

***Studies in Language and Social Interaction:***

***In Honor of Robert Hopper*** edited by Phillip J. Glenn, Curtis D. LeBaron, and Jenny Mandelbaum. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2003, pp. xi + 625.

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*Studies in Language and Social Interaction* presents a large collection of studies of everyday human communication conducted by scholars working within the tradition of Language and Social Interaction (LSI). LSI is an umbrella term traditionally applied to multidisciplinary research concerned with a wide range of phenomena related to situated language use. Within the field of communication, LSI is institutionalized in the LSI division of the regional, national, and international communication associations (e.g., the National Communication Association, the Western States Communication Association, and the International Communication Association). The book is dedicated to the late Robert Hopper, a leading LSI scholar. However, according to the editors, it aims not only to celebrate Hopper's intellectual career but also to showcase the diversity of the field, and, thereby, stimulate discussion of its future developments.

### SUMMARY

The 39 chapters of the book are divided into five parts, each preceded by an introduction. Most of the chapters present empirical studies, but there are also reviews, theoretical pieces, and chapters presenting applied research.

Chapter 1 ("An Overview of Language and Social Interaction Research"), written by the editors of the volume, Curtis D. LeBaron, Jenny Mandelbaum, and Phillip J. Glenn, is an introduction to the field. In addition to providing a history of LSI within the discipline of communication, this chapter outlines major principles shared by LSI researchers. Among those are the use of naturally occurring communication as a source of data, the focus on participants' perspectives, and the interest in language use.

Part I of the book, titled "Orienting to the Field of Language and Social Interaction," contains six chapters that exemplify major research traditions in the field: sociolinguistics, conversation analysis, ethnography of communication, discourse

analysis, and microethnography.

The sociolinguistic approach to LSI is illustrated in Chapter 2 by James J. Bradac's "Extending the Domain of Speech Evaluation: Message Judgments." The chapter summarizes work on speech evaluation, an area of research primarily concerned with identifying features of speech that significantly affect hearers' judgments of speakers' credibility, competence, likeability, and the like. Bradac suggests several directions in which speech evaluation research should grow, including more direct studies of hearer perception, studies conducted in more naturalistic settings, and research focusing on the interaction between message evaluations and message genres.

The conversation-analytic tradition is exemplified by John Heritage's Chapter 3 on news interviews ("Designing Questions and Setting Agendas in the News Interview"). This chapter, in accordance with the conversation-analytic approach, uses recordings of natural interactions as its primary data. Heritage offers a close analysis of news interviewers' questioning practices, focusing on how various features of question design allow interviewers to manage competing demands of the interview situation (such as displaying neutrality while taking up adversarial stances). Additionally, Heritage discusses how innovations in question design (especially in the use of question prefacing) can function as instruments of social change in broadcast journalism. These and other issues are addressed in more detail in Clayman and Heritage (2002).

Chapter 4, written by Kristine L. Fitch, is an example of the "ethnography of communication" approach to LSI (Gumperz & Hymes, 1972). The chapter, titled "Taken-for-Grants in (an) Intercultural Communication," focuses on taken-for-granted cultural assumptions that underpin one family dinner conversation in which a child negotiates a raise in allowance. Based on her examination of the interaction, Fitch argues for an approach that would combine the rigor of conversation analysis with the cultural grounding of an ethnographic method allowing for examination of implicit cultural codes.

Chapter 5 ("So, What do You Guys Think?": Think Talk and Process in Student-Led Classroom Discussions") exemplifies a discourse analytic approach to LSI grounded in speech act theory (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969). Robert T. Craig and Alena L. Sanusi analyze the role of the phrase *I think* in student discussions, describing various ways in which it can be used to preface expressions of opinion as online thinking, manage transitions between canned and spontaneous talk, and maintain controversy. The authors argue for importance of considering "think talk" as an interactional and pragmatic device whose functions go beyond its semantic composition.

