and Jeremiah Tunmuck. Thanks also to Mark Crocombe at the Kanamkek Yile Ngala Museum and Languages Centre in Wadeye for logistical support. I am grateful to John Mansfield for making the conversations he recorded available for this collection. The paper has benefited from the comments and advice of Giovanni Rossi, Simeon Floyd, Scott Barnes and two anonymous reviewers. I'm grateful for the lively discussions with fellow collaborators in this HSSLU project – Julija Baranova, Paul Drew, Mark Dingmanse, Tyko Dirksmeyer, Nick Enfield, Simeon Floyd, Rósa Gísladóttir, Kobin Kendrick, Steve Levinson, Ely Manrique and Giovanni Rossi. This research was funded by the European Research Council (StG 240853) and the Australian Research council (DP110100961, DE130100399).

## 7 *Recruitments in Murrinhpatha and the preference organisation of responses*

### References

- AIATSIS. 2005. *National indigenous languages survey report 2005*. Canberra: Department of Communications, Information Technology & the Arts. DCITA.
- Blythe, Joe. 2001. *Yuwurriyangem Kijam: A phrasebook of the Kija language*. Halls Creek: Kimberley Language Resource Centre.
- Blythe, Joe. 2009. *Doing referring in Murriny Patha conversation*. Sydney: University of Sydney. (Doctoral dissertation). <http://hdl.handle.net/2123/5388>.
- Blythe, Joe. 2010a. From ethical datives to number markers in Murriny Patha. In Rachel Hendery & Jennifer Hendriks (eds.), *Grammatical change: Theory and description* (Studies in Language Change), 157–184. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Blythe, Joe. 2010b. Self-association in Murriny Patha conversation. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 30(4). 447–469. DOI:[10.1080/07268602.2010.518555](https://doi.org/10.1080/07268602.2010.518555)
- Blythe, Joe. 2012. From passing-gesture to ‘true’ Romance: Kin-based teasing in Murriny Patha conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics* 44(4). 508–528. DOI:[10.1016/j.pragma.2011.11.005](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2011.11.005)
- Blythe, Joe. 2013. Preference organization driving structuration: Evidence from Australian Aboriginal interaction for pragmatically motivated grammaticalization. *Language* 89(4). 883–919. DOI:[10.1353/lan.2013.0057](https://doi.org/10.1353/lan.2013.0057)
- Blythe, Joe. 2015. Other-initiated repair in Murrinh-Patha. *Open Linguistics* 1. 283–308. DOI:[10.1515/opli-2015-0003](https://doi.org/10.1515/opli-2015-0003)
- Blythe, Joe. 2017. Murrinhpatha speakers’ ‘no-response’ response to recruitments. University of Helsinki. Intersubjectivity in Action.
- Blythe, Joe, Kinngirri Carmelita Mardigan, Mawurt Ernest Perdjert & Hywel Stoakes. 2016. Pointing out directions in Murrinhpatha. *Open Linguistics* 2. 132–159. DOI:[10.1515/opli-2016-0007](https://doi.org/10.1515/opli-2016-0007)
- Boehm, Christopher. 1993. Egalitarian behavior and reverse dominance hierarchy. *Current Anthropology* 34(3). 227–254.
- Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth. 2001. Interactional prosody: High onsets in reason-for-the-call turns. *Language in Society* 30(1). 29–53.
- Craven, Alexandra & Jonathan Potter. 2010. Directives: Entitlement and contingency in action. *Discourse Studies* 12(4). 419–442. DOI:[10.1177/1461445610370126](https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445610370126)
- Curl, Traci S. 2006–08. Offers of assistance: Constraints on syntactic design. *Journal of Pragmatics* 38(8). 1257–1280. DOI:[10.1016/j.pragma.2005.09.004](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2005.09.004)

*Joe Blythe*

- Curl, Traci & Paul Drew. 2008. Contingency and action: A comparison of two forms of requesting. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 41(2). 129–153. DOI:[10.1080/08351810802028613](https://doi.org/10.1080/08351810802028613)
- De Ruiter, Jan Peter (ed.). 2012. *Questions: Formal, functional and interactional perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Enfield, N. J. 2009. *The anatomy of meaning: Speech, gesture, and composite utterances*. Vol. 8. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Enfield, N. J., Tanya Stivers & Stephen C. Levinson. 2010. Question–response sequences in conversation across ten languages: An introduction. *Journal of Pragmatics* 42(10). 2615–2619. DOI:[10.1016/j.pragma.2010.04.001](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2010.04.001)
- Flanagan, James G. 1989. Hierarchy in simple "egalitarian" societies. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 18. 245–266.
- Forshaw, William. 2016. *Little kids, big verbs: Acquisition of Murrinhpatha biparite stem verbs*. University of Melbourne, School of Languages & Linguistics. (Doctoral dissertation).
- Forshaw, William, Lucinda Davidson, Barbara Kell, Nordlinger Rachel, Gillian Wigglesworth & Joe Blythe. 2017. The acquisition of Murrinh-Patha. In Michael Fortescue, Marianne Mithun & Nicholas Evans (eds.), *The Oxford handbook of polysynthesis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fox, Barbara A. & Sandra A. Thompson. 2010-05-21. Responses to Wh-questions in English conversation. *Research on Language & Social Interaction* 43(2). 133–156. DOI:[10.1080/08351811003751680](https://doi.org/10.1080/08351811003751680)
- Gardner, Rod & Ilana Mushin. 2015. Expanded transition spaces: The case of Garwra. *Frontiers in Psychology* 3. 1–14. DOI:[10.3389/fpsyg.2015.00251](https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2015.00251)
- Gerrard, Grayson. 1989. Everyone will Be jealous for that mutika. *Mankind* 19(2). 95–111.
- Goffman, Erving. 1981. *Forms of talk*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Green, Ian. 2003. The genetic status of Murrinh-Patha. In Nicholas Evans (ed.), *The Non-Pama-Nyungan languages of Northern Australia: Comparative studies of the continent's most linguistically complex region*, 159–184. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Heritage, John. 1984. *Garfinkel and ethnomethodology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Heritage, John & Geoffrey Raymond. 2012. Navigating epistemic landscapes: Acquiescence, agency and resistance in response to polar questions. In Jan Peter De Ruiter (ed.), *Questions: Formal, functional and interactional perspectives*, 179–192. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

## 7 *Recruitments in Murrinhpatha and the preference organisation of responses*

- Kelly, Barbara, Rachel Nordlinger & Gillian Wigglesworth. 2010. Indigenous perspectives on the vitality of Murrinh-Patha. In Rik De Busser & Yvonne Treis (eds.), *Selected papers from the 2009 Conference of the Australian Linguistic Society*, 1–21. <http://www.als.asn.au/proceedings/als2009.html>.
- Kendon, Adam. 1990. *Conducting interaction: Patterns of behavior in focused encounters*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kendon, Adam. 2004. *Gesture: Visible action as utterance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kendrick, Kobil H. & Paul Drew. 2016. Recruitment: Offers, requests, and the organization of assistance in interaction. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 49(1). 1–19. DOI:[10.1080/08351813.2016.1126436](https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2016.1126436)
- Kent, Alexandra. 2012. Compliance, resistance and incipient compliance when responding to directives. *Discourse Studies* 14(6). 711–730. DOI:[10.1177/1461445612457485](https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445612457485)
- Lee, Seung-Hee. 2013. Response design in conversation. In Jack Sidnell & Tanya Stivers (eds.), *The handbook of conversation analysis*, 415–432. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd. DOI:[10.1002/9781118325001.ch20](https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118325001.ch20)
- Lerner, Gene H. 2003. Selecting next speaker: The context-sensitive operation of a context-free organization. *Language in society* 32(2). 177–201.
- Levinson, Stephen C. 1983. *Pragmatics*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Levinson, Stephen C. 2013. Action formation and ascription. In Jack Sidnell & Tanya Stivers (eds.), *The handbook of conversation analysis*, 101–130. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd. DOI:[10.1002/9781118325001.ch6](https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118325001.ch6)
- Lyons, John. 1977. *Semantics*. Vol. 2. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Mansfield, John. 2013. The social organisation of Wadeye's heavy metal mobs. *The Australian Journal of Anthropology* 24(2). 148–165. DOI:[10.1111/taja.12035](https://doi.org/10.1111/taja.12035)
- Mansfield, John. 2014a. Listening to heavy metal in Wadeye. In Amanda Harris (ed.), *Circulating cultures: Exchanges of Australian Indigenous music, dance and media*, 239–262. Canberra: ANU EPress.
- Mansfield, John. 2014b. *Polysynthetic sociolinguistics: The language and culture of Murrinh Patha youth*. Canberra: ANU. (Doctoral dissertation).
- McConvell, Patrick. 1982. Neutralisation and degrees of respect in Gurindji. In Jeffrey Heath, Francesca Merlan & Alan Rumsey (eds.), *Languages of kinship in Aboriginal Australia*, vol. 24 (Oceanic Linguistic Monographs), 86–106. Sydney: University of Sydney.
- Mujkic, Elena. 2013. *Murrinh-Patha syntax: Clausal structure and the noun phrase*. University of Melbourne. (BA Honours).

*Joe Blythe*

- Nordlinger, Rachel. 2010a. Agreement in Murrinh-Patha serial verbs. In Rik De Busser & Yvonne Treis (eds.), *Selected Papers from the 2009 Conference of the Australian Linguistic Society*, 1–30. La Trobe University.
- Nordlinger, Rachel. 2010b. Verbal morphology in Murrinh-Patha: Evidence for templates. *Morphology* 20. 321–341.
- Nordlinger, Rachel. 2011. Transitivity in Murrinh-Patha. *Studies in Language* 35(3). 702–734.
- Nordlinger, Rachel & Patrick Caudal. 2012. The tense, aspect and modality system in Murrinh-Patha. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 32(1). 73–113. DOI:[10.1080/07268602.2012.657754](https://doi.org/10.1080/07268602.2012.657754)
- Peterson, Nick. 1993. Demand sharing: Reciprocity and the pressure for generosity among foragers. *American Anthropologist* 95(4). 860–874.
- Pomerantz, Anita. 1984. Agreeing and disagreeing with assessments. In J. Maxwell Atkinson (ed.), *Structures of social action: Studies in conversation analysis*, 57–101. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pomerantz, Anita & John Heritage. 2013. Preference. In Jack Sidnell & Tanya Stivers (eds.), *The handbook of conversation analysis*, 210–228. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd. DOI:[10.1002/9781118325001.ch11](https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118325001.ch11)
- Raymond, Geoffrey. 2003. Grammar and social organization: Yes/no interrogatives and the structure of responding. *American Sociological Review* 68(6). 939–967.
- Rossi, Giovanni. 2012. Bilateral and unilateral requests: The use of imperatives and Mi X? Interrogatives in Italian. *Discourse Processes* 49(5). 426–458. DOI:[10.1080/0163853X.2012.684136](https://doi.org/10.1080/0163853X.2012.684136)
- Rossi, Giovanni. 2015. Responding to pre-requests: The organization of Hai X ‘do you Have x’ sequences in Italian. *Journal of Pragmatics* 82. 5–22. DOI:[10.1016/j.pragma.2015.03.008](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2015.03.008)
- Sacks, Harvey. 1992. *Lectures on conversation*. Gail Jefferson (ed.). Vol. 1 & 2. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Sadock, Jerrold M. & Arnold Zwicky. 1985. Speech act distinctions in syntax. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description*, 155–96. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A. 1980. Preliminaries to preliminaries: ‘Can I ask you a question?’ *Sociological Inquiry* 50(3/4). 104–152.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A. 1989. Reflections on language, development, and the interactional character of talk-in-interaction. In Marc H. Bornstein & Jerome S. Bruner (eds.), *Interaction in human development*, 139–153. New York: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

## 7 Recruitments in Murrinhpatha and the preference organisation of responses

- Schegloff, Emanuel A. 2007. *Sequence organization in interaction: Volume 1: A primer in conversation analysis*. Vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A., Gail Jefferson & Harvey Sacks. 1977. The preference for self-correction in the organization of repair in conversation. *Language* 53(2). 361–382.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A., James E. Katz & Mark Aakhuis. 2002. Opening sequencing. In James E. Katz & Mark Aakhuis (eds.), *Perpetual contact: Mobile communication, private talk, public performance*, 326–385. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A. & Gene H. Lerner. 2009-05-14. Beginning to respond: Well-prefaced responses to Wh-questions. *Research on Language & Social Interaction* 42(2). 91–115. DOI:[10.1080/08351810902864511](https://doi.org/10.1080/08351810902864511)
- Schegloff, Emanuel A. & Harvey Sacks. 1973. Opening up closings. *Semiotica* 8(4). 289–327.
- Stivers, Tanya. 2007. Alternative recognitions in person reference. In N. J. Enfield & Tanya Stivers (eds.), *Person reference in interaction: Linguistic, cultural and social perspectives*, vol. Cambridge University Press, 73–96. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Stivers, Tanya & Federico Rossano. 2010. Mobilizing response. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 43(1). 3–31. DOI:[10.1080/08351810903471258](https://doi.org/10.1080/08351810903471258)
- Street, Chester S. 1980. The relationship of verb affixation and clause structure in Murinbata. *Papers in Australian Linguistics* no. 12. 83–113.
- Street, Chester S. 1987. *An introduction to the language and culture of the Murrinh-Patha*. Darwin: Summer Institute of Linguistics, Australian Aborigines Branch.
- Thompson, Sandra A., Barbara A. Fox & Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen. 2015. *Grammar in everyday talk: Building responsive actions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Vinkhuyzen, Erik & Margaret H. Szymanski. 2005. Would you like to do it yourself? Service requests and their non-granting responses. In Keith Richards & Paul Seedhouse (eds.), *Applying conversation analysis*, 91–106. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Walsh, Michael J. 1976. *The Murinypata language of North West Australia*. Canberra: Australian National University. (Doctoral dissertation).
- Walsh, Michael J. 1987. The impersonal verb construction in Australian languages. In Ross Steele & Terry Threadgold (eds.), *Language topics: Essays in honour of Michael Halliday, I & II*, 425–438. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

*Joe Blythe*

- Walsh, Michael J. 1993. Classifying the world in an Aboriginal language. In Colin Yallop (ed.), *Language and culture in Aboriginal Australia*, 107–122. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press.
- Walsh, Michael J. 1996. Vouns and nerbs: A category squish in Murrinh-Patha (northern Australia). In William McGregor (ed.), *Studies in Kimberley languages in honour of Howard H. Coate*, 227–252. München: Lincom Europa.
- Walsh, Michael J. 1997. Noun classes, nominal classification and generics in Murrinhpatha. In Mark Harvey & Nicholas Reid (eds.), *Nominal classification in Aboriginal Australia* (Studies in language companion series, v. 37.), 255–292. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Wootton, Anthony J. 1997. *Interaction and the development of mind*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

## Chapter 8

# Recruitments in Polish

Jörg Zinken

Department of Pragmatics, Institute for the German Language in Mannheim

This chapter describes the resources that speakers of Polish use when recruiting assistance from others in everyday social interaction. The chapter draws on data from video recordings of informal conversation in Polish, and reports language-specific findings generated within a large-scale comparative project involving eight languages from five continents (see other chapters of this volume). The resources for recruitment described in this chapter include linguistic structures from across the levels of grammatical organization, as well as gestural and other visible and contextual resources of relevance to the interpretation of action in interaction. The presentation of categories of recruitment, and elements of recruitment sequences, follows the coding scheme used in the comparative project (see Chapter 2 of the volume). This chapter extends our knowledge of the structure and usage of Polish with detailed attention to the properties of sequential structure in conversational interaction. The chapter is a contribution to an emerging field of pragmatic typology.

## 1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of many of the practices for recruiting another person for action in Polish. The data for this overview come from a corpus of video recordings of informal everyday interactions in the homes of families living in urban areas of Poland. As this chapter will show, recruitment practices in Polish follow many of the regularities that we have observed for other languages in the larger project reported in the present volume. Some distinctive aspects of Polish recruitments, such as the diverse imperative, impersonal, or infinitive formats, are also discussed.



Jörg Zinken

## 1.1 The Polish Language

Polish is an Indo-European language, and belongs to the West-Slavic branch of the Slavic languages family. Polish is spoken by about 40 million people worldwide, of whom about 37 million live in the Republic of Poland in Central Europe.

Polish has a long tradition of grammatical description (comprehensive grammars are [Bąk 2010](#); [Strutyński 2006](#)). Although it is characterized by relatively free word order, its basic word order is mostly SVO. There is a rich tradition of pragmatic work in Polish linguistics, but work on the basis of recorded interaction has been virtually absent until recently (but see [Labocha 1985; 1986](#)). Grammatical features relevant to recruitment practices include the category of verbal aspect, the absence of interrogative syntax, a relatively elaborate imperative paradigm, and impersonal modal constructions such as *trzeba* ('it is necessary to') and *można* ('it is possible to').

## 1.2 Data collection and corpus

The Polish corpus of video recordings was built outside of the comparative project on which the chapters in this volume report. Most of the recordings were made in 2009 as part of a comparative project on "Sharing responsibilities in English and Polish families", funded by the British *Economic and Social Research Council*. For that project, matched corpora of video recordings of everyday life in British and Polish families were collected. Participants were asked to record everyday activities, such as mealtimes, cooking, or playing with children. The Polish corpus from that project includes 10 hours of recordings made by six families. Other recordings have been made during field visits since then. These further data amount to 3,5 hours of recordings made by three families. The restriction to family interaction distinguishes the Polish data from other languages examined in this volume, which include recordings of informal interactions outside of a family context. The reader might want to keep this caveat in mind when comparing the results across languages.

The recordings were made in the capital city Warsaw and in Lublin, a university city in the South-East of Poland. This means that all recordings come from Eastern regions in Poland. The data considered for comparison consisted of coded samples from the recordings, with the goal of coding at least 200 recruitments. Most of the families had young children, and many recruitment sequences found in the data included a child, either as "recruiter" or as "recruitee". To maximize comparability of the data across languages, we decided to include only recruitments in which both participants are adults. Six hours and thirty minutes of

## 8 Recruiting assistance and collaboration in Polish family interaction

recordings were sampled to identify 215 recruitment sequences. Transcripts follow the conventions of Conversation Analysis as they were developed by Gail Jefferson (2004).

## 2 Basics of recruitment sequences

We defined a recruitment sequence as “a basic cooperative phenomenon in social interaction consisting of a sequence of two moves with the following characteristics:

- **Move A:** Participant A does or says something to participant B, or that B can see or hear
- **Move B:** Participant B does a practical action for or with participant A that is fitted to what A just did or said” (Floyd et al, coding scheme, this volume).

A recruitment sequence can have a minimal shape, consisting only of two “moves”, or it can have a more complex shape. I begin with examples illustrating this difference.

### 2.1 Minimal recruitment sequence

Extract (1) provides an example of a minimal recruitment sequence. The participants are seated at the table for supper. At lines 1-2, Ilona asks Jacek to pass her the salad bowl (Move A). At line 3, jacek passes her the salad bowl (Move B).

- (1) PP2-1\_2224980
- 1 ILO wiesz co podaj mi kochanie jeszcze  
know.2SG what pass.IMP me dear still  
You know what, pass me some more
  - 2 ILO sałatki  
salad.GEN  
salad, dear
  - ▷ 3 JAC bardzo proszę ((passes salad bowl))  
very plead.1SG  
Here you are

### 2.2 Non-minimal recruitment sequence

Recruitment sequences are non-minimal when the recruitment move is re-done (maybe to clarify it, to make it more forceful, or because the recruiting speaker is

Jörg Zinken

not certain whether it has been heard) before it is complied with or rejected. In Extract (2), Piotr is sitting at the dinner table with a baby on his lap. He tells Aga at line 1 that cheese has dropped to the floor (Move A). Aga arrives at the table and puts her coffee cup down. This might, but need not be, a move preliminary to doing the action implied in Move A – picking up the cheese (line 2 is marked with (M-B) in brackets to indicate this uncertainty). Piotr re-does the recruitment move in truncated form (line 3), and Aga picks up the cheese from the floor immediately hereafter.

(2) PP5-4\_0154810a

- 1 PIO tutaj ser u- (0.4) tu ser upadł jeszcze  
here cheese dr- here cheese drop.down.3SG.PST still  
here cheese has- here cheese has dropped down also
- 2 AGA ((arrives at table, places coffee cup on the table))
- 3 PIO ser upadł  
cheese drop.down.3SG.PST  
cheese has dropped down
- 4 AGA ((picks up cheese))

### 2.3 Subtypes of recruitment sequence

We distinguished between four types of recruitments: Moves that recruit the provision of a **service**, moves that recruit the provision of an **object**, moves that aim to **alter the trajectory** of B's current behavior, and moves that lead B to do something to address A's current or anticipatable **trouble**.

We have already seen examples for two of these: Extract 2 (A recruits B to pick up something that has dropped to the floor) was an example of a recruitment the point of which was that B provide some sort of **service**. Extract 1 (A recruits B to pass the salad bowl) was an example of a recruitment the point of which was that B pass an **object** to A. Passing an object can be a particular kind of service, but we wanted to consider object requests separately, because such requests are numerous and they constitute a reasonably well circumscribed domain.

Extract (3) is an example of a recruitment the point of which is to alter some current conduct by B. Here, Ilona is putting sugar into Jacek's tea. At line 4, Jacek's *już=już* ('already=already', idiomatically: 'enough-enough') gets Ilona to stop further sweetening the tea (cf. Stivers 2004 on multiple sayings as a practice for indicating that some course of action should be halted).

## 8 Recruiting assistance and collaboration in Polish family interaction

### (3) PP2-5\_949800

- 1 ILO proszę:: ((spoons sugar into A's tea))  
 plead.1SG  
 here you are
- 2 JAC dziękuje bardzo  
 thank.1SG very  
 thank you very much
- 3 ILO [słodzę:: [ci mężu  
 sweeten.1SG you.DAT husband.VOC  
 I sweeten it for you, my husband
- 4 JAC [już= już  
 already already  
 enough enough
- ▷ 5 ILO ((stops putting sugar into tea))

Finally, Extract (4) is a case in which B's Move addresses some current or anticipatable problem of A's. Piotr is trying to cut pizza, but he is also holding a baby on his lap. The baby has started to pull the table mat with the pizza plate on it towards himself, and Piotr is in the difficult position of trying to cut pizza, hold the baby, and control the baby's hands, all at the same time. Piotr's "trouble" is both visible and hearable (*kurczę no*, 'damn' is a loose translation, line 3). The two children, Łukasz and Przemek, laugh at Piotr's predicament (lines 4 and 5), but his wife, Aga, announces help and shortly thereafter comes to the table and takes the baby from Piotr.

### (4) PP5-4\_0134460

- 1 PIO ((Piotr cuts pizza on his plate))
- 2 BAB ((baby pulls the table mat))
- 3 PIO ku::rcze no,  
 EXPL PRT  
 damn no
- 4 LUK Hh::
- 5 LUK A: hahaha .H
- ▷ 6 AGA już go ci biore stamtąd  
 Already him.ACC you.DAT take.IPFV.1SG from.there  
 Already I'm taking him for you from there
- ▷ 7 AGA ((Aga comes to the table and takes the baby))

*Jörg Zinken*

Cases of assistance with current or anticipatable trouble can also often be analysed as eliciting a “service” of some sort. However, what separates them as a category is that A might not have designed his conduct to recruit assistance, although B’s practical action is occasioned by some conduct in what then become ‘Move A’.

### 3 Formats in Move A: the recruitment

#### 3.1 Fully nonverbal recruitments

Sometimes, a recruitment is accomplished nonverbally. For example, a person can simply point to an object that they want to be given, or they can hold out a hand to receive an object, or, as in the following case, a person can hold out an object and in that way recruit another person to take it from them. In this example, Marta and Karol are searching for a particular medication in the fridge. Marta takes a package out of the fridge and inspects it, and then holds it out for Karol to take it from her. Karol takes the package from Marta (Figure 1).

(5) (PP6-3\_1920720)  
 ▶ 1 MAR ((holds out package))

▷ 2 KAR ((takes package))



Figure 1: Karol takes the package from Marta (Extract 5, line 2).

Fully non-verbal recruitments can be successful when the context provides a rich scaffold that secures the other person’s attention and makes the point of the

## 8 Recruiting assistance and collaboration in Polish family interaction

recruitment transparent (Rossi 2014). The recruitment in (5) occurs in a context in which Marta and Karol are already engaged in the activity of inspecting various packages of medicine they have in the fridge. Attempts at fully non-verbal recruitments make up 6.5% (N=14) of all Moves A.

### 3.2 Nonverbal behavior in recruitments

Moves embodying recruitments in face-to-face interaction always involve non-verbal practices. For example, when A asks B to pass the butter, A might also gaze towards B, a practice that can serve to address the relevant person (Lerner 2003). However, we coded as nonverbal conduct only such conduct that aids the recipient in identifying the target object and/or action. Table 1 provides an overview of the types of nonverbal behavior found accompanying verbal recruitments in the Polish data.

Table 1: Types of nonverbal behavior in recruitments (n=77).

Practice	# in sample	%
Pointing gesture	26	34%
Holding out object	9	11,5%
Reach to receive object	9	11,5%
Iconic gesture	0	0%
Other	33	43%

Aga's turn in Extract (6) includes two recruitments, both of which are accompanied by relevant nonverbal conduct. In line 2, when Aga formulates a request to be given the baby, she also stretches out her arm to receive him (Figure 2). This is an example of a 'reach to receive' gesture, although it also has an iconic element, because Aga would not actually grasp the baby with her outstretched hand (when Piotr hands Aga the baby, she takes him with both hands). After the completion of this recruitment move, Aga immediately launches a next element in her turn, another recruitment (line 3), for Piotr to sit down. As she formulates this request, Aga also slightly pushes back the chair. Such manipulation of objects involved in the target event has been coded as "other" forms of nonverbal conduct.

(6) PP5-5\_28800a

1 Pio nakarmimy jego tutaj?  
 feed.PFV.1PL him.ACC here  
 will we feed him here?

Jörg Zinken

- ▶ 2 AGA wiesz co (.) daj [mi go na chwileczkę  
know.2SG what give.IMP me.DAT him.ACC on moment.ACC  
you know what, give him to me for a moment
- ▶ 2 AGA [((stretches out arm))
- ▶ 3 AGA *i=siedź [sobie tutaj sam ja go nakarmię*  
sit.IMP RFL here self I him.ACC feed.1SG  
sit yourself down here, I will feed him
- ▶ 3 AGA [((moves chair back))
- ▶ 4 AGA *owocową*  
fruit.ADV.INSTR  
fruit (soup)
- ▷ 5 Pio ((walks to Aga, hands over baby))



Figure 2: Aga stretches out arm (Extract 6, line 2)

By pushing back the chair, Aga indicates where Piotr should sit down, but also makes sitting down more straightforward for Piotr. Like pointing gestures, “other” forms of non-verbal conduct often indicate a relevant object. However, they also commonly make the object more useable for the intended purpose, and thereby increase the transparency of the recruitment. Consider Extract (15), in which Bogusia places a salad bowl on a little counter between kitchen and living room, saying *jeszcze proszę sałatę* (‘also, please, the salad’). Placing the salad bowl there makes it more easily accessible to the others, and, in conjunction with the verbal turn, constitutes a transparent request for somebody to bring the salad to the living room table in preparation for the meal.

## 8 Recruiting assistance and collaboration in Polish family interaction



Figure 3: Aga pushes back chair (Extract 6, line 3)

### 3.3 Verbal elements: construction types and subtypes

We classified verbal elements in recruitment moves in terms of three cross-linguistically common sentence types: declarative, interrogative, and imperative. As there is no interrogative syntax in Polish, questions are recognizable through intonation, the use of question particles, and what one speaker knows that the other knows (for a conversation-analytic discussion, see Weidner 2013b). Additional categories are turns without a predicate, and turns with a verb in the infinitive. As in the other languages in the comparative project, imperative turns are the most common. Nevertheless, and in common with the other Indo-European languages in the project, we find other turn formats in more than half of all recruitments (see Table 2).

#### 3.3.1 “Imperatives”

As in the other languages examined in the project, verbal turns in Polish recruitments are mostly imperative constructions. Polish has a relatively complex imperative paradigm. Morphological imperatives exist for the second person singular and plural, and the first person plural. Periphrastic hortative constructions exist for the third persons and the first person singular, as well as for formal (*V-form*) second person reference (on imperatives and hortatives, see Van der Auwera et al. 2013). In the examined corpus, nearly all imperatives are in the second person. The only exception is one usage of the third person hortative construction *niech* plus verb (roughly, ‘may it x’), which is, however, also used to recruit a “second” person, that is, the addressed person, for a change of action trajectory

Jörg Zinken

Table 2: Construction type of recruitments including spoken elements  
(N=199).

Sentence type	# in sample	% <sup>a</sup>
Imperative	93	47%
Declarative	46	23%
No predicate	40	20%
Question format	14	7%
Infinitive	6	3%

<sup>a</sup>The missing 0,5% come from a case in which the recruitment move does have a verbal component, but this is incomprehensible.

(another recruitment in this format is initiated but not completed in Extract 30). Henio's move at lines 4-5 recruits Bogusia to leave the camera on, using the hortative construction *niech to jeszcze ten* ('may this still that one'). *Ten* 'that one' is a demonstrative pronoun that in spoken Polish often functions as a dummy term. Here, it stands in for an otherwise expectable third person singular verb, such as *filmuje, nagrywa*, 'it records'). Bogusia complies and reformulates the hortative utterance (lines 8-9), this time with the 'missing' third person predicate (lines 8-9).

(7) PP3-1\_2348380a

1 BOG ((moving to turn off camera))

2 HEN ((getting up from the table))

3 HEN dobrze to jeszcze jeszcze to póki Magda  
good.ADV then still still then while Magda  
alright then while Magda is still

► 4 HEN je to niech to jeszcze ten  
eat.3SG then HRT this still that.one  
eating then may this still that one

5 (0.4)

▷ 6 BOG taki> osta- [Magda ostatnia od[chodzi od  
yes las- Magda last leave.3SG from  
yes? Las- Magda leaves the table last?

7 HEN [(no)  
PRT  
no yes] [tak  
yes]

## 8 Recruiting assistance and collaboration in Polish family interaction

8 BOG	stołu tak, = niech będzie	table.GEN yes HRT be.3SG
		right, may it be
9 BOG	sfilmowane no	filmed.PASS PRT
		filmed no
10 HEN	niech będzie sfilmowane	HRT be.3SG filmed.PASS
		may it be filmed

In the remainder of this section, I discuss only second person morphological imperatives. Among these, I distinguish three turn formats: imperative turns with perfective aspect marking, imperative turns with imperfective marking, and a (perfective) double imperative, *weź zrób x* ('take do x'). Perfective imperatives are by far the most common in the corpus ( $N=68$ ), followed by imperfectives ( $N=13$ , one of them the monoaspectual *siedź*, 'be/remain sitting'), and by the double imperative ( $N=12$ ).

**3.3.1.1 Perfective Imperatives** Perfective imperatives are the most common imperative format for recruitments in the data. Work on the selection of imperatives for requesting action demonstrates that such recruitments convey an expectation of compliance (e.g., Antaki & Kent 2012; Craven & Potter 2010). This expectation is, in informal interaction among friends and family, typically grounded in the fact that the requested action is integral to a wider activity to which the recipient is already committed (Rossi 2012; Wootton 1997). The two examples of recruitment moves with perfective imperatives that we have seen so far, Extracts (1) and (6), illustrate this. In Extract (1), Jacek is available for jobs such as passing the salad bowl on the basis of his participation in the mealtime event, and the imperative orients to this availability. In Extract (6), Piotr is already engaged in finding arrangements for feeding his son (see his question in line 1), and the imperative recruitment move is designed as a step in this wider activity (see also Zinken & Deppermann 2017). Recruitments formatted as perfective imperatives will be discussed repeatedly in other contexts (Extracts 8, 19, 22, 26, 32, 34, 35, 37), and I therefore do not provide further examples here.

**3.3.1.2 Imperfective** Imperfective imperatives have repeatedly concerned linguists working with Slavic languages (e.g., Benacchio 2010; Forsyth 1970; Lehmann 1989).<sup>1</sup> From the perspective of a sequential analysis, it is striking that imperfective imperatives are used in positions where the relevant action has already been brought into play by the other person, or is the direct consequence of what has

---

<sup>1</sup>This literature is mostly concerned with Russian data, but is probably also relevant to Polish.

Jörg Zinken

occupied the interaction in the just prior turns. In other words: Although we might think of (imperative) directive turns as good examples of sequentially first actions (Sorjonen et al. 2017), imperfective imperative turns in Polish are never textbook examples of first pair-parts (Schegloff 2007b). In fact, imperfective imperatives are often used in second position, to accomplish actions such as providing a go-ahead (Lehmann 1989; Zinken & Deppermann 2017). In the domain of recruitments, imperfective imperatives treat an action as already “authored” by the other (Zinken 2016: Chapter 8). In Extract (8), Ania is urging her mum (Ela) to start dinner, because she has to leave in ten minutes (lines 1-2). The turn-initial *no* in Ela’s agreeing response (line 3) contributes the stance that it is obvious to Ela that the meal is to start now (on turn-initial ‘no’, see Weidner 2013a), and her *już* (‘already’) conveys that in fact everything is on track. She then extends her turn to address a directive to Ania, namely to serve the food for the younger children (line 5). This recruitment is made with the imperfective imperative. It begins, again, with the particle *no*, which here contributes Ela’s stance that serving the food is the obvious consequence of Ania’s wish to speed things up. In response, Ania begins serving the food.

(8) PP1-1\_0145540

- 1 ANI do:bra: mo- czy możemy zjeść: =bo ja muszę  
good.ADV ca- Q can.1PL eat.IMP because I must.1SG  
okay, can we eat, because I'll have to
- 2 ANI za dziesięć minut wyjść.  
after ten minutes go.out.IMP  
leave in ten minutes
- 3 ELA no już:=  
PRT already  
*no* already
- 4 TAD =°jest już°  
is already  
it's already done
- 5 ELA tno to już nakładaj im.  
PRT then already serve.IMP.IPFV them  
*no* then serve them (their food) already
- 6 (0.5)
- 7 ELA mięska weź na stół(.) surówka jedna drugą  
meat take.IMP.PFV on table(.) slaw one other  
put the meat on the table, the one salad and the other
- ▷ 7 ELA ((Asia puts salads on the table))

We can think of recruitments as having a deontic side (telling the other that they should do something) and an information side (telling them what to do). Imperfective imperatives add little to the information side of a recruitment. In-

## 8 Recruiting assistance and collaboration in Polish family interaction

sofar as such a recruitment concerns a new action at all, that action, as here, is framed as a direct consequence of what has come before. Imperfective imperatives mainly deal with the deontic side of some prospective action, that is, they give the go ahead to, insist on or prohibit an action that already concerns the other or is inferably relevant (see also Extract 37) (Zinken 2016: chapter 8). Note that in line 7, Ela further extends her turn with a directive detailing what exactly Ania is supposed to serve the younger children. This directive reformulates the recruitment *nakładaj* ('serve them (the food)', line 5), but in a more informative manner – and it is now formatted with a perfective imperative.

**3.3.1.3 Double Imperative** A double imperative construction that is recurrent in spoken Polish takes the form of the perfective verb 'take' (*wziąć*; imperative: *weź*), plus the relevant action verb, also with perfective aspect. In Extract (9), Jacek is talking to his children about observations the children have made at the local swimming pool. The turn in line 1 belongs to that conversation. His wife, Ilona, is in the process of clearing the table, and she is scraping the last bits of a vegetable salad onto Jacek's plate. Some of the salad is sticking to the salad spoon, and Ilona recruits Jacek at lines 2-3 to scrape it off, while holding out the spoon for Jacek to take.

