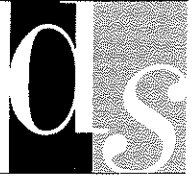


'Calm down!': the role of gaze in the interactional management of hysteria by the police



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ABSTRACT Gaze is a central mechanism for the entry into and coordination of face-to-face interaction. As such, persistent and sustained gaze withdrawal may indicate significant troubles in an interaction. This article examines how two police officers, in seeking to calm a hysterical woman whose grandson has been shot, treat her refusal to gaze at them as a central component of her persisting hysteria. Toward the end of getting the woman to calm down, one officer seeks her return gaze using *embedded* and *exposed* methods of gaze pursuit. These methods work on a continuum in which, at one end, a turn at talk can be preserved as the main activity, while at the other end, the main activity becomes remedying the interactional trouble. These methods address different interactional relevancies having to do with 1) being a listener to a speaker, 2) being a recipient of a directive action, and 3) a basic obligation to comport oneself as at least minimally aware and responsive when targeted by the actions of co-present others.

KEY WORDS: *directives, emotion, gaze, non-verbal communication, police, repair*

Introduction

In co-present situations, gaze is a central, and arguably the most fundamental, mechanism for the entry into, coordination, and maintenance of face-to-face interaction. Someone who refuses to gaze at another is refusing engagement, or at the very least, posing troubles that make the continuation of engagement very difficult. Procuring someone's gaze, then, is part of the work that may be undertaken to remedy, in a variety of ways, troubles with engagement, including, but not limited to, another's willingness to comply with a line of directive action.

In this article, I examine the interactional practices by which a police officer seeks to calm a very hysterical woman whose grandson has been shot. Of

particular interest are his methods of pursuing her gaze return in the course of the encounter. In seeking to calm the hysterical woman, the officer and his partner issue directives to 'calm down,' and they attend to various aspects of the woman's talk and embodied conduct as readable evidence of her persisting hysteria and inability and/or unwillingness to become calm, especially her withdrawal of gaze from them.

A great deal of police work involves encountering people who are in crisis, people who are distraught, agitated, and sometimes hysterical over the circumstances that have necessitated a police response. Indeed, an increasing number of police departments have on hand teams of crisis intervention specialists, and/or offer training to officers in crisis management to help them meet the interpersonal and institutionally-related challenges posed by such individuals (Borum et al., 1998; Winkel, 2005). Moreover, as police departments nationwide transition from a more traditional model of policing, with its emphasis on catching law-breakers, to a model of community policing, with its emphasis on prevention, they have sought to adapt more humanistic, more dialogic approaches to their communications with citizens (see e.g. Maguire and Wells, 2002). Indeed, attention to police communication practices has grown, both by police professionals, and by a growing body of researchers in the area of police communication studies (for an edited collection of such research, see Giles, 2002). These are studies that have used almost exclusively the research tools of surveys, interviews, experiments, and sometimes, participant observation (Ho Shon, 2002). What, arguably, has been lacking, however, is an approach to the topic that examines the real-time, in-the-moment unfolding of interaction between police and citizens, including both their verbal and embodied conduct (for exceptions, see Edwards, 2006; Komter, 2003; and Stokoe and Edwards, in press, for how audio recordings of police-suspect interrogations are used to analyze verbal conduct).

Here, I make use of video footage taken from the reality TV show *COPS* to make a close, detailed analysis of an interaction that takes place between two police officers and a citizen. The use of such materials is not without its caveats, as discussed below. Such materials, however, enable an examination of features of interaction that have not been dealt with previously, either in police communication studies, nor in studies of directive usage. What I undertake is an examination of how embodied actions, especially those involving gaze, provide communicative resources in a situation in which police officers are trying to get an extremely distraught person to calm down. These are resources that are generic to interaction. That is, they can be found across diverse types of interaction, and indeed point up some rather intricate workings of interaction. However, for those who must routinely deal with distraught people, and moreover manage people in a variety of trying circumstances as part of the very nature of their jobs, these resources will be integral to a great number of their dealings with others.

Hence, to be examined here is how a police officer, toward the end of calming

a hysterical woman, treats her gaze withdrawals as a central component of her persisting hysteria that must be brought under control; that is, the officer seeks to get her to look at him. Moreover, the woman's repeated and sustained gaze withdrawals require increasingly stronger tactics by the officer to try to secure her gaze, tactics which make use of the officer's own gaze, face, and body, in addition to his talk, and move from what may be considered *embedded* methods of gaze pursuit to *exposed* methods. With these tactics, the officer comes to treat as problematic not only the matter of where the woman is looking, but also her basic competence as an interactant, a critical measure of which is the pattern of someone's gazing. Thus, as an examination of the encounter will show, getting someone to comply with a directive can involve getting them to comply at a most remedial level with actions that are addressed to their basic comportment as an interactant. In the case that is examined here, of course, this is a matter that is deeply intertwined with efforts to get someone who is highly distraught to calm down. As research in other settings as shown, such as in medical interactions and calls to 911, the management of distraught persons can become the main interactional business of the moment (Beach and LeBaron, 2002; Whalen and Zimmerman, 1998). As such, the derailment of institutional work is always potentially near at hand in these situations, necessitating methods for bringing distraught persons interactionally into line to keep institutional business moving.

DIRECTIVES

A large and diverse research literature exists on directive usage, but it is one that has focused almost exclusively on the verbal actions of the directive issuer. This research has examined, for example, doctor-patient interactions (Smith et al., 2005; West, 1990), children's social activities (M. Goodwin, 1980, 1990), management and leadership styles (Takano, 2005), adult-child interactions (Blum-Kulka, 1990; Ryckebusch and Marcos, 2004), and cultural differences in directive usage (Fitch, 1994). Central research themes have been concerned with how directives constitute and point up power differentials between participants (the theme of Ervin-Tripp's 1976 classic work on directives; see also West, 1990); how participants enact different relational styles through their choice of directive form (e.g. hierarchical versus non-hierarchical), especially along gendered lines (M. Goodwin, 1980, 1990; Smith et al., 2005; West, 1990; see also Takano, 2005); and how cultural beliefs about personhood, authority, and relational obligations underpin directive choice (Fitch, 1994). There is also a large, at times overlapping, research literature on compliance gaining (which includes directives among other techniques of persuasion, e.g. 'inducements,' for gaining compliance; Sanders and Fitch, 2001), which has primarily sought to make the connections between compliance gaining strategies on the one hand, and on the other, personality, affective, social-situational, and goal-related factors that influence the use of one strategy over another (for a review of such studies, see Fitch, 1994). As will be evident in this article, verbal directives may

be accompanied by a range of supporting actions, verbal as well as embodied, as participants engage in a temporally and sequentially unfolding *process* of seeking compliance with a directive.

