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# **INTEGRATING THE METHODS AND STRATEGIES OF CONVERSATIONAL ANALYSIS**

by

**RHODA GILBERT**

**A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Linguistics in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.**

**1997**

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## **Abstract**

### **INTEGRATING THE METHODS AND STRATEGIES OF CONVERSATIONAL ANALYSIS**

**by**

**Rhoda Gilbert**

**Advisor: Professor John Dore**

This dissertation integrates four different theoretical models of conversational analysis into a method that provides descriptive procedures to account for structures, functions, and motives displayed by participants in on-going talk during street-based service encounters. By incorporating the insights of Labov and Fanshel (1977), I unfold and characterize the social conditioning of discourse that empower conversational 'moves.' Goffman's insights (1967) elucidates the regulative role of 'face' norms that motivate the types of dialogic 'moves' selected. I employ the findings of Jacobs and Jackson (1983) who account for goal-oriented presequential strategies 'displayed' by street negotiators to enlist each other's cooperative responses. This heuristic methodology owes its analytic procedures to Conversational Analysis (Sacks, Schegloff, Jefferson 1974, 1977, and Pomerantz 1975) in making formulations about regularities which organize conversation and are 'displayed' as resources for recipient design as they emerge from 'live' sequential contexts. I add to this methodology describable accounts of the 'social,' 'goal,' and 'face' influences as they are 'displayed' and motivate the configuration of subsequent moves.

The street-based negotiations tend to be composed of describable sequential strategies and facilitated by brief, clear recognizable, though generally unconventional, sales routines. The diversity of norms that interact on the street may affect the ranking of priorities and expectations. Achieving sales 'goals' is not taken for granted, nor is the quality of the items, the integrity of the participants, the stability of price, or the respect for face or role on the street. For example, respect for 'face' tends to be subordinated to winning a bid, and 'goal' orientation is regularly superseded by preservation of 'face.'

This combination of conflicting motivations which configure these sequences, produces conversational moves that empower, intimidate, justify, and establish grounds for bargaining outcomes, is more about the effects of strategic plays than of the irregularity of a varied repertoire of verbal tools. An integration of several diverse analytic approaches is employed to account for these collaboratively generated functional, motivational, and structural aspects of talk which converge strategically to direct the interaction and constrain the outcome.'

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# Chapter 1

## Introduction

Contradictions to traditionally held concepts found in this data point to a need for a less restrictive analytic methodology than offered by each perspective independently. These methods interrelate in this event to account for the engagement, conflict, competitiveness, and threats to *face* displayed in competitive *bargaining* rounds embedded within an ambiguous street-based encounter.

### 1.1.1 Issues, Problems and Motivations for an Integrated Approach

The analytic restrictions set by these four methods have motivated me to increase my analytic range by absorbing them into a unified framework. A traditional Discourse Analysis approach endorsed by Labov and Fanshel (abbreviated as L&F) considers the violations of an intuitive rules system of discourse as having been rendered incorrectly or 'ill-formed' deeming the normal discourse irregularities found in these street-based encounters as unanalyzable. The implicative role played by the sequential position of utterances (see Levinson 1983, Chapter 6) is not addressed by L&F. The strictly structural approach of 'traditional' Conversational Analysis (abbreviated as CA) is limited to formulations about systematic surface-level manifestations of sequential regularities. CA doesn't account for either the motivations for '*goal-attainment*,' '*social context*,' or '*face preservation*' which maintain and direct sales-encounter engagement. Unaccounted

by Goffman's concept of *face-work* is the subordination of *face* norms to *goal* orientations by competing bidders during *bargaining* sequences<sup>1</sup> which, contradictory to the expectations of *face* norms, does not shut down the interaction. The lively interaction between the engaged interactants in street-based service encounters manifests coherence and yet tends to breach discourse rules, normative constraints, and formulas about regularities in conversational organization.

'Orthodox' (i.e., strictly structural) CA restricts the 'descriptive' analysis to uncovering regularities solely in what is 'displayed,' shunning explanations involving the participants' motivations (to avoid attempting to account for the 'indescribable' psychological complexities).<sup>2</sup> However, the regularities disclosed in preference organization show consistent preference for agreement (i.e., to avoid or defer *face* offense). Nevertheless, the regularly 'displayed' *face* and *goal* motivated configuration of utterances is rendered unanalyzable by traditional CA formalists (see Taylor and Cameron 1987). On the other hand, Jacobs and Jackson (abbreviated as J&J) demonstrate how *goal-orientation* and *face* motivation are 'displayed' in the configuration of strategic *presequences*. Moreover, J&J do not account for instances when *goal-orientation* is subordinated to the need to preserve *face* manifested in ritual greetings or closings, shows of gratitude and compliments (Taylor and Cameron 1987). Nor does Goffman (1967) deal with occasions when *face norms* seem to be 'lifted' and prioritized by *goal oriented* ones in competitive bidding sequences between aggressive negotiators. Labov and Fanshel emphasize the

---

<sup>1</sup> The 'lifting' of face norms occur regularly within sanctionable socially circumscribed events such as public debates, T.V. talk shows, boxing matches, etc.

<sup>2</sup>For CA proponents underlying motivations have been considered to be too complex and disguisable to be employed as describable objects in conversational analysis (see Taylor and Cameron 1987).

importance of socially ascribed rights and obligations of role-status play in the configuration of mitigated *face preserving* or aggravated *face imposing* moves. Yet during rounds of bidding, these status-ascribed rights and obligations may be challenged and ignored. I propose that while these four methods do not account for anomalous instances (i.e., those that fall outside the constraints of their theoretical parameters), combining them can describe irregularities which tend to be strategically configured to display their agenda (and are regularly exhibited by sales routines).

### 1.1.2 The Interrelationship of the Four Perspectives

CA proponents propose that all utterances are social actions and, as such, they have *situated* meaning. They claim that adjacency pairs are *sequentially implicative*, to be constituted and negotiated intersubjectively (developed and elaborated) by the players at the time of the on-going talk (Heritage 1984; Levinson 1983). The *sequential implicativeness* of an utterance projects meanings which invoke interpretation and accountability by a recipient. Labov and Fanshel, Goffman, Jacobs and Jackson, and those CA proponents who are not strict adherents to its structural approach agree that responses are constrained by the social pressure to preserve *face*. Advocates of a *goal-oriented* utterance claim a version of '*sequential implicativeness*' which projects *goals* to be recognized by participants (Jacobs and Jackson 1983) within their sequential context. J&J maintain that these utterances display an agenda to coerce or enlist the cooperation of the recipient. The *principles of practical reasoning*, Jacobs and Jackson propose, generate the CA sequential strategies of *presequences*, *embedded expansions*, and *preempts* which are constrained by avoidance of *face-threats* (see Section 2.5). Citing Grice (1975) Levinson

(1983, Chapter 6) finds that since conversation is assumed to be cooperative,<sup>3</sup> the implicitness of *presequences* trigger the process inference. The street-vendor selects versions of these sequential strategies in attempting to achieve *sales-goals*, weed out apparent futile service-encounters, and keep the channels of negotiation open or renewable.

### 1.1.3 The Complex Mix of Social Actions in a Non-Conventional Encounter

When these four methods are combined, the procedures of 'discovering' systematic patterns encompass *goal-orientation* and efforts to preserve *face* when they 'recognizably' configure the sequential contexts of sales routines and *bargaining* activities. Piles of clothing carefully arranged on a sidewalk combined with 'recognizable' *goal-oriented* sales routines identify this 'displayed' phenomenon as a sales encounter and cue the roles of the participants (as street vendor and customer). The joint orientation of participants towards a sale is a multi-faceted mix of socially conditioned behavior, anticipated procedures for displaying initiation of an encounter, routine requests and offers, misunderstanding, refusals, withdrawals, correction of misunderstanding, negotiation of grounds, and turn assignment for keeping the channels of communication open. Role rights and obligations, normative constraints on *face threats*, assumptions of cooperativeness, pursuit of *goals*, and the recognition of *goal* and *face* configured sequences, tend to be descriptably expressed to achieve the business of the street-based sales-encounter.

Social-status and the role-related rights and obligations which tend to configure the degree of imposition and social sanction tend to be questioned during *bargaining*

---

<sup>3</sup> According to Grice (1975) when a breach in relevance, informativeness, clarity, and reliability occurs, assumptions of cooperation trigger a process of inferencing.

rounds. L&F find that challenges and 'put-downs' question the opponent's competency and role-rights. On the street they may be employed to justify a rejected proposal.

Bargainers on the street tend to employ self-empowering sequential strategies to win at price-bidding. Social contexts and role relations tend to influence the aggressiveness employed negotiating with a customer.<sup>4</sup> The role-relationship and the contingent *goals* sought tend to determine the type of strategic 'routines' and *presequences* to be selected (see Section 2.5).

#### 1.1.4 The 'Displayed' Goal-Orientation and Face-Awareness of Strategic Sequences

Jacobs and Jackson provide insight into the *goal-orientation* of strategic sequences 'displayed' as sales-routines to initiate, maintain, and close an encounter. These strategies are 'configured' as *presequences*, *embedded expansions*, and *preempts* of the pre-*bargaining* and *bargaining*. The desired grounds for a purchase or a sale emerge as negotiable objects which are formed to accomplish the task at hand. These grounds are established, modified, or invalidated by negotiators. The counter-strategies and *face-saving* devices employed by the customer are used as resources by the vendor to configure strategies and moves. Sales routines<sup>5</sup> tend to be regularly 'displayed' to facilitate communication and the accountability of role-commitment between unacquainted individuals in an ambiguous sidewalk setting. Both the vendor's *price-offer* and the customer's bids tend to be clear and consistent. The use of sales routines in sequential strategies tend to promote the clarity of *goals* and *price-offer/ price-acceptance* and to a

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<sup>4</sup> For example, due to the social asymmetry of gender-status favoring men, a hesitant female may be considered indecisive and invoke the decisive response of a male vendor (Tannen 1990; R.Lakoff 1990).

lesser extent the issues of *face* are respected. *Face-saving* devices (Brown and Levinson 1987; Labov and Fanshel 1977; Goffman 1967) tend to be used to mitigate offenses (to modify a transgression or disagreement) such as refusal or untimely withdrawal.

However, *face-saving* norms have been flouted on the street by competitive bargainers in the data (Gilbert data 1987, 1993, 1994). *Presequences* produced in these street-based encounters tend to be strategically constructed to check if the customer's grounds for a sale obtain, and, when they do not, to enable the participants to negotiate terms for agreement.

### 1.1.5 The Role of Principles and Norms

Incorporated into this integrative method is the role of the principles of conversation which have been identified as: the Co-operative Principle (Grice 1975); the Rationalist principles of *goal-attainment* (Leech 1983, Jacobs and Jackson 1983, and Taylor and Cameron 1987); the Politeness Principles (characterized by Brown and Levinson 1987) which regulate interaction; and rhetorical principles (Leech 1983) which acknowledge social contact (e.g., greetings). These conversational principles and norms expect participants to *preserve face and* to cooperate in maintaining the conversation as they regulate the configuration of sequences and achieve *goals*. Principles have more applicability in conversation since they may be flexibly flouted without invalidating it (Taylor and Cameron 1987, p.93). Some principles may be flouted in favor of others according to the priorities of the speakers and the situation. The *goals* to win a price-bid on the street tend to have precedence over respect for *face* and 'cooperation' in

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<sup>5</sup> Sale routines are recognizable utterances or sequences which orient towards a sales agenda and are germane to the service encounter. The street based encounter reveals recognizable versions of these routines.

competitive *bargaining* bouts. The motivation to preserve *face* is not always dominant and may be superseded by that of *goal-orientation*. 'Clarity' of *goals* may be preferred to *face-preservation*, a phenomena manifested in rounds dealing with price or item selection. The preference for *face-preservation* over *goal-motivation* tends to be exhibited in polite *face-preserving* withdrawals which precede the aborting or attainment of a *sales-goal*.

### 1.1.6 The Benefits of An Integrated Method

This integrated method provides the means to account for the effectiveness of a street vendor's efforts to get a stranger/customer to enter into the unconventional and ambiguous street-based service street encounter. Since the interactants' coherent verbal behavior may, at times, fall outside the analytic scope of each, these four perspectives have been criticized for methodological shortcomings (see Chapter 3). In game-like manner these strategic *presequences* are recognizable patterns which 'display' the competitive moves to the recipient who must then choose an effective next play. Therefore, by absorbing Jacobs and Jackson's insights of the contribution of *goal-orientation* and *face* awareness to the output of strategic sequences into the descriptive methodology of CA, the analytic range for describing on-going talk is increased.

Goffman's insights into *face-work* account for non-*goal* oriented behavior subsequent to the abandonment or achievement of the *goal* of an encounter. Prolonged rounds of compliments 'displayed' sequentially after an *offer* and /or before a closing are attributed to *face-work*. The lifting of *face-norms* during bouts of *bargaining* can be attributed to more *goal-orientation* rather than to *face-work*. The preconditions of a *willingness* to engage in an encounter and the *need* for a verbal initiation in street-based

service encounters are promoted by the perspectives of L&F, J&J, and Goffman. The *politeness/face transgressions* of aggressive bargainers can be explained as *goal-motivated* attempts to intimidate and weaken the role status of the recipient in order to gain the *bargaining-edge*. L&F's study demonstrates how such social factors as social status and role-relationships influence the configuration of utterances. To CA, that interactive/intersubjective accountability which constrains communicative behavior through expectations of normalcy presents a normative restraint rather than a rule-governed one. I combine these insights to form an integrative methodology.

The *strategies, counter-strategies* and *face-saving* devices 'displayed' by the customer function as analytic resources employed by the vendor to strategically design and redesign promotions, *offers*, and *counter-offers*. The analyst is provided with the tools to 'discover' and then characterize the types of sequential strategies 'displayed' by the street-vendor to persuade a customer, resolve conflict of interests, and to bargain coersively while keeping the channels open for negotiation. Structurally irregular ambiguous moves are given meaning and function through the recipients 'display' of recognition in their responses.

### **1.1.7 The Task of an Integrated Methodology**

The task of this integrated methodology is to broaden its analytic range to include such 'describable' yet motivational aspects of a non-conventional encounter as face-preservation, goal-orientation, and gaining the power-edge. Moreover, a contingent task is to identify the presequential strategies used by the urban street vendor to attract, engage, coerce, negotiate, *offer*, and persuade perspective customers.

### 1.1.8 Issues and Problems

Certain technical problems must be resolved when combining the insights of incompatible theories into an integrated approach. The researcher addresses the following queries: How can the insights of a prescriptive rule-govern approach be incorporated into descriptive sequential approach? What are the characteristics of a street-based service encounter that distinguish it from the store-based models? What are the sequential strategies employed by the vendor to coerce and manipulate a customer? By what criteria does a producer tend to strategize implicative moves? By what criteria does the recipient recognize the *goal* of a strategy to coordinate and design an appropriate response? How are the strategic implications of cues (which trigger inference) 'displayed'? How do these cues pave the way for *goal-orientation*? What strategic role does the conflict which erupts between competitive players play? Why don't the interactants terminate the encounter at the point where the sales *goal* is no longer achievable? What role do compliments play in maintaining open channels? Why do *face-threats* regularly occur during *bargaining* rounds without closing the interaction? By what criteria do participants prioritize respect for *face*, *goal-orientation*?

## 1.2 The Scene of the Street-Based Sales-Encounter

### 1.2.1.1 The Setting

These street-based service encounters take place on the sidewalks of downtown Manhattan. Apart from books, street vendors tend to sell a mix of primarily used items such as shoes, tools, clothing, books, tapes, records, small appliances, and novelties. These items tend to be 'found,' 'stolen,' donated, or bought in 'bulk.'

The vendors attempt to perform their roles in a professional-looking manner. Clothing to be sold tends to be carefully laid-out on the outer sections of the sidewalks, neatly folded in piles, sometimes over protective cardboard mats. On busy evenings and in popular locations serving-posts tend to be spaced close to one another, almost within touching distance. At these times, due to the proximity of vendors, identifying the overseer of a serving-post may require inquiry. These vendors seek to gain the attention of passerbys by hawking their wares and low prices. A pedestrian's glance or smile may signal to the vendor a potential sale. Sequential strategies are employed to achieve and actualize a sale.

At the time the data was transcribed, the serving-posts studied were located in the East Village section of lower Manhattan and were manned by legal book vendors and unlicensed vendors. In his article, "Two Peddlers, New Tension," David Bahr reported that "Book peddlers have First Amendment protection to sell their wares without a license" (Bahr 1996, p.9). However, Bahr points out that though they are legal if they appear to be selling other items as well, the book vendors risk having their goods confiscated.<sup>6</sup> He reported "no more than 4,000 food and 1,700 merchandise vendors may operate on the streets of New York. Yet, the 18,000 individuals currently working as vendors without permits testifies to the opportunity in this occupation" (Mellor 1996, p.21). There are numerous unlicensed street vendors who *face* constant authorized police raids, harrassment, and confiscation of their merchandise.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> As of this writing, Mellor (president and general counsel of the Institute for Justice, public-interest law firm, New York Times, OP-ED, Aug.31,1996)

<sup>7</sup> This statement is based on my own observation, Mellor's report above, and the testimony of vendors I had taped.

## **1.2.2 Research Goals and Background**

58 server episodes from taped encounters have been transcribed.<sup>8</sup> There are 52 street-based-service-encounters and 6 which represent the traditional store-based service encounters. The street-based-service-encounters were taped from a small hidden portable tape-recorder worn by the author of this dissertation. When taping encounters between the street vendors and customers, I functioned either as observer or customer. Visual cues were clandestinely recorded in hand-written notes but lack the accuracy of video-equipment.

### ***1.2.2.1 Cultural Backgrounds***

The vendors taped in this 'locus of observation' were multi-ethnic and usually sub-cultural African-American, Hispanic, Hispanic-Caribbean, Haitian, Senegalese, and East European. The sales styles recorded of the East Village street vendors varied from competitive aggressive/manipulative to 'laid-back'/congenial. In contrast to the generally well-groomed deferential store-based server, street vendors tend to be somewhat unkempt and marginal-looking.

### ***1.2.2.2 Threats to Social Status***

Tension is evidenced in hurried and/or interrupted encounters. Police raids have become more commonplace since this study had begun in 1987. At the time of this writing, the summer of 1996, under a city policy to enforce 'quality of life laws,' the street vendor has become a target for police. If the vendor isn't incarcerated by the police for the night or carted away in a police vehicles, she or he is shoed off the service area.

One night as I was observing a customer buying a bracelet from a street vendor, the transaction was intercepted by a policeman. The vendor halted his sale and fled to the other side of the street. The policemen then kicked some of the sales items to spread them out and then monitored the vacated sidewalk from his small motored vehicle. Some passerbys appropriated a few of the vendor's scattered possessions. After a brief watch the policeman left the area before the vendors emerged from their hiding places. The vendor who had been threatened collected the remaining items from the sidewalk. Before leaving, the customer, who had been interrupted by the raid, paid him for the item.

### ***1.3 Comparison of Store-based and Street-Based-Service-Encounters***

#### **1.3.1 The Terminology Designated for Service Encounters**

Comparison in this section is made between the conventional store-based service-encounters and non-conventional street-based service encounters based on my data and on Merritt's model of a store-based service encounter (1976).<sup>9</sup> Merritt's designations of the service encounter have been borrowed for descriptive use of the service-encounter operations. She cites Goffman (1971) as her source for her terminology. The broader environment of sales service such as the sales department of a store is labelled the service area. A street-based service area consists of the section of the sidewalk used for sales transactions and display. The locus of individual sales transaction and item display is the

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<sup>8</sup> These episodes are available in the Appendix. However, the original tape for three of them is lost, therefore, they have not been included in the analysis of this work.

<sup>9</sup> Merritt compares the differences between informal goal-diffuse conversational encounters and goal-based service encounters.

unacquainted. Typically a server *offers* service to the served, to the customer. On the street the server is known as the vendor and is traditionally known as the street peddler.

### 1.3.2 The Norms of Service Encounters

Merritt finds that the customers in the store encounter tend to appear friendly to receive deferential routined service from the server. While polite routines also appear on the street, formality and deference tend to be flouted during aggressive and competitive rounds of *bidding*.

#### 1.3.2.1 Sales Routines / Rituals

Familiar sales ritual/routines instrumentalize mutually agreed upon sales *goals*. The customer's co-presence in the service area tacitly, non-verbally, signals a summons for service. These encounters are *goal-oriented*, fraught with assumptions of roles and outcomes, facilitated by familiar sales routines as communicative vehicles. The greetings below are not regularly expected between unacquainted in the conventional store or on the street, except where familiarity prevails or is sought to invoke business. Vendors may greet passerbys to engage them in a sales-oriented interaction with catchy sales pitches.

Data Key Code: C=customer, S=vendor, C2=second customer, S2=vendor's associate	
4.1.3 <u>Boot Shoes</u>	
Summons	01S: <i>Hmmm (humming).</i>
→Greeting	<i>Hello, How are you. (Smiling, makes eye-contact) (2.0)</i>
→Greeting	02C: <i>Hi. (muted) (3.0)</i>
Sales-Pitch	03S: <i>Just name it and I'll make sure you don't leave without it</i>
4.1.5 <u>Perfume</u>	
→Greeting	02S2: <i>How are <u>you</u> today?</i>
(Continued on the next page)	

(Continued from the previous)	
→ Greeting	03C2: <i>Fine. How are <u>you</u>?</i>
→ Greeting	04S2: <i><u>I'm fine.</u></i>
Service-Request	05C2: <i>How much is the perfume?</i>

Borrowing from Goffman's terminology (1971), these instrumental sales routines are components of 'remedial interchanges' which are sequentially designed to enable *face-preserving* initiation, maintenance, and closure of a service encounter (see Section 2.3). On the other hand, 'supportive interchanges' enable *face-respecting* social contact and are typified by a smile or a greeting and 'well-wishing' tokens. 'Ritual equilibrium' is the state of dealing with ones' own business. When one individual disturbs another in this state of being, imposing her/his demands upon the server or customer, she/he disrupts his/her 'ritual equilibrium.' For example, when the customer encroaches upon the vendor's territory by communicating her/his need/demand of service upon the vendor, he or she has disrupted the vendor's' ritual equilibrium.' The vendor's response to the customer's demand repairs the offense and restores the equilibrium. Sales routines are designed to mitigate this offense and do the remedial work of maintaining a rapport while making clear the demands of the recipient.

4.1.4 <u>Jacket</u>	
→ Pre-Request for Service	01C: <i>This is nice. (points to leather coat) Is this yours?</i>
→ Agreement/ Ratification	02S: <i>Yeah!</i>

According to Goffman, remedial work typically involves apologies, accounts and requests to repair or mitigate the effects of the imposition on the recipient. Merritt proposes that: "an act of requesting is not in itself remedial but rather has some remedial component that transforms (diminishes) the demand character of the act performed" (p.

23). The customer's demand is termed a *root demand*, a request which may be a *request for information*, a *request for action*, or a *request for attention*. A tacit summoning of service would exemplify the *request for attention*, a request for payment typifies a *request for action*, and a *request for price, availability or product information*, characterizes *requests for information*.

4.2.12 Pocket book

→ Request

01C1: *Could I look at that bag? (Pointing)*

→ Acceptance

02S: *Sure! Which one? (Soft even tone)*

### 1.3.3 Turn-Taking Norms in a Service-Encounter

Turn-taking norms defined by Harvey Sacks, Emanuel Schegloff, and Gail Jefferson (Sacks, Harvey, Schegloff, & Jefferson 1974) are examined by Merritt as he compares the norms of an informal conversation with those of a *goal-oriented* service encounter. While minimal overlap before the transition of turns has been observed in informal conversation, overlap has been commonly found during conventional store-based (Merritt 1976) and street-based service exchanges (see Section 2.2). In a service encounter, prolonged pauses commonly occur when the customer looks over the goods, checks them out, hands over money, waits for bagging or wrapping, exchanges goods for money and the like.

According to turn-taking norms a speaker 'gets the floor,' 'holds the floor,' and 'gives-up the floor,' observing the rules of next speaker selection. To Merritt 'turn transition (between customers) involves what might be called the management of 'next customer selection techniques' and devices for 'claiming the server,' 'holding a claim on the

server,' and for 'giving up a claim on the server.' To 'claim' service, a customer signals the server.

4.1.23 <u>Photographs</u>	
→ Assigns Floor	01C: <i>Is this yours? (pointing to photos)</i>
→ Takes and Returns Floor	02S: <i>Yeah.</i>
No One Takes Floor	(32.0) <i>(looks at photos)</i>

### ***1.3.3.1 Verbal Initiation on the Street Compared to Non-Verbal Store Initiation***

To gain the attention of a busy server, the customer may initiate the interaction by greeting the apparent vendor and then request service. The conventional service encounter may be initiated by a prospective customer who stops to look at items in a store. This appearance of interest may be acknowledged by a server with an *offer* of service "Can I help you?" The street vendor is more frequently heard hawking his goods with enticing sales pitches to gain the attention of passing potential customers. In the street-based service-encounter data, customer initiation is accepted by the vendor who is anxious to unload his stock.

### ***1.3.3.2 Norms Governing Orderly Service of Customers***

The 'first come first serve' norm of a service encounter is evidenced in the generic service encounter which enables an orderly servicing of waiting customers. This norm also equalizes the asymmetry of status between customers. Merritt proposes that the server has some control over who enters into the service encounter and that once the encounter is initiated, it is "protected from entrance and over-hearing by others" (p.25).

This norm applies to the order of service in street-based encounters, however, eye-contact, and verbal summons signal the customer's readiness, rather than a line-up.<sup>10</sup>

Citing Goffman, Merritt claims '*barrier rules*' as norms of interaction in a conventional service encounter ". . . guard against the encroachment of personal implorings into the outcome of the service encounter" (p.42). According to these norms, non-sales oriented moves are often ignored or discouraged in the store as possible distractions from the *goal-driven* business at hand. A segment of pre-negotiation rounds is '*played out*' by the server and customer, which solicits information about availability, item selection, price, and so on. On the street additional rounds can negotiate price. Sales patterns are oriented towards the termination of the encounter and the exchange of goods, seeking ritual equilibrium.

### ***1.3.3.3 Taking Responsibility and Control of Pricing***

An application of the 'barrier rules' is evidenced by the use of 'we' by a conventional server business at hand, the exchange of non-free goods, whereby the server de-personalizes the determination of price and represents herself/himself as an instrumentalizer of the store's policy. The server can, thus, distance himself/herself from the responsibility of the price quoted. The routines orient towards achieving the anticipated outcome of the encounter. In contrast to the store model, since participants negotiate for price on the street encounter, the vendor assumes full responsibility for the price offered.

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<sup>10</sup> Goffman explains store protocol in the following segment (1971, p.99): "Thus those who approve of protocol claim that it is a device not for expressing social distinctions but rather for preventing the occurrence of such expression. By taking note of every event which might be taken by some as an expression of relative status or relative approval, and establishing an order for these events based on distinctions in rank established beforehand, assurance can be given that nothing not already taken for granted will be expressed. " Goffman points out that a common principle followed in service encounters is that of 'first come, first served.'

Being in control of his prices the street-based vendor can modify her/ his price to either meet the customer's price-bid or to entice her/him, contrasting with the characteristic inflexibility of conventional store pricing and policy.<sup>11</sup>

The *territorial preserve* (Goffman 1971) is the service area in which the service commodities are kept and '*monitored*' by the server. The non-free goods are the service commodities which are rightfully removed through the exchange of money for goods (p.37). This relationship is asymmetrical, due to the rights and authority granted to the conventional server. Merritt depicts a state of reciprocity between the server and the customer. While the customer anticipates that her/his need of service be provided by the server, the server likewise expects her/his needs for payment be fulfilled through the customer's action. Either interactant tends to respond with an appreciation token "You're welcome," "Thanks," and the like.

#### 1.3.4 The Structure of The Street-Based-Service-Encounter

Merritt incorporates Goffman's terminology (1967) and proposes a service encounter template of sequences which consists of four stages: *access*, *selection decision*, *exchange* and *closure*. When a sales transaction does not take place, the service encounter may terminate at any stage. On the other hand, the vendor may recycle her/his *offer*, the customer may redirect the focus and view the other items on display. Since price is negotiable on the street, I have modified Merritt's (see Merritt's dissertation 1976) structural stages of a service encounter to include the negotiation moves of the street-based-service-encounter: A *pre-bargaining* and *bargaining* component is identified in the se-

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<sup>11</sup> Subject to the law, store prices must be labelled, available on a visible sheet, fixed and equal for all customers to prevent arbitrary pricing.

lection decision stage. *Bargaining* (also known as bidding) though optional, is expected. The norms which respect *face* open channels, keep channels open, and enable renewable open channels during the *pre-bargaining* stage, may be superseded by sales *goals* during the *bargaining* component.

As the customer tends to request service, the server tends to *offer* it. This patterning invokes the socially ascribed right of the customer to make this request the obligation of the server to *offer* services, commodities, and provide information within the 'territorial preserve,' the confines of the service area.

### 1.3.5 Requests and Offers

Merritt's model involves American urban store-based encounter routines. The generic service encounter includes implicit, tacit, or explicit requests, and *offers*. In a conventional store, where items are labelled and shared common knowledge, the interaction may be non-verbal (see Ervin-Tripp 1972). A customer may enter a store, point to a carton of cigarettes, hand the money to the cashier who may hand her/him the change with a receipt, and non-verbally proceed to bag the item. The customer then walks out without ever having made eye-contact or exchanged words with the cashier. In other service encounters a customer usually needs to request service, and item-information.

On the other hand, price is flexible on the street and is known only to the vendor, who is role-empowered to control it (as a street vendor). The interaction tends to be verbal, dominated by requests for information or service, price *offers*, counter-*offers*, rejections of *offers*, and respect or disrespect for *face* in pursuit of a price or sale.

The sample below displays an example of a self-accounted query. The question below is self-accounted, since, as a request for information, it supplies enough content to elicit the information sought.

2.1.4 <u>Mexican Items</u>	
→Request	26C1: <i>That's not bad. Uhhhh! Do you have any blouses with more sleeves and more embroidery?</i>
Account/Non-Acceptance Account	27S: <i>I know, but I sold them. I didn't sell them here (0.5) I had some really nice white on white and then all white on white embroider, really beautiful</i>
Compliment	

The understanding of self-accounting questions are due to the fact that they are AB accounts, shared background knowledge (see Section 2.2). Merritt proposes that the server will "hear this query as '*maximally appropriate*' by providing an account for this request for information out of his store of contextual knowledge" (p.133), enabling the server/vendor to design an appropriate response such as an offer if the request conveys the customer's interest in making a purchase.

### 1.3.6 Summary of Setting

This chapter characterizes the operation of the street-based service encounter as a genre distinct from that of the conventional store-based service encounter. The uniqueness of this type of service encounter is its negotiability of price and legally unaccountable behavior of the vendor which configures a variation of the service encounter's normative structure and expectations. The transitory role status of the unlicensed vendor is ever-threatened by police intervention. These encounters depend on sales routines which identify its functions and *goals* and the *willingness* of the participants to enter into a risky unprotected sales transaction. Since the vendor's

knowledge of the goods, their utility and origin (some may be stolen goods) tend to be questionable, trust and competence between negotiators is potentially at issue. How these interactants strategize moves, negotiate grounds, question competence, overpower an interchange, maintain rapport, refuse with minimal *face* loss, keep the channels of negotiation open and regulate the outcome of the encounter (as they collaboratively construct it) will be the subject of this dissertation.

### 1.3.7 An Overview of the Chapters

Chapter 1 includes an introduction of the analytic *goals* and tasks of an integrated method; background information, the terminology employed by Marilyn Merritt (1976), and a comparison of Merritt's description of the conventional store-based encounter with that of the street-based encounter taped for this dissertation. Chapter 2 discusses the insights gleaned and the analytic application of each approach to the data. It presents and examines the analytic perspective of Labov and Fanshel's (1977) socially conditioned rule-based approach; Goffman's (1967) *face* hypothesis, the 'descriptive' methodology of Conversation Analysis (Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson 1974); and the proposed rationalist *goal* based approach of Jacobs and Jackson (1983). Chapter 3 reviews criticisms of the four theoretical frameworks. Chapter 4 provides the rationale for coordinating aspects of these methods in analyzing a multi-faceted encounter. Chapter 5 demonstrates the operation of this analytic approach to characterize service encounter *bargaining strategies*, *pre-bargaining strategies*, and the opening and shutting down of street-based-service-encounters. Chapter 6 summarizes the accomplishments, the claims, and findings, accomplished through the integration of these perspectives.

## Chapter 2

### Four Perspectives on Discourse

#### 2.4 INTRODUCTION TO THE FOUR APPROACHES

This chapter presents the four perspectives of conversation analysis: that of Labov and Fanshel (1977), Goffman (1967) and of the Conversational Analysis proponents and creators; Sacks, Schegloff, Jefferson (1973, 1974, 1977), and others. Labov and Fanshel present a socially conditioned rule-governed approach to analyzing a focused speech event. Erving Goffman's approach details the affect of *'face'* motivations in configuring sequences in *'face-to-face'* interactions. Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson present a structural analysis of the formulations made from the recurrent patterns -in-action, using recipient-designed procedures. Jacobs and Jackson propose a *'goal'*-motivated, rationalist model, integrating a principles-based perspective with a descriptive analysis. Each perspective presents a different analytic approach to a non-conventional speech event, the street-based service encounter. The following sections apply and adapt each approach to an analysis of the street-vendor data.

Each theoretical model presented in this chapter provides an analytic tool which deals with a different aspect of verbal interaction. The street vendor transcriptions are employed to demonstrate their application.

## 2.5 SOCIAL FACTS AND ACTIONS: LABOV AND FANSHEL

### 2.5.1 Introduction

This section reviews Labov and Fanshel's approach to discourse analysis detailed in their book *Therapeutic Discourse* (1977). Their proposal draws from sociolinguistic and pragmatic theories. The social conditioning of requests and their responses are the focus of their research. L&F claim that the 'correct' interpretation of the utterances is based on the participants' intuitive interpretation and production of the rules of discourse invoked by their shared background knowledge of social facts. They propose that *The Rules of Production* generate utterances to accomplish intended actions and *The Rules of Interpretation*' which invoke the recipient's recognition of what is to be done<sup>1</sup> To L&F, "a matrix of utterances and actions" is "bound together by a web of understandings and reactions"(p. 30). This 'cause' and 'effect' relationship involves "actions" and "reactions that are dependent upon the social position of the speakers in the social network . . ." (p. 26). L&F contend that by making an issue of the recipient's competence, speech actions such as challenges, praise, insults and threats have the potential to have consequences on the recipient's social status. The expectations evoked by a particular socialized situation, the experiences participants bring to it, the social consequences produced, the shared meanings of these events, and their contextualization of them, account for the complexity

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<sup>1</sup> Labov and Fanshel in explaining preconditions. claim, "This knowledge—of needs, abilities, rights, and obligations—forms the fundamental mechanism of the rules for making requests, putting off requests, etc. In short, we all are searching for the most general rules that we can write; but to know they are the correct rules, we must have enough contextual information to be sure they apply in any given case" (p.73).

of the interaction. This section will review aspects of L&F method, the application of which will be demonstrated through episodes of the street-based service encounters data.

L&F characterize the external social influences which determine the role-relationships between co-workers, co-family members, strangers on the street, and high status and lower status members of a society or social milieu.<sup>2</sup> Their relative social status, rights and obligations and social expectations of the event, circumscribed by these external systems are exemplified in the data by cultural influences on the bidding behavior of bargainers on the street.

### **2.5.2 Social Facts and Social Status**

L&F claim "Social facts that determine the interpretation of the utterance . . . most of the information needed to interpret actions is already found in the structure of shared knowledge and not in the utterances themselves" (p. 82). Thus, understanding the meaning of the speaker's utterances is dependent on the interactants' shared background knowledge of 'social facts.' Interactants share a biography of social experiences and a knowledge of social facts which they bring as a resource to the interaction enabling them to understand each other's utterances. Interpretation of non-verbal actions draws from this stock of shared knowledge—particularly from implicative paralinguistic cues, facial gestures, hand gestures and body language—common accompaniments to hints, sugges-

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<sup>2</sup> The social system controls the family system which constrains the socially instituted speech event which regulates the utterances exchanged. The speech event in Labov and Fanshel's study was the interview between a female patient and her therapist.

tions, innuendoes, sarcasm, and anomalous utterances.<sup>3</sup> They claim that the socially circumscribed speech event constrains the offensiveness of the language, the *obligation* of the recipient and the *rights* of the speaker.

### 2.5.3 Rights, Obligations, Power, and Solidarity

Participants in a street-based service encounter have socially sanctioned rights, obligations, and expectations. The grounds of which vary by culture and situation (see L&F 1977; and Ervin-Tripp 1976). Social status carries the privilege of deference and the rights to make demands on lower ranking members who are obligated to comply. The less familiar the interactants are with one another, the more deferential their behavior tends to be in American interactions (Ervin-Tripp 1976). L&F define social status as (p. 95) "a position of a person in the social structure, which includes a set of rights and obligations."<sup>4</sup>

In the workplace higher ranking agents have the power of social status and assume the right to make direct demands of lower level members who are obligated to comply (Brown and Gilman 1960). Members of a community are expected to share knowledge of the rights and obligations of social roles. A customer expects to have the right and status to check out items on display and elicit information about their condition and price. The

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<sup>3</sup> Since I lacked the audio-visual equipment to analyze the visual cues, a resource available to the recipient, my notes, taken on the scene, may have missed significant cues which influence the recipient's response.

<sup>4</sup> Many traditional cultures ascribe higher status to males than females (Brown and Gilman 1960).

vendor is under social obligation to reply, be relevantly informative, cooperative and to achieve.<sup>5</sup>

#### 2.5.4 General Rule of Etiquette

The *general rule of etiquette* evokes normative filters that constrain interaction. Non-verbal behavior between strangers is preferred. L&F propose "that one should be attentive to other person's needs so that they do not have to make explicit requests for ordinary routines of social interactions" (95).<sup>6</sup> In contrast to store-based encounters, verbal communication is needed to solicit customers or elicit service and price. Vendors hawk prices "I only want 15 dollars," goods, "Radio for Sale," or offer service "Can I help you?"

#### 2.5.5 Requests: Directness and indirectness

Citing Goffman (1967, 1971), L&F characterize *requests* as intrinsically intrusive, offensive, impositional moves mitigated in order to avoid conflict. Through the participants' shared knowledge of the rules of discourse, requests are shaped to get the recipient to understand what the speaker wants done and to accomplish it. Direct requests are commonly displayed syntactically as unmarked imperatives to invoke action, exemplified by "Come here!", "Buy this!", or "Try it on." Direct moves<sup>7</sup> tend to be interpreted as

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<sup>5</sup> See Grice's Maxims (1975) of informativeness, clarity, truthfulness, and relevance.

<sup>6</sup> A pedestrian tends to avoid making any explicit request or action which would offend another pedestrian. People passing in the street simply move out of each other's way so as to avoid collision. Interactants "are expected to foresee" their recipients needs.' L&F claim that it is common for "hosts to anticipate their guests desires, and pedestrians to anticipate the path of other pedestrians so that they will not come into collision" (p.94).

<sup>7</sup> Direct requests tend to be sanctioned in asymmetrical hierarchical relationships such as boss-employee, teacher-student, officer, private-doctor-nurse, parent-child, policeman- hustler, etc. (see Brown, And Gilman 1960; Ervin-Tripp 1972).

intrusive or rude, when making immediate unequivocal demands for action upon recipients. Indirectness is usually interpreted as deferential and a sign of respect. When making requests of higher status members, lower status members are expected to use a deferential indirectness.<sup>8</sup> Shared assumptions of known facts enable members of a social milieu (such as a family) to interpret each other's intentions when conveyed indirectly. Social norms utilized so as to avoid conflict (Goffman 1971, 1967; Levinson and Brown 1987) motivate the use of indirectness and attempts to mitigate or '*soften*' the coercive impact of requests.

Hints, innuendoes, insinuations or facial gestures may be sufficient to get a family member to understand what the non-verbal producer wants done. A customer's frown tends to cue the vendor to lower the price or enhance the sales offer.<sup>9</sup> A stressed request for action may render a directive more commanding and demands compliance from a lower status recipient.

L&F claim requests are either direct, 'surface-level,' or (see Ervin-Tripp 1976) implicit, 'beneath the surface level.' Indirect requests may count as requests for information, for permission, for confirmation, etc. and tend to be requests for action. Requests for information and embedded requests for information tend to be attempts to put-off a refusal to a request. Underlying requests when repeated, stressed, or are

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<sup>8</sup> In some cultures lower status members are obligated to address superiors with deferential addresses, such as "Sir," and make request through gestures and hints (see Brown and Gilman 1960; Ervin-Tripp 1972).

<sup>9</sup> Direct refusals "No!," or challenging rhetorical questions vary according to status, role-relationship, and familiarity.

rhetorical, tend to challenge, curse, or threaten, and can cause a negative social consequence (by making issue of the recipient's competence).

#### **2.5.5.1 Preconditions of Requests**

L&F claim that what participant A believes that B believes that A believes that B believes and vice versa constitutes their shared knowledge of the social facts (their AB events discussed below). This shared knowledge of social facts includes the preconditions for the production and interpretation of speaker A's request of a particular speech event. The vendor must believe that the customer believes that the vendor believes that the pre-conditions prevail for a sales price offer to be made. The basic preconditions are characterized as *needs, ability, rights and obligations* (or *desires*) which they claim assure the valid performance of a request. There must be a need for the request to be made in order for the task to be accomplished. The recipient must have the ability to perform the requested task and be willing or feel obligated to comply for reasons of subordinate social status.

The street-based service encounter tends to require an initiating summons, a request for service, or an offer of service. Neither the passerby's interest in making a purchase, nor the vendor's identity is immediately apparent on a sidewalk lined with serving posts and browsers. The customer is expected to request item information. A valid request requires that the customer believe<sup>10</sup> that the vendor has the information requested, is willing and able to comply, and that the vendor is obligated and/or willing to provide it.

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<sup>10</sup>L&F assert ". . . it will become increasingly apparent that most of the information needed to interpret actions is already to be found in the structure of shared knowledge and not in the

The vendor must believe that the customer is willing and able to validly comply with her/his request (i.e., is able to purchase the item or fulfill the information requests).

When the preconditions cannot be met, in revealing the shortcoming, the vendor provides the customer with a basis for negotiating a lower price. However, an unaccounted refusal "No!" may preclude negotiation and lead to a withdrawal.

In the episode below, there is a *need* for the customer's request for price information in order for her to decide upon making a purchase. The customer sets up the preconditions for a *sales-price-offer* "How much is that?" which obligates the vendor to fulfill. The vendor sets up a precondition to be met and identifies the item before attempting to meet the customer's precondition. When the precondition for item identification is met, the vendor is considered socially warranted to provide the price.

3.1.2 <u>VCR</u>	
→ Request for Information	04C: <i>How much is that?</i>
Request for Information	05S: <i>Huh?</i>
No Response	(0.2)
Request Confirmation	06S: <i>This?</i>
Confirmation	07C: <i>Uh huh. The cleaner.</i>
→ Price information	08S: <i>Oh this? Gimme two dollars. (softly)</i>
Acknowledgment	09C: <i>Uh huh.</i>
No Response	(5.0)
Response with Information	10C: <i>Oh That's for::</i>

#### 2.5.5.2 *Indirect Requests*

L&F claim that the '*Rule for Indirect Requests*' may refer to the existential status of the action, the consequence of the action, the time of the action, the preconditions of

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utterances themselves" (p.83). The customer's beliefs are derived from her knowledge of the social facts of a vendor's rights and obligations.

ability, need, willingness, rights, or obligations of the participants.<sup>11</sup> Many indirect requests have familiar routine *'frozen forms'* or routines such as 'Can I help you.' L&F claims there are varying degrees of *'transparency'* (directness) and *'opaqueness'* (hedging or indirectness) of form. *'Opaqueness'* may be characterized by reference to a person's willingness to perform an act such as helping a customer or providing a service in such utterances as "Would you mind . . .," or "Would you like to . . .," which tend to elicit an oblique refusal such as "I'd rather not . . . ." Since the speaker is imposing her/his needs on the recipient, direct imperatives tend to be avoided by unacquainted, except in such sales routines as price-bidding "Gimme two dollars" where clarity is preferred and directness is tolerated on the street.

### 2.5.5.3 *Mitigated and Aggravated Requests*

L & F describe the relationship between mitigated requests as indirect and face saving and aggravated requests as more direct and face-threatening. They propose that mitigated requests refer to the preconditions of a request. On the other hand, aggravated requests invoke the rights, obligations, and/or the willingness of the interactants. The intonation of the utterances tends to amplify or diminish the degree of aggravation. The rising and lowering of intonational contour tends to effect the degree of mitigation or aggravation. The more aggravated the force, the greater the possibility that the speaker is attempting to obligate the recipient to comply. Speakers are more likely to use mitigated

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<sup>11</sup> Indirect requests may refer to the existential status of the action to be performed "Do you have change;" they may refer to the consequence of the action requested "One of them cost that much. Eh;" they may refer to time such as "Til' midnight;" they may refer to the precondition of ability "Can you read that;" they may refer to the precondition of willingness; they may refer to the precondition of obligation, "You have to pay more;" or they may refer to the precondition of rights "What I make if I stayed all day?" (the vendor's right to be paid). "Can I help you" displays the need for verbal initiation

requests for information than aggravated assertion ( which pressures compliance). Tags requests (e.g.. such as "This is a nice top, isn't it?") expect the addressee to agree. By not agreeing, the addressee makes issue of the producer's ability to evaluate. On the other hand, untagged requests for information (e.g., "Is this a nice top?") invoke the recipients opinion, enabling the addressee to disagree indirectly (i.e., with mitigation). Assertions such as "This is a nice top." are least mitigated since they do not elicit the recipient's opinion-response (i.e., to give a negative opinion would be to disagree, a *face-threatening* act). Intonational contours such as rising tones for questionings are used to modify requests. By mitigating his refusals, the speaker protects the other party's face and defends her/his own (Goffman 1971).

In the example below, the vendor provides leeway for the customer to opt-out with an excuse of a time problem, mitigating her request for action " Do you have time to try it on?"

#### 4.1.4 Jacket

→ <b>Mitigated Request for Action</b>	07S: <i>Do you have time uh to try it on?</i>
Direct Request for Action	08S2 <i>Yeah, try it on. (The other vendor)</i>
→ <b>Accounted/Non-Acceptance</b>	09C: <i>Oh it's okay. I can jus look at it and see.</i>

The greater degree of reference made to obligations and rights, the more aggravating the move. The greater degree that needs and ability are emphasized, the more mitigated the directive.

In the segment below the vendor uses directness in making her generic price offer, "Give me 12." She solicits both compliance and payment from the customer which is directly rejected by the customer with an accounted reason. Referring to his obligation to

pay more. the vendor counters with an aggravated request for action, "You have to pay more." She also implicitly refers to her own right to get a better price.

### 2.1.3 Bomber Jacket

Direct Request for Action

63S: *Give me 12.*

Rejection/Proposal

64C3: *No! I give you 10 dollar.*

Grounds

*Because it's new that's the reason.*

*I want=*

→ **Aggravated Request for Action** 65S: *=You have to pay more.*

\*C3=Third interacting customer

#### 2.5.5.4 *Request for Action*

According to Labov and Fanshel a literal request for information, confirmation, approval, permission, carries underlying requests for action which are recoverable through the process of inferencing. Recipients are cued to infer meaning by their shared knowledge of the criteria for indirect requests.

In the episode below, the vendor presupposes that the preconditions prevail to make a hedged request for action S: "Just hold 3." To accomplish the task, the vendor attempts to make a clear and understandable request. The street vendor is expected to make a request for action in the interest of the customer and the sale. Since the preconditions obtain, the customer complies.

### 2.1.3 Bomber Jacket

→ **Request for Action**

43S: *Just hold 3. I give you two more*

Granting

44C1: *Uh Huh!*

→ **Request for Action**

45S: *Yes. Give me three. I give you five.*

Appreciation

*Thank you very much.(to C1)*

#### 2.5.5.5 *Put-Offs of Requests*

A *put-off* is a *refusal* of a *request* based on preconditions similar to the indirect request. Both tend to refer to the existential status of the request, or the failure of the re-

quest to meet one of the preconditions of the recipient. It is usually in question format, as an assertion, or negative assertion. Citing Goffman, L&F point out that while an unaccounted refusal tends to be offensive since it does not provide a basis for negotiation, an accounted refusal does. An unaccounted refusal risks antagonizing the speaker and terminating an encounter. An accounted delay enables the speaker to revise, or modify the subsequent request.

By providing an account, an explanation, for the *refusal or delay* the respondent leaves options open for a renewed attempt at negotiation in a transaction. By revealing the unacceptable conditions, the speaker leads the recipient to assume that those conditions not mentioned are acceptable. Therefore, the unacceptable conditions could be avoided in the revised request or offer. For example, if a customer claims that she can't buy an item because of the price, then the vendor will infer that she might buy it if the price is lowered. In the episode below, the vendor questions the customer prior to her refusal of his price offer "This is broken? What's broken?" The customer counters with an 'accounted' *put-off* based on her unwillingness to comply "I don't want that." The vendor upgrades his account, correcting her assessment, in efforts to convince her that her preconditions prevail. The customer, then rephrases her refusal. This time, she changes her preconditional reason for refusal from want to need.

4.1.1 <u>Frying Pan</u>	
Request for Purchase	31S: <i>This is broken? What's broken?</i>
	32C: <i>Yeah,</i>
→ Refusal Based on Wants	<i>I don't want that.</i>
Accounted Upgrade	33S: <i>This not broken. &lt;xx Ma'am xx&gt;</i>

Refusal/Appreciation	34C: <i>No, thank you.</i>
→ Refusal Based on Needs	<i>Don't need it.</i>

The *request for information* tends to follow a request in the form of an implicit refusal. L&F claim that in cases of indirection the request for information is a surface level manifestation of an underlying request for action. When the customer below requests the price, "How much is that?," the vendor requests item information "Huh? (2.0) This?" *putting-off* his response.

3.1.2 <u>VCR Cleaner</u>	
→ Request for Information	04C: <i>How much is that?</i>
Put-off	05S: <i>Huh?</i>
No Response	(2.0)
→ Request for Information	06S: <i>This?</i>

In the episode below the customer wants price information. To put off his response, the vendor responds, requesting the number of items desired by the customer. This information requested will precondition his response of price.

4.1.15 <u>Pocketbooks</u>	
Request for Price	23C3: <i>How much you want for this?</i>
→ Request for Information	24S: <i>How many you got there?</i>
→ Request for Information	<i>How many you got there?</i>

An *embedded request for information* may be used to delay the response to a prior request. This type of put-off request is exemplified below. A customer asks "What are the prices?" for an item. However, the vendor withholds this information until the customer answers his request for item identification "This?" Once the customer supplies that information "Yeah!," it becomes shared knowledge. The vendor then supplies the price information and offers the item "Uhhh. (1.0) Tell you what, for you (stressed) only

two dollar." This response not only supplies the information requested, it also seeks to elicit the purchase (action).

4.1.1 <u>Frying Pan</u>	
→ Request for Price	06C: <i>What are the prices?</i>
→ Request for Item Information	07S: <i>This?</i>
Information/Confirmation	08C: <i>Yeah!</i> (1.0)
→ Response with Price.	09S: <i>Uhhh.</i> (1.0) <i>Tell you what, for <u>you</u> only two dollar.</i> (1.0)

A *redundant response* is a response to a request for information that is shaped as a request for information, but actually questions the prior request for action. L&F use the example of a rhetorical question following a question for action.

An example is presented in the episode below. Earlier, the vendor attempted to withdraw from an encounter since the prospective customer repeatedly avoided accepting his sales offers. When the customer requested reopening the dialogue, the vendor replied with an ambiguous questioning, implicitly questioning the grounds for her request. His rising tone "Eh?" withholds a sales overture.

3.1.2 <u>VCR Cleaner</u>	
Appreciation/Closing	20S: <i>Ohhh, Thank you.</i> ( <i>Turns away</i> )
→ Requests Re-opening	21C: <i>Mind if I look for a few minutes?</i>
→ Redundant Request	22S: <i>Eh?</i> ( <i>call for replay</i> )

## 2.5.6 Challenges

L&F point out that challenges<sup>12</sup> tend to criticize a recipient's competence in performing a claimed social role. Performing a role competently involves fulfilling the

<sup>12</sup> L&F characterize a challenge as "... a speech act that asserts or implies as state of affairs that, if true, would weaken a person's claim to be competent in filling the role associated with a valued status. It therefore, follows that a challenge, if successful, may result in a person's losing his claim to hold the status involved" (p.97).

social obligations, duties, and behavioral expectations of a role. An incompetent or inappropriate performance may affect and even lower the player's own social status by not fulfilling the expected social obligations, or duties of the social role with which she or he is identified. Social status is defined by L& F as the position a member occupies in the social structure. L&F define (p.96) "status as a position of a person in the social structure, which includes a set of rights and obligations. To maintain status, a person must behave in a competent or appropriate manner according to the prevailing social norms." To gain or maintain the bargaining edge, challenges tend to occur. To weaken an opponent's bargaining position, a speaker may criticize her or his behavior as uncooperative, unethical, unsympathetic, or incompetent.

In the case of *repeated requests*, when a request for action has been made, but not complied with and is then repeated, Labov and Fanshel contend that "criticism is even more forcefully felt" (p.94). *Repeated requests for action* tend to display a variation of structures used by the producer to *mitigate* or *put off* the danger of a *face threat*.

The customer below repeatedly requests item information which the vendor dodges with uninformative generalizations. She rephrases the requests, redesigning them to elicit information from the vendor. Since the vendor persistently avoids providing the information, he makes his competence an issue. Since her preconditions for a purchase have not been met, the customer withdraws from the encounter. A sales vendor, in contrast to the store server, seldom has access to information about his goods. Therefore, routine requests for information (i.e., the quality of the material) asked of store-servers by the customers often cannot be answered informatively by the vendor on the street. To the

sub-cultural participants on the street this is a shared expectable social fact, and not necessarily a measure of competence. However, a mainstream member may not share these social facts. By requesting this unanswerable item information of the vendor, the mainstream customer makes issue of a vendor's competence (see Section 2.5). To protect his or her public *face* as a competent vendor, the street server below postures his or her uninformative responses authoritatively, attempts to cover-up inadequacy, discourages further probes, and appears cooperative.

<b>3.1.1 Keyboard</b>	
<b>→ Request for Information</b>	06C: <i>Do you know if that's IBM compatible.</i>
Generalized Account	07S: <i>Uhhhm. I think so. Most of them are. (picking it up, and then holding it)</i>
Acknowledgment/Delay	08C: <i>Huhhh.</i>
Generalized Account	09S: <i>Most Wang, most Wang and IBM, most keyboards, you know, most Wang and IBM keyboards fit uhhm, you know, anything.</i>
Promotional	10C: <i>Yeah. (1.5? sec)</i>
Acknowledgment/Delay	11C: <i>Wh, Wh, do you know (clicks tongue) if it's, the type it is?</i>
<b>→ Request for Information</b>	12S: <i>Huh? (muted)</i>
Hearing Check	13C: <i>There are certain types. Yeah. (2.0)</i>
<b>→ Request Clarification</b>	14C: <i>I don't know. It looks good.</i>
Vague Compliment	15C: <i>You don't know how old it is?</i>
<b>→ Request for Information</b>	16S: <i>Huh?</i>
Hearing Check/Delay	17C: <i>Do you know how old it is?</i>
<b>→ Request Modification</b>	18S: <i>Oh! It's about,</i>
Generalized Account	19C: <i>//What year it was made?</i>
(Continued on the next page)	20S: <i>It's less than a year. It's new. T's from the new ones.</i>
(Continued from the previous page)	21C: <i>Relatively new. (muted) It's interesting. (clicks)</i>
<b>→ Request for Information</b>	
Generalized Account	
Evaluation/Non Acceptance	
Vague Compliment	

In the segment below the vendor not only *challenges* the customer's price but also his competence in fulfilling his customer role buy bidding such a low price. The vendor

*questions* the customer's 'displayed' judgment "How can you buy for 12 dollar?" and ethics for attempting to deny her profit, "I have to make something sir." The *face-threatening* accusation that the customer has an ethical flaw and questionable competence in decision-making could have social consequences on his self-esteem. This manipulative move may embarrass the customer into accepting the vendor's price to 'save-face.' However in bidding rounds on the price of the item such *face-threats* seem to be tolerated, and tend to invoke the recipient's counter-put-down.

2.1.3 <b>Bomber Jacket</b>	
Proposition/Price-Bid	51C3: <i>12</i>
Price Offer/Rejection of Bid	52S: <i>I give you 13, 13.</i>
Grounds	<i>They new shoes sir.</i>
→ <b>Challenge of Behavior</b>	<i>How can you buy for 12 dollars?</i>
Put-Down/Criticism	53S: <i>They so difficult. They just. (to C1)</i>
(Solidarity/Agreement)	54C1: <i>Yeah!</i>
Grounds	55S: <i>New shoes.</i>
(Replay of Agreement)	56C1: <i>Yeah it's up//</i>
Price-Offer/Grounds	57S: <i>I give it 13. I cannot sir.</i>
→ <b>Challenge/Grounds</b>	<i>I have to make something sir.</i>

In the episode below, the vendor *challenges* the customer's *behavior*. The customer first compliments his stock, and then proceeds to pave the way for an imminent withdrawal. The customer's prefaced "Well" displays a shift of topic, forewarns of rejection. The vendor then challenges her role-status as a competent customer, by accusing her of not wanting to spend money "You don' wanna spend any." Having demonstrated interest in his stock, diverting vendor's attention from other customers, she is expected to buy something. In this case, the vender assumes the *right* as a vendor to challenge his customer who implicitly stirred his expectation of a sale, only to revoke it. As a result, the customer is either embarrassed into complying, or withdrawing.

4.1.11 <u>Sweater</u>	
Stock Information/Promotions	22S: <i>We, I mean, we got eh snaps eh eh. You know, I got a &lt;xx for that ticket xx &gt;, you know</i>
Compliment/Non Acceptance Account/Unmet Preconditions	23C: <i>Well, you have nice things. It's just=</i>
→ Challenge	24S: <i>=But, you always, you don' wanna spend any money. You always come, you know</i>
Criticism of Role-Behavior	
Questions Role-Behavior	
Appreciation Token/Closing	25C: <i>Heh. (chuckle) Thanks</i>

In the episode below, the vendor *challenges* the *proposition* of the prior utterance, the customer's claim. The customer conveys that her precondition of need can not be not satisfied since the sales item is defective "I don't need this. This is broken." The vendor, empowered by the authority of his role-status, challenges her proposition "This is broken? What's broken?" He then counters her assessment, challenging it. "This not broken. <xx Ma'am xx>." The use of honorific acts as an attempt to repair the *face* damage incurred by rejecting her proposition, keeping the channels of negotiation open. When informed of the customer's deficit, he implies that he has privileged access to knowledge about the item's condition.

4.1.1 <u>Frying Pan</u>	
→ Rejection	30C: <i>And, I don't need, Let's see, the frying pan is, I don't need this. This is broken.</i>
Proposition/Problem (Continued on the next page) (Continued from the previous page)	
→ Challenge/Repeated Request	31S: <i>This is broken? What's broken?</i>
Confirmation	32C: <i>Yeah!</i>
→ Rejection/Unwilling/Account	<i>I don't want that.</i>
→ Challenge/Denial	33S: <i>This not broken. &lt;xx Ma'am xx&gt;</i>
Polite Refusal Ritual	34C: <i>No, thank you.</i>
→ Rejection/Grounds/Need	<i>Don't need it.</i>

In the episode below, the customer challenges the vendor's proposition that the radio is worth the price "Ten dollars is pretty much worth it." She contradicts his statement "Yeah!..N! If it wasn't plastic. Her contradiction threatens his competence as a vendor. By asserting that his product is damaged, she lowers his status in competently carrying out his role of vendor.

<b>2.1.2 Radio</b>	
Pre-Closing	15C: <i>Take care.</i>
Proposition/Promotion	16S: <i>Ten dollars is pretty much worth it.</i>
→Challenge/Grounds	17C: <i>Yeah! .N! If it wasn't plastic.</i>
Promotion/Generalized Price-Offer	18S: <i>Most radios go for thirty dollars, forty, fifty dollars. This is only ten dollars</i>

### 2.5.7 Shared Knowledge of Social Facts

Labov and Fanshel (1977) have categorized the types of knowledge of social facts accessible to participants as shared (AB-events), personal (A or B-events), disputable (D-events), and commonly held (O-events). Each interactant is designated a producer A or a recipient B. A has exclusive access to knowledge of social facts, her/his A-event, drawn from personal biography, and her/his feelings, which cannot be contradicted by a B who lacks this access. The speaker A evaluates, interprets, and asserts opinions, derived exclusively from her/his A-event. Likewise, the recipient B has her/his privileged access to his knowledge bank of social facts, her or his B-events. B may deny, refute, challenge, or confirm A's claim about the recipient's B-events. The speaker A cannot repudiate B's-event. The A-B events are those events involving shared biographies, experiences, and evaluations known to both the speaker A and the addressee B. L&F claim the combined set of an information question and its information response comprise an AB-event, since the response reveals a sharing of social facts. A-events and B-events refer to personal

narratives and statements, such as claims about feelings. The D-events are disputable events, the truth of which is not assumed by either party. The O-events are the knowledge of social facts that are shared by everyone and assumed by all parties including bystanders (e.g. vendors sell items).

#### ***2.5.7.1 Coherence***

L&F claim that coherence is found on the abstract underlying level of speech actions rather than on superficial level of utterance output. If the proposition to an utterance is not apparent through its structure, or through ellipsis of the expected structure, then the recipient must find the proposition in the underlying level. A and B's shared knowledge of social facts enables A to locate the underlying proposition of B's prior utterance, to find its meaning.

#### ***2.5.7.2 Confirmation***

According to L&F, A's request for confirmation may be configured as an assertion, intended to elicit confirmation of the recipient's B-events, the recipient's knowledge of social facts.

In the episode below, the customer seeks confirmation from the vendor that there is no more stock to check out. The vendor confirms this fact, but attempts to renew his effort at offering service. The customer then turns this offer down. By eliciting confirmation that there was no more stock to look over, the customer has established grounds for agreement, their A-B event. The customer has provided justification for her

withdrawal from the encounter. She mitigates her 'face loss' by enlisting the vendor's agreement and confirmation of her evaluation (of his stock).

#### 2.1.4 Mexican Items

→ Request	51C1: <i>So this is pretty much your stock now?</i>
→ Confirmation	52S: <i>Yeah! Are you looking for something in particular?</i>
Request for Information	
Rejection/Account	53C1: <i>No! I guess something in particular will strike me, you know, like something affordable.</i>
Unwillingness/Account	
Grounds	

#### 2.5.7.3 *Disputables/D-events*

To L&F the disputable assertion rule occurs "If A makes an assertion about a D-event, it is heard as a request for B to give an evaluation of that assertion" (p.101). Negotiable objects such as a price-offer/bid, the value of an item on the street, as well as a street-vendor's credibility tend to be D-events.

In the episode below, the vendor claims that the box containing an inkjet cartridge was 'innocently' opened by him "Well I took the top off to look in there. That's all." Since his claim is unprovable, this action is viewed as a disputable D-event. By claiming to have only committed the one 'innocent' offense cited, "That's all," the vendor puts his credibility into question. He contradicts himself when he admits having broken the protective seal on the cartridge inside the box "I ripped it off the seal, to see what's in it." His credibility is now considered disputable, a D-event.

#### 4.1.27 Ink cartridge

Request for Confirmation	08C: <i>So you don't know if this has been used.</i>
Admission/Confirmation/Confirmation	09S: <i>It's been used? Yeah?</i>
Admission/Account	10C: <i>Well, it's been opened. (holding box)</i>
	11S: <i>Well I took the top off to look in there.</i>

→ Disputable - D-event		<i>That's all.</i>
→ Doubtful/Put-Down of Role Competence	12C:	<i>Okay, I'll tell you whether it's been used. (checking ink cartridge)</i>
Compliment/Admission	13S:	<i>Maybe you know better than me.</i>
Acknowledgment	14C:	<i>Yeah.</i>
No Response		<i>(5.0)</i>
Claim/Information	15C:	<i>Yah, this, when this 'i covers it, it means, it's not been used. (points)</i>
Put-Down of Competence		
Admission	16S:	<i>I ripped it off.</i>
Call for Replay	17C:	<i>What?</i>
→ Disputable - D-event	18S:	<i>I ripped it off the seal, to see what's in it.</i>

For a request or price offer to be performed successfully in the case of the sales encounter, participants must share knowledge of the state of affairs. This shared knowledge, the A-B event, includes a shared belief that the preconditions of ability and needs, rights of the speaker, and obligation or willingness of the recipient prevail. Conversational researchers (i.e., Brown and Levinson 1987, L&F 1977) have proposed that strangers who interact, prefer implicitness. However, since price tends to be negotiable, a D-event, on the street, explicit verbal communication is sanctionable and expected.

### 2.5.8 Application to Street-Based Service Encounter

The establishment of belief, trust, and competence in carrying out the role relationship of vendor and customer contribute to the outcome of the service encounter. This relationship may be tested, contested, challenged, and cajoled. L&F have demonstrated the social consequences of challenges which threaten the social status of a recipient, exemplified in the episodes of verbal castigation by the vendor, or the power moves of a raiding policeman. It has been demonstrated that challenges, counter-challenges, put-downs, rhetorical questions, and repeated questions, and stressed tend to

be used as instruments to usurp control in a bargaining exchange. Put-off's tend to keep the channels for negotiation open. These types of moves work to thwart embarrassment, or power-threats to a participant's bargaining edge. The insights gleaned from L&F have contributed towards defining the social factors that mediate the shapes of emerging talk.

### 2.5.9 Levinson's Criticism of Labov and Fanshel's Approach

Levinson argues that utterances emerging in conversation should not be analyzed by the same standards as rule-governed semantics or grammar. In contrast to consistently followed grammatical rules, prescriptive rules of discourse are frequently violated and are, thus, not crucial to interpretation. Levinson maintains that the conversations between *face-conscious* interactants whose agendas may coincide and deviate at various points in a conversation demand a different approach to the analysis of utterances. He argues that "Conversation is not a structural product in the same way that a sentence is -- It is rather the outcome of the interaction of two or more independent, goal-directed individuals, with often divergent interests" (p.294).

Levinson criticizes L&F's use of *expansions* or a gloss of displayed utterance for analysis. He bases his argument on the grounds that identifying the sources of referential meanings through subsequent paralinguistic cues of 'expansion' (which includes ". . . cues as intonation, glottal stops, etc.) and utterances would likely require the type of search that would be analyst-based, and thus be biased, since the speaker can not ". . . cannot look ahead in a transcript) and analysts (who can). . ." (p.352).

Levinson questions what he considers the unproven abstract power of speech act rules constraining sequencing rules. According to L&F (1977, p.111)<sup>13</sup> speech act rules supersede sequencing rules and regulate the functions in a dialogue. Since it has been found that the criterion for functions of utterances tends to vary between speakers (Krekel, 1981), their claim that the 'criteria' for identifying speech acts is accessed from the interactants' intuitions of 'well-formedness' has been rejected by CA (see Chapter 3).

Levinson asks "How, for example, are the sequencing rules . . . to operate if more acts are being done than can be feasibly responded to directly" (p.290). He questions L&F for promoting an approach which maps underlying speech acts into *surface* level utterances and fails to demonstrate how they directly generate corresponding bi-directional, multi-functional, and semantic-empty moves (and which do not fall into any speech act categories). Levinson argues that utterance functions emerge out of their sequential position, rather than from the variable criteria of speech acts.

Levinson points out that what tends to be recognizable in conversation are the '*displayed*' utterances contextualized in the sequential environment, such as in pre-announcements, pre-invitations, pre-requests, pre-offers, etc. Levinson praises CA for having formulated turn-taking organization of conversation and for describing the procedures used by recipients to infer the functions of utterances from the sequential contexts that configured them.

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<sup>13</sup> L&F maintain that ". . . many of these speech acts can be further analyzed as requests of various kinds, and the sequencing rules that govern them then follow naturally from the sequencing rules for requests" (p.111).

