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**THE ORDER OF ORDERING:
ANALYSING CUSTOMER-BARTENDER SERVICE ENCOUNTERS IN PUBLIC
BARS**

by

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Abstract

This thesis will explore how customers and bartenders accomplish the service encounter in a public house, or bar. Whilst there is a body of existing literature on service encounters, this mainly investigates customer satisfaction and ignores the mundane activities that comprise the service encounter itself. In an attempt to fill this gap, I will examine how the activities unfold sequentially by examining the spoken and embodied conduct of the participants, over the course of the encounter. The data comprise audio -and video- recorded, dyadic and multi-party interactions between customer(s) and bartender(s), occurring at the bar counter. The data were analyzed using conversation analysis (CA) to investigate the talk and embodied conduct of participants, as these unfold sequentially.

The first analytic chapter investigates how interactions between customers and bartenders are opened. The analysis reveals practices for communicating availability to enter into a service encounter; with customers being found to do this primarily through embodied conduct, and bartenders primarily through spoken turns. The second analytic chapter investigates the role of objects in the ordering sequence. Specifically, the analysis reveals how the Cash Till and the seating tables in the bar are mobilized by participants to accomplish action. In the third analytic chapter, multi-party interactions are investigated, focusing on the organization of turn-taking when two or more customers interact with one or more bartenders. Here, customers are found to engage in activities where they align as a unit, with a lead speaker, who interacts with the bartender on behalf of the party. In the final analytic chapter, the payment sequence of the service encounter is explored to investigate at what sequential position in the interaction payment, as an action, is oriented to. Analysis reveals that a wallet, purse, or bag, may be displayed and money or a payment card retrieved,

in a variety of sequential slots, with each contributing differentially to the efficiency of the interaction. I also find that payment may be prematurely proffered due to the preference for efficiency.

Overall, the thesis makes innovative contributions to our understanding of customer and bartender practices for accomplishing core activities in what members come to recognize as a service encounter. It also contributes substantially to basic conversation analytic research on ‘openings’, which has traditionally been founded on telephone interactions, as well as the action of requesting. I enhance our knowledge of face-to-face opening practices, by revealing that the canonical opening sequence (see Schegloff, 1968; 1979; 1986) is not present, at least in this context. From the findings, I also develop our understanding of how objects constrain, or further, progressivity in interaction; while arguing for the importance of analysing the participants’ ‘semiotic field’ in aggregate with talk and embodied conduct. The thesis also contributes to existing literature on multi-party interactions, identifying a new turn-taking practice with a directional flow that works effectively to accomplish ordering. Finally, I contribute to knowledge on the provision of payment, an under-researched yet prominent action in the service encounter. This thesis will show the applicability of CA to service providers; by analysing the talk and embodied conduct in aggregate, effective practices for accomplishing a successful service encounter are revealed.

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Introduction

This dissertation investigates the seemingly mundane activity of getting served food or drinks at a public house, or bar. The routine of entering a bar, approaching the bar counter, ordering a drink and paying for that drink, is a regularly performed activity occurring in public houses all over the world. As with many activities in our daily lives this may, at first, appear to be a relatively uneventful action; yet with closer inspection the ‘seen but unnoticed’ (Garfinkel, 1967) details of purchasing items from a bar reveal otherwise. These actions are produced to be recognizable and are oriented to by those involved in the interaction, or as observers to the interaction. When considering how is it that a customer orders a drink at a bar key questions emerge: How is the customer-bartender interaction initiated? How do the customer and bartender ‘find each other’ within the environment of the bar, so as to begin the service encounter? How is service requested? How do customers make requests for items and how are their requests responded to? How does a bartender fulfil that request? These are the questions I considered when embarking on this empirical research project. I found myself within the context of ‘institutional’ or ‘workplace’ studies - the names given to studies of this kind - where the activities within a particular setting are investigated for how the ‘work’, or a particular institutional goal, is achieved.

I adopted an ethnomethodological approach to explore the sequence of actions that members perform to achieve the service encounter at the bar. Ethnomethodology’s task involves looking at what *actually* happens moment by moment, departing from the traditional methods of asking participants about their *experiences* of what happened after the event. Put simply by Rawls (2003, p. 9), “If it can be assumed that the meaningful, patterned and ordinary character of everyday life is something people must work constantly to achieve, then

one must also assume they have some methods for doing so". Thus, ethnomethodology seeks to, and I seek to over the forthcoming chapters, identify exactly what someone has to do to accomplish action; what the 'members' methods' are. Asking 'what and how' rather than 'why' is central to an ethnomethodological understanding of how social life is produced through actions that are recognizable as the things they are designed to be (Sharrock & Anderson, 1986). From this point of departure, I began to consider the work done by participants to recognizably produce what we, as members of society, mutually constitute as a 'service encounter'.

The data I collected comprised audio and video recordings of interactions between customer(s) and bartenders(s) at a bar counter. A video camera, supported by additional audio recording equipment, was positioned unobtrusively to capture the service encounter. Through collecting data this way, I was able to access to how these interactions unfold, more or less, as they did for the participants. To analyse the data collected, I used conversation analysis (CA), which shares its principles with ethnomethodology. CA is concerned with identifying, and explicating, patterns in interaction; it is within the patterns, structures and practices which make coherent, mutually comprehensible communication and action possible in interaction (Drew, 2005). Despite the name, CA can be applied to talk and other forms of embodied conduct-in-interaction (Drew, 2005). It is my intention, throughout this dissertation, to demonstrate the importance of investigating, in aggregate with what people say, their embodied conduct: their interaction with objects and artefacts and their environment. The methodological approach I have adopted ensures that, however, when analyzing conduct of this type, I examine what actions are relevant for the participants in interaction, as the participant is an analyst themselves.

The structure of this dissertation is as follows: In Chapter 1, I discuss what we know already about public houses, or bars, through a review of the existing literature. This chapter

will show that, in fact, very little is known about the mundane activities that constitute the social life of bars, especially the service encounter itself. There is, however, a body of existing literature on service encounters in a variety of other organizational locations. As Chapter 1 will illustrate, however, this work adopts ‘traditional’ sociological methods and has focused on, say, customer experiences, or their satisfaction with the service they receive. By the end of Chapter 1, a discussion of CA studies of the service encounter will prime the reader in what we already know about the organization of service encounters and identify what we do not.

The methodological and technical considerations of this thesis will be discussed in Chapter 2. In the first part of this chapter, I will describe the approach to data collection in more depth, along with the ethical implications, and practicalities, of collecting, using video, naturally-occurring data of this kind. Secondly, I provide a detailed description of my corpus and its transcription. In CA, talk has a recognized transcription system (see Jefferson, 2004); yet, multi-modal transcription of visual and audio data does not. In this chapter, I will explain how I arrived at my chosen method of transcription and representation from a range that are commonly used. Next, I will explain CA as an analytic method, particularly in respect to its application to the analysis of talk and embodied conduct in tandem. I will present the analytic steps taken to arrive at the analysis that is presented over the forthcoming chapters.