Directives, broadly defined, seek to compel another to act in a particular way (M. Goodwin, 1980, 1990; West, 1990). Typically, when the other demonstrates – satisfactorily – that she or he is indeed acting, or going to act, in the sought-after manner, the directive actions are terminated (cf. Kidwell, 2003). Together, directive and response constitute a sequence. Of course, getting another to act in a particular way is not always a simple or straightforward matter, and directive–response sequences, as mentioned above, may be composed of a variety of directive and other related persuasive actions, for example accounts, suggestions, hints, coaxings, urgings, pleadings, threats, and – especially where the police are concerned – the actual use of physical force. These are actions that – as part of an overall course of directive action – are occasioned by distinct local contingencies, particularly the verbal and embodied responses of the directive recipient, and they may engender their own relevancies for next actions by participants. Thus, as an interaction unfolds, the directive–response sequence is shaped by the contingencies of participants' mutually evolving lines of action, particularly as one party may confront the reluctance, outright resistance, and sometimes inabilities of another to act in accord with what the directive is seeking. In this way, directive–response sequences unfold as 'incremental and interactive' processes (Sanders and Fitch, 2001: 264; see also Mellinger, 1994) that have a temporal, locally-emergent character. As such, for those who are the issuers of directives, attending to the conduct of their directive recipients for signs of compliance, so to speak, will be a fairly routine order of business. Gaze, it turns out, is essential to this process in a number of ways.

GAZE

Gaze is one of the principal indicators by which participants assess that they are being taken into consideration by another (Argyle and Cooke, 1976; Kendon, 1967, 1990). That is, gaze provides for participants to both see, and make visible to another, that some situation of regard, mutual or otherwise, is underway. But regard for what? One likely possibility is that from an initial exchange of glances to more sustained looking, participants may transform a situation of their 'sheer and mere co-presence' (Goffman, 1963: 26) to one of ratified mutual engagement. Mutual looking establishes mutual orientation and enables the beginnings of coordinated action between participants in face-to-face situations. Thus, Goffman (1963) wrote of the role of looking at another and the other looking back as an essential first step in the initiation of interaction, and a number of researchers have written about the role of gaze in the regulation of interaction, particularly speaker–listener activities (Bavelas et al., 2002; C. Goodwin, 1981; Kendon, 1967, 1990; Kidwell, 1997; Lerner, 2003). Listeners gaze toward speakers as an indication of their attentiveness to talk, and speakers direct their gaze to listeners to show that talk is being addressed to them.

Speakers who do not have the gaze of a listener may undertake to elicit listener gaze, for example by cutting off and restarting their talk, or by pausing when speaking (C. Goodwin, 1980, 1981) – or, they do so by other, more explicit methods, which will be examined in this article. Gaze, too, is used to communicate degrees of engagement (i.e. partial or full), disengagement, and re-engagement during the course of an activity, relative especially to the body organizations of the gazer (C. Goodwin, 1981; Kendon, 1990; Robinson, 1998; Schegloff, 1998). Further, participants direct gaze to objects and persons in the environment to indicate their relevance for an activity (C. Goodwin, 2000, 2003; Kidwell, 2005; Psathas, 1990). Hence, gaze – in a variety of ways – is fundamental not only to the organization of face-to-face spoken interaction, but, critically, is also used to show how participants may or may not be mutually oriented to, and implicated as co-interactants in, a course of conjoined action, one that involves an array of potentially relevant communicative phenomena, embodied and material as well as verbal. Thus, when participants break off gaze, or avert their gaze from another altogether, they potentially disable what is a central mechanism for the entry into and ongoing maintenance and coordination of face-to-face conjoined action. In directive–response sequences, such action as this may well be taken as a sign of resistance to complying.

In prior work I have shown that, for example, children's refusal to comply with adults' directives is closely tied up with their refusal to gaze at the adult, and that toward the end of trying to secure compliance, adults will pursue children's gaze return, as in the following instance (Kidwell, 2003; cf. Kidwell, 2005):

VYC Boxhit

- 1 E: *hitting children on their heads with a box*
 2 CG: *That's not okay Eduardo! said as she tries to pull E away*
 3 (2.2)
 4 [We're not hitting him on the head (.) with the box.
 5 E: *[E is looking away from CG, trying to pull away*
 → 6 CG: *A-are you looking at me? I want you to look at me.*

Similarly, in a preliminary examination of a number of police–citizen interactions, I have found that officers treat citizens' (usually suspects') refusal to gaze at them as part of a course of resistance and will pursue their gaze return toward the end of getting compliance.

COPS Couldabeendead

- 1 O: *I'll give you only one time to tell me the truth and*
 2 *we'll make it an accident.*
 ((lines deleted))
 3 S: *looks away from officer*
 → 4 O: *LOOK AT ME IN THE EYES PAL!*

The case that is examined in this article presents a slightly different but related

scenario: in situations of someone's extreme distraught-ness, refusal to gaze is associated with being 'out of it,' in other words, with being unable to attend to, or participate in, in any normal or competent way current interactional activities. Thus, as will be examined, methods of gaze pursuit may become central to aligning a participant to multiple interactional relevancies. These relevancies have to do not only with being a listener to a speaker, but also with being a recipient of a directive, that is, a recipient of a particular sort of action that makes relevant a particular sort of type-matched action response (cf. Schegloff and Sacks, 1973), and, further, with basic obligations to comport one's self as at least minimally aware that one has been targeted with such action by another.

Data and method

The data for this article are drawn from two unedited, uninterrupted segments of interaction taken from a single episode of the TV show *COPS*. Together, the two segments comprise about 55 seconds of interaction (20.48 and 34.07 seconds, respectively). The segments are spliced together so as to seem to be a continuous interactional scene, and indeed they may only be separated in real time by seconds or even a fraction of a second. In spite of this gap, the two segments are clearly temporally linked (i.e. not just to a viewer's eye, but to an analyst's) across a single, unfolding encounter between two police officers and a citizen. The case is part of two other data collections which bear on the analyses made here, one of 28 instances of officers seeking to calm distraught and/or disorderly citizens, and another of nine instances of citizens, in a variety of interactional situations with police officers, noticeably avoiding the gaze of an officer who in some way is trying to get them to gaze back. These are instances that have been selected from a larger 'corpus' of about 35 hours of *COPS* episodes with commercials removed. The use of the TV show *COPS* as a data source requires some comment.