## **2.6 CONVERSATION ANALYSIS: BASED ON SACKS AND SCHEGLOFF**

### **2.6.1 Introduction**

Conversation Analysis has introduced a heuristic method of analysis developed by Sacks and his associates, Schegloff, Jefferson (1973), (1974), (1977), and Pomerantz (1975) (see Levinson 1983, 326). This method is based on the hypothesis that conversation is constructed by interactants for recipient analysis, enabling the researcher as well the participant to make *turn-by-turn* formulations about the recurrent patterns 'displayed' in the unfolding sequences. Through its methodology CA has demonstrated the procedures conversationalists employ to organize conversation collaboratively. By systematically allocating turns and eliciting responses which are ranked according preference, CA has provided insights into how recipients regularly check prior utterances of a sequence which implicate prefigured moves and provide the means to establish joint understanding, correction, and agreement. This section will briefly delineate those contributions made by CA in formulating the procedures (Levinson 1983) that crank the machinery of conversation and integrate them into the methodology of this dissertation in Chapters 4 and 5. In this section CA procedures will be employed to detect the presequences used by the negotiators on the street to manipulate and achieve a sale.

### **2.6.2 Turn-Taking Organization**

The machinery of conversation is operated by interactants whose expectations drive the apparatus of *turn-taking*. Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (Sacks, Schegloff, and

Jefferson 1975) have formulated the '*locally managed*' operation of the *turn-taking* system. *Turns* are interactive units, designed to be interpretable to the recipient who is expected to display an analyzable *next turn*, which is allocated in an orderly manner. *Turns* are comprised of *turn-construction units* of variable length which are 'displayed' (uttered) in the form of a phrase, a sentence, or a single word. A *turn* begins when the speaker is expected to take the floor to speak, and continues as long as the speaker holds the floor. Each *turn* is expected to end at a transitional relevance place (TRP) where the current speaker pauses for a micro-second to give up the floor, enabling the switching of speakers, and a changing of *turns*. One participant is expected to speak at a time. When the assigned next speaker takes her/his *turn* before the last speaker reaches TRP, the two speakers begin to overlap, and one of the interlocutors drops out. The TRP gap is long enough for a new speaker to take a *turn* and longer pauses within a *turn*. A speaker overlaps at the beginning of a *tag*, or before an extension, and usually at the end of a possible *turn completion* point. *Tags* are designed to assign the next speaker who may accept her/his *turn* at the beginning of the *turn assignment* signal.

According to Tannen (1983b) the minimal overlap norm varies amongst cultures and subcultures. Merritt has found in her data (1976) that there are instances of prolonged silence in a service encounter when shoppers tend to 'look over' or pick up the goods offered for sale, count money, pay, etc. *Turn-taking* organization may not account for interaction in large groups, though dyads tend to be *preferred* to triads (for the sake of orderliness of turn-allocation).

Social norms determine the criteria by which a speaker may hold or take the floor. Expectations regarding the rights and obligations of each participant are built into *turn-taking* allocation. The speaker has the socially ascribed right to select the next speaker who has the right and tends to feel obligated to accept. If she or he doesn't take the assigned *turn*, then another speaker has the right to self-select. A faster starter is expected to self-select if the speaker assigned a *turn* does not respond first. If no other speaker accepts the *turn*, the current speaker has the right to continue speaking. These *turn-taking* procedures are recursive. The current speaker has the right and/or obligation to re-instate the *turn-taking* norms of *turn-allocation*. In a service-encounter, the failure to respond to a sales-offer can trigger inferences of flawed competence, willingness, avoidance, and criticism by the addressee.

In a normal conversation and typically in street-based service encounters these rights and obligations prevail. However where the social status is asymmetrical such as in a classroom, the teacher has the role-right to decide who takes the next turn. The students do not have the right to self-select when there is a prolonged pause.

### 2.6.3 Adjacency Pairs

Conversation is composed of interactional units known as *adjacency pairs*, fundamental to the organization and coherency of dialogue (Schegloff & Sacks 1973). *Adjacency pairs* tend to consist of a set of structurally matching *pair-parts*. The *turn-taking* system constrains the utterance-types selected; the *first pair-part* of an *adjacency pair* demands the next speaker's response by posing *questions* for which an *answer* is expected (e.g., a *request-an acceptance/granting*, an *offer-an acceptance/granting*, etc.).

The segment below, is an example of *adjacency pairs* which are linked in a question-answer, question-answer sequences.

3.1.2 <u>Books I</u>			
→Request for Item Information	Q1	07C:	What was the latest one she wrote?
Response/Item Information	A1	08S:	<u>Tel Botichi</u> (sounds like)
→Request for Information	Q2	09C:	How much is that?
Response/Price Information	A2	10S:	19 (matter-of-factly, in a downward wave-like contour)

### 2.6.3.1 *Conditional Relevance*

Schegloff (1972a) has found that the proximity of adjacency is not structurally obligatory; *pair-parts* may be separated by insertions (embedded sequences) and next *turn* repair initiators (NTRI's). In conversation, there is a strong expectation for a response to a question to emerge. *Second pair parts* are expected to be *conditionally relevant* to the *first pair parts* rather than structurally adjacent. If the unfilled response-slot is filled by a first *pair-part* such as a question, this move tends to be related to the expected response, and the expectancy for a *second pair part* is put on hold until the conditional relevance obtains for an answer to emerge. There tends to be an orientation by the speaker towards a relevant *second pair-part* and if the expected response doesn't appear it is considered 'officially absent.' The speaker who expects the addressee to take her/his *turn* interprets a prolonged silence as an indication of a problem. In this manner, CA maps meaning onto silence (Levinson 1983). The first *pair-part* of an *adjacency pair* may be followed by recursive insertions (embedded sequences) to ensure that the subsequent matching second *pair-part* be *conditionally relevant*.

The segment below is an example of inserted sequences which delay an expected *conditionally relevant* answer. The customer *requested* the prices. However, the vendor put his response on hold until he checked for item identification. When the customer confirmed the item identification, the vendor proceeded to provide a *conditionally relevant* response, the information about price.

4.1.1 <u>Frying Pan</u>			
Request for Price Information	Q1	06C:	<i>What are the prices?</i>
→Embedded Request	Q2	07S:	<i>This?</i>
→Embedded Response	A2	08C:	<i>Yeah! (1.0)</i>
Response/Price Information	A1	09S:	<i>Uhhh. (1.0) Tell you what, for you only two dollar. (1.0)</i>

The insertion pairs are oriented towards achieving the conditional relevance of the superordinate (dominant) pair. According to CA, the expectation of conditional relevance accounts for the coherence of *adjacency pairs*.

## 2.6.4 Preference Organization

*Preference organization* (Atkinson and Heritage 1984; Levinson 1983) accounts for the unequal ranking between *second pair-parts*. The selection of the second *pair-part* tends to be ranked according to *preference* and expectancy. Since *Pair-parts* promote agreement or acceptance and each *adjacency pair* has more than one possible relevant *pair-part*, both an *offer* and a *request* tend to be *accepted/granted* rather than *refused/rejected*. Pomerantz (1975) found in her study of assessments a *preference* for agreements, and an avoidance of disagreements. Her work deals with the attempts made by the speaker to restate an assessment with enhanced versions in order to appear more agreeable to the hearer. Critical, derogatory, and disagreeing responses which are

avoided are designated as *dispreferred*. Participants are expected to support one another's positive social value (Goffman 1967), when a speaker demeans herself/himself, the *preferred* response would be disagreement rather than agreement (of the speaker's self-deprecation). Self-enhancement is avoided (*dispreferred*), in favor of self-effacement. Since *preferred* answers are expected, they are unmarked and immediately follow the previous *turn* with minimal gap time. Conversely, rejections are marked and *dispreferred*; they are avoided, and/or postponed, and usually signaled by prolonged pauses. Topics (e.g., criticism of the other party's ineptitude) tend to be redirected to avoid or postpone a *dispreferred second*.

Citing Goffman's hypothesis of *face-norms* (1967), Levinson (1983) attributes *preference organization* to the expectation for *face* preservation<sup>14</sup>. Any motivating factors attributed to the selection of *preferred seconds* such as the preservation of *face* (Cameron and Taylor, 1987) are considered as 'beneath the surface' motivation, untraceable, and unanalyzable by CA.<sup>15</sup>

Interlocutors use devices to defer and forewarn the recipient of a *dispreferred* response by marking their turns with signs of trouble, a long pause or silence, false-starts such as self-editing, filled pauses "Uhhmm," "Uhh," unfocussed gazes, rising and falling intonation, *prefaces* such as "Well," "But," etc., qualifiers like "I'm not sure." Insertions and accounts tend to delay a disagreement, or a rejection of an offer. Appreciation *prefaces* such as compliments "I like it, but it's too small" may *preface* a *dispreferred* response.

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<sup>14</sup> Levinson (1983) attributes 'face' norms to the normative (not psychological) motivation for preference organization.

In the episode below, a customer postpones her *dispreferred* response to the vendor's price *offer* with a delay device, a prolonged silence, an insertion *preface*, a filled pause, and subsequent delays.

3.1.2 <u>VCR Cleaner</u>	
Sales Price Offer	08S: <i>Oh this? Gimme two dollars. (low keyed)</i>
→ <u>Delay Device</u>	09C: <i>Uh huh.</i>
→ <u>Delay Device/Silence</u>	(5.0)
→ <u>Delay Device/Prefaced</u>	10C: <i>Oh, That's for::</i>
Hearing Check	11S: <i>Huh?</i>
→ <u>Delay Device/Filled-Pause</u>	12C: <i>That's for uhh VCR?</i>
Affirmation	13S: <i>Uh huh, uh huh.=</i>
→ <u>Delay Device</u>	14C: <i>=Yeah.</i>

In the segment below, a customer asks a specific question about the item. Rather than provide the information requested, the vendor delays with a *request* for replay "Huh?" The customer revises her question, in her attempts to facilitate his answering.

3.1.1 <u>Keyboard</u>	
Request for Information	Q1 15C: <i>You don't know how old it is?</i>
→ <u>Delay Device/Call for Replay</u>	Q2 16S: <i>Huh? (call for replay)</i>
Request for Information/Replay	Q3 17C: <i>Do you know how old it is?</i>

#### 2.6.4.1 Preference for self-repair

Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson (1977) describe the organizational *preference* for *self-repair* across *turns*. They have found the tendency for a speaker to prefer to *self-repair* immediately after her/his error, and secondly at the TRP. If the speaker fails to *self-repair*, the recipient tends to wait for the *self-repair*. In this way she or he allows a longer pause-time at the TRP. Then upon accepting the *next turn*, he or she initiates the *self-repair* by prompting a repair of the error. If the error is not repaired by the speaker in the

<sup>15</sup> Due to the complexity of psychological motivations, they are not considered describable according to the CA methodology.

next *turn*, the recipient would then *other repair* (i.e., repaired by recipient). *Self-initiated self-repair* typically occurs when the person who erred initiates her/his own self-correction. This tends to be preferable to *other-initiated self-repair*. *Other-initiated-speaker self-repair* (i.e., the other speaker's initiation of the self-correction) is similarly preferable to *other-initiated other-repair*.

*Preference for self-repair supersedes turn-taking organization.* This typically occurs when the recipient does not immediately take his/her assigned *turn* at the end of the *turn* (at the TRP) of the *trouble-source* (the cite of error), but waits and withholds her/his *turn*. In this way, by extending the TRP gap he or she gives the person who made the error additional time for repair. The extra lapse time is called the '*repair space*.' Most reparables are repaired within the *turn* of the *trouble source* in this '*repair space*,' providing more time for the speaker to figure out the correction during her or his turn.

In the episode below the vendor initiates his own *self-initiated self-repair* before the TRP is reached.

2.1.2 <u>Radio</u>	
Request for Information	04C: <i>Uh huh! What does it do?</i>
Error	05S: <i>It's a cassette</i>
→Self-Repair	<i>It's a radio.</i>

If the speaker does not *self-initiate* her or his *self-repair* of the error within the *turn* made, the *second turn* is expected to prompt the speaker to *self-repair* upon holding the floor in a *third turn*. A next *turn* initiator, NTRI, prompts a repair with such elicitors as 'Where?', 'Who?', 'What?', 'Eh?', 'Huh?', 'Pardon?' or echo questions like '23 people?', or phrases like 'Run that by me again?', etc. The listener may repair the error prefaced by

such phrases as " Did you mean . . .?" to mitigate the effect of having corrected the speaker.

According to Levinson, since a correction is a form of criticism of the speaker's competence, it is usually downplayed, to avoid offending the speaker. Such manifestation of disagreement with a speaker is considered a *face-threatening* move by proponents of the *face* perspective (see Goffman 1967; Levinson 1983; and Brown and Levinson 1987). The deference paid to a speaker is attributed to the social maxim 'avoid conflict' (see Goffman 1967). since to *other-correct* would convey disagreement with the speaker, it is *dispreferred* and avoided. On the other hand, in attempts to minimize the process of eliciting a *self-repair* and the implicit criticism it entails, a recipient may repair an error upon its appearance.

In this bidding example, the vendor finds it more expedient to replace the customer's price with her correction. The customer corrects the vendor's attempted price adjustment.

2.1.3 <u>Bomber Jacket</u>	
Customer's Bid	81C4: 20
→ Vendor's Other-Correction	82S: 23
Customer's Recycled Bid	83C4: 20

In the episode below, the vendor corrects the customer's proposition by replacing it with the correction. By minimalizing the explicitness of the correction, he minimalizes criticism of the customer's competence.

3.1.4 <u>Books 2</u>	
Error	71C: <i>You have mainly novels.</i>
→ Other-Repair	72S: <i>No. I have non-fiction also.</i>

The NTRI is an ellipsis of two *turns*, one responding to the previous *turn*, as the second *pair-part* as well as eliciting the next *turn*, functioning as the first *pair-part*. It is usually expressed with a semantically empty sound, question word, or short questioning phrase. Speech act theory does not account for this type of fused bi-directional, multi-functional move (see Levinson 1983, chapter 6). *Adjacency pairs* are linked coherently by their *preference* for relevant responses. To avoid making an explicit correction, the participant indicates trouble through a NTRI. In this way the recipient is signaled to self-correct.

In the segment below (Gilbert 1994) a vendor *offers* a price. The customer avoids a *dispreferred* response and any show of disagreement with the vendor's *offer*. By not accepting her *turn* at the TRP, the customer implicates her non-acceptance. The customer provides additional time at the TRP gap for the vendor to correct his *price offer*. Yielding to the strong expectation that she take the *next turn*, the customer accepts it. Responding with a NTRI, she signals her non-acceptance, and implicitly provides space for repair of the unacceptable *price-offer*. However, the vendor interprets her move as a *request* for playback rather than for repair. Each participant avoids explicit disagreement, while interpreting the ambiguous implication of the prior *turn* as she/he designs the subsequent *turn* to orient towards a collaborative outcome.

4.1.1 <u>Frying Pan</u>	
Delay Preface	09S: <i>Uhhh. (1.0) Tell you what,</i>
→ Price Offer	<i>for <u>you</u> only two dollar.</i>
→ No Response/Delay	<i>(1.0)</i>
→ NTRI/Call for Replay	10C: <i>Excuse me? =</i>
Replay/Self-Repair	114S: <i>=Two dollars. Two dollars.</i>

In the sample below, a customer's NTRI elicited the vendor's price correction/adjustment. The customer elicits *self-initiated self-repair* of a price.

4.1.18 <u>Hair Gel</u>	
Pre-Request for Price.	01C2: <i>And this? (shows S hair gel)</i>
→ Price Offer	02S: <i>Two dollars.</i>
→ NTRI/Call for Replay	03C2: <i>Eh? (slowly voiced) (Call for replay)</i>
→ Repaired Offer	04S: <u><i>Gimme a dollar for that.</i></u> <u><i>Gimme a dollar for that.</i></u> (stressed)

In this segment below, the customer *requests* the price of an item. The recipient/vendor delays a possible error by fusing his response with an eliciting move which could be treated as a bi-directional NTRI, a next *turn* repair elicitor, or alternatively as a next *turn* agreement elicitor. As a NTRI, this move elicits the customer's repair of the vendor's error. The vendor elicits the customer's repair of her error. This *self-initiated* repair is *preferred* to an *other-elicited* repair.

4.1.1 <u>Frying pan</u>	
Request	Q1 14C: <i>And, uhh. How much is that?</i>
→ NTRI	A1/Q2 15S: <i>This?</i>
Correction	A2 16C: <i>No that.</i>
Acknowledgment	A1 17S: <i>This? For this? <u>A</u> [aye] dollar.</i> (stressed)

In the episode below the customer makes an assessment of the item. The vendor questions this assessment with a NTRI, attempting to elicit a repair. The customer restates her claim, eliciting the vendor's *other-initiated* repair of her error. This is the least *preferred* type of repair procedure.

4.1.1 <u>Frying pan</u>	
Rejection/Account/Grounds	30C: <i>And, I don't need , Let's see, the frying pan is, I don't need this. This is broken</i>
→ Rejection/Account/Grounds	
(Continued on the next page)	

(Continued on the previous page)

→NTRI/Call for Replay	31S: <i>This is broken?</i>
Request for Information/Offer	<i>What's broken?</i>
Delay Preface/Rejection	32C: <i>Yeah! I don't want that.</i>
→Correction of Claim/Offer	33S: <i>This not broken &lt;xx Ma'am xx&gt;</i>

### 2.6.5 Presequences

Conversation analysts prefer the term presequence to the DA designation indirect speech acts since CA doesn't attach to it a literal or a deep level meaning. Governed by the way preference for agreement is codified in adjacency pairs, the presequence is organized to avoid a *dispreferred* response by checking to see if conditions obtain for a speaker to make a conditionally relevant *preferred* response. Presequences are organized by sequential positions rather than turns (Levinson 1983, Schegloff 1980, 1988). These sequential positions are not required to be structurally adjacent conditionally relevant seconds and are designed by the recipient to avoid the dispreferred second.

This mechanism either paves the way for a *preferred* conditionally relevant response in this way. Position-1 orients the subsequent sequences towards a *preferred* response in position 4. Position-1, the presequence (e.g., pre-request, pre-announcement, pre-invitation) turn elicits position-2. Position-3 is the conditional, delayed move, which has been pre-figured by the position-1 utterance. From the implicative content of position-1, the recipient can infer the imminent occurrence of the position-3 and decide whether or not to ratify it. In position-2 (having inferred the subsequent position-3 move) the recipient signals either the 'go ahead' or that the conditions would not produce a *preferred* response move (that of position-4) to follow the tentative position-3. Position-2 approximates many of the NTRI features. This position is a bi-directional turn (the

ellipsis of two turns) which functions as a second pair-part. It responds to the first pair-part in position-1, and also functions as a first pair-part which elicits the position-3 which both responds to position-2 and elicits an expected conditionally relevant position-4 response.

Presequences avoid such *dispreferred* moves as the telling old news or disagreements. A participant of lower status such as a child tends to get attention with a position-1 question like "Yah know what?" or the "Guess what." These are 'attention-getters,' opening the channels for a pre-figured announcement or story. Pre-requests in a service-encounter tend to elicit sales-requests, "Do you have tools," or an aborted offer such as "I ran out." A summons or greetings opens and elicits the recipients ratification of the opening of an interaction such as a service-encounter. A pre-closing such as "okay" checks to see if any deferred mentionables will be fitted in, if not, there is a passing of closing turns.

#### 2.6.5.1 *Pre-requests*

The customer's *pre-request* for price in position 1 checks the vendor's response in position 2 to see if the preconditions prevail for the production of a *preferred* response to the projected *request* for price information. An embedded sequence, like a customer's request for item information, tends to follow position 2 and put position 3 on hold in order to establish whether the criteria obtain for its conditional relevance, its acceptance. For example, answers to a size request may be unknown in a street transaction. There is an implicative relationship between the *pre-request* and the response, since *pre-requests*, when identified as such, are expected to display prefigured content found in the response

(see Levinson 1983, Chapter.6), enabling the recipient to infer the planned move and orient herself/himself towards it or, if condition do not obtain, call-off the engagement.

The episode below exemplifies the relationship between the *pre-request* and the implicated prefigured *request*. The customer's *pre-request* check to see if the expressed conditions for a sale obtain before making a sales *request*. The vendor's reply that the item sold out becomes implicit grounds to abort the encounter. The customer then re-directs the topic and avoids immediate disengagement. Alternatively, it was preferable for the customer to enlist the vendor's collaboration in establishing grounds to achieve a mutually accepted withdrawal.

2.14 <u>Mexican Items</u>	
→Pre-Request	P-1* 24C1: <i>That's not bad (.).Uhhhh! Do you have any blouses with more sleeves and more embroidery?</i>
→Non-Granting/Account Account/Grounds	P-2 25S: <i>I know, I sold them,.I didn't sell them here. I had some really nice white on white [ really beautiful white].</i> 26C1: <i>[Yeah]</i> 27S: <i>And then all white on white embroidery here,here, and here and across here=(points)</i> 28C1: <i>=Yeah=</i> 29S: <i>=It was really gorgeous(.)</i>
→Delay of Withdrawal Account/Grounds Acknowledgment/Hedge Redirects topic	30C1: <i>Yeah! Uh Huh</i> 31S: <i>I sold those.</i> 32C1: <i>Uh Huh Do you go from uh (.?) street to street? (.5) Uhh</i>
*P=Position	

*Requests* referring to the person's *ability* tend to prefigure *ability* response. Many *pre-requests* prefer *ability* markers as the conditionals 'can,' 'could,' and 'would,' to markers of *volition* (e.i., desire or will). To express unwillingness tends to be perceived

as rejection, while ability provides the recipient with leeway to 'opt out' with an excuse. A *pre-request* such as "Can you help me?" tends to design the response "I can't," a more *preferred* refusal. Whereas, "Will you help me?" may elicit "I won't," a *dispreferred* response.

In the episode below, the customer's position 1 *pre-request* contains an *ability* question which elicits a *preferred* acceptance,<sup>16</sup> and provides leeway for the recipient to claim inability.

3.1.1 <u>Keyboard</u>	
→Pre-Request	P-1 02C: <i>Can you tell me something about the keyboard?(makes eye-contact)</i> <i>Can you tell me something about the keyboard?</i> <i>Is it IBM compatible?</i>
→Response/Implicit Offer	P-4 03S: <i>It's Wang. (stressed)</i>

According to Levinson (1983: Chapter 6) participants tend to assume cooperation, (due to the underlying Cooperative Principle) in an interaction. Therefore, the participants' expectation of clarity, informativeness, relevance, and truthfulness (Grice 1969), when breached, prompts them to infer the implicated content of the displayed utterance. According to CA this inferencing process is based on their anticipation of turn-taking allocation, preference organization. It is prompted by such cues as delay devices and 'Mishearing' tokens (e.g., "Huh?" "What?"). When issues of credibility emerge of the vendor's competence, she or he tends to respond with hedges, delay prefaces, qualifiers, topic shifts, and accounts. In this way, although vague and uninformative, he is not

<sup>16</sup> Since the preconditions obtain and the implicated prefigured request is apparent, the vendor responds to it. Therefore, position 3 is omitted.

accountably dishonest. The other maxims may be flouted by a vendor to preserve the appearance of trustworthiness.

Levinson (1983: 357) proposes that *pre-requests* tend to avoid explicit *requests*. In this way, the recipient's competence is not called into question. When the projected content of a *request* is implicated in position-1, the recipient may skip a projected *request* and produce a response (which would normally appear in position-4) such as an *offer* in position-2. In this way, since the conditions for the offer are established in position-1 (the pre-request) the '*go-ahead*' turn is skipped. An *offer* in position 2 responds to the pre-figured move implicated in the content of the prior utterance and elicits a *preferred* acceptance or non-acceptance response. Likewise, if preconditions do not obtain, a rejection may follow the *pre-request* and abort the request sequence. When the preconditions and the *request* are implicated in the *pre-request* in position-1, the appearance of position 4 is likely (as evidenced in the above episode), omitting the need for a position 2 elicitation or a position 3 *request* form. When the position 1 turn directly invokes the recipient's *preferred* acceptance in the next *turn*, position 4, it is the most *preferred pre-request* sequence.

Levinson (1983: 360-361) claims that the producer tends to prefer implicit and non-verbal actions to avoid accountability for making an explicit *request*. Since a disagreement is *dispreferred*, the recipient is pressured to avoid damaging her/his *face* and agree. According to Levinson, the explicitness of a request, implies criticism of her/his competence to cooperate which is averted through the omission of position 3, and if possible, its elicitor (in position 2).

The following are Levinson's renderings of the three types of *pre-request* sequences ranked according to *preference*:

(Levinson 1983,p.361) <u>The preferred ranking of types of pre-request sequences</u>	
(i)	<b><u>Most preferred:</u></b>
	<u>Position</u> 1: ( <i>pre-request</i> )
	<u>Position</u> 4: (response to non-overt <i>request</i> )
(ii)	<b><u>Next preferred:</u></b>
	<u>Position</u> 1: ( <i>pre-request</i> )
	<u>Position</u> 2: ( <i>offer</i> )
	<u>Position</u> 3: (acceptance of <i>offer</i> )
(iii)	<b><u>Least preferred:</u></b>
	<u>Position</u> 1: ( <i>pre-request</i> )
	<u>Position</u> 2: (Go ahead)
	<u>Position</u> 3: ( <i>request</i> )
	<u>Position</u> 4: (compliance)

In the episode below, a position 4 turn follows a position 1 *pre-request*. The customer's *pre-request* contains adequate information about her prefigured *request* for work schedule to elicit the vendor's answer to her implicit *request*. According to Levinson this type of *presequence* is the most *preferred* sequence since it avoids an explicit *request*.

3.1.3 Books I (type: i)

→ **Pre-Request**

**P-1\*-** 52C3: **Yah gonna be here tomorrow?**

→ **Response**

**P-4** 53S: **Yes, ahh two o'clock (.)**

In the example below, the customer's position 1 *pre-request* prefigures a price *request*. The service encounter setting invokes the expectations for a sales routine. The vendor infers from the *pre-request* that a price *offer* is expected and responds with a position 2 move which elicits the *preferred* acceptance in the next *turn*, position 4. Since this customer 'displays' no delay devices, the vendor expects that acceptance is imminent. In

this case the compliment in position 1 invokes the expectation that the customer is in agreement.

4.1.2 <u>Down jacket</u> (type: ii)			
→Pre-Request for Price	P-1	19C:	//What do you?
Compliment			<i>It's very good=</i>
→Price Offer	P-2	20S:	<i>I want five dollars for it.</i>
→Non-Accept/Compliment	P-4	21C:	<i>It's very good.</i>
Topic Shift/Pre-Closing			<i>You gonna be around here for a while?</i>

In the next example, the customer's position 1 *pre-request* elicits the vendor's position 2, a 'go-ahead.' The grounds for agreement are established in several rounds of insertions. Once the preconditions for a projected acceptance are obtained, the customer utters the prefigured position 3 *request* for price. In Position 4, the vendor grants a *price offer*.

4.1.26 <u>Coral Necklace</u> (type: iii)			
→Pre-Request	P-1	04C:	<i>Is this yours?</i>
→Go-Ahead	P-2	05S:	<i>Yah.</i>
No Response			<i>(3.0)</i>
Hedge		06C:	<i>Uh, huh.</i>
Compliment			<i>It's is an interesting necklace.</i>
NTRI/Request for Replay		07S:	<i>Excuse me.</i>
Compliment		08C:	<i>It's is an interesting necklace.</i>
Information/Promotion/Offer		09S:	<i>Ah, it's coral.</i>
No Response			<i>(3.0)</i>
Acknowledgment/Hedge		10C:	<i>Uh Huh.</i>
Replay of Promotion/Offer		11S:	<i>It's coral.</i>
Replay of Compliment		12C:	<i>It's very nice.</i>
→Request	P-3		<i>What are you asking for this?</i>
→Price Offer/Information	P-4	13S:	<i>Just two dollars. (3.0) (muted stress)</i>

In the next example, the vendor utters a *pre-request* #50S: which results in an accounted rejection, aborting the encounter. The customer infers the pre-request for

information, a projected offer. She implicitly declines #51. C averts a *dispreferred* offer and a more direct disagreement.

2.1.4 <u>Mexican Items (type ii)</u>		
→Pre-Request	P-1	49C1: <i>So this is pretty much your stock now?</i> 50S: <i>Yeah. Are you looking for something in particular?</i>
→Aborts/Rejection	P-4	51C1: <i>No! I guess something in particular will strike me, you know, like something affordable.</i>

Ervin-Tripp (1974) had found that in certain routine situations where there is an expectancy of behavior, like buying a newspaper from the same stand each day, the interactions may be non-verbal. In a service encounter, the appearance of a customer invokes the expectation by the vendor of a *request for service*. The customer tends to expect the vendor/server's intention to provide merchandise available and to sell it at a profit. Therefore, whatever the customer says that relates to merchandise is interpreted as a *request* to establish conditions for an *offer*. Likewise, whatever the vendor/server says in relation to merchandise is interpreted as a sales-offer. These expectations supersede the literal meanings of the utterance and drive the organization and reception of the sequences displayed.

#### 2.6.5.2 *Pre-closing Section*

Pre-closing sequences tend to occur in service encounter data, enabling the encounter to be renewable at a later date. In the conventional store encounter below, the customer signals a conventional forewarning –"Okay! Fine!"– that he is ready to close. This is mitigated by an expression of satisfaction with the outcome of a purchase. The server responds to the preclosing with another "Okay," rather than extending it with a

*mentionable* (a new topic). According to Sacks and Schegloff, this second "Okay" slot may be filled with a deferred *mentionable*. The customer then thanks the server/proprietor (for her time, service, etc.) and a collaborative, consensual, closing is now imminent. The interactants then pass farewell tokens assuring on another through the passing of *preferred* sequences that the encounter is renewable.

#### 2.2.4 Correcto-Type

→ Pre-Closing	47C: <i>Okay! Fine!</i>
→ Pre-Closing/Go-Ahead	48S: <i>Okay!</i>
Appreciation	49C: <i>Thank you.</i>
→ Closing	50S: <i>Bye. Bye.</i>
→ Closing	51C: <i>Good-bye (walks out the door)</i>

The street-service encounter below follows a sale and a casual chat. The participants jointly agree to withdraw. The customer paves the way for the vendor's pre-closing token with a prefaced pre-closing, "Well, good luck." The *preface* signals a shift in topic, followed by a forewarning of imminent withdrawal, eliciting the vendor's pre-closing and acceptance and appreciation. The customer responds with gratitude and an evaluation which fills in the *mentionable* slot. This *mentionable* elicits the vendor's acceptance which reinforces agreement with the customer. The passing of a *mentionable* acceptance and agreement tokens keep channels open for the passing of farewell tokens.

#### 4.1.26 Coral Necklace

→ Pre-Closing/Wrap-up	118C: <i>Well, good luck.</i>
→ Pre-Closing	119S: <i>Okay, thank you</i>
Account Appreciation	120C: <i>Thanks for the, (chuckling)</i>
Mentionable/Delay	<i>I was very curious.=</i>
→ Pre-closing	121S: <i>= Okay, cool, thank you.=</i>
Appreciation	122C: <i>=Thanks for the</i>
Mentionable/Delay	<i>information.</i>
Mentionable/Appreciation	123S: <i>Nice talking to you.</i>
→ Closing	124C: <i>Bye, bye.</i>

(Continued on the next page)

(Continued on the previous page)

→ **Closing/Agreement**

125S: *Bye. (C walks away)*

Sacks and Schegloff (1973) identify the act of 'moving off' a topic or 'topic shading' which occurs when participants gradually rather than abruptly terminating the encounter. Instead of ending the topic directly after having rejected the sales offer, the customer below slowly shifts away from it with compliments of the vendor's stock (to appear agreeable). While upholding the vendor's positive value, the customer proceeds towards withdrawal. In this way, the participants maintain their rapport and the encounter is renewable.

### 3.1.2 VCR

<b>Implicit offer</b>	17S: <i>I don't bust nobody. (Low-even tone)</i>
→ <b>Delay device/account</b>	18C: <i>hahh (muffled laugh) Interesting things. (6.0)</i>
→ <b>Delay device/preclosing</b>	
→ <b>Moving Off/Account</b>	19C: <i>You have a nice, a nice uhhm display here.</i>
→ <b>Closing/Prefaced/Appreciation</b>	20S: <i>Ohhh, Thank you. (Turns away)</i>
Re-Opens/Topic Shift	21C: <i>Mind if I look for a few minutes?</i>
→ <b>NTRI/Call for Replay</b>	22S: <i>Eh? (call for replay)</i>
Replay of Topic Shift	23C: <i>Mind if I look for a few minutes? (6.0)</i>
→ <b>Delay Device</b>	
→ <b>Compliment/Account</b>	24C: <i>You have a nice, a nice uhhm display here.</i>
→ <b>Moving Off/Agreement</b>	25S: <i>T's alright. (9.0)</i>
→ <b>Moving Off</b>	
→ <b>Account/Compliment</b>	26C: <i>Let's see. Very nice (muted) (2.0)</i>
→ <b>Delay/Moving off</b>	
Account/Show of Interest	27C: <i>Jeans (to self) (11.0) (C looks at merchandise)</i>
→ <b>Moving Off/Prolonged Silence</b>	
Closing	28C: <i>Thank you.=</i>
Closing Agreement	29S: <i>= Okay (interrupts and turns away)</i>

In the example above, the vendor's ambiguous *offer* conveys and enables the customer leeway to refuse implicitly. The customer doesn't accept the ambiguous *offer*.

Rather, she shifts the topic away from the *offer*, and the compliment "Interesting things" delays a *dispreferred* response. Since the vendor does not take the next *turn*, the prolonged six second lapse implies the imminence of *dispreferred* action. The customer takes back the *turn*, redirects the topic, and recycles her compliment "You have a nice, a nice uhmm display here" of his stock to delay the withdrawal.

These rounds of compliments above display the attempts to "move-off" the topic. The vendor accepts his assigned *turn* and *prefaces* his closing ritual with a delay "Ohhh," that *prefaces* an appreciation/closing token, "Thank you." The vendor turns away towards another customer. His body movement non-verbally supports his verbal withdrawal. The customer does not verbally recognize the withdrawal, but again re-opens the encounter "Mind if I look for a few minutes," invoking her right to obligate the vendor to take the assigned *turn*. She attempts to elicit the vendor's approval. He responds with an ambiguous 'go ahead' move "Eh?" The customer interprets this move as a hearing check, and invokes her speaker's right to take the assigned *turn* and playback her request for approval "Mind if I look for a few minutes?" The vendor does not accept this assigned *turn* and avoids re-opening the topic with a *mentionable*. Neither participant takes a *turn* for six seconds. The encounter is '*shading out*' the encounter. The customer again compliments the vendor's stock "You have a nice, a nice uhmm display here," eliciting the vendor's low-keyed acceptance "T's all-right." By accepting the assigned *turn*, he avoids uttering a *dispreferred* response. A nine second gap follows, forewarning of imminent withdrawal. The customer replays her compliment while checking out the vendor's merchandise, "Let's see. Very nice." The vendor does not take the next *turn* which is reclaimed by the customer after a short two second pause, speaking to herself "jeans." The

vendor reveals through his silence that he has exhausted the topic, and moves towards a closing after a long eleven second break. The customer finally utters a closing ritual, "Thank you," to elicit the vendor's acceptance of a termination. The vendor accepts, "Okay." He diverts his attention to seek out additional customers. The closing is collaboratively accomplished and the encounter is renewable.

### 2.6.6 Conclusions

Conversation Analysis succeeds in mapping meaning onto silence, and ambiguity, inspecting emerging utterances, supported when possible by signals of rising and lowering tone, stress, tempo, glottalizations, facial grimaces, eye contact, hand gestures, body movement, etc.<sup>17</sup> Utterances are displayed by the speaker for the recipient's interpretation and response. These responses implicate the content of prefigured moves, reveal the state of understandings and agreement with the prior utterances, and display whether conditions obtain for the next turn. The expectations of the participants orient them towards re-current patterns of conversation, equipping them with procedures for operating the conversational machinery. Street-based service encounters contain familiar sales routines which invoke expectations and *preferred* actions. Implicit moves between strangers in a street transaction are *preferred* to explicit ones to avoid appearing disagreeable and critical. Fueled by expectation, the procedures employed by conversationalists fit each conversational component into a complex network of interacting *parts*.

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<sup>17</sup> Compare to Labov and Fanshel who treat prosody in their transcriptions and linguists who use phonetic marking. Levinson finds that CA transcriptions lack phonetic and prosodic specificity.

driving the machinery of conversation from inception to its closing, accomplishing the business at hand.

There is cultural variation in *turn-taking* norms in stratified societies, where social status determines who may allocate, self-select, or accept a *turn*. Moerman (1977) has found that the systematic '*local management*' of *turn-taking*, the conditional relevance of *adjacency pairs*, and the *preference* for *self-repair* tends to exist across cultures, supporting the hypothesis that they are universal tendencies (See Levinson 1983, p.369)

## **2.7 A GOAL-BASED APPROACH: JACOBS AND JACKSON**

### **2.7.1 Introduction: Rationale of the Goal-based Approach**

The street-based service encounters, studied, engage two strangers, using familiar routines and strategies in a conversational pursuit of consensual outcome. This type of encounter is an inherently goal-oriented interaction, the goals of which are displayed through the sales routines of emerging talk. This section demonstrates the application Jacob and Jackson's 'rational model' (1983) to the analysis of communicative strategies in a social structure. According to this model, goal-motivation configures the strategies of talk-in-action and directs them. J&J propose that a deeper underlying level of abstract principles motivated by goal-based illocutionary rules generate *surface-level* strategic *presequences*. Integrating a cognitive adaptation of the taxonomy *speech act theory* with a modified version of Conversation Analysis, J&J demonstrate how goal-oriented *presequences* 'display' recognizable messages to rational recipients. This section applies

J&J approach, in demonstrating the employment of presequential strategies by street negotiators to pressure one another into accepting their grounds for a *price-offer*.

### 2.7.2 A Goal-Based Encounter

A service-encounter is delimited to a set of socially constrained goals relevant to the purchase of goods. The vendor ritually attempts to get the customer to accept her/his *price-offer* offer to buy the item. Likewise the customer ritually<sup>18</sup> attempts to get the vendor to offer an acceptable *price-offer*. By means of goal bartering, cooperative interactors work towards conflict resolution and agreement. The initial moves in a sequence serve to elicit and convey goals, or screen out non-mutual goals. Sales-routines tend to be employed as a transcultural code-language (subcultural vs. mainstream, non-native speaker vs. native-speaker, non-native speaker vs. non-native speaker). These sales-routine codes facilitate price negotiation.

### 2.7.3 Cooperativeness

Negotiating, ratifying, disputing, repairing, and establishing goals is based on the assumption of cooperation by conversationalists(Grice 1975). By monitoring the familiar patterns which emerge, each participant makes efforts to transform the belief/want contexts of the other actor and enlist her or his cooperation in achieving a consensual goal. To achieve a facade of cooperativeness, a speaker may fabricate the appearance of cooperation. By appearing to align beliefs/wants and actions with those of the recipient, the interactant may attempt to conceal her or his agenda.

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<sup>18</sup> The ritual attempts are displayed by versions of familiar sales routines strategies discussed below.

#### 2.7.4 The Rational Agent

Each interactant is treated as a rational agent, whose social awareness, personal motivation, and background knowledge contributes to her or his ability to make rational interpretations and achieve an agenda, or a modification of it, through collaborative means.<sup>19</sup> The rational agent, ideally, enters into an encounter such as a service encounter, to achieve consensual goals. As a member of a speech community she or he is socially conditioned to recognize, deduce, and engage collaboratively in goal-driven encounters. The community sets the standard of price for specific items, and procedures for an orderly, cooperative, ongoing exchange. Price tends to be negotiable on the street.

Since a recipient or researcher cannot interpret the speaker's hidden agenda, J&J focus their theory on 'displayed' sequences which have been intended and designed to be recognizable sales routines. Rational interactants jointly coordinate their moves, analyzing prior ones, and plan subsequent ones (see Dore 1981; Heritage 1984). As obstructions to goal attainment emerge the recipient locates makes an attempt at overcoming them.

The vendor below, tries to persuade the customer to return to his serving post by promising to have the type of calendars requested "I'll be carrying one." The vendor locates the obstruction to his sales goal and attempts to repair it, "I could probably get them."

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<sup>19</sup> J&J cite Goffman's concept of a "working consensus" (1959, p. 10) which involves the efforts made by both parties to orient towards an alignment of belief/want states in pursuit of mutual agreement.

3.1.5 <u>Books 3</u>	
→Request	58C: <i>You know like next year's calendars? Would you be carrying them? =</i>
→Obstruction	59S: <i>=I'll be carrying one.</i>
→Request	60C <i><u>Painting</u> calendars. You know like with paintings on them.</i>
→Repair	61S: <i>I could probably get them.</i>

Any transformation tends to be collaborative and the result of negotiation, compromise and 'trade-offs' of subgoals (as displayed in bidding). To correct a 'displayed' (uttered) obstruction, the vendor makes efforts to align the belief/want contexts of the customer with his own and achieve a consensual goal. The vendor attempts to convince the customer to return to his serving post and check for the item-availability *requests* at some future date.

#### 2.7.4.1 *Coherence Derived from Goals*

According to J&J's approach, coherence is derived from recognizing the underlying goals of *surface* moves rather than from merely identifying structural types of *surface* level moves (e.g., greetings-greetings). They contend that there are many possible kinds of coherent replies to *requests* which are not expectable structural matches<sup>20</sup> or predictable recurrent patterns and thus not accountable to CA. For J&J the coherence of adjacency-pairs is due to the recognition of their goal orientation rather than to their structural linkage. They point out that while coherent goal-based *conditionally relevant* turns may follow a first pair-part, they need not be configured as expectable matching adjacent second pair-parts. However, in addressing this problem of a strictly structural description

<sup>20</sup> J&J argue that "Coherent discourse must be shown to be the orderly output of practical reasoning about goals, constrained by institutionally defined means of achieving those goals" (p.51).

(see Chapter 3). J&J propose that conditionally relevant adjacency pair parts are the output of a sequential strategy which attempts to transform the belief/wants states of the other party<sup>21</sup> towards alignment with the speaker's agenda. An absence of a deducible, inferable, emerging goal, renders a move incoherent and irrelevant.

#### 2.7.4.2 *The Goal-Motivation of Illocutionary Acts*

Citing Searle (1969), J&J invoke the goal-motivated functions of *illocutionary acts (or speech acts)*, which they claim generate the *principles of practical reasoning* so as to strategize sequential moves. J&J adapt Searle's (1976) five basic classifications of the functions of *speech acts* which are *representatives* (assertions), *directives* (*requests*, commands), *commissives* (promises, offers), *expressives* (feelings such as gratitude), and *declaratives* (performatives, such as *christenings*). Searle (1969, 1976) identifies *sets* of preconditions as *propositional contents*, *sincerity conditions*, *preparatory conditions*, and *essentiality conditions*. These *sets* constitute the criteria and values<sup>22</sup> pivotal in the *felicitous* (appropriate) performance of each *speech act*. The *propositional content* contains the message of the speaker's intention to be recognized by the hearer. For instance, a *request* functions as an attempt 'to get' the recipient to perform some future act. To satisfy the *sincerity conditions* the speaker must 'want' to perform the act and to fulfill the *preparatory conditions*; she/he must 'believe' that the recipient is 'able' and 'willing'

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<sup>21</sup> For J&J, "Coherence is not dependent so much on surface-structure issues of utterance-by-utterance sequencing as on deep-structure issues of how any utterance contributes to or obstructs the unfolding of a goal-based plan by signifying changes in belief/want contexts" (p.57).

<sup>22</sup> For J&J, values are defined by these sets of conditions which "obtain in a belief/want context for the appropriate performance of an act . . ." (p.56).

to provide the information '*requested*.'<sup>23</sup> These acts deal with the '*internal states*,' the '*beliefs*' and '*intentions*' of the speaker. The '*essentiality condition*' constitutes the 'illocutionary point' of the act, the '*doing*' of the intended act.<sup>24</sup> Searle's classification of *speech acts* has been criticized for its over-determination of speech act categories which, critics claim, does not account for the variations of criteria for speech acts or for non-verbal communication within a dialogue (Levinson 1983; Taylor and Cameron 1987; Kreckel 1981).

In the episode below, a customer requests information, "What are the *price-offers*?" This *request* socially obligates the assigned addressee, the vendor, to respond with *price-offer* information. The vendor replies "Uhhh. Tell you what, for you (stressed) only two dollars," and grants the *request*. The player's intentions are actualized in the *doing* of the move. Making a *request for information* displays the goal of the act. The uttering of the *request* transforms the belief/want actions of the recipient in a reply into granting or rejecting the *request*. For instance, a customer's state of being is changed by a *price-offer* into acting on her or his belief/want states to accept or reject it. The performance of the act places the recipient under obligation to respond and, in the case below, to grant the *request* hence, transforming the state of affairs.

#### 4.1.1 Frying Pan

→ **Pre-request for service**

Go-Ahead/Call for Playback

(Continued on the next page)

03C: *Hello! This yours?*

04S: *Pardon?*

<sup>23</sup> J&J claim that "The performance of any illocutionary act presupposes some set of beliefs and wants for the hearer and commits the speaker to some (partly overlapping) set of beliefs and wants" (p.55).

<sup>24</sup> For J&J, "The essential condition defines the transformation in the belief/want context that occurs by virtue of the act being communicated" (p.56).

(Continued from the previous page)	
	(6.0)
→ Request for price information	05S: <i>Hmm? (1.0)</i>
Request for confirmation	06C: <i>What are the price-offers?</i>
Confirmation	07S: <i>This?</i>
	08C: <i>Yeah! (1.0)</i>
→ Price-Offer	09S: <i>Uhhh. (1.0) Tell you what, for <u>you</u> only two dollar. (1.0)</i>
.....(53 rounds of this encounter have been omitted at this point).....	
→ Pre-Price Offer	64S: <i>Uhhh. Com' un</i>
Go-Ahead	65C: <i>what?</i>
→ Price-Offer	66S: <i>a dollar fifty.</i>
NTRI/Call for Replay	67C: <i>What?= =Gimme a dollar fifty</i>
→ Price-Offer/Replay	68S: <i>=Gimme a dollar fifty</i>
Hearing Check	69C: <i>You do a dollar fifty?</i>
→ Price-Offer/Replay	70S: <i>A dollar fifty.</i>
→ Acceptance/Implicit	71C: <i>Let me see if I have a dollar fifty</i>

By having elicited a *request for price* from the recipient, the preconditions are considered established for a price-offer. "What are the price-offers?" yields the appropriate response "Uhhh. Tell you what, for you (stressed) only two dollars," paving the way for the 'doing' of the target act to achieve its broader goal to ultimately get the customer to make a purchase.<sup>25</sup> In this way, according to J&J's model, the appropriate performance of a specific act initiates an adjacency pair according to the goal it seeks to achieve.

#### 2.7.4.3 Ranking of Dominant versus Subordinate Goals of Speech Acts

The broader institutional goal of a service encounter is the purchase of goods, which dominates and subsumes the goals of its subordinate speech acts. For instance, by

<sup>25</sup> The preconditions set up the requirements for the achievement of three types of goals. Firstly, the goal of the conventional perlocutionary effect is to transform the state of affairs as a result of the performance of the speech act. The goal of a request is to obligate the performance of an act by the recipient. Secondly, a speaker tends to be expected to infer intentional goals, through a chain of reasoning steps in expectation of eliciting and then recognizing them. Thirdly, the attainment of the communicative goals involves the felicitous performance of illocutionary acts in pursuit of 'broader' interactional goals (establishing subgoals).

establishing the preconditions of a customer, the vendor is justified in making a price-offer to achieve the sales goal. According to J&J goals are ranked in relation as dominant and subordinate. The goal '*to get customer's attention*' may be a lower ranking goal than '*gaining a customer's compliance*' to a *price-offer*, the dominant goal. A vendor's dominant speech act is the '*price-offer*', and the customer's dominant act is the '*sales-request*.' The goals of the subordinate act are treated as subgoals of the main act which must be fulfilled for the '*doing*' of a valid felicitous main act. Satisfying the preconditions of the goals of the subordinate acts has a justificatory effect (Ferrara 1980a, 1980b) on the performance of the main act, paving the way towards goal achievement. To check whether a vendor has the capacity, desire, and right to satisfy various preconditions, a customer makes a series of '*requests for information*.' When these preconditions can be satisfied, the customer is accountably warranted to perform the main *request*, the '*sales-request*.'

#### **2.7.4.4 Incompatible Preconditions Thwarts Goal Achievement**

If the vendor believes that the customer's goals and wishes cannot be satisfied without sacrificing the sale, he or she would likely forego the pursuit to achieve the target sales-goal. However the customer's comment about an item may be interpreted as grounds for a possible sale. In such a case, the vendor may strategically redirect the topic, compromise her or his preconditions, pressure the customer to modify her or his preconditions. For example, vendor may lower her or his *price-offer*.

In the episode below, the customer rejects the vendor's *price-offer* since it does not meet her precondition of *need*: "Because I have one jacket like that." The vendor per-

sists in attempting to sway the customer to modify her precondition. "If <you>change mind come back." He makes efforts to compromise his subgoals to meet her precondition of ability and want, by lowering his *price*, "If the price is too much I'll take an offer." Since the customer has not accepted his *price-offer*, the target goal can not be met. To encourage a renewal at a future date, the vendor provide criteria for her return "We have more, okay."

<b>4.1.19 <u>Leather Jacket</u></b>	
<b>→Offer</b>	21S: <i>How's seven?</i> (2.0)
	22S: <i>That's the price.</i>
<b>Non-acceptance/Grounds</b>	23C2: <i>No. I have hmm.</i>
<b>→Offer</b>	24S: <i>How much you have?</i>
<b>→Non-Acceptance/Grounds</b>	25C2: <i>Because I have one jacket like that.</i>
<b>Acknowledgment</b>	26S: <i>Oh. Oh.</i>
<b>Pre-Closing/Acknowledgment</b>	<i>Okay,</i>
<b>→Non-Acceptance/Grounds</b>	27C2: <i>Yeah. I just want &lt;xx &gt;See you. (a chuckle)</i>
<b>→Offer</b>	28S: <i>If &lt;xx you xx&gt; change mind come back.</i>
<b>Pre-Closing/Agreement</b>	29C2: <i>Okay. (chuckle)</i>
<b>→Offer/Alternate Option</b>	30S: <i>We have more, okay?</i>
<b>→Non-Acceptance/Hedge</b>	31C2: <i>Huh, huh</i>
	32C1: <i>Okay. Check it out.</i> (4.0)
<b>→Offer</b>	33S2: <i>If the price-offer is too much I'll take an offer.</i>
<b>→Non-Acceptance/Hedge</b>	34C1: <i>Heh. (chuckle) Okay.</i>
<b>Closing</b>	<i>(Both customers walk away)</i>

The vendor acts may infer from her initial show of interest that the customer is actually holding out for a lower price. Therefore, he persistently lowers his *price-offer* to meet her *grounds* for an acceptable *price*.

Since price tends to be negotiable on the street, it carries with it conflicting goals, which sale-oriented negotiators attempt to resolve. The customer tends to expect an affordable purchase or *price-offer* low enough to justify the risk in a street sale. On the

other hand, the vendor most likely expects some profit to justify her/his investment of time, effort, and a cost. A mutual agreement for withdrawal from negotiation tends to occur when consensual preconditions for the sale cannot be accomplished.

In the episode below, there is a conflict between the customer's expressed goal for a lower price: "No! I give you 10 dollar" and the vendor's displayed goal for a acceptance of his offer: "Give me 12." The vendor's complaint implies that the customer's *price-offer* goal is below her cost "I have to pay for them sir." Each party gives grounds for her/his price "I want to send, to send to the Europe." As a fellow East European, the customer exploits ethnic grounds (i.e., he is seeking solidarity with the Russian vendor) as a basis for his lowered *price-bid*.<sup>26</sup>

2.1.3 <u>Bomber Jacket</u> (The vendor and C3 are East European)	
→ Price-Offer	63S: <i>Give me 12.</i>
→ Rejection of Offer Account	64C3: <i>No! I give you 10 dollar. Because it's new that's the reason. I want=</i>
→ Rejection of Bid	65S: <i>=You have to pay more.</i>
→ Rejection of Offer Replay Account	66C3: <i>I want to send, to send to the Europe. That's the reason.</i>
→ Rejection of Bid Replay	67S: <i>What? I can pay for?</i>
→ Rejection of Bid Replay	68S: <i><u>Three</u> dollars (To another C)</i>
→ Rejection of Bid Replay Account	69S: <i>I know, but I have to pay them I cannot. I cannot get anything free I have to pay for them sir.</i>

## 2.7.5 Principles and Rules: Two Basic Levels of Knowledge

Two basic levels of knowledge<sup>27</sup>, a primary and a secondary, constitute the generative components of J&J's rational approach. The primary level, the '*systemic*,' consists

<sup>26</sup> Implicative meanings understandable to individuals of the same speech community, may be inaccessible to the research analyst who lacks this insider's knowledge.

<sup>27</sup> Reconstructive language analysis assumes that "every adult speaker possesses an implicit, reconstructible knowledge, which is expressed his linguistic rule competence (to produce sentences). (Habermas 1979, p.26)

of the knowledge of underlying *rules* and *principles* which regulate and define the possible range of goal-based moves. For J&J this level determines "procedures for making allowable moves" (p.51). The secondary level, the '*strategic*' output, consists of "not rules but rational play within the rules" (p.51), their standardized patterns and versions.<sup>28</sup> The primary level consists of underlying principles of communication such as the *cooperative principle* (Grice 1975), the *universal validity claims*.<sup>29</sup> (see Habermas 1979), the *primary rules of illocutionary acts*,<sup>30</sup> and the *principles of practical reasoning* (see Mohan 1974). These generate the secondary *surface* level output of the rational strategic sequential patterns of *presequences*, *embedded-expansions*, and *preempts*.

J&J's approach calls for a goal-based motivational component which sets up conditions for the emerging structural output of sequential strategies. Conversation is compared to game-playing. Each player knows the rules which define the game and constrain the possible strategies to achieve the goals set by the particular conversational activity. Each player coordinates strategically planned moves to enlist the other's cooperation in achieving a goal. A strategic attempt may try in effect to out-manuever and coerce compliance. Moves are constrained by those which were previously played. In conversation, the participant plans her/his strategy according to the previous moves and the patterns of sequences identified. Each interested party tends to make trade-offs and compromises of

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<sup>28</sup> J&J argue that "Strategies can be seen as rational ways to pursue goals and standard lines of play as the principled interlocking of two individual strategic plans" (p.51).

<sup>29</sup> Habermas defines the validity claims when the speaker claims to: "(a) Uttering something understandably; (b) Giving [the hearer] something to understand; (c) Making himself thereby understandable; and (d) Coming to an understanding with another person" (1979, p.2).

<sup>30</sup> Habermas defines claims that "speech-act theory postulates a corresponding communicative rule competence, namely the competence to employ sentences in speech acts" (p.29).

subgoals so as to align the other interactant's belief/want contexts with her or his own in pursuit of a sale.

### 2.7.5.1 Primary Rules of Illocutionary Acts

The *primary rules* consist of both the *validity rules* and *reason rules*<sup>31</sup> which regulate the range of speech acts by setting up functional criteria for their performance. To J&J these underlying rules "...establish a basis logic for the pursuit of social consequences through illocutionary action by appropriately performing an illocutionary act. . ." (see Jacobs and Jackson 1983, 59). The goals inherent in these restricted sets of preconditions for illocutionary acts are constrained by the primary rules.

J&J cite Habermas (1979) who maintains; "Coming to an agreement is the process of bringing about an agreement on the presupposed bases of validity claims than can be recognized," emphasizing the collaborative orientation towards valid agreement. According to J&J, an illocutionary act is *validly* performed if the speaker believes that the preconditions are satisfied and he or she intends to achieve the goals of the act conveyed.<sup>32</sup> The vendor is expected to be cooperative and 'display' an intention of letting the customer negotiate her or his grounds. An *offer* is *validly* performed if the vendor believes that the preconditions for the act are satisfied; they involve the customer's willingness, ability, and

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<sup>31</sup> According to the rational model of coherence, a speaker who initiates an encounter such as "Can I look at that?" (pointing to ink cartridge) performs an illocutionary act to transform the current belief/want state of the recipient/vendor and make it consistent with his own.

<sup>32</sup> Habermas claims that "The goal of understanding [*Verständigung*] is to bring about agreement [*Einverständnis*] that terminates in the intersubjective mutuality of reciprocal understanding, shared knowledge, mutual trust, and accord with one another. Agreement is based on recognition of the corresponding validity claims of comprehensibility, truth, truthfulness, and rightness (1979, p.3)."

desire, to accept the *offer*. The move which achieves a goal counts as *valid*. A *valid* act ratifies its subsidiary preconditions.

According to the *reason rule*, a speaker's communicated belief/want states (e.g., wanting to make a purchase) constitute the reason upon which a cooperative recipient aligns her/his belief/want states (e.g., wanting to make a sale and believing it possible) with that of the speaker. Sequentially projected goals (of personal agendas) sets the limits which the range of preconditions of subsidiary and subsequent dominant acts will encompass. A belief that the preconditions of a projected goal <sup>33</sup> could not be obtained, would be based on an attributable reason such as the displayed inability of a vendor to provide needed information, such as the *age* of the item, or its *utility*.<sup>34</sup>

#### 2.7.5.2 *The Principles of Practical Reasoning Generate Presequences*

While embedded-expansions, and *presequences*, are regular expansions, J&J claim that *preempts* display irregular expansions of adjacency pair rules. In pointing out the shortcomings of CA to account for this irregularity, they argue that these ". . .orderly and disorderly forms of expansion can be explained as the output of *practical reasoning principles* operating on a system of rules for transforming belief/want contexts"(p.65). The *presequence* checks the status of the appropriateness of the preconditions of the projected second pair part, in order for it to be performed successfully and for the goal to be achieved. By employing *presequences* and/or embedded-expansions, the speaker at-

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<sup>33</sup> According to J&J goals are projected by the implicative content and sequential position of a prior utterance.

<sup>34</sup> The reason for believing that preconditions cannot hold acts as an identifiable obstruction to their achievement.

tempts to establish the *conditional relevance* of the *second pair part*. J&J propose that coherent discourse "... be shown to be the orderly output of practical reasoning about goals, constrained by institutionally defined means of achieving those goals"(p.51). J&J claim that the *validity rules* operate through the *principles of reasoning* to generate *presequences*, *embedded-expansions*, and *preempts* as output for sequential strategies. The *principles of practical reasoning*<sup>35</sup> and the *primary rules* establish the preconditions which enable the means for carrying out plans in pursuit of emerging interactional goals. According to these principles, verbal actions tend to be performed as they are needed. Rational procedures tend to be employed to generate strategies which provide the rational means to inspect the congruity of the recipient's belief/wants contexts and, if divergent, to transform them towards goal alignment. These procedures tend to enable the participant to avoid making unsuccessful moves.

*Presequences*, *embedded-expansions* and *preempts*, J&J claim, are the rational sequential output of the strategies generated by the *principles of practical reasoning*. The precondition sets of illocutionary acts provide the goal-motivating criteria for their performance and are intervened by *the principles of practical reasoning* which provide the relevant strategies for rational play in sequential contexts. In this way, J&J attempt to treat the problems found in a rule-governed approach of multi-functional moves (Levinson 1983, 289). They attempt to incorporate a functional approach into a descrip-

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<sup>35</sup> The following are the 'principles of practical reasoning' promoted by J&J (p. 58-59) Principle 1: Whenever anyone wants to achieve an objective and this objective can be achieved by performing a certain action, then one thing for him or her to do is perform this action. Principle 2: Whenever anyone wants to achieve an objective and cannot achieve this objective unless he performs a certain action, then one thing for him to do is to perform this action. (Mohan 1974..80). Principle 3: Whenever anyone wants to achieve an objective and cannot achieve

tive one through these generalized *principles of practical reasoning* (see further discussion in Chapter 3). *Presequences* and *embedded-expansions* act as a rational means to adjust the preconditions, aligning belief/want contexts with valid goal achieving moves.<sup>36</sup>

On the other hand *preempts* are moves taken when the preconditions for the target act have been perceived as satisfied. Since *presequences* and *embedded-expansions* operate through the *validity rule*, cooperative agents tend to establish appropriate conditions to ensure the successful performance of the superordinate prefigured act.

J&J propose that since *presequences* and *embedded-expansions* are goal-motivated rational strategies used to transform the belief/want states (e.g., to accept a *price-offer*), they can not be the *output* of surface level structural expansion rules, proposed by CA.<sup>37</sup> According to J&J the *principles of reasoning* and *validity rules* provide criteria and means for goal-oriented attempts. If the preconditions do not obtain then the interactants will work cooperatively to make them do so. Street shoppers bargain with vendors for a price agreement.

### 2.7.6 Presequences, Embedded-Expansions, and Preempts

A *pre-request*, is a *presequence*, which prefigures the sales-request move. The *pre-request* move checks to see if the preconditions obtain to justify the 'doing' of a projected sales-request move. If the preconditions obtain, the recipient will signal the 'go-

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this objective unless a certain state of affairs obtains, then one thing for him to do is to determine whether this state of affairs obtains. (ibid.)

<sup>36</sup> In reference to the projected goal of the superordinate act.

<sup>37</sup> J&J argue that "... such notions are essential to an adequate understanding of pragmatic coherence and that the rules and structural patterns identified by the sequencing rules approach are the consequences of a more fundamental system of principles by which people rationally pursue goals in conversation" (p.51).

*ahead.* Otherwise, the customer may attempt to adjust and establish the preconditions, through *requests information* about the item. If preconditions do not obtain the recipient can abort the '*doing*' of the projected *sales-request* or *offer*, by not eliciting it. For the sake of conversational economy and expediency, preempts tend to be performed when the recipient can foresee the pre-figured speech act and assumes that the preconditions obtain. *presequences* are employed to avoid a misfired unsuccessful action, but may be transformed into *preempts* to hurry the pace of encounter. Embedded-expansions which may precede and follow the main act, or emerge between the pre-request and its *conditionally relevant* response, an 'acceptance.' They open slots for negotiation, haggling, and manipulative pressures or delays. An embedded-expansions may be used to delay a refusal, or in unclear situations to clarify roles and preconditions for a purchase; for example by eliciting information or challenging it.

#### **2.7.6.1 *Presequences Coherently Initiate Adjacency Pairs***

J&J claim that *second pair-parts* of an adjacency pair are coherent responses to the first pair-parts as long as they are interpretable by the recipient. Yet, J&J point out that they may ". . . not fit into the category of a structurally *matching second part*" (p.40) since the performance of a conditionally relevant second pair-part is dependent upon the 'displayed' validity of its criteria.

In the transaction below, the customer checks to see if conditions obtain for a *sales-request* by performing a *pre-request* in the *first pair part* such as "*Hello! This yours?*" The vendor responds with a bi-directional "*Pardon?*," *requests for clarification*, which puts on hold the conditionally relevant response to the question to elicit the cus-

customer's pre-figured request. In this situation the sales-routines are strategically positioned in sequences to invoke recognition of their goal-motivated function. Assuming that turn #03 is a *pre-request* for his *service*, the vendor elicits the customer's *request* for *item information* in order to make a price-offer. Turns #03, 04, 05, and 06 are all *requests* which appear to lack structurally matching second-pair-parts. Each *question* below is followed by another *question* rather than a structurally matching answer. The matching answer to turn #03 never structurally emerges verbally in the dialogue. There is no superficial clue to predict these responses. J&J argue that adjacency pairs are components of presequential patterns, and signify the strategic goal-motives which configure them for recipient recognition.

#### 4.1.1 Frying Pan

→Pre-Requests for Service	Q1	03C:	<i>Hello! This yours?</i>
→Call for Replay/NTRI	A1/Q2	04S:	<i>Pardon? (6.0)</i>
→Call for Replay/NTRI	Q2	05S:	<i>Hmm? (1.0)</i>
→Request/Replay	A2/Q3	06C:	<i>What are the prices?</i>
Embedded Requests	Q4	07S:	<i>This?</i>
Embedded Response	A4	08C:	<i>Yeah! (1.0)</i>
→Price Offer/Response	A3	09S:	<i>Uhhh. (1.0) Tell you what, <u>for you</u> only two dollar.(1.0)</i>

### 2.7.7 The Application of Presequential Strategies

#### 2.7.7.1 Bargaining and Bidding

I have found that bargaining and bidding moves, which challenge the vendor's *price-offer*, tend to follow as a rejection of a *preemptive-price-offer*. If preconditions cannot be satisfied but the customer still desires the product, the vendor tends to lower the *price-offer* to solicit the sale.

In the episode below, the vendor expresses the reasons for her price-offer in turn #78 to compel the customer to accept it. However, the customer, C4, corrects the vendor's *price-offer* with his own in turns #79 and #81. The vendor lowers her price in turn #82, expecting the customer to compromise his bid. When the customer reveals no change in his price-bid, seen in turns #82 and #84, the vendor challenges in turn #83 his grounds for price "I have to pay somebody, I have to make, 3 dollars. I can't go lower. I have to make something." An overhearer, C5, interrupts their bargaining and accepts the vendor's *price-offer* in turn #86. Each party is playing a strategic game of bidding. As part of the strategy, each player challenges the other's grounds for a bid<sup>38</sup> to compel her or him to accept or modify it.

<b>2.1.3 Bomber Jacket</b>	
→ Price-Offer	78S: <i>Twenty-five sir (to C4) 25, 25. It's a new jacket.</i>
→ Price-Bid/Reduced	79C4: <i>20 (heavily accented speech)</i>
→ Rejection of Bid/Accounted	80S: <i>I can't.</i>
→ Price-Bid/Repeated	81C4: <i>20</i>
→ Price-Bid/Reduced	82S: <i>23</i>
→ Price-Bid/Repeated	83C4: <i>20</i>
→ Challenge of Low Price Bid	84S: <i>I have to pay somebody..I have to make.. 3 dollars. I can't go lower. I have to make something.</i>
→ Price-Offer/Repeated	<i>23, 23.</i>
→ Price-Bid/Repeated	85C4: <i>20 (?pieces?) (3.0)</i>
→ Acceptance by Another C	86C5: <i>23 is good (hands over the money)</i>

#### 2.7.7.2 Undecided Customers Prefer Embedded-Expansions

I have found that an undecided customer tends to avoid a *preempt* by starting out with an embedded *request for information*. After summoning the vendor's attention, the

<sup>38</sup> The customer's offer of price is called a price-bid to distinguish it from the vendor's price-offer.

customer may employ a sequential strategy to check if her or his preconditions for purchasing the item can be met. The use of recursive embeddings enables the interactors to put their responses to sales offers on hold until she deems the conditions obtain for an acceptance or rejection of the vendor's offer. Any reference to an item in his stock may be strategically interpreted by a vendor as a *pre-request* to justify a *preemptive price-offer*. Since directly rejecting an *price-offer* is accountable and can be perceived as a *face-threatening act*, it tends to be avoided by street customers. This strategic opportunism of an unjustifiable *preemptive price-offer* might be temporarily thwarted by the customer's recursive *embedded-expansions*.

In the segment below, the customer responds to the vendor's *price-offer* hesitantly, pauses, and utters embedded, redundant questions. The customer makes two attempts to elicit confirmation "That's for uhh VCR?" of the obvious function of the cleaner which is inferable from the packaging. Since this question flouts Grice's (1975) conversational maxims of *informativeness*, *relevance*, and *clarity*, an observer is led to infer that the customer is delaying her response. These embedded *requests* and/or hedges "Uh huh" follow each offer. This customer exhibits her use of *embedded-expansions* as a 'delay device' to avoid accountability for rejecting the *price-offer*, a *face-threatening act*.

### 3.1.2 VCR

→ Price-Offer	08S: <i>Oh this? Gimme two dollars. (medium tone)</i>
→ Delay Device/Non Acceptance	09C: <i>Uh huh.</i>
→ Delay Device/Non Acceptance	(5.0)
→ Delay Device/Request/Replay	10C: <i>Oh That's for::</i>
→ Delay Device/Request/Replay	11S: <i>Huh?</i>
→ Delay Device/Request/Replay	12C: <i><u>That's</u> for uhh VCR?</i>
→ Delay Device/Non-Acceptance	13S: <i>Uh huh, uh huh.</i>
→ Delay Device/Non-Acceptance	14C: <i>Yeah.</i>
(Continued on the next page)	

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→Delay Device/Request/Replay	<i>That's for uhh VCR?</i>
→Price-Offer/Repeated	15S: <i>They going, they go for ten dollars.</i>
→Delay Device/Non Acceptance	16C: <i>Uh huh (2.0)</i>
→Price-Offer/Implied Offer	17S: <i>I don't bust nobody.</i>
→Delay Device/Non Acceptance	18C: <i>Hahh (muffled laugh) Interesting things</i>

### 2.7.7.3 The Vendor's Use of Embedded-Expansions

It has been found in this study that a street vendor may delay an impending closing or rejection of a sale by engaging the customer in a friendly chat, using *embedded expansions* (of an adjacency pair) to get the customer to accept his grounds for a possible purchase. This represents a strategy to gain the customer's trust and willingness to accept his/her 'price-offer.' The use of *embedded-expansions* may be a last resort for the vendor to prevent the closing of the encounter.