Chapter 3 is the first analytic chapter, in which I explore how interactions at the bar are initiated. ‘Openings’ have been of interest to conversation analysts from the earliest days of CA. However, much of what we know about how interaction is opened comes from encounters on the telephone. This chapter will present findings of how interactions are opened in face-to-face interaction. I focus predominantly on the ‘pre-beginnings’ of the opening sequence, before and up to the initial turns at talk; contributing to what we already

know about opening sequences in institutional contexts. This chapter will also showcase the value in examining embodied conduct in addition to the talk.

In Chapter 4, we move onto the ‘ordering sequence’. Here, I focus my analytic attention to the ‘Cash Till’, as a mobilized object in the interaction, exploring the interactional constraints that it, and its programming, has on the unfolding interaction. The role of artefacts, and the environment in which interaction takes place, *has* received analytic attention in a range of contexts and I aim to contribute to that in an a context that has yet to be explored. In this chapter, I aim to reveal that the Cash Till is fundamental to the service encounter at the bar, by exploring how the requesting sequence is organized by the recruitment of the technology into the interaction.

Chapter 5 addresses how multi-party interactions are accomplished. In dyadic encounters, where one bartender interacts with one customer, the practices of ‘turn-taking’ (see Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974) are adhered to. In this chapter, we explore how the service encounter is accomplished when two or more customers are interacting with one, or more, bartender(s). To set the chapter in context, I start by addressing what we already know about turn-taking in multi-party interactions and use this as a foundation to explore multi-party service encounters. I then examine how joint orders are placed and paid for across the dataset. In Chapter 6, I build upon my analysis of payment sequences, which will be discussed in the latter section of Chapter 5. Payment is a fundamental part of the service encounter, yet its accomplishment has received little investigation. In this chapter, I examine how, and when, payment for orders placed is produced, and proffered, by customers and accepted by bartenders.

In the final chapter, I will summarize what we have learned about the organization of the service encounter, and identify the ways in which it has filled gaps in, or built upon, existing knowledge. I will also highlight the limitations of this study, and consider the

possibilities for future research. Overall, this dissertation will explore the activity of getting served at the bar, by looking at *just that*. I argue for the collection and analysis of naturally-occurring data collection, over ‘traditional’ methods such as questionnaires, focus groups or experimental data to examine, in detail, how the talk and embodied conduct of participants work to accomplish the actions that comprise the service encounter.

Chapter 1:

The social life of the bar: A literature review

1.0 Introduction

Whilst the aims of this study were introduced in the previous section, this chapter will place the research into the wider context of existing literature. I will start with an overview of what we already know about interactions within bars (1.1), and show that much of the existing literature explores concepts of culture, race, gender and class, but not the constitutive communicative encounters of the bar and its participants. After this, in section 1.2, I will provide a summary of the more traditional existing work on service encounters, which focusses overwhelmingly on customer satisfaction and profitability. I will then, in section 1.3, to prime the reader, move on to interactional work, starting with a review of existing literature on workplace and institutional studies more generally, before moving on to service encounters themselves. I start with the telephone (1.3.1) before moving onto face to face service encounters (1.3.2). By the end of this chapter, in section 1.4, I hope to have positioned my research within existing literature to ascertain what we already know, and reveal what we *don't* know about service encounters, specifically in bars. I will have introduced the prior work which has driven this dissertation, and highlighted the gaps which I will fill over the following chapters.

1.1 What we know about bars

In this section, I will discuss what is already known about activities within public houses or bars. Although not extensive, previous research into pubs or bars has been undertaken across the human and social sciences. However, these ethnographic studies have largely started with

notions of culture, class, gender and race and their impact on the social life of the bar. For example, Morris (1998) took a historical, literature-based approach, focusing on the emergence of a 'drinking culture' and the cultural 'rules' of alcohol consumption. His anthropological study also explored the differences in the way different countries, cultures, ages, and genders consume alcohol and occupy drinking venues. The findings of the study identified behavioural differences in relation to different cultural beliefs surrounding alcohol, different expectancies regarding the effects of alcohol, and social norms regarding drunken behaviour. The study also claimed to find 'universal' norms about the way different cultures construct special places in which to drink alcohol, with their own norms, values and customs. For instance, Mediterranean cultures are associated with 'positive' alcohol behaviours (such as sociability, relaxing), and thus tend to have more open, social venues in which to drink alcohol. In contrast, cultures with negative associations of alcohol, such as Northern Europe's 'lager-lout', tend to have more closed insular designs (Morris, 1998). This study highlights how bars, as venues to drink alcohol, alongside the activities within them, are culturally sensitive. It begins to explore the ways in which interaction with venues, objects and the other customers create social norms.

Bars have also attracted investigation as 'gendered' spaces. For example, a female researcher adopted the role of a cocktail waitress to gain insight into a predominantly male setting; this allowed her to find that drinking venues are a microcosm of larger social and cultural patterns (Spradley & Mann, 1975). Relatedly, 'working-class' bars have been identified as sites where 'working class' identities are formed (Lindquist, 2002). Lindquist's exploration into socioeconomic class differences and public drinking venues attempted to address how working-class identity is formed through material conditions or local practices. Similarly, Bell (1982) conducted ethnographic research into the setting of a black middle-class bar in America. The research observed the sorts of African-American cultural norms

and practices that exist in the wider milieu, and how social meaning was created in that particular urban environment; with a heavy focus on the barmaid's contribution to the production of this. The findings were based on extensive observation and by conducting interviews with patrons of the bar to uncover how the 'performance' of the bar staff created 'folklore'. Bell also paid particular interest to the physical setting of the bar and analyzed the structure of the setting, and its ambience in the research.

Ethnographic studies of bars have revealed the 'sociability' of such spaces (Cavan, 1966). Cavan explored how the customers and, like Bell, the physical environment of the bar, facilitated or constrained the sociability of the customers within by their choice of seating. By standing at the bar, Cavan found customers to be maximising their availability to socialise with other customers. While seating in a booth or at a table, customers were more self-contained and therefore less likely to socialise with others who were not part of their group (Cavan, 1966). Similarly, Lugosi (2009) studied the practices for the creation of 'hospitality' through ethnography of a bar with a large gay and lesbian clientele. Lugosi's study found that the physical environment of the bar, and artefacts placed within it to promote the bar as a hospitable space, actually worked to negate hospitableness. The rainbow flag, overtly sexual imagery of men, and a specific genre of music, were amongst the things present in the bar to promote hospitality to the gay community. However, the flag was seen as 'outdated', the images were found to objectify men and marginalize women; the music was found to portray a certain assumptions about homosexual individuals. Instead, Lugosi found that it is the customers that work to maintain a hospitable or inhospitable space within the bar. The inclusion of objects, such as a small vase of flowers, was found by Laurier, Whyte and Buckner (2001) to add to the 'informality' of a café, in contrast to, say, the formal laid table of a restaurant, which provides for a different organizational space. In another ethnographic study, this time of football supporters within a bar, Reeves, Sherwood and Brown (2010)

found that customers, their clothing, ‘shared objects’, such as flags or an inflatable deer, along with collaboratively singing songs, all worked to identify how football crowds maintain ‘membership’ of a crowd when supporting a football team in a pub screening the match. The consideration of objects in these studies highlights the focus of the public house as an environment which facilitates various notions of ‘sociability’, ‘hospitality’ or ‘membership’.