COPS is a very popular, 'reality' TV show (in its 16th season) that makes use of video footage acquired by means of a single TV camera person, and sometimes a sound person, accompanying officers from police departments across the country on their calls.¹ Of course, the show is highly edited. Toward the end of manufacturing the most entertainment-worthy product, only selected video clips from what may have been an event lasting several hours are used. Typically, a 'story-able' event is reduced to about six or seven minutes of airtime, and three stories, sandwiched between several minutes of commercials, usually comprise a single 30 minute episode. Audio tracks of participants' talk are often (very cleverly) overlaid onto video tracks to create the impression of a scene that did not really happen in the manner in which it is being presented; this is done both in the interests of getting the materials to flow as a coherent narrative within the constraints of the show's time-frame (in which case, the basic interactional 'flavor' of the scene may be preserved), and sometimes to construct, or further, a particularly dramatic aspect of a scene. Indeed, the popularity of the show

derives no doubt from its over representation of the more sensationalistic and often absurd aspects of police business: high-speed car chases, drug deals gone wrong, and outlandish prostitution stings involving in one episode, for example, a police officer who dressed up as a sex-seeking clown to nab prostitutes. Nonetheless, the show provides a potential wealth of video data materials comprised of fairly short, uninterrupted and unedited action sequences that have been spliced together, typically ranging from a few seconds to just under a minute. These materials contain both police and citizen actions as officers go about such activities such as responding to complaints (e.g. disturbances, suspicious circumstances, and domestic disputes), questioning witnesses and suspects, and apprehending and/or subduing disorderly and/or distraught persons. Making use of these materials for close and detailed interactional analyses, assembled as they have been first of all for entertainment purposes, necessitates that they are used cautiously, and that only uninterrupted and unedited segments of interaction are in fact the basis of analytic claims.

As mentioned at the outset, in the *COPS* case that is examined here, two police officers seek to calm a hysterical woman whose grandson has been shot. Over the course of the six minute story segment, the officers are shown arriving at the scene of the shooting, inspecting the victim, questioning witnesses, discussing the case with other officers, and, finally, seeking to calm the victim's grandmother, who herself has been shot at. Thus, the story is made up of many clips of an event that likely took place over the course of at least an hour that have been spliced together to create for a viewer the sense of a chronologically coherent event – and to no doubt highlight what are its more dramatic aspects. Further, the camera angle selects certain participants and activities for view and not others. As a result, many details that an analyst might like to know about the interaction between the officers and the woman are not known (or may, if not approached cautiously, be misconstrued), such as what she was doing before the officers made contact with her, and what she already knows, or has been told, about the condition of her grandson.

In the manner of conversation analytic research (Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff, 1990), the segments of interest have been subject to transcription of the participants' talk and selected features of their embodied behaviors (cf. C. Goodwin, 1981). Very close, detailed, and repeated viewings have been made of participants' interactions to discern the fit and close-ordering of their actions, embodied as well as verbal. It is this method of observation that is the basis of the analyses presented in this article. For transcription conventions, please see Appendix C.

Calming: a directive–response sequence

As the point of interest in the case begins, the officers are standing on either side of the woman, the grandmother of a young male shooting victim named Charity. One officer is gripping her hand, the other her arms (Figure 1; see Appendix A).

The woman, whose name is Ida Mae, has herself also been shot at and she seems to be under the impression that her grandson has been killed. This, and the fact that the young man's mother died the night before (necessitating a funeral that is referred to in the transcript), are factors that no doubt exacerbate the woman's emotional condition. Ida Mae exhibits a number of behaviors that are associated with hysteria: she is sobbing and crying, breathing heavily, and producing loud, anguished talk that is almost incomprehensible; in Goffman's terms, she is demonstrating a complete 'flooding out' (1961: 55). Moreover, in a prior scene in which the officers first approach Ida Mae, she is shown throwing herself to the ground screaming and wailing inconsolably. As such, Ida Mae's conduct presents a formidable challenge to the officers in getting her to calm down.

Of note first of all is that the officers' efforts are carried out over the course of a directive-response sequence that evolves from their use of the directive, 'calm down.' As the transcript shows, Officers 1 and 2 produce the following directive actions, 'We gotta have you calm down right now,' and 'You need to calm down' (Officers 1 and 2 = O1 and O2; Ida Mae = I).

Segment 1

1	O1:	[Wh-what wha- what we	[gotta ha::ve?	
2	IM:	[Hhmmmmmm (H)m! (h)	mm! °.hm!° ((crying))	
3	O2:		you need to ca:lm down	
4		[(now).		
5	IM:	[.HH!		
6	O1:	w-we gotta have you ca:lm down right now okay?		IM is panting
7		(.3)		
8		Alright? (.) Cause you <u>you</u> can't		

As directives, the officers' actions make relevant a demonstration of calming by Ida Mae. In so far as Ida Mae is unforthcoming in doing this, the officers' actions, current and subsequent, are shaped to fit her ongoing displays of hysteria toward the end of getting her to be calm. Central to this are the efforts of O1 in particular to get Ida Mae to gaze at him.

Embedded methods of gaze pursuit: speech cut-offs, gaze-tracking, and an embodied summons

Turning to Segment 1 again, when the two officers first address Ida Mae in lines 1 and 3, Ida Mae is looking off to the right and crying inconsolably. As O1 speaks to her in line 1, she shifts her gaze to look up at him. This is also a point that coincides with a momentary halting of her crying. Then, as O1 continues the formulation of the directive to calm down in line 6, she shifts her gaze to the left and looks away from him again. O1 pursues her gaze in a number of ways over the course of this segment.

Segment 1

			. . X IM shifts gaze to O1	
1	O1:	[Wh-what wha- what we	[gotta ha::ve?	
2	IM:	[Hhmmmmmm (H)m! (h)	mm! °.hm!° ((crying))	
3	O2:		you need to ca:lm down	
4		[(now).		
5	IM:	[.HH!	looking at O1	
			X IM withdraws gaze from O1 to left, O1 tracks her shift	
6	O1:	w-we gotta have you ca:lm down right now okay?		IM is panting
7		(.3)		
8		Alright? (.) Cause you <u>you</u> can't		
			V V O1 taps IM on the arm	
			. X IM shifts gaze to O1	
9	IM		My folks (y'haven')	

First, in line with C. Goodwin's (1980, 1981) findings that speakers seek the gaze of their recipients, as Ida Mae is looking away in line 1, O1 takes action to get her to look at him: the multiple starts, cut offs, and restarts of his talk serve to draw her gaze to him. This, at least for the moment, aligns her as a recipient of the directive action that he is in the process of formulating over the course of lines 1 and 6; when Ida Mae has shifted her gaze to him, O1 proceeds to produce the directive action (cf. C. Goodwin, 1980). However, well before his completion of the utterance, Ida Mae shifts her gaze from him again. She thus disengages as a recipient. O1 pursues her gaze return now in another manner: he tracks her head movement with his own and seeks to bring his gaze in line with hers as he completes the directive utterance. Moreover, as O1 nears completion of the utterance in line 6, the words 'right now' strongly formulate the immediacy of the need for Ida Mae to calm down, and the addition of the tag questions 'okay?' and 'alright?' pursue her acknowledgement that she will comply. These are verbal actions which attend specifically via their positioning in relation to Ida Mae's actions to a particular aspect of Ida Mae's resistance, that is, her gaze shift away from O1, and they also seek her gaze return. Then, at line 8, O1 further pursues her gaze return in yet another manner. Continuing his talk, he produces a cut-off and restarts the beginnings of a directive warrant, ('cause you you can't'; an action by which he begins to express an account for the directive), similar to his action in line 1. With the restart, O1 taps Ida Mae on the arm twice and she looks up at him, what may be termed an embodied summons (cf. Schegloff, 1968; although, as it turns out, Ida Mae looks up not to be a recipient but to produce her own angry, grief-filled talk; see Appendix B).