In the segment below, when the customer does not 'display' any agreement with the vendor's *price-offer*, he attempts to persuade the customer, initiating subsequent *embedded-expansions*. The vendor, first, begins to promote his goods. Then he attempts to elicit the customer's agreement with his upgraded assessment with the tag, "you know." The vendor tries to transform the customer's belief/wants states "Yeah. This one, nothing damage," and convince her that the jacket would meet her preconditions.

#### 4.1.19 Leather Jacket

→Offer	05S: <i>Uh, I wanted fifteen, but I take ten dollars for you. Ten.</i>
	06C2: <i>Ten dollars.</i>
Promotional/Account	07S: <i>That's good stuff</i>
→Non-Acceptance/Hedge	08C2: <i>Uh, huh</i>
→Offer	09S: <i>Yeah. This one, nothing damage, you know Scratch, you know. Yeah, from vintage, you know. Scratch. Somebody carry</i>
Promotional/Account	

(Continued on the next page)

(Continued from the previous page)		
→Non-Acceptance/Hedge	10C2:	<i>Yah</i>
Promotional/Account	11S:	<i>or something.</i>
→Non-Acceptance/Hedge	12C2:	<i>Yah</i>
→Offer	13S:	<i>Yeah. You know, Ninth street, First Avenue corner.</i>
Promotional/Account		<i>It's vintage shop over there, you know. From over there. This one, a (holds jacket, shows a scratch)</i>
→Non-Acceptance/Hedge	14C2:	<i>Uh huh.</i>
→Offer	15S:	<i>Check it out. Everything check it out.</i>
→Non-Acceptance/Hedge		(7.0)

#### 2.7.7.4 Vendors Prefer Preempts

I have found that vendors tend to discourage *embedded-expansions* through the preferred use of *preempts*. Whereas, a prefatory move may signal interest in an item or forewarn of a potential problem. To explicitly reject a *price-offer* is more *face-damaging* to the vendor than to postpone it with *face-enhancing* questions about the items. A *preemptive price-offer* presupposes that the preconditions for a sale exist. A vendor tends to avoid the problematic delays and scrutiny (e.g., asking for item-information) presented by negotiation moves which may unleash obstructions (wrong size) to a sale. By setting up the expectation of acceptance, this *preemptive strategy* pressures the customer to comply or reveal disinclination. A quick rejection or acceptance would enable a vendor to move on to the next customer, reducing the time lost in a non-profitable transaction. In spite of these attempts to accelerate a sale or the termination of an encounter there is another possible outcome of a *preemptive-price-offer*, a sequel to it, consisting of a series of *embedded-expansions*. By more checking to see if grounds could be established to sanction a sale, the parties would jointly rekindle the encounter.

In the segment below, when the customer inquires about a product's identification with a pre-request for service "What's that?," the vendor responds with a *preemptive price-offer*. Since the preconditions for a sale obtain, a *preemptive price-offer* would be appropriate. This move denies the customer the slots to check or establish her preconditions. As a result, the customer creates slots for additional item-information following the vendor's *price-offer*. In this case the customer's preconditions for *price-offer* and conditions are met and the *price-offer* is accepted confirming the vendor's earlier presumptions of its likelihood.

4.1.17 <u>Body Oil</u>	
→ Request	O1C1: <i>What's that? (pointing)</i> <i>What's this over here?</i>
→ Response/Granting	O2S: <i>Oh for both. That's a set.</i>
→ Pre-request	O3C1: <i>What is that?</i>
→ Preempt	O4S: <i>Oh the, they three dollars for one.</i>
→ Request/Replay	O5C1: <i>What are they?//</i>
→ Response/Granting	O6S: <i>//This, It's, it's on there</i>

I have observed that the vendor tends to make a *preemptive* move to prevent a potential problem by interpreting a *pre-request* as a projected *sales-request*, one soliciting a *price-offer*. This way the vendor may use a *preemptive offer* to head off the customer's prefigured presequential setup to avoid being bogged down with delay mechanisms and unanswerable *requests* for item information. A customer may prefer to maintain *face* by accepting a low *price-offer* rather than risk *face loss* and possible conflict by offending the vendor (See Chapter 2.3). A *preemptive-offer* may succeed in pressuring a customer into accepting the *price-offer*, or alternatively elicit unaccounted implicit non-acceptance as exhibited by the customer above.

### ***2.7.7.5 Strategies Preferred in the Street-Based Sales Encounters***

As displayed above, it has been found that while the undecided customer tends to prefer *embedded-expansions*, the vendor seems to prefer the benefits of the preempt strategy. Purchases may be quick and routine when the customer readily accepts the vendor's price-offer, pays, takes the item, and then departs. The preempt strategy enables the vendor to either make a successful *price-offer* or expediently terminate the encounter to pursue another prospect. By hurrying a sale, the server may avoid the potential pitfalls of a presequential strategy, of getting mired down by the customer's embedded-expansions. These types of sequences tend to be used by the vendor in a sales-encounter to manipulate the customer's decision-making. Both the conventional store-based and non-conventional street-situated server tend to use the *presequence* strategy as a means to check the customer's interest and readiness to make a purchase. By employing 'sales'-routines the vendor preserves the display of professionalism while opening, keeping open, or closing the channels of negotiation.

### ***2.7.7.6 Variations of the Preemptive-Offer on the Street***

Variations of *presequences*, *embedded-expansions*, and *preempts* have been located in the data (Gilbert 1987,1993,1994). I have found in these versions the type of *presequence* characterized by J&J, where the recipient may strategically misinterpret the type of maneuver performed by the speaker. Her or his contrived 'display,' accounts for the vendor's erroneous expectations of outcome and misfired actions. These variations may typify the strategic sequences performed by the street-based vendor.

A variation of the *preemptive offer* in the sample below occurs at the end of the encounter. A long chat and several rounds of *embedded requests* for item information yield information about the vendor's stock. Since her preconditions for a purchase haven't been met, the customer elicits confirmation that there is no other stock available. In this way, she paves the way for a *face-saving* withdrawal. However, in a last ditch effort, the vendor transforms her move, "So this is pretty much your stock now?" into a *pre-request* for service and makes an offer of service, "Are you looking for something in particular?" The customer rejects this offer with an explanation "No! I guess something in particular will strike me, you know, like something affordable." The customer matches the vendor's phrasing as a show of *face-preserving* solidarity while making issue of his price-range. Having conveyed her grounds for agreement, the customer implicitly invites the vendor to modify his price-offer. Since the vendor does not reveal a willingness to compromise, the customer's withdrawal from the interaction seems justified.

#### 2.1.4 Mexican Items

##### → Pre-Request

49C1: *So this is pretty much your stock now?*

50S: *Yeah!*

##### → Preemptive Offer

51S: *Are you looking for something in particular?*

##### → Rejection

52C1: *No! I guess something in particular will strike me, you know, like something affordable.*

In the following example, the customer's implication that she would return to his serving post "How long are you going to be out here?" prompts the vendor's *preemptive price-offer*. The customer's request is ambiguous and could be interpreted either as a delay device or interest in purchasing the sales item at a later time. The vendor takes the assumption that his *price* is causing her reluctance. Not wanting to let a possible sale 'slip away,' he attempts to remedy this problem with an enticing *preemptive offer* "You tell me

how much you got to give me." However, rather than an acceptance, the vendor's offer elicits the customer's clarification of her reason for withdrawal "No, the problem is that I have to see if its . . ." Either the vendor has misinterpreted the customer's display of interest for an intention of purchase; or by exploiting the interpretive leeway this ambiguity afforded him, he has chosen to take a 'calculated risk' and make 'a last ditch' attempt to coax a sale from this 'unpromising' customer. This encounter both reveals the potential difficulty recipients tend to have in interpreting ambiguous utterances and demonstrates how interactants may exploit an ambiguity by strategically choosing the interpretation that implements their agendas. In protecting her *face*, the customer below makes a request which strategically acts like ambiguous bait left to mystify as well as tease the vendor's expectation of a sale.

3.1.1 <u>Keyboard</u>	
→ Price-Offer	22S: <i><u>Eight dollars.</u></i> (stressed)
Non-Acceptance/Compliment	23C: <i>It's pretty good.</i>
→ Price-Offer/Promotional	24S: <i>pretty cheap</i>
→ <u>Pre-Request</u>	25C: <i>How long are you going to be out here.</i>
Delay/Account	26S: <i>Oh! I'm getting cold now</i>
Delay/Hedge	27C: <i>Ehahh(chuckles)</i>
→ <u>Preemptive Offer</u>	28S: <i>You tell me how much you got to give me=</i>
Non-acceptance/Direct/ Accounted	29C: <i>= No the problem is that I have to see if its compatible with my computer</i>

I have found in the above examples that a sequence may be transformed by a vendor into a 'preempt' at just a hint of interest by a customer towards a sales item. The vendor may hurry an encounter strategically and use *preemptive* offers to either cancel out a poor prospect or avoid the possibility of having to account for stock inadequacy.

### 2.7.8 Summary

J&J claim that conversations are collaboratively constructed by goal-oriented, game-savvy players, cognizant of game rules, they can inspect each other's plays, foreseeing each other's strategic goal, they plot their own course of action, orienting the interaction towards consensus. As each utterance emerges and displays a goal, the recipient strategizes the next to elicit cooperation from the other party. These players work jointly towards a joint alignment of belief/want states attempts in pursuit of mutual goals.

I have found that participants on the street tend to establish their role-relationship and goals through the tactful use of sales routines. If not ritually ratified at the onset, the ultimate sales goal tends to be tentative and subject to successive joint revisions. The instability of the street *price-offer* sets up the potential for conflicting price goals and competitive relationships between negotiators. However, vendors on the street are compelled to employ strategies which assure trust and enable collaborative resolution of price conflict.

Conditions for a sale (such as acceptable price) may be altered, negotiated, realized or aborted. The bidders' clash of agenda is controlled by the sequential strategies employed to 'head-off' and avoid explicit conflict to keep the channels of negotiation open. Bargainers tend to be motivated by winning a price bid during rounds of bidding, but after the price goal is either achieved or aborted, the encounter tends to shift focus to a *face* preserving withdrawal which promotes renewable contact.

## CHAPTER 3

### A Critique of the Theoretical Foundations

#### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the critiques of the theoretic underpinnings of the four methods discussed in the previous chapter. The issues raised in this chapter support the arguments made for integrating into an analytic method the influences which configure strategic sequences in conversation; which are social conditioning, face motivation and goal orientation.

#### 3.2 Rationalism, Conventionalism, and Empiricism

Taylor and Cameron (1987) present "three basic types of rule-based accounts of the motivations of the current theories of *conversational analysis*, *rationalism*, *conventionalism* and *empiricism*" (p.86). *Rationalism* accounts for rationalist *goal*-motivation and politeness strategies involving *face* motivation. *Conventionalism* accounts for functional and rule-driven discourse analysis theories such as the 'rules of discourse' proposed by Labov and Fanshel<sup>1</sup>(1977). *Conventionalism*, *rationalism*, and *empiricism* are combined to account for the motivations of Jacobs and Jackson's *goal*-motivated-sequential analysis. Conversation Analysis (CA) is an innovative strictly descriptive empirical approach which had emerged from Garfinkel whose insights formed the theoretical framework of ethnomethodology. CA<sup>2</sup> rejects the 'rule-driven' prescriptiveness of traditional *empiricism* and replaces it with the normative constraints of "intersubjective

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<sup>1</sup> Labov and Fanshel claim that "the rules of discourse . . . are like the rules of syntax in their unconscious, invariant nature (1977, p.107)

<sup>2</sup> See Taylor and Cameron's discussion 1987, in their section on Conversation Analysis.

accountability.' Conversation is expected to 'display' each party's level of accountability to the norms of conversation. *Rationalism* and *conventionalism* involve the functional structures designed to achieve interactional tasks such as giving warnings, offers, convincing, pleasing, agreeing, and so forth. Through CA, sequential patterns can be explained and formulations made about the procedures used<sup>3</sup> by participants in organizing their conversation (e.g., the systematic allocation of turns, the preference for self-repair, and the conditional relevance of adjacency pairs).

### 3.2.1 Criticisms of Conventionalist Theories: Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis (DA) is derived from '*conventionalist pragmatic* theories. It subscribes to a generative perspective, whereby the meaning or intention of a speech act<sup>4</sup> is located in an underlying level and the output is represented on the *surface* as an utterance. The DA approach invokes the analyst's intuitions of *well-formedness*, a concept derived from syntactic and semantic analysis. However, this type of approach is regarded by empiricists as ill-suited for conversational analysis. The fact that an utterance heard by one recipient as *well-formed* may be heard as *ill-formed* by another<sup>5</sup> has caused criticism of DA's reliance on intuition (Taylor and Cameron 1987, Levinson 1983, Heritage 1983). Furthermore, Taylor and Cameron (1987) point out that discourse rules (e.g., a question may function as a threat) are frequently violated in contrast to the rules of grammar which are consistently and intuitively followed (e.g., the subject and verb agreement rule). Citing the frequency of violations such as double-negatives, ungrammatical strings, of unspecified proforms in on-going talk, Levinson (1983) argues

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<sup>3</sup> Taylor and Cameron (1987) ask (p.6) "Can the organized and regular nature of conversation be explained as well as described? A number of analysts have gone beyond merely cataloguing regularities to posit that the descriptive formulae which capture or reproduce such regularities are actually known and used by conversationalists."

<sup>4</sup> DA maintains that the most fundamental unit of discourse is the 'speech act.'

<sup>5</sup> See Levinson's argument presented in Section 2.2, discussing the inadequacy of DA in analyzing the ubiquitous ungrammaticality found in conversation. (see Levinson 1987, Chapter 6)

that this prescriptive rule-system is too unreliable and unsystematic for analytic work of conversation. He further criticizes the DA for promoting an unanalyzable<sup>6</sup> 'form-force' one-to-one correspondence between intended underlying actions and *surface*-level utterances. Levinson (1983) contends that DA fails to provide the means to map the proposed underlying actions into such discourse occurrences as multi-functional utterances, silence, ambiguities, and non-semantic sounds (see Sections 2.2 and 2.3).

### 3.2.2 A Criticism of the Criteria of Speech Acts Rules

Speech act theory (Searle 1965, 1969, 1975, 1976), as formulated by Searle, provides the criteria for speech acts adapted by DA and Labov and Fanshel. Jacobs and Jackson attempt to incorporate it into their descriptive approach of conversational analysis. DA proponents claim that speech act theory identifies a closed set of speech acts which are available to the recipient either directly from the *surface* level or from the underlying level through a process of inferencing. Labov and Fanshel maintain that discourse is governed by intuitive rules. They claim that (1977, p.75) "The rules of discourse . . . are like the rules of syntax in their unconscious, invariant nature."

Taylor and Cameron (1987) cite the research of Kreckel (1981), a social psychologist, in challenging the universality claim of Searle's (1969, 1975)<sup>7</sup> taxonomy of illocutionary acts (i.e., speech acts). They question the applicability of this taxonomy across speakers of different cultural backgrounds, perceptions, and experiences. Kreckel demonstrates through her research that speakers do not always share the same typologies of speech acts. Kreckel studied two families and found that only within one family which had a shared background knowledge and biography was there an agreement on the criteria for the identification of a speech action. Yet, both families recognized a *directive*

<sup>6</sup> This 'one-to-one' correspondence between what is said and what is meant does not account for multi-functional and bidirectional responses such as misunderstanding tokens "Eh?"

<sup>7</sup> Searle (1969 p.39) claims that "Different human languages, to the extent they are intertranslatable, can be regarded as different conventional realizations of the same underlying rules."

as an action categorized by Searle's *taxonomy of illocutionary acts* (1975) as a *warning*, contradicting its application across speakers. She finds that when recipients agree on the category of the speech act, they may not use the same criteria (i.e., preconditions that constitute an act) for their identification (see Section 2.5). Due to the varying conventions of types identified by the recipient, Kreckel endorses an empirical 'participant-oriented' approach to identify the type of actions displayed. In her work, *Communicative Acts and Shared knowledge in Natural Discourse* (Kreckel 1981),<sup>8</sup> Kreckel argues that shared beliefs, biography, experience, and perceptions comprise the interactors' shared conventions for identifying a type of action. Therefore, a convergence of 'interactionally relevant concepts' would be more likely found between closely knit family members than across families or among strangers in a street-based service encounter. However, Kreckel also finds much agreement between speakers, across the two families studied, in identifying a 'warning.' Taylor and Cameron (abbreviated as T&C) propose that agreement and regularities of speech behavior which arises outside of a family membership, may be due to habit as well as experience and not to convention or rules (Taylor and Cameron 1987).

Kreckel criticizes Searle's *etic*-approach of speech act theory for having an analyst-orientation<sup>9</sup> and promoting a typology of universal speech acts.<sup>10</sup> The problem found with the *etic* approach is the difficulty confronting an analyst in being sure that her or his interpretation, drawing from a different background knowledge and biography.

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<sup>8</sup> Kreckel claims (Kreckel 1981, p.4): "The degree of understanding potentially achieved in verbal exchanges is a direct function of the degree of convergence of the interactionally relevant concepts held by the interactors and their shared conventions for expressing them." She further argues, further challenging a prescriptive speech act taxonomy: "Warnings in general do not exist. What counts as a 'warning' depends on rules evolved and sustained in concrete interaction within social groups" (1981, p.60)

<sup>9</sup> See Cameron and Taylor (pg.48)

<sup>10</sup> For Cameron and Taylor (1987, p.31). "... an opposition between an 'etic' approach, aiming for as explicit and objective procedures or identification as possible, and an 'emic' approach which relies on the intuitions of native conversationalists to identify two instances of the same conversational unit."

matches the interpretation intended by the speaker, this unreliability puts its validity into question. T&C claim that <sup>11</sup> Searle's taxonomy of illocutionary acts lacks universal application and reflects his own intuitions of the criteria for speech acts (Taylor and Cameron 1987, p.59). Instead, Kreckel endorses the *emic* approach, an empirical, participant-oriented approach so as to factor out variables like the sequential context of the utterances, the relationship of the speakers, the situation, and the action as displayed and identified by the recipient.

In another argument, Levinson points out that Seale's concept of perlocutionary effect (1969,1976) cannot demonstrate any attribute of a systematic perlocutionary effect on the recipient as it is neither predictable nor controllable. The perlocutionary effects of utterances vary (see Levinson 1987, Chapter 6) across speakers. The same utterance may *frighten, persuade, or amuse* different recipients.

L&F have been criticized by Levinson (1983) and T&C (1987) for promoting the concept that rules govern a discourse and for leaving unaccounted the role that the strategic sequential position of an utterance plays in implicating its function to a recipient. L&F do not account for the strategic presequential properties in an indirect request which aim at verifying conditions for the valid performance of an actual or verbal transaction.

J&J's claim that the criteria for the functions of utterances is derived from underlying illocutionary sets subscribes to these assumptions of shared criteria between speakers.<sup>12</sup> As established above the variation of criteria among random speakers

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<sup>11</sup> Taylor and Cameron (1987) and Kreckel (1981) point out that a request for confirmation may be interpreted as a request for action, or as an invitation depending on the situation and the relationship, the shared biography and perceptions of the speakers. An utterance may be a warning to one recipient, a threat to another, or an indirect request for action for a third. A move may be interpreted as a compliment to one recipient and as an insult to another. For example, I have observed in the data that a customer's 'displayed' compliment may in fact be sequentially organized as a face respecting forewarning of a dispreferred response or of an imminent withdrawal from the transaction.

<sup>12</sup> J&J's approach involves underlying abstract illocutionary sets, mediated by the principles of practical reasoning which generate strategic sequences according to practical need. (see Section 2.5).

prevents a regular consensual identification of speech acts. Therefore, I propose criteria based more on generalized categories than those defined by speech act theory and are which are established interactionally by the participants as they are displayed in sequential and social contexts.

### 3.2.3 Rationalist Principles

Taylor and Cameron cite Leech's (1983) characterization of conversational goals which like that of Jacobs and Jackson proposes the strategic role of *goal-based principles of practical reasoning* (see Section 2.5). The *Co-operative Principle* (CP) (Grice 1975), according to Taylor and Cameron, is "not as an arbitrary convention or as a conditioned habit but rather as a natural, rational principle motivated by the desires and requirements imposed on any human agent interacting with another human" (Taylor and Cameron 1987, p.85- 86). Citing Goffman's hypothesis on *face-work*, Brown and Levinson (1987) claim that the *politeness principles* motivate interactants to preserve *face*. To achieve conversational goals. Brown and Levinson (B&L) maintain interactants tend to observe *politeness principles* and flout conversational norms in certain instances. Furthermore, they find that to perform a conversational task with a *goal* such as initiating a conversation, the interactors must cooperatively observe *face* wants (Goffman 1967, Leech 1983). B&L (1987) propose that the *Politeness Principle* supersedes the *conversational maxims* (Grice 1975). Similarly, Leech (1983, p.82), asserts that the motivation of the *Politeness Principle* is:

. . . to maintain social equilibrium and the friendly relations which enable us to assume that our interlocutors are being cooperative in the first place.

J&J find that to avoid uttering a *face threatening act*, conversationalists tend to strategically prefigure a *request* with a pre-request.

### 3.2.3.1 *The Preference for Principles of Conversation*

Leech (1983, p.21) maintains that language-use is controlled by principles in the 'Gricean sense' and is not 'rule'-governed as is the grammar of language.<sup>13</sup> The principles of conversation are more flexibly applied (Leech 1983) than the more restrictive rules of syntax. T&C maintain that since conversational principles (i.e., *Politeness Principles, rationalist principles, rhetorical principles*<sup>14</sup> or the *Cooperative Principle*) are too generalized to be affected by situations, they cannot be empirically 'falsifiable' as can 'conventional' rules. T&C distinguish between the *conventional rules* which constitute speech acts (e.g., *to request*) from the *rational principles* which regulate them.<sup>15</sup> *Politeness principles (PP)* tend to restrain the behavior of conversationalists into *preserving face* or pursuing a consensual *goal*. The *Cooperative Principles (CP)* regulate rather than constitute conversation. While a '*convention*' counts as the action, the *principle* does not count as a conversation, a conversation can exist whether or not maxims or principles are flouted. T&C point out that Garfinkel and other ethnomethodologists attempt to avoid the '*rules dilemma*' by promoting norms of conversation which regulate its '*observable*' orderliness (Taylor and Cameron 1987, p.97).

### 3.2.3.2 *Rationalist principles: Goal-Based Principles*

Rationalist principles of conversation are normatively consistent and motivated by human reason to make strategic moves in conversation. The speaker is expected to observe PP in order to achieve a conversational *goal* and by doing so may be motivated to

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<sup>13</sup> Citing Leech (1983, p.21), Taylor and Cameron (p.88) claim that "Whereas Language is seen as rule-governed, language-use is seen as principle controlled."

<sup>14</sup> The rhetorical principles constrain the non-motivational 'social behavior' in interaction, i.e.: in greetings and thanks (Taylor and Cameron p.88).

<sup>15</sup> See Leech, 1983, p.17: "Cooperation and politeness, for instance, are largely regulative factors which ensure that, once conversation is under way, it will not follow a fruitless or disruptive path. It is therefore necessary to distinguish between illocutionary goals and special goals . . ."

flout conversational maxims (Leech 1983, Taylor and Cameron 1987, Levinson and Brown 1987, Jacobs and Jackson 1983). Taylor and Cameron maintain (p.82):

Human interaction is goal-directed, and rational principles such as the CP and the PP arise and are observed because human agents recognise that their interactional goals can only be obtained if, to some extent, they cooperate with their interactional partners and give the very reason to return that cooperation.<sup>16</sup>

According to this rationalist stand, the Gricean (Grice 1975) rules of cooperative behavior depend upon collaboration for the achievement of conversation goals (Leech 1983, Jacobs and Jackson, 1983).

Jacobs and Jackson propose that the *principles of practical reasoning* generate the output of *goal-oriented* sequential strategies. The goals of illocutionary sets are realized on the *surface* level through the mediation of these principles. These principles involve strategic motivations which configure the *face respecting* presequences to achieve interactional goals. Conflicting goals are negotiated as the talk-in-action progresses. For example, the *goal* of imposing one's will on another conflicts with the *goal* of cooperativeness, and politeness.

### 3.2.3.3 J&J's Goal-Based/Rationalist Critique

Jacobs and Jackson (Jacobs and Jackson 1983) criticize CA's structural approach. They claim that CA methodology does not explain how the second pair part slot (see Section 2.5) can be filled by the broad range of possible coherent structurally anomalous responses to requests such as questions, topic shifts, challenges, sudden withdrawals, and so forth. Jacobs and Jackson postulate that *goal-oriented* strategies generate these irregular responses. J&J argue that strategic *goals*, recognizably 'displayed',<sup>17</sup> succeed in evoking and constraining responses, a phenomenon which couldn't be accomplished

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<sup>16</sup> CP is the cooperative principle and PP is the politeness principle.

<sup>17</sup> A conversational goal tends to be implicated by the sequential position of an utterance.

through hidden abstract functions or structurally generated *surface-level* sequencing rules. They propose that the *principles of practical reasoning*, which generate sequences. (e.g., *presequences*, *embedded expansions*, and *preempts*) as strategies for performing actions, are needed to achieve interactional goals (see Section 2.5). Jacobs and Jackson claim that the *principles of practical reasoning* achieve what is not possible for *surface* level-restricted CA; which is to account for the *goal* and *face* motivated coherence of unmatched adjacency pairs and for preemptive offers (see Section 2.5).<sup>18</sup>

J&J claim (p.50) that "fact of the diversity of patterns of sequential expansion suggests the need for deeper generative principles" which they claim are provided by the *principles of practical reasoning*. They argue that ". . . no account can be given within a sequencing rules model as to what makes some sequences structurally subordinate expansions" (p.51), and "other sequences digressions are wholly unrelated intrusions into an exchange."<sup>19</sup> They claim that the sequential rules approach of CA doesn't explain the attempts at achieving subgoals in order to pave the way for the achievement of target *goals*. "What . . . places some utterances within the structural environment of a dominant adjacency pair while excluding other temporarily contiguous utterances" (see Section 2.5). J&J refer to the strategic relationship of subsidiary acts in embedded sequences which negotiate *goal* achievement. For instance, in a street based service encounter participants negotiate their subgoals to establish a criteria for a price agreement. In this way they enable the dominant acts (such as the vendor's *price-offer*) to be acceptable to the customer.

Leech similarly attributes the generation of interactional strategies to underlying goals. Taylor and Cameron explain Leech's claim below (1987, p.88):

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<sup>18</sup> J&J (p.51) argue for "systems of rules defining appropriate means of achieving particular kinds of goals, such as rules for performing requests, where the goal is to get an addressee to perform some future act, or rules for performing demand tickets, where the goal is to secure the attention of the addressee."

<sup>19</sup> These factors are related to goal modification, negotiation, and alignment. See discussion in Section 2.4.

Conversation is best explained as a goal-directed activity, consisting in the implementation of interactional strategies. The participants will have various illocutionary goals, and they will design their utterances as strategies for the attainment of these goals.

In this way strategies are collaboratively formed by interactants to achieve conversational goals such as establishing an agreeable price in a service encounter.

### **3.2.4 The Innovative Empiricism of Conversation Analysis**

#### ***3.2.4.1 The Norms of Intersubjective Accountability***

In contrast to DA, each emerging response is treated by CA as an anticipated fit into the sequential context. Each utterance retrojects (looks backward) to a prior move which projects a subsequent one. The recipient conforms to the expectation of her or his *accountable* response within this *intersubjective architecture* (Garfinkel 1967, Heritage 1984, Taylor and Cameron 1987). Her or his behavior is regulated by her or his norms of morality, particularly of *preserving face* (Goffman 1971, Garfinkel 1967, Heritage 1984). The talk-in-action of the unacquainted in a street-based service encounter is regulated by their expectation of 'moral,' *face* preserving behavior within this unfolding 'intersubjective architecture'(as they construct it). In this way a customer is held accountable by the recipients (through their responses) for his or her verbal behavior (see Sections 2.2 and 2.4).

### **3.2.5 Citing Garfinkel, Heritage Challenges Rule-Governed the Approach**

Citing Garfinkel (Garfinkel 1967), Heritage (1984) challenges the premise of discourse theories that conversation is 'rule-governed' and that speakers are guided unconsciously by these rules. According to Heritage, interactants make conscious choices

based on the expectancies invoked by '*displayed*' utterances and intersubjective accountability.<sup>20</sup>

To Heritage and Garfinkel the behavior of a speaker is constrained by her or his accountability to the recipient's perception of normalcy, and conformity to moral expectations for behavior rather than by prescribed rules of discourse.

By greeting one another the alienation between strangers is broken and transformed into fuller engagement. The undefined state of these former strangers' relationship is changed into one predicated on expectations regarding mutual accountability for their behavior. The obligatory return greeting confirms their engagement. An addressee tends to interpret a response of silence to her or his greeting (Turner 1974) as a snub. Regardless of whether the encounter begins with silence or an unambiguous greeting response, the relationship between the interactants has been transformed into one of reflexive accountability. Heritage, citing Garfinkel, stresses that through 'reflexive accountability' (which emerges as it takes place), the participants' motives and rationalities will be '*displayed*.' This is considered part of a mutually understood verbal reality (Heritage 1984, p.303):

. . . it is through, and only through, the reflexive accountability of its constituent deems that every aspect of a situation of action, its participants, their rationalities and their motives can be known.

### 3.2.6 The Participants' Joint Construction of Context

Heritage (1984) maintains that there exists a reciprocal relationship between utterances and settings.<sup>21</sup> He endorses Garfinkel's insights that context is systematically

<sup>20</sup> Citing Garfinkel, Heritage (1984, p.304) explains "Compliance with the normative requirements of a setting may thus be most realistically treated not as the unreflecting product of the prior internalization of norms, but as contingent upon a reflexive awareness of how alternative course of action will be analyzed and interpreted."

<sup>21</sup> Citing Garfinkel, Heritage maintains that (Heritage 1984, p.290): ". . . through the specific, detailed and local design of turns and sequences that 'institutional' contexts are observably and reportably - i.e. accountably - brought into being . . . it is within these local sequences of talk, and only there, that these institutions are ultimately and accountably talked into being."

constituted and realized by the participants through the methods of *practical reasoning*<sup>22</sup> as their utterances are being 'displayed' in the talk-in-action. As social actions, these utterances are constrained and sequentially contextualized by an emerging intersubjective accountability. Heritage, (1984, p.308) claims:

Actions-as-constitutive-of-their-settings and settings-as-constitutive-of-their actions are two halves of a simultaneous equations which the actors are continually solving through a mass of 'methodic' procedures . . . it is through the application of methods of practical reasoning to a temporal succession of activities that all aspects of social action are rendered accountable.

Heritage presents the CA perspective of context (1984, p.283), " . . . we can begin to think of 'context' as something 'endogenously' generated within the talk of the participants and, indeed, as something created in and through that talk." The context is constituted though the collaboratively acknowledged moves of the vendor and customer, cued by the setting of the sidewalk serving post. While the neatly arranged piles of clothing signal the potential for a service-encounter, it is the 'display' of intersubjective talk-in-action that actuates the encounter and role-relationships. As each unacquainted assumes a role of either customer or vendor, she or he constructs the transactional relationship and is accountable to the invoked expectations of the emerging service-encounter. Sales routines display states of intersubjective orientation towards anticipated *institutional* sales goals. Each speaker is accountable to the other for cooperating in finding an agreeable price while preserving *face*. The bargaining context emerges intersubjectively as the interactants conform to the mutually evoked expectations of the situation as it is being verbally defined.

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<sup>22</sup> The 'principles of practical reasoning' (briefly discussed in this dissertation) are referred to by Jacobs and Jackson (see Section 2.5), who include a generative component into their mixed functional–descriptive approach.

### 3.2.6.1 CA and Ethnomethodology

The basic principles of CA which are derived from 'Ethnomethodology' (Garfinkel 1968, Taylor and Cameron 1987) are *accountability*, *normativity*, and *intersubjectivity*. *Practical reasoning* is what the producer and recipients recognize as orderly and performing on-going talk. They maintain that the analyst and the interactants expect "the kind of orderliness any activity displays: . . . the (presumable shared) 'methods' or 'procedures' required to produce that orderliness . . ." (Taylor and Cameron p.101). In contrast to the prescriptive rule-governed approach of DA, CA maintains that interactants are held accountable by their recipients for the consequences of their utterances which are expected to conform to the presiding norms. Therefore, the interactants tend to design their utterances to appear to conform to these norms. For example, when a vendor makes a sales-*offer*, the customer is expected to respond. By not responding, the customer violates this norm of expected behavior which makes her or him accountable for not conforming. The vendor tends to draw inferences about this breach of expected conversational behavior and may infer that the customer has a problem with accepting his sales-*offer*. This interactive accountability is known as '*reflexive accountability*' (Garfinkel 1967, Heritage 1984, Taylor & Cameron 1987).

### 3.2.6.2 'Shared' world, 'Shared' Knowledge Versus 'Shared' Knowledge of Rules

Another ethnomethodological concept introduced by Garfinkel (1967) and which influenced CA is that of the "architecture of intersubjectivity." According to this notion the interactants share interpretations of the "constituent activities and of the rules to which they are designed to conform" <sup>23</sup>(Taylor and Cameron p.103). Interactants can recognize a sales *offer* and know they are expected to respond and agree.

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<sup>23</sup> Taylor and Cameron (p.103) explain what "ethnomethodologists call 'sequential relevance' of action" that "My behavior is designed in light of what I expect your reaction to it will be."

The 'architecture of subjectivity' was identified by Garfinkel (1967) and adapted by his students at Harvard and followers (Sacks, Schegloff, Jefferson, etc.) in their development of Conversation Analysis. It is based on the 'shared' world of the interactants and their orientation towards agreement 'displayed' by the interpretation of the hearer. Both participants share in sequentially intersubjectively ordering the discourse, 'displaying' understanding, and misunderstanding, etc., "thereby coming to construct a shared understanding sufficient for the purpose of the conversation" (Taylor and Cameron 1987, p.105). The recipient designs her or his response according to her or his formulation of what is expected as 'the response to an *offer*.' The recipient's behavior is accountable to the turn-taking norms expecting a response.

While DA promotes prescriptive rules governing a behavior which determines a response, CA propose that (sequential) *architecture of subjectivity, accountability, and normativity* constrain the recipient's behavior in responding. According to CA, the participants design their response, constrained by the norms of accountability. These responses are constrained by normative pressures to conform. The emerging 'shared' experiences of the speakers constrains their 'shared' understanding and ability to interpret the emerging discourse. In contrast, Labov and Fanshel claim that the participants in an dialogue need to share a knowledge of social facts such as the rules of discourse to communicate coherently and to interpret utterances (see Section 2.2). According to L&F an inability to interpret an utterance is attributed to the difference of perspective, of experience, of 'shared' knowledge. However, CA finds that when participants 'display' an 'incorrect' interpretation of the producer's 'displayed' message, the producer 'displays' a correction. A 'correct' interpretation tends to get an acknowledgment response in the third position of a sequence (Goffman 1971,1976, Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson 1977). In this way the participants construct a discourse of 'shared' understanding at the time of the talk-in-action.

CA maintains that participants interact through an assumption of a 'shared' world of experiences and any relevant 'shared' differences would emerge in the interaction (see Taylor and Cameron, 1987). The participants share assumptions that 'displayed' relevant 'shared' differences can be methodically adjusted through mutual self-awareness of 'reflexive' accountability of turns (adjacency pairs) ordered sequentially while orienting towards a consensual outcome. Participants of the street-based service encounter reveal a shared criteria for a service encounter as they work collaboratively to construct it. Each party corrects and thus informs the other party of her or his misunderstandings about what he or she is doing as it is taking place. In this way they 'share' their 'world' view interactively. Either party may request confirmation of understanding when price or item-selection is being established. Interactants make 'displayed' adjustments to 'displayed' errors of understanding and interpretation. Their interactive accountability to conform to normative socially circumscribed behavior constrains their verbal actions.

### ***3.2.6.3 The Shortcomings of a Strictly 'Structural Organization' Premise***

According to CA (Taylor and Cameron 1987), participants orient towards 'structural organization' which expects adjacency pairings. The adjacency pair, the smallest interactional unit, is a concept derived from ethnomethodology. This conceptualized unit is not considered a rule, governing the behavior of the interactants, but rather a norm to which the participants orient. The expectancy of a sequentially positioned relevant second pair part is invoked by this 'structural organization.' The expectancy of a second-pair-part makes the recipient accountable for its absence; it ". . . is accountably due" (p.110). When a customer does not respond to a sales price *offer*, the vendor will repeat it, or enhance it. A prolonged pause after the sales *offer* 'displays' the vendor's expectation of a response, since she or he is waiting for the customer to accept her or his allocated turn. The customer's excuse for not accepting an *offer* confirms her or his shared understanding (which is 'conditionally relevant').

Since the traditional proponents of CA do not consider motivation in conversation analyzable, they account for the ranking of preferred responses through 'purely' descriptive means. To CA the participant is accountable for not producing the expected response. This accountability will be conveyed with systematically 'marked' 'displays' to signal his or her awareness of the expected appropriate response. However, other less structurally committed proponents of CA such as Levinson (1983) are influenced by Goffman's (1967) insights on *face* and hold that the ranking of preferred seconds of adjacency pairs has a *face* preserving function

T&C fault the theoretical position of strictly structural CA for limiting its explanatory range to the surface 'displays.' It is argued that since the alternate response to be selected by a recipient is not foreseeable from the exhibited by utterance, it requires some *displayable* motivation for a participant to make the choice. Therefore, it is argued that the behavioral motivation of preserving *face* accounts for the need to mitigate a dispreferred response

T&C criticize CA for taking the position that interactants hold each other accountable to the same 'invariant rules' of discourse, shunning any describable functional and social motivations.<sup>24</sup> T&C cite Goffman (1967) in arguing that dispreferred seconds are delayed and 'marked' to respect interactional *face* around which conversation is designed to protect" (p.114).<sup>25</sup> They contend that not everything explanatory can be reducible "to the observable, distributional regularities they were originally designed to account for" (Taylor and Cameron 1987, p.117). Furthermore, T&C claim that the ethnomethodological roots of CA through the *principles of accountability* and the *sequential architec-*

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<sup>24</sup> Note that advocates of CA, Pomerantz (1975), and Levinson (1983), promote 'preference' organization which invokes a face motivational/functional component into their employment of CA methods.

<sup>25</sup> T&C claim that (p.114) "Face is the image of oneself which, in interaction, it is assumed that participants work to preserve and expect their co-interactants to help them preserve. It is a form of externalized self-respect which Goffman believes much of the formal business of conversational structure is designed to protect."

*ture of intersubjectivity* were not strictly structural since they had room for a motivational component such as the 'preference' system. For example when participants interact they tend to be held accountable for respecting one another's *face*.

#### **3.2.6.4 Taylor and Cameron's Criticism of 'Infinite Regress'**

The CA analyst is expected to look at the subsequent 'displayed' utterance for evidence of the recipient's understanding which would be 'displayed in that turn. The understanding of that turn is expected to be projected in the subsequent turns and understood in a subsequent turn. This *emic* type of analysis is adapted from the procedures employed by the participants to analyze the prior utterances which function as the resource from which they may intersubjectively design the next utterance. T&C criticize the concept of 'infinite regress' which looks ahead to understand a prior utterance until the party understands what was said.<sup>26</sup> The analyst is expected to search through the course of the unfolding interaction for a response which may never occur. T&C argue that the conversation remains coherent for the participants who usually don't wait until the end to understand what the other party is saying. The gap (at the TRP) between turns tends to be too brief for such inspection.

Therefore, T&C argue that this method fails to account for the coherence apparent in lively interaction and yet which may not be discoverable through this ethnomethodological method (using the 'displayed' accountability of the architecture of intersubjectivity as an analytic resource). It is for this reason that T&C question a strict incorporation of ethnomethodological principals by CA for application.

CA is considered a procedure natural to 'engaged' speakers who respond coherently at the time of talk, or who tend to request a clarification when understanding is

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<sup>26</sup> T&C (p.122) "It is clear that the methodological implications of the principles of accountability can only lead to an infinite regress in which the function of a turn in the sequence A, B, C, D. . . can only be determined by first determining the function of the next turn, which can only be determined by first determining the function of the turn following it, and so on."

amiss. It depends on the participants' *conversational competence* previously held '*tacit*' knowledge, and their formulations of regularities to recognize unit types from the '*displayed*' unit types. On the other hand, ethnomethodology-influenced conversation analysts claim that the participants intersubjectively draw upon 'shared'-world view to identify these unit types and negotiate their meaning as they are 'displayed' in the emerging talk. These conversational analysts seek meaning, turn-by-turn, from the 'displayed' prior utterances, foreseeing subsequent ones as they unfold in the interaction until understanding is achieved.

It is argued that 'infinite regress' can lead to an ad hoc unnatural search for an 'undisplayed' understanding in a coherent conversation. T&C contend that it does not matter to participants if agreement between the participants is guided by *conversational competence* and previously held '*tacit knowledge*' of the types of units 'instantiated' by the emergent utterances (claimed by CA) or through outcome when the participants intersubjectively work out the identification of unit types through 'practical methods of situated' 'displayed' negotiation (endorsed by ethnomethodology, p.123).

T&C cite Roy Harris' (1981, p.9) '*principle of intersubjectivity*' which is considered the fundamental framework of the concept that participants share the criteria upon which to agree on rules and units, and they can bring to this mutual awareness through communication.<sup>27</sup> T&C find fault with the '*principle of intersubjectivity*.' They contend that the analyst cannot assume that participants share the same criteria and assessments on which to negotiate agreement of identification of unit types. T&C seek a method which involves less CA orthodoxy and incorporates selective incorporation of ethnomethodology. T&C conclude (p.159).

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<sup>27</sup> Citing Harris, 1981, T&C (181) claim that through conversation participants are brought "to a mutual awareness, a common perception, of an idea, an emotion, a representation, a governing structure. . ."

... that until conversational analysis, including the ethnomethodological school, abandons its explanatory framework of rules and units, no rethinking of related concepts will be able to save the project as a whole.

They argue that when she or he depends on the ethnomethodology principles of intersubjectivity, the conversational analyst confronts the problems of a conversational machinery that produces a rudderless 'infinite' regress, and a limited method of analysis when it follows a strictly structural path in denying any motivation for preference organization. T&C recommend that CA abandons its 'principles of intersubjectivity,' which they claim is problematically derived from ethnomethodology.

### 3.2.7 Wilson's Criticism of the Limitations of CA: The Role of Motivation

While what Wilson (1989) labels as '*disruptive*' seconds (i.e., anomalous responses to orders and commands) are problematic for a sequential model, he claims one can account for their use relatively easily within a framework of principled cooperation which works on the basis of a system of *expectations* and *rights* laid down for the speech events in action by social norms. Wilson criticizes Conversation Analysis for its dependency on *surface* level accounts and emerging analytic resource through display of talk-in-action.<sup>28</sup> The adjacency pair is considered a 'belief' structure, a cooperative speech act, which invokes an accountable expectation for response. Wilson calls adjacency pairs 'cooperative speech acts' which (p.100):

... involve participants in a process of joint co-ordination. The first pair part develops a belief context which becomes a framework for a complementary speech act which serves as the preferred second. The relationship between the parts can be understood in their interdependent illocutionary structure (although a restricted sequential analysis of the type found within Conversation Analysis can only make limited use of this fact).

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<sup>28</sup> (Wilson 1989, p.101): "... to understand the nature of conversation one needs to tap the underlying knowledge for the performance of conversation, not merely describe what conversationalists do (although description will clearly be useful)."

Wilson criticizes CA<sup>29</sup> for not dealing with the of rationalist principles, the social factors of context, paralinguistic cues,<sup>30</sup> and the rules of convention which are not captured by the 'displayed emerging' talk.

### **3.3 In Preference of A Descriptive Approach: the Issues**

Levinson (see Section 2.2) rejects the prescriptive approach fostered by L&F as "unmotivated theoretical constructs and unsubstantiated intuitions" (1983, p.205). He promotes the benefits of a more descriptive, heuristic, approach," in place of a theoretical ontology of 'rules' we have an emphasis on the interactional and inferential consequences of the choice between alternative utterances" (Levinson 1983, p.287). To assure the testable results of its formulations, CA uses extensive analysis of tape-recorded conversations as a primary resource. Levinson promotes the CA attempts to 'discover' ". . . the systematic properties of the sequential organization of talk and the ways in which the systematic properties of the sequential organization of talk, in the ways in which utterances are designed to manage such sequences" (Levinson 1983, p.287). CA proponents do not attempt to look for "what is really going on," since they consider that quest beyond the interpretive range of the observer analyst (see Levinson 1983, p.287). They believe psychological motivations to be too complex and subjective to be rendered describable in an objective analysis. Levinson (1983, Chapter 6) prefers the 'testable' procedures of CA to the 'unprovable' 'intuition' based and 'rule'-driven approach followed by DA proponents.

In comparing the accomplishments of DA and CA Levinson (1983, p. 187) credits DA for contributing the insights of linguistic research of intra-sentential organization and CA for revealing the procedures used by participants to systematically organize and manage a conversation.

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<sup>29</sup> Wilson concludes that the conversational theories he covers offer the analyst insights into the " workings of everyday conversational interaction, and also some insight into broader theoretical and practical issues of everyday conversation" (Wilson 1989, p.112).

<sup>30</sup> Paralinguistic cues are only briefly dealt with in this dissertation.

### **3.4 Concluding Remarks**

The social conditionings and behavioral motivations of *face* in preference organization or *goals* which shape strategic presequences are deemed unanalyzable from the perspective of a strictly surface level means of analysis. DA promotes a delimited taxonomy of speech acts which lack application across speakers.

The theoretical incompatibilities and controversies of these approaches has made it necessary for me to combine aspects of each into a descriptive method. I incorporate into this means of analysis conversational principles and social norms which constrain the interactions produced without considering irregularities to be conversational violations. Rational principles motivate speakers to strategize sequences cooperatively while preserving-*face*. The Co-operative Principle and Politeness Principle regulate the *goal-oriented* strategies being actualized sequentially by collaborating interactants. Social norms guide conversationalists in jointly expecting, interpreting, designing or redesigning turns.

## Chapter 4

### Rationale of the Integrated Approach

#### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter unfolds the rationale of the integrated method based on the sociolinguistic, functional, behavioral, rational, and sequential approaches reviewed in Chapter 2. By integrating the insights detailed in Chapter 2 into a comprehensive method, the researcher has expanded the means to describe the socially-conditioned collaborative attempts of unacquainted individuals in their strategic efforts to achieve a consensual outcome.

This framework links macro-analysis which analyzes with the social stratification and the institutionalization of language with micro-analysis which deals with *face-to-face* interaction. Aspects of the methods advanced by L&F, J&J, and Goffman are invoked integratively into a broadened, less structurally orthodox version of CA's heuristic methodology. This chapter sets out to demonstrate that the sequentially '*displayed*' strategic content of bargaining is simultaneously *recognizable, accountable, and describable*. Since *goal-orientation* and *face-preservation* factors configure sequential strategies which are treated as analyzable objects.

Presequences are strategic maneuvers which orient towards goals, avoid disagreement, and establish agreement, when possible. The display of unacceptable preconditions is typically displayed in presequential segments, forewarning the recipient of the

imminent failure of a projected *goal* if any uncovered obstructions are not collaboratively corrected.

Grice's (1975) maxims of cooperative conversation and the norms of *face* regulate the interactive accountable moves of participants as they make efforts to align their belief/wants contexts towards a consensual objective. Street negotiations tend to breach the maxims of manner (e.g., clarity) so as to avoid a *face-asserting* agreement-damaging display of a vendor's professional deficiency. A vendor may obfuscate information to maintain the prospects of a sale. To keep the channels of negotiations open rapport (see Robin Lakoff 1990) may supersede clarity of message in *street-side* service encounters. Conversely rapport tends to be subordinated to the *goal* of winning a price-bid between competitive bargainers during rounds of negotiation. There is a generic presence in most *sales-routines*, particularly when prices are offered, making them clear and interpretable in order to avoid misunderstanding of *sales requests* and *offers*. This chapter will apply this integrated methodological framework, demonstrating its multi-faceted analytic range.

#### **4.1.1 The Social Aspects**

##### **4.1.1.1 Social Aspects: Sales Routines**

I claim that unacquainted tend to employ and expect recurrent *goal-oriented* and *face-respecting sales-routines* which drives the interaction towards a collaborative outcome. There are opening *sales-systems* utilized when a person is requesting information regarding negotiations. The more 'recognizable' (i.e., understandable) the routine, the quicker paced and briefer the encounter tends to be. If the initiation of a sales encounter calls attention to an item in her stock, the sales vendor tends to assume that conditions

obtain for a *price-offer*. Common routines in sales encounter scripts are *requests for service, price, item-availability*, as well as *offers of service, of price, and item-information*. Refusals tend to be *face* protective in implicit and vaguely accounted "I ran out" routines, but tend to be more direct during rounds of bidding. Ritual compliments, ritual pre-closings, and standardized closings help in maintaining rapport. Since the *street price* is negotiable, it tends to elicit *counter-price-bids* and is otherwise treated as a *price-offer* (Firth 1995). The grounds for a sale tend to be met or modified in rounds of negotiation.

#### **4.1.1.2 *Implicitness vs. Explicitness***

Social normality avoids offense and regulates the explicitness and implicitness of strangers in a service encounter. In meetings such as the *street-based* encounter the cultural orientation tends towards observing *face* norms to shape the participants' perceptions of warrantable behavior. Implicitness, and minimal eye, contact or *face* gesture seems preferred in most *street-based* service encounters. Moreover, highly routine conventional encounters such as buying a newspaper occur non-verbally (Ervin-Tripp 1976). Some of these highly routinized encounters, which involve frequent renewals between interactants who are no longer strangers, may involve an exchange of smiles, eye contact, and similar tokens of recognition, though some tend to end with an exchange of closing rituals.

#### **4.1.1.3 *Social Status***

Sanctionable *face* transgressions and imposition are contingent upon the relative social position of interactants; which is exemplified in the asymmetrical relationships of the law enforcer and the law breaker, such as the unlicensed street vendor. Each situation

tends to engage unaquaintededs of different social orientations and status ranking.

However, as they enter the interaction, their status relations become increasingly symmetrical. This is seen in the power-brokering involved in the bargaining component of the transaction. I claim that status symmetry or asymmetry plays a role in determining the bargaining components in the atmosphere of a transaction and whether deferential moves are non-deferential, implicit or explicit. Ambiguous moves and cues have the potential to germinate misunderstanding and mistrust and tend to be avoided by negotiators in setting price or establishing terms for agreement.

The authority and social status, reflected in the aggravated power-laden directives of law enforcers, obligate the compliance of street vendors (see L&F Section 2.2). Power, authority, and solidarity tend to play a role in the degree of imposition and mitigation of utterances to eye contact, and sway the actions of a recipient. Competence tends to become an issue in power-plays and challenges, when players vie for control and the advantage in street negotiations (see L&F, Section 2.2). Loudly voiced 'bald' directives (Levinson and Brown 1987) such as "Come here" tend to invoke the speaker's rights to obligate the recipient's compliance. A police offer's aggravated authority-laden commands as "Let's go." When carried out, these authority moves tend to incur negative consequences on the vendor's status by marginalizing him or her. They impose on the vendor's freedom of movement by constraining it, reducing her to the inferior status of a childlike recipient whose decision-making is publicly rebuked.

The possibility that an unlicensed vendor may be a hustler tends to evoke the doubts of perspective customers about her or his integrity and handicap sales negotiation.

The subcultural demeanor of the street vendor may support potential doubts on the part of the mainstream pedestrians who constitute the bulk of her or his clientele.

#### 4.1.1.4 Competence

A competent customer/vendor is expected to perform her/his role according to normative expectations. An inept role performance can incur social consequences and in extreme cases lower the person's social status as an unworthy pretender, a dysfunctional street person, or simply untrustworthy. A vendor who attempts to cheat a customer, if challenged, would bear the brand as a hustler, and consequently see his status lowered. Similarly, a customer who attempts to cheat a vendor suffer a loss of social status. In the episode below, a vendor rebukes the denigrating summonses and retorts of a hustler/customer "I'm not <xx bad. You crazy xx>." By calling him 'crazy' the vendor challenges his competence. He verbally attempts to lower the customer's status to that of an incompetent participant, incapable of making adult and responsible decisions, such as the ability to conduct service-encounters. In hustler/customer the hustler/customer persists in attempting to demean and lower the vendor's status as a competent player. However, the vendor remains aloof and unruffled, appearing to maintain his status and *face*, and occasionally rebuffs the hustler for offering a low price which he refuses to modify.

#### 4.1.15 Pocketbooks

→ Rejection/Defense/Put-Down	48S:	<i>C'mon you talkin crazy.</i>
→ Grounds/Offer Replay		<i>One of them cost fifteen dollars.</i>
→ Rejection/Challenge/Bid	50C3:	<i>Five dollars.</i>
→ Rejection/Put-Down/Question		<b><u>SO WHAT! Fifteen?</u></b>
→ Acknowledgment/Ignores Threat	51S:	<i>Yeah!</i>
→ Rejection/Put-Down/Bid	52C3:	<i>Yo <u>Papa five dollars.</u></i>
→ Rejection/Defense/Put-Down	53S:	<i>I'm not &lt;xx bad. You crazy xx&gt;.</i>

#### 4.1.1.5 *Rights and Obligations*

Social status tends to bring with it socially circumscribed rights and obligations organized along hierarchical lines. There are several tiers of rights and obligations subject to the social norms regulating the interactions of each embedded system of social relationship. According to Goffman (1967, 1971), all interactions are subject to the social convention that interactants avoid breaking taboos. The service encounter situation invokes expectancies of role-related rights and obligations from the customer and vendor. The negotiating component is regulated by the normative rights and obligations allocated by turn-taking organization (which assigns the next turn).

Both interactants have the right to initiate a *street-based* sales encounter. The vendor has the role-related right to *offer* items. The customer is almost without exception under role-obligation to respond. The customer has the right to *request* service; the vendor is similarly under role-obligation to respond. According to J&J, when a *'request'* is made, it presupposes a set of specific belief/want contexts, the grounds for acceptance which must obtain in order to elicit compliance to its demands. If he lacks the information, he will still feel obligated (by using generalizations) to appear of informative.

Similar social rights and obligations in the legally sanctioned *store-based* service encounter are expected by the participants to extend to the unlicensed legally unsanctioned *street-based* service encounter. The customer on the street is expected to be willing to pay for the vendor's effort. This vendor below expresses her right to get paid

for her time: "I have to pay. What I make if I stayed all day. I have to make something."

The customer considers it his right to be charged a low *price* and to contest the vendor's *price*. The vendor appeals to his sympathy and enlists the moral support of overhearers in attempts to embarrass him into compliance.

### 2.1.3 **Bomber Jacket**

→ Call for Replay	67S: <i>What I can pay for?</i>
Price Offer to Another C	68S: <i><u>Three dollars</u> (to another C)</i>
→ Grounds	69S: <i>I know, but I have to pay them</i>
→ Grounds	<i>I cannot..I cannot get anything free</i>
→ Grounds	<i>I have to pay for them sir..</i>
→ Grounds	<i>and this is my best.</i>
→ Grounds	<i>This is my best tie (looking at ties)</i>
→ Grounds	<i>I have to buy them.. I have to pay</i>
→ Complaint/Rhetorical Question	<i>What I make if I stayed all day?.</i>
→ Grounds	<i>I have to make something.</i>

#### 4.1.1.6 *Power Edge Versus Cooperation*

Cooperative clarity, informativeness, and honesty tend to be sacrificed for the power-edge in a 'hustle,' or in *street-based* service encounters by subculture participants. Such uncooperative, provocative attempts by a hustler/customer to gain the control of the interaction is displayed in the brief excerpt below. By using highly stressed derogatory exhortations in summoning the vendor's service "Get yah black ass over here man," the customer's act misfires, and his accountable attempt for a power edge fails. Since the customer lacks the rights and the superior social status for uttering the blatantly insulting demand for action, the vendor appears warranted to disengage from an interaction with him. The vendor seems to share with the customer a member's *knowledge* of playing the street hustler game of one-up-manship. By not explicitly responding to the customer's *put-down*, the vendor neither overtly criticizes it nor yields to it. In this way he avoids a losing role status as one in controls of his business.

As the encounter proceeds, the vendor continues to barely *acknowledge* the rude customer until the customer appears to cooperate by 'displaying' the expected *sales-oriented* routines for *price*. The vendor leaves open the possibility for a cooperative sales exchange but avoids involvement when the interaction seems to constitute an adversarial power challenge which would bring into question his competence. By refusing to participate in power struggles, and allowing himself to appear defensive, the vendor weakens the consequences of the opponent's verbal assaults on his social status. The vendor appears to his peers on the street to be unintimidated by this challenger, maintaining his *face*. In this way the vendor prevents the situation from escalating beyond all hope of control, while leaving open channels of negotiation.

#### 4.1.15 Pocketbook

→Power Move/Put-Down	05C3: <i>Fucked up.</i>
No Response	(6.0) (S is humming)
Defense/Information	05C3: <i>Seven,</i>
No Response	(3.0)
→Power Move/Put-Down	06C3: <i>Fucked up.</i>
No Response	(2.0)
→Power Move/Put Down	07C3: <u><i>Yo papa. I'm talkin' to you man.</i></u>
Put-Down/Challenge	<i>C'mon over here.</i>
Minimal Response/Put-off	08S: <xx eh xx>
→Power Move/Put-Down	09C3: <u><i>Get yo black ass over here man.</i></u>
→Request Aggravated	<u><i>How much you want for this right now?</i></u>
No Response	(2.0)

### 4.1.2 Recognizing The Functions of Utterances

#### 4.1.2.1 *Establishing Preconditions*

The *street-based* service encounter expects participants to meet certain preconditions in order to initiate an encounter, make a *price-offer* or a request, and grant/accept, or veto it. They bring to the encounter their own world view of expectations for such an

event. The interactants have access to *shared knowledge* about the state of affairs as it is being revealed to them through the emerging interaction. For the encounter to be appropriately initiated verbally it is necessary that both participants, in this case the vendor and the customer, make known their willingness and needs for it to take place. They are expected to have the ability (the money, goods and competence required) to engage in a sales transaction.

*Street-based* service encounters emerge out of a joint accounting of personal needs and orientation towards intersubjective accommodation. Vendors need an accessible means from which to derive an income. Customers tend to be equipped with limited financial resources, and prefer the convenience, the low prices, and the relaxed atmosphere of street encounters. Some aggressive participants seem to encourage competitive bouts.

In the transaction below, the vendor infers from the customer's apparent interest in an item that conditions obtain for a sales *price-offer*. However, since previous *price-offers* have not been accepted, the vendor lowers his *price*. His inferences that the customer would be willing to make a purchase if the vendor could meet *price* preconditions, are triggered by the customer's 'displayed' and unhesitant quest for *price* and *item-information*. After supplying the price information requested, assuming the necessary preconditions obtain, the vendor utters a *price-offer* in an unstressed tone "*Aye give me two bucks. Take.*" The customer accepts the *price-offer* "Okay." She takes the object and pays the vendor, validating the appropriateness of his *price-offer* move. I find that *sales-routines* are characteristically direct to assure clarity of *price-offer*, needs, and wants.

Customers tend to infer from the prior utterances whether their preconditions obtain and if an explicit commitment to make a purchase is sanctionable.

4.1.14 <u>Incense burner</u>	
→ Request for Information	01C1: <i>How much is the incense uhm ss holder? =</i>
→ Request for Information	02C2: <i>=That's an incense //holder, isn't it?</i>
	03S: <i>//Uh.</i>
→ Price Offer/Information	04S: <i>With the, uhmm, I'll give it to you for three. Yeah. It's an incense holder. An' with the incense its three bucks.</i>
→ Request for Information	05C2: <i>What's this? =</i>
	06S: <i>=Yeah? You just put,</i>
	07C2: <i>Ah yeah!</i>
	08S: <i>You put, take this put inside and you light.=</i>
	09C2: <i>= yeah, yeah.</i>
→ Price Offer/Information	10S: <i>This is a dollar and this two. (1.?)</i>
	11S: <i>There's a holder in this too.</i>
→ Price Offer/Information	<i>Aye. Give me two bucks. //Take.=</i>
→ Acceptance/Compliance	12C1: <i>=//Okay. (paying</i>

#### 4.1.2.1.1 The Criteria for Initiating Street Negotiations

Because of their ambiguous setting, *street-based* service encounters are initiated by unambiguous actions which convey a willingness to engage—a sales pitch, a request or an offer for service. There is a need for verbal initiation on the street to define the encounter and to assign the emerging roles of vendor and customer. There are no props to enable a non-verbal encounter, no labeling and visual clues for pricing. Pricing is negotiable and tends to be requested or offered. Sales routines are designed to facilitate the remedial work to be done by the participants in the service encounter.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Goffman (1971) finds that when one party disturbs another, going about her or his business, and imposes demands upon the addressee, he/she disrupts the ritual equilibrium of the addressee. The customer encroaches upon the server's territory by making a demand of service upon the server.

The encounters below are customer initiated requests for service. A passerby conveys a familiar sales routine such as "Could I look at that bag?" These routines receive ratification in the next turn.

#### 4.1.12 Pocketbook

→ Request for service

01C1: *Could I look at that bag? (points)*

→ Granting/go-ahead

022S: *Sure! Which one? (soft even voice)*

Customer initiations tend to be inquiries as to the *price* of a specific item and service. The vendor's expected response is through *price-offers* as displayed below.

#### 4.1.13 Tapes

→ Request for Price/Service

01C2: *How much? This? (shows S a tape)*

→ Price-Offer /Granting

02S: *Lemme see? (looks at tape) It's two dollars.*

#### 4.1.2.1.2 Offers and Requests on the Street

The street vendor's crucial act is the *price-offer*. Sales routines tend to be employed for the sake of clarity. The customer generically *requests*, while the vendor *offers* in equally formalized terms. An *offer* emerges as a sequential position designed to solicit interest. The vendor either *offers* an enticing *price* or responds to the customer's conveyed need. Collaborative attempts at meeting each party's criteria requires poise, respect, tact and caution. *Price* information is clear and direct, "Give me 12." The less stressed and intrusive (Brown and Levinson 1987), the less aggravating to a recipient. While the customer's *requests* tend to be clear and routine her or his rejections are usually implicit. Direct refusals are expressed in rounds of competitive price-bidding. In order to avoid the embarrassment, having to say no to the customer's *requests* for service may be oblique and non-committal.

In contrast, the vendor's *offers* tend towards the blunt solicitation of commitment: "Give me 12." "You have to pay more." I find that the *clarity* of price acceptance or *price-offer* preemptively serves to avoid the greater *face-loss* incurred by 'misunderstanding' in subsequent pricing. Misunderstanding *price* would cause a *face-threatening* move which could open doubts about the integrity of the parties involved.

2.13 <u>Bomber Jacket</u>	
→ Offer	63S: <i>Give me 12.</i>
→ Rejection /Counter-Price Bid Account/Grounds	64C3: <i>No! I give you 10 dollar. Because it's new that's the reason, I want=</i>
→ Offer	65S: <i>=You have to pay more.</i>
→ Rejection/Grounds Account/Grounds	66C3: <i>I want to send, to send to the Europe. That's the reason.</i>

The episodes below demonstrate the relationship between a *request for price* and a *price-offer*. On the street, where *price* is negotiable, a *request for price* elicits a multi-functional, bi-directional move that both informs of *price* and *offers* it. The vendor controls the *price* and tends to *offer* it as an initial bid to elicit a counter-bid. The customer's *request* establishes a *need* and *justification* for the routine *price-offer*. This *request for price* triggers a variety of shared beliefs. Since the *price* is acceptable, the preconditions of ability and willingness to buy an item obtain. The *price-offer* solicits the customer's action of payment. The *pre-request* pattern, predicted by CA (see Levinson 1983) is sequentially configured through the *principles of practical reasoning* (see J&J 1983) to enlist the collaboration of the recipient in achieving a *sales-goal*.

In the scene below, the vendor avoids ambiguity in making (*goal-apparent*) *price-offers*. He does so in order to prevent a customer's misperception and their consequential

'shared' *face-loss*. Likewise, the customer's *request* for *price* below is routine and avoids ambiguity or misunderstanding.

4.1.10 <u>Sweat Pants/Shirt</u>	
→ Request for Price	05C2: <i>How much is the uh giant shirt &lt;xx&gt; and this, and this.</i>
→ Price-Offer	06S: <i>Gimme five</i>
Call for Replay/NTRI	07C2: <i>Huh?</i>
→ Price-Offer/Replay	08S: <i>Five together.</i>
→ Price-Offer/Replay	<i>Five together. (2 .0)</i>

In the sequence below, the vendor withholds his *offer* until conditions obtain. As predicted by Goffman the speaker avoids the potential embarrassment of making a mistake which would then have to be *offensively* corrected. Once his conditions are met, his *price-offer* will be *relevant* and *appropriate*.

3.1.2 <u>VCR Cleaner</u>	
→ Request for price	04C: <i>How much is that?</i>
	05S: <i>This?</i>
	06C: <i>Uh huh. The cleaner.</i>
→ Price-Offer	07S: <i>Oh this? Gimme two dollars. (low voice)</i>

#### 4.1.3 Applying the Principles of Practical Reasoning

The *principles of reasoning* may be adapted to a descriptive analysis. By eliminating dependence on the fixed criteria of underlying speech acts as the motivational progenitor of sequential strategies the function of utterances can simply be derived sequentially. According to J&J, *the principles of practical reasoning* determine the sequential form of the output of presequential strategies. J&J (see Section 2.5) factor into the question of interpretation the cognitive aspect, the assumption that as a rational human being the hearer brings into the interaction reasons for *goals* her/his *A-events*. These principles are invoked by the underlying assumption that individuals pursue

rational strategies which trigger the inferencing process to uncover the *goals* involved. The motivation to control the course of an interaction (usually by avoiding conflict) tends to be manifested in the action of the pre-sequence which checks the recipient's preconditions before taking the risk of making a rejected request or offer. The participants jointly negotiate their grounds for agreement. Participants in service-encounters tend to expect *goal-oriented* interaction and infer them if they are unclear.

Participants in a *street-based sales*-encounter are faced with more risks and uncertainty. They must cautiously strategize moves to avoid conflict and achieve *sales-goals*. The *principles of practical reasoning* (J&J 1983) generate the types of sequential sales routines employed by participants to achieve strategic sales *goals*. By avoiding rejection, the speaker preserves *face*. If the vendor 'runs out' of the item requested, and the preconditions for a sale are not obtainable, the encounter generally terminates.

Levinson points out the implicative and projective features of *pre-requests*; some of which may contain sufficient content for the hearer to bypass the pre-figured *request* move and elicit a *preemptive offer* or *acceptance* response. I have observed (in the data) that street vendors tend to employ the *preemptive offers* without having been assured that its appropriate preconditions obtain (see Section 2.5).

Because of the variable criteria for an offer cited above and in Chapter 3, I have found that the functions of moves are primarily attributable to their sequential placement within a strategy constructed jointly by participants as opposed to those derived from fixed abstract rules. Therefore, I propose that the criteria constituted by the functions of utterances are configured by the *principles of reasoning* into *sales-oriented* sequential

strategies (see Chapter 3) for recognition, response, and analysis. *The principles of reasoning* generate practical implementation of strategic plays whereby each conversationalist checks the other's move before making her/his own. The configuration of moves is determined on the surface level of turn assignment and preference for agreement. The players determine a preferred second from *face* norms and orient towards a consensual *goal* from the implication projected by the prior utterances.

#### 4.1.4 Motivational Aspects of Goals

##### 4.1.4.1 Sequential Alignments

Participants in a *street-based sales-encounter* are faced with choices, risks, and criteria for a sale which are constrained differently (by the norms of street those norms regulating conventional store standards). The grounds for a sale vary between pairs of interactants. J&J claim that if the preconditions are determined to be unobtainable, rational agents may use complex collaborative strategies to re-adjust their belief/want contexts towards alignment. The vendor may find that the customer's wants/beliefs are not congruent with his own. The customer may not meet the vendor's pre-conditions for accepting a *price-offer* due to the customer's 'displayed' lack of belief in the vendor's sincerity or *knowledge*. A customer may '*display*' a lack of willingness to accept the vendor's *price-offer*. To achieve a *sales-goal*, the vendor tends to lower the *price* previously offered. On the other hand, an aggressive vendor may challenge the customer's integrity/competence in attempts to embarrass her into accepting his *price-offer*.