(9) PP2-5\_2002280

- 1 JAC trudno powiedzieć dlaczego akurat [( )  
difficult say.IMP why exactly  
difficult to say why exactly
- 2 ILO [weź kochanie  
take.IMP dear  
Take dear
- 3 ILO \*((holds out spoon for B to take)) [\*
- 4 ILO zgarnij z łyżki  
collect.IMP from spoon.GEN  
gather (it) from the spoon
- 4 ILO ((takes salad spoon, scrapes salad onto his plate))

Ilona's recruitment move allows for a serial interpretation ('take the spoon and scrape off the salad'). However, *weź* is grammaticalized to the extent that it is unproblematically used to recruit actions that do not involve taking anything. In other words, it functions as a particle rather than as the imperative of the verb *to take* (see Zinken 2016: Chapter 7). "Simple" perfective imperatives are often selected to recruit actions as part of an established joint project, as outlined in

Jörg Zinken

§3.3.1.1 However, the *take-V2* format is selected in situations in which B's commitment to the relevant project is not evident, although it often is expectable at a more general level. Here, Jacek is not involved in clearing the table when Ilona makes her request, but he is one of the adults responsible for organizing the mealtime event at a more general level (see also Extracts 17, 30,31) (Zinken 2016: Chapter 7; Zinken & Deppermann 2017)

### 3.3.2 Declarative

Recruitments with a declarative turn make up nearly a quarter of all those attempts that contain a verbal element (N=46). These can be further subdivided. One group are non-modal descriptions in the third person (N=12) as in Extract 2 (*ser upadł*, 'cheese has dropped down'). Sometimes, third person descriptions can also recruit B by telling another, "third" person what B will do. In the present corpus, these are cases where one parent says to a child what the other parent will do, thereby recruiting the adult for that action (such cases are not part of the group of 'non-modal descriptions', which are restricted to objects requiring action). In Extract (10), Ilona first proposes to the child that "we" can put a special ointment on a scratch that the child has. Both parents seek and receive approval from the child for this course of action. At that point, the open question remains who of the parents will go to get the ointment. It would seem that Ilona is in a better position to do so, as Jacek has the child on his lap and is feeding him. However, at line 1, Ilona formulates the target turn, addressed to the child: *tatuś posmaruje takim kremem* ('dad will put on this ointment'), and this mobilises dad to put the child on an adjacent chair and leave to get the cream.

(10) PP2-1\_3410860

- 1 ILO tatuś po- posmaruje takim kremem  
dad smear.PFV.3SG such.INSTR cream.INSTR  
daddy wi- will apply this ointment
- 2 ILO ((puts child on adjacent chair, leaves))

Another group of recruitments in declarative format are impersonal turns with a verb expressing deontic modality (N=9). In Polish, turns with the impersonal modal verb *trzeba* ('it is necessary to, one has to') are a practice for recruiting another person's collaboration (Rossi & Zinken 2016; Zinken & Ogiermann 2011). In Extract (11), the family have been crafting together, and some glue remains on a piece of paper in the centre of the table. When Marta tells her daughter not to play with the glue, this becomes an occasion for Karol to formulate what 'it is

## 8 Recruiting assistance and collaboration in Polish family interaction

necessary' to do, namely to throw the glue away (line 5). In overlap with Karol's turn, Marta begins extending her arm, and she then picks up the paper sheet with the glue on it and throws it away (see Zinken 2016: Chapter 6).

### (11) PP6-1\_4228840

- 1 MAR to już tym klejem się Gabrysiu  
this already this.INSTR glue.INSTR RFL Gabrysia  
don't play with this glue
- 2 MAR nie baw wiesz: i  
not play.IPFV.IMP know.2SG  
already Gabrysia
- 3 (.)
- 4 MAR [(on już troszkę)  
it already a.bit  
it has already somewhat
- 5 ILO [to już trzeba wyrzucić]  
this already necessary throw.away.REFL  
it is necessary to throw this away already
- ▷ 6 ILO (.) [zasechł  
dry.3SG.PST  
[((picks up paper sheet with glue))  
dried out

The modal verb *móc* ('can') is sometimes used with person marking in turns that recruit another person. In Extract (12), Olek addresses his daughter Kasia with a proposal to give her toddler son – his grandson – something to eat. He uses an infinitive form of recruitment (see section §3.3.4 below). Kasia takes this up by asking her son whether he would like to eat something (line 2), but then turns back to her father and recruits him to mount a contraption designed to hold small children, a kind of cloth child chair, on an ordinary chair (line 3). This recruitment is in the form of a declarative turn with second person singular verb marking. (Note that Kasia extends her recruitment turn at line 6 with a predicate-less unit, see section §3.3.3 below).

### (12) MiBrApr2012\_0459322

- 1 OLE jakieś wędlinki może mu dać  
some.GEN sausage.GEN maybe him.DAT give.REFL  
Maybe (to) give him some sausage
- 2 KAS (Józienko) chcesz coś zjeść  
NAME.VOC want.2SG something eat.REFL  
Joseph you want to eat something?
- 3 KAS Wiesz co możesz mu (.) zmontować  
know.2SG what can.2SG him.DAT mount.REFL  
you know what, you can mount for him
- 4 KAS to siedzenie ( )  
this seat  
this seat ( )

Jörg Zinken

▷ 5 OLE ((gets up))

6 KAS tylko mu jakąś poduszkę.  
only him.DAT some.ACC cushion.ACC  
just (also use) a cushion for him

▷ 7 OLE ((begins mounting child seat on chair))

Recruitments in this format build on the other's displayed or assumed readiness to contribute to the relevant matter (see also Extract 27), in this case on Olek's suggestion or proposal (in line 1) that the child should or could eat something.

Turns with a performative verb in the first person are also used to recruit another person's action (N=7). A turn format that is specialized for recruiting another person to provide an object is built with the verb *prosić/poprosić* ('plead, ask'; *poprosić* is the perfective form) in the first person plus the item as direct object in the accusative (Ogiermann 2015; for a usage outside of object requests, see Weidner 2015). In (13), Kasia asks Dorota to pass the horseradish (after a unit in line 1 that closes a prior, unrelated interaction).

(13) MiBrApr2012\_0643192

1 KAS dobrze na razie Józio nie chce siedzieć  
good.ADV on time NAME not want.3SG sit.INF  
okay, for now Józio doesn't want to sit

► 2 KAS po- poproszę m- chrzanę  
pl- plead.PFV.1SG m- horseradish.ACC  
I ask (for) m- horseradish

▷ 3 DOR ((passes horseraddish))

Announcements in the first person (singular or plural, N=4) can also recruit another person's collaboration. An example that occurs a few times in the corpus is that a family member announces that 'we will say grace' (*pomodlimy się*) and this recruits the others to move into the appropriate posture. Other declarative formats are attested with single cases. For example, a second person non-modal declarative turns can recruit another's action. In Extract (14), Paweł and Klaudia are preparing a salad. In line 1, Klaudia brings a peeled cucumber to where Paweł is standing for him to slice. Line 2 is a recruitment for Klaudia to give Paweł a bowl. In response, Klaudia turns to the cupboard and gets a bowl out.

(14) PP4-1\_0812980

## 8 Recruiting assistance and collaboration in Polish family interaction

- 1 (4.0) ((B walks towards A))
- 2 A dałabyś mi m- (.) miskę,  
give.2SG.F.PST.COND me.DAT m- bowl.AKK  
you'd give me a bowl
- ▷ 3 B (turns to cupboard, gets bowl))

On paper, this turn looks just like a recruitment formulated as a second person yes/no question (see §3.3.4 below). However, in this sequential position, the prosody of the turn (stress on the first syllable of *dałabyś*, ‘you’d give’, and level turn-final intonation) clearly marks it as a statement.

### 3.3.3 ‘no predicate’

Recruitment turns without any predicate are common in the Polish corpus (see also Extract 28). These are most often names of objects (N=16) requiring some action. In Extract (15), the family members are busy laying the table for supper. Talk is about a near-accident that the family dog has had with a car (lines 1-5). Bogusia is taking things out of the fridge for supper. At line 7, she puts a bowl of salad onto the worktop and says *jeszcze proszę sałatę* (‘also, please, salad’), recruiting an unspecified family member to take the salad and put it on the table. *Proszę* (‘I plead; please’) is the imperfective form of the same verb that we have encountered in the object request in Extract (13). This imperfective form is commonly used in actions of passing or offering an object to another person. In that function, it is best translated as ‘please’ or ‘here you are’. *Sałatę* (‘salad’) is here not an argument of *proszę* (‘I plead; here you are’), but a stand-alone item naming the object that has been made available to be taken by somebody.

#### (15) PP3-2\_0338665a

- 1 BOG nie zauważyła samochodu  
not notice.3SG.PST car.GEN  
She didn't notice the car?
- 2 MAG nie zauważyła bo ona siedziała tyłem  
not notice.3SG.PST because she sit.3SG.PST back.INSTR  
she didn't notice cause she was sitting backward
- 3 BOG [ona zawsze  
she always
- 4 BOG ucieka przed samochodem  
run.3SG from car.INSTR  
runs away from the car
- 5 MAG znaczy była tyłem, znaczy  
mean.3SG was.3SG back.INSTR mean.3SG  
that is, she was with her back, that is,

*Jörg Zinken*

- 6 MAG [tyłem        była  
            back.INSTR was.3SG  
with her back
- 7 BOG [jeszcze proszę sałatej  
            also      plead.1SG salad.ACC  
also, please, salad ((puts salad bowl onto work top))
- 8 BOG ((remaining family members look at and talk to the dog))

Naming an object does not select a particular person for the job at hand. A generic danger of such an ‘untargeted’ recruitment is that others can chose not to feel addressed (unless addressing is done in other ways, e.g., through gaze). This is what happens here: all the remaining family members have turned to the dog, and the recruitment remains unanswered (and is pursued by Bogusia a few moments later).

Some recruitments without a predicate only “activate” another person with a vocative, leaving the required action to be inferred (we used the term vocative to refer to proper names addressing the recruitment to a person, and not just in relation to vocative case). In (16), the family are preparing for a craft activity with their children (making an earthworm). This preparation involves getting the children to come to sit down at the table (lines 1-3), and making space on the table. Marta is in the process of stowing things away in a cupboard, Karol is on the other side of the table. He picks up a piece of crockery that is on the table and places it closer to Marta, saying *mamuśka* (‘mummy’, line 6). This is a recruitment for Marta to stow away the crockery as well and thereby make more space on the table. It might be that Marta first misunderstands Karol’s recruitment as summoning her to the table (in extension to his recruitments towards his daughter a bit earlier, lines 1 and 3). Her initial response (line 7) is fitted towards either recruitment (to sit down or to clear away the piece of crockery), but her subsequent, re-done response (line 9) is specifically fitted to a recruitment to clear away the cutlery.

## (16) PP6-1\_8650

- 1 KAR siadaj        Julka  
            sit.IPFV.IMP Name  
sit down, Julka
- 2 (0.2)
- 3 KAR Julka siadaj        będziemy robić dżdżownicę  
            Name sit.IPFV.IMP will.1PL make.INF worm.ACC  
Julka, sit down, we’ll make the worm
- 4 JUL no wszc:yscy razem  
            PRT all together  
no all together
- 5 (0.2)

*8 Recruiting assistance and collaboration in Polish family interaction*

- 6 KAR mamaśka  
mum.DIM  
mummy ((places piece of crockery closer to B))
- ▷ 7 MAR no już  
PRT already  
no already (just a second)
- 8 (0.2)
- ▷ 9 MAR sprzątne  
clean.PFV.1SG  
I'll clear it
- 50 seconds omitted
- ▷ 10 MAR ((removes crockery from the table))

Polish does not have interrogative morphosyntax. I therefore speak more generally of “question formats” in this section. Morphosyntactically, questions are built with declarative constructions in Polish. Questions become recognizable as such through prosody and the distribution of epistemic rights among participants (Weidner 2013b), or the use of question words in the case of content questions. The particle *czy* can be used turn-initially to mark a polar question, but is rarely used in spoken Polish and not at all in the data at hand. About 7% of all recruitment attempts in the Polish corpus (N=15) have a question format (but see the following section on infinitives: a few of those cases could be considered “questions”).

Nine of the recruitments in question format project a polar response. Polar questions are sometimes used to indirectly recruit B for some action. In Extract (17), the family have sat down for supper, and at line 1, one of the sons implores the parents (both of them, using a second person plural double imperative) to turn on the TV. His mum, Aga, turns to dad, Piotr, with a question: *włączymy*; ('do we turn it on?'). A yes-response to this question would imply that somebody should now turn on the TV. In the given situation, seating arrangements are such that Piotr is best placed to do such a job, and Aga is also feeding the baby. Immediately upon completion of the question, Piotr turns his gaze towards the TV and quickly moves up his torso, presumably getting up from the table. Ultimately, though, he interrupts that movement and rejects the proposal to turn on the TV, because this would make it more difficult for the researchers to listen to the recording (line 7).

- (17) PP5-5\_47880b
- 1 PRZ weźcie włączcie ( )  
take.PFV.IMP.2PL turn.on.PFV.IMP.2PL  
come on, turn it on (you two)

*Jörg Zinken*

- 2 (0.6)
- 3 AGA włączymy<sub>i</sub> ((gazes at Piotr))  
turn.on.PFV.1PL  
(do) we turn it on?
- ▷ 4 PIO ((quick upward movement, gaze to TV))
- 5 PRZ °no włącz°  
PRT turn.on.PFV.IMP  
no turn (it) on
- 6 PRZ ((sits back down, gaze to A))
- ▷ 7 PIO nie::: bo nie będą nas słyszeli  
no because not will.3PL us.ACC hear.PST.3PL  
No, because they won't be able to hear us

Recruitments that – at least apparently – merely ask for a decision or for information are in danger of being treated as just that. In Extract (18), Karol and his two daughters are sitting at a table, preparing for a crafts activity. Marta is not sitting yet, but is standing behind one of the daughters, doing the girl's hair. At line 1, she asks her husband, who is sitting at the other side of the table, *masz tam wolne jedno krzeselko* ('do you have one free stool there?'). It might be evident to Karol that Marta is asking that question because she still needs a stool to sit on at her side of the table. However, he does not take the opportunity to hand a stool to Marta (that is, he does not take it as a recruitment), but instead merely orients to line 2 as to a request for information.

- (18) PP6-1\_0520400
- 1 (3.4)
- 2 MAR masz tam wolne jedno krzeselko?  
have.2SG there free one stool  
Do you have one free stool there?
- ▷ 3 KAR mam  
have.1SG  
I do
- 4 MAR ((walks around table, carries stool to her place))

Questions that (ostensibly) target whether B can or will do some action are used conventionally in various languages to recruit another person. Such a format is also understood as a recruitment in Polish. However, in the present Polish corpus, such recruitments are rare ( $N=4$ ). Recruitments in this format are resisted in three of the four cases, either by ignoring the recruitment move altogether (see

## 8 Recruiting assistance and collaboration in Polish family interaction

below, section 4), or by overtly displaying annoyance while complying. This indicates that in Polish, this format might be restricted to recruitment attempts that are judged by A to be particularly sensitive (see also Rossi 2015: Chapter 4, for Italian). In the one case where the recruitment is not resisted, on the other hand, this question format is treated as overly cautious (for a similar case, see also Zinken & Ogiermann 2013). In Extract (19), Dorota wants Wiesia to take a plate out of the cupboard for Dorota's granddaughter (Zinken 2016: Chapter 4, provides a more detailed discussion). She first formulates a perfective imperative turn (line 3), but seeing that Wiesia has just started moving toward the table to sit down (line 5, as suggested by Kasia in line 1), she immediately adds another formulation of the same recruitment. This is in polar question format (line 4), selected here possibly because complying now requires Wiesia to stall her current project of sitting down (see Rossi 2012; Wootton 1997). The verbal response accompanying the nonverbal compliance (line 6) begins with the particle *no*, which in turn-initial position can indicate that the previous turn communicated something that is obvious (Weidner 2013a), and a *tak* ('yes') with marked prosody (prolongation and high pitch onset) (see also Bolden 2017, for Russian). As a whole, this verbal response seems to index that Wiesia's compliance with the request is obvious and need not have been questioned.

(19) Pa02Apr2012\_0823880

- 1 KAS siadasz?  
sit.PFV.2SG  
are you sitting down?
- 2 (0.6)
- 3 WIE [((starts towards table, then stalls))
  
- 4 DOR [t̪daj jej talerz mamo (przepraszam)  
give.PFV.IMP her.DAT plate mum.VOC (apologize.1SG)  
Give her a plate mum (I'm sorry)
- 5 DOR dasz jej  
give.PFV.2SG her.DAT  
(will) you give her?
- 6 WIE no t̪rɔ::k ((turns to cupboard for plates))  
PRT yes  
no yes
- 7 WIE ((walks towards cupboard))

Other recruitments in question format are used even more rarely, and are attested only as single cases in the corpus. For example, a speaker can try to get

Jörg Zinken

another person to stop doing something by (ostensively) demanding an account (*po co robisz x*, ‘why are you doing x’; see Extract (35) for the use of this format as a way of rejecting a recruitment); or they might ask ‘who will do x’ to get somebody to ‘volunteer’ (*kto wyjmuje naczynia ze zmywarki*, ‘who is taking the dishes out of the dishwasher’).

### 3.3.4 Infinitive

Infinitive constructions are functionally versatile in a way that is particularly relevant to the domain of recruitments. Depending on context, prosody, and lexical turn construction, they can embody various “directive-commisive” actions, from requests through offers and suggestions to proposals (see Couper-Kuhlen 2014, for these action labels). Similar to turns in the “no predicate” category, infinitive turns cannot be categorised for sentence type. One way of thinking about this construction is to treat it as an elliptical construction that has developed out of a modal (declarative or interrogative) sentence: (*you must tie your laces*, (*shall we make a salad?* etc. (see Deppermann 2006, on such “deontic infinitives” in German). Striking features of this construction as a recruitment move are its modal vagueness (it is not always clear whether the relevant action is something that must or could or should be done) and its impersonality: it does not formally specify who should or must do the relevant action. Consider (20), presented earlier as (12). In line 1, Olek suggests to his daughter that her son – his grandson – should or could be given some sausage to eat, using an infinitive turn.

(20) MiBrApr2012\_0456292

- 1 OLE jakieś wędlinki może mu dać  
some.GEN sausage.GEN maybe him.DAT give.INF  
Maybe to give him some sausage (Maybe he should be given some sausage)
- 2 KAS (Józienko) chcesz coś zjeść  
NAME.VOC want.2SG something eat.INF  
Joseph you want to eat something?
- 3 KAS wiesz co możesz mu (.) zmontować  
know.2SG what can.2SG him.DAT mount.INF  
you know what, you can mount for him
- 4 KAS to siedzenie (z y::)  
this seat with INTJ

Olek’s turn in line 1 could be a suggestion that Kasia should give the child some sausage, or it could equally be a proposal that she give the child some sausage. In response, Kasia asks her son whether he would like to eat, but then moves to a counter-request for Olek to mount the childseat in preparation for the child’s meal. All cases of deontic infinitives in the corpus are mitigated with a *może*,

## 8 Recruiting assistance and collaboration in Polish family interaction

‘maybe’, giving them the quality of suggestions or proposals, rather than blunt orders (see also Królak & Rudnicka 2006; Wierzbicka 1991).

### 3.4 Additional verbal elements

Like recruitment sequences, individual recruitment moves can be more or less complex. In this section, I consider verbal elements beyond those required by the argument structure of the predicate. These are mitigators or strengtheners, vocatives, the provision of reasons in a multi-TCU turn, benefactives, or adverbs that suggest a connection of the recruited action to ongoing activities.

#### 3.4.1 Mitigators and strengtheners

The previous case (20) already provided an example of such an “additional” verbal element, namely the mitigator *może* (‘maybe’), which softened the deontic force of the infinitive. The following recruitment has the form of an impersonal declarative (see also above, section §3.3.2). After Ilona and Jacek have agreed to swap childcare duties so that Jacek could finish his meal (lines 1-8), Ilona formulates the target turn, a recruitment for Jacek to turn off the camera (lines 8-9). This turn contains elements that might mitigate the recruitment and seem to acquiesce with an earlier suggestion (*chyba*, ‘probably’ and *faktycznie*, ‘really’).

(21) PP2-2\_2315590

- 1 ILO      może ja się nim zajmę skończysz coż  
          maybe I RFL he.INSTR occupy.1SG finish.2SG what  
          maybe I take care of him, you finish, okay?  
      2 (1.0)
- 3 ILO      skończysz y:: z:jeść.  
          finish.2SG INTJ eat. INF  
          you finish eh eating  
      4 (.)
- 5 JAC      dobrze[e  
          good.ADV  
          okay
- 6 ILO      [skończysz  
          finish.2SG  
          you finish?  
      7 (.)
- 8 ILO      dobrze †to chyba już można  
          good.ADV then probably already possible  
          okay. Then it is probably really already possible
- 9 ILO      wyłączyć faktycznie  
          turn.off really  
          to turn (it) off

Jörg Zinken

▷ 10 JAC ((turns camera off))

### 3.4.2 Vocatives

Vocatives are present in roughly 12% of all recruitment moves (N=27). Vocatives can be placed before the recruitment move to single out the addressed party and mobilize the addressee's attention. In (22), Jacek is involved in a conversation with his children (Asia and Bolek), and is facing them. Ilona's recruitment in line 6 begins with a substantial portion of talk that is preliminary to the request, and that can serve to ascertain that Jacek will be attending to Ilona's talk by the time the request is formulated.

(22) PP2-5\_1423040

- 1 JAC ale (.) każdy (0.4) wia[domo že woli (.)  
but every known that prefer.3SG  
but everybody, it's clear, prefers
- 2 Asi [ma swoją intymność  
have.3SG their intimacy
- 3 JAC has their privacy
- 3 JAC tak ma swoją intymność i woli  
yes have.3SG their intimacy and prefer.3SG
- 4 BOL yes, has their private sphere and prefers
- 4 BOL °twiem°  
know.1SG
- 5 JAC I know
- 5 JAC czasem żeby go nie oglądali wszyscy  
sometimes so.that him not watch all
- 5 JAC sometimes that everybody doesn't look at them
- ▶ 6 ILO Y wiesz co kochanie t'podaj mi: serwetkę!  
INTJ know.2SG what love.VOC pass.IMP.PFV me tissue  
Eh you know what dear, pass me a tissue
- 7 Asi [Moga też się śmiać.  
can.3PL also REFL laugh
- 7 Asi They can also be laughing
- 8 JAC [↑Wiadomo że (0.4.) wiadomo że ty: nie to [nie o  
known that known that INTJ no this not about
- 8 JAC It's clear that, it's clear that eh no it, that's
- 9 Asi [am:::  
INTJ
- 10 JAC to nawet \*[cho:dchi t'ałe=  
this even go.3SG but
- 10 JAC not really the point but
- ▷ 11 JAC \*[((PASSES TISSUE))
- 12 ILO [°o dziękuję°  
PRT thank.1SG
- 12 ILO o thanks

## 8 Recruiting assistance and collaboration in Polish family interaction

Sometimes, vocatives are inserted at the end (N=7) or in the “middle” (N=6) of the recruitment proper of a recruitment TCU. Extract (1) (reproduced here as Extract (23)) presents such a case, where a vocative is inserted after a move has become recognizable as a recruitment but before the TCU’s possible completion. Jacek is gazing at Ilona, and when she turns her gaze to him, she formulates a request for the salad bowl. The request turn begins with a turn-initial element, *wiesz co* (‘you know what’, line 2), as the previous case did. The vocative, *kochanie* (‘dear’, line 2), comes after Ilona has told Jacek to give her something, but before telling him what to give her. Such a vocative can do work to disambiguate between potential addressees, although this does not seem to be the case here: Jacek is already being addressed through gaze, and the only other persons present are two young children who are engaged in a separate conversation. Turn-final and -medial vocatives might rather be doing some affiliational work in recruitments (cf. Lerner 2003, see also section 5 below). Possible functional differences between these two positions require further research.

(23) PP2-1\_2224980

- 1 JAC ((gaze to Ilona))
  
- 2 ILO    wiesz    co    podaj    mi    kochanie    jeszcze  
know.2SG what pass.IMP me dear    still  
You know what, pass me some more
  
- 3 KAS    sałatki  
salad.GEN  
salad, dear
  
- ▷ 4 JAC    bardzo proszę        ((passes salad bowl))  
very    plead.1SG  
Here you are

### 3.4.3 Reasons

Sometimes, speakers give reasons for a recruitment (N=21). Reasons can be given to make a request easier to understand and comply with (Baranova & Dingemanse 2016). In (24), the recruitment might be barely intelligible without the appended reason. Aga is holding her baby Feliks in her arms, and the baby has fallen asleep. Piotr, the family father, is admonishing the two sons, Przemek and Łukasz, to stop mucking about. At line 3, Aga admonished the others to be quiet – a recruitment that might be difficult to make sense of, and be hardly acceptable to the others without the following reason.

(24) PP5-1\_301160

Jörg Zinken

- 1 PRZ hehehe
- 2 PIO je:::dz (że) Łukasz n[o:  
eat.IPFV.IMP (that) Lukasz PRT  
eat now Lukasz *no*
- 3 AGA [sz:::  
sh
- 4 AGA bo Feliks mi zasnął  
because NAME me.DAT fall.asleep.3SG.PST  
because Feliks has fallen (me) asleep
- ▷ 5 ((Piotr, Przemek, Łukasz gaze at Aga))

But reasons can also have other motivations. In (25), the provision of a reason seems to be mainly a vehicle for doing affiliational work between partners. The pair's toddler, Staś, has been pleading to get a dummy for some time (also in line 1). In line 3, his mum (Ilona) gives in. She recruits her partner (Jacek) to bring the dummy, and she expands this recruitment with a reason that expresses her exasperation in a humorous way.

(25) PP2-2\_1616090

- 1 STA khykhy Hha .Hh::=monia?  
Dummy?
- 2 (0.8)
- 3 ILO monia. monia=tatusiu przy[nieś tego  
dummy dummy daddy bring.IMP this  
dummy, dummy, daddy get that
- ▷ 4 JAC [JUż.  
Already
- 5 ILO monia bo ja dostanę: [choroby nerwowej  
dummy because I get.1SG illness nervous  
dummy because I am having a nervous breakdown
- 6 JAC (((puts down cutlery))
- ▷ 7 JAC ((gets up))

Reasons are not necessarily introduced with a *bo* ('because') and appended to the recruitment. In (26), Kasia starts her turn by formulating an observation: the toddler fed by Wiesia has a runny nose. This observation then becomes the ground on which Kasia incrementally builds an extended turn with her recruitment (in fact, the observation might have been sufficient to mobilise Dorota to get a tissue: she starts getting up after the first word of the recruitment TCU, before Kasia has formulated the object she wants to be passed).

(26) Pa02Apr2012\_1127560

## 8 Recruiting assistance and collaboration in Polish family interaction

- 1 WIE czekaj mniejszy kawałek  
wait.IMP smaller piece  
wait, a smaller piece
- 2 KAS [katar  
cold/runny nose
- 3 KAS t podaj [husteczki  
pass.PFV.IMP tissue.ACC  
pass a tissue ((point towards tissues))
- ▷ 4 DOR (((gets up)))

### 3.4.4 Benefactives

Recruitment speakers sometimes formulate the beneficiary of the recruitment ( $N=14$  marking A as beneficiary,  $N=28$  marking another, usually a child, as beneficiary), although as (26) illustrated, formulating the beneficiary is not obligatory in spoken Polish even with recruitments to “give” or “pass” something. The question therefore arises what function benefactives serve. One context in which benefactives are used is contrastive: For example, in (27) Bogusia is getting Magda her promised dessert, biscuits, and Henio chooses something else as dessert for himself (line 4).

(27) PP3-1\_1236810

- 1 BOG dobrze dobrze już wyjmę te pieguski=  
good.ADV. good.ADV already take.out.PFV.1SG these cookies  
okay okay, I'm already taking the cookies out
- 2 MAG =pieguski marki:zy >pieguski mark[izy  
cookies biscuits cookies biscuits
- 3 HEN [to-  
then-
- 4 MAG a mi możecie dać tego piernika  
and me.DAT can.2PL give.INF this.GEN gingerbread.GEN  
and me you can give that gingerbread
- 5 (0.8)
- ▷ 6 BOG dobrze  
good.ADV  
okay
- ▷ 7 BOG ((brings gingerbread to the table))

### 3.4.5 Adverbs embedding the recruitment

Adverbs such as *jeszcze* ('still, also'), *też* ('also'), or *już* ('already') can connect the recruitment to a wider activity ( $N=8$ ). In (28), Klaudia and Paweł are preparing

Jörg Zinken

a meal. On his way to the fridge, Paweł stalls and turns around to contemplate the oven, apparently unsure about what to do next. The *jeszcze* ('still, also') in Klaudia's recruitment in line 3 marks the recruited action as being part of the larger activity of gathering ingredients for the meal they are preparing (see also Extracts 1, 2, 15, and 32).

(28) PP4-1\_620160

- 1 PAW a- °czekaj°  
wait.IPFV.IMP  
a- wait  
(1.0)((Paweł stalls, turns towards oven))
- 3 KLA sera jeszcze  
cheese.GEN also  
(we need) cheese still
- ▷ 4 PAW ((opens fridge, passes cheese))
- ▷ 5 PAW prosz:  
plead.1SG  
here you are
- 5 KLA dzię:kiiż  
thanks  
thanks

The temporal adverb *już* ('already') can connect the recruitment to a larger course of action by marking the requested action out as a temporal milestone (e.g., the endpoint) within that activity. In (29), Ela has been offering her daughter various items of food. Tadek requests at line 4 that she stop distracting the daughter from eating what she has on her plate (a recruitment that Ela disregards at line 6).

(29) PP1-1\_1230310

- 1 ELA Gabi może chcesz ka- tego brokułka?  
NAME maybe want.2SG po- this.GEN broccoli.GEN  
Gabi maybe you want some of this broccoli
- 2 (0.8)
- 3 GAB nie:::  
no:::  
Gabi maybe you want some of this broccoli
- 3 TAD nie mieszaj już jej  
not confuse.IPFV.IMP already her.DAT  
don't confuse her now/stop confusing her now
- 3 TAD [niech ona je to co  
may she eats.3SG this what  
she should eat (let her eat) what-

## 8 Recruiting assistance and collaboration in Polish family interaction

- > 3 ELA [a może dać ci marchewkę.  
 and maybe give.INF you.DAT carrot.ACC  
 or maybe you want a carrot

### 4 Formats in Move B: the response

The space of possible next actions by another person B after a recruitment move by A can be summarized in the form of two nested pairs. The first pair of next actions is that B can either produce some response to the recruitment, or can not respond to the recruitment at all; the second pair of actions is that responses to the recruitment can either be moves towards complying with the recruitment, or moves embodying non-compliance.

Let's consider the first of these pairs: responding in some way vs. not responding at all. A lack of response to the recruitment is not at all uncommon in the Polish data: there are 23 such cases in the corpus (11%). In folk terms, we might think of the Move B in such cases as "ignoring" the recruitment. However, a closer look reveals that many of these cases are more benign (it is difficult to provide numbers, because it is ultimately difficult to decide whether a person, for example, genuinely does not hear a request or simply does not want to hear it, see below). A potential recruitee who is already involved in some work, especially if it is work related to the wider activity within which the recruitment also emerges, might claim some allowance for not attending to that recruitment 'just now'. The clearest cases of this come from non-verbal requests. For example, think back to the activity of two people checking the medicines that they have in the fridge. Marta repeatedly takes a package of medicines from the fridge, inspects it, and then holds it out for Karol to take (Extract 5). In that interaction, there are two instances where Marta holds the package out for Karol to take, but Karol is still inspecting the package he was given previously. Noticing that Karol is not attending to her gesture, Marta puts the new package on the table, from where Karol eventually takes it.

It seems plausible that potential recruitees can also use their being occupied with something strategically as a way of avoiding to respond to a recruitment. Extract (30) might be an example of this (also discussed in the context of deontic infinitives, Extract 20 above). Olek is beginning to mount a kind of child seat for his toddler grandson, following a recruitment by Kasia to do so (lines 3-4). At line 6, Kasia incrementally extends this recruitment with another one, namely that Olek should also put a cushion onto the chair (so that the toddler would sit high enough to be securely held in place by the childseat, and to reach the table).

Jörg Zinken

At this time, Olek has already begun mounting the child seat, and there is no response to this new recruitment. At lines 8-9, Wiesia reformulates the recruitment made by Kasia at line 6, but again, Olek does not respond to this but carries on trying to unravel parts of the childseat. At lines 11-12, Wiesia incrementally extends the recruitment and thus provides another occasion for Olek to provide a response, which he does not do (line 13). At line 14, Wiesia announces that she will now bring this cushion herself. Shortly after this, Olek puts the part of the childseat that he has been wrestling with down on the table and starts walking towards the next room, at the same moment as Wiesia. Seeing that Olek is now (presumably) on his way to get the cushion, Wiesia stalls and walks back to where she was working in the kitchen, and formulates another increment to the recruitment, specifying the kind of cushion (lines 17-18).

(30) MiBrApr2012\_0456292

- 1 OLE jakieś wedlinki może mu dać  
some.GEN sausage.GEN maybe him.DAT give.INF  
Maybe (to) give him some sausage
- 2 KAS (Józienko) chcesz coś zjeść  
NAME.VOC want.2SG something eat.INF  
Joseph you want to eat something?
- 3 KAS Wiesz co możesz mu (.) zmontować  
know.2SG what can.2SG him.DAT mount.INF  
you know what, you can mount for him
- 4 KAS to siedzenie (znaczy)  
this seat mean.3SG  
\*\*\*\*
- 5 OLE ((gets up))
- 6 KAS tylko mu jakąś poduszkę  
only him.DAT some.ACC cushion.ACC  
just (also use) a cushion for him
- 7 OLE ((begins mounting child seat on chair)) (1.8)
  
- 8 WIE weź tylko ten (jakąś) weź jakąś  
take.IMP only this (some.ACC) take.IMP some.ACC  
take only this (some), take some
- 9 WIE poduszkę położ mu  
cushion.ACC put.IMP him.DAT  
cushion put (on the chair) for him
- 10 (0.2)
- 11 WIE tego najlepiej taką grubą:=u ciebie  
this.ACC best this thick at you.GEN  
this, ideally a thick one, in your (room)

## 8 Recruiting assistance and collaboration in Polish family interaction

- 12 WIE jest taka gruba poduszka  
is this thick cushion  
there is a thick cushion
- 13 (3.2)
- 14 WIE zaraz przynioseć  
in.a.moment bring.1SG  
I'll bring it in a moment
- 15 (1.6) ((B puts childseat down on table))
- ▷ 16 ((Olek and Wiesia start walking towards bedroom)) (0.8)
- 17 WIE [u ciebie ta gruba taka z kwiatkami  
at you.GEN this thick such with flowers  
in your place, the thick one with flowers
- 18 WIE [((halts, returns to kitchen))
- 19 WIE żeby była gruba taka wysoka  
so.that was thick such high  
so that it would be thick, the high one
- 20 ((Olek comes back with cushion after some time))

In short, there is a series of recruitment moves here, and Olek does not produce an “on-record” response to any of them. Instead, he starts a move that is conceivably the complying response to the recruitments (lines 15-16) in a position where it is contiguous to a prior turn that was *not* a recruitment move (line 14). “Ignoring” another person’s requests would seem to be a socially sensitive matter. However, this awkwardness might be tempered here by the fact that Olek is already involved in work on the child seat. The cushion might only be required once the childseat itself is fixed to the chair. In other words, Olek’s non-responsiveness can just about avoid being understood as “ignoring” if it is accounted for as being busy with ‘step 1’ of the project of preparing a seat for the toddler (securing the childseat to the chair), before moving to ‘step 2’ (providing a cushion).