Finally, Chapter 6 presents an example of microethnography, a term meant to refer to studies that closely attend to "details of embodied actions as a means of characterizing participant-grounded ways of enacting and interpreting meaning" (p. 43). In the chapter, "Gesture and the Transparency of Understanding," Curtis D. LeBaron and Timothy Koschmann examine how talk, gaze, body orientation,

and gesture are closely coordinated in strips of talk that deal with achieving mutually transparent understanding of unknown terms in a medical classroom. The chapter demonstrates how understanding is socially and transparently accomplished through interaction.

Part II of the book, titled "Talk in Everyday Life," presents a collection of empirical, primarily conversation-analytic, studies of casual interactions. Each short chapter focuses on one particular interactional practice or a set of related practices.

In Chapter 7, "Utterance Restarts in Telephone Conversation: Marking Topic Initiation and Reluctance," Charlotte M. Jones examines restarts—ways of talking that consist of starting, abandoning, and then restarting an utterance. Building upon previous conversation-analytic work on restarts (Goodwin, 1980; Schegloff, 1987), Jones shows how they can be employed in turns of talk that initiate new conversational topics and as indicators of the speaker's reluctance in presenting delicate matters.

Charles Goodwin's chapter ("Recognizing Assessable Names," Chapter 8) discusses two ways in which assessable objects can be introduced into talk: by announcing the object in advance of its production as an assessable, thereby inviting appropriate recipient uptake (see Goodwin & Goodwin, 1987), and by "dropping" a culturally valued assessable into the conversation as a recognition test. Focusing on the second practice, Goodwin shows that the recognition of such assessables is a complex interactional process between speakers and hearers.

In Chapter 9 ("Interactional Problems with 'Did You' Questions and Responses"), Susan D. Corbin discusses some issues involved in asking and answering polar questions that start with *did you*. She argues that several features of such questions make them susceptible to problematic treatment by recipients, focusing on embedded linguistic and pragmatic presuppositions and indexicality. The chapter also suggests that *did you* questions commonly receive more than a required *yes* or *no* response, and that minimal responses are likely to engender further pursuit.

In "Managing Optimism" (Chapter 10), Wayne A. Beach discusses ways in which a family deals with the mother's cancer diagnosis in their casual conversations over the phone. Based on his longitudinal study of the family's interactions, Beach shows that optimism emerges as an interactional resource that helps family members talk about the diagnosis and development of the disease. Managing optimism involves introducing hope and uncertainty about medical diagnoses and procedures, transitioning from bad to good news, talking about choice, joking, and presenting the process as a joint battle. The chapter also discusses how this study contributes to research on talking about troubling and intimate issues.

In Chapter 11, titled "Rejecting Illegitimate Understandings," Samuel G. Lawrence discusses a practice whereby one interlocutor rejects the understanding of her previous turn displayed by the other interlocutor, when the understanding is based not on a misunderstanding of the first turn but on its misconstruction. In

the analyzed segment, the rejection of the illegitimate understanding is achieved via “I didn’t say that.” The author distinguishes such rejections from *third position repair* used to correct legitimate incorrect understandings of prior turns (Schegloff, 1992).

In Chapter 12 (“Interactive Methods for Constructing Relationships”), Jenny Mandelbaum attempts to bridge a gap between LSI and interpersonal communication research by examining interactional practices for enacting relationships. The chapter focuses on two such practices: *tit-for-tat*, whereby one interlocutor responds to a turn that has “disconnecting” implications for the relationship with a “connecting” one, and conversational repair of turns that have problematic implications for the relationship. These two methods foreground the largely invisible relationship work continuously accomplished in interaction.

In Chapter 13 (“A Note on Resolving Ambiguity”), Gail Jefferson analyzes instances of talk in which a speaker produces an utterance that may be taken in a number of ways and then disambiguates it without doing an explicit correction. In such cases, the disambiguating correction is not openly oriented to as such by either interlocutor, yet it is arguably there. Given that conversation analysts use parties’ demonstrable orientations to support the offered analyses, the chapter raises the issue of how to deal with such analytically problematic cases.