After rejecting the vendor's *price-offer* (e.i., usually *implicitly*), the customer tends to compliment her or his items for sale to mitigate *face-loss* to maintain a rapport

(in case of a future encounter). When the vendor's interest is in selling an item at profit without regard to the preconditions, the chances of a sale are diminished. To reap the possible benefits of a low price, the street customer tends to forgo satisfying the routine expectations of store situated customers, such as product information and written guarantees. The price-goals tend to be altered or established by the participants during the negotiation phase of an encounter.

#### **4.1.4.2 Goal Orientation towards Consensus**

In this descriptive integrated methodology the criteria of the functions of utterances are 'displayed' through sales routines as they emerge through the types of responses recipients give within sequential contexts. Recognition of the functions of prior utterances is signaled by the clarity germane to sales routines, facilitated through their sequential positions. These are clarified by playback elicitations (e.g., NTRI's). When the customer's expressed belief that the criteria for a sale (e.g., of *price*, size, availability) doesn't obtain, it becomes the 'displayed' *shared knowledge* of the event, an *AB-event*. The vendor makes efforts to transform those belief/wants contexts of the customer towards the *goal* of her or his agenda, a sale.

Preconditions for *goal-based* plans are negotiated via subordinate acts in order to satisfy subgoals as they emerge in this phase of the encounter. Subordinate acts either facilitate or obstruct the attainment of the unfolding overall 'negotiable' *goal-based* plan. I claim that speakers attempt to align their belief/want contexts in pursuit of 'tentative,' and broader superordinate *goal*. This *goal* is, of course, subject to 'negotiated' modifica-

tion. The broader *goals* of the service encounter on the street are alterable and tend to be redefined as the interactants work out a common ground for agreement.

#### 4.1.4.3 *Face-Motivations: Cooperativeness and Face-Loss*

As established by Grice (1975), Levinson (1983, 1987) and Goffman (1967) cooperativeness and respect for *face* tend to be the underlying assumption when unacquainted interactants interact, though members of the street culture may flout these norms at a greater frequency for survival purposes. I find that a street vendor tends to breach cooperative maxims of quantity, informativeness, relevance, of manner, clarity to maintain rapport (Lakoff, 1990) for current or renewable negotiation. The vendor is expected to display a casual, *street*-derived standard of quasi-professional integrity, cooperativeness, politeness, and competence. Street hustlers are expected to respect each vendor's rights to his property and his right to control its *pricing*. Socially unsanctionable behavior such as stealing, cheating, *face-threatening* (and therefore demeaning) put-downs, bullying, and lying tend to be spurned on the street, since uncooperative participants can obstruct an negotiated consensual outcome.<sup>2</sup>

When item information is not available, vendors tend to respond to customers' queries with generalizations rather than self-incriminating falsifiable claims. Interactors tend to maintain a show of cooperativeness even when performing dispreferred acts, compliments are frequently displayed after implicit declinations. Rejections may be masked by shallow compliments of the vendor's goods (Pomerantz, 1975, Levinson,

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<sup>2</sup> See Labov's (1973) 'Ritual Insults.' See the analysis of put-downs in negotiations in Chapter 5.

1983) to repair some of the damage done to the vendor's *face* and maintain rapport. On the other hand, the vendor may attempt to bond with a customer in a show of solidarity to encourage his or her return.

However, it has been observed that sub-cultural *street-based* participants tend to follow a divergent variation of mainstream norms. These participants do not assume that the other interlocutor (either vendor or customer) is invariably sincere and trustworthy. An aggressive bargainer tends to abuse the recipient's *face*, and has been seen (see Chapter 5) to instrumentalize *face-work* adversely (i.e., to threaten *face*) in an effort to force the recipient to yield out of fear of conflict or embarrassment. Since *price* is negotiable, competitive bargainers engage in power-grabbing moves. These *goal-driven* (i.e., to win a bid) bidders tend to flout the maxims of informativeness, of clarity and relevance, and breach the norms of *face* to maintain or gain the upper-hand.

Identifying the underlying *goals*, after the target *goal* no longer holds, tends to be problematic to the analyst. In the subsequent segment, the *face-saving* compliments 'displayed' have no deeper *goals* than a shallow *face-saving* withdrawal. *Sales-routines* which carry recognizable *goals* tend to be employed for clarity during the attempts to make a sale or purchase. However, when the *sales-goal* is no longer sought, the motivation to repair *face-damage* from a rejection or imminent withdrawal tends to be disguised or hidden. This *face saving* motivation of the moves is not intended for recognition in contrast to most *sales-routines* which are configured to convey *sales goals*.

Since the vendor below does not take his assigned turn, he non-verbally conveys his intention to withdraw. The customer then compliments the vendor's items, #24C:

"You have a nice, a nice uhhm display here." He accepts her compliment. #25S:"T 's all right." His acceptance is low-keyed and agreeable.

By 'displaying' agreement to her prior face-upholding cues and compliments, the vendor joins her effort in constructing a rapport-laden withdrawal. The underlying *goal* of #25 is ambiguous and eludes analysis. Turn #25 may be interpreted as a '*ticket*' to close. Neither speaker takes the next turn. The customer checks out the items during a nine-second pause.<sup>3</sup> However, the customer replays her compliment #26C:"Let's see. Very nice." This compliment protects the *face* of the recipient, and defends the speaker's *face*. When the customer exhibits no interest in making a purchase, the vendor skips the turn assigned him. After a two-second gap, the customer takes back her turn with 27C:"jeans." Her utterance is followed by an eleven-second pause while she continues looking over the vendor's stock. The customer's compliments display the shallow *goals* of protecting the vendor's *face* by upholding his positive value, while recouping her own (i.e., for not-accepting the *sales offers* she initiated).

3.1.2 VCR	
→Pre-closing/Compliment	24C: <i>You have a nice, a nice uhhm display here.</i>
→Acceptance/Go-Ahead	25S: <i>T 's all right. (acceptance)</i>
Silence	(9.0)
→Mentionable/Compliment	26C: <i>Let's see. Very nice (muted) (compliment).</i>
Silence	(2.0)(C looks at items.)
→Mentionable	27C: <i>Jeans (to self)</i>
→Momentary Lull	(11.0) (C looks over items)

A negotiated *sales-goal* of the *goal-oriented* encounter was not perceived as achievable, and the participants gradually withdrew from the encounter through several rounds of *goal-shallow face-preserving* moves. In this segment, *goal* identification is

subordinated to intersubjective '*displays*' of '*awareness*'; an expectation of both social accountability and a gesture of respect for each other's *face*.

#### **4.1.4.4 Mitigation, Aggravation, Power, and Authority**

Making demands of another tends to be an intrusive, impositional *aggravated* act (see Section 2.2). *threatening face* (Brown and Levinson 1987) and makes an issue of her or his role-competence and social 'worth.' The police officer is socially empowered to prevent an unlicensed vendor from selling goods, and thus may confiscate his goods and incarcerate him.

In the encounter below, preconditions obtained for the police officer to successfully order the unlicensed vendor to leave the area, "Let's go!" Since his role socially empowers him as enforcer of the laws of the municipality with the right to order the vendor to halt his operations, the order constitutes an *aggravated request for action*.<sup>4</sup> The illegal vendor, when designated as a law-breaker by the law enforcer, is not only obligated to halt his negotiations, but is subjected with the humiliation of arrest and confiscation of goods. The police officer's order, in the transaction below, expects retreat and compliance with the power of carrying out socially sanctioned punitive measures, if disobeyed. It has been observed that as the police officer proceeds to 'sweep' the vendors and their *sales-items* off the sidewalks, some customers remain and 'display' solidarity for the vendor's operations. Some customers continue their purchasing activity.

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<sup>3</sup> Merritt (1976) points out that such long silences are expectable in service-encounters.

<sup>4</sup> See Labov and Fanshel (1977) and see Chapter 3.

In the transaction below, the vendor's role status is upheld by his street customer's expressions of respect and solidarity. The customer 'displays' support for the vendor and his sales items, "You've nice stuff." This customer bonds with the vendor, conveying appreciation "Bye, bye, have a good evening." The supportive customer may also prop-up the vendor's professional status to maintain a renewable business rapport. Another customer, as overhearer, adds his show of concern. In this case, the police officer's socially endowed authority over law-breakers empowers him to transform and lower vendor's status into that of a fleeing lawbreaker. I have observed that while in the eyes of a law-upholder the vendor's role-status may be transformed, it seems maintained by the street customer who supports him in his street vendor role. Therefore, I conclude that the change of role status through intimidation may be limited to the interactants involved, since the perception of whether a change of status took place varies among overhearers (according to their role-relationship and normative orientation.)

4.1.14 <u>Incense Burner</u>	
→ Aggravated order/transgression	17P: <i>Let's go!</i> (P=policeman) (stressed)
→ Appreciation/Preclosing	18S: <i>You're welcome.</i> (S collects his goods)
→ Appreciation/Preclosing	19C2: <i>Thank you.</i>
Compliment/Preclosing	20C1: <i>You've nice stuff.</i>
→ Closing	21S: <i>Okay. Bye, bye.</i> (closing)
Threat	(A police siren can be heard)
→ Closing	22C1: <i>Bye, bye, have a good evening.</i> (leaving)
Warning	24S3: <i>Let's go. Move it out.</i> (Stressed)

#### 4.1.4.5 *Informativeness, Trustworthiness, and Cooperativeness*

It has been observed that to promote the sale, the vendor's responses to the customers' 'requests for specific information' tend to provide generalized, uninformative yet persuasive answers. These responses tend to be prefaced by these promotionals, "Most keyboards. . . ." "Most radios. . . ." or "It's new. . ." Since these responses are not infor-

mative, they tend not to satisfy the customer's purchase preconditions of item utility. The customer may either modify their original preconditions, use this shortcoming as grounds for a lower *price*, or withdraw entirely from the transaction.

In the segment below, a vendor responds to a customer's '*request for information*' regarding an item with a generalization. To protect the vendor's *face*, (see Section 2.3) the customer responds with minimal acknowledgment tokens "Huhhh," "Yeah" and a prolonged pause, implying a problem. By not questioning the un informativeness of the answer, the customer respectfully avoids producing a *face-threat* and making an issue of the vendor's competence. However, these delay devices implicitly signal to the vendor a forewarning that the customer fails to accept what the vendor claims to be *common knowledge*. "Most Wang, most Wang and IBM, most keyboards you know. most Wang and IBM keyboards fit uhhm you know, anything." This statement implies that it is a common O-event (see Section 2.2), *knowledge of social-facts*, which the customer should know. To save *face* as a knowledgeable and competent customer and to avoid offending the vendor by contradicting him, she is pressured by the vendor to agree with his generalizations. The recipient fails to pay credence to the vendor's proposition that it should be a known fact (e.g., the tag "you know" invokes agreement). Since this may not be *knowledge* that the customer is privy to, and supportive evidence is not available, it does not constitute *shared knowledge of social-facts*, an *AB-event*. Therefore, her preconditions of 'utility' for purchase have not been met. The gap in alignment of their belief/want states widens rather than narrows due to this incongruity of beliefs. As the conversation progresses, the inability of the vendor to convince the customer that her criteria for a sale are within reach, foreshadows the termination of this encounter. The customer's

implicit semantic empty- responses, acknowledgments, and long pauses pave the way for her *face-preserving* accountable withdrawal.

3.1.1 <u>Keyboard</u>	
→Request for Information	06C: <i>Do you know if that`s IBM compatible.</i>
→Generalization/Promotional	07S: <i>Uhhhm. I think so. Most of them are.</i> <i>(holding it as if to hand it to her)</i>
→Offer/Tacit	
→Non-Acceptance/Hedged	08C: <i>Huhhh.</i>
→Generalization /Replayed/Offer Promotional Promotional	09S: <i>Most Wang, most Wang and IBM, most keyboards, you know,most Wang and IBM keyboards fit uhhm, you know, anything.</i>
→Non-Acceptance/Hedged	10C: <i>Yeah.</i>
→Non-Acceptance/Delay	(1.5)

The vendor above appears cooperative, but dodges the customers inquiry about the product, and flouts the maxim of quantity and manner by giving a long, uninformative answer. Interestingly, he breaches these maxims (Grice, 1975), making a claim which is too general to be testable. The vendor's credibility is called into question for not appearing *willing* to be informative. While a more informative response would be to admit not knowing the answer, this explicit deficit of product *knowledge* would make further issue of his competence as a vendor. As a result of these issues, the customer's grounds for making the purchase are not satisfied, obstructing the sale. On the other hand, a risk-taking customer may buy an item for its cheapness and modify her pre-conditions. I find that risk-takers are willing to negotiate their subgoals if they are persuaded that the over-all lower price is 'worth-it'. An accepting customer may reason/rationalize that, at worst, the low *price* will render any financial loss negligible (even if the item ultimately proves worthless).

The vendor below breaches the maxims of informativeness and relevance by dodging a *request* for size with the unfounded claim "But it's good on me." implying that it should be *shared knowledge*. She implies that if the jacket fits the vendor it should fit the customer. The customer below avoids offending the vendor by questioning her judgment and her implied professional competence. She hesitantly gives some credence to the vendor's claim, avoiding offense "Uh Huh. We're both about the same. Yeah!"

2.1.3 <u>Bomber Jacket</u>	39S: <i>Uhh, but it's so cold.</i>
→ Dodge/Disputable-Event	<i>But it's good on me.</i>
→ Agreement/Hedged Acknowledgment	40C1: <i>Uh Huh. We're both about the same.</i> <i>Yeah!</i>

#### 4.1.5 Sequential Strategies: Goal Orientation

Sequential strategies may project moves to accelerate the encounter, and weed out 'window shoppers.' The recursive embedded inquiries of hesitant customers are discouraged in pursuit of better prospects. Disputes centering on issues of *price, choice, and size*, tend to become grounds for compromise, negotiation, or termination. Negotiators are expected to work towards finding agreeable grounds for a sale/purchase.

I have observed that recurrent patterns characterized by *presequences, embedded expansions and preempts*, tend to be *strategically* shaped by issues of *face and goal-orientation* (i.e., There are variations in pre-closings where the *target goal* is not at issue and where the sequence is initiated to intimidate a recipient). Since the sequences are produced strategically to elicit projected recipient response, *sales goals* and *face* motivations are 'displayed' to be understood and analyzed. *Sales-routines* are employed to facilitate the interpretation of *sales-goals* in these strategic sequences. The *presequence*

projects a planned move, enabling the recipient to signal a go-ahead, abort the sequence, preempt a projected request with a *sales-offer*, accept the projected request, alter the conditions, and so forth.

On the street, a *request for information*, can be interpreted as *pre-request*, enabling the vendor or customer to check if preconditions prevail or to establish the preconditions for a sale, and achieve that *goal*. The street customer's '*request for price information*,' tends to be perceived by the vendor as a *pre-request*. This elicits a *price-offer*, exemplified below. The vendor assumes from the content of the customer's *request*, "What are you asking for this?" that a *price-offer* is valid and *offers* it, "Just two dollars"(3.0). Since the customer does not respond, the customer repeats the vendor's *price-offer* for confirmation, "Two dollars for that." This offer precedes an informal chat with the customer who eventually accepts the *price-offer*.

4.1.26 <u>Coral Necklace</u>	
Compliment	12C: <i>It's very nice.</i>
→Pre-Request	<i>What are you asking for this?</i>
→Price-Offer	13S: <i>Just <u>two dollars</u>.</i>
No Response/Delay	<i>(3.0) (muted stress)</i>
→Hearing Check/Delay	14C: <i>Two dollars for that.</i>
Compliment	15S: <i>I like <u>your hat</u>. (moderate stress)</i>
Appreciation	16C: <i>Thank you. (muted chuckle)</i>
Acknowledgment	17S: <i>Yeah.</i>

As a member of the same speech community, the vendor recognizes a familiar pattern of moves as it emerges in the unfolding interaction. The vendor then skillfully displays reasons for the transformation of the customer's belief/want states to align with his own so as to get his '*price-offer*' accepted. A shared-member's *background knowledge of social-facts* enables each participant to know the possible plays, the range of strategies.

A recipient, customer and/or vendor, must function rationally to reason out *goals* and interpret the function of *paralinguistic cues, implication, innuendo, sarcasm* and *hints* according to their strategic systematic position in a sequence. The vendor attempts to cultivate and sustain the customer's interest and involvement, while trying to compel her/him to buy the item. She or he tends to maintain an appearance of cooperativeness to effectively persuade, or challenge, while keeping the channels of communication open.

In the episode below, the customer begins to *request* information about a jacket "What do you?" when she stops and compliments it "It's very good." The vendor perceives this as a *request* for service and thus assumes that the preconditions obtain for a preemptive *price-offer*, "I want five dollars for it." However, the customer responds with a compliment "It's very good" and an account. She hints at withdrawal "You gonna be around here for a while?," while keeping the channels open for a renewal. Since dispreferred responses tend to be buried in excuses, accounts, and compliments the vendor can interpret her responses as implicit non-acceptances (see Section 2.3). It has been observed that even though there is a misalignment of belief/want states (i.e., obstructing achievement of the *sales-goal*) the customer attempts to protect the vendor's *face* and sustain her own *face*, when planning an untimely withdrawal (see Section 2.3).

4.1.2 <u>Down jacket</u>	
Pre-Request	19C: <i>What do you?</i>
Compliment	<i>It's very good= (interrupts)</i>
→ Preemptive Offer	20S: <i>=I want five dollars for it.</i>
→ Non-Acceptance/Compliment	21C: <i>It's very good.</i>
Delay/Pre-closing	<i>You gonna be around here for a while</i>

The underlying cooperative principle is at play in preempts. Grice's maxim of quantity is observed, whereby redundancy is avoided. If the response to an elicitation is

already understood, its verbal expression may be redundant. If a customer's pre-request for service is interpreted as a readiness to make a purchase, the vendor's preemptive *price offer* would be expected, eliminating the need for the vendor to check out her already assumed request for price. What is assumed to be *common knowledge* does not need to be verbalized.

#### 4.1.5.1 Responses to Requests for Availability

If an item is not available, the routine response tends to be the claim that the vendor/server ran out (sold out) of a given item. This type of response supports the vendor's line (role) of competence, implying that this product was in such demand that he sold out: "I know. I sold them. I didn't sell them here. I had some. . ." This is a positive spin to minimize *face* loss to stifle criticism of the inadequacy of his stock.

2.1.4 <u>Mexican Items</u>	
Delay/Hedge	26C1: <i>That's not bad. Uhhhh!</i>
→Request for Availability	<i>Do you have any blouses with more sleeves and more embroidery?</i>
Grounds	
→Response of Unavailability	27S: <i>I know. I had some, but I sold them.</i>
Promotional	<i>I didn't sell them here. I had some really nice</i>
Promotional	<i>white on white//really beautiful white.</i>
Acknowledgment	28C1: <i>//(Yeah)(unclear)</i>
Promotional	29S: <i>And then all white on white embroidery here and across here=(points)</i>
Acknowledgment	30C1: <i>=Yeah.=</i>
Promotional	31S: <i>=It was really gorgeous=</i>
Acknowledgment	32C1: <i>=Yeah! Uh Huh=</i>
→Response of Unavailability	33S: <i>=I sold those.</i>

#### 4.1.5.2 Seeking Agreement/Bargaining

In embedded bargaining/negotiating sequences the vendor's crucial move tends to be the *price-offer*, while the customer's is the *counter-offer* or *price-bid*. Supporting,

opposing, challenging, establishing accounts (Firth 1995) are collaborative moves which orient the competing parties towards the resolution of conflicts in order to negotiate.

These moves are regulated by the social norms of interactive behavior and conversational organization.

Negotiation of grounds for the resolution of these differences tends to be dependent upon the willingness and ability of the negotiators to cooperate. At least one bargainer must be willing to change a *price-bid* for negotiation to take place. The vendor and the customer are expected to show their willingness to adjust their initiating *price* and *counter-offers*. The encounters in the data tend to consist of repeated *price-offers* followed by *put-offs* (embedded dispreferred responses, delay devices, and frequent pauses). By not 'displaying' a mutual agreement to open negotiations, an encounter may not provide the sequential slots for resolving disagreement. If the preconditions are not altered, or compromised in proposal and counter-proposal rounds, the encounter is likely to be aborted. Without the negotiators' collaborative orientation towards an agreed upon *price*, closing without a sale tends to result.

Since *price* is negotiable on the street it is a disputable *D-event*. During the bargaining sequences the customer characteristically attempts to sway the vendor to lower his *price-offer*. The vendor provides grounds to support his/her *price*. The customer may *put-off* (delay) an *offer* with an excuse or reason to justify a reduced *price*, but reveals through her grounds for a recycled-*price-offer* her refusals. Participants negotiate terms of an agreement providing a discourse resource (see Firth 1995) whereby problems may be resolved.

In the episode below, the customer's requests "Less?" than the vendor's *price-offer* in attempts at getting him to lower his price. The vendor however, doesn't yield to her request "It's two." The customer returns with a counter-offer: "One." The vendor's rejects her counter-offer with a justification. The customer does not accept her turn, and puts-off her response non-verbally. The participants search through the piles of tape during the subsequent gaps. After searching his stock, the vendor finally realizes he ran out of the ones she requested. By admitting this problem "Must've sold it," the vendor provides the customer with a bargaining resource, grounds to *request* a reduced *price*. The customer *requests* a replay. The vendor confirms the problem and projects a justification for the customer's *request* for *price* reduction. After a prolonged gap (of 8 seconds), the customer renews her *request* for a lower *price* with a counter-offer "Uhhh. Two for three dollars?" which the vendor readily accepts, "Go ahead." It seems that during the prolonged gap of eight seconds, the customer was waiting for the vendor to lower his *price*. This time space at the TRP (transitional relevance place) acts as a repair space for the vendor to lower his *price*. Rather than explicitly soliciting it, the customer avoids further pressuring the vendor.

4.1.13 <u>Tapes</u>	
→ Request for Price Information	01C2: <i>How much? This? (shows S a tape)</i>
Delay	02S: <i>Lemme see? (Looks at it)</i>
→ Price-Offer	<i>It's two dollars.</i>
→ Request for Price Reduction	03C2: <i>Less?</i>
→ Price-Offer Repeat	04S: <i>It's two.</i>
→ Counter-Offer /Low Price-Bid	05C2: <i>One.</i>
→ Rejection/Grounds	06S: <i>No, that's jazz. (slighted stressed)</i>
Grounds	<i>That's all, those are all jazz tape, ninety minutes, yah know.</i>
Grounds	<i>I made them myself.</i>
No Response	(2.0)
(Continued on the next page)	

(Continued from the previous page)	
Grounds	<i>Those are all jazz.</i> (3.0)
.....( <i>I omitted sixteen rounds at this point in the encounter</i> ).....	
→ Unavailable/Grounds	22S: <i>Must've &lt;xx sold it xx&gt;.</i> (2.0)
→ Unavailable/Grounds	23S: <i>&lt;xx Must've sold it xx&gt;.</i>
→ Call for Replay	24C2: <i>Wha?</i>
Confirmation	25S: <i>Yeah.</i> (8.0)
→ Counter-Offer /Low Price-Bid	26C2: <i>Uhhh. Two for three dollars? (Shows two)</i>
→ Acceptance of Bid	27S: <i>Go ahead.</i>
→ Acceptance of Offer	28C2: <i>Okay?</i>

#### 4.1.5.3 Maintaining Face in Negotiation

In the transaction below, the customer indirectly *requests* size information, an important precondition for her purchase. The vendor attempts to induce in the customer the unproven assumption that since they are both about the same size, the jacket should fit the customer. In order to avoid *face* loss as the result of disagreement, the customer delays her response. Then she gives low-keyed (i.e., unenthusiastic) credence to the vendor's claim. Both the participants attempt to maintain *face* and *solidarity*.

2.1.3 <u>Bomber Jacket</u>	
Acknowledgment	38C1: <i>Uh Huh!</i>
→ Request for information/t Hedge/Grounds	<i>I'm just wondering if I should try it on. But it's so cold.</i>
→ Dodge/Grounds/Offer	39S: <i>But it's good on me(.)</i>
→ Hedged Agreement Acknowledgment	40C2: <i>Uh Huh. We're both about the same. Yeah!</i>

#### 4.1.6 Power Brokering

##### 4.1.6.1 Competitive bargaining

In the transaction below, by explicitly challenging price the customer makes an issue of the vendor's competence and criticizes her behavior. The vendor challenges his

attempts to lower her *price* "How can you buy for 12 dollars?" with a rhetorical question. She challenges his low *price* bids implying that he would deny her a profit. The expected response to a challenge is a defense or admission, which can have social consequences for the recipient. To recoup her *face* the vendor defends her *bid* as valid : "New shoe."

2.1.3 <b>Bomber jacket</b> (The vendor and C3 are East European.)	
Proposition/Price-Bid	51C3: <i>12</i>
Price-offer/Grounds	52S: <i>I give you 13, 13. They new shoes sir.</i>
→ Challenges Behavior	<i>How can you buy for 12 dollars?</i>
Grounds/Complaint	<i>They so difficult They just,</i>
Overhearer's Agreement	53C1: <i>Yeah!</i>
Grounds/Promotional	54S: <i>New shoes.</i>
Overhearer's Agreement	55C1: <i>Yeah it's up//</i>
Price-offer/Grounds	56S: <i>I give it 13..I cannot sir.</i>
→ Challenges Behavior/Grounds	<i>I have to make something sir.</i>

The apparent newness of the shoes constitutes the above vendor's non-disputable grounds to justify her price and weaken the customer's basis for challenging it. In the negotiation each bargainer attempts to put-down the other's grounds for holding a *price* as a method of coercion. The idea is to pressure the opponent to yield to one's *price*. These bargaining rounds are strategic embedded expansions which provide slots for the parties to negotiate conflicting price-*goals* and establish a consensual price.

#### 4.1.6.2 *Power/Solidarity*

Competitive aggressive bargainers on the street tend to slander the opponent's position to gain the bargaining edge. Due to instability of *price*, the relationship between customer and vendor is inherently antagonistic (i.e., it can fluctuate from deferential to competitive). As self-interested parties, each interactant may vie for control over pricing. The vendor attempts to dominate the interaction, using the authoritative posture of a pro-

fessional who has more *knowledge* about his commodities than does the customer, his *A-events* (i.e., his privileged access to social facts). When the customer claims to have superior *knowledge* about an item, she is challenging the vendor's competence and authority, her *B-events* (i.e., her privileged access to social facts). While empowering the customer, this move makes issue of the vendor's competence, *threatening his face*.

To succeed in a business interaction the vendor may attempt to encourage solidarity with his clientele. In the episode below, the vendor guesses that this passerby lives in the neighborhood where transaction occurs. By implying that he is a fellow member "You look like a village-ite," the vendor displays solidarity with her.

4.1.4 <u>Jacker</u>	
<b>Solidarity Move/Topic shift</b>	11S: <i>You look like a village-ite.</i>
<b>→Request/Topic Return</b>	12C: <i>What do you=</i>
<b>→Returns to Topic</b>	13S2: <i>=That is no problem, you know.</i>

4.1.1 <u>Frying pan</u>	
<b>→Pre-request</b>	03C: <i>Hello! This yours?</i>
Go-Ahead, followed by Delay	04S: <i>Pardon? (playback query)</i> (6.0)
	05 <i>Hmm? (1.0)</i>
(Continued on the next page)	
(Continued from the previous page)	
<b>→Request for price information</b>	06C: <i>What are the prices?</i>
NTRI/Request for confirmation	07S: <i>This?</i>
Confirmation	08C: <i>Yeah! (1.0)</i>
Delay	09S: <i>Hhuh. (1.0) Tell you what.</i>
<b>→Price-Offer</b>	<i>For you (stressed) only two dollar. (1.0)</i>

#### 4.1.7 The Strategies Used for Empowerment and Trust

This integration of methods describes the interface of socially conditioned jointly negotiated moves to establish criteria to accomplish some future action in a *face-to-face* interaction. The interactive struggle for empowerment and trust by the bargainers on the street drives their strategic sequential displays. Through demonstrating a healthy respect for *face* and solidarity, the customer and vendor work towards achieving mutual trust. Through the exchange of price-bids, justifications, and by setting grounds for a sale, each bargainer attempts to maintain their self-empowerment, and persuade the other party of the validity of their offer. Bargaining rounds of recursive embedded expansions constitute the stage of a service encounter where price is established before the sales offer is accepted or rejected.

2.13 <u>Bomber Jacket</u>	
→ Offer	63S: <i>Give me 12.</i>
→ Rejection/Counter-Price Bid Account/Grounds	64C3: <i>No! I give you 10 dollar. Because it's new that's the reason, I want=</i>
→ Offer	65S: <i>=You have to pay more.</i>
→ Rejection/Grounds Account/Grounds	66C3: <i>I want to send, to send to the Europe. That's the reason.</i>
→ Call for Replay Price Offer to Another C	67S: <i>What I can pay for?</i>
→ Grounds	68S: <i>Three dollars (to another C)</i>
→ Grounds	69S: <i>I know, but I have to pay them I cannot..I cannot get anything free I have to pay for them sir..</i>
→ Grounds	
(Continued on the next page)	
(Continued from the previous page)	
→ Grounds	<i>and this is my best.</i>
→ Grounds	<i>This is my best tie (looking at ties)</i>
→ Grounds	<i>I have to buy them.. I have to pay</i>
→ Complaint/Rhetorical Question	<i>What I make if I stayed all day?.</i>
→ Grounds	<i>I have to make something.</i>

While vendors are empowered by the customers' desire to acquire the goods cheaply, customers are empowered by the street vendors' need for cash. In the 'Bomber Jacket' transaction above when the vendor makes a *price-offer* "Give me 12." the customer declines with an excuse: "No! I give you 10 dollar. Because it's new that's the reason. I want=." In seeking the bargaining edge, the customer's explicit grounds for rejection (Levinson 1983) can be interpreted as a criticism of the vendor's *price* and competence. Each bargainer attempts to gain some leverage in promoting their *price-bid* by soliciting the other's sympathy. In this data, the vendor attempts to embarrass the customer, criticizing his competence as a customer for refusing to raise his bid. The vendor challenges his uncooperative behavior (i.e., by not working towards agreement) and reminds him of his socially accountable obligation "You have to pay more." The vendor continues to establish her grounds for her *price-offer* "I know, but I have to pay for them. I cannot. I cannot get anything free. I have to pay for them sir and this is my best. I have to buy them. I have to pay. What I make if I stayed all day. I have to make something." To evoke sympathy the vendor recasts her plight as that of a victim, denied her right to 'make something' by the customer. In this way, the vendor challenges the customer's ethical behavior and threatens his *face*. By making him accountable, she attempts to embarrass him into compliance. She implicitly asserts that the customer is making an unfair bid in efforts to exploit her. In this way, to justify his or her counter-bid, each party attempts to weaken the validity of the other's claim.

The vendor tends to be empowered by the customer's need to save *face*. Likewise, the customer seems to be empowered by the vendor's dependency on the his/her desire to keep channels of negotiation open. The vendor in the encounter below implicitly conveys

a *price-offer* "They going, they go for ten dollars." To avoid accountability, the customer responds hesitantly with a non-committal, content-empty backchannel, "Uh, huh." implying but not explicitly acknowledging non-acceptance for the *offer*. Each party delays taking the assigned turn. Non-committal moves enable each party to fill the response slot open while disassociating themselves from accountability, regarding the outcome. In this way each party avoids losing *face* for accountably expressing rejection. This strategy appears to be a non-verbal attempt to avert a self-inflicted face-threat.

3.1.2 <u>VCR</u>	
→ Offer	15S: = <i>They going, they go for ten dollars.</i>
→ Non-Acceptance/Implicit/Delay	16C: <i>Uh huh</i>
No Response	(2.0)
→ Offer	17S: <i>I don't bust nobody. (low-keyed)</i>
→ Non-Acceptance/Implicit/Delay	18C: <i>hahh (muffled laugh)</i>
Compliment/Topic shift/Delay	<i>Interesting things.</i>
→ Non-Acceptance/Tacit/Delay	(6 .0) (looking over stock)
Compliment	19C: <i>You have a nice, a nice uhhm display here.</i>
Appreciation/Tacit Shift	20S: <i>Ohhh, Thank you. (Turns away)</i>

It is found that to avoid the embarrassment of an explicit rejection by the customer, the vendor above masks the *face-threatening* repetition of his *sales-offer* by making somewhat ambiguous and low-keyed claims about his integrity #17: "I don't bust nobody." This move attempts to mitigate the perlocutionary effect of coercion and recoup his 'positive' *face* as a 'misunderstood' vendor. Assuming cooperativeness, this ambiguous move flouts conversational maxims (Grice 1975) of clarity, informativeness, and relevance, which impels the customer to make inferences about its meaning. The process of interpreting meaning requires that the customer check the vendor's previous moves which were implicit *sales-offers*. The vendor's move in turn #17 is analyzable as a recycled implicit offer which fills the slot opened by an implicit non-acceptance #16."Uh

huh (2.0)" to the vendor's earlier *sales-offer* #15 "They going, they go for ten dollars" which refers back to a prior explicit *price-offer*. This process of inferencing reaches back to earlier 'displayed' turns for clues to meaning. Since offers expect acceptance (see Pomerantz 1975), they tend to be recycled after non-acceptance responses in order to pressure the customer to accept.

The implication of a problem related to a lack of trust is directed at the customer in the recycled *price-offer* slot. The move filling this 'slot' displays the problem of 'customer trust,' implying an association between the *price-offer* expected to fill this bargaining slot and the problem 'displayed.' If the customer explicitly agrees to the vendor's implication of a 'trust' problem, she flouts the social norm to respect *face* by verbally acknowledging it as an issue. Alternatively, the customer can 'respect' his *face* by either complying to his prior stated offer or by complimenting his *face*. She chooses the latter course. The customer reduces tension with a chuckle, a pause, and a compliment, forewarning of a withdrawal. Her non-acceptance of the prior explicit and implicit *sales-offers*, which she accountably initially elicited, invokes an expectation of her *face-saving* withdrawal. I claim that the inferencing process retrojects to more than a prior utterance: but reaches back through the prior stretch of conversation. In this way the addressee makes formulations about the patterning '*displayed*' by non-acceptance. I further claim that the customer's implicit non-acceptance *responses* which follow the vendor's recurrent *price-offers*, had discouraged any expectations of an acceptance. This is exhibited in the slot filled by the vendor's ambiguous move.

Furthermore, a vendor's oblique reference to his integrity and to the sense that it is doubted, brings this matter to the surface as an issue. The explicit message of the vendor's statement tangentially makes an issue of the customer's non-committal evasive actions which flout the conversational maxim of clarity. It makes issue of her willingness to be cooperative. She displays an unwillingness to expose her grounds for a sale or rejection and provides him with the opportunity to justify his *offer*. It also draws attention, to the issue of trust.

The vendor's message above in turn #17 ('VCR,' p.160) may convey his suspicion regarding the level of the customer's trust in him. The ambiguity of his move averts accountability for such an offensive reading. The customer is provided leeway to either identify with those who would mistrust him or to interpret his assertion as an effort to evoke sympathy. The vendor may be attempting to coerce the customer to cooperatively preserve her *face* by protecting his *face* and accepting the *offer*. However, the customer avoids the occasion to assure him of her trust. She displays sympathy through compliments of his stock, not purchases, and redirects the topic "hahh (muffled laugh) Interesting things," "You have a nice, a nice uhhm display here." By not-accepting his implied *offer*, her *chuckles* may display an attempt to re-direct the topic, while she trivializes the implication of her mistrust.

While shifting the topic to a closing, the vendor accepts her compliment with an appreciation token "Ohhh, Thank you"(Turns away). In this way, the vendor protects the customer's *face* and *defends* his own. The implicit responses of the mainstream customer may reflect a cultural orientation which not only differs with the more direct moves of the

*street-vendors* but also act to thwart the possibility of a negotiated agreement. The customer's implicit *content-empty* and/or *delay* responses to the vendor's *offers* may suggest to him disingenuous behavior. For him, these moves seem to be strategically performed to mask his underlying doubts. The vendor's persistent *offers* and directness could be perceived as impositional and *face-threatening* (Brown and Levinson 1987), widening the belief/wants gap of the interacting unacquainted. These rounds display available cues and sources of information from which the recipient may draw to interpret the coordinated covert moves. The interactants are enabled to recognize the content and make formulations from it through a process of inference that looks back at (retrojects,<sup>5</sup>) the stretch of prior utterances. Interactors make assumptions about meanings and *goal-motivations*, while strategizing manipulative maneuvers to either achieve a sale or a withdrawal with minimal *face-loss*. I claim that socially invoked coordination of power-moves with evasive *face* 'displays' between street vendor and customer, enables two strangers on the street to engage in a business transaction. find grounds—if any exist—to negotiate agreement, or to withdraw without conflict, despite haunting doubts, and the lack of legal sanction or safeguards.

#### ***4.1.7.1 Face, Goals, and Sequential Strategies***

Street sales encounter follow certain expectations of role behavior. It has been observed that strangers from varying cultural and status positions are obliged to follow the social norms concerning *face* and cooperativeness.

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<sup>5</sup> See Dore (1981). 'Conversation as accountability Practice: Ethno-pragmatic Analysis of Language Meaning and Function.'

A street adapted version of the generic sales routine script is utilized for the collaborative structuring of the *sales-based* interaction. Although the outcomes don't tend to be initially predictable to a vendor, as the encounter emerges it gradually displays allusions and clues (verbal and non-verbal) which signal the customer's desire to withdraw or ratify an *offer*. The generic sales routines such as "Can I help you?," "May I look at that?," "How much is that?" and "Gimme five dollars" displayed in the *goal-oriented street-based* service encounter, signal *goals* and/or deviation from those *goals*. Sales routines invoke an encounter, maintain it, ratify, or abort it. The vendor may probe the customer's preconditions to elicit the grounds upon which to build a case (ei: size, price, item selection) for transforming the customer's belief/want states to align with his own in pursuit of selling an item. Before terminating an encounter, the participants may strategically extend it through a vendor's recursive offers, or a retreating customer's *face-saving* rounds.

In the VCR data discussed above, the customer dodges and avoids explicitness in conveying rejection. The vendor recycles his unratified *offers* which are met with implicit dispreferred response signals. Her compliments seem inconsequential to the *goal* of the *sales-transaction*. She displays respect for his *face*, without yielding to his pressure of persistent *offers*. The expected willingness to accept the recycled *offers* is not 'displayed,' but rather she performs moves in which accountability protect his *face*. Since his *sales goals* no longer seem attainable, the vendor begins to signal his disengagement from the transaction. He cooperatively displays appreciation for the compliments (directed at his stock) while he paves the way for withdrawal: "Ohhh, Thank you"(Turns away). In this

way, the vendor 'displays' his awareness of *face* norms, protecting the customer's positive *face* and defending his own.

The *goal-based* method does not account for these extended polite exchanges which occur after the *sales-goal* of the encounter has ceased being sought. What appears to have driven the post-*goal* segment (in 'Keyboard' above) are *goal-shallow* yet complex rounds of *face-work*. The motivations of the customers who obfuscates the inferencing of their *goals* are apparently not regularly recognizable or analyzable. The recipients' *face-preserving* moves tend to be varied, unclear, and idiosyncratic; therefore, the 'displayed' outcomes are not regularly predictable. However, *face-work* tend to constrain 'displays' of conflict, and maintain a business rapport (see Section 2.3). In my data, aggressive rounds rarely pose serious enough *face-threats* so as to shut-down an encounter. Put-downs and challenges tend to reveal some degree of accountability to a extent of keeping the channels for negotiations open.

The *goal-based* approach is limited by the willingness of the speaker to reveal her/his *goals*. The power of this inferential approach is limited to what is 'recognizably' 'displayed' or sequential implicated. The *principles of practical reasoning* (see J&J, Section 2.5) generate the output of sequential strategies out of a practical need for their configuration by negotiators to achieve a consensual agenda. These *principles* do not govern the organization of language but are underlying cognitive vehicles that enable speakers to strategically configure, in concert with on another, sequences to achieve conversational tasks and outcomes. Street negotiators tend to recognize and infer *goals*

displayed in clear sales routines for negotiating *sales-prices* which act as resource for them to jointly establish criteria for a sale/purchase.

However, due to the complex layering of goals motivating conversation, recognition of goals in a quick-paced service encounter on the street is bolstered through the use of clear brief, familiar, sales-routines. After a sale has been ratified or aborted, the *goal-orientation* of the encounter tends to be subordinated to the *face-preserving* property of a compliment. A compliment, sequentially following a *price-offer* tends to be understood as a *face-saving* device to deflect *face-threats* as well as to maintain the rapport between negotiators.

Casual chats may involve a congenial exchange of *face-supportive* greetings and acknowledgments to uphold the social worth of each party rather than orient towards any particular *goal*. I find that a solely *goal-based* approach does not facilitate analysis when there is extensive *face-work*, such as when the topic shifts from recognizable displayed *goals* to prolonged non-*goal* oriented exchanges such as the shallow exchanges of greetings, or 'closing' rituals.

## 4.2 SUMMARY

Complex layers of social and interactional factors interface in the focused observation of the *street-based* service encounter, invoking purposeful cooperative interaction. *Face-to-face* interaction is a micro-social structure which links with the macro social structure of the broader social environment, constraining the socially contextualized routines of communication. Avoidance of a face 'offense,' which weaves a complex fabric of ambiguity, innuendo, mystery, and covertness tends to influence the

configuration of sequences. Concerns of *face* typically regulate the explicitness and abrasiveness of the agreement-seeking in sales negotiations. In cases where aggressive power-moves by 'competitive' (Firth 1991) bargainers tend to flout *face* norms to gain an 'edge' (see Chapter 5), the conflict is still restrained by their *sales goal-oriented* need to keep the channels of negotiation open. A participant may strategically seek the 'power-edge' by denigrating the recipient, in hopes of embarrassing or frightening the recipient into compliance. Culturally different readings of explicitness/implicitness may evoke tension between participants. Issues of trust, empowerment, and competence can intervene in the outcome of a service-encounter on the street.

Strategies collaboratively configure sequences to direct and control subsequent moves, convey *goals* and negotiate the outcome of an interaction. Shared assumptions of cooperativeness drive collaboration and the inferencing process. Clarity tends to be sacrificed for the sake of maintaining rapport, yet prioritized during rounds of *price-bidding*. The vendor typically attempts to appear cooperative and willing to reach agreement on a purchase, while she or he seeks the bargaining edge.

Interactants invariably share and make known their beliefs about the conditions influencing a situation, utterance meanings and functions through collaborative adjustments. The initial moves in a sequence tend to strategically project subsequent moves and planned outcomes, constrain the topic, convey *goals*, or to screen out non-mutual *goals*. Projecting a plan to a recipient, enables a modification or an aborting of the *goals* at minimized cost to *face*.

The interaction of the issues discussed above, demonstrate social constraints of accountability on the roles of the interactants and their need to do *face-work*. The participants' expectations and awareness of *face* configure and motivate the sequential strategies performed. Systematic, expectable, normative procedures are collaboratively employed by the participants to accountably adjust, and direct perceptions as they are displayed in on-going-talk.

## Chapter 5

### Analysis of the Negotiations Taking Place in the Street

#### 5.1 *The Focus of the Analysis*

By integrating the four methodological approaches discussed in the previous chapters, this section describes the various interacting factors which configure the manipulative sequences 'displayed' purposefully to control the outcome of the street based service encounters. This non-conventional service encounter is fraught with street spawn normative irregularities such as the presence of *face-threats* in bargaining, the excessively deferential evasive behavior of customers, and the excessive, often aggressive persistence of the vendor to solicit a sale. The sequential strategies which are employed by the interactants are shown to be analyzable objects which carry describable motivational properties such as *price-goals*, *face preservation*, *conflict reduction*, and *domination*.

The sequential structure of the street-based service encounter is distinguished from that of the store by its inclusion of *preliminary bargaining* and the optional *embedded bargaining* stages. The *bargaining sequences* demonstrate the use of *accounts* to condition projected responses to pressure, to excuse, to deny, to support, correct, to convince, and to explain actions. It is demonstrated how the vendors display their strategies through types of *sequences* selected for manipulation purposes. The street participants tend to be unacquainted members of urban society who share a stock knowledge of social facts (varying according to personal

biography) which enables them to recognize the potential conditions for initiating a service encounter on the street and know their role rights and obligations in carrying out a transaction. Their shared knowledge of the social norms of interactive behavior (shared world view) and role-competence equip unacquainted to collaboratively orient towards achieving a common objective on the street. They can typically recognize and reproduce recurrent patterns, strategies, and sales routines. A participant is expected to interpret prior moves, foresee, and collaboratively contribute to the design of subsequent ones.

Since the episodes used in this analysis were taped on the busy urban sidewalk there were many contingent problems involved in the clarity of the recording.<sup>1</sup> This chapter presents first the structure of the street based service encounter and secondly the negotiation *stage* of a street-based service encounter which includes the *pre-bargaining* and *bargaining* components.

## **5.2 The Structure of the Street Based Service Encounter**

The store-based, conventional service encounter tends to be comprised of sales routines involving access, selection decision, exchange, payment, and closing. In contrast, due to the instability of pricing and its unconventional (usually illegal) sidewalk setting, the structure and the routines of street based service encounters diverge from those of the store-based model. The following service-encounter template is based on the

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<sup>1</sup> There are breaches of clarity in the recording due to the interruptions of loud street noise such as passing trucks, noisy individuals, raiding police officers, and the distance of the speakers from the microphone. The lack of the of video equipment prevents accurate recording of visual cues.

one proposed by Merritt (1976b). Her model of the store-based encounter has been modified to yield the negotiating moves of the street-based service encounter. The following model enlarges the selection decision to include *embedded pre-bargaining* and *bargaining* stages. These components account for the underlying potential for negotiation in the street based service encounter. The parties negotiate each other's grounds until agreement is established, or the encounter is aborted or redirected. To keep the channel for negotiation open and renewable, participants tend to respect each other's *face* (see Section 2.3). For this reason, they tend to be normatively constrained to strategically form *sequences* that avoid conveying disagreement. This mode of *face-aware* interactive behavior is apparent in all stages of the street-based service encounter below. In cases where rounds of *price-bidding* involve put-down's and challenges, the norms to respect *face* tend to some extent to be lifted. However the verbal behavior of competitive, aggressive bidders is still constrained by their need to maintain negotiation (i.e., put-down's, challenges, and insults are shaped to aggressively gain a *bargaining-edge*, not to damage the possibility for an agreement on *price*).

Figure 5A The Four Structural Stages

<p><b>The Model of the Four Structural Stages of a Street-Based Service Encounter</b></p> <p><b>1. <u>Access/Summons</u> :</b> (initiating moves which get attention)</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">ritual greetings (optional)</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">service offer and/or sales pitch (optional)</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">service request</p> <p><b>2. <u>Selection Decision/Negotiation:</u></b> (topic for encounter is developed)</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;"><b>A. <u>Pre-Bargaining:</u></b> (pre-request and offer—but no counter-offer)</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">request for item/price information</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">response with item/price information/price-offer</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">acceptance/non-acceptance (optional)</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">grounds for a price/for a rejection (optional)</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">agreement or disagreement with offer</p> <p>(Continued on the next page)</p>
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- (Continued from the previous page)  
 recursive/offer of alternative goods
- B. Bargaining:** (seeking resolution of conflicting grounds (optional))  
 counter-price-offer rounds  
 grounds for price/for a rejection (optional)  
 persuasive moves, challenges (optional)  
 agreement or disagreement of offer  
 recursive/offer of alternative goods
- 3. Exchange:** (payment and bagging)  
 holding commodity before payment  
 exchanging of goods for money.  
 bagging of goods (optional)
- 4. Closure:** (leave-taking)  
 verbal versions of ritual farewell (optional)  
 non-verbal walking away

Figure 5B The Structure of a Street Transaction

### The Structural Organization of a Street-Based Service Encounter

#### 4.1.1 Frying Pan

**Access Stage** (Verbal initiation and ratification, or rejection, of the encounter)

→ **Sales Pitch/Summons** 01S: *Good price. Good price. All good price. (hawking)*  
 Pause (1.0) *break (C checks out items)*

Precondition Check 02C: *Let me see (expresses interest)*  
 Pause: (4.0) *(C looks over items)*

→ **Greeting/Pre-Request** 03C: *Hello! This yours?*

Call for Replay/NTRI 04S: *Pardon?*  
 Pause (6.0) *(C looks over items)*

Call for Replay/NTRI 05S: *Hmm? (1.0) (filled pause)*

**Selection Decision Stage** (Establishes, accepts, or aborts a basis for a sale. )

**Pre-Bargaining Section** : (Getting item and *price* information)

→ **Pre-Request for Offer** 06C: *What are the prices?*

Call for Confirmation 07S: *This?*

Confirmation 08C: *Yeah! (1.0)*

→ **Offer** 09S: *Uhhh.(1.0) Tell you what,*

→ **Offer/enhanced price** *For you= (stressed) only two dollar. (1.0)*

Call for Replay 10C: *=Excuse me? =*

→ **Offer/Replay** 11S: *=Two dollars. Two dollars.*

Call for Confirmation 12C: *Two dollars for that?*

Confirmation 13S: *Two dollars. Yeah!*

(Continued on the next page)

(Continued from the previous page)

**Bargaining Section** (Optional-The negotiation of grounds for agreement)

- **Bargaining Overture**      64S: *Uhhh. Com' un*  
     Call for Replay            65C: *What?*
- **Adjusted-Offer**            66S: *A dollar fifty.*  
     Call for Replay            67C: *What?*
- **Adjusted-offer/Replay**    68S: *Gimme a dollar fifty.*  
     Call for Replay            69C: *You do a dollar fifty?*
- **Adjusted-offer/Replay**    70S: *A dollar fifty.*
- **Acceptance/Pre-exchange** 71C: *Let me see if I have a dollar fifty.*

**Exchange Stage** : (Optional-Exchange of money for goods)

- Long Pause                    (*C takes out money*)  
   (8.0) (*C checks money*)  
   72S: *You want that also?*
- **Exchange**                    73C: *You, Do you have fifty cents? (counting money)*  
   72S: *Yeah!*

Exchange of Money for Item    (10.0)

**Closure Stage** : (Optional-Ritual agreement to close)

- **Pre-closing**                73S: *Okay, okay, okay thank you.*  
     Agreement Check            74C: *Okay?*  
     Appreciation                75S: *Thank you.*  
     Appreciation                76C: *Thank you. (stressed)*  
     Agreement to Close        77C: *Okay. Okay.*
- **Closing**                    78S:            *Thank you. (C walks away)*

## 5.2.1 The Function of Each of the Stages

### 5.2.1.1 Access

*Access* moves occur when 'barriers' (Merritt 1976b) to communication have been lifted by the presence of what appears to be a customer, checking out a service post. The access stage, 'transactional accessibility,' is considered the most ritualized in the conventional service encounter, comprised of initiating statements which open the encounter and tend to implicatively prefigure the subsequent topic. The rituals and indirect versions of entry routines provide pathways into an interaction. An exchange of *greetings* summons attempts to bond two strangers towards agreement. A sales pitch or *sales-offer* project the topic constraints, propped by the presence of items on the serving post. The

customer's appearance at a serving post on the street constitutes a tacit summons for service. A vendor '*at-watch*' over her/his goods at a serving post is tacitly offering service as well. The vendor is expected to respond to the customer's summons with a verbal *offer* of service. The customer's verbal acceptance to this *offer* tends to ratify the state of service encounter ". . . and the mutual access of server and customer is established" (Merritt 1976b, p.47). The customer's initial '*request for information*' is expected to be interpreted as a '*request for service*' (a *request for action*). This exchange of *greetings, glances, eye-contact*, appeals for service as a whole constitutes consensual invitation for an engagement. Considered as part of a larger ritualized sequence, these tentative steps constitute the participants' moves in opening a street-based service encounter.

As the customer tends to *request service* so the vendor *offers* it. This patterning invokes the socially ascribed right of the customer to make a *request* and the obligation of the vendor to *offer* services, commodities, and provide information relevant to a potential purchase within the/territorial preserve'/confines of the service area. The initial *stage* of the encounter is the *topicalizer* and constrains the subsequent utterances. It frames the encounter as a service encounter and identifies the role of the speaker as customer or vendor. In the segment below the speaker is identified as the vendor. The vendor's sales pitch below in turn #01 is a *topicalizer* (Levinson 1983), soliciting a passerby's interest and then offering service in turn #03. The customer responds to the *sales-pitch* with a *request for information* in turn #02 which is interpreted as a '*display*' of interest in turn #03. The vendor assumes the conditions prevail for his sales *offer* in turn #04.

4.1.2 Down Jacket→ Access

## → Sales-Pitch/Promotion

01S: *I got new sweatshirts/(interrupts loudly)*

## → Sales-Pitch/Promotion

*Sweatshirts brand new. (lowers voice)*

## → Pre-Request/Ratification

02C: *What do you have?(0.5?)*

NTRI/Call for Replay

03S: *Huh? (Takes a jacket)*

## → Sales Offer/Promotion

*Coat new.*

These interpretations are due to the participants' familiarity with sales routines.

Each participant draws from a personal stock of knowledge about the *sales*-routines. This shared knowledge and communicative competencies enable these players to make the appropriate inferences about prior stretches of interaction, and to design subsequent task oriented moves. Recipients are expected to infer implications from previous moves of forewarned challenges, non-acceptances, or untimely withdrawals.<sup>2</sup>

Samples of *requests of service* and *offers for service* are displayed below.

4.1.34 Shoe Boots

## → Request for Service

01C: *May I look at those? (pointing to boots)*

Ratification/Go-Ahead

02S: *Yeah. (<XX>)*

As shown in the above transaction, when the customer's initiation in turn #01 is a *greeting*, the vendor may check her intentions as in #02, before ratifying the encounter. The customer is expected to identify the item of interest which then becomes the focus the round of moves.<sup>3</sup> The show of interest in an item may supply sufficient information for the vendor to *offer* a sales price.

<sup>2</sup> Merritt proposes that "an act of requesting is not in itself remedial but rather has some remedial component that transforms (diminishes) the demand character of the act performed" (Merritt, 1976, p. 23). The customer's demand is termed a 'root demand,' a request which may be a 'request for information,' a 'request for action,' or a 'request for attention.'

<sup>3</sup> This initiating move functions as a pre-request which may open an encounter as a strategic vehicle to check if conditions obtain for a sales request or offer. As demonstrated in CA (see Section 2.4) the pre-request is loaded with information to convey the projected request.

The initiating segments below constrain the subsequent topic of the encounter. In the following sample, the customer's multi-functional move greets, summons, elicits attention, #01: "*Hi. Is,*" and the server's understanding check #02: "*What?*" which also serves as a go-head. The customer then makes the projected *request* for permission in turn #03 to look over the item and for service. The vendor puts his response on hold in #04 until he elicits the customer's intention and establishes the conditions for a relevant answer in turn #05. In this way he avoids making a mistake which would result in explicit correction-work and incur a *face-loss*. Once the item is identified the vendor gives his consent in turn #06 (see Sections 2.4 and 2.5).

#### 4.1.9 Umbrella

➔ <b>Pre-Request for Service</b>	01C: <i>Hi. Is?</i>
Hearing Check	02S: <i>What?</i>
➔ <b>Request for Service</b>	03C: <i>Can I look at that? (points)</i>
Embedded Request	04S: <i>What?</i>
Embedded Response	05C: <i>This, the umbrella?</i>
➔ <b>Acceptance of Request</b>	06S: <i>Yeah</i>

The customer initiates an encounter with *request for price information* #06. Since the identification item is not clear, the vendor tends to withhold information requested #07 until the item is identified #08. When the conditional relevant response obtains, he *offers price* in turn #09.

#### 4.1.2 Frying Pan

➔ <b>Request for Service</b>	06C: <i>What are the prices?</i>
Embedded Request	07S: <i>This?</i>
Embedded Response	08C: <i>Yea</i>
<i>h! (1.0)</i>	
➔ <b>Price-Offer</b>	09S: <i>Uhhh.(1.0) Tell you what, for <u>you</u> (stressed) only two dollar. (1.0)</i>

2.1.2 Plastic Radio

- |                            |   |
|----------------------------|---|
| → Pre-offer of Service     | 01S: <i>Radio for Sale.</i> (in a loud voice) |
| → Pre-request/Ratification | 02C: <i>How much is it?</i>                   |
| → Price-offer              | 03S: <i>Ten dollars.</i>                      |

In the sample below, the vendor's *pre-offer* for service #01 projects the focus of the sales encounter. Turn #01 constrains the subsequent moves which are organized around it. The vendor then checks the customer's interest in the item, which is cooperatively 'displayed,' in turn #02. An offer #03 follows in a friendly solicitous gesture.

4.1.21 Black Shoes

- |                        |   |
|------------------------|---|
| → Pre-Offer of Service | 01S1: <i>Brand new. (Holding out shoes)<br/>And that's nice basic black</i>   |
| Go-Ahead               | 02C1: <i>Uh huh.</i>  |
| → Offer of Service     | 03S1: <i>If it's your size, it's a steal.<br/>What's that? (pointing to another pair)<br/>Try it on. Try it on &lt;xx &gt;.</i> |

In the sampling below, the vendor's initiations carried by turn #02 greet the customer who accepts the *greeting* as a *pre-offer* of service. The customer *preempts* the vendor's *offer* for service #05. She skips an acceptance and *requests* a *price* "How much is the perfume." The vendor's eye contact with the customer at her serving-post 'displays' her readiness to service the customer. Cued by his conveyed receptiveness, the customer infers that conditions obtain for a *request* for *price*.

4.1.5 Perfume

- |                                |  |
|--------------------------------|--|
| → Engagement Offered           | 01S2: <i>Yes. (Rising tone)</i>        |
| No Response                    | (2 .0)                                 |
| → Greeting/Engagement Accepted | 02S2: <i>How are <u>you</u> today?</i> |
| Greeting/Ritual                | 03C2: <i>Fine. How are <u>you</u>?</i> |
| Greeting/Ritual                | 04S2: <i>I'm <u>fine</u>.</i>          |
| → Request for Price            | 05C2: <i>How much is the perfume?</i>  |

The episode below the vendor opens the encounter with a *greeting* #01 which when returned #02, ratifies the contact. Then the vendor presumes that he has the right to make a direct *sales offer* #03. His assumption that conditions prevail for an *offer of service* is based on the customer's presence at his serving post as well as her verbal initiation. He attempts to bond with the customer as a vendor who aims to satisfy her preconditions. This tone for a friendly, though persuasive *sales-oriented* encounter is projected in his moves.

4.1.3 <u>Boot shoes</u>	
Disengagement/Availability	01S: <i>Hmmm (humming).</i>
→Greeting/Engagement Offered	<i>Hello, how are you.</i>
No Response	(2.0) <i>(smiling, eye-contact)</i>
→Greeting/Engagement Accepted	02C: <i>Hi. (Muted)</i>
No Response	(3.0)
Offer of Service	03S: <i>Just name it and I'll make sure you don't leave without it.</i>

In the encounter below, the customers' initiating *requests for service* in #01 are implied by her show of interest in his stock. The vendor enthusiastically ratifies the implicit initiation #02. Customer typically *request service* implicitly with such routines as "May I look at it?"

4.1.4 <u>Jacket</u>	
Compliment/Engagement Offered	01C: <i>This is nice. (points)</i>
→Pre-Request for Service	<i>Is this yours?</i>
Ratification/Go-Ahead	02S: <i>Yeah!</i>
Engagement Accepted	<i>All the way down (to another customer)</i>
(Continued on the next page)	
(Continued from previous page)	
No Response	(2.0) <i>(points out service area)</i>
→Request for Service	03C: <i>Uh huh. May I look at it?</i>
Ratification/Acceptance	04S: <i>Yes, I insist.</i>

The above samples of initiating moves constrain the topic of the ensuing *stage* in the encounter. These moves *greet, summon, call for attention* and *service, offer service*, ratify the initiating move.

### **5.2.1.2 The Selection Decision/Negotiation**

The second *stage* of Merritt's model of the conventional store is characterized as *selection decision* (1976) which includes inquiry and *price acceptance* or *rejection*. The instability of *price* on the street changes this format to include two *embedded* stages. These stages are in part set by vendors who own the sales commodities and therefore can adjust pricing. The first part of their model, the *pre-bargaining* component, includes the *pre-request* or *pre-offer* of the *presequential strategy*, which elicits a *price-offer*, and optionally its *acceptance* or *rejection*. If countered, or contested, the *price-offer* establishes a basis for the *bargaining* activity. This *bargaining* component consists of the *embedded expansions* of a *presequential strategy*. The participants attempt to establish, transform, or invalidate grounds for the acceptance of a subsequent *price-offer*. This latter component tends to be characterized by haggling and 'power-move.'

#### **5.2.1.2.1 Pre-Bargaining**

The *preliminary bargaining stage* (i.e., pre-bargaining) conventionally invokes *embedded expansions* of item information. It includes rounds of *requests for information* and *responses with information*. The customer *requests* item availability, makes a selection, or elicits relevant information and/or a *price-offer*. When no sale is imminent, the encounter tends to terminate. If no counter-offer is made, negotiation cannot take place.

In this segment the customer requests *price* in turn #04. However, the vendor puts his offer on hold in turn #05 with a NTRI, until the item is positively identified in #06. Then once his offer #07 is made, the customer provides grounds in #09 to abort the sequence, rather than attempt to find agreeable terms through negotiation.

4.1.3 <u>Boot Shoes</u>	
→Pre-Request/Price Request	04C: <i>How much are those. (points to boots)</i>
Embedded Request	05S: <i>The boots?= Embedded Response</i>
	06C: <i>=I mean with the= (pointing)</i>
→Price-Offer	07S: <i>=It's five bucks, but I'll take three or four dollars, you know.</i>
→Embedded Request for Size	08C: <i>Let's see what the size is on them.</i>
Embedded Response	09S: <i>It's kind of a small size. (looks for size)</i>

#### 5.2.1.2.2 Bargaining

A *bargaining section* is an optional segment street-based service encounter and would be unexpected in the licensed store-based service encounter which has fixed prices. The *bargaining stage* occasions the rounds of *price-offers/counter-price-offers*. The participants strive for resolution of conflict of *price-agenda* through rationalization of a position, or disputation of the other party's position, put-down's, elaboration, and clarification of conditions. A bargainer is expected to be willing to compromise grounds.

The bargaining stage, comprised of *price-offers* and *counter-offers*, is exemplified in the transaction below,. The customer responds to the vendor's *price-offer* in turn #78 with his *counter-offer* in turn #79. The server provides grounds for her *price-offer* to persuade the customer to comply in turn #84.

2.1.3 <u>Bomber Jacket</u>	
→Price-Offer	78S <i>Twenty-five sir, 25, 25. (to C4)</i> <i>It's a new jacket.</i>
Sales Promotion/Grounds	
→Counter-Price-Offer	79C4: <i>20. (heavily accented speech)</i>
Rejection	80S: <i>I can't.</i>
→Counter-Price-Offer	81C4: <i>20.</i>
→Revised Price-Offer	82S: <i>23.</i>
→Counter-Price-Offer	83C4: <i>20.</i>
Justification/Price-Offer	84S: <i>I have to pay somebody. I have to make.</i> <i>3 dollars. I can't go lower.</i> <i>I have to make something.</i>
→Counter-Price-Offer	85C5: <i>20. (pieces)</i> <i>(3.0)</i>
Resolution/Acceptance	86C5: <i>23 is good. (hands over the money)</i>

### 5.2.1.3 Exchange

The *exchange stage* involves payment for the commodity. This *stage* characteristically ends when the item has been handed to the customer, committing the customer to an exchange of money. The verbal commitment as well as the picking up and holding the coveted item marks the beginning of this *stage*. Both participants have '*displayed*' an agreement, in 'Bomber Jacket' turns #87 and #18, to accept a *price*. The customer is afforded temporary ownership of the item until the money has been paid, finishing the purchase (Merritt 1976b).

2.1.3 <u>Bomber Jacket (exchange B)</u>	
→Exchange of Goods	87S: <i>Thank you Sir. Thank you very much.</i>

2.1.3 <u>Bomber jacket (exchange A)</u>	
→Exchange of Goods	17C1: <i>It's here. I have change. Let's see.</i> <i>Do you have change?</i>
	18S: <i>Yes, please. (3.0)</i>
	19C1: <i>Let's see what I have.</i> <i>Let's see how much money I brought.</i>

4.1.10 <u>Sweat Pants/Shirt</u>	
→Price-offer	08S: <i>Five together.</i>
(Continued on the next page)	

(Continued from the previous page)	
Repeat	<i>Five together.</i>
No Response	(2.0)
Acceptance	9S: <i>I gotta pick-up the=(picks up items as a</i>
Interruption/Police Raid	<i>policeman walks closeby)</i>
	10C2: <i>=You don't wanna hang around for change, heh?</i>
→ Exchange	11C2: <i>Alright. I gotta give you five, right?</i>

#### 5.2.1.4 Closure

The encounter terminates with the *closure stage*. The terminating moves may be a non-verbal withdrawal or such verbal ritual tokens of appreciation and/or closing as "Thank you," "Thanks," "Okay," or "See you again." Non-verbal withdrawals are occasioned when the customer walks away from the serving area, or when the vendor turns around to pursue other customers. The customer tends to pave the way for withdrawal through compliments and implicit non-acceptance. The vendor may terminate the encounter when her/his *offers* are understood as rejected and futile. For the sake of rapport and the possibility of future encounters the termination tends to be a *face-respecting* (see CA, Section 2.4). These agreeable closings are 'displayed' below in turns #41, #16, and #18.

4.1.2 <u>Down jacket</u>	
Mentionable other options	40S: <i>I've got some brand new <u>sweat shirts</u>.</i>
→ <u>Closure</u>	41C: <i>Okay, thank you. (walks away)</i>
4.1.3 <u>Boot shoes</u>	
→ <u>Closure</u>	15C: <i>Yeah! Okay, thank you.</i>
→ <u>Closure</u>	16S: <i>Maybe another time. walks away)</i>
4.1.7 <u>Glasses</u>	
→ <u>Pre-closing</u>	17C: <i>Okay. Okay.</i>
	<i>I like, I like what I see.</i>
→ <u>Closing</u>	<i>Take care.</i>
	<i>I'll see you.</i>
Appreciation Token/Accepts	18S: <i>My pleasure.</i>
→ <u>Closing/closure</u>	19C: <i>Bye, bye. (walks away)</i>

### 5.2.2 Structural Contributions to Interpretation

The analysis of sales transactions in the next section will demonstrate how the interpretation of the functions of prior utterances are dependent upon the position of the utterance within *strategic sequences* and to their *embedded* position within the *conversational sequences*. Participants tend to make an *offer* at the end of the encounter in order to re-open it. A customer's stock compliments following an *offer* tends to forewarn the vendor of an imminent withdrawal. An initiating *request* for a *price-move* at the onset of an encounter tends to function as a *pre-request* for service. A *request* for *price* after a *price-offer* has been made tends to invoke a *bargaining* component.

### 5.3 Negotiation in the Street Based Service Encounter

This section focuses on the strategic rounds of negotiation that occur between the street vendor and his/her customer. The intrinsic flexibility of pricing on the street underlies a potential for conflicting agendas, which must be resolved collaboratively through negotiation. *Bargaining* depends upon the willingness of the interactants to compromise their grounds in the interests of agreement.<sup>4</sup> Each party brings to the negotiation a contribution of different sets of knowledge and criteria of social facts, social skills and norms of behavior. By scrutinizing the opponent's displayed moves, each party strategizes subsequent moves to maneuver the negotiation towards her/his own agenda. The vendor implements the rights carried by the social status of her/his role-position to employ sales

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<sup>4</sup> According to J. Wheatley (1995, .p.375):

1. Negotiators must engage in a process of joint decision making.
2. Negotiations are mixed motive situations.
3. Negotiation involves strategic decision-making

routines to coerce a sale. She/he expects the customer/recipient to be willing to make a purchase. The vendor is socially accountable for providing a fair *price*, and for selling the product offered at the *price* promised and in a usable condition. The customer is expected to be willing to pay the *price* agreed upon. The customer has the right to inquire about the condition, availability and *price* of the item. The vendor is obligated to be willing to respond to the customer's inquiry. The vendor tends to have limited access to information about the items he sells. To cover-up her/his inability to be informative and preserve his *face*, the vendor tends to use generalities responding to queries for information. *Face-defending*, *face-protecting*, and *face-sustaining* behavior is expected of each interactant.

Rapport may supersede clarity on the street (Lakoff 1990). However, strategic moves that threaten *face-loss* and/or exacerbate conflict may be wielded by a negotiator for gaining empowerment and a *bargaining edge*. Yet, the level of conflict tends to be constrained to enable the channels for negotiation to remain open (Firth 1993). While seeking rapport tends to be *preferred* to exacerbating tension in a negotiation, put-down's and challenges show a speaker's disregard for the *norms* of *face*, *face-threats* tend to emerge in competitive *bargaining sequences*.