Another context in which B sometimes does not respond, but cannot maybe fully be held accountable for “ignoring” the recruitment, is when the recruitment is formatted as an impersonal declarative (see §3.3.2 above, also, Rossi & Zinken 2016). Consider Extract (31). The family are at the dinner table, Jacek is feeding his toddler son on his lap (line 1 is part of that interaction). At lines 2-3, Ilona formulates an impersonal declarative: *Stasiowi by się przydał widelczyk* (roughly: ‘a fork for Staś (D) would be useful’). This turn is prefaced with *a wiesz co* (‘you know what’), which marks it as being addressed to some individual (Lerner 2003).

Jörg Zinken

However, Ilona does not use any formal resources that would convey who is to get the required fork (she is cutting food on her plate and is gazing at that throughout her turn). It is the fact that the recruitment attempt is concerned with a childcare matter that addresses the turn to her partner. However, Jacek does not provide any response. Ilona fills the emerging silence with another short turn thinking out loud (line 5). When Jacek still does not begin any response to the recruitment (engaging instead in a short exchange with his son, lines 6-7), Ilona begins a new turn, which explicitly addresses the recruitment, in different form, to her daughter, Iza (lines 8, 9, 11).

(31) PP2-2\_241620a

- 1 JAC Proszę bardzo  
plead.1SG very  
Here you are
- 2 ILO .h.: Wiesz co::i Stasiowi by się przydał  
Know.2SG what Stas COND REFL suit.PST.3SG  
You know what, Stas could use a
- 3 ILO widelczyk  
fork.DIM  
fork
- 4 (0.8)
- 5 ILO °zaraz°  
Right.now  
Just a moment
- 6 STA odział
- 7 JAC orzeł?  
eagle  
eagle?
- 8 ILO Iza i też przynieś ten malutki  
Iza takeIMP bring.PFV.IMP this small  
Iza bring this little
- 9 ILO Stasia widelczyk wie:sz który ten biały [taki z  
Stas.GEN fork know.2SG which this white such with  
fork of Stas's you know which one, the white one made
- 10 IZA [>a<
- 11 ILO melaminy.  
melamine  
from melamine
- 12 IZA ((gets up and leaves))

We now turn to recruitments that receive some form of response.

## 8 Recruiting assistance and collaboration in Polish family interaction

### 4.1 Fully nonverbal responses

One way – arguably the basic way – of responding to a recruitment is to do the relevant action. There are many such cases among the examples discussed so far (Extracts 2, 3, 5-6, 8-14, 21-22, 24, 26).

Fully nonverbal compliance is common when a requested action can be performed quickly and easily (Rauniomaa & Keisanen 2012): passing a knife across the table, picking up something that has dropped to the floor etc. Out of 69 cases of such quick compliance in the data, 50 (72%) are done without any verbal element. What is maybe more surprising is that fully nonverbal compliance is also common in cases where doing the relevant action takes more time, where it is necessary to create the preconditions for the requested action first: going to the kitchen in order to fetch a spoon, for example. There are 72 cases in the data where B's next move after a recruitment is the first move of a compliant response, but where that compliance takes a bit longer (or might become stalled after that first move). Of these recruitments, 45 cases (63%) do not receive any verbal response. Extract (32) illustrates such cases. Jacek and Ilona are talking to their son about possible places where he could search for his lost ball (line 1 is a contribution to this conversation). At lines 2 and 5, Ilona recruits her partner to also look "here", in one corner of the room. In response, Jacek makes a move in that direction and begins moving back some furniture to look for the ball. His response is not accompanied by any verbal turn.

(32) PP2-1\_3936480

- 1 JAC      może      być      też  
can.3SG    be.INF    also  
it can also be (there)
- 2 ILO      i      może      jeszcze      Jacek::ki  
and    can.3SG    still    NAME  
and maybe also, Jacek?
- 3              (.)
- 4 JAC      °hm°
- 5 ILO      [y::: rzuć      okiem      [o      tutaj w::: (°°      °°)  
INTJ    throw.PFV.IMP    eye.INSTR    PRT here    in  
[head nod      [head nod  
eh, have a look o here, in ()
- 6 JAC      ((Jacek turns and searches for ball))

Jörg Zinken

## 4.2 Verbal elements of responses

Verbal elements accompanying complying responses to requests can be ordered according to their grammatical complexity (cf. Thompson et al. 2015). The simplest verbal responses are polar responses that indicate (upcoming) compliance or reject the recruitment. As indicated above, such responses might be more relevant for recruited actions that are not quick and easy. However, the relevance of a particular type of verbal response might also depend upon the form of the recruitment. Recruitments in polar question format grammatically project a polar response that accepts the recruitment (but see the argument against this view in Thompson et al. 2015). Quick and easy compliance can ‘push out’ the usefulness of accepting – after all, acceptance should occur before the actual compliance. Out of the four conventional request moves in polar question format in the Polish data, one receives a polar response (Extract 19: *no tak*, ‘PRT yes’; the other three cases are ‘problematic’ recruitments, see §3.3.4). Out of 93 imperative recruitment, also only one receives a polar response: a flat-out rejection with *nie* ('no', see below, Extract 34). The action of ‘accepting’ conveyed by a positive polar response does not seem to be relevant in response to imperative recruitments in Polish (see also Craven & Potter 2010). This does not mean that there are no verbal responses to imperatives. However, these verbal responses emphasise compliance rather than accepting the recruitment: *proszę bardzo* ('here you are'), *masz* ('you have', i.e. 'here you are'), *już przyniosę* ('already I bring it') etc. (see Zinken 2016: Chapter 5, for a discussion).

Another response token is *dobra* or *dobrze* ('okay'), which appears to indicate compliance ‘in principle’, in a situation where maybe immediate compliance is not possible, or the recruitee does not know how to go about the requested action (see Extract 27). A practice found repeatedly in the corpus is to begin a verbal response with a temporal adverb, for example, *już* ('already'). In response to an on-record request, *już* can be formulated as a response not just to indicate compliance, but to treat the request as urgent (see Extract 25). Clausal responses with a turn-initial *już* enact stronger agency and initiative on the part of the response speaker (see Extract 4).

In general, clausal responses do more than simply indicating compliance. In Extract (33), Ania notices that the sauce she requested earlier has not been poured on her food, and she asks for it again (line 2), designing her turn as *having to ask again*. In other words, her turn is formatted not just (and maybe not primarily) as a request, but as an accusation. The clausal response in line 4 is fitted to this “double-barreled” first action (also, Kitzinger et al. 2013; see Schegloff 2007a: 76, on the concept of double-barreled first actions): it indicates not only (and maybe: not

## 8 Recruiting assistance and collaboration in Polish family interaction

so much) compliance with the request, but manages the emotional undercurrent through a relatively elaborate verbal offering of the sauce.

(33) PP1-1\_0509630b

- 1 (1.6)
- 2 ANI ale ja jeszcze poprosiłam (.) y °sosiku° =moment  
but I still ask.PFV.PST.1SG INTJ sauce.DIM.GEN moment  
But I still asked for some sauce, wait a moment
- 3 (1.0) ((Ania picks up her plate, walks toward cooker))
- ▷ 4 ELA †no to ma:sz.  
PRT then have.2SG  
no then here you have (some)
- ▷ 5 ELA ((serves A sauce))

### 4.3 Types of rejections

Recruitments receive a rejection in 23 cases in the corpus (nearly 11%). Overt rejection with just the response particle *nie* ('no'), however, is rare: it occurs only in a single case. Klaudia and Paweł are having supper, and when Paweł moves up his fork with melted cheese sticking to it, Klaudia pleads with him to give her the cheese. Paweł responds curtly with a 'no', and then turns to the family dog squealing at his legs.

(34) PP4-1\_2301200

- 1 PAW ((moves up fork with melted cheese sticking to it))
- 2 KLA da::j mi tego żółtego sera  
give.PFV.IMP me.DAT this.GEN yellow.GEN cheese.GEN  
(do) give me some of that yellow cheese
- ▷ 3 PAW nie  
no  
no
- 3 PAW ((turns to dog))

It is questionable whether Klaudia's request in (34) was serious: more likely, she did not really expect Paweł to scrape the cheese from his own food and pass it to her. Her plea for the cheese might more plausibly be part of some kind of tease between the two, and this also puts Paweł's seemingly blunt rejection in a different light. In any case, rejections are overwhelmingly done in ways that avoid being blunt in one way or another.

Jörg Zinken

One way of rejecting a recruitment is to question the need for the requested action (see Zinken & Ogiermann 2011). A format for rejection in Polish that at least ostensively does this is *po co* ('what for'). However, this format does not really seem to question the need for the requested action – a reason is never provided in response, and is never pursued. Instead, questioning the need in this format works as a practice for rejecting a recruitment (compare also Bolden & Robinson 2011 on account solicitations with 'why'). In (35), Wiesia is walking around the flat with her toddler granddaughter. At line 2, Dorota, who is sitting at the kitchen table, recruits Wiesia to turn on the light in the corridor where she and the toddler are (in fact, Wiesia had just switched the light off, but Dorota might not have noticed). Wiesia does not respond to this recruitment, continuing instead a turn addressed to her granddaughter (lines 1 and 3). Dorota repeats her recruitment in line 5 and, after some silence, Wiesia rejects this recruitment with *a po co* (*światło*) ('but what for (light)', line 8).

(35) Pa02Apr2012\_0725770b

- 1 WIE chodź ( )  
come.IMP  
come (here)
- 2 DOR zapal tam światło mamunia  
turn.on.IMP there light mum.DIM.VOC  
turn the light on there, mummy
- 3 WIE może coś zjesz  
maybe what eat.PFV.2SG  
maybe you'll eat something
- 4 (.)
- 5 DOR zapal tam ↑światło.=°mamusiu°  
turn.on.PFV.IMP there light mum.DIM.VOC  
(do) turn the light on there mummy
- 6 (0.4) ((Wiesia walking towards kitchen with toddler))
- 7 DOR Pol[uniu:ż  
NAME.DIM.VOC  
Polly
- 8 WIE [a po co [(światło)  
and.but for what (light)  
but what for (light)]
- 9 DOR [Poluniu zjesz jeszcze salami?  
Pola.DIM.VOC eat.PFV.2SG still salami  
Polly will you eat some (more) salami?

A common element in turns rejecting a recruitment is an informing TCU that can be taken as providing an explanation for not complying. Sometimes such turns begin with a rejection token (*nie*, 'no', two cases), usually they don't.

## 8 Recruiting assistance and collaboration in Polish family interaction

Extract (36) is a case where a recruitment is rejected with a ‘no’ (*nie*) plus explanation. This case comes from the same setting as the previous Extract (35). Dorota is asking Wiesia and the toddler, who are walking around the flat, to come to the table to eat something (the rest of the family are having breakfast). Wiesia initiates repair at line 3, and Dorota re-does the recruitment, addressing it now only to the toddler (line 4). However, Wiesia apparently does not notice this and responds with a rejection token (*nie*, ‘no’) and an appended explanation (line 5).

(36) Pa02Apr2012\_0714730a

- 1 DOR cho::dźcie zjeść z nami  
come.IPFV.IMP.2PL eat.INF with us.INSTR  
come (you two) eat with us
- 2 (0.2)
- 3 WIE proszę  
plead.1SG  
excuse me?
- 4 DOR chodź córuś może zjesz coś.  
come.IPFV.IMP daughter.DIM maybe eat.2SG something  
come (my) daughter maybe you’ll eat something
- 5 WIE nie:: ja jestem po śniadaniu.  
no I am.1SG after breakfast.LOC  
no, I have had breakfast
- 6 DOR ale nie do ciebie mówię(h)  
but not to you talk.1S  
but I am not talking to you ((laughter))

More commonly, a rejection is accomplished with just an explanation for not doing as requested. In Extract (37), Ania has sat down with her back straight to the camera, and the participants have just commented about this. At line 1, Ela directs Ania to sit “here”, on the chair next to the one she is sitting on now. Ania does not respond to the initial recruitment, with her gaze directed at the free chair Ela is indicating. When Ela re-does the recruitment in amended format, Ania rejects this with a turn composed of two units, each of which formulates a reason for not taking the ‘better’ chair: *ale ja nie zostanę* (‘but I am not staying’, line 4), and *ja już jestem po (śniadaniu)* (‘I have already had breakfast’, line 4).

(37) PP1-1\_0615520b

- 1 ELA usiądź tu ((points to vacant chair))  
sit.down.PFV.IMP here  
sit down here
- 2 (0.8)
- 3 ELA siada:j  
sit.IPFV.IMP  
(do) sit (down)

Jörg Zinken

- ▷ 4 ANI ale ja nie zostanę ja już jestem  
but I not stay.PFV.1SG I already be.1SG  
but I am not staying, I have already
- ▷ 5 ANI po śniad(h)a(niu)(h)  
after breakfast  
had breakfast

## 5 Acknowledgements

As in the other languages examined in the project, acknowledgments of compliance are rare in the Polish data: only 3 cases were found. We have seen two of these: In extracts (22) and (28) the request speaker thanks after receiving a requested object. The third case is also an object request. Kasia asks Georg to pass the horseradish across the table. Georg does this, accompanied with a verbal turn, *prosz:* ('here you are'). Kasia takes the horseradish and quietly says *dziękuję* ('thanks')

(38) MiBrApr2012\_0552334

- 1 KAS poproszę chrzanikę  
plead.PFV.1SG horseraddish.DIM  
I ask for the horseraddish (can I have the horseraddish)
- ▷ 2 GEO prosz:: ((takes horseraddish, places in front of A))  
plead.IPFV.1SG  
here you are
- 3 KAS °dziękuję°  
thank.1SG  
thanks

Thanking is a way of recognizing the other's agency in providing assistance (Zinken et al. *In preparation*). Note also that in two of the three cases, the requestee points to his compliance with *proszę* ('please, here you are'), which might make the provision of an acknowledgment more likely.

## 6 Social asymmetries

The videos in the Polish corpus were recorded by families in their homes. Social asymmetries enter the picture in so far as interactions are sometimes between parents and their adult children. The interactions mostly take place in the parents' homes, and both the setting and the social relationship might contribute to some deference on the part of the adult children. No strong influence was

## 8 Recruiting assistance and collaboration in Polish family interaction

noticed in terms of the ration of fulfillments to rejections. However, one striking aspect in the formulation of recruitments is the common use of vocatives by children when addressing recruitments to their parents. Out of 24 recruitment sequences in which the request speaker was perceived by the coder to occupy a higher social position than the request recipient, only 3 (12%) contained a recruitment move (Move A) with a vocative. But out of 23 recruitment sequences in which the request speaker was perceived to occupy a lower social position than the recipient, 10 (43%) contained a recruitment move with a vocative form (e.g., Extract 35 above).

Extract (39) is one of those rare cases where a father uses a vocative in addressing a recruitment to his adult daughter. Olek has his toddler grandson on his lap, and the toddler wants to get off to walk around. This has been problematic before, because the toddler has a sausage in his hand, and Dorota, whose flat this is, doesn't want the little ones to run around with food in their hands. Olek addresses a turn to Dorota, in which he raises this problem and thereby recruits her to do something about it (a recruitment that is about to be made more specific in line 3). Dorota responds in two ways: she rejects the plan to "go", attributed to the toddler (lines 2 and 5), while walking towards him, and taking the sausage from him and putting it on a plate (line 7), thus creating the circumstances in which the toddler can have his wish (to walk around the flat) granted.

(39) Pa02Apr2012\_1227960

- 1 OLE nie mo- ciocia on chce iść patrz o  
not pos- aunt he want.3SG go.INF look.IPFV.IMP PRT  
you can't- aunt, he wants to go look o
- ▷ 2 DOR n[ie ((gaze at toddler, ezyebrows raised))  
no
- 3 OLE [trzymaj go na ( )  
hold.IPFV.IMP him.ACC on  
hold him()
- 4 KAS ale to  
but this
- ▷ 5 DOR nie ((gaze at toddler, ezyebrows raised))  
no
- 6 KAS poprostu go  
simply him.ACC
- ▷ 7 DOR tutaj to hopsa i można iść  
here this hop and possible go.INF  
here (we put) this, hop, and you can go ((takes sausage from toddler))

Of immediate interest to us here is Olek's use of the category term *ciocia* ('aunt') in line 1. Dorota is in fact Olek's *daughter*, and the toddler's aunt. Olek

Jörg Zinken

addresses Dorota in her family relationship role to the toddler, who is the target of the recruitment (see also Extracts 10, 16, and 25 above). What this extract shows is that the vocative on the one hand addresses a recruitment to a particular person in a multi-party setting; but that, on the other hand, it also provides a slot in which the choice of vocative item can be used to mobilise or acknowledge particular social relationships.

## 7 Discussion

This chapter provided an overview of practices speakers of Polish use for the organization of collaboration and assistance in informal family settings. In many respects, the Polish data are consistent with findings from other languages in the cross-linguistic project, and with expectations based on the extant literature.

For example, the findings show that there seem to be hardly any verbal turn formats that could *not* become part of a recruitment move: Imperative, declarative, and interrogative turn shapes can all effect a recruitment, as can turns without any predicate, and interactional moves without any talk. This supports the contention that drawing on others' collaboration is a fundamental facet of human sociality that does not make any specific demands on grammatical structures (see Tomasello 2008). Imperatives are the most common sentence type in recruitment moves, as we would expect given that imperatives are dedicated to the delivery of directive actions (e.g., Aikhenvald 2010). Also, the findings support arguments which see a bias towards pro-social orientations at work in human interaction (for example, Heritage 1984). Rejections are much less frequent than compliant responses, and are mostly done by providing explanations for non-compliance, rather than by bluntly rejecting the recruitment. Even cases in which a person does not respond to a recruitment at all, that is, "ignores" the recruitment, show traces of such a pro-social orientation. In such cases, (non-) respondents skillfully orient to aspects of the situation that could make their lack of response accountable in terms other than "ignoring".

Other findings might be cross-linguistically more restricted. For example, imperative recruitments with imperfective verbal aspect in Polish display that the recruitment move does not convey new information. Speakers can use this resource to indicate that the other person should have acted already – that they already knew what to do (see also Kent & Kendrick 2016). In the global perspective of the cross-linguistic project, it seems remarkable that more than half of the recruitments in the Polish corpus are *not* imperatives. However, this does not mean that Polish speakers would strive towards indirection. Conventionally

## 8 Recruiting assistance and collaboration in Polish family interaction

indirect (Brown & Levinson 1987) recruitment practices, such as questions about the ability or willingness to do something, are very rare in the examined corpus. Instead, declarative turns and turns without any predicate make up nearly half of all those recruitments with a verbal element. These turn formats have received little attention in the literature relative to their prominence in (Polish) informal everyday interaction.

### Acknowledgments

I am grateful to two anonymous reviewers for their detailed and helpful comments on an earlier version of this chapter.

### References

- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2010. *Imperatives and commands*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Antaki, Charles & Alexandra Kent. 2012. Telling people what to do (and, sometimes, why): Contingency, entitlement and explanation in staff requests to adults with intellectual impairments. *Journal of Pragmatics* 44(6-7). 876–889.
- Bąk, Piotr. 2010. *Gramatyka języka polskiego: Zarys popularny (wyd.14)*. Warsaw: Wiedza powszechna.
- Baranova, Julija & Mark Dingemanse. 2016. Reasons for requests. *Discourse Studies* 18(6). 641–675. DOI:[10.1177/1461445616667154](https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445616667154)
- Benacchio, Rosanna. 2010. *Vid i kategorija vežlivosti v slavjanskom imperativ: Sravnitel'nyj analiz* (Slavistische Beiträge: Bd. 472). München / Berlin: Sagner.
- Bolden, Galina. 2017. Requests for here-and-now actions in Russian conversation. In M. L. Sorjonen, E. Couper-Kuhlen & L. Raevaara (eds.), *Imperative turns at talk: The design of directives in action*, vol. 30, 175–211. Amsterdam, NJ: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Bolden, Galina B. & Jeffrey D. Robinson. 2011. Soliciting accounts with why-interrogatives in conversation. *Journal of Communication* 61(1). 94–119. DOI:[10.1111/j.1460-2466.2010.01528.x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2010.01528.x)
- Brown, Penelope & Stephen C. Levinson. 1987. *Politeness: Some universals in language usage* (Studies in Interactional Sociolinguistics 4). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth. 2014. What does grammar tell us about action? *Pragmatics* 24(3). 623–647.

Jörg Zinken

- Craven, Alexandra & Jonathan Potter. 2010. Directives: Entitlement and contingency in action. *Discourse Studies* 12(4). 419–442. DOI:[10.1177/1461445610370126](https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445610370126)
- Deppermann, A. 2006. Deontische infinitivkonstruktionen: Syntax, Semantik, Pragmatik und interaktionale verwendung. In S. Günthner & W. Imo (eds.), *Konstruktionen in der Interaktion*, 239–262. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Forsyth, James. 1970. *A grammar of aspect: Usage and meaning in the Russian verb*. Vol. 1970. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Heritage, John. 1984. *Garfinkel and ethnomethodology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Jefferson, Gail. 2004. Glossary of transcript symbols with an introduction. In G. H. Lerner (ed.), *Conversation analysis: Studies from the first generation*, 13–31. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Kent, Alexandra & Kobil H Kendrick. 2016. Imperative directives: Orientations to accountability. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 49(3). 272–288. DOI:[10.1080/08351813.2016.1201737](https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2016.1201737)
- Kitzinger, Celia, Gene H Lerner, Jörg Zinken, Sue Wilkinson, Heidi Kevoe-Feldman & Sonja Ellis. 2013. Reformulating place. *Journal of Pragmatics* 55. 43–50.
- Królak, Emilia & Kinga Rudnicka. 2006. Selected aspects of directives in Polish. *Revista española de lingüística aplicada* 19. 129–142.
- Labocha, Janina. 1985. Sposoby wyrażania Żądania we współczesnej polszczyźnie mówionej, cz. I. *Polonica XI*. 119–145.
- Labocha, Janina. 1986. Sposoby wyrażania Żądania we współczesnej polszczyźnie mówionej, cz. I. *Polonica XII*. 203–217.
- Lehmann, Volkmar. 1989. Pragmatic functions of aspects and their cognitive motivation. In L. G. Larsson (ed.), *Proceedings of the second Scandinavian symposium on aspectology*, vol. 19, 77–88.
- Lerner, Gene H. 2003. Selecting next speaker: The context-sensitive operation of a context-free organization. *Language in society* 32(2). 177–201.
- Ogiermann, Eva. 2015. In/directness in Polish children's requests at the dinner table. *Journal of Pragmatics* 82. 67–82. DOI:[10.1016/j.pragma.2015.03.007](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2015.03.007)
- Rauniomaa, Mirka & Tiina Keisanen. 2012. Two multimodal formats for responding to requests. *Journal of Pragmatics* 44(6-7). 829–842.
- Rossi, Giovanni. 2012. Bilateral and unilateral requests: The use of imperatives and Mi X? Interrogatives in Italian. *Discourse Processes* 49(5). 426–458. DOI:[10.1080/0163853X.2012.684136](https://doi.org/10.1080/0163853X.2012.684136)
- Rossi, Giovanni. 2014. When do people not use language to make requests? In Paul Drew & Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen (eds.), *Requesting in social interaction*,

## 8 Recruiting assistance and collaboration in Polish family interaction

- 303–334. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. Studies in Language and Social Interaction.
- Rossi, Giovanni. 2015. *The request system in Italian interaction*. Radboud University Nijmegen. (Doctoral dissertation).
- Rossi, Giovanni & Jörg Zinken. 2016. Grammar and social agency: The pragmatics of impersonal deontic statements. *Language* 92(4). e296–e325.  
DOI:[10.1353/lan.2016.0083](https://doi.org/10.1353/lan.2016.0083)
- Schegloff, Emanuel A. 2007a. *Sequence organization in interaction: A primer in conversation analysis*. Vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A. 2007b. *Sequence organization in interaction: Volume 1: A primer in conversation analysis*. Vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sorjonen, Marja-Leena, Liisa Raevaara & Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen (eds.). 2017. *Imperative turns at talk: The design of directives in action*. Vol. 30. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Stivers, Tanya. 2004. “No no no” and other types of multiple sayings in social interaction. *Human Communication Research* 30(2). 260–293.
- Strutyński, Janusz. 2006. *Gramatyka polska (wyd. 7 zm)*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Tomasz Strutyński.
- Thompson, Sandra A., Barbara A. Fox & Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen. 2015. *Grammar in everyday talk: Building responsive actions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tomasello, Michael. 2008. *Origins of human communication*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Van der Auwera, Johan, Nina Dobrushina & Valentin Goussev. 2013. Imperative-hortative systems. In Matthew S. Dryer & Martin Haspelmath (eds.), *The world atlas of language structures online*, 72–1. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. Retrieved from <http://wals.info/chapter/72>, Accessed on.
- Weidner, Matylda. 2013a. ‘this is how I see it’. No-prefacing in Polish. In N. Thielemann & P. Kosta (eds.), *Approaches to Slavic interaction*, 147–166. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.
- Weidner, Matylda. 2013b. *On the organization of Polish doctor-patient communication: Practices for building questions, negotiating knowledge, and recommending treatment*. University of Antwerp. (Doctoral dissertation).
- Weidner, Matylda. 2015. Telling somebody what to tell: “proszę mi powiedzieć” in Polish doctor–patient interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics* 78. 70–83.  
DOI:[10.1016/j.pragma.2015.01.006](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2015.01.006)

Jörg Zinken

- Wierzbicka, Anna. 1991. *Cross-cultural pragmatics: The semantics of human interaction*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Wootton, Anthony J. 1997. *Interaction and the development of mind*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Zinken, Jörg. 2016. *Requesting responsibility: The morality of grammar in Polish and English family interaction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Zinken, Jörg & Arnulf Deppermann. 2017. A cline of visible commitment in the situated design of imperative turns. In Marja-Leena Sorjonen, Liisa Raevaara & Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen (eds.), *Imperative turns at talk: The design of directives in action*, 27–63. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Zinken, Jörg & Eva Ogiermann. 2011. How to propose an action as objectively necessary: The case of Polish *Trzeba x* ('one needs to x'). *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 44. 263–287. DOI:[10.1080/08351813.2011.591900](https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2011.591900)
- Zinken, Jörg & Eva Ogiermann. 2013. Responsibility and action: Invariants and diversity in requests for objects in British English and Polish interaction. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 46(3). 256–276.
- Zinken, Jörg, Giovanni Rossi & V. Reddy. In preparation. Recognizing another's agency in providing assistance: The action of thanking after requests.

## Chapter 9

# Recruiting assistance in Russian

Julija Baranova

Language and Cognition Department, Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics

This chapter describes the resources that speakers of Russian use when recruiting assistance from others in everyday social interaction. The chapter draws on data from video recordings of informal conversation in Russian, and reports language-specific findings generated within a large-scale comparative project involving eight languages from five continents (see other chapters of this volume). The resources for recruitment described in this chapter include linguistic structures from across the levels of grammatical organization, as well as gestural and other visible and contextual resources of relevance to the interpretation of action in interaction. The presentation of categories of recruitment, and elements of recruitment sequences, follows the coding scheme used in the comparative project (see Chapter 2 of the volume). This chapter extends our knowledge of the structure and usage of Russian with detailed attention to the properties of sequential structure in conversational interaction. The chapter is a contribution to an emerging field of pragmatic typology.

### 1 Introduction

The work in this chapter was carried out as part of the comparative project on recruitment systems in eight languages presented in this volume. The general introduction to the volume defines recruitment as an interactional phenomenon. Chapter 2 outlines the coding scheme and procedure.

The current chapter offers an overview of the main practices used by speakers of Russian to recruit assistance from their peers and family members in such every-day activities as cooking and having dinner. The data come from a set of video-recordings made by the author in Russia. The chapter starts with a brief introduction to the Russian language and a description of the corpus. Then I discuss the basic structure of recruitment sequences. The recruitment turn is illustrated



*Julija Baranova*

in a separate section that discusses nonverbal elements of the recruitment, along with its linguistic formats (imperative, declarative, and interrogative). Attention is also given to such mitigators as reasons and diminutives in the recruitment move. Then the chapter presents the responses that recruitments receive, broadly divided into compliance and noncompliance. Towards the end, I remark on the expression of gratitude as a possible response to compliance, and on the role of social (a)symmetries in recruitment sequences. Finally, I summarize the chapter together with some ideas for future research.

## **1.1 The Russian Language**

Russian is an East-Slavic language of the Indo-European language family. About 150 million people speak Russian as their first language. Russian is the official language of the Russian Federation, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan. The basic word order is SVO (Hawkins 1983; Tomlin 1986). Interrogatives are formed mainly through prosody, interrogative particles, and question words. Russian verbs come in aspectual pairs: perfective and imperfective. They inflect for tense, person, number, and on certain occasions for gender. Russian nouns are marked for gender (feminine, masculine, and neuter), number (singular and plural), and case (six cases). Grammatical topics in Russian have been widely studied, but we are only beginning to understand how Russian is used in everyday conversational interaction (see e.g. Baranova 2015; Baranova & Dingemanse 2016; Bolden 2004; 2008; Robinson & Bolden 2010). This paper offers a contribution to this line of work by focusing on the recruitment system in informal Russian.

## **1.2 Data collection and corpus**

The corpus on which this work is based was constructed in accordance with guidelines developed by and for the members of the comparative project reported on in this volume (see introduction for further information). Russian data come from nineteen recordings made by the author during three field trips to Russia in 2011 and 2012. The recordings took place in several locations in the region of Chelyabinsk, at participants' homes and on two occasions at their work places. The interactions were all informal involving friends and family. The total sampled recording time was 3h 20 min, resulting in 200 recruitment cases. The length of the sample per recording varied from 10 to 25 minutes.

## 9 Recruiting assistance in Russian

## 2 Basics of recruitment sequences

This chapter adopts the definition of recruitment sequence given in the introduction to this volume:

One person elicits some kind of practical behavior from another in a sequence minimally consisting of two moves: Move A, in which participant A does or says something to participant B or that B can see or hear, and Move B, in which participant B does a practical action for or with participant A that is fitted to Move A.

This is the basic and canonical sequence, an example of which is given in the following section. Other details of what can happen, including what B can say in Move B to fulfill or reject the recruitment, are illustrated in later sections.

### 2.1 Minimal recruitment sequence

When a recipient responds to a recruitment with immediate compliance, the result is a minimal recruitment sequence. This is illustrated in Extract 2.1. Several family members are gathered for dinner at Lida's place. The extract starts with an offer sequence between Tanya and her young son.



Figure 1: Tanya makes a recruitment for milk

- (1) 20120114\_family\_visit\_2\_164605

T      mozhet malaka?  
      maybe milk.GEN  
      Maybe some milk?

*Julija Baranova*



Figure 2: Lida gets milk from the refrigerator.

- S ((nods with his head))
- (0.7) ((Tanya turns away from the son towards Lida))
- T ((nods)) *malaka*  
Milk.GEN  
Some milk
- ▷ L ((takes milk from the refrigerator, pours it into a cup and places the cup on the table))

In line 1, Tanya offers her son some milk and he accepts the offer. Tanya is unable to get out from the table easily. She recruits Lida's assistance at line 4 using a no-predicate construction: *malaka* 'some milk'. Lida starts complying immediately. This recruitment is minimal as it consists of a recruitment turn and compliance with no other turns in-between, such as repair initiations (Jefferson 1987; Schegloff et al. 1977) or redoings of the recruitment. Compliance is entirely nonverbal: Lida takes the milk out of the refrigerator, pours it in a cup and puts it on the table in front of the child.

## 2.2 Non-minimal recruitment sequence

Non-minimal recruitment sequences are sequences where compliance does not immediately take place. Instead, the initial response is something other than compliance, such as a question or a rejection. Sometimes there is no immediate relevant response at all and the recruitment is effectively ignored. In these cases, recruiters may pursue compliance, for example by offering a repair solution, answering a clarification question, offering a reason for making the recruitment, or simply redoing of the recruitment.

## 9 Recruiting assistance in Russian

An example of a non-minimal recruitment can be found in Extract 2. The scene features Maria and her adult daughters Katya and Olga. Maria stands at the kitchen counter talking to Olga, who is in an adjacent room. At the same time, she places a cup with boiled water on the table for Katya who is about to make herself some instant coffee.

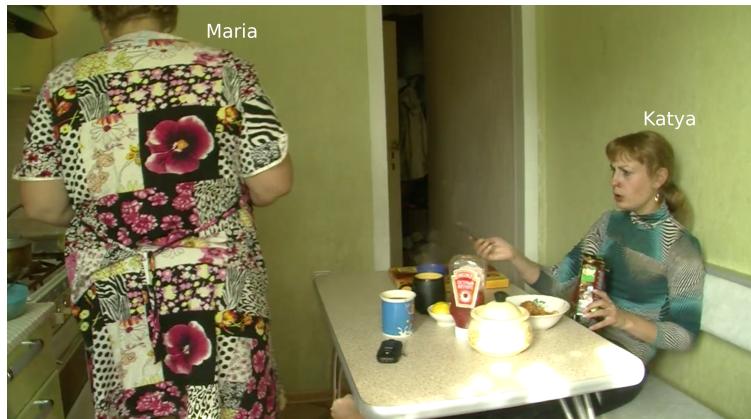


Figure 3: Katya is about to put coffee into her cup.

## (2) 20110827\_Family\_2\_820127

- M ((puts a cup with hot water on the table in front of Katya))
- K [((opens up the bag of instant [coffee]))
- M [nu vot OL'ka=  
PCL PCL Olia.DIM
- So, Olia
- =ja kartoshku-ta [padzha:rila,  
I potato.PCL baked
- I baked the potatoes
- K [((picks up the teaspoon from the table))
- M shias nada, =  
now need.MOD  
Now {} need
- M ka[pu:staj zaniaca  
cabbage.INSTR get\_busy
- To get busy with the cabbage
- K [t̪daj lo:shku dru[guju pazhalu(sta)  
give.IMP.PFV.SG spoon.ACC other.ACC please
- Give me another spoon, please
- ▷ M =[^lo:shku- (.) druguju?  
spoon.ACC other.ACC
- A spoon? Another one?

*Julija Baranova*

- K = uhu:m,  
Uhuh
  - ▷ M [((opens the drawer))
  - K [ana v malake: pa xodu dela eta  
she in milk along route business DEM.F  
It looks like this one has been (dipped) in the milk
  - M [ta da:. v malake:  
DEM.F yes in milk.LOC  
That one, yes, {it's been dipped} in the milk
  - ▷ ((gives a teaspoon to Katya ))
  - K [((is putting coffee into her cup with the given spoon))  
[spasiba  
thanks
- Thanks

At line 8 Katya makes a recruitment for Maria using an imperative construction with falling intonation. That is, she starts with a high pitch and end with a low one: *↑daj lo:shku druguju pazhalusta* 'give {me} another spoon, please'. Instead of immediately complying, Maria initiates repair: "A spoon? Another one?". With this repair initiation, she claims to have trouble hearing or understanding Katya's recruitment. Katya responds with the confirmation *uhu:m* at line 10. It appears, however, that Maria's turn is not a simple repair initiation. It also embodies a kind of challenge (Baranova 2015). Maria's turn may be understood to be using a claim of trouble of hearing or understanding as a way to question the need for the recruitment. As Figure 3 makes clear, Katya is holding a teaspoon when she issues the request, raising the obvious question why she cannot use the one she already has in her hand. At line 12, Katya expands on her initial recruitment by orienting to just this question, and supplying the reason: "It looks like this one has been (dipped) in the milk". So, Katya's response at line 10 targets the potential problem of hearing and line 12 offers a reason that defends the relevance and purpose of her recruitment.