In Chapter 14, Emanuel A. Schegloff examines the phenomenon he refers to as “the surfacing of the suppressed” (the chapter’s title), in which an interlocutor aborts the utterance in progress, but then the suppressed talk reappears a bit later but with a different meaning. The chapter examines interactional implications of this practice (for example, how it is involved in the suppression of talk that is in some way problematic) as well as analytical considerations that go into locating and examining this sort of phenomenon.

In the next chapter (Chapter 15) titled “Sex, Laughter, and Audiotape: On Invoking Features of Context to Explain Laughter in Interaction,” Phillip J. Glenn discusses how participants may observably orient to gender as a relevant category in bits of interaction organized around laughter. Glenn argues that sequential and acoustic features of laughter may display the relevance of gender to the interlocutors at that time. The analysis aims to exemplify an empirical method for showing the relevance of gender to interaction. For an expanded account of his laughter research, see Glenn (2003).

In “Gender Differences in Telephone Conversations” (Chapter 16), Hanneke Houtkoop-Steenstra discusses cultural variations in the ways people answer the telephone. While in North America, the phone is typically answered with “hello”—a voice sample that allows for speaker recognition (Schegloff, 1986)—in the Netherlands call recipients overwhelmingly self-identify when picking up the phone by stating their name. Houtkoop-Steenstra examines historical changes that have taken place with regards to answering the phone in Dutch society, some of which indicate differences along gender lines. The chapter argues that variations in accomplishing identification may relate to culture, gender, and larger societal changes.

Part III of the book (“Talk in Institutional Settings”) examines social interaction in a variety of institutional contexts. Work on institutional talk is an important part of LSI research. The papers collected here take different methodological perspectives to describe ways in which talk in institutional settings is both constitutive of and restricted by institutions.

In Chapter 17 (“Comparative Analysis of Talk-in-Interaction in Different Institutional Settings”), Paul Drew discusses the use of *formulations* in a number of different settings: ordinary conversation, psychotherapy, call-in radio programs, news interviews, and industrial negotiations. Formulations are practices of talk via which one speaker offers an interpretation of what the other is saying. Drew examines some systematic variations in how formulations are constructed and used across different settings and discusses how these variations are constitutive of the settings.

In Chapter 18, Robert E. Sanders analyzes some features of informal conversations conducted over two-way radios at sea. Titled “Conversational Socializing on Marine VHF Radio: Adapting Laughter and Other Practices to the Technology in Use,” the chapter examines how the particularities of the technology used for communication—especially the interlocutors’ inability to use the same channel for speaking and listening—affect ways in which conversational gaps, laughter, and other affiliative responses are managed.

Chapter 19 illustrates another approach to studying institutional communication: intergroup theory. In the chapter, titled “Law Enforcement and Community Policing: An Intergroup Communication Approach,” Jennifer L. Molloy and Howard Giles examine police-citizen relations, focusing on conflicting social roles inherent in being a police officer. The chapter discusses intergroup issues that affect community-oriented policing and applies the intergroup theory to further understanding of police-citizen dynamics.

In Chapter 20 (“Preventatives in Social Interaction”), G.H. Morris discusses the use of preventative actions designed to forestall interactional problems. Focusing on talk in therapy settings, Morris examines several types of preventatives: not creating an expectation that may be violated, crystallizing expectations, giving an advisory, notifying of a pending divergence from expectations, disclaiming offensive intent, giving an unsolicited account for a possible divergence, and formulating a problem with another’s conduct without making an accusation. These preventatives occur before any accusations may be verbalized, evidencing the rule “the earlier, the better” when it comes to accomplishing social alignment.

In another study of therapy talk, E. Duff Wrobbel’s Chapter 21 (“The Interactional Construction of Self-Revelation: Creating an ‘Aha’ Moment”) discusses interactional accomplishment of novel understandings. The focus is on one stretch of talk in which an extended discussion between a counselor and her clients results in a moment of self-revelation. Wrobbel examines interactional practices that lead to the revelation and shows that this seemingly internal experience has communicative precursors.