### 5.3.1 Pre-Bargaining on the Street

The *pre-bargaining* component carries the potential for precipitating *bargaining*, prefiguring its emergence. During this *stage*, the interactors check out such preconditions as availability, size, type, *price*, and utility which, if they are found to obtain, justify pursuing a sale. If conditions fail to adhere, the encounter is invariably aborted. The in-

teractants try to mitigate *face-loss* through *appreciation tokens*, *compliments*, *indirection*, *covertness*, and *evasiveness*. Early withdrawals, and *non-acceptances* tend to be implicitly forewarned. This *stage* involves the vendor's *price-offers* and the customer such as *requests for information*, *put-off's*, *compliments*, and *acceptances/non-acceptances*.

### 5.3.1.1 Requests for Information

The customer's queries in the episodes below may provide the information she/he solicits to determine whether conditions prevail for a *price-request*. If the responses to the *request for information* fail to meet a customer's preconditions for a purchase, the encounter tends to close. Each segment is a structural unit, having an initiating *request for information* which projects the speaker's forthcoming move and constrains the recipient's response. The channels are kept open by collaborative measures taken to *protect*, and *defend face*, as well as to *mitigate the face-loss*. I find that the use of recognizable *sales-routines* and *strategies* facilitates interpretation and delimits the topic.

In the following episode, the customer *requests stock* and *price* information, which is directly and clearly provided by the vendor. Her *request for price* information in turn #09 carries enough information to elicit a *price-offer*. Assuming *pre-conditions* prevail, the vendor *offers the price* in turn #10.

#### 3.1.3 Books I

→ Request for Information	07C: <i>What was the latest one she wrote?</i>
Response/Information	08S: <i>Tel Botichi</i> (sounds like)
→ Request for Price	09C: <i>How much is that?</i>
→ Price-Offer	10S: <i>19</i> (matter-of-factly, in a wave-like contour)

In the sample below, the vendor responds to the customer's query for information in turn #14 about his sales-item with a *request* for replay in turn #15. He first hesitates before responding to the recycled *request* #16. Then he provides generalized information in #19 to the customer's third recycled query #18. The customer phrases the queries for information first with minimized intrusiveness "You don't know how old it is?" and then more directly, "Do you know how old it is?" Her recycled attempts project the implication that she doesn't expect the vendor to have the '*means*' to be informative which provides a *face*-saving out for the vendor. Since explicitly alluding to his inability to provide the information sought would make an issue of his competency as a vendor, the customer protects his *face* with implicitness. However, by raising the issue of item condition, the customer lays ground for her own *face-defending* withdrawal. The customer's critical phrasing "Relatively new," of the vendor's uninformative claim recasts "new." Since the interpretive range of '*newness*' can vary according to the criteria of the recipient, one cannot informatively qualify "newness" without a date. Her implicit correction casts the vendor's claim as a *D-event* (a disputable claim) rather than a knowable fact. Therefore, the customer's precondition of the 'age' or 'condition' of the item remains unmet. She then shifts the topic to a vaguely complimentary evaluation of a generalized referent "It's interesting," which foreshadows her withdrawal. Having implicitly revealed that her *pre-conditions* are not met, her *face-loss* for not accepting is mitigated.

### 3.1.1 Keyboard

→ Request for Information	15C: <i>You don't know how old it is?</i>
Hearing Check	16S: <i>Huh?</i>
→ Request for Information	17C: <i>Do you know how old it is?</i>
Hesitant/Uninformative/Response	18S: <i>Oh! It's about,=</i>

(Continued on the next page)

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→ <b>Request for Information</b>	19C: //What year it was made?
Uninformative/Response	20S: <i>It's less than a year.</i>
Generalization/Uninformative	<i>It's new. T's from the new ones.</i>
Evaluation/Implicit Criticism	21C: <i>Relatively new. (Muted stress)clicks)</i>
Topic Shift	<i>It's interesting</i>

In the episode below, the customer checks the preconditions for a *price* query. The vendor's 'go-ahead' displays that the conditions (i.e., his proprietorship of the items and his willingness) prevail for this *request*. In this way, the customer invokes the vendor's attention, and agrees to enter into a sales-transaction. By requesting *price information*, "What are the prices?" the customer sets up the criteria for the conditional relevance of the projected response move. The vendor withholds his response, "Uhhh. (1.0) Tell you what, for you (stressed) only two dollar" until conditions are revealed to be relevant in order to justify the elicited response (i.e., the second adjacency pair part). The vendor first checks the identity of the item to avoid pricing the wrong item, an embarrassing correction. An explicit correction that would require the customer's misperception of his *price* would result in *face* loss, increase the tension, and could cost the sale. Once the item identification is confirmed, the vendor utters the conditionally relevant *price-offer*. I have observed that the 'displayed' inability of a vendor to supply information to the customer's queries tends to provide grounds for immediate non-acceptance (see Sections .2.3 and 2.4) and withdrawal.

#### 4.1.1 Frying Pan

→ <b>Pre-Request for Service</b>	03C: <i>Hello! This yours?</i>
<b>Call for Replay/NTRI</b>	04S: <i>Pardon?</i>
No Response	(6.0) <i>(C looks at items)</i>
<b>Hesitant</b>	05S: <i>Hmm? (1.0)</i>
→ <b>Request for Price Information</b>	06C: <i>What are the prices?</i>

(Continued on the next page)

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Request for Confirmation/NTRI	07S: <i>This?</i>
Confirmation Response	08C: <i>Yeah! (1.0)</i>
→ Price-Offer/Price Information	09S: <i>Uhhh. (1.0) Tell you what, for <u>you</u> (stressed) only two dollar. (1.0)</i>

In the encounter below, the query for *price* projects a desire to make a purchase. "What are you asking for this?" Assuming that preconditions (a close alignment of the participants' belief/want contexts) prevail for an *offer*, the vendor's response with *price* acts as an *offer*. This encounter ends (not shown) with an uncontested acceptance of the favorable outcome, a *price-offer*

#### 4.1.26 Coral Necklace

→ Pre-Request

12C: *It's very nice.*

*What are you asking for this?*

→ Price-Offer

13S: *Just two dollars. (moderate stress)*

The vendor in the episode below opens the encounter with a sales pitch "Sweat pants. Sweat suit" which elicits the customer's immediate enthusiastic ratification, "Yes, sir." This encounter is organized around the exhibited willingness of the customer to closely align his belief/wants contexts with that of the vendor towards achieving their mutual goal, a sale. The customer's *pre-request* for *price* elicits a direct *price-offer* routine. Customers tend to *request* verification of a *price-offer* to establish the vendor's commitment to a *price*. In this way the customer averts the *face-loss* which would be incurred from the need to correct a mistaken perception. Close alignment of *goals* is occasioned through agreement of preconditions, *price*, *need*, *willingness*, and *availability*. The vendor's *price-offer* elicits the customer's *preemptive offer* of payment. Since it is assumed that his explicit acceptance of the *offer* would be accepted by the vendor, expressing mu-

tual acceptance is avoided (i.e., to express what is already understood makes issue of the recipient's deductive competence and prolongs the encounter after the sales-goal had been achieved). The imminent threat of police intervention seems to further motivate this omission.

<b>4.1.10 <u>Sweat Pants/Shirt</u></b>	
<b>→Pre-Offer of Service</b>	01S: <i>Sweat pants. Sweat suit.</i>
Ratification	02C2: <i>Yes, sir.</i>
<b>→Offer of Service</b>	03S: <i>Sweat pants. Sweat suit.</i>
Ratification	04C2: <i>Yes, sir.</i>
No Response	(7.0)
<b>→Pre-Request</b>	05C2: <i>How much is the uh giant shirt &lt;xx&gt;</i>
<b>→Price-Offer</b>	06S: <i>Gimme five</i>
Call for replay	07C2: <i>Huh?</i>
<b>→Price-Offer</b>	08S: <i>Five together.</i>
Repeat	<i>Five together.</i>
No Response	(2.0)
Topic Shift/Account	09S: <i>I gotta pick-up the=(starts picking up items as a policeman walks towards area)</i>
Acceptance/Account	10C2: <i>=You don't wanna hang around for change, heh?</i>
Cooperation Offer	
Acceptance/Cooperation	11C2: <i>Alright. I gotta give you five, right?</i>

Typical of agreement bonded sequences, the successful encounter above was quickly ratified. Moreover, there was no inquiry of condition, little hesitation, much directness, brevity, and immediate payment following establishment of *price*. Although presence of the police hastened the transaction, the customer never exhibited any doubt about this purchase.

*Requests for information* elicit embedded sequences which enable the participants to jointly establish, confirm, modify, or invalidate grounds for achieving a sale. To maintain the encounter and keep channels open for this collaboratively accountable probe, *face*

is respected and preserved through the use of systematic recognizable sales routines and *face preserving devices*.

### 5.3.1.2 *Put-off's: Implicit Rejections to Persistent Offers*

The customers never accept the *offers* in the encounters below, but instead use the *delay devices* predicted by Pomerantz (1975) and Levinson (1983, p.334-336) to put-off *dispreferred* actions in response to the vendor's *price-offers*. The vendor responds to the customer's queries for information with generalizations and hyperbole of quality.

Implicitness, dodges, generalizations, insertions (i.e., embedded sequences), hesitations, pauses, filled-pauses, topic shifts, etc. put-off a problematic *face-threatening* response. In this way, a party avoids and ignores *face-threats*. Their shared knowledge of social facts of sales-routines enables recipients to infer from the utterances elicited whether conditions prevail to perform a *preferred* response such as acceptance of an implied *offer*. Respondents tend to refer to the 'unmet' preconditions when putting-off or refusing an *offer* or *request* (see L&F, Section 2.2). By checking if preconditions prevail, parties can abort the encounter before a main act is performed and misfires. Unresolvable conflicts may lurk under the surface of an utterance, to emerge only as ambiguous, semantic-empty, or non-verbal responses. Covert, evasive, or tacit put-off's tend to bring the encounter to a close without the emergence of contestable verbal grounds.

It has been observed that the vendor's inability to answer information *requests* tends to remain unexposed and unchallenged by the customer. Instead, the customer appears to protect the vendor's *face* with ambiguity, covertness, evasiveness, compliments

and other *face-work* before withdrawing. Likewise, the vendor tends to protect the customer's *face*, seldom challenging her/him for their put-off's or evasiveness.

I have found that since the intrusive persistence of the vendor's *price-offers* tends to be common and expectable, a customer's put-off's represent relevant efforts to foil *potential face-threats*. On the other hand, a customer's accounted or implicit refusals tend to provide enough leeway to embolden the vendor to renew *requests* for action which in these encounters act as repeated *offers*.

### 5.3.1.3 *Covertness, Implicitness, Compliment, and Delays*

In the following episode, the vendor *offers a price* which he then lowers, showing a willingness to negotiate. In contrast, the customer shows an unwillingness to negotiate. She puts-off her non-acceptance by displaying hesitation, requesting more time to think, "Ah that's nice. I'm jus' kinda thinking about it," "Ahuh (chuckle) I have to think," "about it. I think, I like it. I think it's a good deal. I have to go, give it a little thought." The vendor, on the other hand, keeps lowering his price to solicit interest, "I'll take 8 if your really interested in it," and to meet her unrevealed condition, a *B-event* to which only the customer has privileged access. To maintain a positive *face* the customer redirects the focus with a move that compliments the item while delaying a *dispreferred* response think, "Ah that's nice. I'm jus kinda thinking about it." In her response to the vendor's subsequent enhanced *offer* the customer hesitates, then trivializes her *face-threatening* non-acceptance by chuckling. She finally expresses a need to delay her action, "Ahuh (chuckle) I have to think." As pointed out by Pomerantz (1975) disagreements tend to be downplayed and may be preceded by compliments. This encounter never reaches the

*bargaining stage* since the customer never challenges or discloses *price* as an issue. Her evasive account 'displays' incontestable grounds for delay, "I have to go, give it a little thought," to mitigate the *face* threat or her disagreeable action. Neither party resolves the inherent conflict in this encounter. The customer neither reveals her grounds for acceptance, nor *offers a counter-offer*. The vendor, as predicted by L&F, uses the ambiguity provided by the customer's hesitation and delay to make renewed *offers*. This misalignment of belief/wants contexts, due to the customer's unrevealed 'unmet' preconditions, prevents the resolution of disputes and foreshadows an imminent closure of the encounter. Clearly, the inability for the vendor to fulfill the unexpressed conditions of the customer and her unwillingness to reveal her grounds for purchase thwart any resolution of their conflicting agendas.

4.1.4 <u>Jacket</u>	
→ Request for Price	14C: <i>What are you charging for that.</i>
Sales Pitch	15S: <i>I was asking 20.</i>
→ Offer	<i>I can give it for ten</i>
Compliment	16C: <i>Ah that's nice.</i>
→ Non-Acceptance	<i>I'm jus kinda thinking about it.</i>
→ Offer	17S: <i>I'll take 8 if your really interested in it.</i>
→ Non -Acceptance/Account	18C: <i>Ahuh (chuckles) I have to think=</i>
	19S: =<xx>
→ Non-Acceptance/Account	20C: <i>about it. I think, I like it</i>
Compliment	<i>I think it's a good deal.</i>
Delay/Account	<i>I have to go, give it a little thought.</i>

#### 5.3.1.4 *Implicitness, Hedges, Non-Commitment, Agreement, Excuse*

In the transaction below, the vendor's style is friendly. He encourages bonding and solidarity with this neighborhood customer. His recognition of the customer as a '*villagite*' implies that he shares membership in neighborhood '*social milieu*' (Gardener and Lambert 1972). He greets the customer as an '*acquainted*,' and persistently solicits

the her engagement with promotionals. The vendor reduces the *price* to meet the customer's undisclosed precondition, which he presumes is a lower *price*. He attempts to involve the customer by having her try on the item. His friendly overture constrains the customer's responses to minimal tokens of agreement, approval, and implicit non-acceptance. In response the customer manifests acknowledgment, "Yah," and agreement. She protects the vendor's *face* with tacit approval, yet reveals no inclination towards accepting his *offer*. The vendor attempts to invoke the customer's *AB-event*, shared knowledge of social facts as a member of the neighborhood community, that the store where he claims the jacket originates is a good thrift shop. He attempts to elicit the customer's agreement that the jacket is of good quality, "That's good stuff." However, the customer does not uphold his evaluation, but rather minimally acknowledges with, dodges, hedges, non-committal acknowledgments, backchannels in the following sequence of responses, "Uh, huh," "Yah," "Yah," "Uh, huh," "Okay," "Yeah," "Thank you." These put-off's are followed by an explicit accounted rejection, "No. I have hmm." Then the grounds for her non-acceptance is formulated to justify a withdrawal, "Because I have one jacket like that." The customer's grounds for her non-acceptance (her privileged access to her *B-event*) implies that the jacket could not meet her unfulfilled precondition of need since they have already been met by another jacket. However, the vendor persists and attempts to maintain an open channel for renewed contact "If <xx you xx> change mind come back." The customer displays an ambiguous topic shift token "Okay," reinforced by her 'chuckle' which invokes the '*ritually*' coded-meaning of a *pre-closing*. The vendor again attempts to elicit a *bargaining* response, the customer's *counter-offer*, "If the price is too much I'll take an offer." Not wanting to offend the vendor's *face* the

customer reinforces her topic shift, with a slight chuckle, "Heh." and lowered tone.

"Okay," paving the way for withdrawal.

4.1.19 <u>Leather Jacket:</u>	
Show of Interest.	01C1: <i>Look at the jacket. (to C2, pointing)</i>
	02C2: <i>Oh its &lt;xx&gt;</i>
→ Offer/Promotion	03S: <i>Nice leather. Try-on (to C2)</i>
Promotion	<i>Good stuff. Yeah, good price.</i>
Greeting	<i><u>How are you today?</u> (to C1)</i>
Greeting	04C1: <i>Fine.</i>
→ Offer/Promotion	05S: <i>Uh, I wanted fifteen, but I take ten dollars.</i>
Promotion	<i>For you ten.</i>
→ Offer/Promotion	06S: <i>That's good stuff</i>
Put-off	07C2: <i>Uh, huh</i>
→ Offer/Downplay Problem	08S: <i>Yeah. This one, nothing damage,</i>
Account/Downplay Problem	<i>you know, scratch, you know.</i>
Promotion	<i>Yeah, from vintage, you know, scratch.</i>
Vulnerability Grounds	<i>Somebody carry</i>
Continuer Backchannel	09C2: <i>Yah</i>
→ Offer	10S: <i>or something.</i>
Continuer Backchannel	11C2: <i>Yah</i>
→ Offer/Promotion	12S: <i>Yeah. You know, Ninth street First</i>
Promotion	<i>Avenue corner. It's vintage shop over there,</i>
Promotion	<i>you know. From over there. This one.</i>
Vulnerability Grounds	<i>(shows scratch)</i>
Put-offer/Delay	13C2: <i>Uh huh.</i>
→ Offer	14S: <i>Check it out. Everything check it out.</i>
No Response/Delay	<i>(7.0) (C looks at jacket)</i>
Delay/Pre-Closing	15C2: <i>Okay.</i>
→ Offer/Promotion	16S: <i>Only ten dollars. Never have to buy,</i>
Promotion	<i>you know, another place.</i>
Put-off	17C2: <i>Yeah.</i>
Acknowledgment	18S: <i>Yeah=</i>
Appreciation	19C2: <i>=Thank you.</i>
→ Offer/Overture to Bargain	20S: <i>How's seven? (2.0) That's the price.</i>
Rejection/Account	21C2: <i>No. I have hmm.</i>
→ Offer/Overture to Bargain	22S: <i>How much you have?</i>
Rejection/Account	23C2: <i>Because I have one jacket like that.</i>
Acknowledgment	24S: <i>Oh. Oh. Okay,</i>
Non-acceptance/Account	23C2: <i>Yeah, I just want, &lt;xx &gt;See you. (Chuckle)</i>
→ Offer/Account	24S: <i>If &lt;xx you xx&gt; change mind come back.</i>
Put-off/Preclosing	25C2: <i>Okay. (Chuckle)</i>
(Continued on the next page)	

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→ Offer/Alternate Options	26S: <i>We have more, okay?</i>
Put-off	27C2: <i>Huh, huh</i>
	28C1: <i>Okay. Check it out.</i>
No Response	(4.0) (C2 looks at jacket)
→ Offer/Overture to Bargain	29S2: <i>If the price is too much, I'll take an offer.</i>
Put-off/Closing	30C1: <i>Heh. (chuckle) Okay.</i>
Closing	(Both customers walk away)

The customer's participation in the interaction implies interest and invokes the vendor's anticipation of a sale. The vendor exploits the interpretive leeway provided by these ambiguous put-off's and excuses as possible interest tokens to justify his renewed offers. Assuming shared *goals*, the vendor attempts to coerce the customer's to align with his own belief/wants contexts. The vendor attempts to legitimate a closer association with her in order to obtain to gain her trust in his offer. However, the customer avoids affirming this attempt at bonding. She displays ambiguous cooperative behavior in efforts to mitigate her own *face* loss while covertly rejecting his *offers*. Since he fails to enlist her willingness to make *counter-offers*, or compromise her own preconditions to meet his, this encounter never reaches a *bargaining stage*.

### 5.3.1.5 *Evasion, Topic Shifts, Compliments, and Semantic Empty Responses*

In the following episode, the customer responds to the vendor's persistent *offers* with non-verbal, hence, non-negotiable semantic-empty delay devices, acknowledgments, non-relevant backchannels, redundant responses, and attempts to evasively shift the focus. Having initiated the encounter with sales routines, the customer invokes the vendor's expectation of a sale. Yet, when he ratifies her *request* for service, she dodges, stalls, and backs off. Her persistent use of implicit, tacit, and non-verbal put-off's fail to extinguish

his hopes for acceptance, but rather embolden his recurrent *offers*. The vendor's direct *price-offer* routine is met with a call for playback, implying a need for clarification before a conditionally relevant response to the request for price could obtain. This call for playback diverts and puts on hold the customer's obligation to reply. The vendor is obligated to participate in this digression. He utters a NTRI (next turn repair) "Huh?" to her playback query "THAT'S for uhh VCR." When confirmed, the customer redundantly (and uninformatively) repeats the former proposition, stalling the conditionally relevant response to the sales offer. He interprets the establishment of the item's identity (elicited by the *embedded* expansion) as fulfillment of the precondition, justifying his recycled upgraded *price-offer*. However, the customer evades accountable commitment with a semantic-empty backchannel "Uh huh (2.0)." In this way she avoids displaying her grounds for acceptance/non-acceptance, and *face-loss* from direct rejection. Yet the vendor attempts another, though implicit, *price-offer*. This low-voiced move, "I don't bust nobody" carries the hint of an *offer*. It is ambiguous and provides the recipient leeway (justification) to indirectly opt-out. The vendor protects the customer's *face* by employing insinuation rather than intrusive directness. He provides additional grounds for acceptance. By accepting his *offer*, the customer could appear sympathetic and supportive of his integrity. The customer continues to avoid explicit non-acceptance, but chooses to demonstrate supportive appreciation for his goods. To appear sympathetic, the customer responds with a non-relevant semantic empty topic-shifting chuckle, "Hahh" and a generalized compliment, "Interesting things." In this way, by remaining unaccountable, she protects his *face* as well as her own. The subsequent long pause forewarns of overt non-acceptance (see Sections 2.3 and 2.4) and imminent withdrawal.

To maintain a positive *face*, the customer attempts a superficial bonding measure. reinforced with rounds of compliments, and displays of interest in his stock.

In my data, compliments tend to forewarn of non-acceptance when they are positioned sequential after a vendor's price-offer as a displayed effort by the customer to mitigate respect for the vendor's *face*. This encounter never progresses beyond the *pre-bargaining stage* as the *price* is never explicitly contested. The customer's grounds for non-acceptance are kept concealed, avoiding the vendor's overt contest. The customer attempts to enlist the vendor's collaboration towards achieving a *face-preserving* withdrawal. Having averted accountable impropriety, the customer withdraws.

3.1.2 <u>VCR cleaner</u>	
Request for Price Information.	04C: <i>How much is that?</i>
Request for Confirmation	05S: <i>Huh?</i>
No Response	(2.0)
	06S: <i>This?</i>
Confirmation	07C: <i>Uh huh. The cleaner.</i>
→ Offer	08S: <i>Oh this? Gimme two dollars. (Medium voice)</i>
→ Non-Acceptance/Hedge	09C: <i>Uh huh.</i>
No Response	(5.0)
	10C: <i>Oh. That's for?(rising voice)</i>
Playback Query	11S: <i>Huh?</i>
Request for Confirmation	12C: <i>THAT'S for uhh VCR?</i>
Confirmation	13S: <i>Uh huh, uh huh.</i>
Acknowledgment	14C: <i>Yeah. That's for playing VCR.</i>
→ Offer/upgrade	15S: <i>They going, they go for ten dollars.</i>
→ Non-Acceptance/Hedge	16C: <i>Uh huh</i>
No Response	(2.0)
→ Offer/persuade	17S: <i>I don't bust nobody. (low voice)</i>
→ Non-Acceptance/Hedge	18C: <i>Hahh (muffled laugh)</i>
Compliment	<i>Interesting things.</i>
No Response	(6.0)
Compliment	19C: <i>You have a nice, a nice uhhm display here.</i>

### 5.3.1.6 *Covertness, Evasion, Dodges, Non-Acceptance, and Compliments*

In the episode below, although the customer responds to the vendor's persistent *offers* with compliments, and agreements, she displays no acceptance. The customer responds with repetitive and varying endorsements which carry no commitment. She makes efforts to protect the vendor's *face* with respectful dodges and hedges. These responses incrementally and tactfully reveal the customer's disinclination to accept. "Uh huh. It's really good," "It's a good price. (chuckling)," "I gotta think about it. It's a good price," "Yeah. Nobody got no money <xx>." This utterance conveys the customer's grounds for rejecting his offer and paves the way for her withdrawal. Her evasiveness can be alternatively interpreted by the vendor as a problem she has with 'making up her mind' and can constitute the grounds for his persistent attempts to coax her into accepting his *offers*. Seeking to meet her preconditions for a purchase, the vendor shifts the topic to the option of other goods.<sup>5</sup> However, continuing to avoid explicit non-acceptance the customer delays her *dispreferred* response with a 'call for replay,' "Excuse me." This move elicits the vendor's recycled *offer* of a second option "I got some nice skirts." Upon hearing the replay the customer politely shifts the topic to defer commitment, and closes the encounter. "I'll pass by later."

Since the *price-offer* is never contested nor changed, *bargaining* moves never emerge. Rather than challenge the *price*, the customer displays approval of it. Grounds for her withdrawal are never revealed, but remain hidden. Her evasive moves prevent the vendor from making an accountable issue of her rejection. By dodging overt accounts for

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<sup>5</sup> See Firth discussion of the 'option of other goods' a bargaining tact to find grounds for agreement (1993).

refusal, she avoids supplying the vendor with grounds for debate. This episode demonstrates how unacquainted on the street can engage in a goal-oriented encounter, invoke expectations which are then canceled, reject *offers*, and disagree while keeping channels open and contacts renewable.

4.1.24 <b>Telephone</b>	
Request for Information	02C: <i>What kinda phone is that?</i>
→ Offer/Information	03S: <i><u>Touch-tone.</u></i>
Acknowledgment	04C: <i>Uh huh.</i>
Non-Acceptance/Compliment	<i>It's really good.</i>
→ Offer/Promotion	05S: <i>Yeah! It's only <u>four dollars.</u></i>
Non-Acceptance/Compliment.	06C: <i>It's a good price. (chuckling)</i>
Agreement	07S: <i>Yes.</i>
Non-Acceptance/Hedge	08C: <i>I gotta think about it.</i>
Compliment	<i>It's a good price.</i>
→ Offer/Promotion	9S: <i>&lt;x Try it x&gt; I used to get it for ten, no more.(holding phone)</i>
Non-Acceptance/Hedge/Account	10C: <i>Yeah. Nobody got no money &lt;xx&gt;</i>
Promotion	11S: <i>That's a good one.</i>
→ Offer/Alternative Options	<i>I got some nice skirts.</i>
Non-Acceptance/Call for Replay	12C: <i>Excuse me</i>
→ Offer/Alternative Options	13S: <i>I got some nice dresses and skirts.</i>
Non-Acceptance/Hedge/Delay	14C: <i>I'll pass by later.</i>
Offer/Promotion	15S: <i>&lt;xx Try it xx&gt; I used to get it for ten, no more.</i>

### 5.3.1.7 Requests for Information, Excuses, and Building a Case for Refusal

In the episode below, the customer ratifies the encounter with a *request* for price information, eliciting a *price-offer*. In response to the vendor's persistent efforts to persuade the customer, she dodges and *offers* excuses, "Uh Huh. But it's plastic," "I, What I don't like about it is the fact that it's plastic," "You know it's a little too fragile for me," and "Yeah! Nnn, If it wasn't plastic." These excuses establish grounds for rejection to justify and pave the way for an imminent withdrawal. In this way the customer builds her

case for withdrawal without having accepted the *price-offer*. When the customer attempts to justify her non-acceptance the vendor recycles the *offer* with a persuasive generalization, "Ten dollars is pretty much worth it." The vendor refers to his *offer* as an *O-event*, a known social fact of its worth, to invoke agreement. However, the customer reiterates her case "Yeah! Nnn::, If it wasn't plastic," appearing agreeable, before turning negative. She self-corrects her initially overt rejection to maintain respect for the vendor's *face* in order to mitigate the *face-loss*. The customer would lose *face* by being disagreeable (Pomerantz 1975) as would the vendor from the effects of her explicit criticism of the quality of his stock. Yet, the vendor persists with a coercive generalization, "Most radios go for thirty dollars, forty, fifty dollars." This type of statement exhibits the vendor's 'last-ditch' attempt to coax acceptance through a justificatory premise (i.e., that of low price). The vendor seems to act on the assumption that since the customer has displayed willingness to engage in this encounter and has not explicitly rejected his *offers*, she might be persuaded to comply. Since neither party attempts to change her/his own initial *price-offer*, *bargaining* moves never occur. The customer's case for declination paves the way for her withdrawal.

### 2.1.2 Radio

→ Offer/Hawking	01S: <b><i>Radio for Sale</i></b> (in a loud voice)
Request Information	02C: <b><i>How much is it?</i></b>
→ Offer	03S: <b><i>Ten dollars.</i></b>
Non-Acceptance/Request	04C: <b><i>Uh huh! What does it do?</i></b>
→ Offer/Information/Promotion	05S: <b><i>It's a cassette. It's a radio.</i></b>
Non-Acceptance/Hedge	06C: <b><i>Its a cassette. (playback assertion)</i></b>
Confirmation	07S: <b><i>Yeah!</i></b>
Non-Acceptance/Account	08C: <b><i>Uh Huh. But it's plastic.</i></b>
→ Offer	09S: <b><i>Would you like to hold it?</i></b>
Non-Acceptance/Account	10C: <b><i>No! It's okay. I can see it.</i></b>

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	11S: (<xx>)
Non-Acceptance/Account	12C: <i>I, What I don't like about it is the fact that it's plastic.</i>
Vulnerability/Account.	<i>You know it's a little too fragile for me.</i>
Appreciation/Pre-closing	<i>Thank you.</i>
Acknowledgment of Pre-closing	13S: <i>Okay.</i>
Pre-Closing Acceptance	14C: <i>Take care.</i>
→ Offer/Mentionable/Promotion	15S: <i>Ten dollars is pretty much worth it.</i>
Non-Acceptance./Account	16C <i>Yeah! N! If it wasn't plastic,</i>
→ Offer/Promotion	17S: <i>Most radios go for thirty dollars,</i>
Promotion	<i>forty, fifty dollars.</i>
→ Offer/Promotion	<i>This is only ten dollars.</i>
Non-Acceptance/Closing Ritual	18C: <i>Good luck, Good luck. (C walks away)</i>

It has been found that *pre-bargaining* episodes have the potential to evolve into *bargaining* episodes, and that the customers have been seen in my data to terminate the encounters without permitting a *bargaining* segment. The customer never reveals a willingness either to accept the vendors' proposals or make an attempt to change them. Displayed grounds for non-acceptance seem to be used to justify or forewarn of imminent withdrawal.

Recognizable recurrent patterns of put-off's, dodges, delays tend to forewarn the vendors of the customer's concealed grounds for non-acceptance and which prepare him for her imminent withdrawal. The vendor above tends to interpret the customer's put-off's as her sanctioned leeway for his renewed *offers*. In other episodes, the cooperatively established 'willingness' of both vendor and the customer to modify their grounds for a sale/purchase paves the way for the next stage of *counter-proposals* in which negotiation take place.

### 5.3.1.8 *Put-Down's Which Preclude Negotiation*

In the transaction below, the customer challenges the vendor's authority, and secures the 'power-edge.' The customer claims to be more familiar with the sales item, an ink cartridge, than the vendor. When the vendor recognizes the customer's alleged superior knowledge, he yields his role-sanctioned authority to her. The customer, then, takes control of the exchange. By admitting his inadequacy, the vendor's competence becomes an issue, and his role-status endangered. The vendor reacts to this challenge to his competence with poise appearing agreeable and cooperative. In *face* defending moves, he maintains a business relationship, keeping the channels open for a sale despite the damage to his *face*. He *offers* the customer a low *price* to compensate for the questionable condition of the ink-cartridge.

Since these goods tend to be randomly acquired, it is not uncommon for vendors on the street to be less knowledgeable about their stock than a customer. Therefore, a customer may withhold his/her acceptance/non-acceptance while checking to see if conditions prevail for a sale. First, the customer queries the condition of the product, "Has that been opened? (4.0) So you don't know if this has been used." The vendor redirects this potentially sales-aborting topic with a query for confirmation "It's been used? Yeah?" When responding to requests for information the vendor avoids breaching the maxim of 'quality,' (i.e., expecting 'provable' truthfulness) by flouting the maxims of 'relevance,' 'quantity' (i.e., informativeness), 'manner' (i.e., clarity). The uninformative content of vendor's response-query triggers the inference that he cannot supply the information. To maintain an appearance of cooperativeness, the customer authoritatively proceeds to con-

firm the vendor's request for confirmation, "Well, it's been opened." By requesting the customer's agreement of the condition of his product, the roles of authority have shifted. The vendor elicits information from his customer about his product, reducing his own status as a competent vendor. He then admits having opened the box, "Well I took the top off to look in there. That's all." He displays his responsibility for having tampered with his product, further putting his role-competence into question. The customer checks the condition of the item and forewarns of her discontent, "Okay, I'll tell you whether it's been used," making further issue of the vendor's role-competence. When he acknowledging her superior knowledge of the product and upholds the customer's positive *face*, "Maybe you know better than me," the vendor deprecates and threatens his own. He, thus, cedes authoritative status to the customer. The vendor attempts to reduce conflict by enlisting the customer's collaboration in achieving agreement and to keep the channels of negotiation open. In an implicit *put-down* of his competence as a vendor, the customer authoritatively informs him, "Yah, this, when this, 'i covers it, it means, it's not been used." When the vendor admits to being responsible for the broken seal "I ripped it off," the customer's *requests* clarification "What?" who then elicits his explicit self-incrimination. Moreover, by providing the customer with grounds for refusal, his admission of responsibility, "I ripped it off the seal to see what's in it," hinders any prospect of a sale. His admission discredits his role-related competence. To repair this face damage the vendor explains his actions, "Because there was an aluminum thing that peeled off." Since the vendor reveals awareness of the seal, it is possible that either he had innocently made this mistake or that he found the cartridge unsealed and is covering-up this deficit. By claiming to have unsealed it himself, the usefulness of the cartridge

becomes less questionable (since it was not used but rather unsealed). The state of the condition of the product is likely more vital to this sought-after sale than the attack by the customer on his competence. To protect the vendor's *face* and mitigate conflict, the customer does not make further issue of his credibility explicitly. However, his self-alleged poor judgment remains an issue of status and professional competence in their relationship. The customer authoritatively chides and puts-down this purported action, but her lower-keyed voice displays respect to constrain the *face-loss* and potential conflict, "You see what you have to do with this, is you, you shouldn't touch any of that and that has to remain 'sealed' cause that's the customer's." By addressing the vendor as one would a child or student (teaching him about his own product) the customer puts-his role competence into question. Furthermore, the vendor's own admission acts as a contradiction to his prior claim that he only opened it, "That's all." Their now shared knowledge of the fact of the 'broken seal,' the *AB-event*, establishes an obstacle to the sale. The customer returns the cartridge, "So, (1.0) I couldn't (1.0) ah thank you."

After lowering the vendor's expectations for a sale, she proceeds to request price, "How much are you charging for that?" Having built a case for non-acceptance, the customer's request seems inappropriate and flouts the maxim of relevance. It triggers the inference of other motives such as *face-saving* ones. Therefore, to avoid eliciting a face-threatening rejection, the vendor *requests* a replay, "*Excuse me.*" A *request for price* normally anticipates a *price-offer* in an successful transaction. In this encounter, however, the vendor has been prepared by the customer for her rejection. Since the vendor's subsequent minimally phrased low-keyed *price-offer* "A dollar," implicates low expectations for agreement, he reduces the customer's *face-damage* due to disagreement. In addition,

he mitigates his own *face-loss*, incurred from the elicited rejection. Yet, since she has not explicitly rejected the possibility of a purchase, he leaves the channels open for an acceptance. In response, the customer prefaces her prefigured rejection with a compliment. To mitigate the *face-loss* incurred for re-awakening the vendor's expectation for a sale, she formulates her grounds for rejection, the known shared face, "That's a good price. I just, can't be sure whether it's usable at this point." Both parties mitigate the possibilities of conflict and maintain rapport and possibly a renewable encounter.

Since the vendor's ability to provide believable grounds are disputable, this encounter never reaches a *bargaining stage*. A negotiation requires the shared attempts by the negotiators toward conflict resolution. The presentation of each party's grounds to promote a sale must be established to become a shared *AB-event*. Therefore, this encounter is aborted at the *pre-bargaining stage*.

4.1.27 <u>Ink cartridge</u>	
Confirmation	07C: <i>Yeah the hi-capacity.</i>
→ Put-down/Request	<i>Has that been opened?</i> (picking up opened box to check cartridge) (4.0)
No-Response	
→ Challenge/Rhetorical Question	08C: <i>So you don't know if this has been used.</i>
Admission/Call for Replay	09S: <i>It's been used? Yeah?</i>
(Continued on the next page)	
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→ Challenge/Account	10C: <i>Well, it's been opened.</i>
→ Admission/Defensive	11S: <i>Well I took the top off to look in there.</i>
→ Disputable Account	<i>That's all.</i>
→ Challenge	12C: <i>Okay, I'll tell you whether it's been used</i> (checks ink cartridge)
Admission/Self-Deprecation	13S: <i>Maybe you know better than me.</i>
Put-down/Agreement	14C: <i>Yeah.</i>
No Response	(5.0)
→ Challenge/Put-down	15C: <i>Yah, this, when this 'i covers it, it means,</i>
Account	<i>it's not been used. (points)</i>
(Continued on the next page)	

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Admission/Defensive Account	16S: <i>I ripped it off. (looks at ink cartridge)</i>
Call for Replay	17C: <i>What?</i>
Admission/Defensive Account	18S: <i>I ripped it off the seal, to see what's in it.</i>
Acknowledgment	19C: <i>Ohhh, Yeah. That's, if, if it,=</i>
Admission/Defensive Account	20S: <i>=Because there was an aluminum thing that peeled off.</i>
No Response	(2.0)
→ Challenge/Put-down Account	21C: <i>You see what you have to do with this, is you not, you shouldn't touch any of that and that has to remain <u>ssealed</u> 'cause that's the customer's</i>
Admission/Defensive Account	22S: <i>Right &lt;xx&gt; That's good to know next time because.</i>
Topic Shift	23C: <i>Heh, heh (chuckles)</i>
Rejection/Appreciation	<i>So, (1.0) I couldn't (1.0) ah thank you</i>
No Response	(2.0)
Request for price	24C: <i>How much are you charging for that?</i>
Call for Replay	25S: <i>Excuse me.</i>
Replay	26C: <i>How much are you charging? (louder)</i>
→ Offer	27S: <i>A dollar.</i>
Compliment/Rejection Account/Put-Down	28C: <i>That's a good price. I just, can't be sure whether it's usable at this point.</i>

The recipients above have designed their projected moves from the contented projected by previous turns. When a customer's precondition has not been met, the vendor's *price-offer* is not relevant, and *bargaining* does not occur. *Price* becomes an issue when other preconditions are not. On the street, when a speaker *requests price*, she/he tends to elicit a *price-offer* which anticipates acceptance. Moreover, it seems that to restrain the level of conflict in negotiation, exposing deficiencies of the product rather than those of the vendor tend to be *preferred*. I have observed a tendency of challenges and refusals to be more implicit in the *pre-bargaining* segment where the relationship is being established and 'rapport building' keeps channels open, than in the *bargaining* segment.

### 5.3.2 Bargaining on the Street

*Pre-bargaining* rounds can anticipate *bargaining* moves, which occur when the competitive customer *counter-bids* or challenges the *price-offer*. Servers/vendors expect to make a profit not only for the street market value of the items, but tend to consider it their right to be paid for the time invested. It is a socially accepted fact, an *O-event* – commonly held knowledge of social facts – that members of American urban society expect payment for the time spent at a job. The street vendor tends to convey willingness to lower her/his original *price-offer* and to satisfy the customer's pre-conditions. Customers expect to pay less on the street for an item than in a store. Most items are expected to be 'used' or in poorer condition than generally found in a conventional service encounter. Grounds for contesting the vendor's *price-offer* given tend to be based on the sales' item's condition, its utility, or the customer's need. The conflict between customer and vendor may be exacerbated or resolved by the willingness of each party to compromise and find a consensual *price-offer*. In negotiating *price*, each participant invokes a self-accounting (i.e., her/his *B-event*) of her or his grounds for agreement. The speaker probes the vulnerabilities of the other's party's grounds for non-acceptance, in order to challenge her/him or to substantiate his/her claim (Firth 1995).

In *bargaining*, issues related to 'intersubjective' accountable ethics and morality may emerge. The customer tends to consider it her/his right to be sold the item which fulfills the preconditions verbally agreed upon earlier in the encounter. Bargainers on the street tend to be accountable to each other's right to *fair price*, the criteria of which may vary across individuals. They are expected to commit themselves to the *price* they ex-

plicitly offered. When a customer attempts to 'cheat' or 'hustle' a vendor her/his social status amongst their peers tends to get marginalized. When the vendor persists in justifying the sale of an item proven to be over-priced or worthless, he tends to lose *face* and role-status as competent and trustworthy. If the problem becomes widely known, he/she is rebuked as a *hustler*.

### 5.3.2.1 *Inadequate Stock Becomes Grounds for Price-Modification*

The customer, in the episode below, presses the vendor to lower his *price-offer*. "It's two dollars." She initiates the *bargaining stage* with a *bargaining* move "Less?" to induce the vendor's reduction of price. The vendor resists and upholds his price, "It's two." The customer persists with a *counter-offer*, "One," in her attempts to pressure the vendor. He then attempts to justify his price on his explicated grounds, "No, that's jazz," in an effort to get her to accept his *price*. He reinforces his reasons for the price, declaring "That's all, those are all jazz tape, ninety minutes, yah know. I made them myself . . ." Reference is made to his own efforts, implying that the time spent selling and making them should be remunerated, an *O-event* (vendors expect to receive payment for services and time rendered). The customer expects the criteria of sale to be based on the satisfaction of her preconditions, which in this case, is a tape recorded by a jazz musician she requested "You have Charlie Parker also?" to be offered at her price-bid. When the vendor can not meet her precondition, "Must've<xx sold it xx>," the customer's grounds for a *counter-offer* are bolstered. She can maintain *face* while justifiably attempting to lower the vendor's *price-offer*. However, before attempting to bargain the vendor down in *price*, she asks him for a replay of his price-offer, "Wha?" to avoid a mis-

understanding and to elicit justificatory grounds support her *counter-price-offer*. "Two for three dollars?" Apparently, desirous of a purchase, the vendor accepts her low bid "Go ahead." The customer then solicits his acceptance of her *counter-offer*, "Okay?" She enlists his cooperation, "Yeah." By accepting this previously recycled *price-offer*, she redeems her own *face-loss* for *disagreeing* with him and urging a low *price*.

I observe that when the customer attempted to bargain the vendor down to her *price* on the grounds she really would likely have rejected an *offer*, unless it met her criteria. The vendor's need for a sale likely impelled his acceptance of her lower *price*. Therefore, I find that by assuming the vendor's need for a sale was greater than her own, the customer inferred that grounds had obtained to press for a lower price.

4.1.13 Tapes	
→ Request for price/Pre-request	01C2: <i>How much? This? (shows S a tape)</i> 02S: <i>Lemme see? (Looks at it)</i>
→ Offer	<i>It's two dollars.</i>
→ Bargaining Move/Account	03C2: <i>Less?</i>
→ Offer	04S: <i>It's two.</i>
→ Counter-Offer	05C2: <i>One.</i>
→ Rejection/Account	06S: <i>No, that's jazz. (slighted stressed tones)</i> <i>That's all, those are all jazz tape,</i> <i>ninety minutes, yah know.</i> <i>I made them myself.</i>
No Response	(2.0)
Promotion	07S: <i>Those are all jazz.</i>
No Response	(3.0)
Call for replay	08C2: <i>Wha ? (rising tones)</i>
Replay of account	09S: <i>They're all jazz.</i>
Promotion	<i>All those tapes are all jazz.</i> <i>Charlie Parker, uh huh= (overlap)</i>
Request for item information.	10C2: <i>=You have Charlie Parker also?= 11S: <i>=Yeah! It's on there. Yeah.</i></i>
Granting Information	(3.0) (C2 looks through piles of tape)
No Response	
Promotion	12S: <i>Charlie Parker. You see.</i>
Break/Looking over items	(26.0) (C2 looks through piles of tape).
(Continued on the next page)	

(Continued from previous page)	
Self-Talk/Information about stock	12S: <i>Uhhh Peter Gabrielle, Clive James, (2.0) (S and C2 look through tapes)</i>
No Response	<i>Uhhh (sighing) (2.0) (looks through tapes)</i>
→ Display of Cooperation	13S: <i>It's just just some&lt;xx&gt;Charlie Parker. (2.0) (looking though tapes)</i>
No Response	14S: <i>Charlie Parker, (4.0) (looking over stock)</i>
→ Display of Cooperation	15S: <i>Char, <u>Charlie Parker</u>= (stressed)</i>
No Response	16C2: <i>=Ah, <u>Chet Baker</u>. (stressed)</i>
→ Display of Cooperation	17S: <i>Oh man!</i>
Correction/Substitution	18C2: <i>Heh, Heh (chuckles)</i>
→ Admission/Problem	19S: <i>Com'on, eh it's gotta be here. (3.0)(looks through tapes).</i>
Acknowledgment	20S: <i>&lt;xx This is xx &gt; Chet Baker ( traffic noise blurs move) Uh huh (clearing throat) This is (.?) Chet Baker. I got some. Charlie Parker.&lt;xx&gt;I got some. (.?) Must've&lt;xx sold it xx. (2.0)</i>
→ Admission/Problem	21S: <i>&lt;xx Must've sold it xx&gt;.</i>
→ Admission of Obstacle	22C2: <i>Wha?</i>
No Response	23S: <i>Yeah. (8.0)</i>
Accounted Obstacle	24C2: <i>Uhhh. Two for three dollars? (shows two tapes)</i>
Call for replay	25S: <i>Go ahead.</i>
→ Admission of Obstacle/Account	26C2: <i>Okay?</i>
No Response	27S: <i>Yeah. (14.0) (street noise interruption)</i>
→ Counter-Offer	28S: <i>Which two you got? Lemmi see. (looks at tapes)</i>
→ Acceptance	29S: <i>Oh! Okay. (takes two dollars. ) (C2 puts tapes in her bag)</i>
Call for replay	30S: <i>Thank you. (muted voice)</i>
→ Acceptance/Replay	31S: <i>Oh! You don't want this, eh? (turns to C1, pointing to bag) You don't want=</i>
No Response	32C1: <i>=No. <u>Thank you</u>. (slight stress) (C1 walks away)</i>
Selection Request	
Acceptance	
Exchange/Bags tapes	
Appreciation token/Pre-closing	
→ Offer	
→ Non-acceptance	
→ Offer	
→ Rejection/Appreciation/Closing	
Closing	

### 5.3.2.2 *Many Rounds of Bargaining Between East European Bidders*

In the episode below, a male East European customer and a female Russian vendor engage in *bargaining* rounds. When the vendor lowers her *price-offer* to comply with his, the customer rejects the revised *offer* and presses for an even lower *price*. The language is primarily one of numbers, clear, precise, and focussed on *price-setting*. The participants collaboratively attempt to transform the one another's *price-goals*. Each bargainer reinforces his/her *price-offer/counter-offer* with a reason, a *promotional*, and/or a *challenge* of the other party's offer. The vendor promotes her original price, "15" on the grounds of its newness, "They new." The customer presses for a lower price "12." The vendor yields and lowers her price, "I give you 13, 13." Meeting the customer half-way, she justifies her price-offer, "They new shoes sir." The vendor challenges the customer's *bid* with an unanswerable rhetorical question, "How can you buy for 12 dollars?" She pressures the customer to meet her *price*, by challenging his behavior. She threatens his positive *face*, making an issue of his competence as a decision-maker. Transforming him into an overhearer she complains, "They so difficult. They just . . ." By criticizing this behavior to another customer (C1) she makes an issue of his cooperativeness. By obliquely threatening his positive *face* (Brown & Levinson 1987), she attempts to embarrass him. By transforming him into an *overhearer* of his won prior '*put-down*' of her character, she avoids exacerbating the conflict through *face-to-face* reproach of his displayed breach of *face* norms. Direct confrontation and a highly charged conflict could preclude the negotiation, an outcome apparently averted by each party. The vendor repeats her *offer*. "I give it 13. I cannot sir," "I have to make something sir." Attempting to invoke sympathy she asserts her right to get paid. To justify her *price*, the vendor utters

this claim as social fact, expecting the customer to share this *O-event* of the common knowledge that one gets paid for one's work. However, the customer ignores the vendor's justification and rejects her *price* with his own justificatory grounds, "No! because that's, that's E. When you have a double or triple E, it's alright," in pressing for a lower *price bid*. The customer claims that since the shoe doesn't fit, it is worthless to him. The vendor repudiates his rationale with her own, "I sell D for 1," not allowing herself to appear swayed. However, the customer refuses to yield, "Well, That's D." The prefaced "Well" precedes the *dispreferred* account (see Section 2.4), forewarning of non-acceptance. The vendor proclaims her inability to meet his precondition of size, "I don't have double triple," implying that his problem of size would not affect her *price*. The customer explicitly rejects her *offer*, "No! It's too tight. No! It's very tight," based on inadequate size. His claim is contradictory, since a shoe that doesn't fit couldn't be worth buying for oneself. In apparent need of this sale, the vendor yields and lowers her *price-offer*. To meet his displayed precondition of *price* she transforms her belief/wants contexts in closer alignment with what appears to be his. However, the customer reneges on his *price-offer*. By lowering his *price-offer* he alters his preconditions, provoking misalignment and conflict, "No! I give you 10 dollar. Because it's new that's the reason I want." His revised premise for wanting these shoes is their newness. However, since the size precondition can not be met, they are allegedly worthless to him. Then this customer uncooperatively flouts verbal commitment to his previously offered *price-bed* by lowering it as soon as the vendor expresses willingness to accept it. He attempts to mitigate the *face-loss* by offering a reason, "Because it's new that's the reason I want." Rather than exacerbate the conflict by overtly challenging his act of reneging on his prior

*bid*, the vendor rebukes his uncooperative behavior with an aggravated exhortation. "You have to pay more" (see L&F, Section 2.2). The vendor is asserting her rights for remuneration of work effort and his obligation to pay a fair *price* in a *bargaining* situation. In this way she avoids increasing the tension to an extent which would obstruct any *bargaining* progression towards agreement. The customer attempts to re-establish grounds to justify his lowered *price*-offer, "I want to send, to send to the Europe. That's the reason." The questionable preconditions of size have been transformed into a different and unprovable one (since the participants' association is too transitory for its validity to be checked out). The vendor reacts with more rhetorical questionings, challenging his lowering of bid, "What? I can pay for?" "I know, but I have to pay them I cannot, I cannot get anything free. I have to pay for them sir and this is my best. I have to buy them, I have to pay. What I make if I stayed all day? I have to make something." She avoids accusing the customer directly of attempting to cheat and exploit her, but implies that he is indifferent to her rights to get paid for her investment of time and money. She attempts to invoke sympathy from him and from any overhearers to embarrass him into compliance. Her criticism threatens the vendor's *face* as a vulnerable potential victim of a bid, and challenges his behavior. While he has already revealed that he is unreliable and cannot be trusted 'to stick to his price, the vendor continues to negotiate with him. Such issues of 'trust' and credibility could have the social consequence of marginalizing the offender providing the opponent for grounds to challenge him or her.

### 2.1.3 Bomber Jacket

→ Offer

50S: 15 (to C3)

Promotion/Grounds

*They new.*

No Response

(4.0)

(Continued on the next page)

(Continued from the previous page)	
→ Counter-Offer/Rejection	51C3: 12
→ Offer/Rejection	52S: <i>I give you 13, 13.</i>
Promotion/Grounds	<i>They new shoes sir.</i>
→ Challenge/Rhetorical Question	<i>How can you buy for 12 dollars? (to C1)</i>
Grounds/Put-Down	53S: <i>They so difficult</i>
Grounds/Put-Down	<i>They just,</i>
Acknowledgment	54C1: <i>Yeah!</i>
Promotion/Grounds	55S: <i>New shoes.</i>
Acknowledgment	56C1: <i>Yeah it's up=</i>
→ Offer/Rejection	57S: <i>=I give it 13 I cannot sir.</i>
Grounds/Put-Down	<i>I have to make something sir.</i>
Reject/Problem	58C3: <i>No! because that's, that's E.(heavy accent)</i>
Counter-Grounds/Put-down	<i>When you have a double or triple E, it's alright. That nice</i>
→ Offer/reject/Counter- Grounds	59S: <i>I sell D for 13.</i>
Rejection/Grounds	60C3: <i>Well, that's D.</i>
Rejection/Counter-Grounds	61S: <i>I don't have double triple.</i>
Rejection/Put-Down	62C3: <i>No! It's too tight. No! It's very tight=</i>
→ Offer	63S: <i>=Give me 12. (lowers price)</i>
(Continued on the next page)	
(Continued from the previous page)	
→ Counter-Offer/Rejection	64C3: <i>No! I give you 10 dollar.</i>
Rejection/Grounds	<i>Because it's new that's the reason I want=</i>
Rejection/Put-Down	65S: <i>=You have to pay more.</i>
Rejection/Grounds	66C3: <i>I want to send, to send to the Europe.</i>
Grounds	<i>That's the reason.</i>
→ Challenge/Rhetorical Question	67S: <i>What I can pay for?</i>
Rejection/Grounds/Put-Down	68S: <i><u>three</u> dollars? (to another C)</i>
Grounds/Put-Down	69S: <i>I know, but I have to pay them</i>
Rejection/Grounds/Put-Down	<i>I cannot, I cannot get anything free</i>
Rejection/Grounds	<i>I have to pay for them sir..</i>
→ Offer/Grounds/Promotions	<i>and this is my best.</i>
→ Offer/Grounds/Promotions	<i>This is my best tie (looking at a pile of ties)</i>
Grounds	<i>I have to buy them.</i>
Grounds/Put-Down	<i>I have to pay. What I make if I stayed all</i>
Grounds/Put-Down	<i>day. I have to make something</i>

In the above sample, the vendor expresses the limits in her *bargaining* proposals, her lowest *price-offer*. The vendor bases this offer on her expectation and belief of fairness, on her right to get paid, and the customer's obligation to pay for her time and

energy. The customer expects the preconditions of utility, condition, need, and ability to pay to be met before accepting a *price-offer*. I have found that for an agreement to be achieved each party is expected to be willing to meet the other's limitations which in this case is based on the perceived and socially warranted rights of the vendor and/or the customer. Furthermore, I have observed that in addition to a mutual willingness to reach an agreement, each party expected to share beliefs of the social facts (as defined by his/her social community) of what constitutes a fair *price*, as well as each party's rights and obligations as street-level bargainers.

### ***5.3.2.3 A Vendor Accepts a Customer's Price After Many Rounds of Offers***

The actual *bargaining* move below was initiated following a Hispanic vendor's unsuccessful attempts to persuade a customer to purchase various combinations of items for two dollars. Alluding to her preconditions of want and the conditions of the items which had not been met by the *offer*, the customer rejects the vendor's *offers*. She leaves open the possibility for negotiation by indicating her conditional willingness to consider a purchase and by her continued engagement in the encounter. The customer projects her possible subsequent acceptance through carefully selected displays of interest "But I might be interested . . ." Her responses are characterized by more 'displays' of directness, clarity, and a willingness to negotiate than the cautious non-negotiable put-off's of a withdrawing customer. The vendor is persistent. Though he continuously alters his proposals, he resists changing his *price*. Then, out of desperation, in order to prevent the customer from withdrawing, he meets her *counter-offer-price*.

In the episode below, the vendor holds to his *price*, varying and enhancing the choice offered for the *price* "Oh, two dollars. <xx> You know. You want this also?" His persuasive attempts are thwarted by the customer, "So two dollars for all that or two dollars for the frying pan is the same *price*. I don't want all that other stuff." While her overt rejections dismiss his *offers*, they display a willingness for negotiation. Her displays of interest for the frying pan feed the persistence of the vendor's *offers* "So, so. Okay, Okay. Tell you what. No. Gimme two dollars. <xx Here xx>." Each *request* for *price* invokes a recycled proposal bound to a rigidly held *price*. When the vendor decides that the customer's preconditions for purchase could be compromised, he re-instates his *offer*. However, his untested assumption is rebuked by the customer's unaccounted explicit rejection "No, no, no, no." The customer re-states her belief/want contexts to get the vendor to make an *offer* congruous with her own explicated preconditions "How much is just the frying pan?" Her *request* for *price* stresses her criteria for a purchase (she wants only the frying pan), eliciting the vendor's replayed rigid, though unstressed, stance on *price* "Oh. Two dollars." Her clarity and directness display an attempt to redirect his focus to her grounds for a sale.

Having established grounds to justify a lower *price*, the customer then initiates a *bargaining* sequence with a *counter-offer*, a *pre-offer* "How about a dollar fifty?" The customer's elicitation invites a *face-saving* explanation, a justification. The obliqueness of her move protects the vendor's *face*, providing leeway for him to opt-out. His account conveys an implicit non-acceptance "I was sell'n it for three dollars, you know." To upgrade his *offer*, the vendor enlists the customer's presumed shared stock of commonly held knowledge of social facts that this item is worth more than the asking *price*. He then

makes a 'disputable' claim about his prior selling *price*. However, the customer responds with an ambiguous semantically empty backchannel "Uhhuh" which (acts as a NTRI) elicits the vendor's replay of his justification "I was sell'n it for three dollar for uhh, you know." The vendor then sets out to upgrade his proposal "Tell you what. I gotta <xx idea xx>." but is cut off by the customer's 'partial' refusal. She emphasizes her precondition "No just the frying pan." When neither party is willing to adjust her/his *offer/proposal*, the tactic known as 'logrolling' is employed by the vendor who then *offers* a 'second' option. This *bargaining* tactic is used to avoid a deadlock in the negotiation (Firth 1993). The vendor renews his attempt to enhance his *offer*, but not his *price*, with an alternative option "Jus,' jus' two dollars, jus' two dollar. An' take this as a compliment." When the customer auspiciously passes her turn, the vendor renews his coercive attempt "No. This, this is a." She interrupts his recycled *offer* with her accounted rejection based on her unmet precondition of utility "Don't need it." Then the vendor renews his attempts to coax the customer by emphasizing that the other items are included free "No. No. I give it to you." However, the customer sticks to her preconditions "I don't need it. Don't need it. (1.0) No don't need that either. That's opened." Although the customer re-establishes her grounds for rejecting his *offer*, she also revives the encounter with a display of conditional willingness, "But I might be interested in the frying pan. Let me see"(3.0). This disclosed *B-event*, the customer's privileged access to her 'need' for the item, encourages the vendor to recycle his *offer*. This move invites and constrains the forthcoming revised *offer*. Neither party takes a turn. Each seems to be waiting for the other to propose a revised *offer* (Firth 1995). According to Firth (1995) a long pause in a sales negotiation signals that each side may be in the process of reconsidering a proposal and/or waiting for

the other party's revised offer. In this case the vendor seems to be expecting the customer's acceptance of his *price-offer*. Likewise, the customer appears to be awaiting the vendor's willingness to agree to her *counter-offer*. Although neither side is socially obligated to agree, each has a social right to appeal to the willingness of the other to accept.

The customer checks the item again, putting the encounter on hold, "Let me look at it for a minute. It's kind of dirty." She forewarns of a problem, one which could serve as grounds for another rejection. For the vendor her 'display' of dissatisfaction is somewhat eclipsed by her previous invitation for a concession. He, thus, responds with an persuasive upgrade "That's a beauty. Yeah," attempting to elicit agreement from this customer who appears to be wavering in her decision. As a result of this perception, the vendor attempts to help in her decision-making through a persistence of *offers*. Since (see Lakoff 1990) a hesitant woman may be perceived by men as indecisive, male bargainers may feel it is justifiable for them to make the more decisive moves. To avoid justifying her hesitance, the customer alludes to unmet preconditions. She pushes her guarded disagreement down the stretch of the turn, and prefaces it with a compliment, followed by delay devices, and excuses, "It's nice but it kind of dirty. Let me think about it. I'm not too sure. It's kind of burned and kind of dirty." In this way she mitigates the *face* loss, incurred for having criticized the item. As the promise of a sale still looms in his mind begins to fade, the vendor finds a quick solution to this problem "Rub off <xx >." In response the customer shifts the topic "Okay" and forewarns of withdrawal with the closing ritual "Thank you."

Both sides seem deadlocked with neither willing to make a compromise on *price*. To stave-off termination, the vendor shifts the topic and reinstates the *bargaining* sequence "Uhhh. Com' un." He summons her attention and configures a revised *offer*. This move elicits the customer's go-ahead "What?" Assured that her preconditions would prevail, the vendor finally moves to meet the customer's earlier *counter-offer* with a revised *price-offer* "a dollar fifty." The customer puts her response on hold to check the accuracy of her hearing, requesting a replay, "What?" In this way she avoids a mistake which could prefigure a misconceived acceptance and a *face-threatening* correction. In response the vendor repeats more explicitly and forcefully his *price-offer* "Gimme a dollar fifty." To check his commitment to this revised *offer*, the customer elicits confirmation "You do a dollar fifty?" The vendor repeats his new *offer* to reassure his customer, "A dollar fifty." She then proceeds to count her cash "Let me see if I have a dollar fifty," displaying acceptance.

I have observed that both parties appeared deadlocked until each revealed a willingness to compromise her/his preconditions to a purchase. The customer eventually accepted the breach to one precondition, the 'dirty' appearance of the frying pan. The vendor compromised his original *offer* and accepted the customer's *counter-offer*. The customer's moves were characterized by her willingness to reveal and discuss her preconditions. She displayed verbally her grounds for purchase, exposing them to negotiation. She appeared willing to accept the vendor's contest and challenges to her grounds for a sale. The vendor seemed willing to revise his proposals to appeal to the customer conditions. The customer's responses contained more frequent semantic content, accounted disagreements than non-verbal put-off's, pauses, and evasions. The potential for

agreement between both parties tends to be projected by the bargainer's willingness to 'display' and revise her/his grounds for negotiation which provides sequential slots for *counter-proposals*.

I have observed that in a bartering situation on the street, directness related to *price-offer*, and acceptance tends to be *preferred* to indirectness. The concerns of *face* loss due to directness are subordinated to the need of clarity in conveying a bargainer's criteria and negotiating position. The power-edge through put-down's and authority tends to be sought by competitive bidders. In fact, I have found that *face* tends to be sacrificed for the *bargaining-edge*. In *bargaining* rounds, concerns of *face* tend to be subordinated to clarity, directness, disagreement, and *bargaining edge*.

4.1.1 <u>Frying pan</u>	
→ Request for price	40C: <i>How much is the, just the frying pan?</i>
→ Offer	41S: <i>Oh, <u>two dollars</u>. (slightly stressed)</i>
→ Offer/Promotion	<i>&lt;xx&gt; You know. You want this also?</i>
→ Non-Acceptance/Delay Understanding Check	42C: <i>So two dollars for all that or two dollars for the frying pan is the same price.</i>
→ Non-Acceptance/Grounds Acknowledgment/Promotion	<i>I don't want all that other stuff.</i>
→ Offer	43S: <i>So, so. Okay, Okay. Tell you what.</i>
→ Rejection	<i>No. Gimme two dollars. &lt;xx Here xx&gt;</i>
→ Offer	44C: <i>No, no, no, no.</i>
→ Request for Price	45S: <i>This. (points)</i>
→ Offer/Repeat	46C: <i>How much is <u>just</u> the frying pan?</i>
→ Counter-Offer	47S: <i>Oh. Two dollars. (replays price-offer)</i>
→ Non-Acceptance/Promotion	48C: <i>How about a dollar fifty?</i>
→ Non-Acceptance/Hedge	49S: <i>I was sell'n it for three dollars, you know.</i>
→ Non-Acceptance/Promotion Seeks confirmation	50C: <i>Uhhuh.</i>
→ Offer/Promotion	51S: <i>I was sell'n it for three dollar for uhh, you know.</i>
→ Rejection/Grounds	<i>Tell you what. I gotta &lt;xx idea xx&gt;</i>
→ Offer/Promotion	52C: <i>No just the frying pan.</i>
→ Offer/Promotion	53S: <i>Jus, jus two dollars, jus two dollar</i>
→ Offer/Promotion	<i><u>an' take this as a compliment</u> (stressed)(2.0)</i>
(Continued on the next page)	54S: <i>No. This, this is a=</i>

(Continued from the previous page)	
→ Non-Acceptance/Grounds	55C: = <i>Don't need it</i>
→ Offer/Promotion	56S: <i>No. No. I give it to you.</i>
→ Rejection/Grounds	57C: <i>I don't need it. Don't need it. (1.0)</i>
→ Rejection/Grounds	<i>No don't need that either. That's opened.</i>
Topic Shift/Grounds	58C: <i>But I might be interested in the frying pan.</i>
Pause	<i>Let me see.</i>
Checking Item	(3.0)(C checks pan)
Grounds/Problem/Put-Down	59C: <i>Let me look at it for a minute.</i>
→ Offer/Implicit/Promotion	<i>It's kind of dirty.</i>
→ Non-Acceptance/Grounds	60S: <i>That's a beauty. Yeah.</i>
→ Non-Acceptance/Grounds	61C: <i>It's nice but it kind of dirty.</i>
(Continued on the next page)	<i>Let me think about it. I'm not too sure.</i>
(Continued from previous page)	
Grounds/Problem/Put-Down	<i>It's kind of burned and kind of dirty.</i>
→ Admission/Solution	62S: <i>Rub off &lt;xx &gt;</i>
→ Non-Acceptance/Hedge	63C: <i>Okay.</i>
Appreciation/Pre-Closing	<i>Thank you.</i>
→ Offer/Tacit	64S: <i>Uhhh. Com' un</i>
Call for Replay	65C: <i>What?</i>
→ Offer/Grounds Shift	66S: <i>A dollar fifty.</i>
Call for Replay	67C: <i>What? =</i>
→ Offer/Grounds Shift/Replay	68S: = <i>Gimme a dollar fifty</i>
Request for Confirmation	69C: <i>You do a dollar fifty?</i>
→ Offer/Grounds Shift/Replay	70S: <i>A dollar fifty.</i>
→ Acceptance/Exchange	71C: <i>Let me see if I have a dollar fifty</i>

#### 5.3.2.4 Attempts to Seize the Bargaining- Edge through Challenges and Put-Down's

In the segment below, conflict and tension are restrained by the participants' need to exchange *bargaining offers*. Though taboo words and insults are volleyed negotiation takes place. In this arena *offers* are challenged and rejected. Yet, in spite of the abusive theatrics of his challenger, the vendor displays control of his agenda. Meantime, the customer propels put-down's in an effort to intimidate the vendor and seize an upper-hand in *bargaining*, the power-edge. Maintaining a professional stance, the vendor distances his responses, rarely taking either an offensive or defensive position. When he does re-

spond, the vendor skillfully uses the customer's 'display' of offensive rantings as justification to put-him down and marginalize him. In this way, the vendor dignifies his own social status in the interaction, while diminishing that of the customer. In fact, his assistant takes-on the adversarial role invoked by the customer, decrediting his behavior. In this way, the vendor is free to stay 'above the fray' to negotiate. He can avoid being party to a confrontational unpredictable skirmish and keep channels open for a sale, if one could be made.

The hustler-customer initiates the encounter with aggressive insults, dares, and confrontation. He *requests price*, "How much you want for this?" The vendor who had been distancing himself in previous rounds, now hesitates before accepting his turn, and in doing so elicits the customer's replay for clarification. The vendor withholds his conditionally relevant response to check the number of items wanted, a necessary precondition for his answer. The customer cooperatively *requests price* for five pocketbooks "How much do you want for all five?" However, the customer is contradicted by the vendor's assistant who questions his claim of having taken five when she sees in six in his possession "Six <xx somethin' xx>." The assistant's contradiction of the customer's claim acts as a prefigures her ensuing challenges (Firth 1995). While the vendor acknowledges the accusation, he maintains a non-confrontational manner through ambiguous semantically-empty responses such as "Ahhh." His responses positionally act as a NTRI and elicits her confirmation of number "Six somethin?" In this way the vendor indirectly reveals to the customer, who is now an overhearer, his awareness of the imputed discrepancy of the customer's claim. The vendor then replies to the customer's request for price with his conditionally relevant *price-offer* "Gimme a quarter, Gimme twenty-five. Take 'em all." Abu-

sively cursing and challenging this *price-offer*, customer shouts, "Fuck you talkin' "TWENTY-FIVE?" By threatening the vendor's positive *face* (Brown and Levinson 1987), the customer ignites the atmosphere with tension and conflict. He ignores the norms that ordinarily protect the recipient's *face* by adversely demeaning it.

By attempting to shout down and intimidate the vendor, the customer tries to grab the power/*bargaining* edge. In line with his role as street merchant, the vendor displays no intimidation, but maintains an unflappable poise. In this way, he constrains the tension and conflict to keep open the channels for negotiation. The vendor then attempts to elicit a *bargaining* move, a *counter-bid*, "How much you wanna give me for all?" The irreverent customer replies in a restrained tone "Five dollars." In response the vendor's assistant accuses the customer of having taken more pocketbooks than he claimed "He got seven." By taking on this confrontational role the vendor's assistant counters the customer's abusive behavior. In this way, the vendor can continue to assume the role of a non-adversarial mediator (and to overhearers, a safe-negotiator). The vendor preserves his own social status, and in so doing, threatens that of the apparently untrustworthy customer/hustler (see Section 2.3 and see challenges Section 2.2).