Maria's repair initiation (line 9) delayed compliance and expanded the recruitment sequence into a non-minimal one, in which the recruiter supplied a repair solution and a reason in addition to their original recruitment. Both lines 10 and 12 serve here as renewals of her original recruitment making a response relevant (Davidson (1984); Pomerantz (1984)). Maria complies at line 14 by giving a clean teaspoon to Katya. The recruitment sequence is closed off with an acknowledgement *spasiba 'thanks'* in line 16.

## 9 Recruiting assistance in Russian

### 2.3 Subtypes of recruitment sequence

In the larger comparative project, we distinguish four main recruitment types based on the nature of the response required from the recruitee. *Provision of a service* is the most frequently encountered response type in the Russian sample (see Table 1). We saw this type in Extract 1, where the recipient Lida complied by pouring milk into a cup for the recruiter. Recruitments instructing to pass or move an object fall into the category *object transfer* as exemplified by Extract 2, in which a spoon was handed to the recruiter. The two remaining recruitment types involve *alterations of trajectory* of behaviour (e.g., getting someone to desist doing something) and *assistance with a visible or anticipatable trouble* (e.g., open the door for someone when their hands are occupied). I discuss these in the following two extracts.

Table 1: Relative frequencies of recruitment sequence subtypes (N=200).

Recruitment type	# in sample	%
service provision	121/200	61
alteration of trajectory	37/200	18
object transfer	29/200	15
trouble assistance	13/200	7

Alterations of trajectory form the second largest group of recruitment response types in the current sample. Extract 3 is an example. Marina is visiting her mother-in-law Anna. Both women are sitting at the kitchen table. Marina is holding her little dog on her lap and playing with it, while Anna is sitting next to her having dinner.

(3) 20110807\_Family\_evening\_1\_459097

- M    sla:tkaja maja: de-  
     sweet.F    my.F  
     My sweet gi-  
M    [(devachka)  
     girl  
     (Girl)]  
► A    [nu Marish, [pusti:    ejo, ja pa- pae:m    spako:jna  
     PCL Name.DIM let\_go.IMP.PFV    her    I    eat.FUT.1SG quietly  
     Sweet Marina, let her go {so that} I finish eating in peace  
  
      ((waves with one hand from left to right))  
      (0.2)

*Julija Baranova*



Figure 4: Anna asks Marina to remove her dog from the table.

▷ M ja sh tibe nichio, ni eta.  
I PCL you.SG.DAT nothing NEG PCL  
But I nothing, well

M ^my sh tibe nich^io ni delaem,  
we PCL you.SG.DAT nothing NEG do.PL  
But we aren't doing anything to you

Marina is playing with her dog at the table (lines 1-2). Assuming that there is a special relationship between dogs and their owners, Marina's play with her dog might be seen as a private and not including Anna. Nonetheless, Anna intervenes, which might be seen as a delicate matter. This may be why Anna's recruitment is accompanied by a reason: “{so that} I finish eating in peace” (line 3). The recruitment-reason combination implies that finishing eating the meal in peace is incompatible with the presence of the dog at the table. Marina orients to this negative implication by offering a counter-reason: “but we aren't doing anything to you” (lines 6-7).

The extracts discussed so far are on-record verbal recruitments that make explicit the type of compliance required. By contrast, recruitments of the trouble-assist type feature a visible trouble but no on-record request to solve the trouble and no instruction as to how to do so. While there is no explicit recruitment, recruits nevertheless provide assistance. This assistance may involve altering behaviour, transferring an object, or performing a service. Are such cases recruitments at all? They certainly share features with more conventional directives. First, there is the issue of accountability. While a participant who merely sees that someone is in need is presumably less accountable for failing to assist than

## 9 Recruiting assistance in Russian

someone who is the addressee of a conventional on-record recruitment, it can be argued that their failure will still be noticeable. Second, trouble-assist recruitments are hardly distinguishable from verbal recruitment moves that verbalize a trouble using a declarative statement. For instance, in Extract 18 discussed later in this chapter, the recruiting turn constitutes a declarative statement which makes a trouble clear: a baby is chewing on a paper napkin. In response, the baby's grandmother removes the napkin from the baby.

Extract 4 illustrates how a participant can assist another person after observing a trouble. This fragment is taken from a conversation between Inna and her adult niece Sasha. The women are in Inna's little kitchen when Sasha's mobile phone starts ringing in the corridor. The woman visibly struggles to stand up from the kitchen bench as the table blocks her movements.



Figure 5: Inna pulls the table so that Sasha can leave.

(4) Niece\_1\_1517800

- ((mobile phone rings))
- S eta minia [kto-ta patirial  
DEM I.GEN somebody lost  
That's me somebody is looking for
- [((struggles standing up))]
- I (tak) [(0.2) ( )  
so  
So (0.2) ()
- ▷ I [((pulls the table for Sasha to pass through)) ]
- SAS ((passes through the opening between the table and the kitchen cabinet))

*Julija Baranova*

Sasha stands up from the kitchen bench with visible difficulty. She is squeezed between the table and the kitchen cupboards, unable to pass through. Inna is sitting just in front of Sasha. Inna pulls the table to make more space for Anna to leave, which Anna is then able to do. In this example, Sasha does not explicitly recruit Inna's assistance, but she gets it all the same. Important here is that Sasha might not be free to push the table away from herself as this would bring Inna in an uncomfortable position. Also, Inna is the host here and bears some responsibility for the comfort of her guests. These features make it more likely that Inna will offer assistance without an overt recruitment move being made.

To summarize, I have introduced four main recruitment types: performing service, transferring objects, altering behaviour, and trouble assist. While the first three categories are straightforward and refer to the nature of the action demanded by the recipient, the last category is rather unconventional and should be seen as a recruitment in its broad definition. Trouble-assist recruitments do not involve an on-record initiating move. One of the participants assists another when a trouble manifests itself. This assistance can involve performing a service, transferring an object, or altering behaviour.

### 3 Formats in Move A: the recruitment

While the previous section was mainly concerned with what kind of assistance is being asked for, in this section the focus lies on the format or formulation of the recruiting move. Numerous strategies are observed. Direct conversational context (Rossi 2015) as well as cultural preferences for (in)directness (Bolden 2017; Ogiermann 2009) affect the format of the recruitment turn. Initiating moves in recruitment sequences might be fully nonverbal, fully verbal, or a combination.

#### 3.1 Fully nonverbal recruitments

In some situations, verbalising a recruitment appears unnecessary and a mere gesture might be clear enough to explicate what kind of assistance is being called for. In Extract 5 Pavel is one of Anna's guests at a dinner gathering. The extract starts when Anna offers Pavel a drink.

(5) 20120602\_family\_friends\_2\_1085520

A Pavel ^chaj kofe  
name tea coffee  
Pavel, tea, coffee?  
(0.7)

## 9 Recruiting assistance in Russian



Figure 6: Pavel holds out his cup and Anna puts a tea bag into it.

P .hhhh chижку если tol'kaлучше  
tea.DIM.GEN if only better  
If {possible} better some tea

A ((takes a tea bag from [the box]))

P [((lifts his cup and looks into it))]

o:pa  
INTJ  
Oh  
u minia yeshio yest' An'  
with I.GEN still is Name.VOC  
I still have {some} Anna

A [((turns to different speaker)) ^Ir  
Name.VOC  
Ira?  
P [((finishes his tea))  
(0.9)

I (ni буду [spasiba])  
NEG be.FUT.1SG thanks  
I won't, thank you

A [((is laying the tea bag on the [table ))]  
► P [((holds out his cup for Anna))

▷ A ((puts the tea bag into Pavel's cup ))  
((takes the cup, pours hot water into it, gives it back to Pavel))

Pavel accepts Anna's tea offer at line 3. Then he notices that there is still some tea left in his cup as this is what he tells Anna at line 7: 'I still have {some} Anna'. She treats it as a rejection of her tea offer because she immediately turns to Ira

*Julija Baranova*

offering her some tea as well. At line 13, Pavel reaches for Anna with a cup in his hand. Anna evidently interprets this gesture as a recruitment for tea. With no questions asked she puts a teabag in Pavel's cup and fills it with hot water. Such nonverbal recruitments can only be successful in environments that maximally disambiguate them. In this case, the meaning of Pavel's gesture was clear in the context of the preceding offer sequence (Rossi 2014).

The class of nonverbal recruitments is different from recruitments of the trouble-assist type shown in Extract 4. Rather than simply making a problem visible in an off-record way, fully nonverbal recruitments do have an explicit recruiting turn, which happens to be constituted from nonverbal elements. The kind of assistance offered may be of any of the types presented in Table 5. In case of Extract 3.1 it is provision of a service.

In my Russian recruitments corpus there are 31 fully nonverbal recruitments. This number is high compared to other languages in the comparative project (see the general introduction to this book) due to the relatively high amount of nonverbal recruitments in which speakers clink glasses with each other, thus getting the other to drink (see below).

### 3.2 Nonverbal behavior in recruitments

Recruitments are often composite utterances consisting of both verbal and non-verbal elements. In 87 of my examples, speakers combine nonverbal and verbal elements in recruitments. Nonverbal elements observed in initiating moves are of four main types, as found across languages in this volume: pointing, holding out an object, reaching for an object, and iconic gestures. In my Russian sample, two more specific categories can be identified: holding a glass/cup out for clinking and holding a glass/cup out to receive a drink (see Table 2). Emergence of these categories can be explained by a relatively high prevalence of celebratory gatherings in my sample. The category 'other' in Table 2 includes recruitments where a speaker places an object on the table for a recipient to take it or refill it.

In this section I will illustrate some of the encountered nonverbal practices. Extract 3.2 is an example of *reaching-to-receive*. As Inna asks her husband Fyodor to pass her magnifying glass, she reaches with her hand to receive it.

(6) 20110816\_Sisters\_A\_1\_332247

- I DAVA[<sup>J</sup> maju lupu  
give.IMP.IMP.FV.SG my.ACC.F magnifying glass.ACC.F  
Give {me} back my magnifying glass

[(holds out her hand)]

9 Recruiting assistance in Russian



Figure 7: Inna reaches her hand towards Fyodor as indicated by the arrow.



Figure 8: Fyodor gives an object to Inna.

*Julija Baranova*

Table 2: Types of nonverbal behaviour in recruitments (n=87).

Practice	# in sample	%
Pointing	21/87	24
Holding out an object to give	19/87	22
Holding glass/cup out for clinking	16/87	18
Reach to receive	16/87	18
Holding glass/cup out for receiving a drink	8/87	9
Iconic gesture	2/87	2
Other	5/87	6

- (0.3)
- F ((puts his hand in the pocket of his [trousers))
- I [zabral u minia =  
lupu took.M from I.GEN  
magnifying glass.ACC.F  
you took away my magnifying glass
- (1.4)
- F yestestvena  
naturally  
Naturally
- (0.7)
- ▷ ((retrieves the magnifying glass from his pocket and hands it over to Inna))

Inna uses imperfective imperative verb *davaj*. She complements her verbal recruitment with a gestural component: stretching out her hand in Fyodor's direction with her palm turned upwards. Inna holds this gesture until she receives her magnifying glass at line 10. Fyodor and Inna coordinate their moves: they bring their hands closer to each other. An advantage of the holding-out gesture is that it can persist through time in a way that the verbal message cannot. By holding the gesture after the verbal recruitment has been spoken, Inna may, for instance, emphasise the urgency of the recruitment and encourage prompt compliance. Another possible function of this gesture is to minimise Fyodor's efforts, as he does not need to bring the magnifying glass all the way to Inna, he meets her hand halfway instead.

Extract 3.2 demonstrates the use of a *pointing gesture* in the recruitment turn. Maria has just taken a seat on the kitchen bench with her back blocking the view of the video camera. Her daughter Katya points Maria to this problematic state of

## 9 Recruiting assistance in Russian

affairs. After Maria fails to respond, Katya makes an explicit verbal recruitment for Maria to change her position at the table and sit down on the chair that she points to with her index finger.



Figure 9: Katya points with her index finger (see the arrow for the gesture).

(7) 20110827\_Family\_2\_437830

M ((to the cat)) [Kir name:cat.VOC padvin'sia move.over.IMP.PFV.SG  
Kira, move over

M [((sits down on the kitchen bench next to the cat))

K [( )  
(0.4)

ja patom k kantsu u nivo zabrala,  
I later towards end from him took.away  
Later, towards the end, I took {it} away from him  
(1.0)

e:ta  
PCL  
Well  
(0.3)

► ty naverna [selə v't kak ras  
you.SG probably sat.F DEM just right  
You've probably sat down exactly

[((finger pointing towards the camera

(0.9)

► zakrylasia [na stul tuda sadis'  
covered.REFL.F on chair there sit  
{It} got obscured, sit on the chair there

*Julija Baranova*

- [((points to the chair))
- (0.6)
- M     ((shifts on the kitchen bench))

The turn in focus is line 7-9, where Katya produces a statement along with a pointing gesture: “Well (0.3) you’ve probably sat down exactly”. Intonationally and informationally, this statement sounds unfinished. The pointing to the video camera, however, completes this trouble statement and makes the reference clear. When Maria fails to respond, Katya adds more information about the problem together with an explicit recruitment: “[it] got obscured, sit on the chair there”. This line further explicates the problem and offers a solution for it in the form of a recruitment. At the same time, she points to the chair with her index finger. In response, Maria partially complies. Instead of taking a seat on the appointed chair, she shifts on the bench, partially uncovering the view of the camera.

The following extract contains two relevant nonverbal elements: *holding out* to give and *pointing* (using the head). This case is from an interaction between Sasha and her friend Ksenia. Earlier, the host Sasha presented Ksenia one of her own photographs as a gift. In the following extract, Ksenia asks Sasha to put the photograph on her jacket.



Figure 10: Ksenia is holding out her hand with a photograph in it and Sasha reaches to take it. These gestures are indicated with arrows.

- (8) 20110826\_Old\_friends\_B\_1\_550898
- K     Sash     palazhi,     mne     na ku:rtku     a?  
name.VOC put.IMP.PFV.SG I.DAT on jacket     PCL  
Sasha, put (it) on my jacket, eh?

## 9 Recruiting assistance in Russian

```
((Ksenia stretches out her hand with a photograph in it))
[tam
there
There
[((head pointing))]

▷ S    ((Sasha takes the picture and leaves))
```

With her recruitment, Ksenia instructs Sasha to put the photograph on her (Ksenia's) jacket, which is in the corridor. During the production of the request, she holds the photograph in her hand while stretching her arm in Sasha's direction, and gazing at Sasha. Subsequently, she refers verbally to the place where the picture should be put: *tam* 'there'. At the same time, she head-points in the direction of the corridor. Sasha takes the picture and leaves the room.

Ksenia and Sasha's hand gestures are similar to what we saw in Extract 6. Recall that Inna's reaching for the magnifying glass in Extract 6 facilitated Fyodor's task of handing it to Inna. Likewise, Ksenia's holding out the photograph makes it easier for Sasha to take it. By *easier* I mean that the trajectory that Sasha's hand has to travel to take the object is objectively shorter. Another example of the holding-out behaviour can be found in Extract 5, where the speaker is holding out his cup for the recipient to take it and fill it with tea.

In this section I have described some nonverbal elements observed in recruiting turns, including pointing gestures, holding out objects to give, and reaching for objects to receive. Nonverbal elements not only complement recruiting turns with relevant information, they also pursue and facilitate compliance.

### 3.3 Verbal elements: construction types and subtypes

Linguistic resources of the Russian language provide speakers with a multitude of linguistic formats to make recruitments. The relative frequency of imperatives, declaratives, interrogatives, and no-predicate constructions are represented in Table 3. In this section, I illustrate these types with examples.

The introduction to this volume and the project-wide coding scheme (Chapter 2) explain in more detail how recruitments were coded for verbal elements. In this section I discuss Russian imperative, declarative and interrogative recruitments. For an example of a recruitment with a no-predicate construction I refer the reader to Extract 2.1, above ('some milk'). It is a minimally designed recruitment only containing a reference to what is required: pouring some milk.

I have here coded and analyzed the linguistic structure of recruitments based on their sentence type only, disregarding their intonational contour. I note that in

*Julija Baranova*

Table 3: Construction type of recruitments including spoken elements (n=159). (Note that for non-minimal recruitment sequences this Table 3 only counts the first attempt in a given sequence.)

Sentence type	# in sample	%
imperative	100/159	63
no predicate	25/159	16
declarative	18/159	11
interrogative	16/159	10

Russian, imperative constructions can have interrogative intonation. I will touch upon this issue in the following section on imperatives.

### 3.3.1 Imperatives

Imperatives are the most frequent recruitment format in this sample of casual Russian. Imperatively formatted recruitments have recently been identified as a default recruitment format in the corpus of casual Russian (see [Bolden \(2017\)](#)). Although studies on Italian and English have shown that imperatives are typically used in the context of ongoing joint projects in which recipients' commitments have been secured, Russian imperatives appear to be used in a broader range of recruitment contexts. [Bolden \(2017\)](#) shows that Russian imperatives are used in contexts where Italian and English speakers would normally opt for interrogatives ([Craven & Potter 2010; Rossi 2012; 2015](#)): when the recipient is not yet committed to carrying out the recruitment, when compliance requires a recipient to terminate or alter his/her own activity, and when compliance involves a relatively elaborate physical activity.

Aspect is important in the Russian verb system. As mentioned in the introduction to this paper, Russian verbs can be perfective and imperfective. It is not yet entirely clear which recruitment contexts prefer which aspectual type, but it appears that the imperfective is more often used when compliance can be expected ([Benacchio 2002a,b](#)).

Imperatives can be singular or plural. Singular imperatives are used when there is just one addressee. Additionally, imperatives may be of the perfective aspectual type (see Extracts 2, 3, 8, and 9) or the imperfective aspectual type (see Extract 3.2.). Perfective and imperfective imperatives have a plural form when there are multiple recipients or when the second person polite plural pronoun *vy* is used. The latter situation is illustrated in Extract 9. This recruitment se-

## 9 Recruiting assistance in Russian

quence comes from a conversation between school custodians who are having lunch in the staff room. Alifa is about to join her colleagues at the table who are already having some soup.



Figure 11: Alifa is making a recruitment for Anna to serve her some soup. The arrow indicates the location of the soup pot.

(9) 201220120\_colleagues\_casual\_2\_498040

- AL ((takes a bowl from the closet and puts it on the table next to Anna))=
- AN =[ku ( )  
spoon-ACC  
a spoon ()
- AL [Anna- Anna Batkiyevna,  
name name patronymic  
Anna- Anna the daughter of a father
- AN aye:  
INTJ  
hey  
(0.3)
- AL pazhalsta nakla:dyvajte mneh  
please put.IMP.IMPFV.PL I.DAT  
You may do {some} serving for me please  
(0.4)
- V khahahm[hmhm  
((laughter))
- M [(Ret')kiyevna  
patronymic  
Daughter of the (radish)
- ▷ AN [((puts her loaf of bread on the table))
  
- [h.hehehe  
((laughter))

*Julija Baranova*

(0.5)

- AN ((takes Alifa's bowl from the table))=
- AL =[ty zhe po:var u na[s  
 you.SG PCL chef with us  
 You are our chef here
- AN [((stands up and starts serving the soup))
- AN [eta to:chna  
 It exactly
- Exactly

Alifa's recruitment is complex. Here I focus only on the format of the imperative she uses to recruit Anna's assistance. Alifa asks Anna to serve her some soup starting from line 3, where she draws Anna's attention with a non-serious patronymic: "Anna- Anna the daughter of a father". A patronymic is formed by adding a suffix to the first name of person's father. A daughter of Ivan, for instance, would have *Ivanovna* as her patronymic. The use of a patronymic goes hand in hand with the use of plural 'you' as a polite form of address. The formation of a patronymic using the word 'father'—as done by Alifa in Extract 9—is occasionally used as a joking patronymic when the real one is not known. Alifa continues to say "You may do {some} serving for me please". She uses imperfective imperative with the plural *-te* ending to make it clear that she is addressing the recipient with the plural *you*.

Another example of an imperative with a plural ending is provided in Extract 10. This time, the imperative is of the perfective type and is directed to multiple recipients. Pavel is about to go to the village brook with the family guest Julija. The host of the gathering Inna is persuading both her son Dennis and grandson Kostia to join them.

(10) Family\_dinner\_Country\_A\_2\_1038680

- L na::: e::: ^na ruchej pajdiote?  
 to to brook.ACC go.FUT.pl2  
 To, eh, you're going to the brook?
- P ((head nod))

► I aha, eh [Dennis ajda-te [sxadite Kostia,  
 uhuh name PCL.IMP-PL go.IMP.PFV.PL name  
 Yeah, eh, Dennis go, go Kostia

[((touches Dennis)) (((reaches for Kostia's arm))  
 K [[((turns his head and looks at Inna))

▷ [pajdiom ((is looking at Kostia))  
 go-FUT-PL1  
 Let's go?

## 9 Recruiting assistance in Russian



Figure 12: Inna recruits both Dennis and Kostia to go to the brook together with Pavel.



Figure 13: Inna recruits both Dennis and Kostia to go to the brook together with Pavel.

*Julija Baranova*

[((looks at Dennis))

▷ D ((bows his head to the side))

Lida is talking to her husband Pavel, who is standing outside the window. She is asking whether he is indeed taking their guest to the village brook (line 1). After Pavel's confirmation at line 2, Inna directs her recruitment to both Dennis and Kostia: *aha, eh Dennis ajda-te sxadite Kostia* "Yeah, eh, Dennis go, go Kostia". As in the previous extract, the imperative verb *sxadite* "go" has the plural ending *-te*. While Kostia indirectly agrees to go to the brook by inviting Dennis at line 6, Dennis seems reluctant to grant Inna's recruitment. His lack of response is noticeable. (Not shown in this extract is how Dennis provides several reasons why he cannot go.) Inna, however, keeps insisting on his participation by repeating her recruitment turn. Dennis and Kostia do end up joining Pavel and Julija in their trip to the brook.

Occasionally, Russian imperatives are combined with particles. For instance, the recruitment discussed in Extract 3. contains the sentence-initial particle *nu* (*nu Marish, pusti: ejo, ja pa- pae:m spako:jna*. "Sweet Marina, let her go, I'll finish eating in peace"). This particle has multiple functions, one of conveys insistence on carrying out the requested action (Bolden 2017; 2011). Imperatives can also sometimes be preceded by the particle *na*. This particle is also encountered as a stand-alone directive. In spoken Russian it conveys the meaning of 'take', as shown in Extract 11. In this example, Fyodor and Inna are visiting their daughter Nadya and Nadya's baby daughter. Inna is entertaining the baby while Nadya is involved in conversation.

(11) Granddaughter\_605308

► N na daj yej von vazachku ana budit sidet' s nej  
PCL give her PCL vas.DIM she will be sit.INF with her  
take {this}, give her this little basket she'll be sitting with it

[((puts the basket with sweets in toddler's hands))

(0.3)

na.  
PCL  
PCL  
idi ba:be (0.1) ba:bu ugashiaj kanfetkami  
go grandmother.DAT grandmother.ACC treat.IMP.IMPV sweets.INSTR  
go grandmother(.) treat grandmother with sweets

▷ I ((returns the basket on the table))

## 9 Recruiting assistance in Russian



Figure 14: Nadya lifts the basket from the table to give it to the child.

Nadya's recruitment is directed towards Inna: *na daj yej von vazachku ana budit sidet's nej* 'take {this} give her this little basket, she'll be sitting with it'. Nadya starts her request with the particle ***na***, with meaning of 'take'. This complex recruitment combines actions *take* and *give*.

Another imperative type makes use of a double verb construction, where the first verb has a frozen imperative form and the second denotes the required action (for a similar double imperative in Polish, see [Bolden forthcominga](#)). The construction in Russian combines the verb 'give' with a relevant action verb. Its use is shown in Extract 3.3.1. Participants in this interaction are friends who have gathered at Ksenia's apartment for dinner and drinks. Ksenia's elderly mother enters the room, where people are seated, and makes a recruitment for Ksenia.

(12) 20110813\_School\_Friends\_2\_618255a

- |          |   |
|----------|---|
| M        | Ksiush [pirashki-                                 |
|          | name.VOC pastries                                 |
|          | Ksenia, pastry                                    |
| K        | [Vo:f   |
|          | name.VOC  |
| ► M Vova |   |
|          | ty davaj vyzyvaj etaj (.) gazafshi:cu [nu-,       |
|          | you give.IMP call.IMP.IMP.FV DEM.F gas.worker PCL |
|          | Go ahead, call the gas worker                     |
| ▷ K      | [nu xva:tit                                       |
|          | PCL enough  |
|          | Enough {already}                                  |
|          | [((waves with her hand))                          |

*Julija Baranova*



Figure 15: Mom's recruitment for Ksenia to make a call.

M	kak	su:xə	ta
	how	dry	PCL
But how dry			

Mom's request at line 3 *ty davaj vyzyvaj etaj (.) gazafshi:cu nu-*, "Go ahead call the gas worker" consists of the frozen imperative *davaj* combined with the imperative verb expressing the required action *vyzyvaj* 'call'. In this context, where no object transfer is involved, *davaj* loses its independent meaning of *giving* and comes to mean 'come on' or 'go ahead'. Mom's request to call gas services is met with obvious resistance from her daughter Ksenia: she says '*enough {already}*' and literally waves the recruitment away. After this response, mom supports her recruitment with a reason: *but how dry*. As becomes clear from the unfolding conversation, she is talking about the pastry that was made on that day which turned out dry due to presumed problems with the gas.

For interrogative constructions Russian mainly relies on prosody along with the use of in situ question words and particles. An imperative construction can be turned into an interrogative one by means of intonation, which can be applied at the relevant unit anywhere in the utterance. This leads to a hybrid recruitment format containing both imperative and interrogative features. Such imperatives can be found in Extracts 2, 8, and 10. The recruitment in Extract 2. involves falling intonation on the word 'give': *↑daj lo:shku druguju pazhalusta* 'give me another spoon, please'. In Extract 8. the interrogation is done with the final particle *a?* uttered with a rising intonation: *Sash palazhi, mne na ku:rtku a?* 'Sasha, put (it) on my jacket, eh?' These cases can be contrasted with the imperatives containing no interrogative features in Extracts 3, 6, 7, 11, 12.

## 9 Recruiting assistance in Russian

So, even though imperatives are used in Russian in a wider range of contexts than for instance in Italian or English, the Russian system of imperatives might show greater diversity, involving aspectual pairs (imperfective and perfective), distinction in number (singular and plural), the use of interrogative features and diminutive particles on the verb (see §3.4.1).

### 3.3.2 Interrogatives

Although imperatives can be considered a default way of recruiting assistance in Russian, interrogatively formatted recruitments are also found. In the next example, Ksenia is visiting her friend Sasha. Ksenia asks whether Sasha will let out a guest who is already in the corridor and about to leave.



Figure 16: Ksenia is pointing towards the corridor.

(13) 20110826\_Old\_friends\_A\_2\_66555

K ((points towards the corridor))

(0.3)

pra^vodish=

let\_out.FUT.2SG

Will you let {her} out?

SAS =uhum,=

Uhum

= ((leaves the room to let the guest out))

First Ksenia points to the door. When there is no response, she asks 'Will you let {her} out?' This recruitment has an interrogative format. Similarly-formatted recruitments in English (using 'would/will you?') tend to occur when there are

*Julija Baranova*

perceived contingencies or obstacles to compliance, and where the person who issues the recruitment has a low degree of entitlement to do so (Curl & Drew 2008a). In this case, Ksenia's entitlement is an issue. By asking whether Sasha—the host—will let a guest out implies that Sasha has failed in her responsibilities as a host. Ksenia is a guest here and her entitlement to make such a recruitment is arguably low.

In another type of interrogative strategy, wh-questions can be used to recruit assistance. In the following extract several girlfriends are looking at Sasha's photographs. Ksenia is curious about the photographs that Sasha and Lida are talking about.



Figure 17: Lida is demonstrating the photograph in her hands to Ksenia.

(14) Old\_friends\_B\_1\_302784

- K chio tam?  
what there  
What's there?
- L u tibia ^dve takix?  
with you.GEN two.F such  
do you have two of these?
- S nave:rna u minia vot-  
probably with I.GEN PCL  
probably, I have-
- K kakie paka[zhi,  
which.Q.PL show.IMP.PFV.SG  
which ones show {me}
- ▷ L [((looks at Ksenia and turns the photograph so that it is facing Ksenia))
- S [katorye vo:t ana ( ) tozhe eta na ploshidi

## 9 Recruiting assistance in Russian

Sasha and Lida are talking about one of Sasha's pictures that Lida is holding in her hands. Already at line 1, Ksenia expresses her interest in the pictures by asking: *what's there?* This interest becomes even clearer when Ksenia makes her recruitment at line 4 using the interrogative *which one show {me}*. Ksenia is entering into someone else's currently proceeding conversation. This justifies the interrogative contraction she uses. This recruitment receives successful compliance: Lida turns the photograph around so that it is visible for Ksenia.

### 3.3.3 Declaratives

We have seen that sometimes participants in interaction notice that someone is in need of help and they offer practical assistance without being explicitly asked to do so (see Extract 4). In other cases, the need for help might not be that apparent and the nature of the trouble needs to be verbalized. This is demonstrated by the following extract from an interaction between family members who gathered at Nina's place. Inna is holding Nadya's baby on her lap when Nadya makes her recruitment.



Figure 18: Nadya tells Inna than her baby is chewing on a napkin.

(15) Family\_dinner\_B\_2\_649099

- N ma:m ana salfetku von zhujot  
mama.VOC she napkin.ACC there chew.3SG  
Mom, she's chewing on the napkin
- ▷ I ((leans her head towards the baby))

*Julija Baranova*

((to the baby)) e:  
INTJ  
Hey  
(0.4)  
(to the baby)) e:  
INTJ  
Hey  
((removes the napkin from baby's hands))

Instead of instructing Inna to remove the napkin from her baby's mouth, Nadya simply describes the problem that needs to be addressed: 'she's chewing on the napkin'. Inna responds by leaning towards the child and removing the napkin. Nadya's recruitment is indirect as it does not explicitly ask for any assistance and does not specify the practical action required from the recipient (Brown & Levinson 1987). Inna, however, acts immediately and removes the napkin from the baby. In this way, recruitments of the trouble-assist kind and declarative recruitments of the kind shown in Extract 15 are similar. Seeing the trouble and being able to act upon it seems sufficient in order to step in and solve the problem. Note that Nadya is the one facing the child and has better visual access to the baby's behaviour than Inna does. On the other hand, Nina is in a better position to solve the problem because she is the one closest to the baby.

Another way of conveying that some action is required is to state that it 'needs' to happen (see Zinken & Ogiemann 2011 on the same in Polish). At a memorial dinner, with the entire family present, Pavel's daughter Lena asks whether it is necessary to eat the rice porridge. In what follows, Pavel is trying to convince her to eat the porridge that is traditionally consumed at memorials.



Figure 19: Pavel is serving his daughter some porridge.

## 9 Recruiting assistance in Russian

(16) memorial\_1\_424599

- L a chio mnoga kashi nada syest'-ta?  
 PCL what a.lot porridge need.MOD eat.INF-PCL  
 Do (you) need to eat a lot of porridge?
- P ne:t
- P Le:n. (.) hm (.) nada abiza:til'na=  
 name.VOC need.MOD necessarily  
 Lena (.) hm (.) one necessarily needs
- =etu vot kashu sjest'  
 DEM PCL porridge eat.INF.PFV  
 to eat this porridge (0.7)
- [lozhichku  
 spoon.DIM.ACC  
 a little spoon
- [((scoops some rice with a spoon))  
 ((brings the spoon to Lena's [plate]))
- [lo:zhichku fsio ravno nada  
 spoon.DIM.ACC anyway need.MOD

A little spoon is still necessary

Rice porridge is traditionally served at Russian memorial dinners, preferably with raisins. When Pavel's daughter expresses her reluctance to eat it, he tries to persuade her in doing so. He uses an impersonal *nada* 'one needs' when doing so (line 3). This is similar to the Polish *trzeba* (Zinken & Ogiermann 2011). Pavel combines the impersonal imperative with the specific person reference *Lena* (line 3). The use of this person reference is pragmatically marked because the addressee should already be clear here (as Pavel is responding directly to Lena's question). His response conveys the general requirement to eat the porridge, thus implying that Lena specifically must eat it. Pavel even uses *nada abizatil'na* (line 3) 'one necessarily needs', which further emphasises the strength of his statement. He also takes the liberty of serving his daughter some porridge without securing her acceptance. This is another piece of evidence that Pavel considers eating rice porridge to be an obligation in this context, regardless of a person's own wishes. Pavel does, however, orient to the girl's reluctance to eat the porridge by using the diminutive *lozhichku* 'a little spoon'. This makes clear that although not eating the porridge is out of the question, it would be sufficient to eat only a little bit (line 6).

To summarise this section, we have seen that Russian recruitments come in four main linguistic formats. Imperatives form the most widely used format, followed by no-predicate constructions, declaratives, and interrogatives. Russian imperatives come in aspectual pairs: perfective and imperfective. They also have singular and plural forms. Declarative recruitments can be similar to recruitments of the trouble assist type. Declaratives often verbalise a trouble while

*Julija Baranova*

trouble-assist recruitments feature a trouble that is obvious in the context, without being verbalised.

### 3.4 Additional verbal elements

The core elements of a linguistically-formulated recruitment turn (i.e., a predicate with its core arguments) can be complemented by additional verbal elements, among which are vocatives (see Extracts 3, 8, 9, 10, 15, 16 for illustrations), benefactive markers (“*You may do {some} serving for me please*” from Extract 9), reasons (see Extracts 2 and 3 above, and §3.4.2, below), and mitigators. In the next subsection, I will focus on verbal elements that mitigate the recruitment turn and explain it.

#### 3.4.1 Mitigators

Recruitments always involve some degree of imposition on recipients. Because of the potential threat to ‘face’ and to the social relationships at hand, recruiters sometimes use ways of mitigating the potential imposition of their recruitments (Brown & Levinson 1987). Here I present several strategies.

The following extract features two types of mitigation: one is marked on the noun and one on the imperative form of the verb. Vladimir and his wife Julia have their family over for food and drinks. At line 2 Vladimir produces a recruitment directed at Julia: *daj-ka riumki nam* ‘give us {some} glasses’.



Figure 20: Vladimir makes a recruitment for Julia.

(17) cooking\_3\_226998

## 9 Recruiting assistance in Russian

- (1.9)
- V daj-ka [riumki nam  
give-PCL glasses.ACC we.DAT  
give us {some} glasses
  - J [((looks at Vladimir))  
(0.3)
  - [s pamidorchikam  
with tomato  
with a little tomato
  - ▷ J [((opens the kitchen cabinet and gets several glasses))

The imperative *daj* 'give' is accompanied by the diminutive particle *-ka* that makes the action sound more casual and low-cost. Possibly in response to Julia's absence of immediate response at the ensuing transition relevant place (line 4), Vladimir increments his recruitment turn by adding *s pamidorchikam* 'with a little tomato'. The diminutive *s pamidorchikam* (as opposed to the regular *s pamidoram*) attenuates Julia's effort in serving the vegetable (Ogiermann 2009).

We saw this strategy in 3.3.3 as well, in which Aleksander is persuading his daughter to eat rice porridge: *lo:zhichku fsio ravno nada* 'A little spoon is still necessary'. The diminutive *lozhichku* minimises the effort that his daughter would have to make in order to comply – to eat a 'little spoon' as opposed to the non-diminutive *lozhku* 'spoon'.

In addition to using a diminutive on the noun referring to an object being requested, recruiters can use a diminutive address term as an expression of their affection for the recipient. This may serve as a way of downplaying the recruiter's desire to impose. We saw this in Extract 2.3, in which Marina was visiting her mother-in-law, Anna. In Anna's recruitment "*nu Marish, pusti: ejo, ja pa- pae:m spako:jna*", "Sweet Marina, let her go {so that}I finish eating in peace", the name Marina is rendered in the diminutive form *Marisha*. In addition to the affectionate vocative, Anna provides a reason for her recruitment. This is another mitigating device, discussed in the next section.