In sum, O1 treats Ida Mae's gazes away from him as requiring action to get her to gaze at him by producing speech cut-offs and restarts; tracking her gaze withdrawals with his gaze; producing tag questions; and summoning her with a tap on the arm. Of note is that these are methods (tag questions aside) that are produced *within* talk (i.e. speech cut-offs and restarts) or as *accompaniments* to

talk (i.e. gaze tracking and embodied summonses), and in this way they are embedded in the flow of action that is being produced by O1 with his talk, and to be discussed next, work over the course of his turn to preserve his talk as the main line of action.

MULTIPLE EMBEDDED METHODS OF GAZE PURSUIT OVER THE COURSE OF A SINGLE TURN

As C. Goodwin found, cut-offs and restarts are methods of securing the mutual gaze of speakers and recipients especially at turn beginnings, and we see this in line 1. Goodwin also found that this method can be used when gaze withdrawal by a recipient occurs mid-turn (1981). But here (line 6) another method is used: O1 tracks Ida Mae's mid-turn withdrawal with his own gaze and head movements, in this way preserving the flow of the utterance he has already embarked upon – and for which he has already once recruited, and lost, Ida Mae's gaze. When he begins a new increment of talk (line 8), however (using 'because' to link the beginnings of the warrant to the prior increments), he reverts to the cut-off and restart method, but he does so with the accompaniment of an embodied summons, and, thus, in light of what is turning out to be resistance by Ida Mae to gazing at him, he uses stronger methods of gaze pursuit (cf. C. Goodwin, 2000; Schegloff, 1968). One observation is that although the cut-off and restart method may be initially effective – we see how it rouses Ida Mae from her crying and gets her to look at O1 at least momentarily – it does not necessarily ensure a sustained gaze orientation by a recipient to a speaker over the course of a turn. Thus, other methods of gaze pursuit may be employed in the turn's course. Another observation is that there is an ordering of the methods used during the turn from less intrusive to more intrusive (i.e. as one method 'fails' and another is tried) in the sense that O1's actions become more outwardly directed to Ida Mae herself: the cut-offs and restarts are actions that he produces within his own talk, but the gaze tracking and tapping are embodied actions that require coordinating with or contacting Ida Mae's body in some way. In these ways, O1's actions come to be displayed more strongly *for* Ida Mae, making increasingly relevant that Ida Mae should look at him, but without explicitly directing her to look, which is the third observation.

Specifically, with these embedded methods of gaze pursuit (actions that are produced *within* or as *accompaniments* to talk), O1 preserves the overall course of the talk in his turn. Thus, these are actions that are undertaken in support of his spoken directive actions to get Ida Mae to calm herself, and they are to be contrasted with other methods that are produced *with* talk (examined in subsequent sections). Put another way, O1 is producing one line of action with his talk to get Ida Mae to calm down, and with these other actions, he is producing another, supporting line of action to get her to look at him, without making this an explicit interactional project. One issue here is that Ida Mae removes herself as a recipient of O1's talk when she looks away, and in this way disrupts the basic speaker-listener alignment, which these methods seem specifically suited to remedying. But another issue is that Ida Mae is refusing to

be a recipient of a particular action by O1, the directive to calm down, and in withdrawing her gaze she withdraws from the first step toward an obligation to comply that, presumably, her gaze toward O1 would implicate. In this way, it is not only the relationship of a speaker to a recipient that is at issue with the officer's pursuit of Ida Mae's gaze return, but the relationship between two actions, the officer's directive to calm down and Ida Mae's non-compliance with the directive. As will be seen, subsequent methods of gaze pursuit by O1 become more explicitly directed to this matter as the encounter continues.

THE FACE: WHAT IDA MAE IS DOING WHEN SHE LOOKS AWAY

Little has been said up to this point about Ida Mae's actions. Of note here is what Ida Mae is doing when she looks to O1, and when she looks away from him, and how this is tied to the officers' readings of her actions as non-compliant. At issue is how Ida Mae organizes her actions – and carefully so – not only with respect to her role as a recipient in the interaction (i.e. the recipient of talk, the recipient of a directive action), but also with respect to cultural norms pertaining to the containment of strong emotional expression, that is, the containment of (to use Goffman's term again) 'flooding out.' Ida Mae's placement of her gaze, and, moreover, her face, is integral to this.

In line 1, Ida Mae is crying as O1 (and O2) speaks to her. She stops crying when she shifts her gaze to him, but continues to breathe in a labored way. Thus, in posing herself as a recipient, she ceases one activity to become involved in another. When she withdraws her gaze from O1 in line 6, she does not resume crying but continues the labored breathing, in this way pursuing her grief activities, but in an ameliorated fashion. It is as if Ida Mae's gaze to O1, and brief posturing as a possible recipient in lines 1–6, were an interruption to her main involvement, grieving, and as discussed above, O1 undertakes via multiple methods to get her to gaze at him, in effect, to rouse her from her grieving. This is a pattern that becomes clearer as the encounter proceeds. In lines 12–14 of the transcript (see Appendix B), Ida Mae removes her gaze from O1 and resumes crying, then ceases crying (but breathes heavily) when she looks up at O2 in lines 16–19. Then, in lines 23 to the middle of line 26, she again removes her gaze from O1 and resumes crying (cf. Beach and LeBaron, 2002; Heath, 1986; Maynard, 2003, on patients' similar management of emotional displays in consultations with doctors).

Ida Mae, by withdrawing her gaze during moments when she is crying (or nearly crying), withdraws not only her eyes, but her face, from interactional play. The face, too, as a sort of ritual object, is subject to cultural conventions with respect to its display and visibility in interaction (Goffman, 1963: 27–28). Ida Mae, whose face is contorted by her expressions of grief (see Figure 1, Appendix A) literally moves it out of play during moments of crying. Hence, in looking away, Ida Mae maintains her grieving activities as more or less a private preoccupation, one that O1 seeks to rouse her from with increasingly stronger and more explicit methods of pursuing her gaze. Moreover, in getting Ida Mae to look at him, O1 also deploys his own face in an important way, to be discussed below.