The customer repeats his low *counter-offer*, "Just five dollars for all of them," which is loudly challenged by the assistant's charge "He got seven." of dishonesty. The accountable negotiator in this encounter, the vendor, remains poised, assuaging any tension that might precipitate from bargaining rounds with the customer. While the vendor does not openly refute this *price-bid*, he utters an ambiguous acknowledgment token in a mid-tone voice "Oh Ye::ah!" The customer further lowers his tone and queries

cooperatively "You wan' five dollars for them?" To solicit the vendor's acceptance the customer attempts to appear cooperative. In a non-challant relaxed, even mid-toned voice, the vendor, rejects the *counter-price-offer* on grounds that he paid much more for them: "Na::ah! One of them cost fifteen dollars."

At this point the vendor as proprietor is in control of the *bargaining* sequence, he ultimately decides whether the item should be exchanged. The customer *requests* a re-play of *price* "How much you want for all of them?" This *request* implicitly functions as a NTRI (next turn repair initiator) in efforts to get the vendor to repair and modify his *price-offer*. The vendor's assistant replies with a NTRI, an inquiry for playback "Huh?"(Merritt 1976b). The assistant questions the customer's claim, which functions as a trajectory, forewarning of her subsequent challenge. In an attempts to justify his number, the customer insists that he only took five bags "I bought this one." Then he re-plays his *request for price* revision "How much you want for them?"

By accusing the customer of taking more bags than he claims, the assistant has been bolstering the case that he cannot be trusted. Then, the vendor puts-down the customer's uncooperative behavior in a highly inflection al rebuke "C'mon you talkin crazy," skillfully displaying the limits to his tolerance of this abuse. The customer's display of invectives and improprieties act as grounds which provide the normally inoffensive vendor with evident justification for making this apparently out-of-character *face-threatening* rebuttal. By criticizing him, the vendor makes an issue of the customer's mental competence and judgment. This verbal accusation coupled with the prior ones of the assistant carry the message which relegates the customer to the social status of a

discredited incompetent bargainer. Successful *bargaining* could not take place in this tense acrimonious interaction, charged with invectives and the overt dishonesty of an apparent street-hustler who assumes the role of customer. His offensive behavior is confronted him by the skillful put-down by the recalcitrant vendor.

Then the vendor repeats his justificatory grounds for his *price-offer* "One of them cost fifteen dollars." However, the customer refuses to lower his discredited *counter-price-offer* and meet that of the vendor, "Five dollars." He then proceeds to rebuke the vendor's reasons, "SO WHAT! Fifteen?" The customer attempts to seize control of the discourse and gain a *bargaining edge*. His loud defiant put-down, makes an issue of the vendor's competence and rights. By subordinating the vendor's rights to his own, he attempts to lower the vendor's status and obligate him to submit to his *price*. His shouts act as a verbal instrument to intimidate, displaying an irreverence for the vendor's *face* and the social norms which avoid conflict. However, the vendor does not accept this invitation to conflict, but rather utters an ambiguous non-referential acknowledgment token in a low-toned poised response, "Yeah!" In an intimidating, degrading and power-grabbing *price-offer*, the customer aggressively attempts to get his rejected *price* "Yo Papa five dollars." In doing so, the customer projects his desire seize his rights through domination and obligate the vendor to submit to his *price*.

In efforts to recoup his *bargaining-edge* and status in the discourse the vendor retaliates with a defensive imputation "I'm not <xx bad. You crazy xx>." The vendor retains his appearance of poise, and self-control. He defends his own *face*, while threatening that of the incendiary untrustworthy hustler. While the assistant relentlessly

accuses the discredited customer of taking extra pocketbooks, he persists in denying the charge "This is mine. <xx> This one I bought." The vendor rejects the customer's *price* on grounds of his own personal investment and implied need for making some money, "One of them cost that much. Eh?" But the vendor makes no attempt to refute the customer's denial of having taken an extra bag (stealing it). He attempts to elicit the customer's agreement through the tag "Eh?" by implying that the value of the bags is an *AB-event*, knowledge of social facts to which they both have access. The customer does not verbally respond, but starts to walk away.

The assistant accuses him of taking the extra bags with him "He got some in a bag. He said he bought them." By making this incriminating remark she attempts to expose the customer as a hustler, and lower his social status to that of a thief. The customer repeats his refuted *price-offer* "Five dollars." and proceeds to put-down the assistant in a mocked tone of voice "Said <xx> <xx he said xx>" to discredit her accusation. By putting-down the vendor's assistant as an incompetent person, he attempts to discredit her and her charges. However, his efforts to recoup some of his social status and credibility are countermanded by his unprovoked offensive derogatory behavior towards the vendor. The customer retaliates, insisting that her allegation is provable "I seen it." On the other hand, the vendor avoids confrontation. He rejects the customer's *offer* in a calm low-keyed voice "Na:ah," keeping the channels of negotiation open. By humming, the vendor preserves his *face* as a vendor who is competently in control of his own behavior. The vendor ignores the customer's departure and continues to go about the business of pursuing and tending to other customers. By restraining the flare-up of

conflict the vendor can resume his role in a business-oriented encounter which could be seen by overhearers as secure enough for their participation.

I find that to advance their agenda aggressive competitive bargainers subordinate the norms of *face* during *bargaining* rounds. An insult to competence, stock, and hostile behavior may be strategized to intimidate the recipient into submission. The *face* defying behavior of competitive bargainers tend to be restrained by their motivation to keep the channels for bidding. When neither side appears willing to yield, a deadlock is reached, thwarting any grounds for agreement and *price*-settlement. At this point the encounter closes. Therefore, an abrupt closing such as when one party walks away from the serving post with unresolved conflict, forewarns of future conflict. I claim that though the norms of *face* may be lifted during occasion of aggressive *bargaining*, the verbal behavior of the bargainers still tends to be restrained by their *goals* to win a price bid and their need to find a common ground upon which to achieve that pursuit.

4.1.16 <u>Pocketbooks</u>	
→ Request for price	21C3: <i>How much you want for this?</i>
No Response	(4.0)
Replay	22C3: <i>How much you want for this?</i>
→ Request for Information	23S: <i>How many you got there?</i>
Replay	<i>How many you got there?</i>
Response/Put-Down	24C3: <i>One, two, Mommy, that's &lt;xx sweet home</i>
	<i>&lt;xx&gt;( to S2) (melodic, mocking voice)</i>
Grounds/Information	<i>For five of them.</i>
→ Request for Price	25C3: <u><i>How much do you want for all five?</i></u>
Other-Correct	26S2: <i>Six &lt;xx somethin' xx&gt;</i>
	27S: <i>Ahhh.</i>
Hearing Check	28C3: <i>Six somethin'?</i>
Other-Correct	29C2: <i>Yes six somethin.</i>
→ Offer	30S: <i>Gimme a quarter.</i>
→ Offer	<i>Gimme a quarter. Take 'em all.</i>
Call for Replay/NTRI	31C3: <i>Wha?</i>
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→ Offer	32S: <i>Gimme twenty-five. Take 'em all.</i>
Put-Down/Rebuke	33C3: <i>Fuck you talkin.'</i>
Rejection/Put-Down	<i>TWENTY-FIVE? (shouts)</i>
→ Offer	34C3: <i>How much you wanna give me for all?</i>
→ Counter-Offer	35C3: <i>Five dollars.</i>
Accusation/Put-Down	36S2: <i>He got seven.</i>
→ Counter-Offer/Replay	37C3: <i>Just five dollars for all of them.</i>
Accusation/Put-Down	38S2: <i>He got seven.</i>
Acknowledgment	39S: <i>Oh Yeah!</i>
→ Counter-Offer	40C3: <i>You wan' five dollars for them?</i>
→ Rejection/Grounds	41S: <i>Nah! One of them cost fifteen dollars.</i>
→ Threat	42C3: <i>Don't give you &lt;xx fight xx&gt; man. (to S2)</i>
→ Counter-threat	43S2: <i>I don' wan &lt;xx fight xx&gt;with you man.</i>
→ Put-Down/Derogation	<i>Get the &lt;xx fuck xx&gt;</i>
Shifts Focus/Trivialization	44S: <i>Heh, heh (chuckles)</i>
Shifts Focus/Trivialization	<i>That's not bad.</i>
→ Request for Price	45C3: <i>How much you want for all of them?</i>
Call for Replay	46S2: <i>Huh.</i>
Defense/Grounds	47C3: <i>I bought this one.</i>
→ Request for Price	<i>How much you want for them.</i>
→ Put-Down/Non-Acceptance	48S: <i>C'mon you talkin crazy.</i>
Non-Acceptance/Grounds	<i>One of them cost fifteen dollars.</i>
→ Counter-Offer	49C3: <i>Five dollars.</i>
→ Challenge/Put-Down	<i>SO WHAT! Fifteen? (Very loud)</i>
Non-Acceptance/Delay	50S: <i>Yeah!</i>
→ Counter-Put-down	51C3: <i>Yo <u>Papa five dollars.</u></i>
→ Counter-Counter-Put-Down	52S: <i>I'm not &lt;xx bad. You crazy xx&gt;.</i>
→ Challenge/Rhetorical Question	53S2: <i>How many pocket books you got in here?</i>
→ Accusation/Grounds	54S2: <i>I'm tellin' you. He's got seven</i>
→ Accusation/Grounds	55S2: <i>I'm talking about <u>these</u>. (pointing)</i>
→ Defense/Denial	56C3: <i>No. This is mine.</i>
Call for Replay	57S2: <i>Huh?</i>
→ Defense/Denial	58C3: <i>This is mine. &lt;xx&gt; This one I bought.</i>
No Response	(2.0)
	59S2: <i>&lt;xx&gt;</i>
→ Rejection/Grounds	60S: <i>One of them cost that much. Eh?</i>
No Response	(3.0)
	61C3: <i>&lt;What did xx&gt;</i>
	<i>Here you go.</i>
	62S2: <i><u>Oh man.</u></i>
No Response	(2.0)
	<i>&lt;xx&gt; Huh. &lt;xx hah xx&gt;</i>
	63C3: <i>&lt;xx&gt; (walking away)</i>

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→ Put-Down/Grounds	64S2: <i><u>He got some in a bag.</u></i>
→ Challenge/Put-Down	<i>He said he bought them.</i>
→ Counter-Offer	65C3: <i>Five dollars.</i>
→ Put-Down/Mocking Voice	<i>Said &lt;xx&gt; &lt;xx he said xx&gt; (mockingly)</i>
	66S: <i>&lt;xx&gt;</i>
→ Complaint/Accusation	67S2: <i><u>I seen it.</u></i>
Non-Acceptance/Pass/Disengage	68S: <i>Nah. (hums)</i>
No Response/Momentary Lull	<i>(20.0)</i>
Disengage/Trivialization	<i>(Vendor hums.)</i>
→ Closing/Face-Threat	69C3 <i>Don't fuck with me &lt;xx&gt; (walks away)</i>

### 5.3.2.5 Review of Pre-bargaining and Bargaining Episodes

The analysis in this chapter focuses on the selection decision stage of the street-based service encounter. It has been established that this *stage* has two components: a preliminary *bargaining* and a *bargaining* section. An encounter may terminate in the preliminary *bargaining* section, when the vendor's *price-offer* is accepted or rejected. The *bargaining* section involves the negotiating strategies which configure *justifications*, *counter-proposals*, and *counter price-bids*. The participants strive to jointly resolve their conflicting agendas. The *pre-bargaining* section may consist of strategies which configure *put-offs*, *delay devices*, *evasions*, *compliments*, and implicate *non-acceptances*. The sales routines involved are recognizably positioned to invoke outcomes. The customer may employ *face-saving* strategies to reduce the tension and effects of the conflicts. In hopes of coercing compliance, a vendor might persistently *offer price* to a customer who avoids explicit refusal. Aggressive vendor's attempt to make decisions for apparently indecisive customer's and others strategically tend to provide *face-saving* outs for customers who have difficulty rejecting the *offers*.

### 5.3.2.6 *Bargaining Episodes*

In the *bargaining* episodes above each taped-episode characterizes various types of *bargaining sequences* and the strategies employed to control the outcome. Each negotiator presents to justify a *price-bid*. In the first *bargaining* episode, when the customer offers a low *counter-price-bid* it is rejected by the vendor. The unavailability of the tape becomes *justificatory grounds* for her to replay and achieve her original *price bid*. In the second *bargaining* incident the European participants communicate with *offers* and *counter-offers* comprised of single worded utterances, which clearly and precisely convey price. Each bidder finds grounds to justify a *counter-offer* and *put-down* that of an opponent. The vendor challenges and chastises a customer who seems to be intent on cheating her of her investment by bidding too low. The third encounter involves many rounds of *offers* and *counter-offers*. The displayed willingness of each party to compromise coupled with their desire for a purchase enables a resolution of emerging conflicts of interest, and a shared agreement. The fourth encounter reveals the vendor's attempts to maintain his poise and control when under a customer's verbal assault. The vendor's assistant takes the role of *counter-challenger*, enabling the vendor to assume the role of negotiator. The unwillingness of the customer to negotiate *price* and compromise his *goals* thwarts the resolution of conflict of *price*.

### 5.3.3 Summary of the Negotiations

This analysis demonstrates how street negotiators jointly strategize their moves to resolve conflicting agenda in order to find agreement or to control the outcome. Participants retrieve appropriate moves and strategies from their store of sales routines and

experiences. They design subsequent moves from the implications displayed in the content of prior ones. Successful bargaining strategies tend to invoke to the willingness of a recipient to reveal and modify their grounds for a settlement. Competitive bidders invariably design self-empowering moves and strategies to gain the bargaining-edge. The social norms concerning *face* tend to constrain the degree of intrusiveness and explicit disagreement permissible without shutting down an encounter. Pathways are forged for face-preserving withdrawals and refusals. I find that negotiators on the street tend to jointly configure their moves with an awareness of face norms and strategize them with the role-related power to achieve their sales goals.

## Chapter 6

### The Summary: The Findings

#### 6.1 Introduction

This chapter will review the findings of the previous chapter, which uncovers the operation of sequential strategies configured by the *face norms* held by interacting members of diverse social milieus, by their power-relationships, and by the *sales-goals* sought. These strategies which emerge in street-based service encounters tend to be employed by participants to achieve a *sales goal* through negotiation, bidding, and coercion.

#### 6.2 The Distinction of the Street-based-Service Encounter

##### 6.2.1 Participants Who Re-Invent the Street-Based Service Encounter

The service encounter on the street is unique in its potential to be re-invented by the participants as they interact in the ambiguous sidewalk environment. Since this type of service encounter is unregulated socially by licensing requirements, it lacks the labeling, tagging, and defining cues of the store-based encounter. It has been found that when participants jointly construct their version of a street-based encounter, they are guided by their personal agendas, by their notion of a street-based service encounter, and by culturally oriented perceptions of *face norms*. Their *sales-routines* include moves of item-identification, *price* acceptance and/or non-acceptance. The street encounter opens opportunities for participants to test their *bargaining* skills through rounds of bidding. The data has shown the potential for an uneasy relationship between negotiators on the

street which could lead either to non-threatening friendly business contacts, or to competitive aggressive ones. As a result the dialogue may reveal over-cautious and/or over-persistence in maintaining one's grounds.

### 6.2.2 The Distinctiveness of the Street-Based service encounter

As established in the preceding chapters, there are sharp distinctions between the store-based service encounter characterized by Merritt (1976b) and the street-based service encounter. Since the licensed store-based service encounters are legally obligated to have fixed *prices*, the conditions for competitive *bargaining* segments are not expected. Since the store environment clearly invokes assumptions of availability and service obligations, mechanical *sales* routines need not be verbal,<sup>1</sup> while on the street verbal initiation is expected.

***Table 1 Comparison Between the Street and the Store-Based***

<b>Characteristics</b>	<b>Store-based service encounter</b>	<b>Street-based-service-encounter</b>
verbal	not necessary	necessary/expected
fixed price	obligatory	not expected
fixed setting	yes	not expected
licensed	obligatory	not expected
bargaining	not potential	potential/expected
server's competence	expected	not expected
sales-pitch	not expected	expected
guarantee condition	obligatory	not expected
follows face norms	expected	can be lifted/
goal-motivated	yes/expected	yes/expected
use sales routines	yes/expected/ritualized	yes/expected/more inventive
deferential	more	less/conditionally expected
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low prices	not expected	expected

<sup>1</sup> The store hired sales-personnel of electronic or electrical goods are expected to have access to information. The products sold are legally regulated to have some guarantee to support claims of newness and utility.

negotiated price	not expected	expected
put-downs, challenges	not expected	potential
solidarity	less expected	more/potential
informativeness	more expected	less/not expected
clarity of price offer	expected	expected
honest	expected	conditionally expected
role-status	stable	not-stable
the server is the proprietor	not expected	expected

In contrast to the store, street-based service encounters tend to be unlicensed (Mellor 1996). The *bargaining* segments, which are conditioned by negotiable *price*, carry the potential competitive *face-offending* (albeit interactively accountable) attempts to win a *price-bid*. Typically the possibility of police raids and confiscation tends to affect the stability of the party's social role as a vendor. The ambiguous sidewalk environment relies almost exclusively on verbal initiations, such as *sales* pitches to define the encounter, roles, and signal their intended actions. The vendor tends to lack access to information about the goods being sold, and the means or willingness to guarantee their utility (they tend to be used and unpackaged). Hence the street based encounter involves risks, not anticipated in store-based *sales* environments.

### **6.3 Insights Gleaned from the Four Methods**

The descriptive methodology of CA provides a framework for the discovery of the patterns that regulate the organization of conversation as it emerges through the collaborative assignment of turns. J&J propose describable *face-aware* and *goal-oriented* motivations and functions which configure the strategies employed to achieve consensual outcomes. Goffman characterizes the normative behavioral constraints of *Face-work* which configure 'remedial' sequential moves that mitigate *face-threats*. Motivated by their

*sales-goals*, the unacquainted on the street employ *face-respecting* greetings and *sales* rituals which 'lift the barriers of alienation' on the street. Deferential *sales* routines are instrumentalized to invoke perceptions of a service encounter context in action, trust, willingness, and clarity of *goals* between unacquainted. For Labov and Fanshel, utterances are configured in respect to the power-edge and role-relationship of the participants. Their role-related rights, and obligations constitute a social warrant for restrained behavior. Competitive bidders tend to strategically employ self-empowering moves and don't hesitate to threaten the opponent's *face* in order to win a *price bid*. Yet this expectable *face-threatening* behavior of negotiators is constrained by their need to keep open the channels of negotiation if a *sales-goal* is foreseeable.

#### **6.3.1.1 *Insights Drawn from CA***

CA has provided a methodological framework for uncovering the regularities 'displayed' in taped service encounters to make testable formulations. The conversational researcher has available for analysis the 'displayed' accomplishment of speakers as they jointly construct implicative sequential contexts, fueling the progression of their collaboration. For CA, when interaction is analyzed from 'live' taped-transcriptions reveals its organization in process. The emerging talk unveils to the analyst its mysteries as the recipients inspect prior displays of meaning which signal subsequent plans and constrain their choices of response. Silences have undercurrents of meaning, implicated by their placement in the sequence. Hesitations, false-starts, and non-semantic sounds trigger inferences based on turn-taking expectations. Misunderstanding and need for correction is signaled, enabling self-correction or clarification. Since interactants are expected to

accept assigned turns, not taking one triggers the recipient's inference of trouble. The function of utterance can be inferred from the implications 'displayed' through the emerging sequential context. By checking the content of the prior utterance (or utterances), the recipient can infer a projected subsequent one (or ones), and design the next move in relationship to the expectations 'displayed.'

While CA has developed a testable means for analyzing interaction, its scope is limited to the regularities 'displayed' in on-going talk. A strictly structural analysis of systematic surface level 'displays' does not account for the unexpected irregular responses which not only occur, but are treated by speakers as meaningful components in their lively coherent conversation. Misunderstandings are immediately signaled and adjusted to maintain the flow of the interaction. Moves made to avoid *face* threat may be vague or semantic empty, but due to expectations for *face* preservation, such moves are made and understood. Yet their motivational content which selects the *face* preserving configuration is not considered 'describable' to traditional CA proponents since they are not generated on the surface level. Similarly, since moves to invoke a *sales bid* are shaped to convey that *goal*, the motivation configured is not considered describable by CA. It is a claim of this dissertation that the motivated strategies which configure the 'displayed' utterances as integral components of an interaction are describable.

### 6.3.1.2 *Insights of Face-Work'*

Goffman's insights of the social norms expecting respect for *face* account for the preference for agreement 'displayed' in the configuration of sequences. When the expected response is not forthcoming *Face-work* tends to be triggered in the form of hesi-

tation, *prefaced* forewarnings and compliments, silences, topic shifts, inserted sequences, and so on. In contrast. Traditional CA proponents<sup>2</sup> avoid absorbing *face* motivation into their formulations of 'preference organization.'

On the street, *Face-work* enables strangers to break the barriers of non-engagement, maintain an interaction, and close it without conflict. The vendor tends to employ familiar *sales* routines which signal his/her intention. Observing *face* norms by protecting the customer's *face* and mitigating any *face loss* encourages her or his engagement. Rather than directly reject an *offer*, the customer tends to use such alternative responses as accounts to justify a non-acceptance "I don't have any money on me," "I have one," and so forth. Either the vendor or customer avoid references to a topic, or display evasiveness or silence to preserve the other party's *face* (as well her/his own). Vendors tend to hurry a sale with premature *sales-offers* to hurry the customer's decision-making and discourage unanswerable questions. In this way they avert the *face loss* incurred from revealing their inadequacies of stock and competence.

### 6.3.1.3 *Goal Motivation of Presequences*

J&J have demonstrated how strategically 'displayed' *face* and *goal* motivations configure sequences. According to J&J, certain presequential strategies tend to be selected to elicit the addressee's 'display' of grounds for accepting or rejecting a *sales-offer*. The moves subsequent to a preliminary inquiry are strategically positioned and

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<sup>2</sup> 'Orthodox' CA proponents refers to those advocating a strictly structuralist approach, avoiding motivational explanation.

configured to elicit and negotiate the participants' grounds. They are 'describable,' re-enforceable, correctable, and do not rely on intuitive criteria for interpretation.

*Sales* routines are socially derived patterns which orient the participants towards *sales-goals*, respect *face*, keep channels open for interaction, and facilitate the negotiation and resolution of differing agendas. Newly associated unacquainted employ *sales* routines to coordinate conveyed intentions, make requests, *offers*, and decline *offers*. In spite of transgressions such as attempts to dominate the outcome of a sequence in order to win a *price* concession and delay tactics, desired *sales goals* may still be pursued. There are three basic types (see Chapters 2&5) of presequential strategies presented by Jacobs and Jackson (1983) *presequences*, *embedded expansions*, and *preempts*, versions of which have been employed by street transactors. To hurry a transaction the vendor may preempt a *price-offer* before checking preconditions. A customer may choose a strategy of embedded expansions to stall her response and redirect the topic, or to put-off a *face* damaging dispreferred response. For a presequence to elicit an implicated *sales-offer*, the customer is expected to be willing to explicitly share her or his subgoals, *sales* criteria with the vendor (see Sections 2.2 and 2.5), allowing them to be negotiated, aborted, modified or accepted. The conflict of different *price-bids* between the participants is expected to be resolved through a negotiated *price* agreement.

*Table 2 Goal Priorities and Face Motivations on the Street*

<i>Goal Domination</i>	<i>Face Domination</i>	<i>Shared Face and Goal</i>
1. price bidding	closing ritual	pre-request
2. put-downs	acknowledgment tokens	sales routines
3. establishing criteria	delay devices	request for service
4. challenges	compliments	acceptance/granting
5. overt rejection	implicit rejection	go-ahead signal

6. corrections	prolonged pauses	generalizations
7. price offer	gradual withdrawals	implicit offers
8. sales pitches	non-verbal responses	disputable claims
9. repeated offers	chuckling	greeting ritual
10. criticism	joking/trivializing	accounted rejection
11. abrupt withdrawals	hesitation	accounted excuses
12. direct summons of vendor delay prefaces		request for replay
13. accusation	affirmation	request for confirmation
14. interruption of topic	request for information	-----
15. -----	compliance	-----
16. -----	topic shifts	-----

Since it has been demonstrated through M. Kreckel's (1981) research (see discussion in section 3.2.2), that the criteria defined in the classification of speech acts (Searle 1976) is variable across speakers, J&J's attempts at incorporating the underlying criteria of speech act theory carries with it analytical problems dealing with the reliability of prescribed speech act criteria. However, their claim that sequential functions are strategically configured (and thus implicated) through the collaboration of participants, to be recognizable for the consensual accomplished of projected *goals*, enables me to adapt J&J's proposed rational perspective to a descriptive method of analysis.

Therefore, I claim that when *goal-orientation* and *face* preservation are recognizably 'displayed' in *sales-routines*, they are analyzable.

### 6.3.2 Social Conditioning of Conversation

L&F's method accounts for the potential social consequences of challenges to the vendor's ambiguous role-competence and integrity, and to the customer's decision-making competence. L&F have demonstrated the socially empowered rights-laden impact of stressed intonations such as stressed repeated rhetorical questions to intimidate and compel compliance. The street transactors tend to verbally invoke their role-endowed rights

and remind recipients of their role-obligations. The outcome of the sale depends on the participant's willingness to resolve the initial conflict of competing agendas. Each side is expected to be willing to reveal a disputable criteria to enable negotiation and *price*-adjustment. By revealing her or his conditions for a sale, the customer exposes her/himself to debate and argumentation. If the vendor disagrees and reveals her/his grounds for disagreement, he/she exposes her/himself to a challenge. Each party may defend or question a *price offered*, an accounted put-off, or refusal and be vulnerable to further challenge.

L&F characterize the role *face* plays in mitigation of intrusiveness, and the role of 'social status' which can empower aggravated (impositional) moves to compel compliance. L&F claim that indirect requests not only probe the participant's willingness and ability to perform an act, but when repeated or stressed, potentially challenge them. An intrusive action displays an attempt to elicit compliance from an intimidated or lower status recipient (e.g., the authority of the police to compel the vendors to abandon their *sales* operations and flee ). The self-empowering moves of an aggressive customer or bidder on the street does not tend to be derived from socially ascribed role-status but rather from the demands of the interaction, such rounds of bidding. Aggressive competitive bargainers may overpower and lower the status of their opponents through derogations of their role-competence. The issues, which arise in this data, of 'strategic' presequential manipulation of perception of interactional status through self-empowerment to achieve social domination are not addressed by L&F.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore,

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<sup>3</sup> Therapeutic Discourse, 1977.

they fail to account for the strategic sequences in which these power moves are configured and played out for recipient interpretation and response. As reviewed previously, another analytically problematic aspect of L&F's method is their reliance on untestable intuitive criteria as preconditions for a speech action.<sup>4</sup>

### 6.3.2.1 *The Meshing of These Perspectives*

I find that when strategic *goal-orientation*, *face-preservation*, as well as the social conditioning and the empowerment of moves are describable integral components of street negotiations they are analyzable. Presequential strategies of the street-based service encounter are configured by expectancy of turn-taking norms, *sales-goals* motivation, the norms to 'preserve *face*', expectations of role rights and obligations, and their assumptions of communicative cooperation. Each participant brings to a street encounter a variation of mainstream norms and standards of acceptable *face to face* behavior which influence the power-relationships and power-grabs in the competitive *bargaining* rounds. The motivations 'displayed' by street negotiators which tend to supersede 'rapport' and sale-*goal* orientation are those of demonstrated verbal prowess in competitive bidding.

The norms of *face* tend to be lifted, though not to the extent of shutting down an encounter, when *goal-driven* bidders challenge *price* and put-down each other's behavior. In *'The Bomber Jacket'* transaction, the vendor displays a greater willingness to compromise her 'displayed' *price* precondition subgoal than does the customer. An expressed willingness to resolve the conflict of *price*, has been seen to weaken the vendor's *bargain-*

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<sup>4</sup> L&F claim that 'displayed' breaches of discourse rules found in indirect speech action trigger an inferencing process to find intended meaning. The criteria of these rules are considered the participants' shared knowledge of social facts.

ing hand. By yielding her conveyed criteria, the vendor cedes the *bargaining-edge* to the bidding customer. Her willingness to compromise her *subgoals* encourages the bidder to press for compromise. In this way, the customer attempts to seize the upper-hand in *bargaining* sequences as he unsuccessfully pressures her to reduce her *price* below his own initial *bid*. By claiming her rights to be paid for her time the vendor rebukes and 'puts down' the customer. Her proclaimed rights are 'displayed' as justification for her *price-offer*.

By displaying a willingness to compromise her utility preconditions for a purchase, in *'The Frying Pan'* transaction, and the customer yields some *bargaining* ground to the vendor. To resolve their differences in *price* goals the vendor lowers his original *price* to meet hers. Both parties 'display' willingness to compromise their grounds, resolve the *price* conflict, and accept a mutually agreed upon *price*.

In *'The Pocketbooks'* transaction the customer unsuccessfully attempts to usurp the *bargaining-edge* by intimidating the vendor into yielding to his low *price bid*. This customer/hustler uses what appears to be *face-threatening* sequential strategies rather than the expected *face-saving* ones. The customer forewarns of a worse transgression if the recipient fails to comply. Instead of entering into an accountable relationship the vendor chooses to ignore the customer's solicitations. The vendor strategically (non-verbally) avoids an action which would make explicit his acknowledgment of the customer's verbal assaults on his *face*. By minimizing his response to this 'put-down' of his competence, the vendor prevents his *face* from becoming an issue (see Section 2.3). The vendor regains his *bargaining-edge* by putting-down the customer's uncooperative behav-

ior. The customer's persistent low *price bid* becomes the grounds for the vendor's overt criticism. By labeling the customer '*crazy*' for demanding the already rejected low *price*, the vendor diminishes his status to that of a socially marginalized incompetent. His assistant responds to this demeaned customer's 'put-downs' with 'counter-put-downs.' As predicted by L&F and Goffman an accusation could threaten the recipient's *face* and yield negative social consequences for her/him see (see Section 2.2). The vendor's 'put-down' of the customer's competence as a customer is reinforced by the accusations of the vendor's surrogate. In this way the vendor retains the higher social status and dominant power in the encounter. By not being willing to meet the customer's conditions, the vendor subordinates them to his own. Neither party displays a willingness to meet the other's grounds. While the vendor demonstrates a willingness to enter into the *bargaining* discourse, the customer indicates unwillingness for further negotiations and appear opposed to a consensual outcome.

In contrast, in the '*Sweatshirts/sweatpants*' data, the vendor's *sales-pitch* solicits the customer's attention and willingness to look over the stock. The customer selects a shirt, verbally checks its *price*, and then agreeably hands over the payment. This transaction is more routine and reminiscent of a conventional store transaction. The 'display' of criteria within the context of a sequential strategy demonstrated by J&J's method, comprise the negotiable grounds for a *bargaining* component. The formulations made from these transactions are derived from displayed regularities/irregularities, social relationships, motivated sequences and developed from the findings of current conversational analysis research drawn from several perspectives.

## 6.4 Findings from the Analysis

### 6.4.1 Prioritizing Motivations of Respect for *Face*, *Goal* Attainment

Passerbys tend to have mixed-motives when initiating a service-encounter, such as to make a 'social contact,'<sup>5</sup> to achieve the *goal* of making a purchase or sale, and to maintain a rapport by *preserving face*. During the competitive *goal-oriented face-threatening price* bidding rounds, the norms of *face* tend to be overshadowed by *goal* motivations to win a *bid*. While offenses to *face* such as 'put-downs' of behavior and 'challenges' to 'price-offers' may be accepted as part of this street-based bidding genre, they tend to be regulated by *goal*-motivation and the need to maintain or renew the business relationship. I have found that the norms to respect *face* fail to account for their suspension during *goal*-motivated competitive bidding bouts.

Likewise, *goal*-motivation may be eclipsed or replaced by the need for *face* preservation. During the closing segment of 'VCR,' after *goal-orientation* of the sale was abandoned, the customer exhibited attempts *Face-work* to redeem her *damaged face*. She lost *face* for evoking the vendor's expectation of a sale and then reneging on it. In this case, attaining the *goal* for this customer was no longer a motive, but recouping *face* apparently was. J&J do not account for instances such as 'VCR', when *goal* orientation is abandoned and *face* preservation prevail.

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<sup>5</sup> The sequentially 'displayed' motive of 'social' contact (Leech 1983; Taylor and Cameron 1987) is not analytically addressed by L&F and J&J, though L&F allude to the social preconditions for verbal initiation. Goffman's (1971) supportive interchanges, referred to as 'maintenance rites' (p.71), are based on the norms of 'social contact.'

Clarity is preferred in dealing with *price offers* and item selection. On the street, these presequences seem to be more driven by '*sales'-goal-orientation* than *face* preserving motives.<sup>6</sup> *Pre-requests* or *pre-offers* open slots for a vendor to check out the customer's grounds for a sale, the item selection, the *price*, size, and the likelihood of a sale. The *price offer* may preempt embeddings and other sequences, if the vendor infers that there is interest in a purchase. *Sales-pitches* usually perform the same function as *price-offers* in attempting to elicit a purchase. As a result of these observations, I find that *goal orientation* on the street arena tends to prevail over *face* in bidding rounds where customers and vendors may aggressively compete for the edge in *bargaining*.

#### 6.4.2 The Issue of Power-Quest in Street Negotiations

I have found other factors which tend to supersede notions of *face-preservation* or *goal orientation*. The *goal* of seeking the 'power-edge' tends to eclipse respect for *face* and thwart attempts at achieving a consensual *goal*. These power-grabbing moves tend to be manifestations of unrestrained<sup>7</sup> verbal behavior which result in disregard for *face*. In the transaction (discussed in Section 2.3) '*Pocketbooks*,' the customer initiates the encounter, summoning the vendor in power-grabbing, *face-threatening* moves.<sup>8</sup> The customer's *goals* to usurp the 'power'-edge in this episode prevail over concerns for *face-preservation*. Neither collaborative *goal orientation* nor the norms of *Face-work* account

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<sup>6</sup> I have found that the street vendor uses goal-oriented presequences more strategically than the routine-dependent store server, since he/she tends to seek to win over the customer, and tends to have greater goal-motivation to achieve a sale.

<sup>7</sup> Unrestrained verbal behavior is not regulated by face-norms.

<sup>8</sup> While the customer was motivated to get the pocketbooks on his own terms, the price he offered was rejected as too low. To achieve his goal to control the price, the customer displayed verbal 'bully'-tactics to intimidate the vendor into yielding to his demands. The

for the sequential strategies that 'display' the power-grabbing behavior. J&J claim that participants attempt to transform one another's belief/want contexts so as to achieve a consensual target *goal*, but they do not extend their model to include the types of strategies employed which threaten *face* in pursuit of non-consensual *goals* achievement.

Rather than check the vendor's readiness for compliance, the hustler intrusively informs him (through his aggressive behavior) that 'he' is taking control of the service encounter. By displaying *face-mocking* and intimidating moves, trivializing the vendor's *face* and role-status, the hustler/customer's strategies flout the norms of *face* and communicative cooperation. Rather than to normatively attempt to resolve conflict, he adversely seeks to exacerbate it. These *face-threatening* presequences forewarn of his self-serving *goals* to control the outcome. His derogatory summons prefigures intimidating *face-offending* moves. Rather than provide confirmation for having heard a *price*, he challenges the *price*, questioning it with increased vocal stress. In this interaction, alignment of belief/want contexts is apparently not sought, but rather their domination by the challenger/customer.

Labov and Fanshel find that the social motives involved in 'put-downs' impugn the competence of the recipient and lower his/her status as unworthy of *face-respect*. However, L&F do not account for the configuration of *face-threatening* sequential strategies which generate challenges and put-downs.

Tannen (1990) claims that an interactant may be motivated to show off his/her verbal skills. The hustler/customer 'displays' his competitive verbal skill as a vehicle to

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customer displayed uncooperative behavior in thwarting the vendor's displayed 'willingness' to

out-talk, out-bargain and overpower an opponent.<sup>9</sup> The perlocutionary effect is to frighten the vendor into submission, which seems to be a tactic to win domination in the street arena where accountability for behavior shifts according to the tentative norms of the subculture. These norms regulating behavior are liable to be reconstructed by participants on the street who use unexpected behavior to unbalance the *bargaining* edge of an opponent. Equally important is the outcome of the event, and the vendor's poised distancing reveals his attempts to restrain the hostility displayed towards him. By ignoring it, he successfully avoids getting into a power-bout with the customer and manages to keep the channels for negotiation open. While this vendor at times displays more concern about his '*sales-goal*' than preserving his *face*, measures are taken to restrain any threat of uncontrolled behavior.

In the above transaction the power threats to perceived status among hovering peers seem to have superseded the *sales-goals* of the interaction, prevailing over the mainstream norms of *face*. The exchange of power-moves on the street uncovers complex evolving 'describable' behavioral sanctions based on a criteria set by the participants at the time of talk. This unpredictable phenomena which may undermine the norms of *face* is 'describable' through its socially embedded sequential manifestation. More analysis from taped street transaction needs to be done to characterize the moves of

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negotiate a consensual price-goal.

<sup>9</sup> Firth (1991) characterizes this type of negotiator as the competitive bargainer.

an aggressor's 'displayed' presequential strategies formed to compel the vendor's to comply through fear.<sup>10</sup>

## **6.5 Summary of Findings and Claims**

### **6.5.1 What Has Been Discovered by the Integrated Approach**

The following list highlights my claims and findings as a result of integrating these approaches.

#### **6.5.1.1 Structure of a Service Encounter**

1. I have uncovered two embedded structural components in the organization of the street-based service encounter, the '*pre-bargaining*' and the '*bargaining*.' These potential stages are expected due to the negotiability of *price* on the street.
2. Utterances tend to be implicative integral components of strategic sequences which are expected to be interpretable. They perform the functions designed by the sequential context from which they are produced. In the service encounters on the street they typically *initiate, elicit, accept, reject, negotiate, offer, withdraw, compliment*. Utterances on the street are interactive components of adjacency pairs which are preferably designed for 'cooperation,' 'social contact,' *face-preservation*, and *goal-orientation*, though in bidding rounds they tend to be provocative.

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<sup>10</sup> See Labov's 'Ritual Insults,' 1973. The ritual insults of inner city adolescents studied by Labov, reveal a competitive verbal sport played by rivals for peer status to out-talk, and out-insult a challenger. The customer/hustler's attempts in 'pocketbooks' failed. The vendor did not cave-in. He ignored the customer's advances and allowed his female surrogate to act as his sentry and enter into a verbal duel with the customer/hustler. The surrogate employed street hewn verbal skills to counter-challenge and out-offend the aggressor. This interaction seemed to be regulated by the fear of violent retaliation.

### **6.5.1.2 Social Status, Authority, Rights, Obligations, and Role-relations**

1. The norms to respect a stranger's *face* on the street are regulated by the perceived rights and role-authority of a speaker relative to those of the recipient.
2. In bidding situations the power-edge (or *bargaining edge*) tends to be brokered and shared. However it may be usurped by aggressive competitive negotiators through 'put-downs' and challenges.
3. References to rights and obligations tend to be asserted in street transactions as strategic moves, employed to pressure the recipient to comply.
4. Intonation, loudness, and aggravation tend to be used in strategic sequential positions to lower the social status of the recipient to compel compliance.

### **6.5.1.3 Strategic Sequences, Routines, and Manipulation**

1. The vendor tends to instrumentalize certain types of sequential strategies to manipulate a *sales* such as preemptive *offers* to hurry a transaction.
2. Prefatory utterances are strategically positioned to signal the initiation of an encounter to the recipient and prefigure subsequent utterances.<sup>11</sup>
3. In designing the next turn, the recipient is enabled to formulate assumptions about the speaker's projected utterances not only from the implications of a prior utterance but also from a prior stretch of utterances.

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<sup>11</sup> Utterances elicit an acceptance, non-acceptance, or withhold acceptance pending the establishment of projected preconditions.

4. Contrary to expected *face* preserving behavior, I have found that street participants may employ *face-threatening* sequential strategies to control rather than seek a consensual outcome. In one transaction, '*Pocketbooks*,' an aggressive customer designs the presequence as a step towards establishing preconditions of entrapment to compel compliance.
5. I claim that the clarity of *sales-routines* within implicative sequential positions facilitates the inference-making process.<sup>12</sup> These routines refer to expected stages of the structure of a service encounter. Without such inference boosters, understanding of *goals* becomes much more complicated, because of the complex mix of motivations in interactions. Therefore, *sales* routines function as understanding vehicles to signal and clarify the *goals* of the utterance. By using *sales* routines, *goals* tend to be made to be recognizable. Negotiable, *price bids* and *offers* tend to be made clear to prevent embarrassing *face* loss due to a mistaken presumption of a *price offer* or *bid*.

#### 6.5.1.4 *Respect for Face and Goal Orientation*

1. When the *goals* of a *sales* encounter are no longer sought, other motivations may prevail. A customer who has indicated her non-acceptance implicitly, may prolong the dialogue with compliments of the vendor's stock. These compliments tends to display the *face* motives rather than *goal* motives. After achieving a *goal* is no longer an is-

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<sup>12</sup> There are familiar references to price "How much is it?" or offers on the street "Gimme two dollars." Jacobs and Jackson do not account for the goal-clarifying role played by goal-displaying strategically positioned sales routines to ensure understanding. Misunderstanding tokens assist the hearer in inferring what he/she perceives from a conversation, which doesn't assure an understanding of 'displayed' intention since each recipient's criteria for meaning tends to intuitive and variable (Kreckel 1981).

sue, the analyst/recipient can infer that the excessive use of compliments is a means of securing a *face-saving* withdrawal.

2. In bidding rounds *goals* to win a *price* tend to supersede norms to respect *face*.

#### **6.5.1.5 Setting up Grounds for Achieving a Price**

1. I have found that reference to competence on the street tends to be a component of a strategic play to weaken an opponent's *bargaining* hand. By questioning the vendor's competence, the customer sets up grounds for winning a lower *bid* for refusal to accept an *offer* or a *face-saving* withdrawal.
2. The customer's 'display' of willingness to negotiate tends to elicit the street-vendor's *price-offer*. By 'displaying' grounds for her reluctance, the customer opens the dialogue of negotiation which may debate the validity of her grounds or those of the vendor.

#### **6.5.1.6 Principles**

1. I have observed that while street vendors may then flout informativeness, they tend to prefer clarity of *price* and item information. To invoke trust the vendor attempts to appear honest. The street bargainer's *bid*, the *price goal* sought, tends to have priority over *face* concerns. To maintain a renewable business, the customer's or vendor's *face* is shown respect even when the '*sales*' *goal* of the encounter has been abandoned.
2. I propose a methodology which incorporates the generalized conversational principles such as 'cooperative,' 'politeness,' 'rationalist-*goal* orientation,' and 'social contact,'

(see Leech 1984) and 'social: norms' of interactive behavior to account for the regulation of the collaborative construction of interaction.<sup>13</sup>

## 6.6 Concluding remarks

This integrated method has provided a flexible descriptive means to analyze the multi-faceted unconventional street-based service encounter (see Chapter 5). I avoid the controversial theoretical aspects of each method to describe the 'displayed' sequential strategies of the complex collaborative interactions between the unacquainted on the street who attempt to negotiate. It is equipped to 'uncover' and characterize such regular occurrences between street transactors as *pre-bargaining* and *bargaining* rounds. These discourse moves have been found to be strategically configured to respect or disrespect *face*, to achieve or obstruct *sales goals*, or to control an interaction. The convergence of the different approaches of conversation analysis into an integrated method enables a descriptive accounting of the *face* motivated, social, collaborative, functional, and rational components of sequential strategies employed by negotiators on the street.

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<sup>13</sup> These principles are breachable without invalidating the encounter. A non-cooperative speaker does not invalidate the encounter. In contrast when a grammatical rule such as subject verb agreement is broken, the sentence is deemed ungrammatical.

## APPENDICES

### Appendix A

#### 1. Key to Data Codes<sup>1</sup>

The coding system below is based on the turn-taking system with modification adapted to the service encounter. Many pauses are due to 'time-out' for checking the vendor's stock, examining an item for flaws, and for exchange of money.

Furthermore, the one-second pauses do not necessarily count as a TRP gap in my coding system, but as an inter-utterance gap.

- |                                    |  |
|------------------------------------|--|
| 1. S                               | The vendor is outdoor seller, or server in a store.  |
| 2. S2                              | The vendor's assistant, or another interacting vendor  |
| 3. C                               | Customer/Passerby  |
| C1, C2, C3, C4, C5, C6, C7         | Other interacting customers in the order of their being emergence in the episode.              |
| 4. P                               | The police officer.  |
| 5. Pe                              | A pedestrian who does interact, but does not appear to take part in any sales activity.        |
| 6. _____                           | A stress word or words -stress   |
| 7. LOUDER ALL CAPS argument.       | A very loud tone such as in hawking or an argument.  |
| 8. C: He said=<br>S: =I don't care | One party interrupts another   |
| 9. Ye::ah                          | Extends a vowel sound  |
| 10. Forr::                         | Extends a consonant sound  |
| 11. you know<br>the                | Overlap. The overlapping word/s is placed under  |
| //Yeah.                            | The word/s overlapped.   |
| 12. <xx.>                          | Inaudible word or words  |
| 13. (<xx I want xx>)               | Inaudible words enwrapping audible ones.   |
| 14. I want)<br>like.               | The parenthesis within a utterance means sounds  |
| 15. (looks offer stock)            | The parenthesis outside the utterance supplies visual information not available to the reader. |
| 16. (3.0)                          | Represent pauses within utterances and at TRP.   |
| 17. (.?)                           | Less than one second.  |
| 18. (.5?)                          | An approximation of micro-seconds.   |

<sup>1</sup> Certain data 2.1.1, 2.1.5, and 2.1.5, which are appropriately marked (lost) cannot be available in its original taped form due to the loss of these particular tapes.

## APPENDIX B

### 2. Transcriptions of the Data

**58 episodes**

#### 2.1 Gilbert Data, 1987 of the Street-Based Service Encounters

11 main episodes and 8 embedded episodes

##### 2.1.1 Nice Top (lost tape)\*

A young African-American male vendor is posted behind items, among them is a backpack, and a batik top on the side walk of Second Avenue near St. Marks Place.

S (Server/Vendor); C (Customer)

- 01C: That's a nice top (looking at a batik top)  
 02S: Huh?  
 03C: Is that, is that yours?  
 04S: Yes! You wanna buy anything?  
 05C: I don't know for sure.  
       How much are you charging for that uhh?=(pointing)  
 06S: =Knapsack ?  
 07C: No, for the (pointing to top) uhh top (1.0)  
 08C: Yeah! That's very nice! (S points to top)  
 09S: You give me 2 dollars for it. 2 dollars.  
       (1.0)  
 10S: It's yours.  
 11C: Uh huh, Let me give it a little thought.  
 12S: What kind 'a thought do you have to give it?  
       Ha! Ha!  
 13S: (1.0) to buy a shirt?  
 14C: I always have to give everything thought  
       (chuckles). Heh! Heh!  
 15S: Okay!  
 16C: Thanks!  
 17S: Thank you.

##### 2.1.2 Radio

A young Caucasian man, wearing a casual sport jacket and jeans, is standing off the corner of St. Marks and Second Avenue on Second Avenue, amidst a stream of passerbys, holding. He is playing the green plastic radio, he is trying to sell.

- 01S: RADIO FOR SALE (in a loud voice)  
 02C: How much is it?  
 03S: Ten dollars  
       (1.0)  
 04C: Uh huh! What does it do?  
 05S: It's a cassette. It's a radio.

06C: Its a cassette  
 07S: Yeah!  
 08C: Uh Huh. But it's plastic.  
 09S: Would you like to hold it?  
 11C: No! It's okay. I Can see it.  
 12S: <xx>  
 13C: I, what I don't like about it is the fact that it's plastic.  
 You know it's a little too fragile for me. Thank you.  
 14S: Okay.  
 15C: Take care.  
 16S: Ten dollars is pretty much worth it.  
 17C: Yeah! N! If it wasn't plastic.  
 18S: Most radios go for thirty dollars, forty, fifty dollars.  
 This is only ten dollars.  
 19C: Good luck..Good luck. (C walks away)

### 2.1.3 Bomber jacket (7 embedded episodes. 7 customers bidding and requesting)

A middle-aged European accented woman, wearing a long worn lilac quilted coat in front of Cooper Union on the St. Marks Place Side, is selling jackets, shoes, ties, etc., neatly arranged on the curb side of a wide sidewalk amidst the busy noisy traffic of many passerbys.

01C1: How much is that? (1.0  
 How much is that (.) that jacket?  
 02S: 25  
 03C1: What?  
 04S: 25  
 05C1: 25 dollars. Let's see.  
 What size is it? It's Ummm  
 (5.0)  
 06C1 Uh Uhuh What size?  
 07S: My size.  
 08C1: It's your size.(?) I'm a:h six.  
 Twenty-five dollars. Uh Huh. Let me see.  
 It should be about. It's long (.) What?=  
 09S: =Try it on.  
 10C1: What? Uhh, I just got too many things on (1.0)  
 Let's see.I could put my, I could put my hand.  
 I could put my hand in it to get  
 a sense of the sleeve. (Puts arm into sleeve)  
 11S: You cannot really.  
 12C1: I could see my arm size.  
 Hmh  
 13S: Yes! Yes sir (to another customer) [Embedded episode #1]  
 14 C1: Okay.

- (0.6)
- 15 C2: It's brand new! (pointing to jean jacket)  
How much is it?
- 16S: It's 23 (to the European male)
- 17C1: (Searching pocket for money)  
It's here. I have change.  
Let's see. Do you have ahh change?
- 18S: Yes, please  
(3.0)
- 19C1: Let's see what I have  
Let's see how much money I brought.  
(6.0)
- 20C2: Can I try that jacket on? [Embedded episode #1]  
Brand new.
- 21 C1: Twenty and, (counting cash in hand)  
Let me just look at it.  
Okay.  
(3.0)
- 22S: Yes! Yes! Sure.
- 23C1: Hmh, Hmh.  
(4.0) (looking inside the jacket and at the pockets)
- 24S: Check. I didn't check the pockets.
- 25C1: Yes, I just want to be sure that they don't have any holes or. Let's see.
- 26S: I didn't check the pockets.
- 27 C1: Your jacket.  
Your jacket?  
(0.8)
- 28S: Usually they're very expensive. (1.0)  
Just end of summer, winter I mean.  
(2.0)
- 29C1: Uh huh
- 30S: Usually they're very expensive  
I couldn't buy it for this price.
- 31C1: This is genuine suede on the back.  
Okay. What  
(2.0)
- 32C1: This is a woman's jacket?
- 33S: Uh huh
- 34C1: This is a woman's jacket?
- 35S: You know, they wear men's and wear women.  
They wear both same jacket.
- 36C1: Uh huh
- 37S: I never for men, women,  
I just wear them.
- 38C1: Uh Huh!

- I'm just wondering if I should try it on.  
 39S: Uhh. but it's so cold.  
 But it's good on me.  
 40C1: Uh Huh. We're both about the same. Yeah!  
 41S: This is 90 cents (to another customer)  
 Here sir (showing jean jacket C2)  
 Yes. It's 20 dollars (to C2)  
 Only 5 dollars (to C1)  
 This is twenty (3.0) (counting C1`s money)  
 It's a real good buy.(Taking money from C1 for jacket)  
 42C1: Yeah. Thank you  
 (5.0)  
 43S: Just hold 3. I give you two more (to C2)  
 (6.0)  
 44C1: Uh Huh!  
 45S: Yes. Give me three, three (.?) I give you five.  
 Thank you very much. (to C2)  
 46C1: Okay. Thank you  
 (3.0)  
 47C2: That's a good jacket. Brand new. [Embedded episode #2]  
 48C1: Where are you from?  
 49S: From Russia.  
 50S: 15 (to C3)  
 They new  
 (4.0)  
 51C3: 12. [Embedded episode #3]  
 52S: I give you 13, 13.  
 They new shoes sir.  
 How can you buy for 12 dollars.  
 53S: (turns head towards C1)They so difficult  
 They just,  
 54C1: Uh, huh. Yeah!  
 55S: New shoes.  
 56C1: Yeah it's up=  
 57S: =I give it 13. I cannot sir.  
 I have to make something sir=  
 58C3: =No! because that's, (strong Slavic accent) [Embedded episode #3]  
 that's E. When you have a double or triple E  
 it's alright. That (nice)  
 59S: I sell D for 13.  
 60C3: Well, that's D.  
 61S: I don't have double triple.  
 62C3: No! It's too tight. No! It's very tight//  
 63S: Give me 12.  
 64C3: No! I give you 10 dollar.

- 65S: Because it's new that's the reason.. I want=  
=You have to pay more.
- 66C3: I want to send, to send to the Europe. That's the reason.
- 67S: What I can pay for?
- 68S: Three dollars (to another C)
- 69S: I know, but I have to pay them  
I cannot, I cannot get anything free  
I have to pay for them sir. (1.0)  
And this is my best.  
This is my best tie (looking at a pile of ties)  
I have to buy them.  
I have to pay. What I make if I stayed all day.  
I have to make something.
- 70C4: 20 (looking at a jacket) [Embedded episode #4]
- 71S: No, Sir. I can't.  
It cost me more.  
It's twenty-five dollars.
- 72C4: Eh?
- 73S: I have to pay for this jacket 20 dollars.
- 74C1: Yeah
- 75S: I have 25, 5 dollars . (exchanging money)
- 76C5: 15 [Embedded episode #5]
- 77S: Give me 15 (to C5 and takes money)
- 78S: Twenty-five sir (to C4)  
25, 25.  
It's a new jacket.
- 79C5: 20 (heavily accented speech) [Embedded episode #4]
- 80S: I can't.
- 81C4: 20
- 82S: 23
- 83C4: 20
- 84S: I have to pay somebody. I have to make.  
:  
3 dollars. I can't go lower. (I have to make something  
23, 23.
- 85C4: 20 (pieces)  
(3.0)
- 86C5: 23 is good (hands over the money) [Embedded episode #5]  
(8.0)
- 87S: Thank you Sir. Thank you very much (S takes money)  
(C5 picks up jacket and leaves)
- 90C6: You no got suit? (Heavily accented voice) [Embedded episode #6]  
Suits? Size 40.
- 91S: Suits? This gentleman have suits. (pointing to adjoining service area.)
- 92C6: No! He don't.. He don't have suits.  
He only (have?) jacket

- 93S Thank you (another C is paying S)  
 94S: 15 (to another C)  
 95C7: 10 dollars (European accent)  
 96S: 15. New shoes. You cannot buy these shoes.  
 New shoes sir.  
 97S: And 3 dollars and 20 cents for (changing money for another C)  
 Yes.  
 (11.0)  
 98S: Go to pay too expensive. (talking to C1)  
 99C1: Uh Huh  
 100S: Go to buy too expensive and then you have to sell.  
 101C1: //Yeah.  
 102S: What you have  
 And then the cops come, they take it from you.  
 103C1: Really!  
 104C3: I give you 12. [Embedded episode #3]  
 105S: So cheap. So cheap (C3 buys shoes)  
 106S: Cops coming. (S rushes to pick up her  
 merchandise sprawled out on sidewalk.)

#### 2.1.4 Mexican Items (One embedded episode - a second customer interrupts)

A young, informally, but neatly, dressed man, wearing an earring in his left ear, is standing on the sidewalk, curbside, between Seventh Street and Eighth Street on Second Avenue, selling Mexican blouses, scarves, purses, etc., all carefully laid out on the sidewalk. There is a lot of street noise such as passing trucks, beeping traffic, other interactions, impeding the clarity of the tape transmission..

- 01S: (Hey) Can I help you? (smiling and laughing)  
 02C1: I don't know , Ha, ha, ha (laughing)  
 03S: How can I help you ?  
 04C1: Ha, ha, ha (laughing)  
 Ahmm, ahaha, are these, where are they from?  
 05S: Well, from Mexico, different parts of Mexico.  
 In the state of Uaxaca.  
 06C1: //Uh Huh  
 07S: Certain (?parts?) are from the state of Chiapas.  
 08C1 Uh Huh  
 (2.0  
 09S: Do you know Mexico? It's down by, by Guatemala =  
 10C1: =Did,=  
 11S: =pretty far down]  
 10C1: Did you pick them up yourself  
 or you got them from somebody?  
 11S: No! I bought them down there, I lived and traveled down there.  
 12C1: Uh huh, and you came up here?

- 13S: Yeah!
- 14C1: Uh Huh.(1.0) What's the price range↑, you know, what ha, ((interrupting truck noise)) what do they (?cost?)  
(1.0)
- 15S: Some things, Let's see.
- 16C1: //I'm sort of you know, checking things out now.
- 15S: Okay.Well these, the cheapest things are these, and they're one dollar per strand  
(1.0) (pointing at the items)
- 16C1: Uh Huh
- 17S: Six, Six and Eight.. These are twenty-five. They're quite large and (.5)  
(pointing at each item)
- 18C1: Uh Huh
- 19S: These are eight. These are five. These are three (.?)  
(pointing at each item) These, these bags are eight.  
This is ahh rug. This is forty (.?)
- 20C1: Uh Huh
- 21S: Those bags are three a piece. The shirts are twelve(.?)
- 22C1: Uh huh
- 23S: You know this is not the time of year to be selling.
- 22C1: //Uh huh
- They're very nice.
- 23S: Yeahm It's all hand embroidered.  
(3.0)
- 24C1: Yeah  
Uh Huh  
They're very nice.(?)  
So that's what you have? Ha, ha, (chuckling)
- 25S: Yeah
- 26C1: That's not bad.. Uhhhh! Do you have any other, do you have blouses with more sleeves and more embroidery?
- 27S: I know, I had some, but I sold them. I didn't sell them here (.?)  
I had some really nice white on white really beautiful white
- 28C1: //Yeah
- 29S: And then all white on white embroidery here, here, and across here=  
(pointing to a blouse)
- 30C1: Yeah.=
- 31S: =It is really gorgeous.=
- 32C1: =Yeah! Uh Huh=
- 33S: =and I sold those.
- 34C1: Uh Huh  
Do you go from (.?) ahh street to street?(?) you know (.5) uhh
- 35S: This is the first time I've ever done this here
- 36C1: Yeah.
- 37S: And so, (.?) we've done that today.

- 38C1: Yeah.  
 39S: =You go to a certain place and then=  
 40C2: What's that? [Embedded episode #1]  
 41S: Which, this here?  
 42C2: Yeah.  
 43S: It's ahh blouse.  
 44C2: How much is that?  
 45S: This is twelve. All hand embroidered//  
 46C2: Yeah! I see that.  
 No! I thought it had sleeves.  
 Thank you.  
 47C1: Ahha, ha (chuckles softly in the background)  
 48S: People like sleeves around here..  
 49C1: Yeah! Yeah! So you usually shh, go in fairs↑ or  
 50S: No! I never.(?)This is the first time I've done this.  
 So I never really explored that.  
 51C1: So this is pretty much your stock now?  
 52S: Yeah!  
 Are you looking for something in particular?  
 53C1: No! I guess something in particular 'ill strike me,  
 you know (.) like something affordable..  
 Thanks(walking away from serving post).  
 54S: Sure

### 2.1.5 Metaphysical Books (lost tape)

A thin stubbly bearded, sharp-eyed, youthful Jewish man in his early forties, dressed in mismatched outfit, stood behind his book merchandise, spread neatly on the curbside of the sidewalk on Second Avenue between St. Marks Place and 7th Street. He periodically puffs from a corn cob pipe, handed to him by a neighboring vendor. (The researcher is the C1 and her seventeen year old son is C2. C and S recognize each other from a previous street-encounter, they had discussed C2's interest in poetry at that time).

- 01S: (recognizes C1 and they exchange smiles)  
 Metaphysical and love poems of the 17th Century, Right? (a sing-song intonation that slides in an upward contour)  
 02C1: Yeah.  
 03S: 50 cents..anything that looks 50 cents.  
 Oh! Oh! (rising contour) This guy's wonderful (breathy, high contour)(pointing to a book of poems looked over by C2)  
This guy is wonderful .(emphatic rising contour)  
 04C1: Why don't you look at it? (to son)  
 05S: Just take a look at it. It's worth it.(points to the book)  
 06C1: How much are you charging? (pointing to book)  
 07S: A dollar .(high contour)(the book looks new)  
 08C1: (to son) That's your

- 09C2: //How much? (picking up and then looking at both books)  
 10S: Half a dollar. (to C2) (high contour)  
 11C2: That's a dollar fifty? (taking out five dollar bill from pocket)  
 I've got five. (to S)  
 12C1: Let me see what I have (to C2, taking coins out of pocket)  
 I got change.  
 13S: I was. Yah know it's inspiring to a poet, when you read another poet and  
 you just. (high contour)  
 14C1: Oh..I love//(high contour)  
 15S: He just sent me. Right there.(expressively)  
 16C1: Oh really?  
 17S: and I, I said it's time to get a new notebook (high contour)  
 Because I've had this, shit. I've had a lot of myself taken from me..  
 Boy! So, I'm, That's what I was talking about before.  
 18C1: I haven't been writing either. You know, uhh,it's been a long.  
 19S: Uh Huh.  
 20C1: So I've been so hung up with this school. Ohh (downward contour)  
 21S: I've been thinking about going back.  
 (A loud noise disrupts dialogue. The pause-time is unavailable)  
 22C1: Somebody hit him with a bottle! (pointing to a man in the street as a sleek  
 car passes by)  
 23C2: Do you have a dollar-fifty? (C2 asks C1 in a very low voice)  
 24C1: What?  
 25C2: Do you have a dollar fifty? (in a slightly higher voice)  
 26C1: Let me look and see. (counting change from pocket)  
 How's this book?

### 2.1.6 Tools (lost tape)-

A ruddy-faced stocky, man in his mid to late forties stood by his service post. His hair is greying sandy colored and straggly. He is dressed in a somewhat unkempt sporty jacket and pants. A red poppy is propped up on the side of his head. He cheerfully hawks his merchandise, spread neatly on the store-side of the sidewalk. Arranged on the left-side is an array of small bicycle parts and on the other side is an assortment of worn dress shoes, new-looking hand bags, shirts, and jeans. His serving post is located on the corner of St Marks and Second Avenue on Second Avenue

(C looks over S's merchandise, as they exchange smiles)

- 01S: **TWO DOLLARS! HANDBAGS, SHOES, BUT NICE JEANS**  
and shoes, handbags. They're not worth two dollars, they're not worth anything. (Hawking his wares, directed towards C)  
 02C: (chuckles) Heh! Heh! (looking at the bicycle parts)  
 What happened to the bike? Heh! Heh!  
 03S: Heh! Heh! All I got is some parts. Heh! All I got is some parts here.  
 I actually have a couple of bikes to sell, but they're in storage.  
 04C: Ah! Heh! Heh!

- 05S: Ah! Ha! Ha! I play around with bikes every once in a while=  
 06C: = You don't have tools.  
 07S: Tools?  
 08C: It's what I need, (1.0) is bike tools.  
 09S: I don't have them. Tools always sell good.though. But those I don't have  
 10C: Yeah. They're, they're expensive.  
 11S: The ones I have I use for myself.  
 12C: I know.  
 13S: I have pliers, screwdrivers, a bicycle kit.  
 14C: I had some of mine ripped off.  
 15S: //Yeah.  
 16C: He had an accident, and everything was returned except my bike tools.  
 (pointing to teenage son next to her)  
 17S: Right! I know! Because, (1.0) well, you could pick up al'. The best thing  
 to do is pick up a six piece adjustable wrench, and screwdriver, and a pair  
 of pliers=  
 18C: =with an allen//  
 19S: Yeah! Well, (1.5) He had a, a special bike.  
 Now some of them=  
 20C: = I have..Mine, mine is=  
 21S: =Yeah=  
 22C: =Got the=  
 23S: =These new Japanese bikes.  
 They come out with an allen wrench=  
 24C: =Yeah! Yeah! They're very good. I have to get myself one of those allen  
 wrenches. I got myself the bike, but I gotta get the tools.  
 25S: I have a good Panasonic five-speed bike. It's beautiful. It has the allen  
 wrench for the handlebars and everything, you know and the crankshafts,  
 the peddles.  
 26C: //Everybody's on the sidewalk now, I notice.  
 27S: What do you mean on the sidewalk?  
 28C: They all, they were moved from, ahh Astor Place//  
 29S: Astor Place, Yeah. They, later on at night the business shifts down here.  
 30C: Heh! Heh!  
 31S: After about six, seven 'o clock.=  
 32C: =It shifts?  
 33S: Yeah!  
 34C: What happens? The ahh.  
 35S: //Well usually the (1.0)the police, (.) the crowds start  
 (leveling) off up there, and it just, (1.0) I don't know, it just the (<xx>)  
 36C: This is the=(pointing)  
 37S: =This is the=  
 38C: =This is the walkway?  
 39S: This is the walkway, the ahh, what do you call these little (1.5)ahh walk  
 places where they sell stuff?

- (2.0)
- 40S: The Mall.
- 41C: This is the Mall.
- 42S: Yeah!
- 43C: Yah get malled here. Ha!
- 44S: ah get malled.
- 45C: Ha! Ha!
- 46S: That's why they call it a mall.
- 47C: Heh! Heh! You're by all the stores, and it's sort of fun.  
I like that, I really like that.
- 48S: Huh?
- 49C: think it's great!
- 50S: What?
- 51C: Oh! All these people, All these businesses.  
Right here.
- 52S: No, I like it. But the police, I don't know why the police are trying to kill it. Unfortunately, there are some, there are some bad elements.  
But there are some bad elements everywhere. So why should the innocent people suffer. I mean, Uh. Yah keep punishing the innocent for what?=  
53C: =What kind of bad elements?//
- 54S: =Well people may, some people may steal stuff out of cars. They steal stuff and then they bring out some hot stuff, and then they get into fights and arguments and, you know, one fight or another and they close down everything.
- 55C: Uh Huh!
- 56S: One guy gets into an argument. Well, that's not your fault.  
It's the other people's fault.
- 57C: Yeah! So that they can't tell who. Yah got nice stuff.
- 58S: Huh?
- 59C: Yah got nice stuff. Did yah s'=  
60S: = Well there are things there if you need them. If you don't need them, they're not worth anything.
- 61C: I know.
- 62S: If you need them, you know.
- 63C: //What I need is, I told you is bicycle tools. You don't have that stuff?
- 64S: No. The best place to get those is at the 89 cent store.
- 65C: Really! Really! Allen? You get=  
66S: =They only cost yah three or four dollars.
- 67C: Because my bike store ha, they're expensive. Yah get//
- 68S: A screwdriver set you get for 89 cents. The only thing that's expensive is the adjustable wrench. Those things cost about 6 to 10 dollars.
- 69C: I know! I know! Those are expensive.
- 70S: I'm selling that for 2 dollars. But those things cost about 6 to 10 dollars.  
Unbelievable what they sell for. (pointing to a small wrench)

- 71C: For this bike=  
 72S: =You can't find them cheap anywhere.  
 73C: No. That's (1.0)That's a good buy. Right now,(1.5) I need tha', (1.0) the  
 allen for my bike. It's a Japanese bike.  
 74S: Everything here.  
 (2.0)  
 75S: goes cheap. 2 dollar sale (hawks)  
 76C: Take care.  
 77S: Alright.

## 2.2 The Store-Based Encounter:

These four episodes below, occur in a small neighborhood typewriter supply and repair shop.

The most frequent type of customer, according to the server, is more representative of the middle class white professional (around the late twenties or mid-thirties in age).

### 2.2.1 Typewriter repair

A young middle-class well-dressed white male about 27 enters.