### 3.4.2 Reasons

Complementing a recruitment with a clause that offers a reason for why the recruitment was made, goes beyond mere mitigation of the recruitment (e.g. Parry 2013; Waring 2007). The current sample counts twenty-one recruitment sequences in which the recruiter gives a reason in support of the recruitment. Reasons for casual recruitments in the Russian sample deal with 1) informationally underspecified recruitments, 2) with delicate recruitments, and 3) with re-

*Julija Baranova*

cruitments performing actions beyond recruiting alone, for instance joking and complaining (Baranova & Dingemanse 2016). I now give examples of reasons supplied in the contexts of an underspecified recruitment and a delicate recruitment.

Extract 18 illustrates a recruitment sequence where the reason adds information that is crucial for compliance. Several family members are having dinner together on the porch of a country house. One of them, Julija, has gone outside to take some photos. She is a guest visiting from abroad. Julija's uncle, Pavel, was sleeping when Julija left the table. So, at the beginning of this extract, he is unlikely to be aware of Julija's whereabouts.



Figure 21: Pavel has just put his jacket on to go outside.

(18) Family\_dinner\_Country\_A2\_876874

P ((joins the others at the table after being outside))

Dozhdik zamarasil [u vas  
rain.DIM drizzle.PST.PFV with you.PL  
It has started drizzling in your {village}

► L [pasmatri, =  
look.IMP.PFV.2SG  
Take a look

vyjdi iz-za: ako:li-=  
go\_out.IMP from fen-  
go out behind the fen-,  
= eh eta samee Julia pashla (pa-moemu) snimat',  
PCL PCL Name went (according to me) record.INF  
uhm Julija went to take pictures, I think  
(0.3)

▷ P shias (pajdu)  
now go.FUT.1SG  
In a bit (I'll go)

## 9 Recruiting assistance in Russian

(0.8)

LID [pajdiosh?  
go.FUT.2SG  
You will go?  
PAV [((goes into the house))  
(19.8)  
PAV ((returns to the porch with his jacket on))  
((goes outside where he meets Julija))

When Pavel returns from outside, Lida addresses him with her recruitment: '*Take a look go out behind the fen-.*' This recruitment instructs Pavel to go outside, which is in conflict with Pavel's own observation that it is raining out there (line 1). Lida's recruitment is also lacking information on what Pavel has to do once he is outside. Immediately, Lida provides a reason that deals with these issues: '*uhm Julija went to take pictures, I think*'. This reason refers to Julija who is out in the rain. She is a family member who is visiting from abroad. The family does not see her often in person, which makes her an honoured guest. Pavel agrees to comply at line 7 with *shias (pajdu)* 'in a bit (I'll go)'. After getting his jacket, he leaves the porch to find Julija outside.

The previously discussed Extract 3 also contains a reason: '*Sweet Marina, let her go, {so that} I finish eating in peace*'. The given reason '*{so that} I finish eating in peace*' deals with the delicacy of the requested action. It implies that finishing the dinner in peace is incompatible with the presence of the dog at the table. Marina orients to this negative implication with a counter-reason '*we aren't doing anything to you*'.

This section has discussed additional verbal elements used to mitigate and explain recruitments in the Russian sample. Russian vocatives, imperatives, and nouns can be given in diminutive form. Recruiters can also increase the chances of compliance by adding a reason to their recruitments. Reasons supply information necessary for compliance or explain a recruitment that is otherwise unclear, delicate, or imposing.

## 4 Formats in Move B: the response

After having discussed recruitment turns, I now present the types of response that they receive. Most recruitments in the Russian sample are complied with (see Table 4). As compliance often involves some practical action, most responses are

*Julija Baranova*

nonverbal: 145 recruitments had an entirely nonverbal response<sup>1</sup>. In three cases, the recipient's response was not visible or hearable. In the remaining 52 recruitments, the response involved a relevant verbal element. Such verbal responses in move B can co-occur with compliance, but are sometimes indicative of rejection or delay in compliance. In what follows, I demonstrate several response types in recruitment sequences.

Table 4: Compliance, rejection, and other response types in the Russian sample per recruitment format (n=159) Nonverbal recruitments and recruitments of the trouble assist type are not included in this table.

Response types	Declarative recruitment	Imperative recruitment	No predicate recruitment	Interrogative recruitment
Compliance	11	56	17	6
Ignorance	4	20	5	4
Rejection	0	14	1	3
Repair	0	5	0	0
Other <sup>a</sup>	3	5	2	3

<sup>a</sup>The category 'other' involves cases where the response is not clear or does not fit the above-mentioned categories.

#### 4.1 Compliance

Compliance is usually evident from recipients' nonverbal behaviour: they hand an object to a recruiter, perform a service, or cease/ alter their on-going behaviour (see Extracts 1, 6, 8, 9, 13, and 16). Occasionally, verbal elements complement such nonverbal responses.

Sometimes recipients' response to a recruitment is a verbal expression of their commitment to comply, prior to the actual compliance. Consider again Extract 13. Ksenia and Sasha were in the kitchen, where Lena asked Sasha to let a guest out. Sasha first responded to the recruitment with the confirmative expression *uhum* and then displayed behaviour consistent with this: she left the kitchen and went to the corridor to let a guest out. In this case, leaving the kitchen by itself may not be a clear indication of compliance since her behaviour is not visible once

---

<sup>1</sup>In thirty-nine of these recruitments the recruitee did produce a verbal message at the same time as the nonverbal response to the recruitment, but it was irrelevant to the on-going recruitment sequence.

## 9 Recruiting assistance in Russian

she leaves the kitchen. So, Sasha's confirmation helps to convey to the recruiter Ksenia that she will indeed comply.

We saw a similar response in Extract 18. In response to Lida's recruitment: '*Take a look go out behind the fen-*', Pavel displays his commitment to comply at line 7 with *shias* (*pajdu*): literally, 'now (I will go)'. The Russian word *shias* (now) is used to indicate unstable and still changeable time in the present and can also be translated as 'in a bit (I'll go)'. Basically, Pavel indicates he will comply in the very near future. Instead of immediately going outside, he goes into the house to get his jacket. The verbal element *sejchas* (*pajdu*) was necessary to make it clear that he would carry out the recruitment when his actual behaviour could have been interpreted as noncompliance.

### 4.2 Noncompliance

In the Russian sample rejecting a recruitment was never done with a simple no-response. Rejection was usually achieved by counter proposals and the giving of reasons why compliance would not take place.

Consider Extract 3. again.

Anna asks Marina to take the dog away from the table so that she could finish eating in peace. Marina does not comply, but instead she gives a counter reason, i.e. a reason not to comply: '*we're not doing anything to you*'. Marina keeps holding the dog on her lap for at least five more minutes. Another, even less direct strategy for noncompliance is to ignore the recruitment, to make no response to it either way, as is seen in Extract 19. In this example, several school custodians gathered for lunch in their staff room. Vera issues a recruitment to Anna while Marina and Lena are involved in a conversation of their own.

(19) 20120120\_colleagues\_casual\_2\_339070

- A ((is standing in front of the open closet))
- V [grenki tam eshio [dastan'  
breadsticks there also take\_out.IMP.PFV.SG  
Also get the bread sticks out
- L [a?  
INTJ
- M Ha?  
ni uexala eshio?  
NEG went\_away yet  
Hasn't she left yet?
- L kto?  
who  
Who?  
(0.7)
- A ((opens up the closet))=

*Julija Baranova*



Figure 22: Vera issues a recruitment to Anna.

```

M   = ((finger [point towards the wall behind her])
V           [Sasha padi      tozhe payest =
            name   probably also   eat.FUT.3SG
            Sasha will probably also have {some}
L   = dir^ektar
            director
            The director?
(0.4)
[.hhh ana- ushla      v-      ushli      ani s      Lugaevaj
            she went_away.F in/to went_away.PL they with Surname
.hhh she left to-, she left with Lugovaya.
A   [((is looking into the closet and takes out two bowls))

```

At line 2 Vera issues a recruitment to Anna: ‘*Also get the bread sticks out*’. Anna is standing in front of the closet—where the breadsticks are—ready to take something out of it. So, she is the most suitable person to get the breadsticks. However, she does not respond to Vera’s recruitment and seems to be looking in Marina’s direction instead. Vera pursues her recruitment at line 9 by offering a reason for it: ‘*Sasha will probably also have {some}*’. After this, Anna still shows no signs of compliance, but Vera does not pursue it anymore. Of course, it may be that Anna has simply failed to notice or register the recruitment. But in this case, the recruiter does not treat absence of Anna’s response as a problem of hearing or registering the recruitment by producing a simple repetition of the recruitment. Instead, Vera offers a reason. There is still no response from Anna and the recruitment remains unfulfilled. Instead of getting the breadsticks, Anna takes two bowls out of the closet (line 13).

On several occasions, a recipient initiates repair in response to a recruitment as

## 9 Recruiting assistance in Russian

in Extract 2, where Katya asked Maria to give her another spoon. Maria's initial response was a repair initiation: '*a spoon? another one?*' It seems that the repair initiation is used here not only to indicate a problem of hearing, but also as a kind of challenge of Katya's recruitment, questioning whether the recruitment is necessary. Katya's response—explaining that the spoon she has is dirty—targets both potential readings of Maria's repair initiation.

In sum, most recruitments were complied with. Often, compliance involved nothing more than performance of the required practical action. Sometimes it also featured a verbal component, for example conveying the recipient's commitment to comply, before the complying behavior actually occurred. In non-compliance, verbal responses included initiating repair and giving reasons not to comply.

## 5 Acknowledgements

A recruitment sequence is a paired sequence consisting of the recruitment move and recipient's response to it. This sequence can potentially be extended with a 'sequence-closing third' (Schegloff 2007), in the form of an acknowledgement by the recruiter of the assistance provided, such as 'Thank you'. In only three out of 176 complied-with recruitments (2%) did the recruiter produce some kind of acknowledgement of recipient's efforts. On one occasion, the acknowledgement was the confirmative *uhum* and the two remaining the conventional expression of gratitude *spasibo* 'thank you/ thanks'. In casual interaction, it seems that expressing gratitude for compliance is a universally rare practice, with a minority of languages (including English and Italian) showing slightly greater frequency of occurrence (Floyd et al., submitted). [published]

## 6 Social asymmetries

The social action of recruiting assistance is sensitive to social asymmetries between the recruiters and recruits (Brown & Levinson 1987). Such asymmetries may be referenced through the format of the recruitment. So, recruiting assistance in the workplace may be done differently than in a casual setting (Corsaro 1977; Curl & Drew 2008a; Dixon 2015; Garvey 1975; Takada & Endo 2015). Also recruitments involving children are known to have different features from the ones that only involve adults (Drew & Heritage 1992). (Child-directed recruitments were not included in this study.)

*Julija Baranova*

Relative social status is difficult to operationalize. In this study, I took indicators of relative social status to be participants' ages, the kind of the relationship between them, and the way they address each other in the recording. In Russian culture, older people tend to be accorded a higher status. This is often expressed through the way they are addressed. Normally, a combination of their first name and their patronymic is used. Also, the use of the plural *vy* is preferred over the singular *ty*. However, if the older person is a close family relation, he or she can be addressed with the singular *ty* and the corresponding kin term, such as *grandmother*, sometimes in combination with person's first name, e.g. *aunt Olga*. When there is no apparent age difference between the recruiter and recruitee, I looked at the relationship between them. Friends, spouses, siblings, and in-laws were considered to be of an equal status when the participants were of an approximately same age. Such relationships are characterised by the use of the singular *you ty* and only first names when referring to or addressing each other.

Based on the features discussed above, Russian recruitments were divided into three categories: 1) participants of equal status ( $A=B$ ); 2) recruiter has higher status than recruitee ( $A>B$ ); and 3) recruiter has lower status ( $A<B$ ). The majority of recruitments in the Russian sample—sixty-one percent—involved participants that were in a socially symmetrical relationship (see Table 5). In thirty-five percent of cases the relationship between the participants was considered to be asymmetrical based on these criteria.

Table 5: Relative frequencies of dyads by type of social (a)symmetry,  
N=200.

(a)symmetry	# cases (n=200)	%
$A=B$	122	61
$A>B$	49	25
$A<B$	21	11
unclear	8	4

Social status did not have a straightforward effect on the type of response that recipients produced. Compliance, rejection, and non-response rates were relatively equally distributed across the (a)symmetry types. The main finding here is that if there are asymmetries, a recruitment is more likely to be issued in a downward direction. Recruitments made from a lower-status position were rare. This is in line with Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness: if the imposition is in an upward direction ( $A<B$ ), then there is a greater 'threat to face' than in other

## 9 Recruiting assistance in Russian

kinds of case (A>B, A=B). When the threat to face is higher, potential recruiters would be more likely not to carry out the face-threatening act at all, but instead to perform the desired action themselves, or to mobilise someone of a lower or an equal status for the task.

## 7 Summary

This chapter has presented an overview of recruitment practices in conversational Russian. Imperatives formed the most frequent linguistic format through which recruitment was carried out. This is in line with Bolden's (2017) conclusion that Russian imperatives are used in a wider range of recruitment contexts compared English and Italian. Moreover, Russian imperatives seem to form a diverse category. First, they feature an aspectual distinction into perfective and imperfective imperatives. Second, imperatively formatted recruitments can be produced with interrogative intonation and diminutive particles.

Similar to Italian (*bisogna*) and Polish (*trzeba*), declarative recruitments in the Russian sample may be done with an impersonal predicate *nada*, which can be translated into English as *one needs to or it is needed* (Zinken & Ogiermann 2011). In this manner, the speaker can frame the recruitment in terms of shared responsibilities that hold for the recipient, but also for the speaker and perhaps the entire community.

Russian has a rich diminutive morphology. Diminutive nouns, diminutive imperatives, and vocatives were observed in recruitment turns. These express speakers' affection for recipients, and may orient to the relationship between recruiter and recruitee. Diminutives can also be used to minimise the perceived imposition on recipients (see also Bolden 2017).

On the response side, overt rejections are dispreferred and purely nonverbal compliance is the most frequent response. Rejection is usually done through counter-proposals and reasons. Overt refusals to comply were not found in the sample. It is not clear from our sample whether social asymmetry affects the way the recruitment turn is formatted. Continued research on this question could potentially offer further insights into how recruitees are selected and how recruitment turns are carried out.

## References

- Baranova, Julija. 2015. *Other-initiated repair in Russian*. Open Linguistics, 1(1). <https://doi.org/10.1515/opli-2015-0019>.

Julija Baranova

- Baranova, Julija & Mark Dingemanse. 2016. Reasons for requests. *Discourse Studies* 18(6). 641–675. DOI:[10.1177/1461445616667154](https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445616667154)
- Benacchio, Rosanna. 2002a. Aspectual competition, politeness and etiquette in the Russian imperative. *Russian Linguistics* 26(2). 149–178.
- Benacchio, Rosanna. 2002b. Конкуренция видов, вежливость и этикет в русском императиве (aspectual competition, politeness and etiquette in the Russian imperative). *Russian Linguistics* 26(2). 149–178.
- Bolden, Galina. 2004. The quote and beyond: Defining boundaries of reported speech in conversational Russian. *Journal of Pragmatics* 36(6). 1071–1118. DOI:[10.1016/j.pragma.2003.10.015](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2003.10.015)
- Bolden, Galina. 2008. Reopening Russian conversations: The discourse particle -to and the negotiation of interpersonal accountability in closings: Re-opening Russian conversations. *Human Communication Research* 34(1). 99–136. DOI:[10.1111/j..2007.00315.x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j..2007.00315.x)
- Bolden, Galina. 2011. The discourse marker nu in Russian conversation. [http://www.researchgate.net/profile/Galina\\_Bolden/publication/276025012\\_Bolden\\_G.\\_B.\\_\(in\\_press\)\\_.The\\_discourse\\_marker\\_nu\\_in\\_Russian\\_conversation.\\_In\\_P.\\_Auer\\_\\_Y.\\_Maschler\\_\(Eds.\)\\_Nu\\_and\\_its\\_RELATIVES\\_A\\_discourse\\_marker\\_across\\_the\\_languages\\_of\\_Europe\\_and\\_beyond.\\_Berlin\\_Walter\\_de\\_Gruyter/links/554dff9e08ae739bdb8f20bb.pdf](http://www.researchgate.net/profile/Galina_Bolden/publication/276025012_Bolden_G._B._(in_press)_.The_discourse_marker_nu_in_Russian_conversation._In_P._Auer__Y._Maschler_(Eds.)_Nu_and_its_RELATIVES_A_discourse_marker_across_the_languages_of_Europe_and_beyond._Berlin_Walter_de_Gruyter/links/554dff9e08ae739bdb8f20bb.pdf). In workshop “Language Contact in Pragmatics”, Villa Vigoni, November.
- Bolden, Galina. 2017. Requests for here-and-now actions in Russian conversation. In M. L. Sorjonen, E. Couper-Kuhlen & L. Raevaara (eds.), *Imperative turns at talk: The design of directives in action*, vol. 30, 175–211. Amsterdam, NJ: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Bolden, Galina B. forthcominga. Nu-prefaced responses in Russian conversation. In J. Heritage & M.-L. Sorjonen (eds.), *At the intersection of turn and sequence: Turn-initial particles across languages*, vol. 20, 35–61. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. Retrieved from <https://benjamins.com/catalog/ds.20.04zin>.
- Brown, Penelope & Stephen C. Levinson. 1987. *Politeness: Some universals in language usage* (Studies in Interactional Sociolinguistics 4). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Corsaro, William A. 1977. The clarification request as a feature of adult interactive styles with young children. *Language in Society* 6(2). 183–207. DOI:[10.1017/S0047404500007247](https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500007247)
- Craven, Alexandra & Jonathan Potter. 2010. Directives: Entitlement and contingency in action. *Discourse Studies* 12(4). 419–442. DOI:[10.1177/1461445610370126](https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445610370126)

## 9 Recruiting assistance in Russian

- Curl, Traci S. & Paul Drew. 2008a. Contingency and action: A comparison of two forms of requesting. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 41(2). 129–153.
- Curl, Traci & Paul Drew. 2008b. Contingency and action: A comparison of two forms of requesting. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 41(2). 129–153.  
DOI:[10.1080/08351810802028613](https://doi.org/10.1080/08351810802028613)
- Davidson, Judy. 1984. Subsequent versions of invitations, offers, requests and proposals, dealing with actual or potential rejection. In J. M. Atkinson & J. Heritage (eds.), *Structures of social action: Studies in conversation analysis*, 102–128. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dixon, Sally. 2015. Gimme! Gimme! Gimme!: Object requests, ownership and entitlement in a children's play session. *Journal of Pragmatics* 82. 39–51.  
DOI:[10.1016/j.pragma.2015.03.009](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2015.03.009)
- Drew, Paul & John Heritage. 1992. *Talk at work: Interaction in institutional settings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Garvey, Catherine. 1975. Requests and responses in children's speech. *Journal of Child Language* 2(1). 41–63. DOI:[10.1017/S030500090000088X](https://doi.org/10.1017/S030500090000088X)
- Hawkins, John A. 1983. *Word order universals*. New York: Academic Press.
- Jefferson, Gail. 1987. On embedded and exposed correction in conversation. In G. Button & J. R. E. Lee (eds.), *Talk and social organization* (pp. 86–100. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Ogiermann, Eva. 2009. Politeness and in-directness across cultures: A comparison of English, German, Polish and Russian requests. *Journal of Politeness Research. Language, Behaviour, Culture* 5(2). 189–216.
- Parry, Ruth. 2013. Giving reasons for doing something now or at some other time. *Research on Language & Social Interaction* 46(2). 105–124.  
DOI:[10.1080/08351813.2012.754653](https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2012.754653)
- Pomerantz, Anita. 1984. Pursuing a response. In J. M. Atkinson & J. Heritage (eds.), *Structures of social action: Studies in conversation analysis*, 152–163. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Robinson, Jeffrey D. & Galina B. Bolden. 2010. Preference organization of sequence-initiating actions: The case of explicit account solicitations. *Discourse Studies* 12(4). 501–533. DOI:[10.445610371051](https://doi.org/10.445610371051)
- Rossi, Giovanni. 2012. Bilateral and unilateral requests: The use of imperatives and Mi X? Interrogatives in Italian. *Discourse Processes* 49(5). 426–458.  
DOI:[10.1080/0163853X.2012.684136](https://doi.org/10.1080/0163853X.2012.684136)
- Rossi, Giovanni. 2014. When do people not use language to make requests? In Paul Drew & Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen (eds.), *Requesting in social interaction*,

Julija Baranova

- 303–334. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. Studies in Language and Social Interaction.
- Rossi, Giovanni. 2015. *The request system in Italian interaction*. Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A. 2007. *Sequence organization in interaction: A primer in conversation analysis*. Vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A., Gail Jefferson & Harvey Sacks. 1977. The preference for self-correction in the organization of repair in conversation. *Language* 53(2). 361–382.
- Takada, Akira & Tomoko Endo. 2015. Object transfer in request? Accept sequence in Japanese caregiver? Child interactions. *Journal of Pragmatics* 82. 52–66. DOI:[10.1016/j.pragma.2015.03.011](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2015.03.011)
- Tomlin, Russell S. 1986. *Basic word order: Functional principles*. London: Croom-Helm.
- Waring, Hansun Zhang. 2007. The multi-functionality of accounts in advice giving. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 11(3). 367–379.
- Zinken, Jörg & Eva Ogiemann. 2011. How to propose an action as objectively necessary: The case of Polish *Trzeba x* ('one needs to x'). *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 44. 263–287. DOI:[10.1080/08351813.2011.591900](https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2011.591900)

## Chapter 10

# Recruiting assistance and collaboration in interaction: a West-African corpus study

Mark Dingemanse

Language and Cognition Department, Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics

Doing things for and with others is one of the foundations of human social life. This chapter studies a systematic collection of 207 requests for assistance and collaboration from a video corpus of everyday conversations in Siwu, a Kwa language of Ghana. A range of social action formats and semiotic resources reveals how language is adapted to the interactional challenges posed by recruiting assistance. While many of the formats bear a language-specific signature, their sequential and interactional properties show important commonalities across languages. Two tentative findings are put forward for further cross-linguistic examination: a “rule of three” that may play a role in the organisation of successive response pursuits, and a striking commonality in animal-oriented recruitments across languages that may be explained by convergent cultural evolution. The Siwu recruitment system emerges as one instance of a sophisticated machinery for organising collaborative action that transcends language and culture.

### 1 Introduction

Doing things for and with others is one of the foundations of human social life. The question of how we recruit assistance and collaboration has venerable roots in ethnography (Malinowski 1923; Frake 1964) and in the philosophical study of speech acts (Austin 1962; Searle 1969), yet it has only recently become possible to address it more systematically using records of actual behaviour in conversation (Drew & Couper-Kuhlen 2014). Here I study one of the most concrete forms of prosociality in everyday social interaction: recruitments, when someone gets



Mark Dingemanse. 2020. Recruiting assistance and collaboration in interaction: a West-African corpus study. In Simeon Floyd, Giovanni Rossi & N. J. Enfield (eds.), *Getting others to do things: A pragmatic typology of recruitments*, 359–410. Berlin: Language Science Press.

*Mark Dingemanse*

another to carry out a practical action for or with them. Examining the interactional practices by which people come to do things for and with each other contributes to our understanding of the role of language in human sociality.

Much prior work on requesting in social interaction has focused on how requests are shaped by participants' claims of entitlement (Heinemann 2006; Curl & Drew 2008), or how formats are selected depending on the degree of imposition on a recipient (Brown & Levinson 1978; Fukushima 1996). To bring out differences clearly, such analyses often contrast a small number of formats under large social or situational asymmetries. Complementing such approaches, this study presents a survey of the recruitment system of one language based on a systematic collection of 207 recruitment moves and responses from a corpus of informal conversation. By focusing on requests for practical actions, we can observe a range of factors that shape and constrain recruitments and their responses in everyday interaction.

One way of understanding the organization of verbal and nonverbal resources in recruitment sequences is as addressed to a set of interactional challenges. People have to reach a joint understanding of who will carry out the practical action and why; what exactly needs to be done and when; how to coordinate bodily behaviour and manipulate the physical environment; how to relate the desired action to preceding, ongoing and projected activities; and other contingencies that require some degree of implicit or explicit calibration (Clark 2006; Goodwin & Cekaite 2013; Enfield 2014). Elements of recruitment sequences appear to be adapted to these challenges, which provides us with a roadmap to the interactional practices surveyed in this chapter (Table 1).

Not all resources make their appearance in every recruitment sequence. When people are already in a dyadic interaction, close to each other, and involved in an activity with a projectable structure, a recruitment and its response can be minimal, even nonverbal (Rossi 2014). In other situations, interactional contingencies may need to be negotiated more explicitly, bringing a wider range of practices in play. In this way, the recruitment system provides for a flexible organisation of verbal and nonverbal resources adapted to the task of organising assistance and collaboration.

## 1.1 The Siwu language

Siwu is a Kwa language spoken north of Hohoe in Ghana's Volta Region. It has somewhere between 15.000 and 25.000 speakers depending on how the diaspora community is counted. This paper is based on Siwu as spoken in the village of Akpafu-Mempeasem. Siwu is a language in which grammatical relations are es-

## 10 Recruiting assistance and collaboration: a West-African corpus study

Table 1: Interactional challenges to be negotiated in recruitment sequences, along with some of the interactional practices mobilised to address them

	<i>Interactional challenge</i>	<i>Resources for participant A include</i>	<i>Resources for participant B include</i>
(i)	establishing addressee-ship	gaze, address terms, summonses, interjections	self-selecting, attending or ignoring
(ii)	impinging on freedom of action	invoking rights and duties by means of reasons and social roles; mitigating and strengthening; pursuing a response	assenting or resisting (if the latter, provide reasons)
(iii)	specifying desired action	formulating a request or noticing; pointing and placing; providing reasons	fulfilling; initiating repair; proposing another action
(iv)	coordinating physical presence	producing preparatory movements like holding out or reaching to receive	fulfilling; accounting for delay or inability
(v)	managing activity structure	formulating relation of request to current involvement; specifying consecutive actions; sequence closing thirds	verbally committing while finishing current activity

tablished primarily by word order (which canonically is SVO) along with an extensive system of noun classification and agreement. The earliest lexical records for the language date back to the late 19th century, and there are recent sketches of phonology, morphosyntax, and the repair system (Kropp Dakubu & Ford 1988; Dingemanse 2015).

Studies of informal social interaction in West African languages are rare, as linguists have traditionally privileged phonetics, phonology and morphosyntax over semantics, pragmatics and language use (but see Ameka 1991; Obeng 1999; Meyer 2010 for prior work on interactional routines in some West African languages). By describing practices of asking for assistance in Siwu, this paper contributes not only to the documentation of this language, but also to a larger pro-

*Mark Dingemanse*

gram of understanding how language is shaped by and for social interaction. As we shall see, interactional practices in a basic domain such as getting assistance combine universal structural properties with language-specific resources. So the practices and principles described here are of broad relevance to the cross-linguistic study of recruitments and of talk-in-interaction.

## 1.2 Data collection and corpus

This work is based on a video corpus of naturally occurring conversations in Siwu, collected from consenting participants over the period 2007–2013. The target behaviour was maximally informal social interaction: the primary ecology of language in use and the most promising baseline for cross-cultural comparison (Dingemanse & Floyd 2014). All of the recordings were made outdoors, where most social interaction between family and friends happens. The recordings cover dyadic as well as multi-party conversations between family and friends. To achieve a diverse and representative collection of recruitment sequences, multiple 10-minute stretches from a total of 11 different interactions were exhaustively sampled, amounting to a total of almost 3 hours of conversation in everyday settings.

A first sweep through this corpus identified a total of 389 candidate recruitments, which amounts to over 2 recruitments for every minute sampled. This includes 173 cases involving small children as recruiter or recruitee, reflecting the fact that children engage in interactive prosocial behaviour from a young age (Warneken & Tomasello 2013). Such recruitment sequences stand out from other cases in a number of ways, most striking among them a higher number of noticeably absent responses and concomitant response pursuits (see section §5).

To avoid skewing the sample and to maintain comparability with other languages, recruitment sequences involving small children were not included in the core collection for Siwu, leaving only sequences involving adults and children roughly from age eight onward (when they are clearly treated as having their own deontic authority, along with typical domestic rights and duties).<sup>1</sup> This leaves a core collection of 207 recruitment moves, resolving into 146 independent recruitment sequences. Even this conservative count finds roughly one recruitment move for every minute of conversation sampled, showing the fundamental importance of these interactional practices to social life.

---

<sup>1</sup>Any boundary drawn in order to achieve comparability will be arbitrary and debatable. §5 provides a view of excluded cases as well as some observations on notable differences.

## 2 Basics of recruitment sequences

There are many ways of arranging assistance in interaction, giving rise to a variety of terms and definitions in prior work. To achieve cross-linguistic comparability, the focus of this study is on conversational sequences where one participant *recruits* another to do something practical. The phenomenon of recruitment is defined as a sequence consisting of two moves (Rossi, Floyd, and Enfield this volume):

- **Move A:** participant A does or says something to participant B, or that B can see or hear
  - **Move B:** participant B does a practical action for or with participant A that is fitted to what A just did or said

This definition characterises the phenomenon as a conversational sequence, implying that a variety of semiotic resources may be used to implement it. The sequential nature of the definition means that we can use the *natural* or *sequential control method* (Dingemanse & Floyd 2014; cf. Zimmerman 1999) to locate comparable cases across settings and societies. The main focus is on practical actions in the here and now. Of course, people also recruit assistance or collaboration for matters not directly fulfillable (e.g., building a house or borrowing a car). These are beyond our horizon here, though they are likely to use substantially similar resources.

## 2.1 Minimal recruitment sequence

Many recruitment moves are minimally formatted and straightforwardly complied with. In (1), some women are checking some batches of rice (Figure 1). Eku asks Yawa to give her “the deep calabash one” (line 1), referring to some rice in a deep calabash resting at Yawa’s feet. She reaches out to receive it (line 2) in anticipation of Yawa handing it over (line 4). In this transcripts and most others below, the turns in focus are visually marked, distinguishing initiating and responsive moves where relevant.

(1) Maize1 6539207

► 1 EKU    kà su kabubu        amε      ire [tā mε lonyo].  
        ING take deep.calabash inside one let me 1SG:look  
        take the deep calabash one and let me see

2

[((reaches out for calabash,  
Figure1L))]

*Mark Dingemanse*

- 3 YAW àri abùà agbagba[rà] ló  
rice it:exceed it:IDPH.be.large FP  
this rice is really large-grained
- ▷ 4 [((takes calabash and hands it to Eku,  
Figure 1R))
- 5 EKU àba òrärä ànaà.  
it:have weight too  
It's heavy, too.



Figure 1: Recruitment by Eku (sitting right, line 1-2 in transcript); response by Yawa (line 4)

This recruitment is minimal in the sense that it consists of an initiating move (Eku's "take the deep calabash one and let me see", Figure 1L) and a single response (Yawa taking the calabash and handing it to Eku, Figure 1R). About two thirds of all independent recruitment sequences (102 out of 146) in the corpus have this kind of simple two-part structure of initiating move and response.

## 2.2 Non-minimal recruitment sequence

The complex interactional challenges at play in everyday recruitments are easy to overlook in minimal sequences, where a pre-existing shared focus of attention, physical co-presence, and activity structure conspire to enable a simple request that is immediately fulfilled. About one third of independent recruitment sequences (44 out of 146) take more than one attempt to reach completion. In such non-minimal sequences, the levels of coordination are pulled apart a bit, similar to the way in which an exploded-view diagram can show the elements and order of assembly of a complex piece of machinery.

Two common ways in which non-minimal sequences happen are (i) when a response to the recruitment is noticeably absent or delayed, which often results in the requester pursuing a response, and (ii) when a recruitee claims a problem of hearing or understanding and initiates repair. Extract (2) illustrates the first

## 10 Recruiting assistance and collaboration: a West-African corpus study

type (for the second type, see §4.2 below). Beatrice is cleaning some pots and pans while Afua, her mother, is holding Beatrice's infant. When the infant becomes increasingly restless, Afua asks Beatrice to wash her hands and take him over (line 1). Beatrice immediately provides an affirmative verbal response (line 2), but in the next 10 seconds appears to continue her current involvement, even taking up another pot to clean. This leads to multiple response pursuits by Afua (lines 5, 7) until Beatrice carries out the requested action.

### (2) Kitchen1\_1052883

- 1 AFU Beatrice fore nrɔ̄ si àba àakɔ̄ ū=  
PSN wash hands LNK 2SG:come 2SG:FUT:take him  
Beatrice wash your hands, so you can come and take him
- ▷ 2 BEA =ao  
yes  
yeah
- 3 AFU nɛ ɔ̄ ù bùa ose  
TP he.TP exceed 3SG:sit  
cause he's done sitting
- 4 (10.0) ((Beatrice takes up another pot and starts cleaning it))
- 5 AFU Beatrice me sɔ̄ fore nrɔ̄ si àba àa kɔ̄ ū  
PSN me says wash hands LNK 2SG:come 2SG:FUT take him  
si ɔ̄nyua kàku ɔ̄bbiε ló.  
LNK 3SG:stop cry crying FP  
Beatrice I said 'wash your hands so you can come and take him', so he'll stop crying
- ▷ 6 BEA aoo: ((speeds up and finishes cleaning, starts washing her hands))  
yes  
ye:s
- 7 AFU nɛ ɔ̄ ù bùa ose  
TP he.TP exceed 3SG:sit  
because he's done sitting
- 8 (37.0) ((Beatrice finds a towel, dries her hands, and walks towards Afua))
- ((baby cries))
- ▷ 9 BEA Ooo! ((picks up baby))  
EXCL  
Ooh!
- 10 (3.0) ((baby calms down))

This case illustrates a range of practices commonly used to manage the interactional challenges posed by recruitment sequences. For Afua, this includes using a proper name to secure joint attention (line 1), providing a reason that orients to Beatrice's current involvement (line 1), pursuing a response marked as a resaying (line 5), and invoking Beatrice's responsibilities for the task at hand (lines 3, 5). For participant Beatrice, this includes using an affirmative response to signal willingness to comply (lines 2, 6), visibly speeding up and shifting tasks to signal

*Mark Dingemanse*

imminent availability (line 6), and finally carrying out the requested action (line 9). All of the devices indicated here are discussed in more detail below.

That there are non-minimal sequences means that not all 207 recruitment moves in the core collection are independent events: some are pursuits of responses following problems in compliance or other-initiations of repair (in §5.1, I discuss an apparent limit to the number of pursuits observed). Where relevant, I make a distinction between *initial* (or *independent*) versus *subsequent* recruitment moves, and I reserve the term *recruitment sequence* for the full sequence, minimal or non-minimal, an initial recruitment move gives rise to.

## 2.3 Subtypes of recruitment sequences

The actions that recruitment moves aim for can be classified into types. Three common ones are (i) the transfer of an object from B to A, (ii) the provision of a service by B for A, and (iii) the alteration of a trajectory of action. We have seen an object transfer in (1), where a calabash changes hands, and a provision of a service in (2), where a mother is recruited to take care of her child. The notion of “service” is the broadest of the three and it is no surprise that this turns out to be the most frequent category in the corpus (Table 2).