Research into the social and material organization of cafes has revealed interesting practices. Laurier (2008a) explored how breakfast ‘happens’ in a café. Likening cafes to bars in his study of how the closing sequence of two co-workers in a cafe is achieved. He also reports how, in face-to-face closings, movements and objects, such as taking the final sips of a drink, or pushing away a glass, coupled with the final remarks of a conversation are important resources in closing conversations in the cafe (Laurier, 2008b). Restaurants have also received some investigation, with Whyte’s (1949) study notably exploring the work activities of members of the setting, and investigating communication between the various workers and the customers in their achievement of ‘service’ (see also Crang, 1994.)

Most of the work on public bars and restaurants has focused upon more macro or conceptual organizational issues, in the traditional sociological way (e.g., class, gender, identity), with only a handful of studies examining the very mundane activities with them. Whilst the public house, or bar, is the setting for my research, my specific interests lie in the sequential organization of the *service encounter*. In the next section of this chapter (1.2), I will present what we already know about service encounters to further situate my research.

1.2 What we know about service encounters

Within the literature, service encounters have largely been explored, in organizational or business studies, for example, for how they can be improved to produce greater customer satisfaction and become more profitable. The service encounter has been found to affect

customer satisfaction (Bitner & Hubbert, 1994; Smith & Bolton, 1998) which ultimately impacts on whether the customer will return to the service provider; and therefore have an impact on profits obtained. While some have identified the need to explore both customer *and* service provider perspectives of the service encounter (see Svensson, 2006), the majority of work foregrounds the customer experience. Some notable exceptions investigate *how* employers and employees in service work maintain routinized work and employ emotional labour in their role (Abiala, 1999; Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Hochschild, 1983; Leidner, 1999). Overwhelmingly, however, the existing body of literature focuses on customer satisfaction.

Numerous surveys have been used to evaluate how the perception of service quality and value affects customer satisfaction (see Bolton & Drew, 1991). For example, the communication style (Sparks, 1994), the language used (native tongue vs. non-native tongue) (Holmqvist & Grönroos, 2012) and the perceived personality of the service provider (Furnham & Miller, 2008) has been found to affect the quality of service perceived by customers. We also know that aspects of the physical surroundings have been found to impact on the customer satisfaction (Bitner, 1990). Other factors, such as having a 'service relationship' (e.g., repeat contact between customer and service provider) have been found to improve customer gratification (e.g., Gutek, Bhappu, Liao-Troth & Cherry, 1999; Gutek, Cherry, Bhappu et al., 2000). As stated, customer satisfaction is an important aspect of the service encounter to organizations who wish to retain their client base, or create a service relationship. This accounts for the extensive research into keeping the customer satisfied.

With the introduction of new technologies there has been growing concern with identifying other aspects of the service encounter which can impact on customer satisfaction. How service encounters can be improved through successful implementation of technology has been discussed by Bitner, Brown and Meuter (2000). Curry and Penman (2004) evaluated

the use of technology by banks, finding that customers prefer a personal 'human' touch for certain services offered, rather than using technology, such as internet banking or telephone banking. This study extended beyond customer experiences of technology and considered employees and business customers, who were also found to have a preference for a 'personal' service over interaction with technologies.

Another aspect of the service encounter that has been researched, at least in face-to-face encounters, is the queue for service. While I acknowledge that in service encounters on the phone customers can be placed in virtual queues, the physical queue has been of much interest to researchers over the years (see Durrande-Moreau, 1999; Schwartz; 1975). For example, Maister (1985) identified what factors contribute to 'negative' waiting in the service encounter as, in a survey of customers in queues, customers were found to overestimate the time they spend in queues (Hornik, 1984). However, this is only focusses on one aspect of 'queuing' – again in the context of customer satisfaction. The question of what it is to queue will be considered later in this chapter, which is rather different to studies which ask customers to report of their experiences of queuing. Other studies that focus on people's experience of service interaction have attended to perceptions of bias. For example Harris, Bojanic and Cannon (2003) found that customers perceive certain demographics of other customers to receive better or worse service than themselves. In terms of service provision, Moshavi (2004) investigated the notion that there was a customer gender bias in telephone service encounters to a mail-order catalogue call centre. He found a bias in gender-matching, where customers had a preference for service from the opposite sex.

We also know that when a service has been provided that has failed to meet a customer's expectations, 'service recovery' actions must be taken (Bitner, Booms & Mohr, 1994; Hess, Ganesan & Klein, 2003; Smith & Bolton, 1998, Tax & Brown, 1998). Again, these studies focus on the profitability of service encounters for business, with Tax and

Brown identifying ways in which executives can learn from these failures in service. By resolving failed or problematic service encounters, an organization was actually found to have a positive impact on customer's satisfaction (Smith & Bolton, 1998).

While the studies I have described in this section are relevantly 'on topic' for the current thesis, in terms of the settings under investigation, their focus is heavily upon customer satisfaction and profitability sorts of issues. Furthermore, these studies aim to create 'models' to account for, and evaluate, satisfaction. The methods employed in revealing these findings are largely experimental, survey based, quantitative and derive from non-naturalistic data. The findings from employing methods such as questionnaires results in a body of literature based upon customer reports of their *experiences*. As Garfinkel (1972) states, sociologists do take scenes of everyday life as the point of departure for these inquiries yet, they rarely address "the general question of how any such common sense world is possible" (p.2). In the section that follows, (1.3), I will present the reader with a summary of work from the methodological field within which my research is positioned: ethnomethodological studies of workplace and institutional studies. My discussion of these studies will narrow our focus and further position the topic of the dissertation.

1.3 What we know about workplace and institutional studies

In the prior two sections I have discussed what we already know about bars (1.1) and what we know about service encounters from a more traditional perspective (1.2). Whilst I hope to have provided a context for where my research is positioned, I will now highlight the specific field that my research sits in. To do this, I will describe notable studies within the field of workplace and institutional studies, specifically multi-modal enquires of talk, embodied actions and the mobilization of artefacts in interactions.

Firstly, let us be clear what is meant by ‘institutional talk’. Drew and Heritage (1992) state that institutional talk differs from ‘ordinary’ conversation in that, participants are oriented to some goal, or task, specific to that institution. The current study is positioned within this category as both customer and bartender are oriented to a goal or a task in the public house; the order and production of food and/or drinks. The talk of participants in institutional contexts has constraints on what is treated as allowable in the interaction. Talk may be constrained by what contributes to the business at hand (Drew & Heritage, 1992). With this in mind, the following studies are examples of work in institutional context, to provide an overview of existing literature of this kind and what it has taught us about these contexts.