Although Ida Mae shows a pattern of looking away when she cries, there are two instances in which she is looking at the officers when in fact she is crying that require further consideration. In line 22 Ida Mae looks at O2 as she cries, and in line 28 she looks at O1 as she cries (see Appendix B). But in line with the claims made above, in line 22, Ida Mae, having shifted her gaze to O2 when he addresses her in line 16, begins to cry *after* the end of his turn, in other words not in overlap with his talk, but, more precisely, in the turn space following his talk (Sacks et al., 1974); when she shifts her gaze to O1 when he addresses her in line 23, she stops crying. Then, in line 28 (to be discussed in more detail below), although she begins to cry in overlap with O1's talk, he is touching her chin to secure her gaze toward him, and not soon after in line 30, she moves her gaze from him. Thus, in these instances, too, Ida Mae organizes her brief positionings as a recipient to occur – when she can – for points when she is not crying. Her fleeting displays of reciprocity toward the officers' actions, then, are rather carefully organized moments with respect to the stops and starts of her crying, and demonstrate at least a minimal grasp that she is maintaining of certain responsibilities associated with being not just a recipient, but more broadly an interactant, a grasp that is increasingly called into question, however, as the encounter proceeds.

Exposed methods of gaze pursuit 1: verbal commands to 'listen' and 'look'

Turning now to the second excerpt of interest, Ida Mae looks away from O1 again in line 23. Of particular interest are the methods that O1 uses to pursue her gaze return at lines 26 and 31:

Segment 2

22 =hm! hm! hmh:: (hm) ((crying)) looking at O2

. . . X IM shifts gaze to O1 . . . X then to left

23 O1: you can't – you can't drive like this::

24 O2: You gotta calm down.

25 IM: ↑h |m ↑hmh hm: ((crying)) IM is looking off to left

. . . X IM shifts her gaze to O1

26 O1: |You go– >>Listen Listen to me<<.

. V

O1 begins moving hand to IM's face, gently places finger tips on her chin and raises eyebrows, arches head back a bit as she speaks/looks at IM

27 O1: You gotta believe he's gonna be okay::

28 I: °hm hm hm |hmm hm° ((crying))

29 O1: |Alright?

X IM withdraws her gaze from O1 to the right

30 Alright?

V IM nods "yes" once

31 O1: [O1 tracks IM's gaze shift, follows her head movement to the right
Look Look Look.

At line 26, in response to Ida Mae's look away, O1 cuts off his talk to her and directs her to listen to him, using the strongest directive form, the command. He says, 'Listen, Listen to me.' Moreover, at the same time that O1 issues the directive, he brings his hand to Ida Mae's chin and gently places it there to hold her gaze toward him, in effect, more or less forcing her to gaze at him as he restarts and continues his utterance; this may be considered another embedded method of gaze pursuit. When she withdraws her gaze from him again (line 30), he issues another command, using an especially strong command form, what might be termed the 'multiple command repeat' form.² This time he says, 'Look Look Look.' These methods of gaze pursuit, especially taken together, convey an increasing sense of urgency by O1 to get Ida Mae to shift her gaze to him and require consideration on a number of different levels.

SEQUENTIAL ISSUES

First, 'listen' and 'look' are actions that, being items of talk themselves, and, moreover directives, do not preserve as the main line of action the talk that O1 has been producing to get Ida Mae to calm down. Rather, the main line of action, at least for the moment, comes to be O1's efforts to get Ida Mae to 'listen' and 'look'. In this way, the trouble that O1 has been having in terms of aligning Ida Mae as a recipient of his directive action is 'exposed,' that is, it becomes an interactional project in its own right by imposing sequential constraints that hold off further calming talk until O1 can align Ida Mae as a proper recipient, and, more basically, as a proper interactant. In this way, these methods differ from the ones examined in the prior section, the embedded methods, which preserved O1's calming talk as the main line of action.

Specifically, 'listen,' as it is used here, is produced as an interruption of current talk: that is, the current talk is cut off and not restarted until the problem that 'listen' locates is remedied. As an initiating action, and as a command-form directive a particularly strong one, 'listen' sequentially requires a responding action and holds the forward movement of the preceding talk at bay until a response is made. The response, of course, is made with 'help' from O1 in that he uses his hand on Ida Mae's chin to hold her gaze toward him. With her gaze upon him, he restarts and completes the talk that he had just cut off. Gaze toward a speaker, then, is treated as a proper response to the directive 'listen' (put another way, gazing is one way that a recipient indicates that listening is being done).

Similarly, 'look,' as an initiating action, seeks a response from Ida Mae (because there is an edit between lines 31 and 32, I cannot make an analysis of the response that follows; see Appendix B). Here, 'look' is produced following the completion of prior talk by O1 which, as in lines 6 and 8 above, is seeking through the use of tag questions her verbal as well as embodied response to the reassurance (lines 27, 29, 30), one that she does not give (she nods her head 'yes'

as she shifts her gaze away, but as O1's next action shows, he does not treat this as adequate). Thus, 'look' does not hold up the progression of prior talk as did 'listen,' but continues and upgrades a line of pursuit of a response that conveys that one is due before further talk, and possibly interaction itself, can proceed. This brings up the matter of how 'listen' and 'look' are potentially different.

LISTEN AND LOOK

While both the command to 'listen' and the command to 'look' explicitly locate some failure on Ida Mae's part to be a proper recipient – that is, they expose a problem in the interaction and, moreover, propose solutions that are to be realized in a response by Ida Mae – 'listen' and 'look' are actions that direct a recipient to do different things, and, thus, are directed to rather different failings of Ida Mae as an interactant. With both 'listen' and 'look,' the directives are made at points when Ida Mae has shifted her gaze away from O1 as he is speaking to her and are pursuits of her gaze return. One failing, then, that both directives locate is her failure, as a proper recipient, to look at the speaker. However, 'listen' specifically calls on Ida Mae to attend to O1's talk, while 'look' calls on her to shift her visual focus to him. On the one hand, the failing that 'listen' locates has to do with Ida Mae's not attending to O1's talk, evidence of which is provided not only by her not looking at him, but also, by implication, her non-compliance with the line of directive action that he has been producing up to this point with his talk. On the other hand, arguably, 'look' locates some more basic failure, especially in this case, which has to do with being a competent interactant, one whose faculties are operating 'normally' and who can attend to relevant objects and events in a situation with the proper degree of visual focus. 'Look,' unlike 'listen,' calls on Ida Mae to orient to O1 himself, that is, as a co-interactant, and in this way seeks to align parties not just as speaker and hearer, but as co-present parties who must coordinate some order of interactional business together. In this way, 'look' is a more remedial form of orienting participants to an encounter than is 'listen.'