Table 2: Target actions and their frequency in Siwu (counting only independent sequences)

Type	Count	Examples in this chapter
Transferring an object	16	(1), (9), (17), (18), (22), (27)
Providing a service	111	(2), (5), (6), (8), (15), (16), (19), (20), (21), (25), (28)
Altering a trajectory of action	19	(3), (13), (14), (26)

Extract (3) below illustrates the third type of recruitment, where one person asks another to alter an ongoing trajectory of behaviour. Yao and Afua are producing palm oil when Lucy stops by their compound to ask something (line 1, 4). She happens to position herself right before the camera. Yao draws attention to this and asks her to move aside.

### (3) Palmoil1\_1118517

- 1 LUC    ñdɔrẽ    kasorekõ    misee? ((positions herself in front of the camera))  
             firewood LOC:gather:place 2PL:go:Q  
             are y'all going to the firewood place?
- 2 YAO    m[m
- 3 AFU    [mm

## 10 Recruiting assistance and collaboration: a West-African corpus study

- 4 LUC mikelegu ile?  
2PL:go.with place  
where are you going to bring {it}?
- 5 YAO nyɔ́ àta àbɔ́rɛ gu fɔ́ εh ɔpò m̩mɔ́ nɛ həhəhəh  
look 2SG:PROG 2SG:move with your HES tub there TP [laughter]
- ndza marɔ́  
how 3PL:call  
look move away with your uh tub there həhəhəh whatd'youcallit
- ▷ 6 LUC ((steps aside and takes a look at the camera))
- 7 tħεt (.) tħah̪t

Yao's recruitment to "move away with your uh tub there" (line 5) is not a response to Lucy's question. Instead it launches a new course of action, with the turn preface "look" marking a departure from the current course of action (Sidnell 2007) and helping to redirect Lucy's attention to the camera, which is behind her. She turns around and takes a look at the camera (line 6), producing two high-pitched exclamations of surprise (line 7) which also claim unawareness of the situation and therefore serve to account for her prior actions.

The sequential definition of recruitments used here relies on the recognition of Move B as something practical for or with participant A. This opens the door to a further possible distinction with regard to how Move B arises. Often, it is prompted by an explicit recruitment in Move A, as we have seen in the examples so far. But it can also arise in anticipation of a current or imminent need. This is illustrated in (4). Emma, a blind woman, is inside a room while some others are chatting and preparing food outside. One of them, Aku, is sitting in the doorway. When it becomes clear that Emma is going to go outside (line 1), Aku stands up from the doorway to make way for her (line 4).

- (4) Compound4\_2054269
- 1 EMM [(audibly takes some shuffling footsteps toward doorway, Figure 2L)]
- 2 KOF [mmakosò  
kin.F.junior  
aunty
- 3 EMM °mmakosò [ɔbi°  
kin.F.junior child  
°aunty's child°
- ▷ 4 AKU ((looks over her shoulder and stands up,  
freeing doorway, Figure 2R))
- 5 KOF yara so  
brace self  
be careful

*Mark Dingemanse*

- 6 EMM ((takes further steps, stands still in doorway))
- 7 KOF nε gɔ̄ ata àba nε, ɔɔ ta ɔ nε-  
so how 2SG:PROG 2SG:come TP, 3SG:PF stand 3SG TP  
so because you're coming, she stood up-
- 8 EMM mm
- 9 KOF ū ɔre Akuvi ɔta i kayogodɔ.  
my wife PSN:DIM she:stand LOC doorway  
my dear Aku stood up from the doorway
- 10 EMM ((leans against portal and takes a careful step down))



Figure 2: Left: Aku sits in the doorway as Emma approaches from inside (line 1). Right: Aku stands up and frees doorway (line 4). Kofi is not visible in the frame.

Cases like this, in which someone responds to anticipated trouble, can be challenging to identify because the recruitment move itself is not on record: Emma does not ask Aku to get up. In this case, another participant happens to provide a running commentary that supports an analysis of this event as a recruitment. Kofi, a distant relative hanging around and engaging in occasional chats with the others, first cautions Emma to be careful stepping out the door, then describes what happened in causal and sequential terms, stating how one behaviour occasioned another: "so because you're coming, she stood up" (lines 7, 9). This comment glosses Aku's assistance as relevant and potentially expected given

## 10 Recruiting assistance and collaboration: a West-African corpus study

the context.

Fully nonverbal recruitments like this are in the minority (15 sequences in the Siwu corpus), and straddle the boundary between offers of help and responses to requests (Couper-Kuhlen 2014). One reason they are interesting is that off record cues may, over time, develop into conventionalised signals, and may come to be seen as part of an ordered paradigm of interactional practices (Manrique & Enfield 2015). For instance, on urban sidewalks, an audible footstep is often sufficient to ‘ask’ others to make space, and appears to be preferred over an explicit request, a format that tends to be reserved for subsequent attempts. In the following sections we will explore a range of formats that are more directly on record as requests for assistance or collaboration.

### 3 Formats in Move A: the recruitment

#### 3.1 Nonverbal behaviour in recruitments

Most recruitment moves are multimodal utterances composed of speech and bodily behaviour. The semiotic resources work in concert to convey the recruitment, with a division of labour appropriate to the affordances of each modality (Goodwin 2000; Clark 2012). Three common forms of nonverbal behaviour found in recruitments are (i) reaching to receive an object, illustrated in (1) above; (ii) holding out an object; and (iii) pointing, illustrated in the following case.

Eku is preparing food. Her teenage daughter Kpei has just come back from school and is standing next to the water tank. Eku starts with an imperative *su* ‘take’, then self-repairs to ask Kpei to check whether there is water in the tank. After receiving confirmation, she produces a complex recruitment that involves taking a container, filling it with water, pouring that water somewhere, then putting it on the fire (lines 3-6). The underspecification of the verbal content is made up for by a series of pointing gestures, three of which are illustrated in Figure 3.

#### (5) Maize3\_276559a

- 1 EKU su ε:. ndu pia mmo: ((points in direction of water tank))  
take HES water be there:Q  
take uh: is there water there?
- 2 KPE mm.  
INTJ  
mm.
- 3 EKU su fore si àsu eh gálon gangbe ((points to gallon, Figure 3A))  
take pour LNK 2SG:take HES gallon AGR:this  
take and pour- then take this gallon

*Mark Dingemanse*

- ▶ 4 si àfore ndu ((points to water, Figure 3B))  
LNK 2SG:pour water  
then pour some water
- 5 (0.4)
- ▶ 6 si àsu àssé aàsia òtò. ((points to fireplace, Figure 3C))  
LNK 2SG:take 2SG:set 2SG:FUT:put fire  
then put it on the fire



Figure 3: Pointing: “take this gallon” (line 3), “pour some water” (line 4), “put it on the fire” (line 6)

Besides the three consecutive pointing gestures, the sequence in (5) reveals a range of verbal elements that enter into the design of recruitments. To these we now turn.

### 3.2 Verbal elements: constructions for formulating recruitments

Recruitments come in different *formats*, conventionalised linguistic practices that deliver social actions (Thompson & Couper-Kuhlen 2005; Fox & Heinemann 2016). For recruitment turns that include a predicate, it is possible to distinguish between a number of constructions and grammatical moods (Table 3). There is a small number of recruitments that do not feature a predicate (for instance, combining “hey” with a pointing gesture to draw someone’s attention to an actionable matter), and in 11 mixed cases, formats are combined. The basic construction types reviewed here can further be enriched with a range of final particles and other elements, described in the next section.

As Table 3 shows, all construction types occur in initial as well as subsequent position. However, there are some patterns that suggest an ordering of resources. For instance, 7 out of 8 interrogatives are found in initial position (the sole subsequent case is a response pursuit that repeats an initial interrogative). So an interrogative is never selected as an upgrade of another format; but the opposite does occur, as when an initial interrogative is reformulated as a proposal in

## 10 Recruiting assistance and collaboration: a West-African corpus study

Table 3: Verbal formats of 172 recruitments (excluding 35 fully nonverbal cases)

FORMAT	INITIAL	SUBSEQUENT	TOTAL	EXAMPLES
Imperative	83	31	114	(3), (6)
<i>Si</i> -prefaced	10	3	13	(5), (14)
Declarative	6	5	11	(7), (8)
Interrogative	7	1	8	(9), (10)
Jussive	6	2	8	(11), (12)
No predicate	4	3	7	(20), (23)
Mixed	6	5	11	(1), (2)

(10) below. Conversely, some non-predicative formats like *anɔ*: “y’hear?” in (20) occur only in subsequent position, as a result of the fact that one can pursue a response to a recruitment by repeating only part of it – in this case, the final tag.

Linguistic labels such as those in Table 3 are employed here for ease of reference. However, the analysis of these formats below is focused more on understanding the interactional work done with these formats, each of which brings their own affordances for social action. To briefly preview the interactional work done with the main constructions: imperatives allow people to direct each other’s actions; *si*-prefaced recruitments present a requested action as a logical consequence; declaratives are noticing that present reasons for action; negative interrogatives mark deviations from expected courses of action; and jussives frame recruitments as suggestions for courses of action.

### 3.2.1 Imperative

The basic imperative in Siwu is simply the bare verb, usually morphologically unmarked for person and number, though occasionally, the plural prefix *mi*-‘2PL’ is encountered. Some imperatives feature just a verb phrase (*sa mà* ‘chase them away’, (6)), others add a beneficiary (*su tā me* ‘gimme back’, lit. ‘take give me’, (22)) or a more elaborate specification of the desired action (*ba fore me ndu* ‘come pour me water’, (21)). Serial verb constructions, as in the latter two examples, are common.

Although a plural form of the imperative does exist, most recruitments are unmarked for person or number, even when the requested action is taken up by multiple people. An example of this is in (6), where one participant notices some goats getting too close to the food and issues a directive to “chase them away”.

*Mark Dingemanse*

Her recruitment is unaddressed and unmarked for person or number, and is taken up by two people who are closer to the goats than she is (lines 5, 6).

(6) Cooking1\_1545188

- 1 ((goats approach food))
- 2 AFU sà ma  
chase them  
chase them {away}
- 3 (0.5)
- 4 AFU sà [ma  
chase them  
chase them {away}}
- ▷ 5 TAW [kai (0.4) [↑kai ((waves arm))  
INTJ INTJ  
kai (0.4) kai
- ▷ 6 ADZ [hí hí, hí, hí ↑híi↑ ((waves arm))  
INTJ INTJ INTJ INTJ INTJ  
hí hí, hí, hí ↑híi↑
- 7 ((goats flee the scene))

Imperatives are by far the most common construction type in the Siwu data, accounting for 59% of all recruitment moves and over 70% of recruitments featuring speech. As we will see below, there are several ways of designing imperative recruitments to specify consecutive actions (*si*-prefacing, §3.3.2) or to mark fine differences in stance or illocutionary force (final particles, §3.3.3).

### 3.2.2 Declaratives and interrogatives

Some recruitments in the collection come in the form of declaratives. All of them are noticing of some actionable event or matter that requires attention. In (7), two women are chatting while preparing food. Vicky is in the process of telling a story when she sees a chicken coming up behind Tawiya. She interrupts her telling mid-turn to tell Tawiya of the chicken, marking it as a piece of advice with the final particle *ló* (line 3), which results in Tawiya shooing away the chicken using the animal-oriented interjection *shue* (line 4). Without missing a beat, Vicky resumes the story by recycling material from the turn she abandoned (line 6).

(7) Compound4\_1600030

- 1 Vic ma- mase māmala ɔ ara ideye, māmala ɔ ara ideye,  
3PL 3PL:go 3PL:PST:store her things it:seems, 3PL:PST:store her things it:seems  
they they went and stored her things, they stored her things
- 2 si mānyɔ-  
LNK 3PL:PST:see  
then they saw-

## 10 Recruiting assistance and collaboration: a West-African corpus study

- 3        kɔkɔ́ to ɔki                                  mmo      ló ((bends forward))  
chick PROG 3SG:circle 3SG:hover:2SG.0 there FP  
a chicken is hovering around you there *ló*
- ▷ 4 TAW    [tshue:t ((moves to chase away chicken))  
    INTJ  
shoo!
- 5    ((chicken walks away))
- 6 VIC        si màanyo    Mercy ɔɔkpese                                  ɔkpa                  ànaà.  
LNK 3PL:PST:see PSN    3SG:PST:return 3SG:leave again  
then they saw Mercy had gone back and disappeared.

A similar case happens later in the same interaction, when Tawiya has put a pan on the fire next to her and Vicky sees it sliding from one of the firestones, at risk of toppling. Vicky notifies Tawiya by pointing out the trouble and Tawiya responds by righting the pan.

- (8) Compound4\_1655650
- 1    ((pan slides off one of the firestones))
- 2 VIC        kārā te    ituru. ((points to trouble))  
pan it:PROG it:tilt  
the pan is tilting
- 3 TAW        tmm̩t ((turns to look, repositions the pan))

In both cases, the declarative formatting is well-suited to deliver a verbal “noticing” of some actionable trouble which the other may not have noticed yet and is in a good position to resolve.<sup>2</sup>

Question-formatted recruitments are rare, and the most common type is a negative interrogative format. In (9), Dora spots somebody walking off and asks “hey, aren’t you bringing me water?” (line 1). The negative interrogative design lends the recruitment a complaining quality (Heinemann 2006) and appears to orient to a decreased likelihood of immediate fulfilment. Indeed, Efi indicates she will be going someplace else before coming back. Dora’s response provides further evidence of the complaint-like quality of the initial formulation: “it’s because of you this woman has not bathed yet”.

- (9) Maize1\_6136999

---

<sup>2</sup>A reviewer points out that the beneficiary of the target action here is not clearly the person producing the recruitment turn, making them akin to what Couper-Kuhlen (2014) has described as “suggestions”. However, such suggestions in Couper-Kuhlen’s English data are “likely to be resisted in everyday conversation” (2014: 635) and often have the other as the primary beneficiary; here, no such resistance is in evidence and the beneficiary is not self or other alone, but both.

*Mark Dingemanse*

- 1 DOR HÀÈ: AITÀ              Bɔ        MÈ NDU:  
INTJ 2SG:NEG:PROG bring me water:Q  
HEY AREN'T YOU BRINGING ME WATER?
- 2                                  (1.0)
- 3 EFI lose    kàto ngbe loba.  
1SG:go top here 1SG:come  
I'm going up, I'll be back
- 4                                  (1.3)
- 5 DOR ɔɔNYA              Fɔ    ɔɔ ɔRɔGO GɔNGBE      ÙIPIE              NDU  
2SG:PFV:see 2SG reason woman REL:here 3SG:NEG:bathe water  
you see it's because of you this woman has not bathed yet

In (10), it is approaching mealtime and Afua calls out to her fellow clan member Eku, asking “won't you eat food?”, the plural *mi* signalling that Eku is accompanied by others. When no response follows, she upgrades the recruitment, shifting from an interrogative to a jussive format, discussed in the next section. The recruitment goes ignored and is abandoned as the conversation lapses.

## (10) Cooking1\_1266243

- 1 AFU Daa    Eku (.) mìite              mìde        ara:  
sister PSN              2PL-NEG-PROG 2PL-eat thing  
Sister Eku (.) won't you eat food?
- 2                                  (0.4)
- 3 AFU mìba              mìade              adera.  
2PL:come 2PL:FUT:eat food  
you should come and eat food.
- 4                                  ((the interaction lapses))

## 3.2.3 Jussives

Recruitments can be formulated as proposals using the verb forms *ba* 'come' and *tā* 'give', which structurally can be characterized as jussives. The first is often heard in a formulaic proposal "come let's eat", routinely addressed towards passers-by when people are sharing a meal. In (11), Ruben invites Kodzo to share a meal, though Kodzo declines. This first person plural formulation is the most commonly encountered version of the *ba* 'let's' format; example (10) above provided a case of the second person plural version.

## (11) Compound4\_2048169

- 1 RUB kà ba    bòde        adera    ló  
ING come 1PL:eat food FP  
come let's eat *ló*
- 2 KOD oò,    mìla              i    mìo        ló.  
INTJ 2PL-hold LOC there FP  
oh, you just keep at it *ló*

## 10 Recruiting assistance and collaboration: a West-African corpus study

Another jussive format frames a recruitment as a proposal with a beneficiary, owing to the semantics of the *tā* auxiliary, derived from *tā* ‘give’. We’ve seen one example in (1), where the beneficiary is the recruiter herself (“let me look”). In (12), it is a third person (“let him sit by your side”). Evidence of the auxiliary status of *tā* comes from occurrence of negative forms like (13): “don’t let me get sore”. If *tā* were a bona fide verb here it would require the benefactive to follow immediately after it (*tā me* ‘give me’); instead, here it conveys a jussive sense “let {it}” and the main predicate is *bēberē* ‘burn, feel sore’.

- (12) Maize3\_673020 (see 20 for full sequence)

4 AKU	tā	ū	ɔse	i	fɔ	kɔrε.
	let	him	NOM-sit	LOC	2SG	side
						let him sit by your side.

- (13) Compound5\_366774

1 AKU	daa	tā	bēberē	me
	NEG	let	burn	me
			don’t let me get sore	

Interrogatives and jussives are typically classified as more indirect than imperatives, and prior work in cross-cultural pragmatics has revealed “a strong preference for conventional indirectness” in languages like English and German (Ogiermann 2009). In Siwu, by contrast, imperative constructions are the main workhorse for recruitments, and interrogatives and jussives play relatively minor roles. With imperatives, declaratives, interrogatives and jussives we have exhausted the basic grammatical distinctions made in recruitment predicates in Siwu.

### 3.3 Additional verbal elements

#### 3.3.1 Vocatives

One prerequisite for fulfilling a recruitment is that it has to be established who will do it. In multi-party interaction, vocatives –linguistic resources such as proper names and interjections used for addressing people– provide one way to address recruitments to specific participants and to get their attention. We saw this in earlier examples where recruitments are prefaced by proper names: “Beatrice wash your hands...” (2) and “Sister Eku, won’t you eat?” (10). In both cases, the recruitments happen in multi-party interaction, and the vocatives help cut across established participation frameworks and activities to address a specific recipient.

Proper names and other terms of address can also show up in summons-answer sequences preceding the recruitment. Though not an “additional element” in such

*Mark Dingemanse*

cases, I discuss them here because of the topical link to vocatives. An example is in (14) below. Bella calls her mother with “mama”, and after the answer, asks her to get up and sit elsewhere while preparing the food. A summons-answer sequence serves the role of establishing an open channel for interaction (Schegloff 1968). Other examples are in (15), (31), and (33).

(14) Cooking1\_1188540

- 1 BEL mama.
- 2 MUM  $\uparrow m$
- 3 BEL ta si àbara nε ngbe ((walks with a bench in direction of table))  
get.up LNK 2SG:do this here  
get up and do it here
- 4 MUM ((finishes her task of peeling cassava, then gets up and repositions herself))

Vocative interjections like ‘hey’ can be used in the same two sequential environments: as a summons separate from the recruitment turn, or an element of the recruitment turn. We saw an example of the latter in (9), where Dora addresses someone in the distance with “hey, aren’t you bringing me water?”.

### 3.3.2 Marking consecutive actions and giving reasons

Many recruitments in the collection begin with an imperative and specify a consecutive action that is introduced using a morpheme *si*, as in (2) “wash your hands *si* you come take him”. For this item, I adopt the term “linker” from Ameka’s 2008 analysis of Ewe *né*, a form with a similar range of uses. In (15), Eku asks her daughter Afua to take a broom and sweep the compound, introducing the second element of the action with *si* (line 3).

(15) Neighbours\_4593390

- 1 EKU Afua  
PSN
- 2 Afua  
(0.8)
- 3 EKU su ibubù si kà afifiε ngbe.  
take broom LNK IMM you:PLUR~sweep here  
Take a broom and sweep here.
- 4 AFU ((gets up to take broom))

In these and other examples, there is a complex recruitment turn specifying more than one action, where the first action (usually formatted as an imperative) appears to be a first step for later actions, and the later actions are introduced in a

## 10 Recruiting assistance and collaboration: a West-African corpus study

*si*-prefaced subordinate clause. In this context, it can often be translated as “then”, “so {that}” or “in order to” (Table 4). Sometimes the *si* clause is a component of the recruitment (as in “come take the child” or “sweep here”), while in other cases it need not be implemented by the recipient (“so that I can wash my hands”, “so that {he} be dressed”). What unites all cases is that *si* marks a consecutive relation in which one action follows another (with the first often addressing a precondition for the one introduced after *si*).

Table 4: First steps and consecutive actions in multipart recruitments

Example	FIRST STEP (imperative)	CONSECUTIVE ACTION ( <i>si</i> -prefaced)
(2)	wash your hands	come take the child
(14)	get up	{continue to} do it here
(15)	take a broom	sweep here
(21)	come pour me water	{so} I can wash my hands

A case discussed earlier (partly repeated as (16) below) provides a closer look at the relation between different stages of recruitments and the design of *si*-prefaced recruitment formats. In line 1, Eku first launches a bare imperative format, then self-repairs and turns it into a question about a necessary precondition: “take uh: is there water there?”. The self-repair reveals an orientation to the conditions necessary for granting the recruitment. Once it is clear that this condition is fulfilled, she goes on to formulate a recruitment turn combining an imperative and a *si*-prefaced target action (line 3). That turns out to be only the first in a series of actions requested of Kpei, all of them introduced with *si*-prefaced clauses: “*si* you take this gallon” … “*si* you pour some water” … “*si* you put it on the fire”. This supports the analysis of *si* as encoding consecutive actions. The consecutive recruitments all have irrealis mood and so can be described collectively as linked by a form of co-subordination, a situation similar to the linker *né* in Ewe (Ameka 2008).<sup>3</sup>

(16) Maize3\_276559a (excerpted from (5))

<sup>3</sup>Homophonous with this marker of consecutive action *si* ‘so that’ is a form that introduces conditional antecedents *si* ‘if’. It is possible that the two are related, which would render *si* heterosemous and would make the *si*-prefaced format akin to independent if clauses (Ford & Thompson 1986), which have been found in many languages to develop into a dedicated request format (Evans 2007; Lindström et al. 2016). However, many of the *si*-prefaced recruitment turns do not lend themselves to a conditional reading; indeed, they tend to be closer to the consequent (‘then’) than to the antecedent of a conditional.

*Mark Dingemanse*

- 1 EKU su ε:. ndu pia mmo: ((points in direction of water tank))  
take HES water be there:Q  
take uh:. is there water there?
  - 2 KPE mm.  
INTJ  
mm.
  - 3 EKU su fore si àsu εh gálɔn gangbe ((points to gallon))  
take pour LNK 2SG:take HES gallon AGR:this  
pour it {and} take uh this gallon
- ...((see (5) above for continuation))

The consequential or consecutive reading of *si* opens up the possibility for *si*-prefaced clauses to be used in providing reasons for recruitments. An example is in (17). Mum calls on Sesi, her teenage son, to bring her a “knife and uh tub” (line 1). When after a while he arrives with only a knife, she repeats the request for a tub, now adding a *si*-prefaced reason: “so I {can} peel the cassava” (line 3). Peeling the cassava is an activity for which one needs a knife and a container. By mentioning this activity and marking it as a consecutive action, Mum renews the relevance of getting the tub and adds weight to her repeated request.

## (17) Neighbours\_662742

- 1 MUM Sesi bɔ mɛ ipəmi ku εε kàpoi anɔ:?  
PSN bring me knife and HES tub:DIM you:hear:Q  
Sesi bring me a knife and uh tub y'hear?
  - 2 (14.0)
  - 3 SES ((arrives with knife))
- 3 MUM hɛ bɔ mɛ kàpoi, si lòyərɛ igbedi. ((receives knife))  
INTJ bring me tub:DIM LNK 1sg:peel cassava  
hey bring me a tub so I {can} peel the cassava
  - 4 (0.8)
  - 5 MUM bɔ mɛ kàpoi  
bring me tub:DIM  
bring me a tub
  - 6 (23.0) ((Sesi goes off to get tub))
  - 7 SES ((arrives with tub))

Because of their consecutive meaning, *si*-prefaces can be used to present “in order to”-motives (Schutz 1962) in interaction. In such cases, the *si*-prefaced clause is the motive for which the recruitment is a means, as here for Mum’s request to be brought a tub so she can peel the cassava.

Another type of reason that people may use in recruitment sequences refers to “because”-motives (Schutz 1962). These are not marked with *si* but presented

## 10 Recruiting assistance and collaboration: a West-African corpus study

as declarative statements. We saw both types together in (2), where Beatrice was asked to “wash your hands *si* you come take him” (an in-order-to motive), “cause he’s done sitting” (a because-motive).

Reasons occur in 26 out of 207 initial and subsequent recruitment turns. Most commonly, they occur in response pursuits when there was a problem in uptake, as we saw in (2) and (17). In the relatively rarer cases when they occur in first position, they may be designed to help to disambiguate a request (21), or to anticipate a question about rights and duties that might otherwise come up. These functions of reasons, which can be summarised as rendering requests more intelligible and making fulfilment more likely, correspond closely to those found in a dedicated study of a collection of 56 recruitment sequences featuring reasons in Russian (Baranova & Dingemanse 2016).

### 3.3.3 Mitigating and strengthening recruitments

In their seminal work on the structure of therapeutic interaction, Labov & Fanshel (1977) noted that some linguistic devices appeared to soften requests ('mitigators') while others may serve to strengthen them ('aggravators'). Conversation analytic work since then has showed that such devices can be understood with reference to the sequential structure of interaction (Heritage 1984; Schegloff 2007). We have already seen some of the resources for upgrading the strength of subsequent versions of requests, for instance adding a marker of resaying or providing a reason.

Like many West-African languages, Siwu has a system of final particles, two of which are of particular interest with regard to the question of how people can modulate the force of recruitments. The final particle *ló* conveys ‘I advise you’, entailing no claim about prior knowledge. The form *ní* conveys ‘you should have already understood’, entailing a claim about prior knowledge and a complaint that this has not been acted upon. The two forms are not attested together in the same utterance in the corpus, and seem to occur in complementary sequential positions.

We saw *ló* in example (7), where Vicky noticed a chicken behind Ella and told her so she could take action. One affordance of *ló* is its ‘no fault’ quality (Heritage 1984: 271): it does not imply prior knowledge and so does not blame the other for failing to know or notice something. This is why it can also serve as a gentle nudge that makes a recruitment sound more affiliative. In terms of sequential position, it tends to turn up in initial but not in subsequent versions of recruitments, as seen in (18). Emilia is preparing porridge in the kitchen as Aku is sitting outside, a few meters away, back turned to Emilia. After a lapse in the conversation

*Mark Dingemanse*

(Hoey 2015), Emilia calls on Aku to bring her bowl, with the implication she can get some food. The recruitment comes with *ló*, marking it as advice and perhaps orienting to the possibility that Aku, sitting outside, may not be aware that food is ready to be served. When Aku does not respond immediately, Emilia pursues a response by first calling her, then repeating the recruitment, now without *ló* (line 6).

## (18) Cooking1\_521410

- 1 (7.0)
- 2 EMI Aku bɔ mɛ fɔ iroi ló  
PSN bring me your bowl FP.advice  
Aku bring your bowl *ló*
- 3 (1.4)
- 4 EMI Aku  
PSN
- 5 AKU Aku  
mm.  
CONT  
mm.
- 6 EMI bɔ mɛ fɔ iroi  
bring me your bowl  
bring me your bowl
- ▷ 7 AKU ((gets up))

The final particle *ní* is almost a mirror image of *ló*. It rarely occurs in the initiating turn of a recruitment sequence and instead appears in subsequent versions that pursue a response. In (19), Emma is shuffling across the compound heading towards an overturned bench which she cannot see (this is moments after (4), where Aku stood up for her). Aku instructs her to “pass here”. When Emma does not appear to be listening and instead places her cane on the overturned bench, Aku pursues a response by saying “pass here *ní*”, the *ní* particle marking it as something that should have been understood and acted on already. (Similar strengthening uses of *ní* are found in a sequence analysed in (28) and (29) below, where a mother attempts to get her teenage son to run an errand.)

## (19) Compound4\_2076833

- 1 EMM ((blind, walking with cane, is about to stumble over overturned bench))
- 2 AKU ki ngbe. ((pulls Emma's arm))  
pass here.  
pass here.

## 10 Recruiting assistance and collaboration: a West-African corpus study

- 3 EMM ((places cane on turned-over bench))
- 4 AKU ki ngbe ní ((pulls Emma's and leads her around the bench))  
 pass here FP  
 pass here *ní*
- 5 EMM ((lets herself be led by Aku))

In sum, the final particles *ló* and *ní* help to manage accountability by making claims about the recipient's knowledge (or lack of knowledge) about what they should be doing. *Ló* can be seen as a general dispensation, conveying 'I advise you' without implying a complaint. *Ní* conveys the reverse – 'you should have known this and acted on it already' – and thereby holds the other accountable for the failure to respond. These usages are in line with the use of the particles in non-recruitment contexts, where they have similar implications.

Another device that can be used to strengthen recruitments is *anɔ:* 'you hear', illustrated in the next case. A little boy is making tottering steps around three women: Aku, Charlotte and Emma. Aku produces a request: "let him sit by your side". Charlotte adds, "his mother is winnowing rice", accounting for the unavailability of the primary caregiver. Although neither request nor reason are clearly addressed, the fact that two of three parties present have together formulated a request plus reason makes a response by the third, Emma, relevant. When no response follows, Aku upgrades her request by specifying the action and adding a strengthening particle *anɔ:* 'y'hear?' (line 8). In (30), which continues this extract, it is repeated on its own in a further bid to pursue a response.

## (20) Maize3\_673020

- 4 AKU tã ū ɔse i fɔ kɔrɛ.  
 BEN him NOM:sit LOC 2SG side  
 let him sit by your side
- 5 (0.5)
- 6 CHA ɔ ɔnyi tó ɔ fɛ kàmɔ.  
 3SG.POSS mother PROG 3SG winnow rice  
 his mother is winnowing rice
- 7 (0.8)
- 8 AKU puta ū (.) anɔ:?  
 lift him 2SG:hear:Q  
 pick him up (.) you hear?
- 9 (0.8)
- ((continued in (30) below))

*Anɔ:?* 'y'hear?' is a tag question with affirmation as the preferred response (another case is in line 1 of (17) above). Adding it to a recruitment has the effect

*Mark Dingemanse*

of soliciting a commitment to fulfil the request: after all, admitting to hearing a request makes it harder to escape the normative requirement to fulfil it.

### 3.4 Fully nonverbal recruitments

So far we have reviewed a range of linguistic, verbal resources for making recruitments. Only 23 independent recruitment moves in the corpus are fully nonverbal. These can be arranged according to the degree to which they are presented and treated as on record. An off record nonverbal recruitment was illustrated in (4) above, where some imminent trouble on the part of one participant provides a reason for another participant to help out. In such cases the trouble does not make a response conditionally relevant (Schegloff 1968): A cannot be said to have asked anything, and B cannot be held accountable for inaction. Nonverbal recruitments that are *on record* are rare (3 independent sequences, 9 moves in total), and only seem to happen when recruitments occur as part of an already established activity sequence which can provide the context for their interpretation (Rossi 2014).

One situation where we find such nonverbal recruitments is when a prior request has made relevant the execution of a related subtask. In (21), an extended recruitment sequence is initiated when Atasi asks Eku to “get some water so I can wash my hands”. The *si*-prefaced reason here (see §3.3.2) helps disambiguate the request: one might need water for any of a number of purposes, with consequences for the quantity desired and the container to be used (in (5), a gallon of water is needed for cooking, and in (9) an even larger quantity is needed for taking a bath). With the request and its reason made clear, Eku’s standing up (line 2) marks a commitment to provide this service, and her return with a calabash with water, some 20 seconds later, marks the start of compliance. Now a series of nonverbal actions ensues in which Atasi holds out her hands and Eku pours some water in response (lines 18–22), a process that is repeated six times until the sequence is completed.

(21) Compound5\_846793

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1 | ATA    ba    fore    mε    ndu    sí    lòfore    kɔ̄rɔ̄<br>come pour me water LNK 1SG:pour hand<br>come pour me water so I can wash my hands |
| 2 | EKU    ((stands up to fetch water))   |

— — —  
((20 seconds pass, during which an unrelated story is told by a third party, after which Eku returns with a calabash of water and Eku and Atasi stand together))  
— — —

## 10 Recruiting assistance and collaboration: a West-African corpus study

- ▶ 18 ATA ((holds out hands and assumes 'washing hands' position))
- ▷ 19 EKU ((pours water over A's hands))
- ▶ 20 (2.3)
- ▶ 21 ATA ((opens hands palms up for more water))
- ▷ 22 EKU ((pours more water))
  - ...((actions in 21-22 repeated five times))
- 33 ATA ((shakes water off her hands, walks back to seat))

Cases like this show that recruitments can assume a fractal nature, where an initiation and its response can set up a context for a number of subsidiary sequences. To the extent that such subsidiary sequences occur in the context provided by the base sequence and are part of a default script associated with the base activity, they are often implemented nonverbally.

A recruitment with subsidiary sequences like this raises the question of how we can distinguish between a series of recruitments versus a sequence of behaviours done in the service of one recruitment. The most reductive approach would be to stipulate that only base sequences count as recruitments. There would be one Move A ("come pour me water so I can wash my hands", line 1), and its fulfilment would be the full sequence of moves implementing that complex action, starting when Eku stands up to get the water (line 2) and ending when Atasi shakes the water off her hands (line 33). However, this analysis would fail to capture the contingent nature of Atasi's repeated nonverbal requests for more water (lines 21-22ff.). The number of times water has to be poured is not pre-set and is under Atasi's control, while for the pouring of the water, she fully depends on Eku. Therefore, Atasi's opening up her hands palm up is analysed here as a Move A and Eku's pouring of more water as a Move B, and a series of such moves in quick succession expands the base adjacency pair.

Another example of a fully nonverbal recruitment is in (22). Bella is holding Aku's phone and taking a call Aku asked her to pick up. Speaking into the phone, she notes she is "not sister Aku". When it becomes clear the caller wants Aku, Aku asks Bella to give back the phone (line 2). After a place in which a response would have been relevant, she asks again, now with an added gesture of reaching out to receive the phone (line 4). When Bella continues to speak on the phone, Aku produces one more response pursuit, this time fully nonverbal (line 6), after

*Mark Dingemanse*

which she is handed back the phone.

(22) Neighbours\_818304

- 1 BEL    mε    nyε    sistà    Aku    oo    ló.  
NEG    COP    sister    PSN    NEG    FP  
I'm not sister Aku *ló*.
- 2 AKU    su    tā    mε.  
take give me  
give me back
- 3                      (0.8)
- 4                      su    tā    mε    ((reaches out for phone))  
take give me  
give me back
- 5 BEL    èvia    ye. ((turns towards A))  
child:DEF    FOC  
her child
- 6 AKU    ((extends hand further and makes grasping gesture, Figure 4))

▷ 7 BEL    ((hands over phone))

- 8 AKU    hεlo    mεka    ye?  
hello    person:CQ    FOC  
hello, who is this?



Figure 4: Aku reaches to receive the phone in an upgraded response pursuit (line 7)

Like the subsidiary recruitments in (21), the response pursuit in (22) occurs in an environment where it is already abundantly clear what needs to be done and by whom. So both cases fit the generalisation that fully nonverbal requests tend to occur only when the activity structure, participation framework and prior context render verbal specification unnecessary.

## 10 Recruiting assistance and collaboration: a West-African corpus study

### 3.5 Animal-oriented recruitments

Recruitments are defined in this study as conversational sequences with human participants, in line with a focus of the larger research project on human sociality. However, people also have interactional practices oriented towards animals (Bynon 1976; Spottiswoode et al. 2016). Indeed humans are hardly alone in producing communicative signals aimed at other species (Krebs & Dawkins 1984). Animal-oriented recruitments provide an interesting limiting case of how semiotic resources adapt to situations in which there are radical asymmetries in agency and linguistic capability.