Workplace studies span a wide range of contexts and have taught us much about how institutional interactions occur. In this section (1.3), I will review ethnomethodologically informed studies which have a multi-modal focus, combining audio and video recorded data. I will also review existing literature within ‘workplace studies’ that actually investigates how the ‘work’ is practically accomplished. This, as Llewellyn and Hindmarsh (2010) point out, is all too rarely the focus of ‘workplace’ studies. Often, as the summary below will show, the role of human and computer interaction (HCI) within the workplace is a prominent, which Suchman (1987) documented at length.

A key focus of institutional and work place studies has been how people come to ‘see’ things in their shared environment, what Goodwin (1994) refers to as ‘professional vision’ (see also Goodwin, 2000a). Goodwin identifies three practices of ‘professional vision’. These involved:

- 1) *coding schemes* used to transform the materials being attended to in a specific setting into the objects of knowledge that animate the discourse of a profession; 2) *highlighting*, making specific phenomena in a complex perceptual field salient by

marking them in some fashion; and 3) *the production and articulation of material representations* (Goodwin, 1994, p.606).

These practices constitute ‘professional vision’; in institutional settings members of the setting accountably and demonstrably use professional vision while doing their job.

Archaeologists (Goodwin, 1994), scientists in a lab (Goodwin, 1997), researchers aboard an oceanographic research vessel (Goodwin, 1995), co-workers in a control room on the London underground (Heath & Luff, 2000) have been found to “see and categorize the world in the ways that are relevant to the work, tools, and artifacts that constitute their profession” (Goodwin, 1994, p.614).

Another key focus has been on the way gesture and embodied conduct shape workplace practices. Goodwin (2003) identified pointing gestures as a way to establish a specific target, within a ‘domain of scrutiny’. Heath and Luff (1992) highlighted the way the body is used in sequences of referential practice. When creating deictic gestures, participants not only consider pointing gestures, or a desired space of mutual orientation; but gaze, movement, orientation and so on, intertwined with the talk of all participants. Goodwin (2003) states the pointing gesture is produced within a larger framework of ‘postural orientation’. Similarly, we know how maps are used by participants to achieve the goal of navigation (Brown & Laurier, 2005; Laurier & Brown, 2008). Where participants are, and where they want to be, involves orienting themselves to the surroundings, the map and each other. Navigating routes with maps has also been found to evoke certain categories of interactant during the task (Brown & Laurier, 2005). Like the example of the tourists in Laurier and Brown’s (2008) later study, where the importance of the environment was highlighted, the spatial arrangement of the car the passengers and driver are within has a role to play in the ways which map consultation can occur.

Within ‘workplace studies’ as a field, there is a large subset that focuses on institutional interactions in a medical context. The analytic focus of these studies may differ but the studies investigate the interaction between various medical staff while performing various medical procedures. For example, Koschmann, LeBaron, Goodwin, Zemel and Dunnington (2007) found that formulating gestures not only to reference a particular part of the body but to be produced in ways that are sensitive to the on-going activities and the present participants; in this case, a lesson. In another study, Mondada (2003) investigated video recording of a surgery as topic, looking at how the filming of an operation, and the corresponding talk, is produced both for the surgery at hand, and an audience watching the video recording (see also Mondada, 2006). The organization of medical practice within anaesthesia, as a collaborative process, was explored by Hindmarsh and Pilnick (2002). Hindmarsh and Pilnick comment that, until anesthetised, the patient is present to scrutinize the work of the medical team. In this sense, the patient is the audience. Talk whilst the patient is awake is designed to be sensitive to the patient, yet once anesthetised ‘lessons’ or even small talk between staff may begin. Like the rich environments in the medical context, the concept of ‘teamwork’ was explored by Heath and Luff (2000) in the London underground line control room, finding that even though members may have differing responsibilities, they all contribute to the overall interactional task.

In the classroom, Greiffenhagen (2008a) unpacked how tasks are ‘set’ and ‘followed’ while teacher and pupils learn to use a new technology. He found the task and the technology’s introduction to be interwoven through talk, by the teacher. Whilst ‘doing the rounds’, visiting various groups and individuals who are completing a task set, Greiffenhagen (2008a) revealed the work of the teacher, by focussing on what is actually *done* by the teacher, in the collaborative learning process in the classroom (Greiffenhagen, 2012). When

interacting with the computer during tasks in the classroom, pupils have also been found to ‘visually repair’ the work of another (Greiffenhagen & Watson, 2009).

What I hope is clear from my summary of the above studies is how they focus on how it is that the institutional task is achieved, rather than on the post-hoc experiences of any workplace participant. These studies address how it is that participants collaborate with each other, their environment, and artefacts within that environment to accomplish the ‘work’ of the institutional task, whatever that may be. In the sections that follow, I will present what we know from conversation analytic studies of service encounters; first on the telephone (1.3.1) and then in face-to-face interactions (1.3.2).

1.3.1 CA studies of service encounters on the telephone

Existing literature of service encounters on the telephone has provided us with knowledge of how they operate. Whalen and Zimmerman (1987) found the institutional context of calls to an emergency service provider shaped the nature of the talk produced by participants in the calls. They found the opening of these calls to feature ‘specialization’ and ‘reduction’ in the content in comparison to ‘canonical’ opening sequence in ‘ordinary’ calls identified by Schegloff (e.g., 1968; 1979; 1986; 2002). How advice is given in response to troubles-telling in service encounters has been explored by Jefferson & Lee (1981). They found advice to be rejected, or a source of trouble. The way the trouble was *described* in the callers turn was found to shape the unfolding organization of the calls, depending on where the trouble is, who is calling and what their relationship to the trouble is (Whalen & Zimmerman, 1990). These studies highlight that the institutional nature of service encounters on the telephone impacts on the talk that occurs.

A further look at the requesting of a service by a customer reveals interesting practices. Lee (2009) found that when callers to a South Korean airline service make requests,

they do this over a number of sequences which she has termed 'extended requesting'.

Extended requesting is the collaborative production, between caller and agent, of sequences that *specify* a request. Caller and agent jointly construct the request by "bringing what the customer wants into agreement with what the recipient can grant" (p. 1258). Lee (2009) also highlighted the asymmetry in these service calls, showing that 'directorship' of these calls can be with either agent or caller. This means that the unfolding interaction is guided by the turn's each party take. Frequently, agents pursue directorship in the specification of requests. The agent is working with a computer and a computer program and must manage the components of customer's requests in a way which is organizationally efficient. The caller does not have access to the computer and therefore agent directorship of the requesting sequences is pursued in order to shape the requests in ways that are fitted to the computer program. This has also been researched by Bowers and Martin (2000) in calls to a bank. Bowers and Martin show how in these service encounters callers and operators orient to each other, but also to providing and receiving information from a database on a computer the operator is working with. They identified the sequential structure of these service calls and investigated how the actions within them are accomplished, modified and repaired in response to the banks mainframe system the operator is working with during the call (see also Whalen, 1995).