- 01S: (opens the door) Hello!  
 03C: I don't want to interrupt your= (referring to S's phone conversation)  
 04S: =No!  
 (5.0)  
 05C: It's about 25 years old. If there's a question of age.  
 And all of a sudden a month ago, It just stopped. Uhh, (1.0) the carriage  
 stopped when the ball just stopped moving, and I'm wondering is it worth  
 having it repaired? Should I sell it and get a new one?  
 How much is a something like that?  
 06S: //Uhhhh=  
 07C: =Just a ball park (figure)=  
 08S: =That must be a Selectric-One=  
 09C: =Yes it was.  
 10S: They're still wonderful machines.  
 11C: Yeah, I know.  
 12S: If you go out to the dealers, they're still charging anywhere from 195. 185,  
 175, depending on the size.  
 13C: To buy it?  
 14S: Yeah! So they're still good.  
 15S: (2.0) And uhhh=  
 16C: =Yeah.=  
 17S: =So they're still good.  
 And it certainly pays to repair.=  
 18C: =Yeah.  
 19S: The only time it doesn't pay to repair if the repairs are that extensive.//

- 20C: //That's right.  
 21S: And are costly. But if it's just something that may be fixed.  
 I would suggest you bring it in. I do not charge for an estimate.  
 22C: Okay.  
 23S: So just bring it right in and I'll have my man look at it.  
 24C: Yeah. I appreciate It. I'm not staying in the neighborhood.  
 So it'll take me a while for me to get here.  
 25S: =That's alright. It's ohh=  
 26C: =Besides I don't want to give it up. It's. you know, a good machine.  
 I think it's a good machine and I don't want to give it up. And I knew I  
 would.  
 27S: =It happens to be a good machine.  
 28C: Yeah It's just that they still have the parts on the market?  
 29S: Oh yes! IBM still has the supply parts.  
 30C: Right! Basically I still don't know what the problem is obviously.  
 31S: It's likely to be a number of, it could be a lot.=  
 32C: =Yeah. It just stopped. It's just a lot involved. It stopped moving.  
 33S: Great! Okay.  
 34S: Okay?  
 35C: Do you have a card?  
 36S: I certainly do. I have it over here (gets a card and hands it to him)  
 37S: Okay. Thank you!  
 38C: Yeah. (taking the card) Okay. Thanks alot. (leaving)

### 2.2.2 Typewriter covers (One embedded episode - on the telephone)

An older well-dressed man in late fifties or early sixties, wearing a sports jacket, slacks, white shirt and tie walks in. The server opens the door and greets the customer.

- 01S: Hello.  
 02C: Do you sell typewriter covers?  
 03S: I don't have any right now. I should order them.  
 04C: I mean they're uh, not rigid. They're uh=  
 05S: =They're the soft-covered. Yeah.//  
 06C: //plastic. Yeah.  
 07S: What are you looking for? What kind of cover?  
 08C: Well I have a Electra-210, an old one.  
 09S: Is it portable. It's a small portable. Electra-210 is a portable.  
 10C: It's a portable?  
 11S: Yah! Yah! The Electra-210 is a Smith-Corona.  
 12C: Yeah! I guess it is. It's a (1.0). Yeah, I guess It looks like that  
 Not too much.(pointing to one of the typewriters in the store)  
 13S: Right. I can have one in (1.0) in the morning.  
 14C: Okay.  
 15S: I'll have to=  
 16C: =How much is it?  
 17S: I'm gonna find out right now. Heh. Heh.(chucking) Okay.

- If I say so . Double it.. I would say about off-hand, I'll find out, about five and a half dollars. (walks to desk and opens catalogue) Is that alright?
- 18C: That's alright. Five.
- 19S: Okay. Then you wan'. Then= (dialing the telephone)
- 20C: =Okay.
- 21S: Uhh, just leave me a deposit or whatever. Okay?
- 22C: Pardon?
- 23S: You have to leave me a deposit.
- 24C: Oh!
- 25S: Let me just find out (dialing the telephone). I want to find out if he has it. This is the time they close. Ha. Ha.
- 26C: I'll come tomorrow then. If they're not uhhh.
- 27S: Yeah. And he'll uhm, but I'll be getting a delivery tomorrow so it'll be alright. (resumes dialing) I hope they didn't go home yet. I don't think so.
- 28S: Hi. Mora. Ann. [Embedded episode #1]  
Do you have a typewriter cover for a Smith-Corona-210 portable electric?
- 29S: Will you send me one?
- 30S: How much is it?
- 31S: Thank you.
- 32S: Gonna be here in the morning? Right?
- 33S: Thank you. Okay. (embedded conversation closes)
- 34S: That is five-fifty (to the customer, hanging up the phone).
- 35C: I'll give you two, two dollars enough (counting the money)?
- 36S: Sure. Why not. Okay. You wanna receipt for that? (taking the money)
- 38C: Yeah. It'll remind me and, (1.5) I'll get to pick it up tomorrow too.
- 39S: Yeah. He'll be here in the morning or.
- 40C: I'll be here in the afternoon.
- 41S:: Okay. Isn't that nice? I just want to put your name on it.  
What's your name? (showing him item while filling out the receipt)
- 42C: De Marco. (spelling it) D-e-M-a-r-c-o.
- 43S: Five ninety-five (
- 44C: = Okay. (hands over money)  
(2.0)
- 45S: Balance three ninety-five (takes money and hands over the receipt).
- 46C: Right' o'..
- 47S: Thank you!
- 48C: (Uh, Huh!) (leaves).

### 2.2.3 Typewriter ribbon

A young casually well-dressed white middle to upper- middle class woman of about 24.enters.

- 01S: Hello!

- 02C: Hi. How are you? Uhm, I'd like to get to pick up one of the Brothers, the ribbons. I was in a rush. I didn't remember if you closed at five or six and
- I can.=
- 03S: =Most stores close at six. Nine-to-five (chuckling) they call office hours.
- 04C: You stay open an extra hour for people who get off from work.  
(intoned as a statement with level tones).
- 05S: Yeah.
- 06C: That makes sense.
- 07S: Is this it? (showing C the ribbon) Is this, the Brothers?
- 08C: Yeah.
- 09S: Sure. That's five fifty plus tax.
- 10S: How are you?
- 11C: Busy.
- 12S: Busy huh.
- 13C: Yeah. I don't know. You work and then you need a vacation.  
You go on a vacation then you need a vacation. (in a chanting tone)
- 14S: When you come back (getting the ribbon).
- 15C: hehh! (A glottalized chuckle)
- 16S: Alright hon'.
- 17C: Five ninety-five, it comes to? (counting the cash and then handing it to S)
- 18S: Whoops (almost drops the cash). Whoop.
- 19C: I'm going to type a lot. I'm going to see, if I run out. I'm going to be in t trouble.
- 20S: Do you want a bag? (holding the ribbon)
- 21C: Okay uhmmm::, yeah. Here I got it.
- 22S: Gonna do some shopping?
- 23C: Yeah!
- 24S: Maybe put something in it. I have an in-between bag. (bagging it)
- 23C: NoThat's okay.
- 24S: Alright (1.0) I gotta give you a nickel.
- 25C: Okay. (taking the bag and the nickel)
- 26S: Have a good evening. (smiling as C leaves)

#### 2.2.4 Correcto type

An African-American man, about 27, (a dancer) hops into the unlocked store, surprising the server who forgot to lock her door.

- 01C: I didn't mean to startle you.
- 02S: What?
- 03C: I thought you were closing.
- 04S: Oh! Is that why you jumped over on the counter.
- 05C: Yeah! I said to myself. Oh my God you,
- 06S: //I thought you were practicing a new dance step.
- 07C: Truly! Uhhmm. I sh, I should actually, but I have to go to rehearsal.

08S: Uh huh.

09C: =Uhhmmm, you know what I need to do?

10S: What?

11C: I need the little inserts of correct. correction paper. That you put in the=

12S: =You mean the paper, like the cor', uh the correcto-type, not the white out.

13C: Exactly!

14S: I don't have it.

15C: Hhhh. Bummer!

16S: Yeah! That's a bummer. Right?

17C: Bummer!

18S: Yeah!

19C: Ohhh no! Because my typewriter, I have to figure out what it. what I'm  
doing wrong. Because the uhhm, the ribbon, the correct', ribbon thing?

20S: Yeah!

21C: The little.

22S: Yeah!

23C: It keeps popping up (demonstrating with a hand gesture).

24S: Did you put it in right?

25C: I don't know! I ne', you know what?

26S: Uh huh.

27C: It was the first time I changed it. Because my mother just sent it to me,  
and blah,blah yakaty, yak.

28S: Uh huh.

29C: That's a Brother instead of the other one I have.

30S: Yeah.

31C: And, uhh, anyway. Okay! Fine!

32S: Can I help you? Can I see that bottle of white out? It uhhh.

33S: It does the same thing as the same thing as the other.

34C: Yeah.

35S: You gotta let it dry.

36C: Yeah. I'll take it because I've thought about what we've got in the house.  
Something's wrong with the brush and it's kind of icky and.

37S: One and a quarter.

38C: So bizarre. Totally bizarre...

39S: Liquid paper. Okay. Fine.

40C: Here you are.(taking the money while handing him the liquid paper)

41C: Thank you.

42S: Alright.

43C: And I might have to bring it in to, to let you look at it.

44S: You might have to. Yeah.

45C: Because it's like, like it keeps popping up.

46S: Then bring it in. Let him look at it. Okay?

47C: Okay! Fine!

48S: Okay!

49C: Thank you.

50S:           Bye. Bye.  
51C:           Good-bye (walks out the door).

### 2.2.5 Observed - Untapped Vegetable Store Episode

#### 2.2.6 Apple cider

This cite is a Korean Fruit and Vegetable store on Second Ave, between 3rd and 4th Streets, facing the serving post of the street vendor selling books. The customer (researcher) enters the store, looking for apple cider (which was not on the stand outside the store). She makes no eye-contact with the vendor.

01C:           You don't have any apple cider?  
02S:           (No response) (The Korean storekeeper walked to another side of the store without once looking at the customer. After taking a bottle of cider out of the refrigeration unit, he returned to the cash register (making no eye-contact).  
  
03C:           Do you have any apple cider?  
03S:           No! (looking up at C) (C turns and then leaves the store)

## 3. Transcriptions of the Data

### 3.1 Gilbert Data, 1993 of the Street-Based Service Encounters

5 episodes

#### 3.1.1 Keyboard

A young male African-American male vendor is stationed in front of Cooper Union School of Architecture. His service post is on the school-side of the sidewalk. An array of sweaters, jackets, assorted items as well as a computer keyboard are neatly arranged on the sidewalk.

(No eye contact is made until the customer makes her request.)

01C:           Hello! (to S, who was talking to another vendor.  
                  (15.0) (C looks over S's items.)  
02C:           Can you tell me something about the keyboard? (makes eye-contact)  
                  Is it IBM compatible?  
03S:           It's Wang  
04C:           Yeah.  
05S:           It's Wang.  
06C:           Do you know if that's IBM compatible.  
07S:           Uhhhm. I think so. Most of them are.(picking it up and holding it as if to hand it to her. The C is standing in front of the item)  
08C:           Huhhh.

- 09S: Most Wang, most Wang and IBM, most keyboards, you know, most Wang and IBM keyboards fit uhhm, you know, anything.
- 10C: Yeah.  
(1.5?)
- 11C: Wh, Wh, do you know (clicks tongue) if it's 'ks, the type it is?
- 12S: Huh? (Muted voice)
- 132C: There are certain types. Yeah.  
(2.0)
- 14C: I don't know. It looks good.
- 15C: You don't know how old it is?
- 16S: Huh?
- 17C: Do you know how old it is?
- 18S: Oh! It's about,
- 19C: //What year it was made?
- 20S: It's less than a year. It's new. T's from the new ones.
- 21C: Relatively new. (muted voice)  
(clicks) It's interesting.  
How much are you charging?
- 22S: Eight dollars. (stress)
- 23C: It's pretty good.
- 24S: //pretty cheap.
- 25C: How long are you going to be out here.
- 26S: Oh! I'm getting cold now.
- 27C: Ehahh. (chuckling)
- 28S: You tell me how much you got to give me=
- 29C: =No the problem is that I have to see if its compatible with my computer
- 30S: Oh!
- 31C: And I have to call up and find out. But you may be around.  
I live in the neighborhood.
- 32S: Okay, so how long you'll be?
- 33C: Oh, I guess if I'm not back in ahh a half hour=
- 34S: =Okay, I'll wait half hour.
- 35C: Okay?
- 36S: Okay, I'll wait half hour.
- 37C: Thank you.
- 38S: Ahh You're welcome. (S turns away towards another C)

### 3.1.2 VCR Cleaner

A young African-American male monitors his wares, a variety of sweaters, blouses and other goods, folded neatly and spread carefully along the curbside of St Marks Place between Second and First Avenue of the East Village in New York City. The vendor is talking to a neighboring vendor, not making eye-contact with the customer, until she makes a request.

- 01C: Are these your ahhh::

- 02S: Huh? (eye-contact)  
 03C: ::things?  
 (3.0)  
 04C: How much is that?  
 05S: Huh?  
 (2.0)  
 06S: This?  
 07C: Uh huh. The cleaner.  
 08S: Oh this? Gimme two dollars. (low keyed)  
 09C: Uh huh.  
 (5.0)  
 10C: Oh That's for:.,  
 11S: Huh?  
 12C: That's for uhh VCR?  
 13S: Uh huh, uh huh.  
 14C: Yeah.  
 That's for playing VCR.  
 15S: They going, they go for ten dollars.  
 16C: Uh huh  
 (2.0)  
 17S: I don't bust nobody. (low-even matter of fact tone)  
 18C: Hahh, (muffled laugh) interesting things.  
 (6.0)  
 19C: You have a nice, a nice uhhm display here.  
 20S: Ohhh::, Thank you. (Turns away)  
 21C: Mind if I look for a few minutes?  
 22S: Eh?  
 23C: Mind if I look for a few minutes?  
 (6.0)  
 24C: You have a nice, a nice uhhm display here.  
 25S: T's alright.  
 (9 .0)  
 26C: Let's see. Very nice (muted)  
 (2.0)  
 27C: Jeans. (Low voice)  
 (11.0)  
 28C: Thank you.=  
 29S: =Okay (turns away)

### 3.1.3 Books 1

Sidewalk book vendor on Second Avenue A young man in his mid to late twenties is selling new books, decked out on a table on the curbside of the side walk on a cold winter Sunday night. Two young woman are inquiring about his books while the researcher/customer (C1) looks over his selection. He continues talking to the other two

young women (C2 and C3), without yet making eye-contact with the other perspective customer.

- 01S: Good Evening (to C1 emphatically rising contour, making eye-contact)  
(2.0)
- 02C1: Hi! (softly, while looking at the books)  
(1.0)
- 03S: Hi!= (soft voice) (to C1 turns to continue other exchange)
- 04C2: =I'd like to close this bloody thing...
- 05S: Oh! Stamp your legs. Go like this. (loud stamping sound)  
It works. Try.  
(2.0)
- 06S: I have others by her.
- 07C2: What was the latest one she wrote?
- 08S: (Tel Botichi). (sounds like)
- 09C2: How much is that?
- 10S: 19. (matter-of-factly, in a lowering contour)  
(23.0)  
<xx> (customers are talking, not audible on tape)
- 11S: I have others by Malcom X also.  
(to the other C2 and C3) Well, this is the Malcom X the FBI.  
(2.0)
- 12C2: Ha, Ha. (Chuckling) I always buy him something.
- 13C3: I always do that too.
- 14C2: Γ m.,I'll have both.  
Actually I should say I have all of them.  
(3.0)
- 15C2: I read all of them.
- 16S: I also have thehh erotica series(.5?)by Emma Hudson, also.  
This is MAUS, this is Maus 1 and Maus 2
- 17C3: Does Mark have these?
- 18C2: He has one of them.  
I don't know which one he has.
- 19C3: You don't know?
- 20C2: No!
- 21S: Probably Maus 1.
- 22C3: How much are those?
- 23S: Ten dollars a piece.(matter-of-fact tone of voice)
- 24C2: Yeah, he has this one.
- 25S: This is the second one.  
(4.0)
- 26C3: He does have Roses and Draf=
- 27C2: =Then get one
- 28C3: You got? He already got them all.
- 29C2: //Oh!

- 30C2: Get for Mark.  
 31C3: He already has two.(to C2)  
 32C3: Yeah!  
 33S: They're excellent. I think  
 34C3: Are you here tomorrow?  
 35S: Ahh. Yes. I'm here everyday but Tuesday up `til Christmas  
 36C3: When we go we'll look. We'll see which ones he's got.  
 37S: I have other graphic novels also. if you're interested, that are quite to say  
 'ssst the least, very strange.  
 38C3: How much is this?  
 39S: It 's ten fifty.  
 40C3: Are all these books new?  
 41S: Yes. (moderate stress) Of course. Everything you see on the table  
 is either new or display copy. One of the two.  
 42C3: Ohhhh::= prolonged overlap)  
 43S: =To say display copy means you get new copies, anyway.  
 (3.0)  
 44C3: That one is really good.  
 45S: Yeah. I also have this one. This is a play by him.  
 (3.0)  
 46C3: Okay. Well, I'm going to come back tomorrow,  
 because I don't want anything to carry right now.  
 47S: Okay//(overlap)  
 48C3: //What's this Big Sur?=  
 49S: That's Jack Kerouac.  
 He wrote On the Road?  
 (2.0)  
 50C3: What's this one about?  
 51S: Ahhh California.  
 (5.0)  
 52C3: Yah gonna be here tomorrow?  
 53S: Yes, ahh two o'clock (1.0)  
 54C3: Okay, that's=  
 55S: =Two to ten are my hours on weekdays. Fridays ahh Saturday ahh  
 midnight  
 56C3: Til' midnight?  
 57S: Til' midnight, yes.

#### 3.1.4 Books 2

This customer had been waiting for the server to finish negotiating with the above two customers is attended to. One second passes between 'Books 1' and 'Books 2' episodes.

- 62S: Hello!  
 63C1: Hi!  
 64S: Ah. You're still here. Okay. Ah huh (chuckles)

- 65S: If you are looking for certain novels,=  
66C1: =Excuse me?  
67S: If you are looking for certain novels, just ask.  
68C1: Uh huh. I will. I will.  
(17.0)  
69C1: You have mainly novels.  
70S: Huh?  
71C1: You have mainly novels.  
72S: No. I have non-fiction also.  
What are you looking for?  
(1.0)  
73S: Ahh. Oh! ahh recent non-fiction stuff which's come out.  
Ahh  
74C1: uh huh  
75S: Consciousness explained.  
76C1: IS THAT possible? Ha. Ha. Ha(Chuckle)  
77S: Don't ask MEEEE.  
This one's non-fiction.  
78C1: Uh huh. Uh huh.  
79S: Ahhhh. Let's see what else do I have  
Ahhhm. Ahhhm. What topic are you interested in?  
Or are you just.  
80S: Do you like non-fiction versus fiction?  
(1.0)  
81C1: I guess at the moment non-fiction.  
82S: Okay. Ahhhm. Let's see what else is there  
for you, non-fiction.  
83C1: Maybe, maybe something that's  
Ahhhm. Let's see.  
84S: This on how to tell witches.  
85C1: Oh, that's interesting. (chuckles)  
86S: //That's from the inquisition.  
Ahhh. I mean I have philosophy. I have  
ahhh some science.  
87S: The Peoples History of the United States is excellent.  
88C1: Uh huh.  
(2.0)  
89S: Ahhhm Let's see=  
90C1: =You have quite an interesting selection here.  
91S: Thank you.  
92S: Uhhm. What else is (now).  
93C1: //Jus'.  
Just kinda see if something jumps at me.  
94S: //I mean I have some  
95S: True crime stuff.

- I jus', I just, you know.  
 Ahhh
- 96C1: You have a variety.
- 97S: Oh yeah. If you stop back on Wednesday, my upstairs store'll be open, 'n I have, like about, I'd say, about a thousand non-fiction or so, books.
- 98C1: So you work on the street and off the street?
- 99S: Ahhhm. Well, basically what I do is this is that everyday excep', like Wednesday through Saturday my upstairs store is open.
- 100C1: Uh huh.  
 (2.0) (interrupted by bellowing truck horns)
- 102S: And ahh usually I have an employee that stands over here.
- 103C1: Uh huh.
- 104S: And we just take people up.
- 105C1: Yeah. I've seen your::passed by here many times  
 Yeah, they're very interesting
- 106S: //Thank you
- 107C: //I just uhhm have to see if there's something that I might want to get.
- 108S: Hi! (turns to another customer)
- 109S: If you're looking for certain books just ask me.
- 110C1: So, thank you. I'll be back. (C1 and C2 walk away)

### 3.1.5 Books 3

The above customer returned to book vendor serving post later that evening.

- 01S: Good evening (perky, as he looks up and smiles)
- 02C: Hi!
- 03S: Again? Hi!
- 04C: I thought of an author. (chuckling softly)  
 Deborah Tannen?
- 05S: Yeah!
- 06C: Do you have=
- 07S: =You Don't Understand= (pointing to book)
- 08C: =I do under, I do understand (chuckling)  
 (2.0)
- 09C: Ha! Ha! I'm just kidding.
- 10S: That's the book you want? (pointing to book)
- 11C: Uhmm. Are you discount or are you just normal prices?  
 (picking up the book and opening it)
- 12S: No Discount.  
 (1.0)
- 13C: That's eight fifty.  
 Let's see.
- 14C: I live down the block.

- 15C: I don't have any cash with me now, but I just wanted to know if you carry her.
- 16S: Of course (muted interruption)  
(1.0)
- 17C: And you're either here.
- 18S: Right here. Yup. Just right here
- 19C: Yeah!
- 20S: Or upstairs. One of the two
- 21C: Yeah! I think it's a dollar fifty savings.  
th, ten dollars
- 22S: No plus tax=.
- 23C: =Plus tax. So there's no tax.
- 24S: Well there is tax. It's just included in the price.
- 25C: I see.
- 26C: Do you have other books by her?
- 27S: She only wrote one other and I don't have it.
- 28C: But you have this one.
- 29C: Okay. That's one of the books that I do need.  
(S talks to another customer)
- 30C: Okay. That's one book that, that I could use.
- 31C: How about art books?  
How about paintings?
- 32S: Yes. What,  
What kind? Whi, Which artists?
- 33C: Uhhmm...
- 34S: Mainly used stuff.  
Not really any new art books.  
(2.0)
- 35S: But which artists?
- 36C: Georgia O'Keefe?
- 37S: Noh!
- 38C: Motherwell?  
(1.0)
- 39C: Motherwell? Abstract Expressionism?
- 40S: Yeah! I have Picasso.
- 41C: Well that's  
Yeah.
- 42S: Huh?
- 43C: And?
- 44S: Uhhmmm  
Another abstract expressionist=
- 45C: =Yeah, he's really,  
He's really not considered abstract expressionist.  
But=

- 46S: =Well cubism, I guess.  
 47C: I'm talking about.  
 Yeah!  
 48S: Name some of the artists.  
 49C: It's okay.  
 Uhmmm//  
 50S: //that you consider to be that.  
 Maybe I'll have them in.  
 and if I don't know.  
 51C: Well!  
 52S: The other thing is that you can come by  
 on Wednesday and you can come to my upstairs store  
 <xx>  
 53C: Because I'm a painter, you know.  
 If you have a book on abstract expressionism, I'll//  
 54S: //Gotcha  
 55C: So=  
 56C: =Do you have calendars?=  
 57S: //Uhhmm  
 58C: You know like next year's calendars?  
 Would you be carrying them?//  
 59S: //I'll be carrying one.  
 60C: Painting calendars. You know like with paintings on them.  
 61S: I could probably get them.  
 62S: You let me know  
 which ones you are looking for=  
 63C: =Yeah!  
Because I have a Georgia O' Keefe calendar (stress)  
 from last year that was very nice.  
 64C: Okay.  
 65S: Yeah, something like that//  
 66S: Uhmmm//  
 57C: //Okay=  
 58S: =I don't know what to tell you//(muted)  
 59C: //Because we, we`re neighbors so  
 <xx>  
 60S: //Okay (turns away).  
 61C: Thank you (walks away).

## 4. Transcriptions of the Data

### 4.1 Gilbert Data, 1994 of the Street-Based Service Encounters

33 Episodes + 1 Embedded Episode

### 4.1.1 Frying Pan

A middle-aged Hispanic man sits behind a small serving post on the store-side of the sidewalk overlooking a handful of neatly arrangement household items such as a frying pan, some spatchlers, detergent, a thermos, an expresso pot, etc.

(The customer stops to look at the item. The vendor watches her silently.)

- 01S: GOOD PRICE. GOOD PRICE. ALL GOOD PRICE. (hawking)  
(11.0) break
- 02C: Let me see  
(4.0)
- 03C: Hello! This yours?
- 04S: Pardon?  
(6.0)
- 05S: Hmm? (1.0)
- 06C: What are the prices?
- 07S: This?
- 08C: Yeah! (1.0)
- 09S: Uhhh.(1.0) Tell you what,  
for you only two dollar. (1.0)
- 10C: Excuse me?
- 11S: //Two dollars. Two dollars.
- 12C: Two dollars for that?
- 13S: //Two dollars.  
Yeah!
- 14C: And, uhh.  
How much is that?
- 15S: This?
- 16C: No that.
- 17S: This? For this?  
A [aye] dollar. (stress)
- 18C: A dollar.
- 19S: Uh huh.)
- 20C: And (0.5?) (hedge)  
Okay.  
Let me see.  
Let's see.=
- 21S: = Tell you=
- 22C: //What is that?
- 23S: You want everything
- 24C: //Nohh! (breathy slight chuckle)
- 25S: Oh! No, no?
- 26C: //Just want
- 27S: //I give you good price, good price. =
- 28C: just want, to see what I can use.
- 29S: Okay

- 30C: And, I don't need, Let's see, the frying pan is.  
I don't need this. This is broken.
- 31S: This is broken? What's broken?
- 32C: Yeah!  
I don't want that.
- 33S: This not broken. <xx Ma'am xx>
- 34C: No, thank you.  
Don't need it.
- 35S: Okay.
- 36C: Don't need it
- 37S: What about a coffee pot.
- 38C: Let me look at this.  
Let's see. This is,  
I don't know if I can use that.
- 39S: What about a coffee pot.
- 40C: No. I don't need that.  
I need just the frying pan.  
How much is the, just the frying pan?
- 41S: Oh, two dollars. (moderate stress)  
<xx> You know. You want this also?
- 42C: So two dollars for all that or two dollars for the frying pan is the same price.  
I don't want all that other stuff.
- 43S: So, so. Okay, Okay. Tell you what.  
No. Gimme two dollars. <xx Here xx>
- 44C: No, no, no, no.
- 45S: This
- 46C: How much is just the frying pan?
- 47S: Oh. Two dollars.
- 48C: How about a dollar fifty?
- 49S: I was sell'n it for three dollars, you know.
- 50C: Uhhuh.
- 51S: I was sell'n it for three dollar for uhh, you know.  
Tell you what. I gotta <xx idea xx>
- 52C: No just the frying pan.
- 53S: Jus', jus' two dollars, jus' two dollar  
an' take this as a compliment.  
(2.0)
- 54S: No. This, this is a
- 55C: Don't need it.=
- 56S: =No. No. I give it to you.
- 57C: I don't need it. Don't need it. (1.0)  
No don't need that either. That's opened.
- 58C: But I might be interested in the frying pan.  
Let me see.

- (3.0)  
 59C: Let me look at it for a minute.  
 It's kind of dirty.  
 60S: //That's a beauty. Yeah.  
 61C: It's nice but it kind of dirty.  
 Let me think about it. I'm not too sure.  
 62S: Rub off <xx >  
 63C: Okay. Thank you.  
 64S: Uhhh. Com' un.  
 65C: What?  
 66S: A dollar fifty.  
 67C: What?  
 68S: //Gimme a dollar fifty.  
 69C: You do a dollar fifty?  
 70S: A dollar fifty.  
 71C: Let me see if I have a dollar fifty. (C takes out money)  
 (8.0) (C checks money)  
 72S: You want that also?  
 73C: You, Do you have fifty cents? (C counts money)  
 74S: Yeah!  
 (10.0) (S and C exchange money for item)  
 75S: Okay, okay, okay thank you.  
 76C: Okay?  
 77S: Thank you.  
 78C: Thank you. (stress)  
 79C: Okay. Okay.  
 80S: //Thank you. (C walks away)

#### 4.1.2 Down Jacket

A young African-American is holding a shoulder-bag full of stock. He takes out a new-looking jacket bound in plastic and shows it to the customer on the street.

- 01S2: I GOT NEW SWEATSHIRTS  
Sweatshirts brand new. (Less stress)  
 02C: What do you have? (0.5)  
 03S: Huh? (Takes a jacket wrapped in plastic out of large shoulder bag)  
 Coat new.  
 04C: What size? (looks at jacket)  
 (mechanical difficulty lost some tape) (looks at size)  
 05C: What's the lining?  
 06S: That'll fit you. The, the lining.  
 What do you mean lining?  
 07C: What's it made out of?  
 08S: Its ahhh. It's ahhh. It's a whatchya call it.  
 It got it on the pocket. It's a uhmmm. See.

- 09C: Let me see what it is <xx> (reads information)  
It's polyester, cotton.
- 10S: //It's down, a goose down. (reads label)
- 11C: It's very good.
- 12S: It's goose down.
- 13C: Uh huh.
- 14S: It'll fit you.
- 15C: Uhh. Let me, let.=
- 16S: =Yah wan try it on?
- 17C: No, no, no, thank you. I can, sss, look at it.  
I haven't,  
(3.0)
- 18C: It's okay.
- 19S: It's goose down.=
- 20C: =What do you..?  
It's very good.
- 21S: //I want five dollars for it.
- 22C: It's very good.  
You gonna be around here for a while?
- 23S: Yeah! Why, how much you got now?
- 24C: I jus want to think about it.
- 25S: //I'll take whatever you got on you now?
- 26C: I know. (chuckles)
- 27S: Huh?
- 28S: I'll take whatever you got on you now.<xx> (rising tone)
- 29C: //But it's, it's a good buy.
- 30S: Give me four dollars. Give me three dollars.
- 31C: No.
- 32S: Give me two dollars.
- 33C: I gotta give it thought because, because it's cotton and it's not nylon.
- 34S: But it's a good, it's a good coat.  
Yours is like this. (touches and feels C's jacket)
- 35C: Uhm huh, uh huh.
- 36S: It's a good coat.
- 37C: Okay. Let me think about it.  
It's a good buy.
- 38S: <xx> Three dollars not bad.
- 39C: I have to see if I can make use of it.
- 40S: Try it on. (attempt to involve C further)
- 41S: I've got some brand new sweat shirts. (hawking new customers)  
towards other customers)
- 42C: Okay, thank you. (walks away)

### 4.1.3 Boot shoes

An African-American man and a Chinese-American woman share a serving post on the corner of First Avenue and St. Marks Place on Second Avenue. There is a variety of utility items on the sidewalk as well as a few articles of clothing.

- 01S: Hmmm (humming).  
Hello, how are you. (smiling, makes eye-contact)  
(2.0) (assigns turn to C)
- 02C: Hi. (muted)  
(3.0)
- 03S: Just name it and I'll make sure you don't leave without it.  
Ha, ha, ha.(to another customer)
- 04C: How much are those. (points to boots)
- 05S: The boots?
- 06C: //I mean with the=  
=It's five bucks, but I'll take three or four dollars, you know.
- 08C: Let's see what the size is on them.
- 09S: It's kind of a small size.
- 10C: Yeah! It's too small.
- 11S: Yeah! It must be. (looks are the size, after turning them over)
- 12S: It's very small.
- 13C: Yeah!
- 14S: It's probably a five or something like that. (downgraded assessment)
- 15C: Yeah! Okay, thank you.
- 16S: Maybe another time.

### 4.1.4 Jacket

The same serving post and vendor as above.

- 01C: This is nice. (points to leather coat)  
Is this yours.
- 02S: Yeah!
- 03S: All the way down (to another customer) (points out service area)  
(2.0)
- 04C: Uh huh. May I look at it?
- 05S: Yes, I insist.  
(6.0)
- 06C: It looks like a small size. (picks up coat and looks at it)  
What size? It doesn't have a size on it.  
(2.0)
- 07C: Let's see.
- 08S: The size?  
I don't know.
- 09S: Do you have time uh to try it on? (to C)

10S2: Yeah try it on.  
 11C: Oh it's okay. I can jus look at it and see.  
 12S: It's not too cold out.  
 (2.0)  
 13S: You look like a village-ite.  
 14C: What do you  
 15S2: //That is no problem, you know.  
 (4.0)  
 16C: What are you charging for that.  
 17S: I was asking 20.  
 I can give it for ten.  
 18C: Ah that's nice. I'm jus kinda thinking about it.  
 19S: I'll take 8 if your really interested in it.  
 20C: Ahuh (chuckle) I have to think  
 21 S: <xx>  
 22C: about it.  
 I think, I like it. I think it's a good deal.  
 I have to go, give it a little thought.  
 21C: Thank you.

#### 4.1.5 Perfume

The same serving post and vendors as above. However the customer is a woman in her late thirties or early forties.

01S2: Yes. (rising tone)  
 (2.0) (waits for C to take turn)  
 02S2: How are you today?  
 03C2: Fine. How are you?  
 04S2: I'm fine.  
 05C2: How much is the perfume?  
 06S2: Ahh, perfume. Ben! (stress) (calls out to other vendor)  
 07S2: Talk to her please.  
 08C2: I jus wanna know how much the perfume is.  
 I know it's expensive. It always is.  
 09S2: Ah, ha, ha (chuckles)  
 10S: Oh! What are you interested in?  
 It depends on what you're interested in.  
 11C: <xx>  
 12C2: Let's see.  
 What does it smell like?  
 Oh! There isn't anything much in it.  
 There isn't a whole lot in it. (picking some small jars)  
 (4.0)  
 13S2: How are you today? (to another customer)  
 14C3: Good. Long time no see.

- 15S2: Yeah! Warm today. Wonderful!  
 16C: Yeah!  
 (4.0)  
 (a lot of interrupting truck and traffic sounds)  
 17C2: Oh! That's with the spray?  
 : (45.0) (C2 looks over perfumes)  
 18S: Yeah!  
 19C2: This, this, this, and this.  
 (4.0)  
 20C2: Five a piece?  
 21S: No, no! Not for these. Thes are ,<xx for xx>  
 Uhhh. Those.  
 22C2: This.  
 (2.0)  
 23S: I'm selling these for somebody and uhh. Yeah! Yeah.  
 24C2: How much for this small?  
 26S: Twenty five for the <xx>  
 (9.0) (C doesn't take turn)  
 27C2: These are very small.  
 (4.0) (S doesn't take turn)  
 28C2: Ooh I gotta go back to the Chinese store.  
 29S: I could make arrangements.  
 30C2: I gotta go back to the Chinese store. Listen I forgot  
 (C leaves)

#### 4.1.6 Hole Puncher

The same serving post and vendors as above.

- 01C: What is that? Is like a, is that a hole puncher?  
 02S: Yeah!  
 03C: It's a hole puncher.  
 Oh, it's a stapler. (holding and snapping the stapler)  
 (3.0)  
 04C: What's the price of that? (pointing)  
 06S: This?  
 07C: and how much=  
 08S: =It's five. I can give it to you for three.  
 09C: You've got good prices. You have a nice selection here.  
 I just didn't walk around with any money on me (chuckles).  
 But it's interesting.

#### 4.1.7 Glasses

The same serving post and vendors as above.

- 01C: And those glasses are beautiful.

- How much are they? (pointing to sunglasses)  
 02S: These?  
 03C: How much are the glasses?  
 04S: They're three dollars. I'll take two bucks.  
 You see allot of this stuff is mine.  
 05C: //I'll be back  
 06S: And allot of this stuff I sell for other people, you know.  
 So it's, a lot of stuff I can.  
 07C: //You got a really=  
 08S: =Make arrangements on, you know.  
 Some things I can make <xx> a  
 09C: //I live,  
 10S //little lower than others, you know.  
 11C: I live right down the block. So I can just go back.  
 Are you here nightly.  
 12S: //I've seen you before.  
 13C: Are you here nightly.  
 14S: Uh, yeah, just about every night.  
 15C: Around this time?  
 16S: And.. Yeah!  
 17C: Okay. Okay. I like, I like what I see.  
 Take care. I'll see you.  
 18S: My pleasure.  
 19C: Bye, bye. (walks away)

#### 4.1.8 A Shoulder Bag

A Hispanic vendor about forty's, sits by his serving post on Second Avenue by the corner of St. Marks Place.

- 01S: Huh?  
 02C2: I thought it was a backpack. (pointing to item)  
 03S: It is.  
 04C2: No, That's a shoulder bag. (walks away)

#### 4.1.9 Umbrella

The same vendor as above.

- 01C: Hi. Is,  
 02S: What?  
 03C: Can I look at that? (points to umbrella)  
 04S: What?  
 05C: This, the umbrella?  
 06S: Yeah.  
 07C: Does it, does it work aha, ha (chuckles)?  
 (7.0) (picks up and opens the umbrella)

- 08C: Ah, that's pretty good.  
(10.0) (looks at it)
- 09C: How much is that.
- 10S: Two. Two dollars (low voice, to self)  
(40 .0)
- 11C: No thank you.  
Okay (low voice, to self)

#### 4.1.10 Sweat Pants/ Shirt

The same vendor as above.

- 01S: SWEAT PANTS. SWEAT SUIT.
- 02C2: Yes, sir.
- 03S: SWEAT PANTS. SWEAT SUIT.(hawking)
- 04C2: Yes, sir.  
(7.0)
- 05C2: How much is the uh giant shirt <xx> and this, and this?
- 06S2: Gimme five
- 07C2: Huh?
- 08S: Five together. Five together.  
(2.0)
- 09S: I gotta pick-up the, (stops talking and starts picking up items from sidewalk as a policeman walks towards serving area)
- 10C2: You don't wanna hang around for change, heh?.
- 11C2: Alright I gotta give you five, right? (picks up goods)
- 12S: //Okay.
- 13C2: Heh, heh, heh. (chuckles)  
(7.0) (transacting)
- 14S: Don' leave nottin' behind now.  
(3.0) (telling other vendor who is gathering his stuff off the sidewalk as the policeman passes)
- 15C2: I don' wanna give you, you know. (hesitant about paying in front of policeman)
- 16S: Yeah, yeah, (agrees)  
No, it, it's alright, you know. Tonight, you know.  
(8.0) (The vendor slowly starts to gather his stock off the sidewalk, while the policeman passes. A policeman is seen walking past the serving area without looking at it or saying anything. )
- 17S: You know, you got some, they come take everything.  
He don' say a thing, you know. As long <xx>you know sir.  
He no problem. (referring to policemen)  
(11.0)
- 18C2: It's alright, you know. <xx>  
Okay. <xx ties xx> Take it sir. (hands out money)

19S: Thank you. (takes money from C2) (  
(C2 walks away)

#### 4.1.11 Sweater

The same vendor as above.

01C: How <xx> much is that xx>? (points to sweater)  
 02C2: He bother you? What did he say (referring to the policemen)  
 03S: No, he didn't bother, you know. (referring to the policeman)  
 04C2: He didn't say pack up.  
 05S: He didn't say anything, but he saw me packin' up, you know.  
 06C2: Oh, I see.  
 07S: Yeah, yeah, I don' have to wait until..  
 (picks up the sweater to show C)  
 08C: It's a little big.  
 09S: It's a little big?  
 You was here yesterday.  
 Yeah, you know we got <xx>  
 10C: How much is that?  
 11S: Tell you what ,(chuckling)  
 Gimme eh, gimme a dollar.(chuckling)  
 12S: A dollar to  
 13C: //No. (overlap)  
 14S: let it go.  
 It's really too big.  
 15S: Some <xx>pants sir?  
 16C3: Too small. Too small  
 17C: Thank you anyway  
 18S: Wha, what (overlap)  
 19C: //Thank you.  
 20S: You gonna wear <xx> with that xx>?  
 21C: Thank you very much.  
 22S: We, I mean, we got eh snaps eh eh.  
 You know, I got a <xx> for that ticket xx >, you know=  
 23C: =Well you have nice things. It's just=  
 24S: =But, you always, you don' wanna spend any money.  
 You always come, you know  
 25C: Heh. (chuckle) Thanks

#### 4.1.12 Pocket book

(Pocket book, tapes, incense holder involve the same the same vendor)

An African-American vendor around forty years old, dressed in the rumpled clothes of a street person stood by his serving post. He was opening and showing a middle aged male customer (C3) his large suitcase of pocketbooks and magazines such as 'Omni'. The

pocketbooks appeared to be new, having price tags attached. Customer (C1 1) was viewing the serving post with her young female Italian companion, customer (C2).

- 1C1: Could I look at that bag? (pointing to purse on sidewalk in front of valise full of pocket books) (Soft tone)  
 02S: Sure! Which one? (Soft even tone)  
 03C1: This one. (pointing again to purse) (Soft tone)  
 04S: This one here?  
 05C1: Uh huh. (soft tone)  
 06S: Alright.  
 (3.0) (Label shows price at \$14.95)  
 <xx>(S is negotiating with another customer.  
 (The dialogue was unclear on the tape)  
 07S: Everything out here <xx> works.  
 (2.0)  
 08S: That's good stuff. (to another customer)  
 09C2: What you got?  
 10C1: How much is it?  
 11S: Eh?  
 12C1: How much is it?  
 13S: Three dollars.  
 14C1: It's three dollars. (to companion)  
 15S: I got more, eh. (1.0)  
 16C1: Uh huh  
 17S: There are two. (showing the bags)  
 18C1: Uh huh  
 (33.0) (Break in sales transaction. C walks away from item)  
 (S continues negotiating with another customer, who purchase item)  
 (closing)

#### 4.1.13 Tapes

C2, a young Italian woman, opens another sales dialogue with the same server, after checking out other items.

- 01C2: How much? This? (She had been looking through piles of tape stacked on the sidewalk and shows S one)  
 02S: Lemme see? (Looks at it)  
 It's two dollars.  
 03C2: Less?  
 04S: It's two.  
 05C2: One.  
 06S: No, that's jazz. (slighted stressed tones)  
 That's all, those are all jazz tape, ninety minutes, yah know.  
 I made them myself.  
 (2.0)

- 07S            Those are all jazz.  
(3.0)
- 08C2:        Wha ? (rising tones)
- 09S:        They're all jazz. All those tapes are all jazz.  
Charlie Parker, uh uh.
- 10C2:        //You have Charlie Parker also?=  
11S:        =Yeah! It's on there. Yeah.  
(3.0) (C2 looks through piles of tape)
- 12S:        Charlie Parker. You see.  
(26.0) (C2 looks through several piles of tape).  
(Then S looks through tapes)
- 13S:        Uhhh Peter Gabrielle, Clive James,  
(2.0) Uhhh (sighing) (2.0) (looks through tapes)
- 14S:        It's just, just some <xx>  
Charlie Parker. (to self)  
(2.0) (looking though tapes)
- 15S:        Charlie Parker,  
(4.0)
- 16S:        Char, Charlie Parker. (stress)
- 17C2:        Eh, Chet Baker. (interrupts, corrects S) (stress)
- 18S:        Oh man!
- 19C2:        Heh Heh (chuckles)
- 20S:        Com'on, eh it's gotta be here  
(3.0) (looking through tapes).
- 21S:        (traffic noise blurring voice on tape) <xx This is xx > Chet Baker  
Uh huh (clearing throat)  
This is (0 .5) Chet Baker. I got some.  
Charlie Parker. <xx>I got some. (0.5)
- 22S:        Must've<xx sold it xx>.  
(2.0)
- 23S:        <xx Must've sold it xx>.
- 24C2:        Wha?
- 25S:        Yeah.  
(8.0)
- 26C2:        Uhhh. Two for three dollars? (Showing two tapes)
- 27S:        Go ahead.
- 28C2:        Okay?
- 29S:        Yeah.  
(14.0) (street noise)
- 30S:        Which two you got? (paying for goods)  
Lemmi see.
- 31S:        Oh! Okay. (looks at tapes and takes the two dollars. C2 bags them)  
Thank you. (muted voice)
- 32S:        Oh! You don't want this, eh? (turns to C1, pointing to bag)  
You don't want.=

33C1: =No. Thank you.(slight stress) (C1 walks away)  
(16.0) (break before opening another encounter with same vendor)

#### 4.1.14 Incense Burner

01C1: How much is the incense uhm ss holder? =  
(points to wooden incense holder on sidewalk) =.

02C2: =That's an incense

03S: Uh?

04C2: holder, isn't it?

05S: With the, uhmm, I'll give it to you for three.  
Yeah. It's an incense holder.  
An' with the incense its three bucks.=

06C2: =What's this?

07S: Yeah? You just put,

08C2: //Ah yeah!

09S: You put, take this, put inside and you light.=

10C2: //yeah! yeah!

11S: This is a dollar and this two.  
(2.0)

12S: There's a holder in this too.  
Ay give me two bucks. Take ,

12C1: //Okay. (paying )  
(3.0)  
Thank you sir.

13S: And if you want the bag, you can have it for two dollars.

14C1: Ah hah (breathy chuckle)

15S: Okay?

16C1: Here we'll put it in here. (opens bag for C2 to put tape inside bag and pay)  
Thank you.

17P: Let's go. (A police officer interrupts the encounter)  
(S starts collecting his stuff and puts it in his valise)

18S: You're welcome.

19C2: Thank you.

20C1: You've nice stuff.

21S: Okay. Bye, bye.  
(A police siren can be heard)

22C1: Bye, bye, have a good evening. (walking away)

23S3: Let's go. Move it out. (stress) (police)

Fleeing the police, the vendor found another spot on Second Ave closer to St. Marks Place. A young Hispanic man, who appeared to be 'stoned,' was gathering the vendor's pocketbooks, taking them out of the valise.

#### 4.1.15 Pocketbooks

A same vendor as above has a service area well stocked with new looking hand bags in a sack and neatly arranged on the sidewalk. He has a African-American woman assistant. The young Hispance man (in mid-twenties or early thirties) approaches the vendor.

- 01C3: C'mon, Let's make a deal papa.  
 Let's get, BUSY papa. (very stressed)  
I'm talkin' to yah man.  
How much you want?  
 Do you know what.  
 Let me see how much, how much you got.  
 (4.0)
- 02S: <xx fucked up xx>
- 03C3: One, two, three, four, five, six (counting bags)  
 Fucked up. (1.0) Fucked up.
- 04S: //Fucked up.(1.0)
- 05C3: Fucked up.  
 (6.0) (S is humming)
- 06C3: Seven,  
 (3.0)
- 07S: Fucked up.  
 (2.0)
- 08S: Yo papa. I'm talkin' to you man.  
 C'mon over here.
- 09S: // <xx eh xx>=
- 10C3: //Get yoh black ass over here man.  
How much you want for this right now?  
 (2.0)
- 11S: <xx >
- 12C3: Let's go. Let's go. Let's get busy man.  
I'm not talkin to no bogey face, man.
- 13S: <xx >
- 14C3: I'm not popin' that ying yang.  
You know what I'm <xx thinking yeah xx>
- 15S: Ahh. (talking to another customer)
- 16C3: In other words papa <xx at you feeling xx> (songlike mock)  
 (3.0)
- 17S: Ahh. Yeah  
 (2.0)
- 18S: What are <xx all those xx>
- 19S2: Huh?
- 20S: <xx>Yeh know, I can't <xx>
- 21S2: <xx Ah. What's up xx>  
 What did yeh say?  
 (2.0)

- 22C3: How much you want for this?  
(4.0)
- 23C3: How much you want for this?
- 24S: How many you got there?  
How many you got there?
- 25C3: One, two,  
Mommy, that's <xx sweet home xx>(to African-American woman)  
For five of them.
- 26C3: How much do you want for all five?
- 27S2: Six <xx somethin' xx>. (nearby woman vendor, or associated with vendor)
- 28S: Ahhh.
- 29C3: Six somethin'?
- 30S2: Yes six somethin.
- 31S: Gimme a quarter.  
Gimme a quarter. Take 'em all.
- 32C3: Wha?
- 33S: Gimme twenty-five. Take 'em all.
- 34C3: Fuck you talkin'.  
TWENTY-FIVE?\_(shouts)
- 35S: How much you wanna give me for all?
- 36C3: Five dollars.
- 37S2: //He got seven.
- 38C3: //Just five dollars for all of them.
- 39S2: He got seven.
- 40S: Oh Yeah!
- 41C3: You wan' five dollars for them?
- 42S: Nah! One of them cost fifteen dollars.
- 43C3: Don't give you <xx fight xx> man.
- 44S2: I don' wan <xx fight xx>with you man. Get the <xx fuck xx>
- 45S: Heh, heh (chuckles)  
That's not bad.
- 46C3: How much you want for all of them?
- 47S2: Huh.
- 48C3: I bought this one. How much you want for them.
- 49S: C'mon you talkin crazy. One of them cost fifteen dollars.
- 50C3: //Five dollars.  
**SO WHAT! Fifteen?**
- 51S: Yeah!
- 52C3: Yo Papa five dollars.
- 53S: I'm not <xx bad. You crazy xx>.
- 54S2: How many pocket books you got in here? (to C3.)
- 55S2: I'm tellin' you. He's got seven
- 56S2: I'm talking about these. (pointing)
- 57C3: No. This is mine.
- 58S2: Huh?

- 59C3: This is mine. <xx> This one I bought.  
(2.0)
- 60S2: <xx>
- 61S: One of them cost that much. Eh?  
(3.0)
- 62C3: <What did xx>  
Here you go.
- 63S2: Oh man.  
(2.0)
- 64C3: <xx> Huh. <xx hah xx>  
<xx> (walking away)
- 65S2: He got some in a bag. He said he bought them.
- 66C3: Five dollars.  
Said <xx> <xx he said xx>
- 67S: <xx>
- 68S2: I seen it.
- 69S: Nah. (hums)  
(20 .0) (break in sales dialogue. Vendor hums.)
- 70C3: Don't fuck with me <xx>(walking away)

#### 4.1.16 Embedded Argument

An argument takes place between vendor's African-American female assistant (S2) and a passing African-American female (C4) possibly potential customer.

- 01S2: See that's why I asked you not to do that. You went through all that.  
You took the paper out (made a mess<xx>  
Kiss my ass.
- 02C4: That's right. I wanted to see how long it was.=
- 03S2: =You could 'a asked me. I told you that.  
You know, you takin' all the parts, takin' paper=  
04C4: =Start cursin', I could curse too.=
- 05S2: = So what.
- 06C4: //But you ain't that bad.
- 07S3: You, I ain't tryin' to be bad.
- 08C4: Alright then.
- 09S2: I was sayin' don' be <xx> in' my stuff like that.
- 10C4: You didn't say shit. This shit.  
I was lookin' at this shit.=
- 11S3: =I was askin' yah not to do it like that.=
- 12C4: = You didn't say shit.
- 13S2: I said don't take the thing off.=
- 14C4: =You didn' say shit. Okay, you didn' say shit.
- 15S: //Okay, Okay, Okay, Okay, okay now, now.  
(rising, quick tempo)

- 161S2: <xx>  
 17C4: You make me get outta here. <xx>  
 You make me get outta here.  
 18S2: <xx>  
 19C4: You go fuckin' bad  
 20S2: <XX>  
 21C4: You come as just as bad as you and I'm the one. (to other woman)

#### 4.1.17 Body Oil

An African-American vendor, about in his late thirties or early forties. The two customers, the researcher (C1) and the young Italian woman (C2) approach another serving post.

- 01C1: What's that? (pointing to some jars on sidewalk service area)  
 What's this over here?  
 02S: Oh for both. That's a set.  
 03C1: What is that?  
 04S: Oh the, they three dollars for one.  
 05C1: What are they?  
 06S: //This, It's, it's on there.  
 07C1: Okay let me read this. (picking up the jar)  
 for utility and need prevail)  
 08S: Please <xx> (to arguing ladies )  
 09C1: Can you read that? (to C2)  
 12C2: Orange cream bath oil. Banana cream. (companion reads label)  
 13C1: What are they used for? (to C2)  
 14C2: Ehm conditioner and bath oil.  
 15C1: Ah. What is this? (to C2)  
 16C2: Conditioner.  
 17C1: For what? (to C2)  
 18C2: Forrr:: hair.  
 19S: Yeah.  
 20C1: I don't need a hair conditioner.  
 21S: One is <xx> for you hair. One is for you bath.  
 22C2: Eh. what's that? Eh.  
 23S: Where? This?  
 24C: No. The other one. This. (Ladies stop arguing in the background)  
 25S: Wha? (1.0) Oh yeah, yeah, yeah! It's good stuff.  
 26C1: How much is that?  
 27S: Three.  
 28C1: Three dollars. That's not too much.  
 29S: You can't buy that in no store. You can get that only in health foods.  
 Like uh health food stores. (overlap)  
 30C1: //mmh, huh. mmh huh.  
 31S: And things like that.

- 32C1: //Uh huh.  
 33S: Yeah.  
 (2.0)  
 34S: Yup.  
 (3.0)  
 35S2: <xx>  
 36S: No. didn't get to go there yet.  
 37S2: Oh! <xx> (C looks at another item, while holding bath oil jar)

#### 4.1.18 Hair Gel

The same vendor and customers as above in another transaction.

- 01C2: And this? (shows S hair gel)  
 02S: Two dollars.  
 03C2: Eh? (slow tempo)  
 04S: Gimme a dollar for that. (Quick tempo)  
Gimme a dollar for that. And three dollars and two dollars for that.  
 Take both. Three dollars.  
 05C1: Do you want that? (1.0)  
 06C2: Gel.  
 07C1: Yeah. Do you want that?(C2 nods, holding a tube of hair gel)  
 Okay, we'll get it. We'll get it all.  
 (8.0) (exchange of money)  
 08C2: A dollar. Let me see,  
 (2.0)  
 09C2 One, two (counting out cash and handing it over to vendor)  
 (4.0) (S takes the money)  
 10S: Nah (to woman companion)  
 Okay, okay, thank you. (accepts money)  
 11C1: Okay, thank you very much.  
 (showing S a rainbow colored belt)  
 12S: It's two dollars. Two. Gimme two dollars.  
 ( 8.0(Police are warning vendors to clear out)  
 13C1: Take care. (closing)  
 14S: Alright. (Vendor was collecting his stuff and putting it into the valise and  
 A large shopping cart)  
 15C4: <xx This guy's got xx>some good stuff.

#### 4.1.19 Leather Jacket

An Asian-American woman stood by her service post on St. Marks Place between Second and Third Avenues. An African-American man, leaning on a fence on the far-side of the sidewalk, is watching over her.

- 01C1: Look at the jacket. (to C2, pointing to leather jacket)  
 02C2: Oh its <xx>

- 03S: Nice leather. Try-on (to C2) Good stuff. Yeah, good price.  
How are you today? (to C1, recognizing her from previous encounter)
- 04C1: Fine.
- 05S: Uh, I wanted fifteen, but I take ten dollars for you. Ten.
- 06C2: Ten dollars.
- 07S: That's good stuff
- 08C2: //Uh, huh
- 09S: Yeah. This one, nothing damage, you know. Scratch, you know. Yeah,  
 from vintage, you know, scratch. Somebody carry.
- 10C2: //Yah
- 11S: //Or something.
- 12C2: //Yah
- 13S: Yeah. You know, Ninth street. First Avenue corner.  
 It's vintage shop over there, you know. From over there. This one.  
 (holding jacket and showing a scratched away part on the shoulder)
- 14C2: Uh huh.
- 15S: Check it out. Everything check it out.  
 (7.0)
- 16C2: Okay.
- 17S: Only ten dollars.  
 Never have to buy, you know, another place.
- 18C2: Yeah.
- 19S: //Yeah.=
- 20C2: =Thank you.
- 21S: How's seven?  
 (2.0)
- 22S: That's the price.
- 23C2: //No. I have hmm.
- 24S: //How much you have?
- 25C2: Because I have one jacket like that.
- 26S: //Oh. Oh.  
Okay,
- 27C2: Yeah. I just want <xx >See you. (slight chuckle)
- 28S: If <xx you xx> change mind come back.
- 29C2: Okay. (chuckle)
- 30S: We have more, okay?
- 31C2: //Huh, huh
- 32C1: Okay  
 Check it out.  
 (4.0)
- 33S2: If the price is too much I'll take an offer.
- 34C1: Heh. (chuckle) Okay. (Both customers walk away)



And what's this thing?  
 27S: Huh? I don't know that's the tape <xx you use xx>  
 (C1 and C2 walk away).  
 (mechanical problem, tape ended)

#### 4.1.21 Black Shoes

An African-American man (S1) and woman (S2) are standing by a serving post on St. Marks between First and Second Avenue

01S1: Brand new.  
 And that's nice basic black. (Holding out to her patent leather shoes)  
 02C1: Uh huh.  
 03S1: If it's your size, it's a steal.  
 What's that? (pointing to another pair of shoes on the sidewalk)  
 Try it on. Try it on <xx >.  
 04C1: No I don't try it on. I just=  
 05C1: =What size is this?  
 06S2: What size you wear?  
 That's uh eight and a half, nine.  
 07C1: Eight and a half.  
 08S2: Eight and a half, nine.  
 09C1: Uh huh.  
 It's very very nice.  
 How much is it?  
 10S2: I'll give it to you for eight.  
 11C1: It's a good price.  
 (2.0)  
 12C2: I, I can't wear rubber shoes.  
 13C1: What?  
 14C2: This material.  
 15C1: Yeah?  
 It's not good for me.  
 I need leather or  
 16C1: Uh huh.  
 you know like this.  
 (A mechanical difficulty, nterrupted taping of transaction)

#### 4.1.22 Vacuum Cleaner

A young African-American male about early 30's is standing by a few utilitarian items, including a vacuum cleaner arranged on the sidewalk.  
 (C stops to look at vacuum cleaner.)

01S: I only want 15 dollars. (mutely)  
 (21.0) (C is looking at vacuum cleaner)  
 02S: This is nice. It's in good shape. (

- It works real good.  
I want 15 dollars for <x that x>
- 03C: Excuse me?
- 04S: 15 dollars for this. It's in good shape.  
(1.0)
- 05C: <xYes x>I see.  
How old is it?
- 06S: Huh?
- 07C: How old do you think it is?
- 08S: Oh uhh it's, maybe about uhh about a year and a half.  
That's all, about a year and a half.
- 09C: Uh huh Ha (chuckles)
- 10S: Yah want, yah can plug it up. It works good
- 11C: Okay. Thank you.  
Thank you. (C walks away)

#### 4.1.23 Photographs

A young African-American man in his mid to late thirties is the vendor. Some professional level photos are carefully arranged on the sidewalk

- 01C: Is this yours? (pointing to photos)
- 02S: Yeah.  
: (32.0) (looks at photos)(break in dialogue for activity)
- 03S: Like 'em
- 04C: They're very nice.  
(4.0)
- 05C: Who photographed them? Do you know?
- 06S: No. I don't.
- 07C: What?
- 08S: No. I don't?
- 09C: Eh heh (Chuckles).  
They're very good, nice.  
(1.0)
- 10S: How much is that one?
- 11S: They're one dollar.
- 12C: A dol,=
- 13S: =They're one dollar. (1.0)
- 14C: Thank you. (walks away)

#### 4.1.24 Telephone

An African American man is carefully laying his wares on the sidewalk. A telephone has already been positioned.

- 01C: Hi. (summons S)  
(13.0) (C looking at goods)

- 02C: What kinda phone is that?  
 03S: Huh?  
 04C: What kinda phone is that?  
 05S: Touch-tone.  
 06C: Uh huh.  
 It's really good.  
 07S: Yeah! It's only four dollars  
 08C: It's a good price. (chuckling)  
 09S: Yes.  
 10C: I gotta think about it.  
 It's a good price.  
 11S: <xx Try it xx> I used to get it for ten, no more. (holding phone)  
 12C: Yeah.  
 Nobody got no money <xx>.  
 13S: That's a good one.  
 I got some nice skirts.  
 14C: Excuse me.  
 15S: I got some nice dresses and skirts.  
 16C: I'll pass by later.  
 17S: Okay. (accepts closing)  
 18C: Thanks. (walks away)

#### 4.1.25 Thick Wool Sweater

An African-American vendor is holding up a heavy wool sweater and showing it to the C, who stopped to look at it. He interrupts the sales-transaction to request a cigarette from an African-American male onlooker (Pe=pedestrian)

- 01S: It's warm.  
 (3.0)  
 02C: That's sorta nice.  
 (4.0)  
 Where is it from?  
 03S: The pockets?  
 04C: Where is it from? (louder)  
 05S: I don't know.  
 It's a fffforeign sweater.  
 06C: Yeah uh huh (chuckles)?  
 07S: But it's warm.  
 It's interesting, interesting sweater.  
 08S: I've a green one like this.  
 09C: uh huh (2.0)  
 10S: Spare one of those?(shifts register- to passerby, about to light a cigarette)  
 11Pe: No, (That's true), I can't spare one, but I'll give you one. (hands S one)  
 12S: You like it. (shifts register) (to C)  
 13C: Uh that's interesting.

- How much are you charging  
 14Pe: (when) When you say `do you got an extra cigarette', I never. (1.0)  
 I never have change.  
 15S: Sorry about that. (to Pe. shifting register)  
 16P: I never have extra cigarettes. I have a cigarette.  
 17S: It's a hundred percent wool.(interrupts) (to C, shifting register)  
 18P: Eh?  
 19S: Thank you, don't worry about it. (to P, shifting register)  
 20C: What did you say?  
 How much wool?  
 21S: That's because it's wool. (shifts vocal tone to a less casual)  
 One hundred percent wool.  
 22C: Yeah.  
 23S: Ten dollars. (stress)  
 24C: Oh, it's BEAUTIFUL (expressive high contour)  
 But I have to give it some thought.  
 25S: Think that's too hot?  
 26C: Right now? (chuckles)  
 Definitely.  
 27S: //How much you got?  
 28C: I'll give it some thought.  
 29S: How much?  
 30C: I have to think about it.  
 I have to think whether I could use something that, that hot.  
 31S: Oh but it going to be cool pretty soon. t's still cold.  
 32C: Yeah. I have to think about it.  
 33S: Alright.  
 34C: But it's, it's a nice sweater. (rising tone)  
 Thank you.  
 35S: //You want it?  
 36C: I'll give it, I'll give it some thought, okay?  
 37S: Okay, <xx I be here right here xx>.  
 (C walks away)

#### 4.1.26 Coral Necklace

A man in his late thirties is standing by his items neatly arranged on the sidewalk on Second Street between First Avenue and Avenue 'A' in the East Village.  
 C looks at items.

- 01C: Is this yours? (pointing to coral necklace)  
 (9.0)  
 02S: Hi.  
 03C: Hello. Hi.  
 (16.0)  
 04C: Is this yours?

- 05S: Yah.  
(3.0)
- 06C: Uh, huh. It's is an interesting necklace.
- 07S: Excuse me.
- 08C: It's is an interesting necklace.
- 09S: Ah, it's coral.  
(3.0)
- 10C: Uh Huh.
- 11S: It's coral.
- 12C: It's very nice. What are you asking for this?
- 13S: Just two dollars.  
(3.0) (muted stress)
- 14C: Two dollars for that.
- 15S: I like your hat. (moderate stress)
- 16C: Thank you. (some chuckle)
- 17S: Yeah.  
(21.0) (traffic) (C picks up necklace and looks at it .)
- 18C: Think it might break?
- 19S: What? The clasp?
- 20C: What is that? This. (shows it to S)
- 21S: Nah. That's the segments in between them.They're all that way.  
It won't break. (moderate stress)
- 22C: //Uh huh.
- 23S: Unless somebody yanked it or something like that.  
But other than that, nah, It won't break. (moderate stress)  
(6.0)
- 24C: It's pretty nice.  
And that's two dollars, isn't it? (moderate stress)
- 25S: It's just two bucks.
- 26C: It's <xx just like xx> that. (looking at necklace).
- 27S: It's two bucks. (muted stress)
- 28C: That's not bad. \_  
(9.0)
- 29S: It 's a nice day we having?  
It's supposed to be that on the weekend too.
- 30C: Yeah?
- 31S: Yes. It's supposed to be.  
Sixty on Sunday. Sixty five.
- 32C: Uh huh
- 33S: //I hope so.  
I will have to get out here on Sunday and sell my stuff.
- 34C: It seems to be a pretty good spot.
- 35S: It's sometime. They got more police around and=
- 36C: =They haven't been=

- 37S: =Well so far today they been cool. Like he's been standing on the corner (referring to policemen across the street) but he's ain't saying nothing.
- 38C: He isn't saying anything.
- 39S: I figure he's out on another detail.  
You know what I mean,
- 40C: //Yeah.  
//like might be watching this drug <xx buy xx>.
- 41C: //Maybe he doesn't  
Want to deal with it.
- 42S: Exactly that might be it. But you know it depends on what the precinct commander has in mind for the day.
- 43C: Ha, ha, ha (chuckles)
- 44S: Really, that's, that's the gist that I'm getting from the guys on the street.
- 45C: Uh huh.
- 46S: You're talking. No. Because some of the cops they know you not doing nothing. Like me personally I don't steal. I go find my stuff or people like you who know I sell. They come 'here, here's something to sell'.
- 47C: Yeah.
- 47S: So I don't have to worry about, you know, police looking at my stuff like I stole it. They got guys who do that.  
So I could see them looking for stuff sometimes.  
I got no problem with that. But to lump everybody into that category is wrong.  
(2.0) (traffic noise interruption)
- 49C: So, do you want two dollars? (still holding necklace)
- 50S: Yeah just two dollars.
- 51C: Two dollars for that, okay. Is that okay? Thank you (hands over money)
- 52S: Thank you very much.
- 53C: I notice on uhm uh Second Avenue it's been pretty bad lately.
- 54S: On St. Marks?
- 55C: Yeah.
- 56S: On Seventh Street. Yeah.
- 57C: Yeah.
- 58S: Yeah. Definitely.  
They don't want you over there at all.
- 59C: Yeah.
- 60S: I think that's. It be a lot'a stuff goin on too.  
Yah know what I mean.
- 61C: Yeah. I know there is
- 62S: And then the people with the businesses.  
They're always complaining.  
Ah the guys leave garbage in front of my store,  
'en this and that, you know.
- 63C: Uh huh.
- 64S: I don't know. I don't know.

- It's hard for us to get licenses to do this. (C interrupts)
- 65C: Really, they don't just give you licenses?
- 66S: It takes too long.  
And then allot of us can't come up with like two hundred and fifty dollars in one shot and then wait five six years to come up on some list.
- 67C: I heard you all were getting together,  
trying to get some kind of unity.
- 68S: Yeah, we was trying to do that but I don't know what's been happening with it because I haven't been seeing the guy. His name is Robert.
- 69C: Yeah.
- 70S: I don't know what he's been doing.  
So, I'd like to do it but, you know,  
(2.0)
- 71S: Everybody has to have their own uhm, their own type of agenda, and they gotta be agreeable with what everybody wants to do that's doing this.
- 72C: //Wha, wha,  
What interests you in this kind of thing?
- 73S: I tell you the truth, I'd like to get into collectivism.  
If I could get my own little like. say like a beauty stand type situation.
- 74C: Yeah.
- 75S: Just sell some stuff outta there like that. That'll be cool. 'd like to do this for a business.
- 76C: Yeah.
- 77S: Yeah I would.
- 78C: Do you see the possibility?=  
79Pe: =<xx >(an overhearer who interrupts the dialogue between C and S)  
80S: They let me live Larry. (to Pe) (register shifting and looking at Pe)  
81C: Heh, heh (chuckles)  
Do you see the possibility of that?
- 82S: Yeah I know a few people that are like, they're conducive to the idea.  
They just want to see me like uhh narrow down what I'm doing like make a really strong move to it.  
They feel I gotta do more research and stuff like that so.
- 83C: Maybe you can get a loan, a government loan.  
Do they give those?
- 84S: <xx For small businesses xx>?
- 85S: Yeah, but then it would hafta be something they recognize as a business.
- 86C: I see.
- 87S: This they wouldn't recognize as a business, you know. They wouldn't recognize it, you know. It's allota, allot of things, you know.  
A lot of the guys, like me, we don't got a place to live.
- 88C: When Clinton comes out here you gotta get a hold of him.
- 89S: I know. But secret service they all thick around him, you know  
It's hard for a guy like me to get to him.
- 90C: Because he's got a few decent people working with him, you know

91S: I like him personally,  
 92C: If you can catch. get their. their ear,  
 93S: Yeah.  
 94C: Maybe you can uhhm  
 95S: But he's up at a high level. Yah gotta deal with somebody  
 96C: //Get some of those people  
 97C: Yeah  
 98S: Yah gotta deal with somebody like like if the mayor was, if the mayor was  
 a different type of man.  
 99C: Aha, heh hey (chuckles)  
 100S: Then maybe because he's reachable.  
 Maybe even a congressman, because he's reachable, but I don't know.  
 101C: Yeah, maybe a congressman, that might be cool.  
 102S: Well, we try'n.  
 103C: Well, good luck, you.  
 104S: Thank you, thank you.  
 105C: Wh, wh, how do you live, you know?  
 Do you have a problem getting a place to stay, I mean on that income?  
 106S: Uh, Well, fortunately G-d blessed me with (some) real friends.  
 You know and uh  
 107C: Do you share a place?  
 108S: Not exactly. It's like, it's a, it's a soup kitchen, right?  
 109C: Yeah.  
 110S: I help out and, you know, it's not an exchange thing. But I like to help out  
 and they like to help me. So if weather's bad and I didn't make any money  
 I could ask them if I could stay the night, they'll let me.  
 111S: See but when I'm makin' money.  
 112C: Uh huh.  
 113S: I could stand on my own two feet.  
 114C: Yeah.  
 115S: I still come and help them out, you know.  
 Because I'm not into like, I don't know what you would call it, uh,  
 116C: Hustling? Ah hah (chuckling)  
 117S: //Being parasitic, yeah. you know.  
 I'm not into getting no money.  
 118C: Well, good luck.  
 119S: Okay, thank you  
 120C: Thanks for the, (chuckling)  
 I was very curious.  
 121S: //Okay, cool, thank you.  
 122C: //Thanks for the information.  
 123S: Nice talking to you.  
 124C: Bye, bye.  
 125S: Bye. (C walks away)

#### 4.1.27 Ink Cartridge

- 01C: Hi.
- 02S: How yah doing?  
(0.5)
- 03C: Can I look at that? (pointing to ink cartridge)
- 04S: Sure.
- 05C: The hi-capacity (pointing, while the S is trying to locate it)  
No, the hi-capacity.
- 06S: Oh, This?
- 07C: Yeah the hi-capacity.  
Has that been opened? (picking up opened box, to check cartridge)  
(4.0)
- 08C: So you don't know if this has been used.
- 09S: It's been used? Yeah?
- 10C: Well, it's been opened.
- 11S: Well I took the top off to look in there. That's all.
- 12C: Okay, I'll tell you whether it's been used. (checking out the cylinder)
- 13S: Maybe you know better than me.
- 14C: Yeah.  
(5.0)
- 15C: Yah, this, when this 'i covers it, it means, it's not been used. (shows S  
protective tape)
- 16S: I ripped it off.
- 17C: What?
- 18S: I ripped it off the seal, to see what's in it.
- 19C: Ohhh, Yeah. That's, if, if it=
- 20S: =Because there was an aluminum thing that peeled off  
(2.0)
- 21C: You see what you have to do with this, is you not, you shouldn't touch any  
of that and that has to remain ssealed 'cause that's the customer's
- 22S: Right <xx> That's good to know next time because.
- 23C: Heh, heh (chuckles)  
So, (1.0) I couldn't (1.0) ah thank you (gives him cartridge back) .  
(2.0)
- 24C: How much are you charging for that?
- 25S: Excuse me.
- 26C: How much are you charging? (louder)
- 27S: //A dollar.
- 28C: That's a good price.  
I just, can't be sure whether it's usable at this point.
- 29C: Thanks.(Vendor walks to another side of service area on that sidewalk).