Chapter 22 (“‘A World in a Grain of Sand’: Therapeutic Discourse as Making

Much of Little Things”) by Kurt A. Bruder is a discourse-analytic investigation of therapist-client talk. The chapter analyzes a stretch of interaction where a therapist guides his client in a systematic exploration of the sense of self. Bruder, a practicing therapist, argues that a therapist can and even should analyze the client’s presentation of self as it unfolds during the session, and draw the client’s attention to the displays of identity in discourse.

The last three chapters of Part III examine talk in medical settings. In Chapter 23 (“Modeling as Teaching Strategy in Clinical Training: When Does it Work?”), Anita Pomerantz presents an ethnographic study of medical precepting, the practice of medical students learning through observations of more experienced physicians. An experienced physician acting as a preceptor supervises medical students working with patients. The chapter discusses one teaching strategy commonly used in preceptor-intern-patient interactions: modeling. Modeling allows for “invisible” teaching, which is important in maintaining the intern’s professional role in front of the patient. Unlike other, more explicit strategies, however, the amount of learning depends largely on the student, which may result in missed or unsuccessful lessons.

Chapter 24 presents a single-case analysis of a medical consultation in which the doctor and the patient deal with the uncertainty of test results possibly indicative of a serious medical problem (“Indeterminacy and Uncertainty in the Delivery of Diagnostic News in Internal Medicine: A Single Case Analysis”). Douglas W. Maynard and Richard M. Frankel show that the understanding of the diagnostic news and its implications are collaboratively accomplished. By focusing on a single case, the authors are able to explicate the delivery and the placement of the problematic diagnosis within the larger activity of the medical consultation.

Chapter 25 (“Body Movement in the Transition from Opening to Task in Doctor-Patient Interviews”) examines how doctors and patients accomplish movement from the consultation’s opening to the first order of business. On the basis of a close analysis of several cases, Daniel P. Modaff shows that these transitions are achieved not only with the help of verbal transition markers, but also non-verbally. Specifically, doctors and patients are found to orient away from their coparticipants and towards a task-relevant physical object at transitional points. This allows for precise coordination of the movement into the consultation’s first task.

Part IV (“Emerging Trajectories: Body, Mind, and Spirit”) delves into relatively new areas of LSI research, offering a collection of methodologically diverse chapters that examine communication as an embodied experience.

In the chapter titled “The Body Taken for Granted: Lingering Dualism in Research on Social Interaction” (Chapter 26), Jürgen Streeck argues for a new approach to studying embodiment. He critically evaluates prior research, including his own, that maintains the view of the body as separate from the person inhabiting it, a communicative organ controlled by a disembodied speaker. Drawing on the philosophy of Heidegger, the chapter urges researchers to account for the fact

that bodies are persons skilled in *being-in-the-world*, who act in the surrounding environment rather than merely observe it in a disengaged manner.

Chapter 27 (“Action and the Appearance of Action in the Conduct of Very Young Children”) draws on a large research project that examines social interaction between toddlers (from 12 to 30 months of age) in a preschool setting. Gene H. Lerner and Don H. Zimmerman focus on two ways in which children recurrently use objects (such as toys): first, teasing another child by presenting and then withdrawing an object and, second, getting another child to follow their lead in putting away an object in order to gain possession of another object. Through a close analysis of several video-recorded stretches of interaction, the authors demonstrate that young children can employ the appearance of one action (such as an object offer or cleaning up) to accomplish another action (tease or object repossession). This suggests that very young children are not only able to produce communicative body behavior, but also show an orientation to their behavior as an interpretable social action.

Chapter 28 (“Speech Melody and Rhetorical Style: Paul Harvey as Exemplar”) by John Vincent Modaff presents a prosodic analysis of the famous radio news-reporter’s speech style. Modaff focuses on the use of stress, accent, and emphasis for the purposes of creating cohesion with the audience and accomplishing particular rhetorical ends, and suggests that Harvey’s rhetorical style can be described as *dialogic monologue*. Overall, the chapter argues for including intonation in rhetorical style analyses.

In Chapter 29 (“The Body Present: Reporting Everyday Life Performance”), Nathan P. Stucky and Suzanne M. Daughton discuss challenges and rewards of *everyday life performances*. Everyday life performance is a classroom method whereby students record, transcribe, and perform naturally occurring talk in all of its complexity of details. Drawing on the performance studies tradition within communication studies, the authors report on students’ experiences, suggesting that everyday life performances engender an embodied study of the intricacies of interpersonal communication.