Returning to Lee's studies of the airline service, she also found that customers respond to agents requests for security information, to establish their identity, in a way that aids the progressivity of the calls (Lee, 2011a). Lee (2011b) also found that the 'non-granting' of customer requests was managed by agents in a way which shapes the customer's request into one that can be granted. She identified the ways in which agents can design turns to 'implicitly substitute' a request that cannot be granted for one that can, or 'embed restrictions' on non-yet-specified components of a request. By embedding restrictions prior to a specific

request, agents constrain the availability of what can be requested in advance; in response to the options displayed on the computer.

In sales encounters between a salesperson selling advertising space and a prospect, Clark, Drew and Pinch (1994) identified what they term a ‘sales relevant place’ or SRP in the call. This is the point at which, should the proposed sale be declined, the salesperson pursues the sale and a negotiation follows. Clark et al. found at the SRP, the prospects non-acceptance of a price was found to be delayed and often implicit. Where explicit objections or rejections were found, they were found to be embedded in accounts for their objection/rejection. From these studies, much is known about the organizational features of service encounters. However, these telephone service encounters do not, due to the medium of communication, take into account the wealth of visual elements available to interactants who are participating in face-to-face service encounters. We now narrow our focus further and explore what existing literature has taught us about how these face-to-face service encounters are accomplished.

1.3.2 CA studies in face-to-face service encounters

If we consider the wealth of conversation analytic research, very little has examined face to face service encounters. This, of course, is a key motivation for the current thesis.

Interestingly, there is a little work on what some call ‘small talk’ (e.g., Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008); the social talk that occurs within some service encounters (e.g., beauty shops, barbers, pharmacies). However, this does not examine the ‘institutional’ work done in such encounters, such as on requests or payment sequences, which do constitute the subject of this thesis (see Beinstein, 1975; see also Yang, 2012).

In this final section, then, I report on the key studies I have identified that are the closest to my own research: studies of the ‘order of service’ in face-to-face encounters

between customers and staff members. We start with Merritt (1976), who explored the functionality of questions following on from questions in service encounters. She examined the ‘customer- request – server – response’ sequence for its adherence to the question-answer adjacency pair (see Schegloff, 2007). Her analysis revealed that often, when a question is asked of a server, by a customer, a question may follow as the second pair part; she identified a number of ways in which this is achieved. Merritt generalizes that after a question, an answer is conditionally relevant; therefore a question following a question supersedes, or defers, the conditional relevance to the first question. Once this second question has been answered the conditional relevance to the initial question is reinstated; which may be achieved through a replay of the original question. Kuroshima (2010) explored extended request sequences for their preference to obtain intersubjectivity, but also progressivity, in cross cultural interaction at a Japanese sushi restaurant, like Lee (2009). In another study of customer requests, Moore (2008) identified various customer referential practices in service encounters at a print shop. He found there to be a preference for minimization when customers refer to objects, but when the minimal term fails, they fall back on more extended forms of reference. Furthermore, the grammatical form of customer requests has been found to constrain the non-granting of these requests by employees at a reprographics business (Vinkhuyzen & Szymanski, 2005).

From their research into selling techniques, Clark, Drew and Pinch (2003) revealed how salespeople *affiliate* with potential customers, or in their words, ‘prospects’ assessments in business-to-business field sales encounters. They found that by salespeople affiliating with the prospects assessments, and extending these sequences, ‘rapport’ (or ‘customer satisfaction’) between the parties is built. However, unlike the studies of service encounters presented in section 1.2, here the focus is on how this is achieved interactionally. Clark et al suggest that when positive assessment-affiliation sequences occur, salespeople define the

encounter as having a positive outcome, even if no sale is made. When interactional difficulties in face-to-face bargaining occur, such as the prospect is declining a salesperson's advances to purchase products, Mulkey, Clark and Pinch (1993) found humour and laughter to be a way to manage this in their study of a photographic shop.

Raevaara (2011) examined the functionality of 'accounting' in the service encounter. She explored preference organization and occurrences of 'small talk' in Finnish convenience stores. She found that 'accounts' show what actions are treated as dispreferred by the participants, or out of the ordinary, in the routine service encounter. Accounting was also found to be used in the initiation of small talk, such as a grandmother reporting a visit from grandchildren when purchasing candy. Small talk was found to be initiated when the sales clerk is involved in non-verbal tasks, or to account for the on-going actions. Dausendschön-Gay and Kraft (2009) expanded Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson's (1974) concept of 'projection', or 'preparation' as they term it; to investigate how next *actions* are made observable in the service encounter. This was also investigated by Heath & Luff (2013a) in the auction room, who described how the manipulation of the gavel projected the unfolding trajectory of actions, whilst the striking of the hammer concludes the sale.

We have learnt that various objects are mobilized in the service encounter. Brown (2004) found that the desk, or counter, in a tourist information centre and in the Swedish market stall, organized the shop into a 'front' and 'back' area (see Goffman, 1959). Customers' involvement with objects, or lack of it, has also been shown by Clark and Pinch (2010) to indicate availability to enter into a sales encounter with sales staff on the shop floor. In the doctors' surgery, doctors may orient his or her body and gaze toward an object such as medical notes to display his or her engagement in another activity and their (un)availability to be a speaker or receiver of talk (Robinson, 1998). Paper documents have also been found to contribute to the initiation of the topic of conversation in supervision encounters between

supervisor and student (Svinhufvud & Vehviläinen, 2013). Similarly, the doctor's interaction with a computer has been found to impact on the 'communicative conduct' in doctor-patient interactions (Greatbatch, Luff, Heath & Campion, 1993). Filliettaz (2004) found gestures in co-ordination with talk to be interwoven. The sales assistant combined gesture with talk to produce a lesson, for a parent, in how to correctly fit goggles for their child. The gestures were found to be 'instrumental acts' and not communicative gestures. Similarly to Filliettaz, Toerien and Kitzinger (2007a) investigated how a beautician manages her topic talk and her task of a client's hair removal. They showed how this may conflict, and how that conflict is managed. Toerien and Kitzinger's (2007b) work also expanded on the concept of 'emotional labour' (Abiala, 1999; Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Hochschild, 1983; Leidner, 1999) which was introduced earlier in this chapter. They did this by adopting a CA approach and asking "what does emotional labour look like in action?" (Toerien and Kitzinger, 2007b, p. 169)

In business negotiations, the *symbolism* of objects has been explored (Streek, 1996). Brown identified that objects on a counter represented the 'in-limbo' status of a purchase; whilst once these objects are passed over it signifies the initiation of the closing. In the cafe, Laurier, Whyte and Buckner (2001) found the removal of used crockery from the customers table to aid the finishing of the interaction appropriately. After the crockery is removed, the customer can then pay at the counter, and the table is ready to be used by another customer. The functionality of a standard form in reprographics business (Moore, Whalen, Gathman, 2010) was discovered to be central in the accomplishment of placing and receiving an order.