#### 4.1.28 Jeans Top

Pants, blouses and other garments are hanging on a rack on the sidewalk and laid neatly on the sidewalk. The customer approaches a different serving post.

- 01C: What's that? (pointing)  
 02S: The outfit, this? (pointing)  
 03C: No, the next to that.  
 What's that.  
 04S: <xx The a little xx>  
 This. (picks it up and shows it to C.)  
 (3.0)  
 05C: Oh that's a top, a jeans top.  
 06S: //Yeah.  
 07C: Size twelve. (looking at it)  
 It's too big.  
 How much are you charging for that?  
 06S: A dollar.  
 07C: You have a good, yeah, that's a nice piece.  
 It's just a twelve. ( chuckling) A little big for me.  
 08S: I have a little one over here. (pointing)  
 The blue one. The light blue one.  
 (1.0)  
 09C: Uh huh. (looking at the other one)  
 (6.0)  
 10C: It's a medium. (looking at label)  
 It's too big. I'm a small.  
 11S: Too small?  
 12C: No. I'm a small.  
 That's a medium.  
 13C: Thanks. (returning the top)  
 ( C walks over to another serving post alongside)

#### 4.1.29 Jeans Jacket

A different serving post next to the one above.

- 01C: This jacket yours? (pointing to jacket)  
 02S: Yeah, that's a nice jacket.  
 That's the one she was just talking about.  
 03C: Uh huh.  
 How much <xx are you charging xx>? (muted)  
 04S: <xx extra-large xx>  
 05C: Yeah, that's too big. So.  
 (2.0)  
 06C: Some people like the large size.  
 07S: Yeah baggy.  
 (3.0)  
 08C: Are you around here?  
 09S: On and off. I live around here. but you know.  
 10C: It's quiet here.  
 11S: // <xx I'm broke xx>.

- Nah, well tonight 'l jus'.  
 12C: //Luck?  
 13S: Cops coming. Tell yah pack up. That's the whole thing.  
 14C: //Ohhh.  
 15S: Yah try to make what you can while you're out here.  
 16C: Yeah. (1.0)  
 That sweatshirt. (picking up sweatshirt)  
 17C: Let's see, Let's see. That's a medium.(muted tone)  
 (looking at sweatshirt, then putting it down)

#### 4.1.30 Multi-Colored Hat

- 01C: This is nice.  
 (2 .0) (picking up a dark toned multi-colored knit hat)  
 02C: Dark. (muted tone)  
 This is lovely.  
 03S: I know  
 04C: Everything's a dollar. (rising tone)  
 05S: Most of my stuff is a dollar, two dollars.  
 06C: This is beautiful. (expressively)  
 My own. I would, if it was a little brighter, I'd get it right away.  
 My problem is that I, I need bright.  
 07S: //It's close to that one, you got on,  
 The color <xx anyway xx>  
 08C: //I need bright colors.  
 That's a dollar. uh huh. (1.0)  
 You don't have ahhh, mirror?  
 09S: Why don't you use this <xx >  
 10C: Let's see  
 (2.0).  
 11S: How's that?  
 12C: Let me see how the color works. It's a little, let's see.  
 (2.0)  
 13C: You see, don't look good in dark.  
 14S: Do you want me to hold the mirror?  
 15C: No. It's okay. I like it. It's just my coloring,  
 I need  
 (2.0)  
 16S: <xx>  
 17C: I know. (chuckles)  
 18S: // <xx>  
 19C: This is beautiful.  
 20S: // <xx>  
 This is beautiful. (increased stress)  
 This is lovely. (muted tones) (change of register, voicing)  
 <xx Where did he > get that. (change of register, voicing)

- (3.0)  
 21C: This is beautiful  
 It's too dark. (to S in increased stress and return to previous register)  
 (C walks away, smiling at S)

#### 4.1.31 Shoes

Shoes are laid out on the corner of Fifth Street and First Avenue

A man is looking at shoes. The vendor is an older Hispanic man in late forties.

- 01C: (Looking at shoes)  
 02S: What size are you?  
 What size are you? (rapid tempo)  
 03C: Nice shoes. Huh?  
 04S: What size are you?  
 05C: Uh, six and a half. (British accent)  
 06Pe: Six and a half? (very stressed)  
 07S: You Small feet.  
 08Pe: You wear seven and a half? (onlooker)  
 09C: Seven and a half,  
 Seven and a hal,. I think.  
 I can remember, I, I get confused between English and American  
 10S: //Ha, Ha, Ha. (chuckling)  
 11C: <xx smallish, anyway xx>  
You get confused English and American?  
 12C: Yeah.  
 13S: What language you speaking?  
 London, England?  
 14C: Yeah, I know, but their shoe size is different  
 15S: //You England?  
 16C: Yeah.  
 17S: Oh, that's good  
 18C: But, ahh the shoe size is different in my country.  
 19S: Yeah. That country, is different.  
 It, it, it, it  
 So if my size is eight, here its like a <xx nine xx>.  
 19S: //It, it different from Europe, from  
 American, and London.  
 20C2: //Oh the different, different (Hispanic woman onlooker)  
 21Pe2: Something's happening over there in England, recently.  
 22S: //Yeah but, you know why,  
 23Pe2: //What's, what's the problem?  
 24S: //you know why the different  
 25C: //You know I'm,  
 26S: //Excuse me.  
 27C: //I barely watch

- 28S: //you know why  
the different your <xx feet? (to C2)  
If, if you be confuse the size.
- 29C: //Any English news anymore:  
Because I'm uhh three thousand miles away.  
I just uhh, when I was over there,
- 30S: You know what you can do (to Hispanic woman)  
You put the shoe <xx on xx> (hands her the shoe)
- 31C2: //Yeah, Yeah (tries on the shoe)
- 32C: //I was very upset about everything  
all the time.
- 33P: //You're not traveling here, you know.  
You're not traveling now here?
- 34C: //No I'm here, re, long term.
- 35S: You know why its different. If you're confused take your shoe off.  
(to woman)
- 36C2: Yeah.
- 37P: Ohhhoh
- 38C: No
- 39S: (continues in Spanish<xx>)
- 40P: I heard something, big trouble over there. I forget what it was.
- 41C: Recently. I mean well there <xx something to do with the police xx>).  
(C and Pe walk away from serving area, still engaged in conversation)

#### 4.1.32 Brand New Shoes

- 01S: It's a, feel that. Brand new  
Brand new. (points C shoes)  
A dollar each.  
Brand new  
Brand new. (1.0)  
This is seven half.
- 02C: It's too small.
- 03S: This is por, It's small?  
What your size?
- 04C: No. I wouldn't want them.  
Uhm, I'm a eight and a half.
- 05S: Seven and a half?
- 06C: Eight and a half.
- 07S: Eight and a half?  
Heh, heh, heh (Chuckles)  
Seven i Seven an' a half.
- 08C: That's all you have (a slightly rising tone, signaling a request for  
confirmation) (Walks to away to another vendor)

#### 4.1.33 Batik Dress

A Hispanic vendor takes a batik short summer dress out of a large sack and holds it out to the customer, smiling and making eye contact, near the aforementioned serving area.

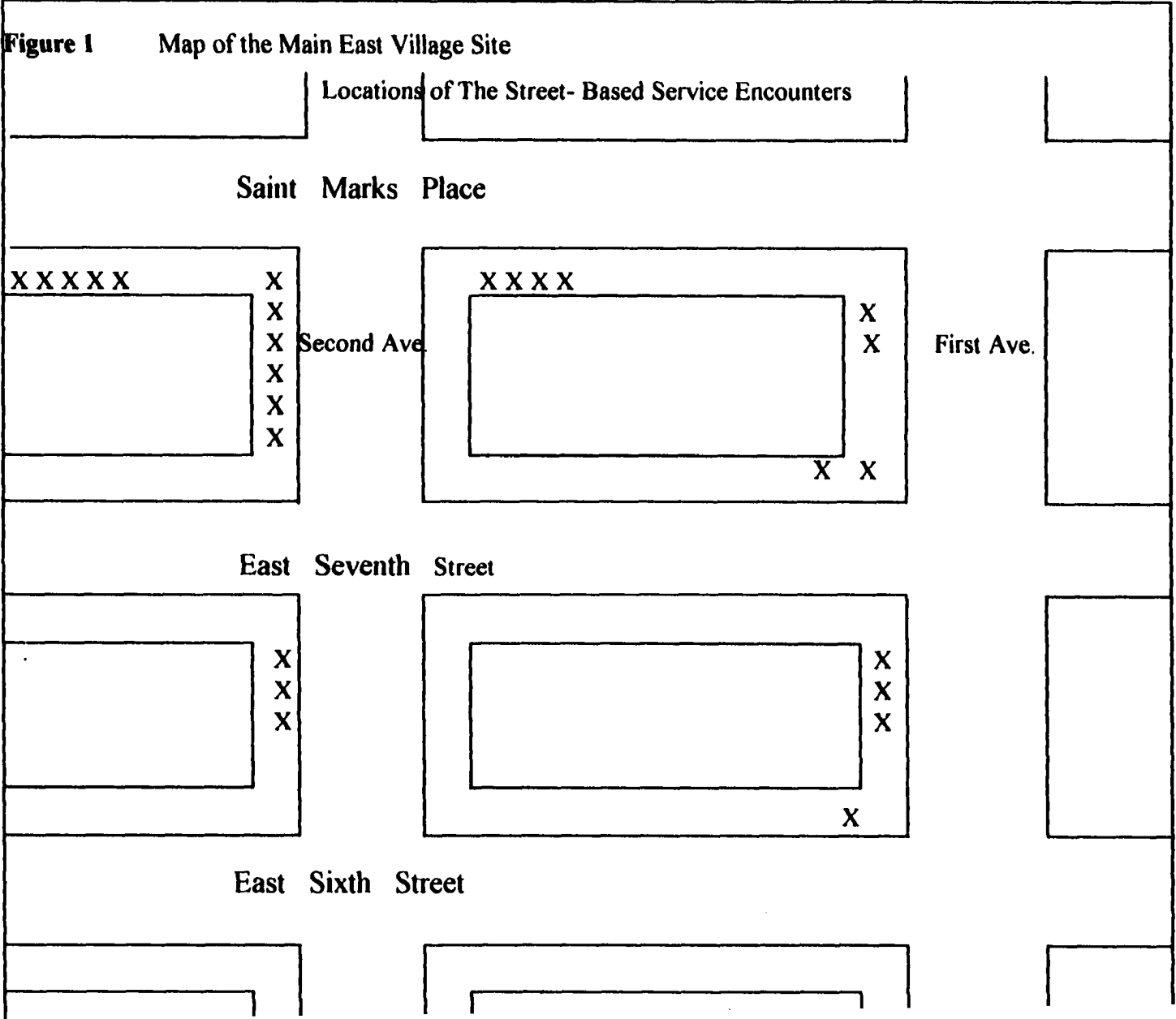
- 01C: That's nice.  
But, that's a big size for me.
- 02S: Too big?
- 03C: That's, yeah
- 04S: //That not too big.  
Too big for you?
- 05C: Uh huh.  
How much is that?
- 06S: Well your size.
- 07C: How much is that?
- 08S: For you?
- 09C: I'm, I'm small.
- 10S: Gimme two dollar.
- 11C: No. thank you.
- 12S: Huh?
- 13C: I'm too small,  
but I'm thinking
- 14S: //Gimme a dollar fifty.
- 15C: //for a friend
- 17C: Maybe might be interested.
- 18S: //Gimme a dollar.
- 198C: Nah. I'm just curious.
- 20S: You no say how much?
- 21C: Nope, because I'm just curious
- 22S: You no say to me how much?
- 23C: Because I am small.
- 24S2: //Let's <xx pay xx>for her. Let's <xx pay xx> for her  
C walks away)

#### 4.1.34 Shoe Boots

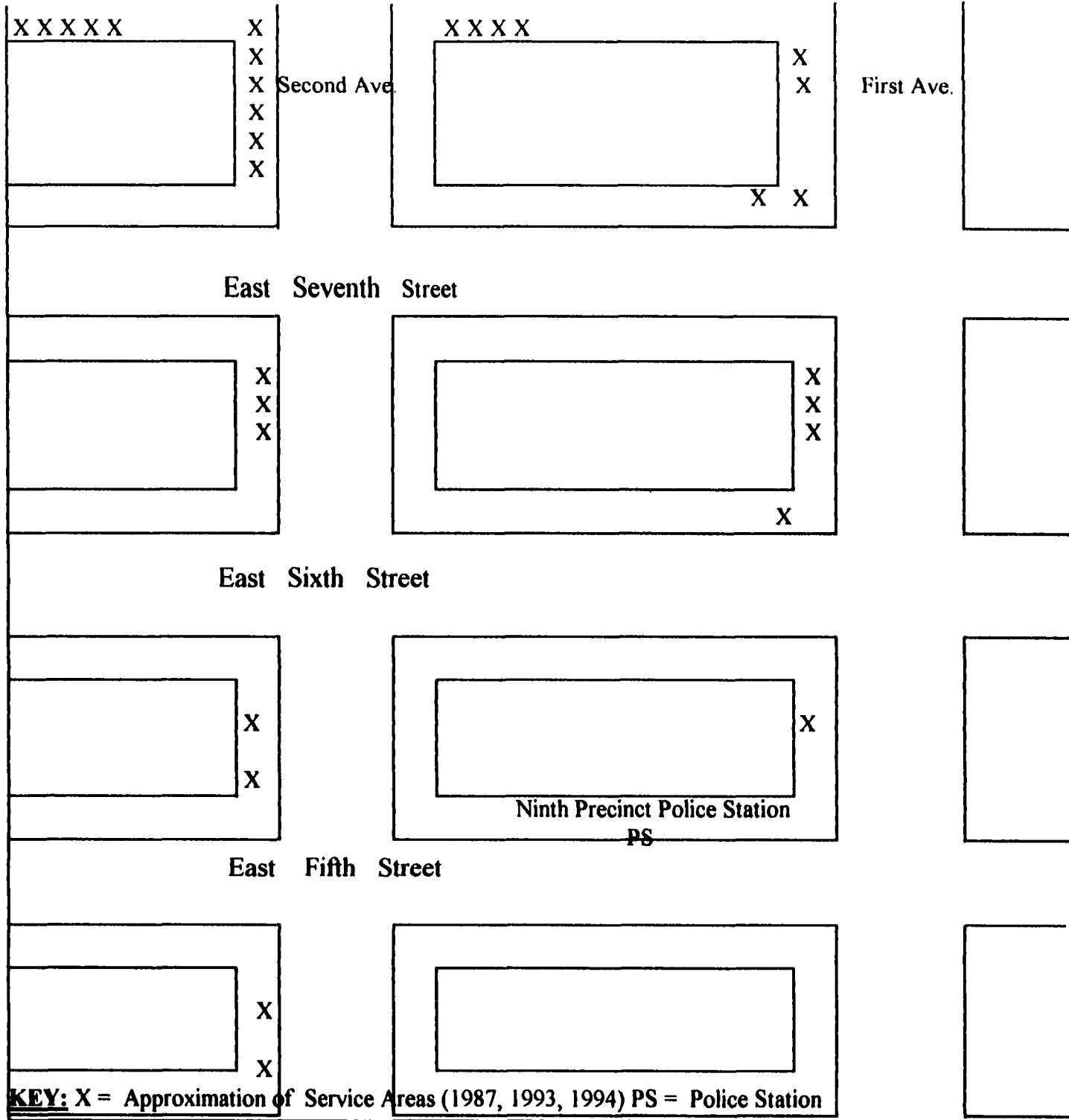
A heavy set man sitting beside his serving post on the store-side of the sidewalk.  
C looks at some boots.

- 01C: May I look at those? (pointing to boots)
- 02S: Yeah<xx>  
(2.0)
- 03C: What size is that? (picks up boots, turns them over to look at size)  
Size (1.0) 6 it's too small.
- 04S: What it look like?
- 05C: Sorry, it's too small. (puts them down and walks away)

# APPENDIX C



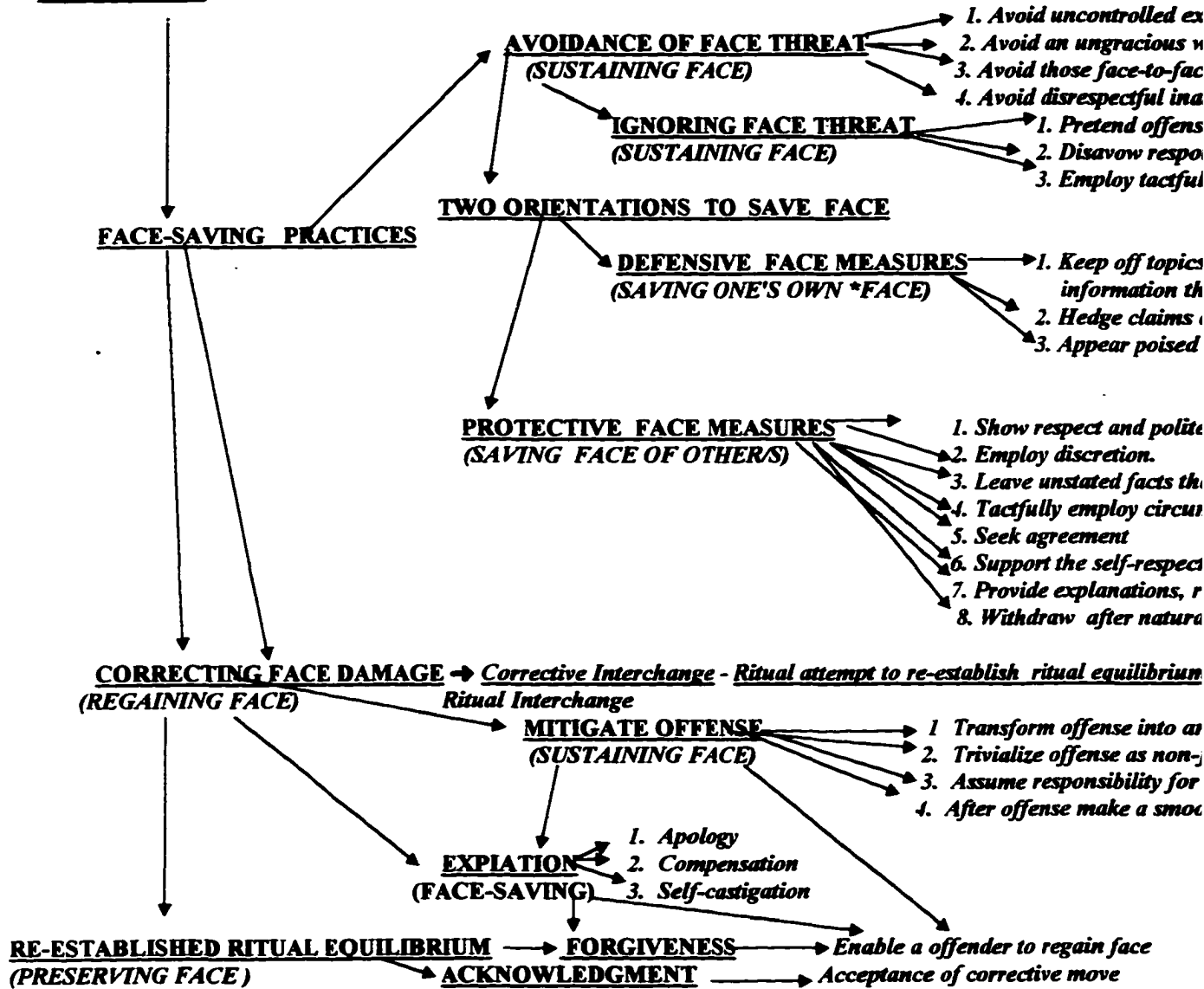




**KEY:** X = Approximation of Service Areas (1987, 1993, 1994) PS = Police Station



Figure 2.B.2. A Model of 'Face-Work', Based on Goffman's Hypothesis, ,  
'FACE-WORK'



\* Adapted from Erving Goffman's Interactional Ritual, 'On Face Work,' pgs.14-19. Goffman defines the term *face* as 'taken during a particular contact. *Face* is an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes - albeit at least partly by making a good showing for himself.' (pg.5)



esis, ,

- FACE THREAT**
- 1. Avoid uncontrolled expression of emotions
  - 2. Avoid an ungracious withdrawal.
  - 3. Avoid those face-to-face contacts that would result in loss of face.
  - 4. Avoid disrespectful inattentiveness, undue lull and interruptions.

- FACE THREAT**
- 1. Pretend offensive act didn't occur .
  - 2. Disavow responsibility of offensive act
  - 3. Employ tactful blindness

**FACE**

- FACE MEASURES**
- 1. Keep off topics and activities that lead to the expression of information that is inconsistent with the line speaker is maintaining.
  - 2. Hedge claims about self that would discredit one's face upon exposure
  - 3. Appear poised

- FACE**
- 1. Show respect and politeness
  - 2. Employ discretion.
  - 3. Leave unstated facts that might implicitly or explicitly embarrass or contradict other.
  - 4. Tactfully employ circumlocutions, deceptions, ambiguity, etc., to preserve face of other.
  - 5. Seek agreement
  - 6. Support the self-respect of the other.
  - 7. Provide explanations, rationalizations
  - 8. Withdraw after natural break at propitious moment.

attempt to re-establish ritual equilibrium an encounter when face threat has occurred

- 1 Transform offense into an unserious act - as a joke.
- 2. Trivialize offense as non-face-threatening
- 3. Assume responsibility for malapropism but not as show of incompetence
- 4. After offense make a smooth transition back into interchange

Enable a offender to regain face  
Acceptance of corrective move

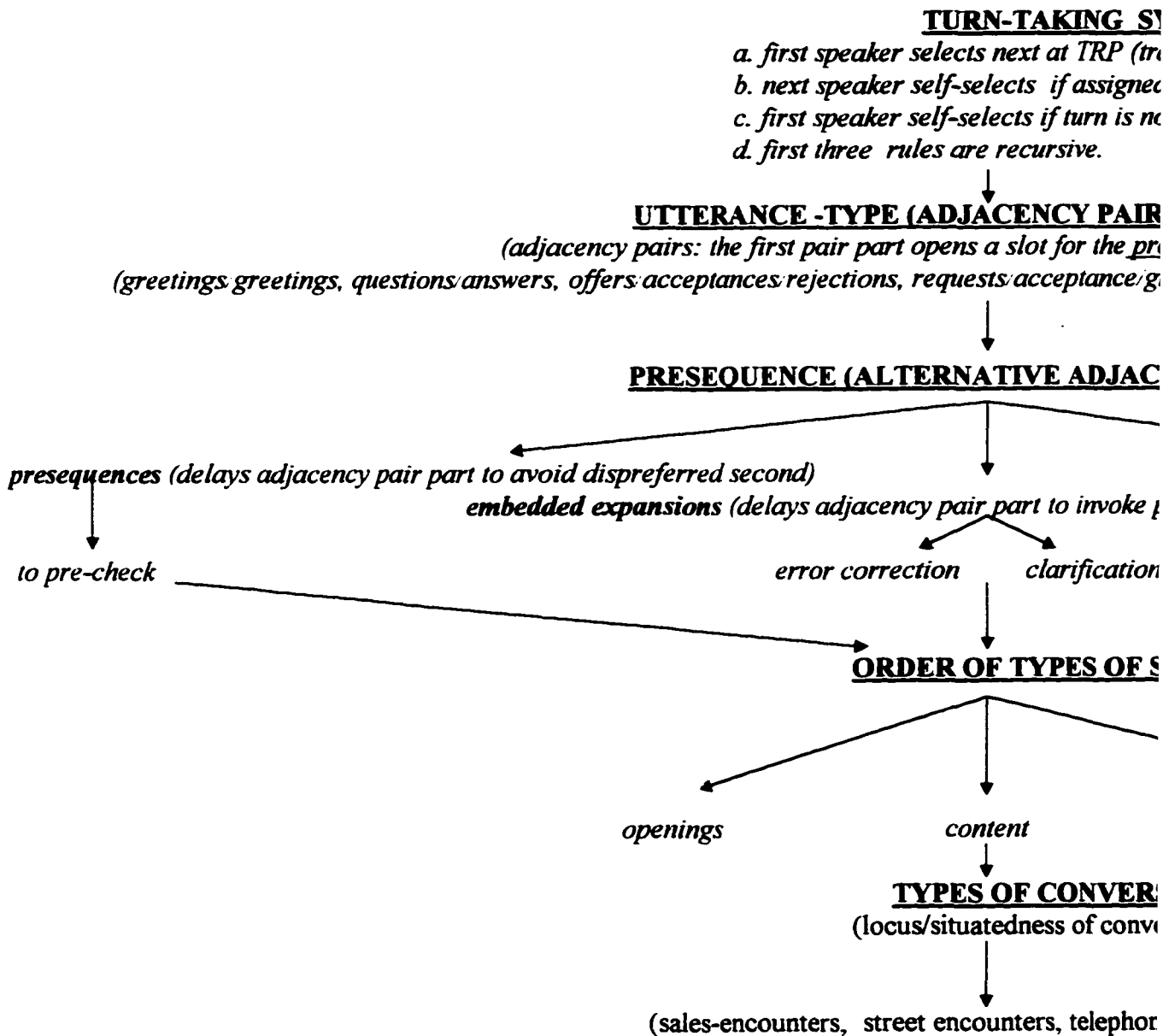
14-19. Goffman defines the term face 'as the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself, by the line others assume he has of approved social attributes - albeit an image that others may share, as when person makes a good showing for his profession or religion



Figure 2.C.1. The Turn-Taking System

**THE TURN-TAKING SYSTEMS EFFECT ALL INTERACTING SYSTEMS IN THE ON-GOING**

(adapted from Sacks, Schegeloff, Jefferson)





**THEMES IN THE ON-GOING DISCOURSE**

(Sacks, Schegeloff, Jefferson et al., and Jacobs and Jackson)

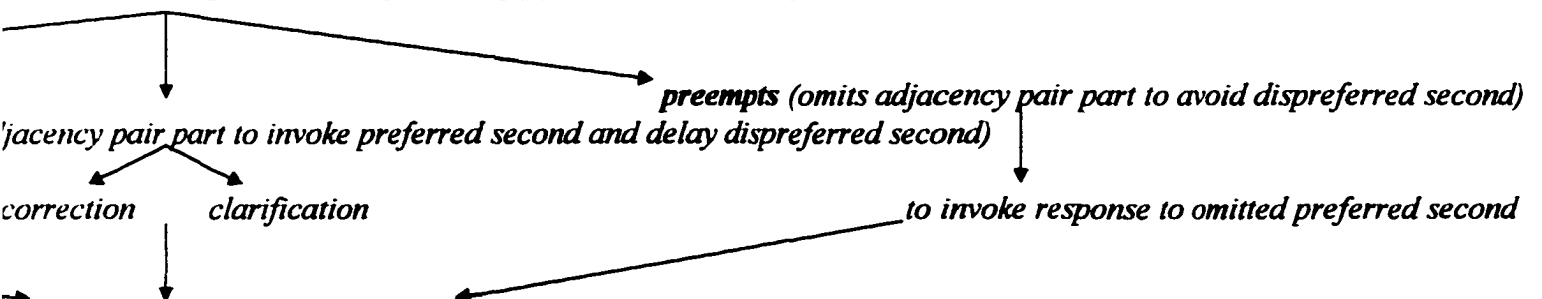
**TURN-TAKING SYSTEM**

Speaker selects next at TRP (transitional relevance place).  
 Speaker self-selects if assigned speaker doesn't take turn at TRP.  
 Speaker self-selects if turn is not taken at TRP  
 These rules are recursive.

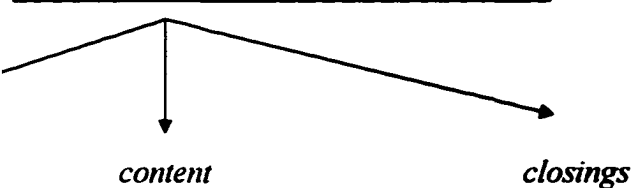
**TYPE (ADJACENCY PAIRED) SEQUENTIAL SYSTEMS**

First part opens a slot for the preferred second pair part preferably adjacent)  
 (questions, requests acceptance/grants/rejections, compliments/downgraded acceptance/rejection acceptance, etc)

**(ALTERNATIVE ADJACENCY PAIR) TYPE SYSTEMS**



**ORDER OF TYPES OF SEQUENCES**



**TYPES OF CONVERSATIONS**

(locus/situatedness of conversation types)  
 (street encounters, telephone encounters, office conversations, etc.)



Figure 2.D.1 Levels of Knowledge based on Jacobs and Jackson

**THE GOALS AND MOTIVATIONS INVOLVED IN A STREET-BASED-SERVICE ENCOUNTER**

<b><u>Levels of Knowledge</u></b>	<b><u>Ranking of social goals/functions/motivations/strategies</u></b>	<b><u>Systemic</u></b>
<b><u>Primary Level</u></b>		
<b><u>Deep Level</u></b>		
	<p><b><u>Social Goal</u></b>                      To assume cooperative communication →                      To assume rational behavior from rational agents to make valid efforts to communicate coherently                      To foster non-aggressive social behavior and rapport</p>	<p><b><u>Principles</u></b>                      Cooperative Reasoning</p>
↓	<p>To regulate the distribution of rights, obligation and power</p> <p><b><u>Social Goal of the Situation</u></b>                      To achieve mutually beneficial exchange of goods through transpersonal consensus                      To follow procedures set by social standards →</p>	<p><b><u>Politeness Norms</u></b>  <u>Social Norms of Relative Status</u>  <u>Social Institutional Norms</u>                      Sales- Transaction                      Social standards and procedures</p>
	<p><b><u>Vendor's Target Goal of Sales-Encounter</u></b>                      To convey the availability of an item to achieve a successful exchange of goods for money (for profit and/or survival)                      To invoke an acceptance of goods in exchange for money →</p>	<p><b><u>Speech Act Rules</u></b>                      Main Speech Act                      Sales Offer                      Perlocutionary Effect</p>
↓	<p><b><u>Subgoals of SO (Sales Offer) - Main Speech act</u></b>                      To motivate a felicitous act to achieve the sales transaction                      To intend to elicit an acceptance by making a valid offer                      To believe it can be successful and want an acceptance of offer</p> <p>To believe that the customer is willing, capable, has the appropriate status to accept, wants to accept and that there is need for the act.                      To convey the utterance, constituting the doing, to actualize the goal of the act. →</p>	<p><b><u>Preconditions of Sales Offer</u></b>                      Propositional content                      Sincerity conditions                      Preparatory conditions                      Essentiality conditions</p>
	<p><b><u>Subgoals of the SO via Subordinate Act</u></b>                      To check if preconditions for a sales offer obtain                      To enable the customer to infer that the preconditions obtain                      To get the recipient to provide information - to comply →</p>	<p><b><u>Subordinate acts of the SO</u></b>                      Request for information                      Perlocutionary Effect</p>
↓	<p><b><u>Subgoals of the SO via Subordinate Manipulative Acts</u></b>                      To transform the belief/want states of the customer to be (manipulation and argumentation)</p>	<p><b><u>Subordinate acts of the SO</u></b>                      Acts of negotiation</p>

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	<p>appropriate status to accept, wants to accept and that there is need for the act.</p> <p>To convey the utterance, constituting the doing, to actualize the goal of the act.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">→</p> <p><b><u>Subgoals of the SO via Subordinate Act</u></b>          To check if preconditions for a sales offer obtain          To enable the customer to infer that the preconditions obtain          To get the recipient to provide information - to comply</p> <p style="text-align: center;">→</p> <p><b><u>Subgoals of the SO via Subordinate Manipulative Acts</u></b>          To transform the belief/want states of the customer to be (manipulation and argumentation) aligned with those of the V in pursuit purchase (acts of bidding and bargaining)          To check if preconditions for a sales offer obtain          To enable the customer to reason from the prior utterance that the preconditions obtain  <i>To coerce, enhance, explain, invoke pity, embarrass, obligate, demean, flatter, charm, etc.</i></p>	<p><b>Essentiality conditions</b></p> <p><b><u>Subordinate acts of the SO</u></b>  <b>Request for information</b></p> <p><b>Perlocutionary Effect</b></p> <p><b><u>Subordinate acts of the SO</u></b>  <b>Acts of negotiation</b></p> <p><b>Perlocutionary Effect</b></p>
<p>↓</p> <p>↓</p> <p>↓</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">→</p> <hr/> <p><b><u>Secondary Level</u></b>    <b><u>Goals of Vendor's Manipulative Strategies</u></b>          To achieve vendor's target goal a sale of item</p> <p style="text-align: center;">→</p> <p><b><u>Subgoals of Vendor's Manipulative Strategies</u></b>          To achieve an orderly taking of turns          To make recipient accountable to respond          To open an empty slot to be filled by respondent</p> <p style="text-align: center;">→</p> <p>To establish conditions for a felicitous performance through the performance of the 'sales offer'          To get the customer to accept the 'sales offer'          To avoid additional process of negotiation and argumentation          To accelerate the encounter to move on to another customer</p> <p style="text-align: center;">→</p> <p>To check if conditions obtain for the performance of the main act, a 'sales offer'          To invoke a chain of analyzing by the customer to foresee prefigured move and avoid making an infelicitous 'sales offer'</p> <p style="text-align: center;">→</p> <p>To establish conditions to obtain for a felicitous performance          To check if conditions obtain for the performance of the main act, a 'sales offer'          To invoke a chain of analyzing of prior utterances by the customer          To encourage an alignment of belief/want states          To enable disputation, bidding, and bargaining          To avoid making an infelicitous 'sales offer'          To delay a dispreferred move such as a withdrawal</p>	<p><b><u>Strategic- Rational Output</u></b>  <b>Practical means of goal pursuit</b></p> <p><b><u>Turn-taking Conventions</u></b></p> <p><b>Preempts</b></p> <p><b>Presequence</b></p> <p><b>Embedded Expansion</b></p>
	<p><b><u>Surface Level</u></b></p>	



Figure 3.2

**WORK OF PRECONDITIONS**  
**CHECKING OUT SERVICE**  
**CHECKS WANTS/NEEDS ALIGN**  
 .CHECKING OUT STOCK  
**ATTEMPT TO SATISFY WANTS**  
 CHECKS C'S WANTS TO ALIGN  
 CHECK - C'S WANTS/BELIEFS  
 CONFIRMING S'S BELIEFS  
**ATTEMPT TO GET C TO ALIGN**  
 PASS/ACKNOWLEDGES/ALIGN  
 CHECKS WANTS/BELIEFS/USE  
 CHECK WANTS/BELIEFS ALIGN  
 CHECKS WANTS/BELIEFS/USE  
 CONFIRMS BELIEFS/ UTILITY  
 CONFIRMS/ALIGN BELIEFS  
**ATTEMPT TO GET C TO ALIGN TO**  
 S'S WANTS/ PRICE  
 PASS/ACKNOWLEDGES/ALIGN  
**PROB. ALIGN'T GAP IN BELIEFS**  
 BELIEF GAP WIDENS FACEWK  
 MITIGATE C'S FACE LOSS  
 DEFENDING FACE  
 ALIGNING FACE  
 PREPARING TO WITHDRAW  
 APPRECIATION  
 CHECKS ALIGN S'S WANTS  
 CHECKS ALIGN C'S WANTS  
 CHECKS ALIGN S'S WANTS  
 ATTEMPT TO PROTECT FACE  
 PAVING WAY TO WITHDRAW  
 ALIGNING/RECOGNIZING FACE  
 ATTEMPT TO PROTECT FACE  
 MITIGATE C'S FACE LOSS  
 PAVING WAY TO WITHDRAW  
 WITHDRAWING/ FACE RITUAL  
 WITHDRAWING/ FACE RITUAL  
 RECOGN. C'S WANT TO CLOSE  
 (Widening gap in belief/want align't,

**AN INTERGRATIVE MODEL****1-VCR-PRECONDITIONS**

*C: Are these your ah::*  
*S: Huh?*  
*C: things? (3 secs)*  
*C: How much is that?*  
*S: Huh? (2 secs)*  
*This?*  
*C: Uh huh. The cleaner.*  
*S: Gimme two dollars*  
*C: Uh huh (five secs)*  
*C: Oh That's for::*  
*S: Huh?*  
*C: THAT'S for uhh VCR?*  
*S: Uh huh, uh huh.*  
*C: Yeah. That's for playing VCR*  
*S: They going*  
*They go for ten dollars.*  
*C: Uh huh*  
*I don' bust nobody*  
*C: haha (muffled laugh) I Interesting*  
*things (6 secs)*  
*You have a nice*  
*a nice uhhm display here.*  
*S: OHHH, Thank you. (Turns away)*  
*C: Mind if I look for a few minutes*  
*S: Eh?*  
*C: Mind if I look for a few*  
*minutes?*  
*You have a nice, a nice uhhm display*  
*here.*  
*S: T's alright. (9 secs)*  
*C: Let's see. Very nice (muted)*  
*(2 secs) jeans (to self)*  
*(11 secs)*  
*C: Thank you.*  
*S: Okay (interrupts and turns away)*

**1-MOVE CHARACTERIZATIONS**

**1-PRE-REQUEST FOR SERVICE**  
**2-GO-AHEAD**  
 CLARIFICATION  
**3-REAUQUEST FOR SERVICE/PRICE**  
 EMBED. REQUEST FOR INFORMAT'N  
 EMBED. REQUEST FOR CONFIRM'N/NTRI  
 EMBED. CONFIRMATION RESPONSE  
**4-RESPONSE /OFFER/PRICE**  
 5. ACKNOWL'T/IMPLICIT NON-ACCEPT.  
 EMBED. REQUEST FOR INFORMAT.  
 EMBED. HEARING CHECK/NTRI  
 EMBED.. REQUEST FOR CONFIRMAT.  
 EMBED.. CONFIRMATION RESPONSE  
 EMBED.. CONFIRMATION RESPONSE  
**1.IMPLICIT SALES OFFER/REPEAT**  
**IMPLICIT SALES OFFER/SELF-CORREC.**  
 2.IMPLICIT NON-ACCEPT/ACKNOWL'T  
 1.IMPLICIT SALES OFFER/COERCIVE  
 2. ACKNOWL'T/IMPLICIT NON-ACCEPT  
**1- PRECLOSING /COMPLIMENT**  
 COMPLIMENT/FACE SAVING ACT  
 COMPLIMENT/FACE SAVING ACT  
**2- GO-AHEAD FOR CLOSING /**  
 APPRECIATION/ FACE-SAVING ACT  
 1.EMBED.REQUEST /FSA  
 2.EMBED. HEARING CHECK/NTRI  
 3.EMBED.REQUEST/FSA  
**PRE-CLOSING/ COMPLIMENT/FSA**  
 GO-AHEAD/ACCEPTANCE  
 EMBED. COMPLIMENT/FSA  
 BREAK/ PRE-CLOSING  
 CLOSING /APPRECIATION  
 CLOSING /ACCEPTANCE

**2-WO**  
 CHEC  
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CHARACTERIZATIONS  
QUEST FOR SERVICE  
AD  
 ATION  
T FOR SERVICE/PRICE  
REQUEST FOR INFORMAT'N  
REQUEST FOR CONFIRM'N/NTRI  
CONFIRMATION RESPONSE  
SE /OFFER/PRICE  
WL'T/IMPLICIT NON-ACCEP.  
REQUEST FOR INFORMAT.  
HEARING CHECK/NTRI  
REQUEST FOR CONFIRMAT.  
CONFIRMATION RESPONSE  
CONFIRMATION RESPONSE  
T SALES OFFER/REPEAT  
SALES OFFER/SELF-CORREC.  
T NON-ACCEP/ACKNOWL'T  
T SALES OFFER/COERCIVE  
WL'T/IMPLICIT NON-ACCEP  
OSING /COMPLIMENT  
ENT/FACE SAVING ACT  
ENT/FACE SAVING ACT  
LEAD FOR CLOSING /  
TION/ FACE-SAVING ACT  
REQUEST /FSA  
HEARING CHECK/NTRI  
REQUEST/FSA  
ING/ COMPLIMENT/FSA  
  
D/ACCEPTANCE  
  
OMPLIMENT/FSA  
  
RE-CLOSING  
/APPRECIATION  
/ACCEPTANCE

2-WORK OF PRECONDITIONS  
 CHECKS S'S WANTS/PRICE  
 CHECKS UTILITY/NEED  
 CHECK C/WANT NEEDS ALIGN  
 CHECKS- UTILITY/NEED  
 ATTEMPT TO ALIGN C1/C2'S  
 NEED/WANT  
 CONFIRM USE AND PRICE  
 TO ALIGN C2 TO WANT/ PRICE  
 CHECKS S'S BELIEFS/UTILITY  
 CHECK C'S WANT/ DEMONSTR.  
 RECOGN./ALIGNING  
 TO GET C2 TO ALIGN TO  
 UTILITY/ALIGN/S/BELIEFS/USE  
 ACKNOWLEDGE/ALIGN/S BELIEF  
 ATTEMPT TO GET C2 TO ALIGN  
 TO WANTS/BELIEFS/ UTILITY  
 GOAL ACHIEVEMENT  
 TO SATISFY/ALIGN/T OF WANT  
 ATTEMPT TO GET C2 TO ALIGN  
 ALIGNING WANTS WITH S  
 PASS  
 CHECKS-C1/2'S WANTS ALIGN/T  
 ALIGNING/ SATISFACTION OF  
 WANTS-GOAL ACHIEVEMENT  
  
 PREP. FOR CLOSING/APPRECIATION  
 INTERRUPTION  
  
 FACE RIT. PREPAR. FOR CLOSE  
 PREP.FOR CLOSING/APPRECIATION  
 FACEWK PREPAR FOR CLOSE  
 WITHDRAWAL RITUAL  
  
 WITHDRAWAL RITUAL

2--INCENSE BURNER  
*C1:How much is the incense holder*  
*C2:That's an incense holder, isn't it?*  
*S:Uh huh*  
*C2://Holder, isn't it?*  
*S: With the, uhmm, I'll give it to you for three. Yeah. It's an incense holder. And' with the incense, it's three bucks.*  
*C2://What's this?*  
*S:Yeah? You just put.*  
*C2:Ah. Yeah!*  
*S:You put, take this put inside and you light.*  
*C2://Yeah! Yeah*  
*S:This is a dollar and this two There's a holder in this too. Ay give me two bucks. Take it.*  
*C1: Okay. ( secs) Thank you sir.*  
*S:And if you want the bag, you can have it for two dollars.*  
*C:Ah hak*  
*S:Okay?*  
*C1:Here we'll put it in here. (opens bag for C2 to put tape inside) (paid for tape)*  
*Thank you.*  
*P: Let's go. (P=policeman) (the vendor starts collecting his stuff and puts it in his valise)*  
*S: You're welcome.*  
*C2:Thank you.*  
*C1:You've nice stuff.*  
*S:Okay. Bye, bye.*  
*(A police siren can be heard)*  
*C1:Bye, bye, have a good evening. (walking away)*

2-MOVE CHARACTERIZATIONS  
1.REQUEST FOR INFORMATION/PRICE  
 1.EMBED..REQUEST FOR CONFIRMATION  
 2.EMBED..CONFIRMATION  
 3.EMBED..REQUEST FOR CONFIRMATION  
2/ 4..SALES OFFER /RESPONSE WITH INFORMATION/  
  
 1.EMBED. REQUEST FOR INFORMATION  
 2.EMBED. RESPONSE/ INFORMATION  
 3.EMBED. CONFIRMATION  
 4.EMBED. RESPONSE/ INFORMATION  
  
 5.EMBED. ACKNOWLEDGES  
1 SALES OFFER  
  
1.SALES OFFER/UPGRADED/APPRECIATION  
2. ACCEPTANCE/PRE-CLOSING  
1. SALES OFFER  
P  
ACKNOWL'T/ IMPLICIT NON-ACCEPTANCE  
1.SALES OFFER/REPEAT  
2.IMPLICIT-NON-ACCEPT/NEW TOPIC  
3.SALES TRANSACTION/ PRE-CLOSING  
  
 4.APPRECIATION/ PRE-CLOSING  
  
 5.ACCEPTANCE/ PRECLOSING  
1.APPRECIATION /PRE-CLOSING  
2.MENTIONABLE/COMPLIMENT/FSA  
3.FAREWELL/ CLOSING  
 (INTERRUPTION)  
4.CLOSING/FAREWELL



Figure 4.1

### Model of Emerging Sales Routines

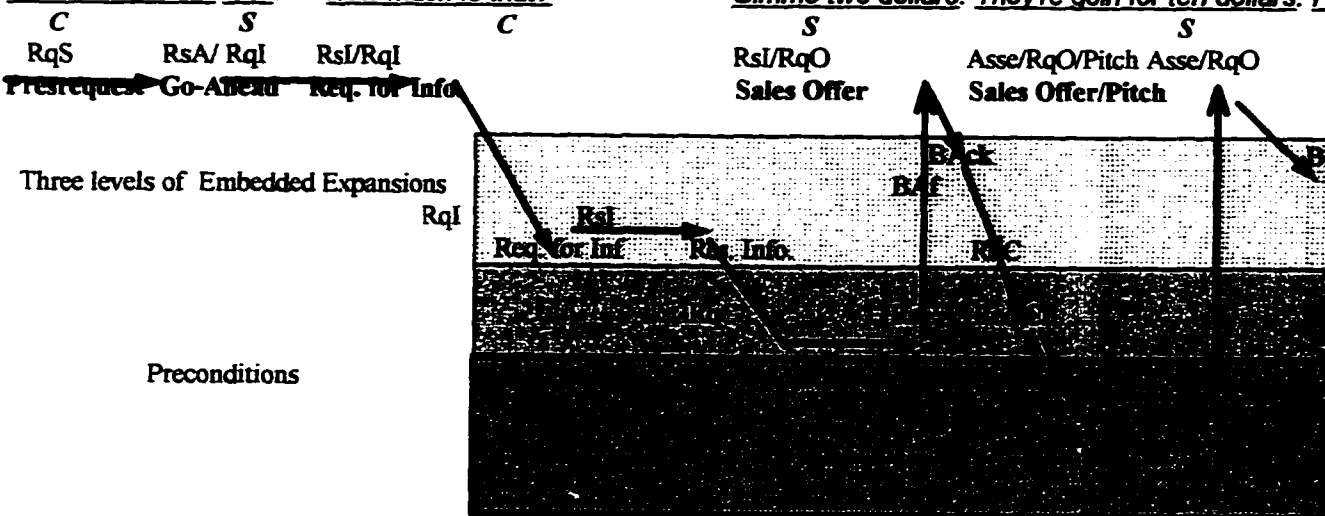
VCR CLEANER The Emerging Sales Routines of the Street-based Service Encounter

Matrix Sales Routines

*Are these yours? Huh?*

*How much is that?*

*Gimme two dollars. They're goin for ten dollars. I*



The embedded expansions attempt to establish the preconditions necessary to satisfy each participants requirements for a

Devices: Delay mechanisms, face-protective and face defense measures

Outcome: No sale

#### 33Types of moves/Adjacency Pairs

Pair Part 1/elicitations

Request for Service =RqS

Request for Information =RqI

Request for Confirmation=RqC

Request for Purchase/offer=RqO

Request for Clarification=RqCl

Request for Permission=RqP

Apprecian/Farewell=App/Fare

Pair Part 2/Responses

Response/Acceptance=RsA

Response/Rejection=RsRj

Response/Agreement=RsAg

Response/Confirmation=RsC

Response/Clarification=Rs

Response/Information=RsI

Acceptance/Farewell=Acc/Fare

Tokens/Backchannels

Acknowledgment=BAC

Continuer=BCo

Affirmations=BAff

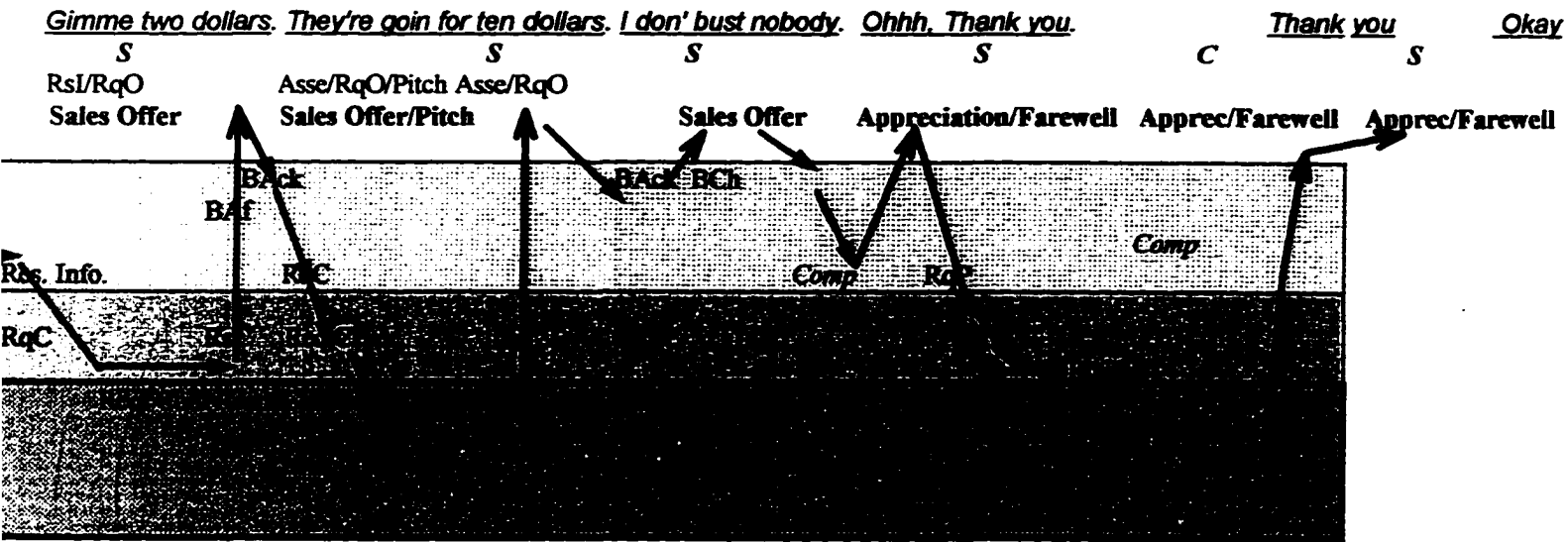
Chuckles=Ch

CI Assertion/offer=Asse

Compliment=Comp



**Phases of the Street-based Service Encounter and the divergent levels of embedded expansions**



... necessary to satisfy each participants requirements for a sale, but in this case fail to achieve these goals.

measures

- Tokens/Backchannels
- Acknowledgment=BAC
- Continuer=BCo
- Affirmations=BAff
- Chuckles=Ch
- CI Assertion/offer=Asse
- Compliment=Comp

Fare

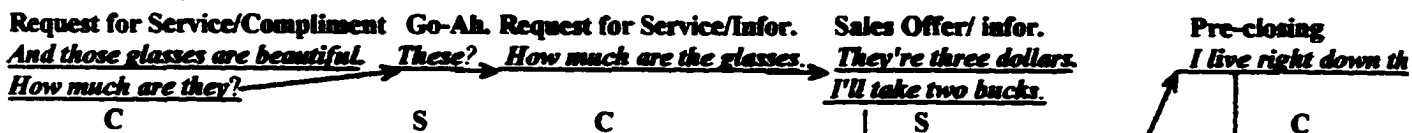


Figure 4.2

**Model of Emerging Sales Routines #2**

The Emerging Sales Routines of the Street-based Service Encounter and the divergent levels of embed

**8 - GLASSES**



**EMBEDDED EXPANSIONS.**

**PRECONDITIONS**

S: You see allot of this stuff is mine  
 C://I'll be back  
 S: and allot of this stuff I sell for other people, you know so it's, a lot of stuff I can  
 C://You got a really  
 S:// make arrangements on, you know  
 S: Some things I can make <xx> a  
 C: I live,  
 S://little lower than others, you know

C: So I can just go  
 Are you here nigh  
 S: I've seen you b

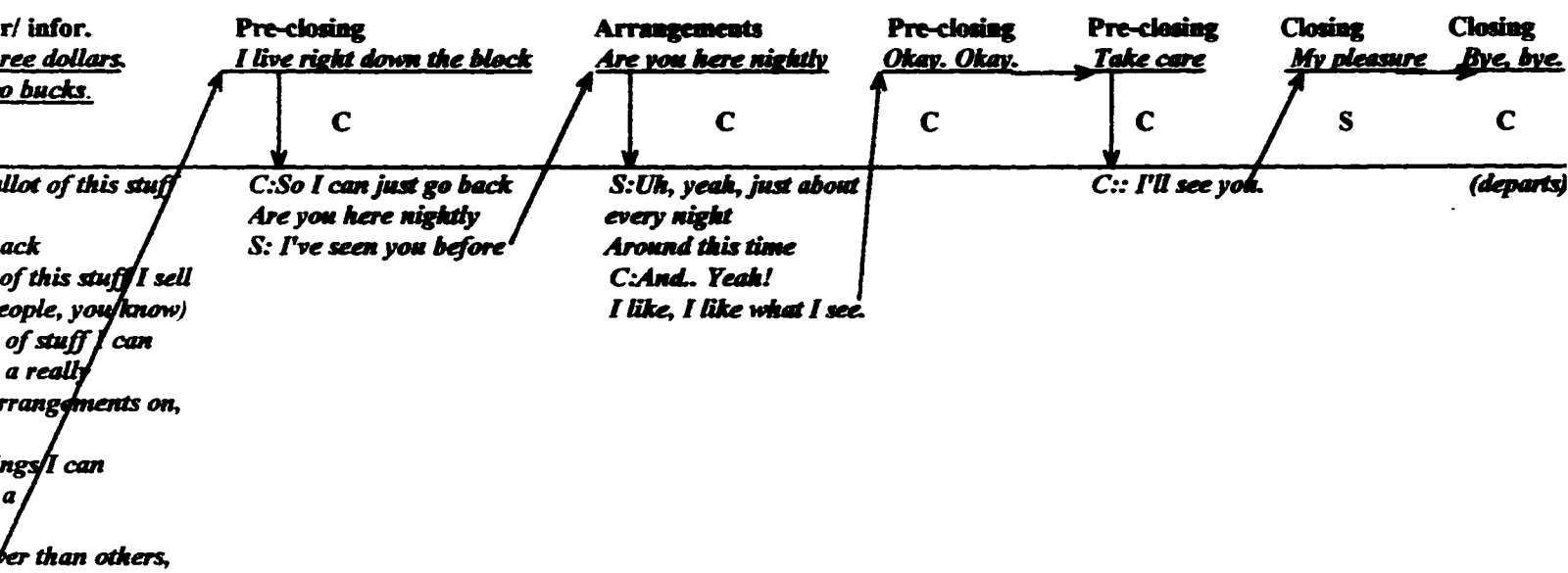
**OUTCOME: NO SALE/PURCHASE**

**FEATURES: SHORT ENCOUNTER, IMPLICIT REJECTION OF OFFER.**

**SHADED OUT PRE-CLOSING CHARACTERIZED BY CUSTOMER'S FACE-SAVING IMPLICIT PROMISE O.**



and the divergent levels of embedded expansions



S FACE-SAVING IMPLICIT PROMISE OF RENEWAL







and the divergent levels of embedded expansions

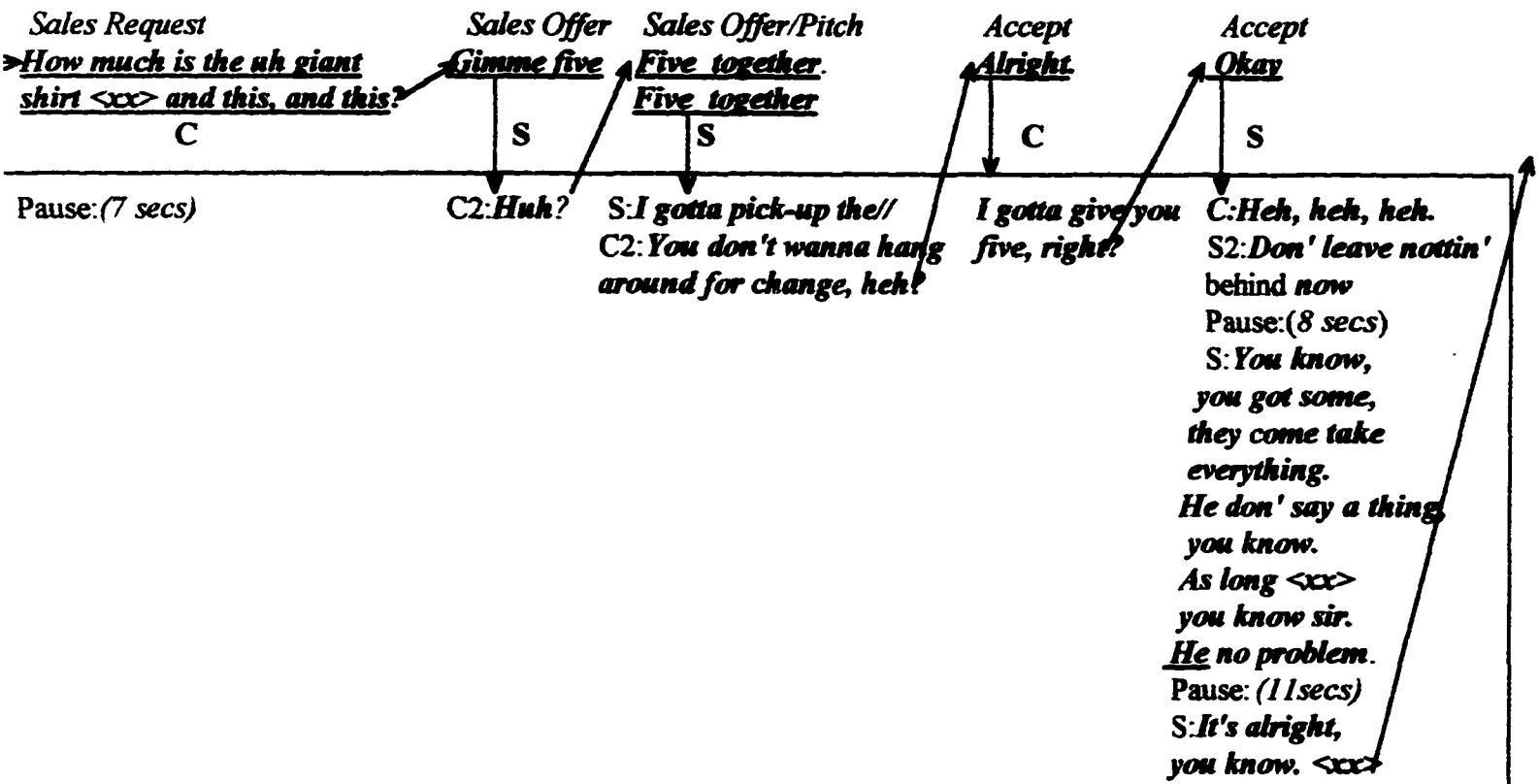
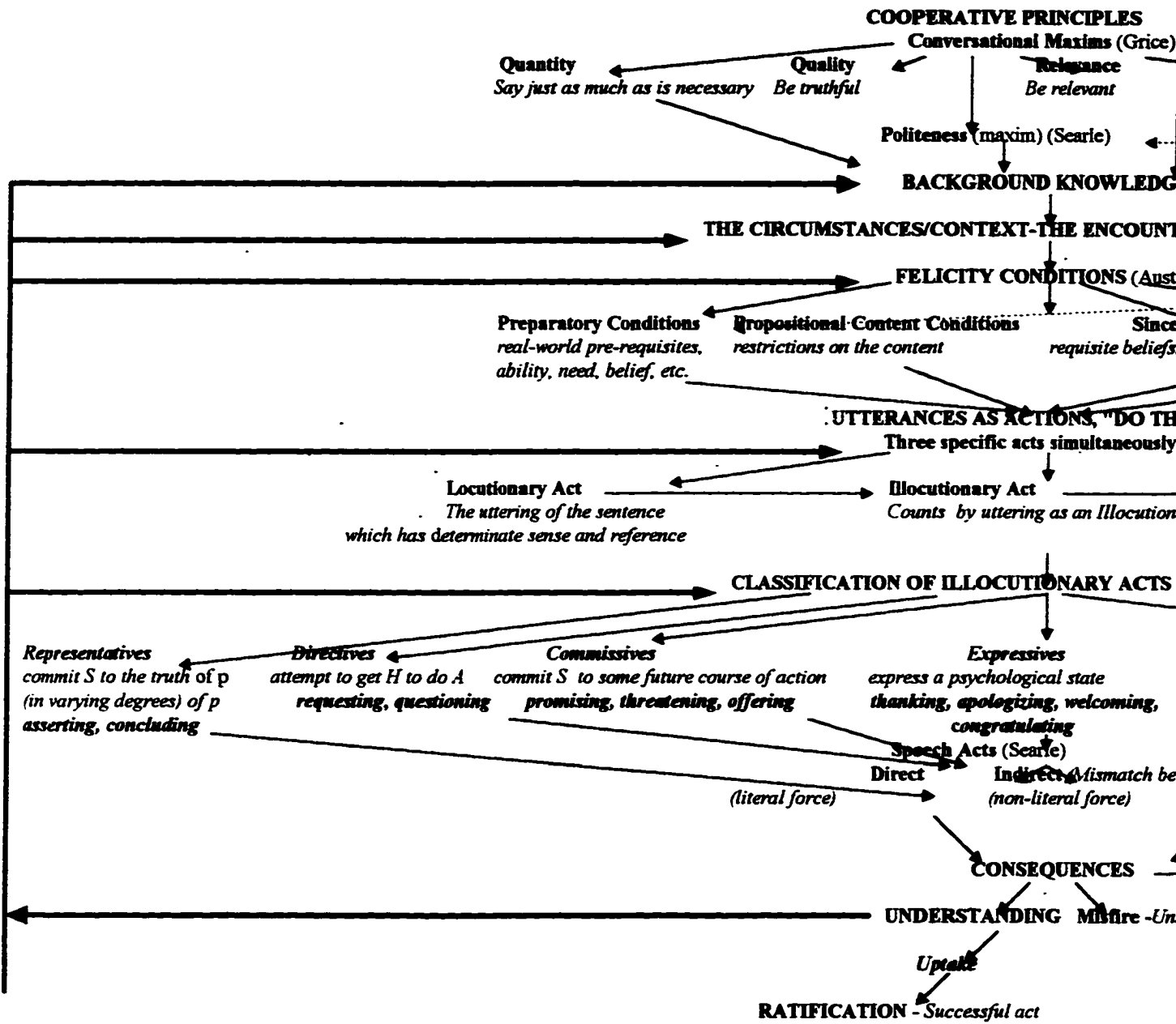




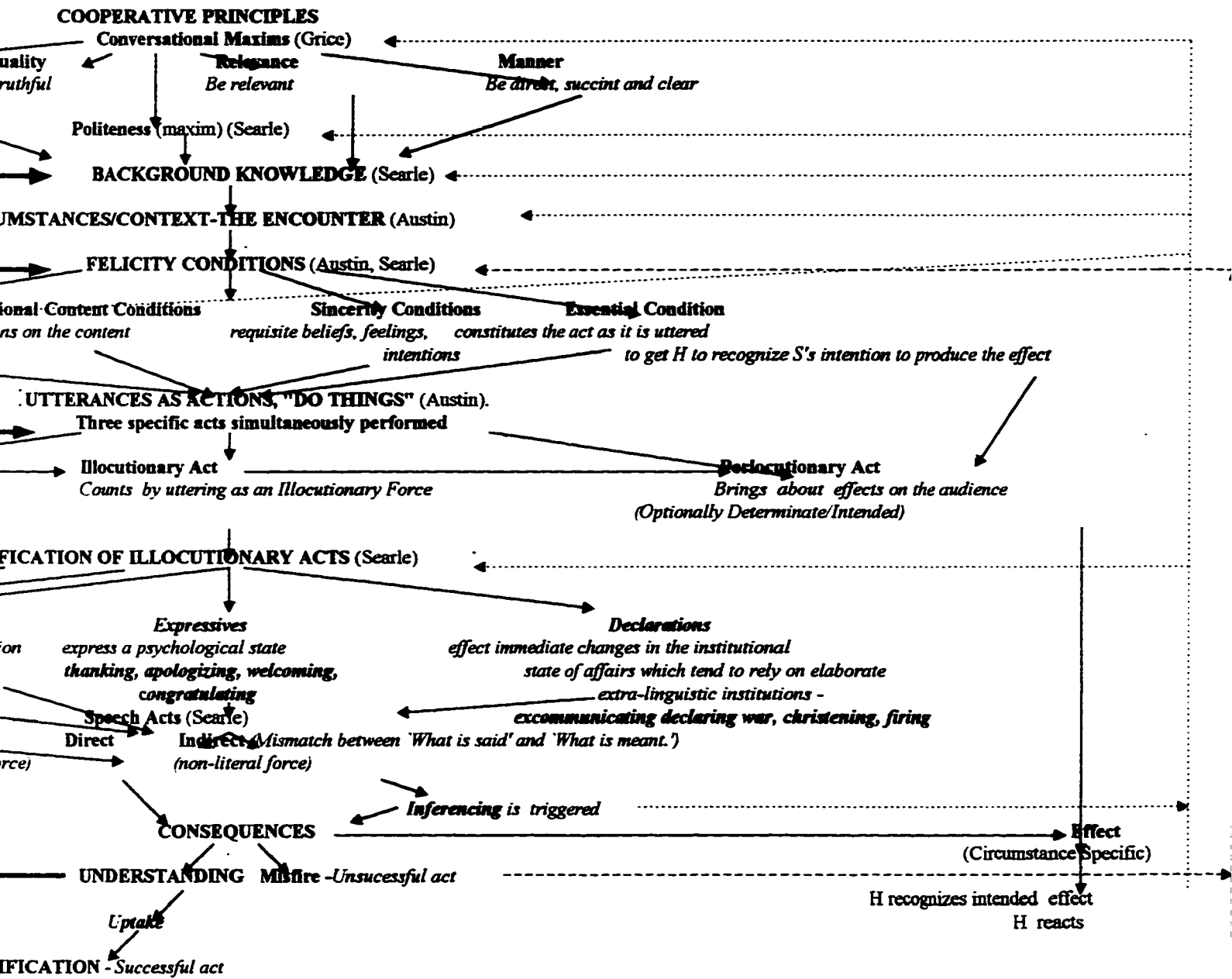
Figure 5.1

Speech Act Theory Flow Chart Based on Searle





Act Theory Flow Chart Based on Searle





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