MORE ON THE FACE: THE REQUIREMENT OF VISUAL FOCUS

Finally, a discussion of the other method of gaze pursuit that O1 uses here is in order: O1's 'forcing' Ida Mae to look at him by putting his hand to her chin to hold her gaze toward him. Interestingly, in line with the argument above, two lines of action are being carried out in line 26: one that is produced with talk that directs Ida Mae to listen, and another produced as an accompaniment to talk that gets Ida Mae to look. Together, these actions demonstrate that listening and looking, though related in the sense that both may be demonstrated by a recipient's gaze shift to a speaker, really are different interactional tasks, and demonstrably so, at least with respect to the speaker's actions here. O1, in calling Ida Mae to listen, gently puts his hand on her chin and holds her gaze toward him. As he holds her face, he makes a reassurance (line 27), 'You gotta believe he's gonna be okay', in other words, talk which he has prepared the way for by

his command to listen, and which is the restart and completion of the prior disbanding utterance: 'You go-.' Addressing Ida Mae now with her gaze fully upon him, O1 raises his eyebrows and arches his head back. In this way, he brings his face directly into Ida Mae's line of view and makes it a salient object of her focus (Figure 2 in Appendix A). Although O1 is 'forcing' her to gaze at him and be a recipient of his reassurance, his facial actions, in conjunction with the soft even tone he uses in speaking the reassurance, convey a compassionate stance toward Ida Mae's present suffering and compose the reassurance as particularly sincere. Thus, in forcing Ida Mae's gaze toward him, O1 produces visible action for her at the same time that he produces verbal action. This bit of the interaction provides a nice demonstration of how gaze directed at another is implicated in more than just the alignment of speaker-listener roles; it is implicated as well in the basic alignment of interactants as embodied persons to other embodied persons, whose bodies, as physical objects that also produce social action, require attending.

As the encounter continues, Ida Mae's inability and/or unwillingness to attend in this most basic way persists. O1's command to 'look' has been described here as exposing this interactional failing, but in the next excerpt of interest, a method that exposes what is possibly an even more fundamental failing is used. This method calls into question the matter of Ida Mae's 'presence', that is, her basic availability, mental as well as physical, for interaction.

Exposed methods of gaze pursuit 2: a mid-encounter summons

Just after a small edit between the second and third segments (see Appendix B) in line 33, O1 again directs Ida Mae to look. In line 32, he has directed her to listen, then cut off a second such directive to tell her multiple times, 'look at me.' Indeed, the repeat of the command form here, as in the excerpt just examined, constitutes a particularly strong directive. Of interest here is that when this action is not effective, O1 calls Ida Mae's name in lines 36 and 39:

Segment 3

		[O1 tracks IM's gaze shift
		[IM shifts gaze to right to move out of line of O1's tracking
		X
32 O1:	Do me a favor listen to me	[lis-
IM:		[(sniff)]
33 O1:	>>Look at me look at	[me look (it/at me) look (it)<<.
34 IM:		[(cough)]=hm! ((cry))=
35 IM:	= ()'n left the ho	[use, ((agonized voice))
36 O1:		[Ida Mae I da Mae,
	IM turns part way toward O1: not clear	if she looks at him
		. X
37 IM:		Yeah.

- X IM turns away from O1, shifting gaze to right
- 38 (.2)
- 39 O1: Ida Mae,
- 40 IM: Yeah.
- . . . X IM shifts her gaze to O1
- 41 O1: (Hi/hah) Are you– are you listen to me.
- 42 (.2)
- 43 O1: you gotta go slow, okay?
- 44 IM: I will. ((nods head affirmatively))

A better ordering of gaze pursuit actions—perhaps a better term by this point, attention pursuit actions—could not be asked for to demonstrate the issues that have been raised here as to what sort of interactional troubles O1 is seeking to remedy. 'Listen,' which calls on Ida Mae to be a better recipient of talk, is abandoned for 'look at me,' which calls on her to orient to O1 as an embodied, co-present other who is producing action for her response. 'Look at me' is followed by a summons, which calls on Ida Mae to show that she is—at the very least—mentally and physically present and, it will be demonstrated, in this way to re-establish and re-commit to her availability to interact. Thus, as Ida Mae is unresponsive to O1's efforts to get her to attend and be responsive to the line of directive action that he has undertaken to calm her, he undertakes a succession of methods aimed at first at remedying a failure on her part having to do with a rather specific interactional activity, listening, to one aimed more at her general lack of co-orientation to co-present, visible activity, and finally to one aimed at her failure to comport herself as someone who is present and available and *able* to interact. As can be seen in the transcript, O1's calling of Ida Mae's name, the summons, elicits a response from her, a gaze shift to O1 and also a verbal response, 'yeah' (lines 37 and 40).

Schegloff (1968), in his classic article on the summons-answer sequence (or SA sequence), provides for how this two-part structure is a powerful tool for the coordinated entry of participants into an encounter, and, moreover, for committing them to a possibly more extended engagement. Hence, summonses are devices that are typically and pervasively used at the beginnings of encounters. To use them in the middle of an encounter after engagement has begun, such as we see here, can only signal that some rather profound failure of engagement has occurred. Nonetheless, as this case suggests, summonses in this position can be powerful mending devices for how they serve to re-coordinate and re-commit participants to an interactional exchange such that, as we see here, the summons 1) initiates a gaze return by Ida Mae to O1 as well as a verbal show of her presence (and thus a show of her availability to interact), and, very significantly, 2) sets her up to commit to an action *following the summons* that O1 directs her to do as a necessary part of becoming calm ('you gotta go slow, okay?', line 43).

As Schegloff demonstrated, the summons, as an initiating action, calls for a response, that is, an answer to the summons by which the summoned party

shows availability to interact (e.g. the summons may consist of calling someone's name, saying, 'hey!', or by mechanically induced means such as the ringing of a telephone). The answer (often produced in the form of a question such as, 'what?' or 'yeah?', or a gaze shift to the summoner; p. 1080) provides a go ahead for the speaker to continue with the next action that is implicated by the use of the summons. In other words, people are summoned *for something*, and, in this way, a summons implicates not just a next action by a recipient, but an action following this by the speaker, and, moreover, another action by the recipient that is a response to the summoner's action. Hence, a summons sets in motion a sequence of potentially four actions in an exchange (p. 1091):

- Action 1: A summons B
- Action 2: B answers A's summons
- Action 3: A produces action that B has been summoned for
- Action 4: B produces responding action to A's action