In Siwu, as in many other languages, animal-oriented recruitments often involve a set of dedicated interjections (Ameka 1992). Two examples occurred in excerpts discussed before; the relevant portions are reproduced below. In (23), Tawiya's interjection *kai* can be said to effectively recruit the goats to go away, and in (24), the interjection *shue* has a similar effect on the chicken.<sup>4</sup>

- (23) Cooking1\_1545188 (excerpt from 6 above)

5 TAW kai, [↑kai ((waves arm))  
 6 ADZ [hm, hm, ↑hm, hm↑ ((waves arm))  
 7 ((goats flee the scene))

- (24) Compound4\_1600030 (excerpt from 7 above)

4 TAW ↑shue:↑ ((moves to chase away chicken))  
 INTJ  
 shoo!  
 5 ((chicken walks away))

The shape of at least some of these animal-oriented interjections appears not to be arbitrary, but motivated. Take *shue* 'shoo', the interjection for chasing away domestic fowls. A look at functional equivalents from around the world shows that shooing words seem to converge on sibilant sounds (variously transcribed s, ſ, š, ç, Table 5).<sup>5</sup>

Sibilant sounds show up in shooing words in a diverse sample of languages, many of which are not historically related. Some of the commonalities may be

---

<sup>4</sup>Conversation analysis shies away from attributing intentions to participants in interaction, instead attempting to base analyses on publicly observable sequences of behaviour (Heritage 1990). This methodological stance renders CA suitable for analysing at least some forms of non-human animal communication (Rossano 2013).

<sup>5</sup>Most of the sources cited do not give phonetic renditions, so forms are presented here without adjustments. The table presents a sample of typologically diverse languages selected by searching grammars and dictionaries for forms translated as “[shooing/chasing] away {chicken/fowl}”.

*Mark Dingemanse*

Table 5: ‘Shoo’ and ‘chicken’ in 17 languages from 11 phyla around the world, showing strong convergence towards sibilant sounds in shooing words, but not chicken words.

Language	Phylum	‘shoo’	‘chicken’	Source
Chaha Gurage	Afro-Asiatic	(ə)ʃʃ	kutara	(Leslau 1979)
Tamazight	Afro-Asiatic	hušš	afulus	(Bynon 1976)
Semelai	Austroasiatic	cuh	hayam	(Kruspe 2004)
Kambera	Austronesian	hua	manu	(Klamer 1998)
Muna	Austronesian	sio	manu	(van den Berg 1989)
West Coast Bajau	Austronesian	si'	manuk	(Miller 2007)
English	Indo-European	shoo	chicken	(Oxford Dictionaries n.d.)
Louisiana French	Indo-European	ʃuf	poule	(Valdman & Rottet 2009)
Russian	Indo-European	kš-k	kuritsa	(Liston 1971)
Japanese	Japonic	shi	niwatori	(Bolton 1897)
Siwu	Niger-Congo	shue	kɔkɔ	current study
Ewe	Niger-Congo	suí	koklo	(Ameka 1991)
Zargulla	Omotic	čúk	kútto	(Amha 2013)
Kashaya	Pomoan	ša	kayi:na	(Oswalt 2002)
Atong	Sino-Tibetan	sa	taw?	(Breugel 2014)
Lahu	Sino-Tibetan	š	á-gâ?	(Matisoff 1988)
Lao	Tai-Kadai	sóò, ſ:	kaj1	(Enfield 2007)

due to language contact. After all, the domestic fowl (*Gallus g. domesticus*) has itself been culturally dispersed (Liu et al. 2006), and some words may have travelled along. However, it is unlikely that the global similarities can be explained solely by cultural diffusion, as this would predict words for ‘chicken’ to show similar global commonalities, which they don’t (Table 5). Nor can the global similarities be explained solely by inheritance from a common ancestor, as this would require a temporal stability that even basic vocabulary is not known for, and again, words for ‘chicken’ do not show such global similarities. A parsimonious explanation is that some sounds are more effective than others for the goal of shooing birds, and come to function as cultural attractors biasing the transmission of shooing words – a form of convergent cultural evolution.

Convergent cultural evolution has been put forward as an explanation for a range of cross-linguistic similarities (Caldwell 2008; Dingemanse et al. 2013; Blythe 2018). Animal-oriented interjections present a particularly stark view of

## 10 Recruiting assistance and collaboration: a West-African corpus study

the phenomenon, as the evolutionary landscape to which such words must adapt is strongly constrained by the perceptual and behavioural systems of the animals in question. The effectiveness of prolonged sibilants in shooing words for domestic fowls can be connected to the fact that continuous high frequency sounds are among the sound stimuli domestic fowls are most aversive to (MacKenzie et al. 1993).

Owing to the narrow ranges of behaviour they seek to elicit, animal-oriented signals may present one of the few areas of language that can be truthfully said to bring behaviour under the control of some stimulus, as Skinner (1957) envisioned. The principle of semiotic adaption to perceptual systems is likely to hold across a wide range of animal-oriented communicative signals across languages.<sup>6</sup>

## 4 Formats in Move B: the response

So far we have considered the design of Move A, the move by which a recruitment is initiated or pursued. But a recruitment sequence is not complete without a Move B. In what follows, we consider the design of Move B and the further development of the sequence, from simple closure in the case of fulfilment to sequence expansion in the wake of resistance and rejection.

### 4.1 Nonverbal and verbal elements of responses

Since recruitments by definition are requests for practical actions, many relevant responses are non-verbal and consist of doing the target action. Examples of this are shown in Figure 1B, Figure 2B, and Figure 6, and further examples are transcribed in extracts (3), (4), (15), (17), (18), (19), (21), and (22). About two-thirds of responses to initial recruitments are fully nonverbal, and the great majority of these fulfil the target action or plausibly start to do so.

Although we focus here on the composition of Move B, an important factor in its design is the format used in Move A, the turn initiating the recruitment sequence. Consider the relative frequency of fully nonverbal responses. Table 6 shows the proportion of fully nonverbal Move B turns in relation to the format of Move A. This shows that nonverbal Move A turns are followed by a fully nonverbal Move B in 77% of cases; the remaining 23% is either composite or

---

<sup>6</sup>In an ethnological study of domestic fowls, Fischer (1972) shows that sound stimuli featuring repeated low-frequency sounds are most likely to induce following. This generates the prediction that across languages, words for calling domestic fowls will feature more repetition and lower-frequency sounds than words for shooing them.

*Mark Dingemanse*

verbal only. On the other hand, responses to interrogative recruitment initiating turns are fully nonverbal in only 17% of cases.

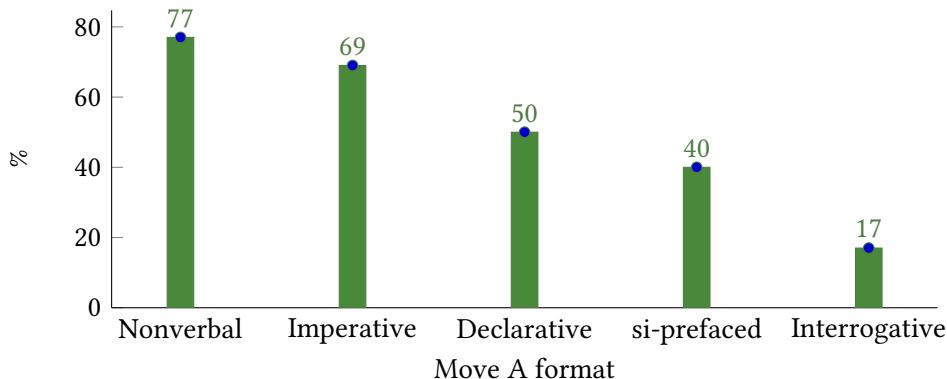


Figure 5: Composition of Move B in relation to Move A format in Siwu recruitment sequences

Table 6: Composition of Move B in relation to Move A format in Siwu recruitment sequences

Move A format	What proportion of next Move B turns is nonverbal?
nonverbal	77%
imperative	69%
declarative	50%
si-prefaced	40%
interrogative	17%

Recruitment formats can be ranked on a cline from more to less coercion (Brown & Levinson 1978). One way to explain this cline is in terms of the *response space* created by the formats in Move A (cf. also Rossi & Zinken 2016). As we saw above, nonverbal recruitment moves occur only in situations where the context makes abundantly clear what is requested, which places considerable constraints on the response space and makes relevant immediate (and nonverbal) fulfilment. Imperatives similarly push fairly directly for fulfilment and leave little room for other types of responses. On the other side of the spectrum, interrogative recruitment turns in Siwu tend to be negative interrogatives like “why don’t you”, which formulate things either as complaints or proposals, both of which

## 10 Recruiting assistance and collaboration: a West-African corpus study

allow verbal or composite responses and push less directly for fulfilment.

One of the main uses of verbal material in a recruitment response is to signal a commitment to fulfilling. We see this in (25). Becca, seated on a low bench, is winnowing rice when Ama, who is trying on a new dress, comes standing with her back to her and says “fix me”. Becca immediately responds “now, I’m coming”, takes a second to put down the rice winnower and stands up. Then she carries out the requested action, zipping up Ama’s dress (Figure 6).

(25) Tailor\_995460

- 1 (3.0) ((Ama walks towards Becca))
- 2 AMA di me ((comes standing with back to Becca – Fig. 5A))
  - fix me
  - fix me
- 3 BEC kõrõ nε, ūto ló ba ló
  - now TP 1S:PROG 1S come FP.advice
  - now, I’m coming ló
- 4 (0.7) ((puts down rice winnower, stands up))
- 5 ((zips up Ama’s dress – Figure 6))



Figure 6: Ama stands with her back to Becca (line 2); Becca zips up Ama’s dress (line 5)

So verbal responses can claim a commitment to fulfil a recruitment when something stands in the way of immediate fulfilment. They remain, of course, always only claims rather than demonstrations. We saw this in (2), where Beatrice said “yes” to a request while finishing another activity. She was subsequently held accountable for not stopping the other activity soon enough. So recruiters may

*Mark Dingemanse*

hold their addressees accountable when verbal claims become incongruent with visible actions.

Sometimes verbal elements of responses can respond to aspects of the design of a recruitment turn. For instance, in (8), Vicky notified Ella that a pan slid off a firestone. Ella responded by righting the pan and by uttering a high-pitched response token “↑mm↑”, marking Vicky’s noticing as something counter to expectation. Another example where the nonverbal element of the response fulfils the recruitment while a verbal element responds to its formulation is in (26) below. Odo, carrying a small metal pan holding some food that is possibly hot, walks towards a bench to sit down but finds Bella standing in his way. He issues a crude request to Bella to get out of the way, which she does, though not without voicing her disapproval of his formulation with the response token *woo*:

(26) Neighbours\_880320

- 1 ODO rùi bie kakɔjɔ sə wärä.  
uproot find place:INDEF sit rest  
get out of the way and find somewhere {else} to relax
- 2 BEL woo: ((steps aside to make way))  
INTJ  
woo:
- 3 ODO ((sits down on bench))

A number of features of turn design conspire to make Odo’s recruitment akin to an extreme case formulation and give it complaint-like qualities (Pomerantz 1986): the verb *rùi* literally means ‘uproot’, the indefinite marker *ɔ* attached to *kakɔjɔ* ‘place’ works to suggest Bella should be anywhere but here, and the construal of her current action as ‘relaxing’ implies Bella, perhaps contrary to Odo, has nothing to do. Bella’s interjection of disapproval *woo*: appears to be addressed to these features.

In sum, we have seen here that the bulk of successful responses to recruitments are nonverbal. Verbal elements of responses may vary in relation to recruitment format, and may occur (i) to claim commitment when something stands in the way of immediate fulfilment; (ii) to respond to action affordances of the design of the recruitment. But a further, major role for verbal elements of responses to recruitments is in the domain of resistance and rejection, to which we now turn.

## 4.2 Repair, resistance and rejection

Sometimes, requests are not immediately fulfilled, but questioned, resisted or even rejected. Resistance and rejection rarely come in the form of explicit claims

## 10 Recruiting assistance and collaboration: a West-African corpus study

of unwillingness. Rather, participants have a variety of ways to avoid immediate compliance (Kent 2012), though none of them comes for free: as we will see, resistance and rejection (and more generally, dispreferred responses) tend to lead to interactional turbulence.

‘Repair’ refers to the practices people use to deal with problems in speaking, hearing and understanding (Schegloff et al. 1977). In (27), Mum and dad are preparing food with Sesi and some other family members close by. Following a joke, dad produces extended laughter, in overlap with which mum asks Sesi to get something, the request infused with a laugh particle. In response, Sesi initiates repair using “what?” and Mum redoes the recruitment, providing a more explicit formulation, after which Sesi complies.

(27) Neighbours\_4875900 (Dingemanse 2015: 234)

- 1 DAD həh hε hε hε HA [HA HA HA HA HA HA
- 2 MUM [Sesi su ε(h)əh irað tã mε  
PSN take HES thing:INDEF DAT me  
Sesi take uhuh: the thingy for me
- 3 SES be:  
what:Q  
what
- 4 MUM su kadadisɛibi bɔ mε.  
take small.pot.DIM bring me  
take the small pot and bring it to me.
- ▷ 5 SES ((complies by bringing small pot))

An other-initiation of repair starts a side sequence (Jefferson 1972), signalling some trouble that first needs to be resolved before the base sequence can be resumed. A side effect is that the position where a response would be relevant is pushed back at least until this embedded side sequence is closed (in this case, until after line 4). This makes repair initiation a powerful tool that can also be used for secondary purposes. Above we saw how affirmative verbal responses may claim alignment with the goal of a recruitment, but may also hold off actual fulfilment. In a similar way, repair initiations claim communicative trouble but at the same time can be a device for protracting a sequence and delaying fulfilment (Sacks 1992; Schegloff 1979).

Consider (28), where Sesi is asked to fetch a bag to go get a load of plantain from a household in a neighbouring hamlet. Although Mum’s formulation is sufficiently vague to allow Sesi to choose a fitting bag himself “from inside this thing here” (a reference to a shed nearby), he initiates repair, asking “what d’you

*Mark Dingemanse*

mean bag?”<sup>7</sup> (line 3). The other people present are quick to respond: Aunty taunts “you’ll just go with your bare hands?” and Sesi’s father suggests “your school bag.”, a suggestion that, after laughs all around, is elaborated by Aunty to reveal the absurdity of Sesi’s question (line 7). After this barrage of non-serious responses, Mum’s seemingly serious follow-up question remains unanswered by Sesi.

## (28) Neighbours\_1131171

- 1 MUM ba su ira ní, ba- ba fe àdi εε-  
come take thing FP come come pass 2SG:take HES  
come get {the} thing, come come pass {so} you take uh
- 2 ε bagì i iraq amε mmo ní.  
HES bag LOC thing:INDEF inside there FP  
uh a bag from inside this thing here
- ▷ 3 SES mme bágɔ:  
which bag:INDEF:Q  
what d’you mean bag?
- 4 (0.9)
- 5 AUN ne nrɔ-nrɔ aàsε[:  
CONJ hand-DIST 2SG:FUT:go:0  
so you’ll just go with your bare hands?
- 6 DAD [fɔ skúl bagì.  
3SGPOSS school bag  
your school bag.
- 7 ((all laugh together))
- 8 AUN kεlε adi siko se si àsu.  
go 2SG:remove books ? LNK 2SG:take  
throw your books out and take it
- 9 MUM bagì na i εε ngbe gɔ fɔ œse sia áwu sa mmo:  
bag lack LOC HES here REL your father put clothes farm there:Q  
there’s no bag uh where your dad puts his farming clothes?
- 10 BEL shue: (.) màkɔkɔ māu ta madaa kutsùε ní.  
INTJ (.) chicken they.TP PROG they:disturb ear FP  
shoo: the chickens are disturbing.
- 11 (3.0)

So here we have a recruitment turn followed by a repair initiation that not all parties to the conversation take fully seriously as an indication of trouble. What it is taken as becomes clear later in the interaction, when half a minute has passed and there is still no sign of Sesi fulfilling the request. As (29) shows, Mum pursues a response, upgraded with *mlàmlà* ‘quickly’ and a final particle *ní* (line 38), implying, as we have seen in §3.3.3, that it should have been attended to before. In the continued absence of a response, Aunty observes, “kids are difficult” and

<sup>7</sup>The dismissive connotation of the indefinite marker *ɔ* in *bagɔ* is hard to capture in translation. “Whatever bag?”, “Which bag?”, “What bag?” are possible alternatives.

## 10 Recruiting assistance and collaboration: a West-African corpus study

Mum adds “kids are extremely difficult” in a second position upgrade that allows her to agree yet also assert her own epistemic access to the matter (Heritage & Raymond 2005). The extract starts 27 turns or 35 seconds after line 10 in (28).

(29) Neighbours\_1131171 (continued from (28) )

- 37 (2.4)
- 38 MUM bɔ: mlàmlà ní.  
bring IDPH.quickly FP  
bring it quickly now!
- 39 (1.0)
- 40 AUN màbi bɔle.  
children have:force.  
kids are difficult.
- 41 MUM màbi ba ɔle pápápápápa  
children have force IDPH.extremely  
kids are extremely difficult

Mum and Aunty’s statements that kids are “difficult” treat Sesi’s troubles in this sequence as related to his teenager status rather than as a true problem in hearing or understanding. In effect, it appears they take Sesi to be exploiting repair to delay or even avoid fulfilling a recruitment — a possibility that also puts his behaviour in (17) and (27) in a new light.

Repair is not the only way to resist a recruitment. Several other ways are illustrated in example (30), which continues (20) above. Three women are chatting together. Aku and Charlotte have asked Emma to watch over a little boy for a moment while his mother is occupied with a task in a neighbouring compound. At line 7, Emma ignores the initial recruitment. Following a response pursuit by Aku, she then objects “I don’t know who’s picking him up” (line 10), a crafty formulation that enables her to imply she is unwilling to fulfil the recruitment without going on record as saying so. Aku formulates a high-pitched response pursuit “↑You hear?↑”, reasserting the relevance of a response to the request. Following this second pursuit, Emma produces a well-positioned yawn, hearable as a claim of tiredness and by implication inability (line 13). In a final bid to secure compliance, Aku repeats the recruitment, now adding “I myself {will do it} when I’m back”, thereby trying to overcome Emma’s unwillingness by proposing to share the task but also accounting for her own inability to do it immediately.

(30) Maize3\_673020 (continued from 20 above)

- 7 (0.8)
- 8 AKU puta û (.) anɔ:  
lift him 2SG:hear:Q  
pick him up (.) you hear?
- 9 (0.8)

*Mark Dingemanse*

- 10 EMM lèiye            n̩go            t̩oɔputa            ū            n̩i  
       1SG:NEG:know REL:who PROG:SCR:lift him FP  
       I don't know who's picking him up *ní*
- 11            (1.0)
- 12 AKU      t̩anɔ:↑  
       2SG:hear:Q  
       ↑you hear?↑
- 12            (0.7)
- 13 EMM mmmhhh ((yawn))
- 14            (1.1)
- 14 AKU la      ū      si      l̩ò      ba      (.)      mme      n̩itɔ      si      l̩ò      ba.  
       hold      him      LNK      1SG      come      (.)      I      self      LNK      1SG      come  
       hold him until I'm back (.) I myself {will} when I'm back

So we see here that a recruitment can be resisted by simply ignoring it (line 7), claiming a lack of knowledge as to who should fulfil it (line 10), or producing a yawn where a response would have been relevant (line 12). Of note is that throughout, Emma avoids going on record as being unwilling, revealing the lengths to which participants will go to avoid directly rejecting a recruitment.

The yawn, a physical display functioning as a claim of unavailability, brings us into the territory of accounts (Heritage 1988): the explanations that often accompany dispreferred responses. Embodied accounts such as Emma's yawn are relatively rare, and special in being off record. More commonly, accounts are verbal and on record, as in (13), where Dora asked “aren't you bringing me water?” and Efi answered “I'm just going up here, I'll be back”, accounting for her failure to fulfil the recruitment by noting a competing commitment.

Yet another way to resist a recruitment is to propose another course of action, and by far the rarest way to reject a recruitment is to actually say “no”. Both of these happen in the next example. Odo is asked to hold Aku's child for a moment. Others present include Mercy, a 3 year old child, Hope, Odo's 9 year old son, and a hairdresser and her client, both visibly occupied. Even though Aku has already walked up to Odo and is holding up the child before him, Odo declines. He does so using a complexly formatted turn featuring a declination, a reason, and an alternative course of action: “no, I didn't give birth to the child (.) I'm like (.), give it to uh” (line 4) – all features in line with what we know about the design of dispreferred responses (Levinson 1983: 334–35; Heritage 1984: 265–66),

## (31) Compound5\_737320

- 1 AKU Ee, Odoi!  
       voc PSN:DIM  
       Hey, little Odo
- 2            (0.7)

## 10 Recruiting assistance and collaboration: a West-African corpus study



Figure 7: Aku (rightmost) approaches Odo (with hand on water drum) holding out her infant (line 3); after Odo's refusal, Hope (foreground) is recruited to hold the infant (line 12)

- ▶ 3 mœ Victor la mœ ((walks towards Odo, holds up infant, Fig. 6L))  
grab PSN hold me  
hold Victor for me
- ▷ 4 ODO aɔ, leiyɛ obi (.) ite ibra mœ (x), su tā ε:  
no 1SG:NEG:give.birth child it:PROG it:make me ?, take give HES  
No, I didn't give birth to the child (.) I'm like (x), give it to uh:
- 5 (0.3)
- 6 AKU Me- Hope ba [mœ obi] la mœ ((moves towards Odo's daughter Hope))  
PSN PSN come grab child hold me  
Me- Hope come hold the child for me
- 7 ODO [Mercy]  
PSN  
Mercy  
8 (0.5)
- 9 ODO su ū tā mœ [pɛ nɛ Hope kà [ʒū pie ndu  
take 3SG give me Pɛ TP PSN IMM he bathe water  
okay whatever hand him to me, Hope is going to bath
- 10 HOP (((comes running to Aku, holding out arms))
- 11 AKU [nɛ abu sɔ Mercy iba [wo ū puta?:  
and 2SG:think QT PSN NOM.have be.able 3SG lift  
so you thought Mercy would be able to lift him up?
- 12 HOP (((takes over infant,  
Fig. 6R))
- 13 AKU ((reties her dress))

In response to Odo's rejection, Aku starts to formulate a name "Me-", then self-repairs to Odo's son "Hope", walking away from Odo and asking Hope to hold the child. Odo meanwhile finishes his word search and says "Mercy" (line 7), likely the name that Aku abandoned. Odo then begrudgingly volunteers to take the child after all, since he had other plans for his son Hope (line 9), but Hope already

*Mark Dingemanse*

comes running towards Aku and Odo. Aku takes issue with Odo's suggestion (line 11) while Hope takes over the child (12). The expansion of the sequence after Odo's rejection is typical for what happens after dispreferred responses (Schegloff 2007).

Summing up, how do people resist a recruitment? Not without collateral damage to the conversational sequence. They may initiate repair, which has the effect of buying some extra time, but as the side sequence closes a response is still relevant and they are likely to provide it (27), or be held accountable for failing to do so (28). They may try to ignore the recruitment, but are likely to be held accountable for failing to respond, as in (29) and (30). They can provide a reason (12), propose another course of action, say no outright, or any combination of these things (31), but all of these tend to lead to post-expansion of the sequence.

In short, it seems the deck is firmly stacked against resistance and rejection, and the organisation of interactional resources point to fulfilment as the most expedient way to reach sequence closure. This reflects an observation made in some of the earliest work on the organisation of preferred/dispreferred actions: such actions "are both inherently structured and actively used so as to maximize cooperation and affiliation and to minimize conflict in conversational activities" (Atkinson & Heritage 1984: 55).

### 4.3 Acknowledgements

Sometimes, a two-part recruitment sequence is followed by an expression that has the interactional function of closing the sequence: a *sequence closing third* (Schegloff 2007). One example is (32), in which Awusi asks Yawa to pour water in a pan with plantain to be put on the fire. While Yawa is pouring, Awusi says *mileε* "that's good" to indicate there is now enough water in the pan. This expression is also used when one is poured a drink, to indicate "this is enough".

#### (32) Maize3\_286780

- 1 Awu fore ndu- fore ndu i b̥erɛdzo amɛ. ((points to pan with plantain))  
pour water- pour water in plantain pan  
pour water- pour water in the plaintain {pan}.
- 2 Yaw ((takes jerrycan, pours water))
- 3 Awu mileɛ:  
AGR.N:be.good  
that's good

One form of a sequence closing third that is not attested in the Siwu collection is an acknowledgment like "thank you". The simple practical actions studied here

## 10 Recruiting assistance and collaboration: a West-African corpus study

never receive verbal expressions of gratitude. Instead, such expressions appear to be reserved for more momentous occasions, for instance when people have spent a day assisting each other with manual labour on the farm or in town. The importance of gratitude in such cases is enshrined in a Siwu greeting routine often heard in the morning: *gu fɔ kɔmakade karabra* “for your work yesterday”, answered with (*gu*) *fɔ kpe*: “and yours”.

The absence of acknowledgments like “thank you” in everyday recruitments in Siwu forms an apparent contrast with accounts of frequent thanking practices in some other societies (Aston 1995; Becker & Smenner 1986). However, these studies tend to focus on service encounters, which are quite different from the kinds of recruitments studied here (Apte 1974). One crucial difference is that everyday recruitments are almost always *repayable in kind*. So perhaps “thank you” or other ways of verbalising gratitude are less necessary because of an implicit norm that where possible, we hold ourselves available and willing to help others in turn — a norm that underlies the web of interdependence and reciprocity in resource-sharing that is typical of human societies (Melis et al. 2016; Floyd et al. 2018). In contrast, service encounters present an asymmetry: we obtain services or goods that we do not control or produce ourselves, so paying back in kind is harder, which makes it more important to verbally express gratitude.<sup>8</sup>

## 5 Sequential structure and social asymmetries

### 5.1 A “rule of three” in social interaction?

Non-minimal sequences amount to a little less than a third of initial recruitments in the core collection (44 out of 146). Most of them are resolved after one pursuit (33 cases); the remainder takes two pursuits (10 cases) except for one that takes three pursuits.<sup>9</sup> We see the same in other-initiated repair, where non-minimal sequences amount to about a quarter of 153 independent sequences and resolving a single troublesome bit of talk tends to take just one, sometimes two,

---

<sup>8</sup>Children, like adults in service encounters, are also frequently in the position of not being able to pay back in kind. So perhaps the fact that children are socialised (in some societies) to say “thank you” and indeed to use more prolix forms in general is a reflection of this asymmetry in agency.

<sup>9</sup>The only cases involving more than three attempts are those involving small children, and as we will see below, these are dissimilar in other ways as well, a key difference being that such children are not held accountable for misunderstandings and failures to respond in the same way as other participants.

*Mark Dingemanse*

and rarely more than three other-initiations of repair (Dingemanse 2015).<sup>10</sup> So recruitment and repair usually take only one attempt (as in a minimal sequence), sometimes two, and seldom three or more attempts (Table 7).

Table 7: Distribution of independent sequences of recruitments and other-initiated repair by number of attempts (adult interaction only)

attempts:	1	2	3	4	>5	total independent sequences
recruitments	102	33	10	1	—	146
other-initiated repair	117	26	8	2	—	153

If this pattern proves representative and robust, it may point to a “rule of three” (or a “three strikes” principle) in social interaction: a disruption of progressivity in pursuit of a fitting response rarely takes more than three successive attempts, with a preference for less. Research is needed here, starting with the identification of deviant cases, which may reveal to what degree it is a consequence of the structure of complex social action, and to what extent participants orient to it as a socially normative phenomenon.<sup>11</sup> Perhaps the needs addressed in recruitment and repair can overwhelmingly be solved in one go, and the diminishing numbers of cases with more than one attempts are in line with an expected probabilistic distribution. Perhaps participants balance intersubjectivity and progressivity (Heritage 2007), and three attempts mark a tipping point where pursuits become too disruptive to overall progressivity. This may also be a fruitful area for cross-species comparison (cf. Wilkinson et al. 2012 on repeated requests for meat sharing among chimpanzees), linking to a more general theme of communicative persistence.

<sup>10</sup>I am indebted to Nick Enfield for our discussion of this pattern in sequences of other-initiated repair. The general pattern seems to be confirmed even in conversations involving people with Parkinson’s disease, where one might expect more protracted sequences of other-initiated repair (Griffiths et al. 2015). Schegloff’s discussion of self-repair notes that “[a]lthough not common, two successive repairs on a same repairable, yielding (together with the repairable) three tries at that bit of talk, are not rare” (Schegloff 1979: 277).

<sup>11</sup>One indication that the “rule of three” relates specifically to disruptions of progressivity (as opposed to being a general limit on repeated behaviour) is that multiples of successful recruitment sequences in close succession do occur, as in example (21), which features at least six nonverbal requests and responses.

## 10 Recruiting assistance and collaboration: a West-African corpus study

## 5.2 Social asymmetries

An interest in social asymmetries has long been a prominent feature of cross-linguistic studies of requests and recruitments (Brown & Levinson 1978; Blum-Kulka et al. 1989). On the basis of this literature, one might expect the organisation of assistance in interaction to be influenced by social asymmetries, such that, for instance, the selection of one format over another, or the nature of responsive actions, would differ depending on the relative social status of participants.

There is one large set of recruitments where social asymmetries clearly play a role: those involving small children as recruits (recall that these were collected separately from the 207 cases that make up the core collection of Siwu recruitments). The following extract is from a multi-party conversation in which a mother asks her toddler, less than 2 years of age, to come to her. The sequence involves six pursuits until compliance follows at line 11.

(33) Cooking1\_93710

- 1 MUM Sise (.) ba.  
Sise (.) come.  
Sise (.) come
- 2 (0.8)
- 3 ba.  
come.  
come
- 4 (0.4)
- 5 ESI mama sɔ ba.  
mother QT come  
mum says come.
- 6 MUM ↑ba:↑  
come  
↑co:me↑
- 7 (0.6)
- 8 ESI ↑ma:ma sɔ ↑ba↑  
mother QT come  
↑mum↑ says ↑come↑
- 9 (1.2)
- 10 ESI ↑MA↑MA Sɔ BA  
mother QT come  
MUM SAYS COME
- ▷ 11 CHI ((turns and walks towards mother))
- 12 AMA ɔ nyɔ nɛ yaa.  
3SG watch it IDPH.absently  
he was just staring *yaa* [absently].
- 13 MUM ((holds up underpants))
- 14 CHI ((steps into underpants))

*Mark Dingemanse*

This sequence differs in several ways from most others considered so far. The number of pursuits appears to flout the “rule of three” (though none of the participants individually puts in more than three attempts). The pursuits are all simple repetitions with few changes except in prosody, in stark contrast with other pursuits we have seen which involve reformulations and reasons. Despite many pursuits, the child does not provide any form of response until the nonverbal action in line 11, and there is no evidence it has mastery of devices like repair initiation or other practices people use in non-minimal sequences. Whereas recruitment and response usually tend to be taken as a matter between recruiter and recruitee, here two other participants join in pursuing a response (lines 5, 8, 10), and a third provides an account for the lack of response of the child (line 12), showing it is seen as accountable behaviour while implying the child cannot (yet) speak for itself.

Combined, these observations suggest that child recruitees may be treated differently: they are treated as still having to learn how to respond to recruitments, and they are not held accountable for their interactional conduct and for possible troubles in understanding in the same way that other participants typically are. While it may be tempting to say the child is treated this way *because* of a social asymmetry, it is at least as plausible to say that cases like this show how social asymmetries are socially constructed and reinforced. The sequence is a socialization routine as much as an attempt to get the child to do something.

Social asymmetries also surface in sequences other than those involving very young children. Particularly telling of the social construction of asymmetries are moments when participants orient to them. Recall some of the turbulent sequences involving Sesi –a teenager— and his parents and alloparents. When in (29), Sesi’s aunt and mum noted that “kids are difficult”, they invoke the category of kids—which forms a contrast set with adults— to make a complaint about Sesi’s unwillingness. It may be a universal feature of teenage behaviour to try and find ways to escape household chores. Likewise, it may be a universal feature of caregiver talk to complain about this. That is one way in which social asymmetries can become tangible in interaction.

Although I have focused so far on evidence of social asymmetries in the moment-by-moment unfolding of the interaction, such social asymmetries do not emerge out of nothing . Knowledge about social membership categories and kinship relations is usually available, or at least assumed to be available, to participants in interaction (Terkourafi 2005; Enfield 2013), and so may also influence social interactions without being explicitly oriented to in talk. The most relevant durable social asymmetries for Siwu speakers are grounded in a combination of age and

## 10 Recruiting assistance and collaboration: a West-African corpus study

kinship relations. Older age generally comes with higher social status, and kinship structure provides a framework for allocating rights and duties (such that parents and alloparents can exercise deontic authority over younger kin). Based on this, most recruitment sequences in the corpus can be classified as involving a dyad that is (i) symmetrical with A and B having approximately the same social status, (ii) asymmetrical with A higher in status than B, or (iii) asymmetrical with A lower in status than B. For 18 cases, it was not possible to apply the metric confidently (Table 8).

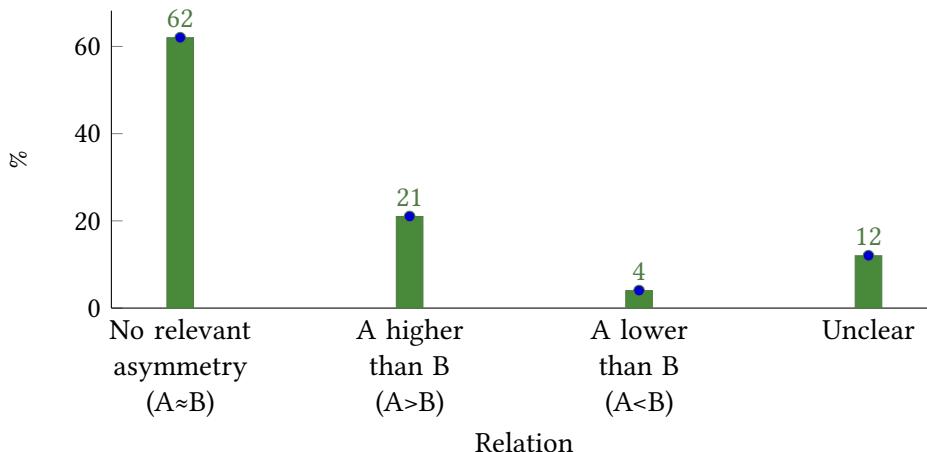


Figure 8: Social asymmetry of participants in 146 independent recruitment sequences

Table 8: Social asymmetry of participants in 146 independent recruitment sequences

<i>Relation</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>Proportion</i>	<i>Examples</i>
No relevant asymmetry ( $A \approx B$ )	91	(1), (3), (18), (21), (25)	
A higher than B ( $A > B$ )	31	(2), (22), (27), (28)	
A lower than B ( $A < B$ )	6	(14)	
Unclear	18	(9)	

For a large majority of participants in recruitment sequences, there is no evidence of a social asymmetry between them, reflecting the fact that a lot of everyday social interaction in the corpus is between peers. In about one fifth of

*Mark Dingemanse*

cases, participant A can be considered higher in social status than participant B; most commonly, these are cases where parents or alloparents address younger people in the household. In contrast, there are only 6 cases where participant A is clearly lower in social status than participant B. The relative paucity of such cases suggests that people may be somewhat less likely to recruit the assistance of others higher in social status — possibly as a way to avoid resistance, rejection, or other types of interactional turbulence (Brown & Levinson 1978); Floyd, this volume). So social asymmetries may influence how likely people are to recruit assistance or collaboration from others.