As mentioned previously in section 1.2, there has been some research into queuing in the service encounter (Hornik, 1984; Maister, 1985; Schwartz, 1975), which was extensively reviewed by Durrande-Moreau (1999) up to 1997. This research, while empirical, involved asking customers *about* their queuing experiences or collecting quantitative data about queuing behaviours. We do know, from more recent studies, that the environment in which

the service encounter takes place, and various objects within that environment, such as ticket machines or snaking barriers, have been found to have a role to play in queuing behaviours (Brown, 2004); but they do not create the queue that forms (Livingston, 1987; Garfinkel & Livingston, 2003). Queuing ‘rules’ have been observed in the cafe by Laurier, Whyte and Buckner (2001): when busy, customers are requested to queue, order, then find a table, as instructed by a sign on the outside of the cafe. A ‘wait here to be seated’ sign, similarly functioned to allocate customers in turn to be seated and then served (Laurier, 2012). However, alike to the barriers and ticket machines (Brown, 2004), it is the members of the cafe that maintain these ‘rules’ not the objects, in this case signs.

Moving on from the functionality of objects and toward the closing of service encounters, how payment is ‘gifted’ in face-to-face service encounters has been researched by Llewellyn (2011a; 2011b). Llewellyn (2011a) found customers to delicately produce ‘gifts’ or donations to vendors of ‘The Big Issue’. This gifting was found to be achieved implicitly through utterance design rather than as an explicit act of charity. At the museum ticket counter, Llewellyn (2011b) identified practices of ‘gifting’, whereby one person pays for the others consumption. Again, this was not done in an explicit way, rather one customer alluded to a gift, which was then recognized and eventually accepted, often with some resistance. Finally, Brown (2004) observed customers orienting to the temporal nature of service encounters by having money accessible and pulling money from a purse after the last purchase has been selected.

1.4 What we don’t know about service encounters

After a review of the literature I hope to have shown that research into public houses or bars has largely focussed on ‘big’ issues of class, gender or race and ignored the micro, mundane details of these spaces. Too few studies have focused on how their organizing activities are

produced, and reproduced, to maintain observable practices which we as members come to recognise as ‘getting served at the bar’. This leaves a gap in our knowledge for investigating bars not as ‘sociable’ (Cavan, 1966) or as ‘hospitable’ (Lugosi, 2009) spaces but for what it is that occurs within these spaces to maintain social norms within the bars. The basic, recurrent activities have yet to be uncovered. This dissertation will close that gap by examining what the basic recurrent activities within the bar are and how they are achieved. While Laurier’s (2008) study of the café identified recurrent patterns in the actions that occur, as do other studies in some sense, over the forthcoming analytic chapters (3-6) I will now highlight the gaps in the literature.

Existing literature has provided us with knowledge on how interactions within institutional settings are opened, for example, in the courtroom (Drew & Atkinson, 1979) or more relevantly on the shop floor (Clark & Pinch, 2010). How customers *approach the bar counter* and how the interaction between customer and bartender is *opened* has not been researched. We do not know how the interaction between customer and bartender is initiated; this will be addressed in Chapter 3. Furthermore, while literature on *requesting* in service encounters exists (Lee, 2009, 2011a, 2011b; Merritt, 1976; Moore, 2008; Vinkhuyzen & Szymanski, 2005) with Lee (2011a, 2011b) acknowledging the importance the computer has to play in the service encounter, we do not know how the till and its programming may be mobilized in the service encounter at the bar. In Chapter 4, I explore how requests are shaped by the *recruitment of the till* into the service encounter and the responses provided are shaped by the bar environment. Similar to Laurier’s (2008a) study of navigation with maps, the environment is referenced and gestured toward in the answering of bartender requests for a customer’s table order when placing food. I intend to investigate how requests in the service encounter are achieved in an object rich environment.

What is very clearly absent from the literature on service encounters is how they function when there is more than one customer. We do know, from Brown's (2004) study of the market stall, how a customer identifies themselves as a customer, whilst a friend of that customer may perform actions to display not being a customer. However, we do not know what happens when there is more than one customer ordering together. What does this look like? How does this, if at all, function differently to dyadic service encounters? Chapter 5 aims to explore how it is that service encounters function when there is more than one customer ordering with the bartender. How are the varying actions completed when there are multiple customers opening, ordering and paying for items ordered at the bar counter?

We have also seen that little is known about how payment is produced in service encounters. Whilst Llewellyn (2011a; 2011b) provided us with insight on how payment is gifted and Heath and Luff (2013a) presented how the hammer in an auction sale closes the bidding and confirms the sale, I hope it is apparent that relatively little is known about how payment is provided sequentially in the service encounter. A vast majority of service encounters require payment from the customer in exchange for a product or service offered. Therefore, there is a gap in our knowledge of how this occurs. At what point in the interaction is payment oriented to? When is it produced, and how? These are all questions which will be addressed in Chapter 6. Overall, my aim in the following chapters is to contribute to existing literature on service encounters and workplace studies; extend substantially to our knowledge of activities like requests and payment, and discover new things about how service encounters are accomplished.

Chapter 2: Methodology

2.0 The problem

The mundane activity of obtaining service as a customer, from a seller, within a service encounter, is recurrently achieved by participants in a number of settings globally. This dissertation takes a specific interest in a particular service encounter, in a particular setting: a public house. Within a public house, customers approach the bar to request items, which are then produced either by the bartender (drinks) or the requests are passed on to the relevant member of staff to be prepared (e.g., requests for food items are passed to the chef to be prepared). The question for this thesis is: how is this achieved interactionally?

2.1 Approach to data collection

The approach to data collection was informed by the analytic method of and procedures for conversation analysis (CA), to research how it is that customers and bartenders accomplish the social practices of the bar. As a method, “conversation analysis is a deeply empirical tradition” (Sidnell, 2010, p.22) and insists on the use of data collected from the naturally-occurring occasions of social life (Heritage, 1988). Data collection comprises audio and video recordings of interaction between both co-present parties and people talking remotely (e.g., on the telephone). In order to address the problem set out above (2.0) – how does one study the interaction which occurs in the bar setting? – the most appropriate method of data collection was to record exactly that: the naturally-occurring events within the bar, by using both audio and video recording technology.

On a practical level, recording both audio and video data has many advantages, some of which are outlined by Heath, Hindmarsh and Luff (2010). First, the recordings provide a

permanent record which can be repeatedly analyzed and which “enable access to the fine details of conduct and interaction that are unavailable to more traditional social science methods” (Heath et al., 2010, p. 2). Where interviews, focus groups and other ‘traditional’ qualitative data collection methods in the social sciences claim to access participants’ recounted *experiences* of interaction, it is only by recording and analysing the actions as they happen that we can access what *actually* occurs. While researcher-produced forms of qualitative data may be used to supplement a largely ethnographic study (Wooffitt & Widdicombe, 2006), for this study the data produced by these methods are not sufficient to access what Stokoe (2010) calls the ‘analytic black box’ of actual episodes of social life. Typically, ethnographic approaches do not capture the minute details of encounters, and participants’ interactions can easily be misrepresented (Liddicoat, 2007). The benefit of having recordings, over field notes or vignettes, then, is that the data are available to be analyzed and shared with others; not only fellow researchers, but the participants of the study or those with more of an applied interest, such as the bar owners (Heath et al., 2010). Without recording the data the researcher would not be able to recount, and so study, the way in which utterances were designed and delivered, which, for CA, is fundamental to the way the interaction unfolds (Sidnell, 2010).