Indeed, as the transcript shows, a third and a fourth action are generated by O1's initial summons and Ida Mae's answer. O1, upon getting the 'yeah' from Ida Mae produces a question/directive to further check Ida Mae's availability, but now for the specific task of listening (line 41; here, the use of 'listen' is a preface: it seeks a prospective alignment by IM with further talk that has been projected by the summons, while earlier it acted on IM's unresponsiveness to just-prior talk). Then, he produces a directive that is set up by this, one that renews the line of directive action aimed at getting her to calm down, but also one that is directed to a rather specific dimension of her behavior: its pace or tempo ('You gotta go slow'; line 43). He follows the directive with a tag question, 'okay?', further building into his line of action the pursuit of a response by Ida Mae. Note that while the initial pursuit as undertaken by the summons has been to get a response by Ida Mae to show her basic availability to interact, subsequent pursuit has been aimed at getting a response from her to a particular sort of action, a directive, for which the summons has served as a more general alignment device. As the transcript shows, Ida Mae responds to the directive with a very committed 'I will' (line 44). Indeed, this is the first point in the encounter that Ida Mae demonstrates an alignment to the officers' efforts to calm her, attesting perhaps to the particular effectiveness of the mid-encounter summons as a remedy for serious engagement troubles. From this point on (see Appendix B), O1 engages Ida Mae in a breathing routine to further calm her, with which she fully cooperates (lines 45–58). Although troubles surface again, Ida Mae visibly restrains her grief displays (lines 64–8), and ultimately the officers are able to engage her such that she composes herself enough to be able to leave the officers and—ostensibly—go and see her grandson in the hospital.

Conclusion

As has been argued here, in co-present situations, gaze is a central enabling mechanism for the coordinated entry into and maintenance of face-to-face interaction. A co-interactant's withdrawal of gaze may be treated as only a minor trouble, and speaker methods for procuring gaze may work under the surface, so to speak, in an *embedded* fashion to preserve a line of talk, or presumably some other sort of activity, as the main line of action. However, in cases in which someone is trying to get another to do something, that is, to comply with a line of directive action, the withdrawal may be treated more seriously, that is, it may be treated as part of a line of resistance to complying, in what has been termed here an *exposed* fashion, and even necessitate remedies to – in a most basic way – re-align co-present parties as co-interactants.

Failures of engagement such as have been examined in this article, and for which procuring someone's gaze is undertaken as a solution, of course occur in an interactional context. The interactional context at issue here is that of a police–citizen encounter where the institutional work of the officers necessitates their having to calm the hysterical family member of a shooting victim. It is not entirely clear from the segments of interaction that are available for what particular institutional purposes the officers seek to calm Ida Mae. In line with broad police duties as keepers of the peace and public order (i.e. not just as law enforcers; Bittner, 1967; Rubinstein, 1971), the officers may, for example, be charged with clearing the area, or, perhaps more likely, they are trying to keep her from driving or even going out into public in her current distraught state. Additional cases in the dataset show that police seek to calm individuals for a variety of work-relevant purposes, such as getting them to cooperate during a line of questioning; keeping them from interfering with the work of emergency personnel; and getting their compliance during handcuffing and other moments of physical apprehension and restraint. However, there is another, perhaps less institutionally obvious responsibility that the officers are undertaking in this case. This is a responsibility that has to do with being a 'helper,' here, specifically with emotion work. This case and others in the dataset that involve, for example, a small child whose parents have been arrested and a woman who has been abused by her husband, demonstrate that police responsibilities also include simply soothing people who are in crisis and trying to ameliorate their emotional suffering.³ As discussed at the outset, then, police institutional skills must also include those for managing distraught persons. As has been demonstrated here, these are skills that draw on a general set of interactional resources for managing basic – and serious – troubles of engagement that, indeed, make visible and recognizable what is to be considered and treated in the first place as 'hysteria.' Part of what it means to be hysterical is to engage in visibly hysterical activities – the crying, sobbing, panting, and angry grief-filled talk that Ida Mae exhibits – and to be unable, and/or unwilling to participate in any 'normal' way in interaction, including being responsive to others' directives to calm down. A first

order of business, then, for those charged with dealing with individuals disposed in this way must be to get them to abandon such activities and re-comport themselves as at least minimally available for, and able to carry out, the most fundamental of interactionally relevant tasks – particularly those having to do with the various arrangements and deployments of their gaze.

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NOTES

1. I gathered this information in a phone interview with a former *COPS* show producer.
2. Of note in the larger corpus is that officers frequently use multiple repeat commands, particularly when they are seeking physical compliance: for example, 'Hands up hands up.' I will save an analysis of this form relative to other command and/or directive forms for another article.
3. What is being claimed here – that different sorts of institutional work can be accomplished in the act of calming – is substantiated in the dataset by the placement of calming directives relative to other actions by a speaker in the course of a turn that make the calming directed, for example, toward soothing, or toward forwarding a more obvious work-relevant task like questioning. In other words, different turn designs can constitute 'calm down' directives as rather different sorts of institutional action (a more complete analysis of which is beyond the scope of this article).

APPENDIX A

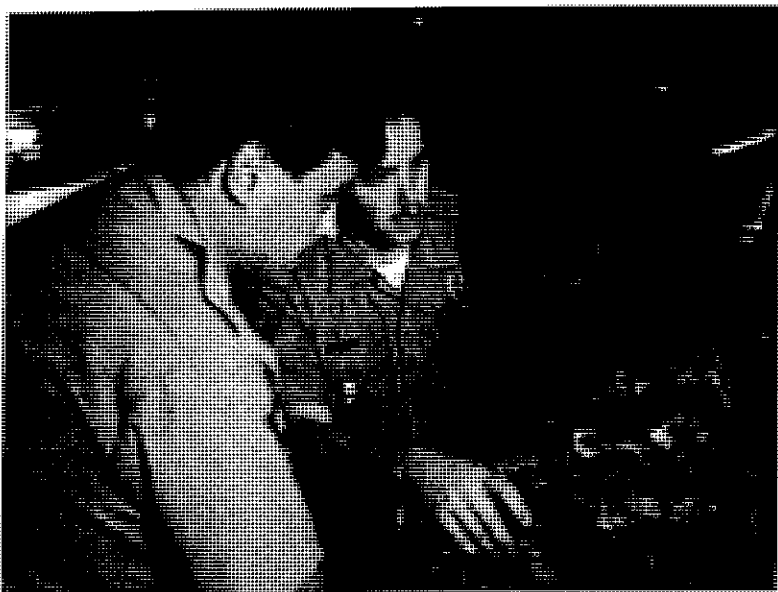


FIGURE 1. Left to right: Officer 2, Officer 1, and Ida Mae. Taken from line 16 of transcript (see Appendix B) to give a better view of Ida Mae's face



FIGURE 2. O1 arches his head back as he touches Ida Mae's chin and produces a reassurance