Do social asymmetries also influence matters of formulation or format selection? An analysis of the core collection of recruitment sequences provides little evidence that social asymmetry (as operationalised here) is a decisive factor in format selection or in the design of responsive actions.<sup>12</sup> Instead, as we have seen throughout this study, many matters of formulation and selection appear to be more directly affected by local factors such as establishment of joint attention, relation to ongoing activities, and sequential position as initial or subsequent. This fits a recurring theme in systematic comparative work on informal conversation: micro-scale local factors like attention, participation framework and sequential position seem more directly consequential than macro-sociological factors like social status, power, or politeness.

## 6 Conclusions

The domain of recruitments provides a microcosm of how linguistic resources combine with bodily conduct and adapt to social interaction. Malinowski, observing everyday social interaction on the Trobriand Islands a century ago, noted that “The structure of all this linguistic material is inextricably mixed up with, and dependent upon, the course of the activity in which the utterances are embedded” (Malinowski 1923: 311). Recruitments provide a privileged locus for observing this

---

<sup>12</sup>The following elements of format design and selection did not seem to be affected by the absence, presence or direction of social asymmetry: type of recruitment (object transfer versus service); verbal or nonverbal means of recruitment; construction types (imperative, interrogative, declarative, si-prefaced); presence or absence of an account in the recruitment turn; use of mitigating or strengthening devices; relative frequency of fulfilment versus resistance or repair; presence or absence of an account in the response. For three variables, there are not enough cases in the collection to draw firm conclusions about a possible role for social asymmetries: the relative frequency of requests to alter an ongoing trajectory of behaviour; the relative frequency of trouble assistance prompted by current or anticipatable trouble; and the relative frequency of resistance and rejection.

## 10 Recruiting assistance and collaboration: a West-African corpus study

intertwining of speech and action.

Some of the resources used in recruitment sequences bear a language-specific signature. For instance, Siwu makes available a *si*-prefaced format to mark consecutive actions in larger projects, and final particles like *ló* and *ní* for mitigating and strengthening recruitments. But beneath the language-specific resources, the recruitment system appears to be fundamentally cut from the same cloth across languages and cultures. Recruitment formats and responses are adapted to recurrent interactional challenges, from calibrating joint commitments to specifying practical actions and managing activity structure. The Siwu recruitment system appears to be one instantiation of a sophisticated machinery for organising collaborative action that transcends language and culture.

## Transcription conventions & abbreviations

Conversational transcripts follow the Jefferson conventions (Jefferson 2004), with the following adjustments: ↑ represents a pitch rise • words in free translations with no direct equivalent in the original material are {marked so}. Interlinear glosses follow the Leipzig glossing rules (Comrie et al. 2004), with the following additions: CONT continuer • FP final particle • HES hesitation marker • ING ingressive • LNK linker • O object marker • PLUR pluractional reduplication • PSN person name • SCR subject cross-reference marker. Conflicts between conversation analytic conventions and Leipzig glossing rules (e.g. marking of self-repair vs. morpheme breaks using dashes) are resolved in favour of the former.

## Acknowledgements

Thanks to Rev. Wurapa and Ruben and Ella Owiafe for welcoming me into the Siwu-speaking community, and to Odime Kanairo for assistance in transcription and translation. *Mi ndo karabra ló!* Thanks to the other members of the recruitment project, especially Simeon Floyd, Giovanni Rossi and Nick Enfield for feedback and guidance; to Felix Ameka for helpful comments; to Steve Levinson for fostering an department at MPI Nijmegen where the project could blossom; and to Herb and Eve Clark for hosting me at Stanford and providing the best writing environment. Sharon Rose helped me clear up shooing words in Gurage. The fieldwork and data collection underlying the study was funded by ERC grant 240853 to N.J. Enfield. The author is supported by a Veni grant from the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research and by the Max Planck Society for the Advancement of Science.

Mark Dingemanse

## References

- Ameka, Felix K. 1991. *Ewe: Its grammatical constructions and illucutionary devices*. Australian National University. (Doctoral dissertation).
- Ameka, Felix K. 1992. Interjections: The universal yet neglected part of speech. *Journal of Pragmatics* 18(2). 101–118.
- Ameka, Felix K. 2008. Aspect and modality in Ewe: A survey. In Felix K. Ameka & Mary Esther Kropp Dakubu (eds.), *Aspect and modality in Kwa languages*, 135–194. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Amha, Azeb. 2013. Directives to humans and to domestic animals: The imperative and some interjections in Zargulla. In Marie-Claude Simeone-Senelle & Martine Vanhove (eds.), *Proceedings of the 5th international conference on Cushitic and Omotic languages*, 211–229. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Apte, Mahadev L. 1974. “Thank You” and South Asian languages: A comparative sociolinguistic study. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 3. 67–90. DOI:[10.1515/ijsl.1974.3.67](https://doi.org/10.1515/ijsl.1974.3.67)
- Aston, Guy. 1995. Say ‘thank you’: Some pragmatic constraints in conversational closings. *Applied Linguistics* 16(1). 57–86. DOI:[10.1093/applin/16.1.57](https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/16.1.57)
- Atkinson, J. Maxwell & John Heritage (eds.). 1984. *Structures of social action: Studies in conversation analysis* (Studies in emotion and social interaction). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 446 pp.
- Austin, J. L. 1962. *How to do things with words*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 166 pp.
- Baranova, Julija & Mark Dingemanse. 2016. Reasons for requests. *Discourse Studies* 18(6). 641–675. DOI:[10.1177/1461445616667154](https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445616667154)
- Becker, Judith A. & Patricia C. Smenner. 1986. The spontaneous use of thank you by preschoolers as a function of sex, socioeconomic status, and listener status. *Language in Society* 15(4). 537–545. DOI:[10.1017/S0047404500012008](https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500012008)
- Blum-Kulka, Shoshana, Juliane House & Gabriele Kasper. 1989. *Cross-cultural pragmatics: Requests and apologies* (Advances in Discourse Processes). Norwood: Ablex.
- Blythe, Joe. 2018. Genesis of the trinity: The convergent evolution of trirelational kintterms. In Patrick McConvell, Piers Kelly & Sébastien Lacrampe (eds.), *Skin, kin and clan: The dynamics of social categories in indigenous Australia*, 431–472. Canberra: ANU Press.
- Bolton, H. Carrington. 1897. The language used in talking to domestic animals. *American Anthropologist* A10(3). 65–90. DOI:[10.1525/aa.1897.10.3.02a00000](https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.1897.10.3.02a00000)
- Breugel, Seino. 2014. *A grammar of Atong*. Leiden: Brill. 700 pp.

## 10 Recruiting assistance and collaboration: a West-African corpus study

- Brown, Penelope & Stephen C. Levinson. 1978. Universals in language usage: Politeness phenomena. In Esther N. Goody (ed.), *Questions and politeness: Strategies in social interaction*, 56–311. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bynon, James. 1976. Domestic animal calling in a Berber tribe. In William McCormack & Stephen A. Wurm (eds.), *Language and man: Anthropological issues*, 39–65. The Hague: Mouton.
- Caldwell, Christine A. 2008. Convergent cultural evolution may explain linguistic universals. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 31(5). 515–6. DOI:[10.1017/S0140525X08005050](https://doi.org/10.1017/S0140525X08005050)
- Clark, Herbert H. 2006. Social actions, social commitments. In N. J. Enfield & Stephen C. Levinson (eds.), *Roots of human sociality: Culture, cognition, and interaction*, 126–152. London: Berg.
- Clark, Herbert H. 2012. Wordless questions, wordless answers. In Jan Peter Ruiter (ed.), *Questions: Formal, functional and interactional perspectives*, 81–100. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Comrie, Bernard, Martin Haspelmath & Balthasar Bickel. 2004. *Leipzig Glossing Rules*. eva.mpg.de. <http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/files/morpheme.html>. <http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/files/morpheme.html>.
- Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth. 2014. What does grammar tell us about action? *Pragmatics* 24(3). 623–647.
- Curl, Traci & Paul Drew. 2008. Contingency and action: A comparison of two forms of requesting. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 41(2). 129–153. DOI:[10.1080/08351810802028613](https://doi.org/10.1080/08351810802028613)
- Dingemanse, Mark. 2015. Other-initiated repair in Siwu. *Open Linguistics* 1. 232–255. DOI:[10.1515/opli-2015-0001](https://doi.org/10.1515/opli-2015-0001)
- Dingemanse, Mark & Simeon Floyd. 2014. Conversation across cultures. In N. J. Enfield, Paul Kockelman & Jack Sidnell (eds.), *Cambridge handbook of linguistic anthropology*, 434–464. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dingemanse, Mark, Francisco Torreira & N. J. Enfield. 2013. Is "Huh?" a universal word? Conversational infrastructure and the convergent evolution of linguistic items. *PLOS ONE* 8(11). e78273. DOI:[10.1371/journal.pone.0078273](https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0078273)
- Drew, Paul & Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen. 2014. Requesting—from speech act to recruitment. In Paul Drew & Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen (eds.), *Requesting in social interaction (The Anatomy of Meaning)*, 1–34. Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins.
- Enfield, N. J. 2007. *A grammar of Lao*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Enfield, N. J. 2013. *Relationship thinking: Agency, enchrony, and human sociality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

*Mark Dingemanse*

- Enfield, N. J. 2014. Human agency and the infrastructure for requests. In Paul Drew & Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen (eds.), *Studies in language and social interaction*, vol. 26, 35–54. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Evans, Nicholas. 2007. Insubordination and its uses. In Irina Nikolaeva (ed.), *Finiteness. Theoretical and empirical foundations*, 366–431. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fischer, Gloria J. 1972. Sound stimuli and following in a domestic fowl: Frequency, rate, and duration. *Journal of Comparative and Physiological Psychology* 81(2). 183–190. DOI:[10.1037/h0033533](https://doi.org/10.1037/h0033533)
- Floyd, Simeon, Giovanni Rossi, Julija Baranova, Joe Blythe, Mark Dingemanse, Kobil H. Kendrick, Jörg Zinken & N. J. Enfield. 2018. Universals and cultural diversity in the expression of gratitude. *Royal Society Open Science*. DOI:[10.1017/S0047404516000385](https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404516000385)
- Ford, Cecilia E. & Sandra A. Thompson. 1986. Conditionals in discourse: A text-based study from English. In Elizabeth Closs Traugott, Alice ter Meulen, Judy Snitzer Reilly & Charles A. Ferguson (eds.), *On conditionals*, 353–372. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fox, Barbara & Trine Heinemann. 2016. Rethinking format: An examination of requests. *Language in Society* 45(4). 499–531. DOI:[10.1017/S0047404516000385](https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404516000385)
- Frake, Charles O. 1964. How to ask for a drink in Subanun. *American Anthropologist* 66(6). 127–132. DOI:[10.1525/aa.1964.66.suppl\\_3.02a00080](https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.1964.66.suppl_3.02a00080)
- Fukushima, Saeko. 1996. Request strategies in British English and Japanese. *Language Sciences* 18(3). 671–688. DOI:[10.1016/S0388-0001\(96\)00041-1](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0388-0001(96)00041-1)
- Goodwin, Charles. 2000. Action and embodiment within situated human interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics* 32(10). 1489–1522. DOI:[10.1016/S0378-2166\(99\)00096-X](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0378-2166(99)00096-X)
- Goodwin, Marjorie Harness & Asta Cekaite. 2013. Calibration in directive/response sequences in family interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics* 46(1). 122–138. DOI:[10.1016/j.pragma.2012.07.008](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2012.07.008)
- Griffiths, Sarah, Rebecca Barnes, Nicky Britten & Ray Wilkinson. 2015. Multiple repair sequences in everyday conversations involving people with Parkinson's disease. *International Journal of Language and Communication Disorders* 50(6). 814–829. DOI:[10.1111/1460-6984.12178](https://doi.org/10.1111/1460-6984.12178)
- Heinemann, Trine. 2006. ‘Will you or can’t you?’: Displaying entitlement in interrogative requests. *Journal of Pragmatics* 38(7). 1081–1104. DOI:[10.1016/j.pragma.2005.09.013](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2005.09.013)
- Heritage, John. 1984. *Garfinkel and ethnomethodology*. Cambridge; New York: Polity Press.

10 *Recruiting assistance and collaboration: a West-African corpus study*

- Heritage, John. 1988. Explanations as accounts: A conversation analytic perspective. In Charles Antaki (ed.), *Analyzing everyday explanation: A casebook of methods*, 127–144. London: Sage.
- Heritage, John. 1990. Intention, meaning and strategy: Observations on constraints on interaction analysis. *Research on Language & Social Interaction* 24(1). 311–332. DOI:[10.1080/08351819009389345](https://doi.org/10.1080/08351819009389345)
- Heritage, John. 2007. Intersubjectivity and progressivity in person (and place) reference. In N. J. Enfield & Tanya Stivers (eds.), *Person reference in interaction: Linguistic, cultural and social perspectives*, 255–280. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Heritage, John & Geoffrey Raymond. 2005. The terms of agreement: Indexing epistemic authority and subordination in talk-in-interaction. *Social Psychology Quarterly* 68(1). 15–38.
- Hoey, Elliott M. 2015. Lapses: How people arrive at, and deal with, discontinuities in talk. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 48(4). 430–453. DOI:[10.1080/08351813.2015.1090116](https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2015.1090116)
- Jefferson, Gail. 1972. Side sequences. In David N. Sudnow (ed.), *Studies in social interaction*, 294–338. New York: MacMillan/The Free Press.
- Jefferson, Gail. 2004. Glossary of transcript symbols with an introduction. In Gene H. Lerner (ed.), *Conversation analysis: Studies from the first generation*, 13–31. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Kent, Alexandra. 2012. Compliance, resistance and incipient compliance when responding to directives. *Discourse Studies* 14(6). 711–730. DOI:[10.1177/1461445612457485](https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445612457485)
- Klamer, Margaretha Anna Flora. 1998. *A grammar of Kambera*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. 476 pp.
- Krebs, John R. & Richard Dawkins. 1984. Animal signals: Mind-reading and manipulation. In John R. Krebs & N. B. Davies (eds.), *Behavioural ecology: An evolutionary approach*, 2nd edn., 380–405. London: Blackwell.
- Kropp Dakubu, Mary Esther & Kevin Ford. 1988. The Central Togo languages. In Mary Esther Kropp Dakubu (ed.), *The languages of Ghana*, 119–154. London: Kegan Paul.
- Kruspe, Nicole. 2004. *A grammar of Semelai*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Labov, William & David Fanshel. 1977. *Therapeutic discourse: Psychotherapy as conversation*. New York: Academic Press.
- Leslau, Wolf. 1979. *Etymological dictionary of Gurage (ethiopic): English-Gurage index*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag. 2956 pp.

Mark Dingemanse

- Levinson, Stephen C. 1983. *Pragmatics*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Lindström, Jan, Camilla Lindholm & Ritva Laury. 2016. The interactional emergence of conditional clauses as directives: Constructions, trajectories and sequences of actions. *Language Sciences* 58. 8–21. DOI:[10.1016/j.langsci.2016.02.008](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.langsci.2016.02.008)
- Liston, Jerry L. 1971. On defining the interjection in contemporary Russian. *The Slavic and East European Journal* 15(4). 479–489. DOI:[10.2307/306037](https://doi.org/10.2307/306037)
- Liu, Yi-Ping, Gui-Sheng Wu, Yong-Gang Yao, Yong-Wang Miao, Gordon Luikart, Mumtaz Baig, Albano Beja-Pereira, Zhao-Li Ding, Malliya Gounder Palanichamy & Ya-Ping Zhang. 2006. Multiple maternal origins of chickens: Out of the Asian jungles. *Molecular phylogenetics and evolution* 38(1). 12–19.
- MacKenzie, J. G., T. M. Foster & W. Temple. 1993. Sound avoidance by hens. *Behavioural Processes* 30(2). 143–156. DOI:[10.1016/0376-6357\(93\)90004-B](https://doi.org/10.1016/0376-6357(93)90004-B)
- Malinowski, Bronislaw. 1923. The problem of meaning in primitive languages. In C. K. Ogden & I. A. Richards (eds.), *The meaning of meaning*, 296–336. London: Kegan Paul.
- Manrique, Elizabeth E. M. & N. J. Enfield. 2015. Suspending the next turn as a form of repair initiation: Evidence from Argentine Sign Language. *Frontiers in Psychology: Language Sciences* 6. 1326. DOI:[10.3389/fpsyg.2015.01326](https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2015.01326)
- Matisoff, James A. 1988. *The dictionary of Lahu*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1494 pp.
- Melis, Alicia P., Patricia Grocke, Josefine Kalbitz & Michael Tomasello. 2016. One for you, One for me: Humans' unique turn-taking skills. *Psychological Science* 27(7). DOI:[10.1177/0956797616644070](https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797616644070)
- Meyer, Christian. 2010. *Self, sequence and the senses: Universal and culture-specific aspects of conversational organization in a Wolof social space*. Bielefeld: Universität Bielefeld. (Habilitationsschrift).
- Miller, Mark T. 2007. *A grammar of West Coast Bajau*. University of Texas at Arlington. (Doctoral dissertation). 449 pp. Ph.D. dissertation.
- Obeng, Samuel Gyasi. 1999. *Conversational strategies in Akan: Prosodic features and discourse categories*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Ogiermann, Eva. 2009. Politeness and in-directness across cultures: A comparison of English, German, Polish and Russian requests. *Journal of Politeness Research. Language, Behaviour, Culture* 5(2). 189–216. DOI:[10.1515/JPLR.2009.011](https://doi.org/10.1515/JPLR.2009.011)
- Oswalt, Robert L. 2002. Interjections in Kashaya. In *Proceedings of the 50th Anniversary Conference*, 47–54.

10 *Recruiting assistance and collaboration: a West-African corpus study*

- Pomerantz, Anita. 1986. Extreme case formulations: A way of legitimizing claims. *Human Studies* 9(2). 219–229. DOI:[10.1007/BF00148128](https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00148128)
- Rossano, Federico. 2013. Sequence organization and timing of bonobo mother–infant interactions. *Interaction Studies* 14(2). 160–189.
- Rossi, Giovanni. 2014. When do people not use language to make requests? In Paul Drew & Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen (eds.), *Requesting in social interaction*, 303–334. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. Studies in Language and Social Interaction.
- Rossi, Giovanni & Jörg Zinken. 2016. Grammar and social agency: The pragmatics of impersonal deontic statements. *Language* 92(4). e296–e325. DOI:[10.1353/lan.2016.0083](https://doi.org/10.1353/lan.2016.0083)
- Sacks, Harvey. 1992. *Lectures on conversation*. Gail Jefferson (ed.). Vol. 1 & 2. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A. 1968. Sequencing in conversational openings. *American Anthropologist* 70(6). 1075–1095. New Series.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A. 1979. The relevance of repair to syntax-for-conversation. In Talmy Givón (ed.), *Syntax and semantics*, vol. 12, 261–286. Leiden: Brill.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A. 2007. *Sequence organization in interaction: A primer in conversation analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A., Gail Jefferson & Harvey Sacks. 1977. The preference for self-correction in the organization of repair in conversation. *Language* 53(2). 361–382.
- Schutz, Alfred. 1962. *Common-sense and scientific interpretation of human action*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Searle, John R. 1969. *Speech acts: An essay in the philosophy of language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sidnell, Jack. 2007. ‘Look’- prefaced turns in first and second position: Launching, interceding and redirecting action. *Discourse Studies* 9(3). 387–408. DOI:[10.1177/1461445607076204](https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445607076204)
- Skinner, B. F. 1957. *Verbal behavior*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts. 478 pp.
- Spottiswoode, Claire N., Keith S. Begg & Colleen M. Begg. 2016. Reciprocal signaling in honeyguide-human mutualism. *Science* 353(6297). 387–389. DOI:[10.1126/science.aaf4885](https://doi.org/10.1126/science.aaf4885)
- Terkourafi, Marina. 2005. Beyond the micro-level in politeness research. *Journal of Politeness Research* 1(2). 237–262. DOI:[10.1515/jplr.2005.1.2.237](https://doi.org/10.1515/jplr.2005.1.2.237)
- Thompson, Sandra A. & Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen. 2005. The clause as a locus of grammar and interaction. *Discourse Studies* 7(4). 481–505. DOI:[10.1177/1461445605054403](https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445605054403)

Mark Dingemanse

- Valdman, Albert & Kevin J. Rottet. 2009. *Dictionary of Louisiana French: As spoken in cajun, Creole, and American Indian communities*. Jackson: Univ. Press of Mississippi. 934 pp.
- van den Berg, René. 1989. *A grammar of the Muna language*. Dordrecht: Foris. 376 pp.
- Warneken, Felix & Michael Tomasello. 2013. The emergence of contingent reciprocity in young children. *Journal of Experimental Child Psychology* 116(2). 338–350. DOI:[10.1016/j.jecp.2013.06.002](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jecp.2013.06.002)
- Wilkinson, Ray, Ivan Leudar & Simone Pika. 2012. Requesting behaviors within episodes of active sharing A new look on chimpanzee signaling. In Simone Pika & Katja Liebal (eds.), *Developments in primate gesture research*, 199–221. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Zimmerman, Don H. 1999. Horizontal and vertical comparative research in language and social interaction. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 32(1). 195–203. DOI:[10.1080/08351813.1999.9683623](https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.1999.9683623)

## Name index

- AIATSIS, 224  
Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y., 61, 312  
Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y., 2  
Altschuler, Milton, 79  
Ameka, Felix K., 361, 377, 385, 386  
Amha, Azeb, 386  
Antaki, Charles, 175, 283  
Apte, Mahadev L., 78, 397  
Arcidiacono, Francesco, 150  
Aston, Guy, 397  
Atkinson, J. Maxwell, 131, 396  
Aust, Derek, 150  
Austin, J. L., 2, 139, 214, 359  
  
Bąk, Piotr, 274  
Baranova, Julija, 71, 131, 175, 176, 297, 318, 322, 348, 379  
Barrett, Samuel Alfred, 79  
Becker, Judith A., 397  
Benacchio, Rosanna, 283, 334  
Berruto, Gaetano, 168  
Bickel, Balthasar, 52  
Blum-Kulka, Shoshana, 3, 9, 176, 186, 399  
Blythe, Joe, 224, 229, 250, 255, 264, 265, 386  
Bodman, Jean W., 78  
Boehm, Christopher, 260  
Bolden, Galina, 293, 318, 326, 334, 338, 355  
Bolden, Galina B., 53, 101, 175, 308, 318, 339  
  
Bolton, H. Carrington, 386  
Breugel, Seino, 386  
Brown, Penelope, 2, 71, 78, 114, 130, 174–177, 181, 186, 313, 344, 346, 353, 360, 388, 399, 402  
Bruil, Martine, 50, 68  
Butler, Carly W., 130  
Bynon, James, 385, 386  
  
Caldwell, Christine A., 386  
Cameron-Faulkner, Thea, 59  
Campisi, Emanuela, 163  
Cardo, Francesco, 150  
Caudal, Patrick, 224, 234  
Cekaite, Asta, 360  
Childs, Carrie, 124, 125  
Clark, Herbert H., 2, 3, 159, 186, 360, 369  
Clayman, Steven E., 130  
Comrie, Bernard, 403  
Corsaro, William A., 353  
Coulthard, Malcolm, 3  
Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth, 3, 6, 64, 66, 67, 104, 114, 121, 128, 198, 262, 294, 359, 369, 370, 373  
Craven, Alexandra, 3, 4, 59, 80, 120, 178, 179, 243, 283, 306, 334  
Creissels, Denis, 52  
Cui, Xuebo, 78  
Curl, Traci, 59, 80, 120, 138, 243, 360  
Curl, Traci S., 3, 24, 138, 243, 342, 353  
Curnow, Timothy Jowan, 52

*Name index*

- Dardano, Maurizio, 150  
Davidson, Judy, 131, 322  
Dawkins, Richard, 385  
De Ruiter, Jan Peter, 243  
DeBoer, Warren, 50  
DeLancey, Scott, 52  
Deppermann, A, 294  
Deppermann, Arnulf, 187, 283, 284, 286  
Dickinson, Connie, 52, 62  
Dingemanse, Mark, 3, 10, 12, 14, 22, 50, 58, 71, 131, 175, 176, 297, 318, 348, 361–363, 379, 386, 391, 398  
Dixon, Robert M. W., 2  
Dixon, Sally, 353  
Drew, Paul, 3, 6, 24, 59, 65, 80, 91–93, 98, 99, 101, 103, 104, 120, 126, 131–133, 138–140, 150, 156, 175, 198, 200, 243, 342, 353, 359, 360  
Eisenstein, Miriam, 78  
Endo, Tomoko, 353  
Enfield, N. J., 4, 6, 7, 10, 14, 22, 58, 160, 161, 163, 186, 198–200, 203, 205, 210, 218, 219, 226, 231, 243, 360, 369, 386, 400  
Ervin-Tripp, Susan M., 3, 4, 174, 179  
Etelämäki, Marja, 66, 67  
Evans, Nicholas, 64, 377  
Fanshel, David, 379  
Farashaiyan, Atieh, 78  
Fasulo, Alessandra, 150  
Fatigante, Marilena, 34, 150  
Félix-Brasdefer, Julio César, 9  
Fischer, Gloria J., 387  
Flanagan, James G., 260  
Floyd, Simeon, 1, 6, 50, 58, 62, 64, 65, 73, 78, 79, 82, 91, 99, 133, 137, 138, 200, 362, 363, 397  
Ford, Cecilia E., 377  
Ford, Kevin, 361  
Forshaw, William, 224  
Forsyth, James, 283  
Fox, Barbara, 115, 138, 370  
Fox, Barbara A., 3, 10, 65, 115, 138, 171, 243  
Frake, Charles O., 359  
Francik, Ellen P., 2  
Fukushima, Saeko, 360  
Galeano, Giorgia, 150  
Gardner, Rod, 251  
Garfinkel, Harold, 94  
Garvey, Catherine, 353  
Gerrard, Grayson, 265  
Gibbs, Raymond W., 2  
Goffman, Erving, 2, 7, 22, 78, 99, 231  
Goodwin, Charles, 175, 369  
Goodwin, Marjorie Harness, 92, 121, 131, 360  
Goodwin, Charles, 92  
Gordon, David, 2  
Gordon, David P., 3  
Green, Ian, 224  
Grice, H. Paul, 2, 159, 160, 186  
Griffiths, Sarah, 398  
Haddington, Pentti, 134  
Hale, Austin, 52  
Halina, Marta, 160  
Hawkins, John A., 318  
Heinemann, Trine, 3, 80, 115, 138, 360, 370, 373  
Heritage, John, 114, 124, 131, 133, 138, 174, 181, 185, 248, 253, 312,

*Name index*

- 353, 379, 385, 393, 394, 396,  
398
- Hinkel, Eli, 78
- Hoey, Elliott M., 380
- House, Juliane, 9
- Houtkoop-Steenstra, Hanneke, 131
- Hua, Tan Kim, 78
- Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Cen-  
sos, Ecuador, 50
- Intachakra, Songthama, 78
- Jefferson, Gail, 53, 100, 275, 320, 391,  
403
- Jijón y Caama, Jacinto, 50
- Kasper, Gabriele, 9
- Keisanen, Tiina, 72, 116, 305
- Kelly, Barbara, 224
- Kendon, Adam, 153, 154, 226, 231, 258
- Kendrick, Kobin H., 92, 93, 103, 104,  
106, 114, 119, 121, 124, 139, 312
- Kendrick, Kobin H., 6, 24, 91, 92, 98,  
99, 101, 103, 126, 132, 138–140,  
156, 198, 200, 243
- Kendrick, Kobin. H., 102
- Kent, Alexandra, 101, 106, 114, 119, 121,  
124, 247, 283, 312, 391
- Khrakovskij, Viktor S., 61
- Kitzinger, Celia, 134, 306
- Klamer, Margaretha Anna Flora, 386
- König, Ekkehard, 35, 60, 113, 168
- Krebs, John R., 385
- Kropp Dakubu, Mary Esther, 361
- Kruspe, Nicole, 386
- Królak, Emilia, 295
- Labocha, Janina, 274
- Labov, William, 379
- Lakoff, George, 2, 130
- Lambrecht, Knud, 160
- Le Pair, Rob, 9
- Lee, Seung-Hee, 243
- Lee-Wong, Song Mei, 9
- Lehmann, Volkmar, 283, 284
- Lepschy, Anna Laura, 150
- Lepschy, Giulio, 150
- Lerner, Gene H., 33, 66, 130, 231, 234,  
242, 279, 297, 303
- Lerner, Gene H., 134, 243
- Leslau, Wolf, 386
- Levinson, Stephen C., 2, 14, 32, 65, 71,  
78, 113, 114, 130, 159, 160, 170,  
174–177, 180, 181, 186, 231, 263,  
313, 344, 346, 353, 360, 388,  
394, 399, 402
- Lewis, M. Paul, 50, 150
- Liebal, Katja, 160
- Lindskoog, Carrie A., 50
- Lindskoog, John N., 50
- Lindström, Anna, 3, 4
- Lindström, Jan, 377
- Liston, Jerry L., 386
- Liu, Yi-Ping, 386
- Lucy, Peter, 2
- Lusini, Sara, 168
- Lyons, John, 35, 152, 233
- MacKenzie, J. G., 387
- Maiden, Martin, 150
- Majid, A., 28
- Malinowski, Bronislaw, 359, 402
- Mandelbaum, Jenny, 124
- Manrique, Elizabeth E. M., 369
- Mansfield, John, 224, 260
- Márquez-Reiter, Rosina, 9
- Masur, Elise Frank, 59
- Matisoff, James A., 386
- Mazeland, Harrie, 185

*Name index*

- McConvell, Patrick, 235  
Melis, Alicia P., 397  
Merritt, Marilyn, 180  
Meyer, Christian, 361  
Miller, Mark T., 386  
Mondada, Lorenza, 100, 134, 140, 160, 165  
Monzoni, Chiara M., 150  
Moore, Bruce R., 50  
Mortari, Luigina, 150  
Mujkic, Elena, 224  
Müller, Neele Janna, 66  
Müller, Rachel A. G., 2  
Mushin, Ilana, 251  
Norcliffe, Elisabeth, 50  
Nordlinger, Rachel, 224, 234  
Obeng, Samuel Gyasi, 361  
Ogiermann, Eva, 3, 9, 66, 67, 120, 130, 175, 187, 286, 288, 293, 308, 326, 344, 345, 347, 355, 375  
Ohashi, Jun, 78  
Oswalt, Robert L., 386  
Özdemir, Çiğdem, 78  
Palmer, F. R., 113  
Pareto, Vilfredo, 220  
Parry, Ruth, 71, 131, 172, 175, 347  
Pedersen, Jan, 78  
Peräkylä, Anssi, 120  
Peterson, Elizabeth, 9  
Peterson, Nick, 260, 265  
Pino, Marco, 150  
Poggi, Isabella, 154  
Pomerantz, Anita, 53, 101, 125, 248, 322, 390  
Pontecorvo, Clotilde, 150  
Post, Mark W., 52  
Potter, Jonathan, 3, 4, 59, 80, 120, 178, 179, 243, 283, 306, 334  
Proudfoot, Anna, 150  
Raevaara, Liisa, 131, 165, 172  
Rauniomaa, Mirka, 72, 116, 305  
Raymond, Geoffrey, 77, 114, 124, 126, 134, 178, 243, 253, 393  
Rendle-Short, Johanna, 130  
Renzi, Lorenzo, 150  
Rezvani, Seyed Ali, 78  
Robinson, Jeffrey D., 131, 159, 175, 308, 318  
Robustelli, Cecilia, 150  
Rossano, Federico, 3, 10, 150, 160, 173, 243, 385  
Rossi, Giovanni, 4, 6, 32, 61, 65–67, 77, 91, 98, 99, 103, 109, 115, 120, 121, 126, 151, 158, 159, 162, 165, 166, 168–175, 177–180, 182, 186, 187, 198, 200, 208, 209, 243, 262, 279, 283, 286, 293, 303, 326, 328, 334, 360, 382, 388  
Rottet, Kevin J., 386  
Rudnicka, Kinga, 295  
Rue, Yong-Ju, 9  
Sacks, Harvey, 94, 101, 130, 133, 138, 152, 170, 262, 391  
Sadock, Jerrold M., 2, 35, 113, 152, 233  
Schegloff, Emanuel A., 7, 22, 25, 53, 65, 68, 78, 97, 101, 113, 127, 130–133, 135, 138, 152, 160, 170, 179–181, 184, 187, 243, 247, 248, 254, 262, 284, 306, 320, 353, 376, 379, 382, 391, 396, 398  
Schunk, D. H., 2, 3

*Name index*

- Schutz, Alfred, 378  
 Searle, John R., 2–4, 65, 114, 139, 179,  
     214, 359  
 Selting, Margaret, 151  
 Serianni, Luca, 150  
 Sherzer, Joel, 58  
 Sidnell, Jack, 24, 64, 198, 367  
 Sidnell, Jerome, 14  
 Siemund, Peter, 35, 60, 113, 168  
 Sifianou, Maria, 9  
 Sinclair, John McHardy, 3  
 Skinner, B. F., 387  
 Smenner, Patricia C., 397  
 Sobrero, Alberto A., 150  
 Sorjonen, Marja-Leena, 165, 284  
 Spottiswoode, Claire N., 385  
 Sterponi, Laura, 150  
 Stevanovic, Melisa, 120, 124  
 Stivers, Tanya, 3, 10, 14, 22, 27, 28,  
     64, 73, 129, 150, 173, 180, 243,  
     250, 276  
 Streeck, Jürgen, 107  
 Street, Chester S., 224  
 Strutyński, Janusz, 274  
 Szymanski, Margaret H., 3, 126, 180,  
     243  
 Takada, Akira, 353  
 Terkourafi, Marina, 400  
 Thompson, Sandra A., 128, 243, 306,  
     370, 377  
 Thorgrimsson, Guimundur Bjarki, 160  
 Toerien, Merran, 134  
 Tomasello, Michael, 160, 312, 362  
 Tomlin, Russell S., 318  
 Tosi, Arturo, 150  
 Trifone, Pietro, 150  
 Tsuzuki, Masako, 9  
 Valdman, Albert, 386  
 Van den Berg, René, 386  
 Van der Auwera, Johan, 281  
 Van der Goot, Marloues H., 160  
 Vinkhuyzen, Erik, 3, 126, 180, 243  
 Vittadello, Alberto, 50  
 Walker, Gareth, 151  
 Walsh, Michael J., 224, 229  
 Waring, Hansun Zhang, 175, 347  
 Warneken, Felix, 362  
 Watanabe, Honoré, 64  
 Weidner, Matylda, 281, 284, 288, 291,  
     293  
 Weizman, Elda, 174  
 Wierzbicka, Anna, 4, 179, 295  
 Wilkins, David P., 29, 33  
 Wilkinson, Ray, 398  
 Woodfield, Helen, 9  
 Wootton, Anthony J., 3, 4, 120, 121,  
     178, 179, 243, 283, 293  
 Zhang, Grace Qiao, 9  
 Zimmerman, Don H., 363  
 Zinken, Jörg, 3, 10, 66, 67, 115, 120,  
     126, 130, 172, 173, 175, 180, 185,  
     187, 198, 208, 283–287, 293,  
     303, 306, 308, 310, 344, 345,  
     355, 388  
 Zipf, George Kingsley, 220  
 Zollo, Mike, 150  
 Zuckerman, Charles HP, 199  
 Zwicky, Arnold, 2, 35, 113, 152, 233



# Language index

some language, *see* some other language  
*see also* some other lect also of interest



# Subject index

some term, *see* some other term

*see also* some other term also  
of interest



# Did you like this book?

This book was brought to you for free

Please help us in providing free access to linguistic research worldwide. Visit <http://www.langsci-press.org/donate> to provide financial support or register as a community proofreader or typesetter at <http://www.langsci-press.org/register>.





# Getting others to do things

Set blurb on back with \BackBody{my blurb}