Recordings, both audio and video, provide other analytic benefits. First, they are the closest we can get, as researchers, to recording what the participants themselves have as resources in the organization of interaction (Sidnell, 2010). This takes us to another point: that “much that is important in conversation is carried out by things other than language, including eye gaze and body posture, silences and the real world context in which the talk is produced” (Liddicoat, 2007, p.1). By combining both audio and video data, the best possible data are produced on which to base analysis.

2.2 Locating the research setting

When identifying a bar for the research site, a number of details were considered. First, due to the nature of bars, and the chosen data collection methods, it was important for the venue not to have (particularly) loud music or low lighting. This would be problematic for the quality of the video and audio data collected. Second, the bar needed to accommodate a video camera safely and securely behind the bar. By this I mean the video camera needed to be left without concerns about theft. Furthermore, I wanted to find a bar that could accommodate a video camera without the need for structural changes to the bar space as it was naturally organized. I visited a number of bars which may have been appropriate and then selected the most suitable from those visited. Initially the bars were visited covertly; I attended the venues as a paying customer.

The next step in the recruitment process involved creating an information pack specific to that particular bar, which was later used in the process of gaining access to the venue and consent from research participants (customers and bartenders). The pack included a Participant Information Sheet (PIS, see appendix B). The PIS, which I termed the Research Information Sheet, explained how the data collected would be used and presented, illustrated through a simplified video still image of previous research undertaken in a bar environment. I approached a number of bars, a number of which declined participation. For the bar that did agree to participate, I telephoned the bar and requested the manager's name and an email address. Subsequently, I emailed an information pack to the head office *and* to the bar prior to the face-to-face contact. The manager responded positively and was keen to participate in the research. After this, I arranged a meeting explicating the research aims, negotiation of the time and frequency of access. The managers agreed to participate and the venue was secured as a site for data collection. I used the PIS that was provided to the bar managers, through email, as a resource in the meeting. The PIS proved to be a valuable tool to communicate the

aims of the research and to illustrate how the data would be presented. This accompanied an informed consent form (see appendix C) which both managers signed at the initial meeting. The ethical considerations and process of ensuring informed consent is discussed explicitly in the following section (2.3) of this chapter.

The research site was located in a large university town, in the UK. The clientele was diverse, and throughout the period of data collection ‘regulars’, passers-by, families, students, older customers, sports fans, and so on, all visited the bar. The bar itself had two entrances, a front entrance which led in from a pedestrianized shopping street and a back entrance which led in from the bar’s private customer car park. As we look at the bar from the camera angle in Image 2.1, the back (car park) entrance is left and the front (shopping street) entrance is right.

Image 2.1: The bar

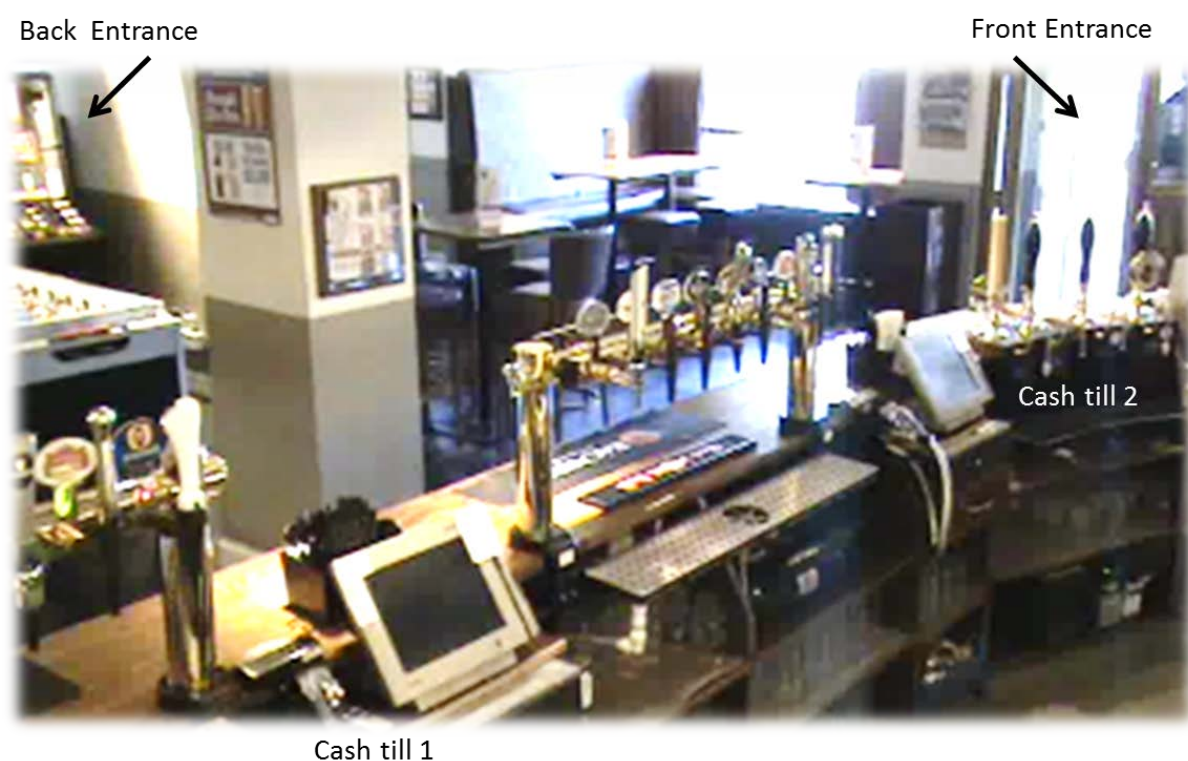


Image 2.1

As Heath et al. (2010) state, all decisions made regarding the choice of equipment, placement of audio and visual recording equipment and the chosen angle have an impact on the data

collected. The problems of attempting to capture naturalistic data with a video camera are outlined by Laurier and Philo (2006). They address specifically the question of whether the camera impacts on the events it captures and how to recognise un-naturalistic data captured. As Laurier (forthcoming) explains, there are a number of potential ways to capture the action in a scene, such as following the action or using fixed cameras, each with their advantages and limitations. The extensive possibilities for video data collection were considered carefully, and a number of positions and angles were tested before a final set-up was chosen. Deciding on a location to place the video camera is to expect that events will take place and can be observed *from* that position (Laurier & Philo, 2006). Furthermore, as Goodwin (1994) states, any chosen camera angle constitutes a theory about what is relevant within a scene, which will impact on what can be seen in the data and what kind of analysis is then possible (Mondada, 2012).

With these considerations in mind, the video camera was positioned facing out towards the main entrance, because most customers entered that way. A decision was made to capture data using one rather than multiple cameras. It was a concern of the managers that both staff and customers may feel uncomfortable with a large amount of recording equipment visible. After some observation and discussion with the managers it was also decided that, of the three tills positioned on the bar, only two were to be 'in shot' (Image 2.1). This was because the venue rarely became so busy that all three cash tills were needed simultaneously, and certainly not during the lunch time periods when data were collected.