In Chapter 30, titled “Ethnography as Spiritual Practice: A Change in the Taken-for-Granted (Or an Epistemological Break with Science),” María Cristina González critically evaluates current ethnographic methods and argues for a *spiritual ethnography*. Such ethnography should be suited for studying issues that go beyond the biological, psychological, and social and should, in itself, constitute a spiritual practice involving meditation, introspection, and reflection. The chapter outlines the principles for practicing spiritual ethnography.

Chapter 31, “The Tao and Narrative” by Mary Helen Brown, examines similarities between the *Tao Te Ching*, an influential spiritual text, and narrative as a rhetorical form. Brown explores their origins in the oral tradition, their inherent ambiguity, their ability to provide guidance, and the role of narrators. The chapter suggests that the *Tao Te Ching* and narrative help advance our understanding of human experience.

In Chapter 32 (“Conversational Enslavement in ‘The Truman Show’”) Kent G. Drummond applies Robert Hopper’s notion of *taken for granted* (Hopper, 1981a, 1981b) to analyze the 1998 film “The Truman Show.” In the film, the title character lives in an artificial context created for the purposes of a television show, without knowing that the world he lives in is not “real.” The chapter examines key scenes where the taken-for-granted assumptions that support the deception gradually become foregrounded, ultimately resulting in Truman’s escape.

Chapter 33 (“On ESP Puns” by Emanuel A. Schegloff) provides a glimpse into how words might be selected for usage in social interaction. Schegloff contemplates the possibility that some words might be chosen based on extra-sensory perception to form ESP puns. The chapter presents several candidate instances, necessarily anecdotal, in which what one interlocutor said formed a pun on what another interlocutor thought.

The last part of the book (Part V), titled “Robert Hopper: Teacher and Scholar” presents several contributions describing the academic career and life of Robert Hopper. Jenny Mandelbaum examines Hopper’s intellectual history (Chapter 34); Sandra L. Ragan portrays Hopper as a scientist and humanist (Chapter 35); Leslie H. Jarmon describes Hopper’s teaching (Chapter 36); and Wayne A. Beach reflects on the history of his collaboration and friendship with Hopper (Chapter 37). This part of the book also contains a poem written by James J. Bradac (Chapter 38) and concludes with a short address, titled “The Last Word,” written by Hopper for the 1998 National Communication Association Convention (Chapter 39).

## EVALUATION

Overall, the book succeeds in its stated purpose: It is a fitting contribution to the memory of Robert Hopper, reflecting the diversity of his scholarly interests as well as the diversity of the field of Language and Social Interaction. The chapters are written by Hopper’s colleagues and former students, and most authors indicate that their contributions to the book are either directly inspired by or related to Hopper’s own research and interests.

The primary audience for the book is scholars in the field of communication, but many chapters should also appeal to researchers and students from other disciplines whose interests lie in different aspects of language use. The book is clearly and coherently organized, with useful editorial introductions and commentaries for each part. One criticism that might be offered is that the chapters are by no means equal in their scale. Most are brief preliminary explorations of particular topics that rely on very small data sets (often, single cases). Several others, on the other hand, discuss well-formed results of extensive research projects. In the latter category, I would particularly point out the chapters written by John Heritage (Chapter 3) and Gene Lerner and Don Zimmerman (Chapter 27), both of which not only present several important findings, but also exemplify new departures in

conversation-analytic research.

It should be noted that the book, on the whole, does not attempt to provide a coherent introduction to the field of LSI or to its major methodological approach, conversation analysis. While the chapters employ conversation analysis and other LSI methods, they do not present the basic findings that would form a fitting introduction to the field, nor do they fully explicate the methodologies. Short and to the point, most chapters would, however, be accessible to an audience of novices and could be selectively used in introductory courses on language use.

Overall, I would recommend the book to anybody interested in language use in a variety of social settings.

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