APPENDIX B

- 1 O1: [Wh-what wha- what we . . . X IM shifts gaze to O1
gotta ha:ve.
2 IM: [Hhmmmmmm (H)m! (h) mm! .hm! ((crying))
3 O2: [you need to ca:lm down
4 [(now).
5 IM: [HH! looking at O1
- 6 O1: X IM withdraws gaze from O1 to left, O1 tracks her shift
w-we gotta have you ca:lm down right now okay? IM is panting
7 (.3)
8 Alright? (.) Cause you you can't
- 9 IM V V O1 taps IM on the arm
My folks (y'haven') . . . X IM shifts gaze to O1
- 10 y [ah- .hh ((sob)) [Kansas City goin' ta' A [NOther
11 O1: [>>you you you- (.1) [ca:n't [°1-°
X IM withdraws gaze from O1 to right
- 12 IM: [funeral tomorrow, ((agonized voice))
13 O1: [°I know°.
14 IM: hm hmh, ((crying)) IM is looking away from O1
15 O1: [°It's okay°
. . . X IM shifts her gaze to O2, O1 tracks her shift
- 16 O2: [You gotta ca:lm down so you can drive over there
V O2 raises eyebrows, leans face toward IM
[HH! hhh! ((sharp in/out breath))
- 17 IM: and [see 'im alright=
18 O2: [HHH! hhhh ((sharp in breath))
19 IM: = Oka: [y,
20 O1: [h=
21 IM: =hm! [hm! hmh:: (hm) ((crying)) looking at O2
22 . . . X IM shifts gaze to O1 .X then to left
- 23 O1: [you can't - [you can't dri:ve like this.
24 O2: [You go:tta ca:lm down
25 IM: ↑h [m ↑hmh hm: ((crying)) IM is looking off to left
. . . X IM shifts her gaze to O1
- 26 O1: [You go- >>Listen Listen to me<<.
V
- O1 begins moving hand to IM's face, gently places finger tips on her chin and raises eyebrows, arches head back a bit as he speaks/looks at IM
- 27 O1: You go:tta belie:ve he's [gonna be okay:..
28 I: [°hm hm hm [hmm hm° ((crying))
29 O1: [Alright?
- X IM withdraws her gaze from O1 to the right
- 30 Alright?
V IM nods "yes" once

31 O1: [O1 tracks IM's gaze shift, follows her head movement to the right
Look Look Look,
POSSIBLE EDIT HERE
[O1 tracks IM's gaze shift
IM shifts gaze to right to move out of line of O1's tracking
x
32 O1: Do me a favor listen to me [lis-
IM: ((sniff))
33 O1: >>Look at me look at [me look (it/at me) look (it)<<,
34 IM: ((cough))=hm! ((cry))=
35 IM: =() 'n left the ho [use ((agonized voice))
36 [Ida Mae |da Mae,
IM turns part way toward O1: not clear if she looks at him
. X
37 IM: Yeah.
X IM turns away from O1, shifting gaze to right
38 (.2)
39 O1: Ida Mae,
40 IM: Yeah.
. . . X IM shifts her gaze to O1
41 O1: (Hi/hah) Are you-are you listen to me.
42 (.2)
43 O1: you gotta go slo:w, okay?
44 IM: I wi:ll. ((nods head affirmatively))
O1 moves hand up, down like breathing
45 O1: (L)- take (.) take some deep breaths [for me,
46 IM: .hhh ((inhales))
47 O1: [Okay?
48 IM: [hhh ((exhales))
O1 moves hand up, down like breathing
49 O1: Try to [calm down.
50 IM: [hhh hhh ((inhales, exhales))
51 (.)
52 O1: Charity's okay;,
53 (.)
54 [Alright?
O1 brings hand up, starts to bring it down
55 IM: [hhh hhh ((inhales, exhales))
56 (.1)
O1 hand down, up, down in punctuating style on okays
57 O1: [He's okay, he's oka[y.
58 IM: .hhh ((inhales))
59 IM: [I can take (it) [(it's all gon'take) me
60 O1: [he-he's

61 IM: 'b[out
62 O1: [he's
63 IM: (deher/Deborah).
64 O1: he's he's he's not he's not dead [he's not dyin'.
V1 V2 V3
V1, V2: IM clenches lips, does noticeable eyebrow flash; V3: O1 does slight eyebrow flash
65 IM: ((sniff))
[O1 tracks IM's gaze shift
IM withdraws her gaze from O1 to the right
. . . X
66 [(hh) he's okay. He looked good when he le:ft
67 IM: [(p)Hhha! ((sniff))
. . . X IM shifts her gaze to the left and down in sharp "shake head no" gesture
68 O1: her::e,
69 (.5)
. . . . X IM shifts gaze to O1
70 O1: If you don't get there safe you ain't doin'
V O1 taps IM on shoulder
71 [him any good.
72 IM: [Oh I'll get there s [afe.
73 O1: [oka [y.
74 O2: [okay.
75 O1: [(do you)a ar are you are you are you calm for me?
76 IM: [They- [I- I get [there,
77 O1: [(Alright)
78 IM: Yeah. ((nods head affirmatively))
79 O1: Are you ca:lm [for me?
80 O2: [okay.
81 IM: I[ge- ((nods head affirmatively))
82 O1: [okay.
83 O2: Now go see [Charit[y.
84 O1: [y- [Walk slo:w.

The interaction continues for 18 more seconds before there is another edit. During this time, the officers continue to calm Ida Mae. In the final scene of the episode, she is shown walking away from them, still crying.

APPENDIX C: TRANSCRIPTION/DATA PRESENTATION CONVENTIONS

In the transcripts, talk is represented using Jeffersonian transcription conventions (Atkinson and Heritage, 1984; Jefferson, 1984). Gazing and other embodied actions make use of Goodwin's (1981) transcription conventions, with some modifications. The conventions for representing gazing and other embodied actions are as follows:

- 1) Gazing actions
a period '.' or a series of periods '. . .': Represents movement of gaze by one participant to another

a ',' or series of commas, ',...': Represents movement of gaze away from the target.

'X': Marks the arrival of gaze

a line '___': Indicates continues gaze by one participant toward another.

2) Embodied actions

'V': Represents particular actions taken by participants. The actions are described below lines of talk, and 'V' marks the point where they occur in relation to talk.

3) Talk-in-interaction

Talk is transcribed in accord with conventional Jefferson-based conversation analysis conventions developed.

[brackets indicate overlapping talk

() talk heard, but not understood

(word) a guess at the talk

(.) very brief pauses

(1.0) measured silence

word: colon(s) indicates elongation of prior sound

word- indicates cut-off word

=word equals sign indicates latched speech

word underline indicates stress on word

WORD extra loud volume

°word° spoken softly

↑↓ indicate rise and fall in pitch, respectively


.hh inbreath (preceded by period)

hh outbreath

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