Two different video cameras were used to collect the data. Firstly, a Sony Handycam DCR-SR75E, which was small, discrete and used with a small tripod (approx. 15cm tall) that fitted ideally onto a shelf capturing a good shot of the bar area. However, this video camera produced files that were very large and unmanageable with the computer software I wanted to use to edit and anonymize data. Therefore, I substituted the Sony for a Canon Legria FS360.

This camera was similarly sized, yet recorded for much longer, with better sound quality and produced files that could be stored more manageably. The camera was positioned overtly on a shelf, as it was not the intention to record covertly. Audio was collected separately in addition to the video data, in case the video camera sound was of poor quality in a busy bar. Two audio recorders, Olympus WS-450S Digital Voice Recorders, were placed in front of Cash Till 1 and Cash Till 2 (Image 2.1).

Data were collected between November 2010 and April 2011. The data were collected mainly in the daytime, over the lunch time service period. At this point in the chapter it is worth noting that there may well have been observable differences between data collected in the daytime versus the evening. During the lunch time period there are a high volume of customers dining. In the evenings, lighting levels are lowered, music levels are increased and the volume of customers is consistently higher. Fewer meals are served, with customers entering more frequently for alcoholic drinks. However, it is also worth noting that this research was not designed to collect data in a systematic, or as Garfinkel (1996) refers to it, a 'Formal Analytic' way regarding, say, the different demographics of customer, the differing 'phases' of service (i.e., lunch, early evening, Saturday night), but instead to collect a sample of the interaction that occurs within bars. There were no variables and factors to consider (other than those issues that might crop up endogenously in the interaction) and no predetermined phenomena to attempt to capture. The study aimed to discover how it is that customers 'do' getting served in a bar rather than investigate pre-determined categories such as gender, class or race differences (Garfinkel, 1996).

In the next Section (2.3), I will explain the ethical considerations of the research

2.3 The ethical considerations

It was important to ensure the research project met with the ethical guidelines of Loughborough University but also with the British Psychological Association's (2009) *Code*. In order to ensure the research complied with the Ethical Advisory Committee at Loughborough, an ethical clearance checklist was completed (see Appendix D). This checklist ensures that research involving human participants complies with the committee's standards. If, after completing the checklist, certain criteria are not met, research proposals must be submitted fully to the committee who meet periodically over the year and decide if the research should be granted ethical approval. After completing the checklist for this research, no further information needed to be supplied and the research did not need a full submission. This meant that the research was deemed ethical within the parameters of the Loughborough University guidelines. The process of obtaining informed consent from the bar managers (2.3.1), then the bartenders (2.3.2), and finally the customers (2.3.2), will be discussed in turn, as each required a slightly different procedure.

2.3.1 The bar managers

As previously stated, access to the research site was negotiated through bar managers. The bar studied had two managers who were partners and lived on-site. They were presented with an information pack via email, inclusive of PIS, which outlined the aims of the research. It was headed with the Loughborough University logo, to reinforce the association with Loughborough University and assert the status of the researcher. Also featured on the PIS were the researcher's contact details; I also addressed the managers by name in the email correspondence. These details were important for presenting the managers with a personalised invitation to participate in the research. I also included my photograph to

provide the managers with an image of myself as the researcher and to make me identifiable prior to the first arranged meeting.

The most important consideration when constructing the PIS was to ensure the information was easy to digest. The main points of the research needed to be communicated in a concise, informative, yet manageable way. I decided that only the most important points would be included and these were communicated under headings with a maximum of three descriptive bullet points. The first of these explained the aims of the study: to record the naturally-occurring activities in the bar. The second point outlined what this would involve: to place audio and video recording equipment into the venue. The final points were to communicate that all data would be kept anonymous and confidential, including the names of the bar and all staff and customers. I also included an example of how the data would be used: a still image and a transcript. The consent forms were also tailored for the managers and the bartenders (see appendice C and F). Each of the consent forms stated that it should be accompanied by the participant information sheet (PIS) to make explicit that the sheet should be read before consenting to participate in the research. This was then checked in the first of a seven-point checklist. There was also a short summary of the PIS to refresh what had been outlined in that document. A key item on the checklist was designed to confirm participants' understanding of their right to withdraw from the research process at any time.

2.3.2 The bartenders

The PIS for the bartenders was altered slightly to include relevant information to their participation (see Appendix E). In this version, I described my status as a PhD student and my motivation for the study. This information was communicated to the managers verbally, but my encounters with the bartenders did not permit lengthy conversations. As Heath et al. (2010) state, participants should be under no pressure to provide consent and should have the

time and opportunity to ask any questions about the research they are being asked to participate in. Prior to meeting with bar staff, a number of participant information sheets were left at the venue. This provided staff with an introduction to the study and me prior to meeting with the staff to request their consent. Additionally, the PIS explained that the bartenders' skills in their role were not being analyzed and that they would be in control of the equipment should they wish to terminate the recording at any point. The final difference was that the bartenders' consent form included only four items on the checklist as bartenders did not need to consent to the setting to be used. I gained consent from each of the managers and the bartenders to make absolutely certain that the purposes of the research had been communicated and to be able to answer any questions the participants may have regarding the research.

2.3.3 The customers

The procedure for providing customers with information about the research and obtaining consent was managed differently. When collecting data in public or semi-public environments, in which obtaining informed consent is challenging, it is the responsibility of the researcher to be sensitive to the concerns of the participants (Health et al., 2010). The way to do this was considered at length and negotiated with the managers of the bar. This enabled the coproduction of a situation which suited both the researcher and the managers. It was decided that, to obtain naturally occurring data, an 'opt-out' (Homan, 1991) method would be used. On the day of filming prior to the bar opening at eleven am, signs (see appendix G) were placed on all entry points to the bar stating that between 12-2 pm recording would take place. The sign, in situ, on the front entrance is shown in Image 2.2 below.

Image 2.2: The sign in situ



Image 2.2

The signs stated that by entering the bar between these times the customers agreed to be filmed and acknowledged the information on the sign. The signs were A4 in size and communicated the information which was essential for the customers as participants. The sign stated that alongside the CCTV already being recorded on the premise, additional recordings would be made between the agreed hours. My contact details were provided along with the information that the data collected would form part of a study on interaction in bars; that customers' identities would be kept anonymous, and that all data would be stored securely. I was in the venue at all times during recording to answer any questions and to destroy any data at the time by any participants who wished to 'opt-out'. The signs therefore pre-warned the customers who entered prior to filming that data collection would occur between the agreed hours. Whilst some customers glanced at the sign, others paid particular attention to it. Images 2.3 and 2.4 below show some evidence of this kind of scrutiny.

Image 2.3 and 2.4: A customer inspecting the sign



Image 2.3

Image 2.4

During data collection, a regular customer raised concerns with the bar staff about being filmed. He regularly entered the venue during the data recording periods, and stood at the bar for the duration of his stay interacting with the bar staff. He stated he was uncomfortable with his conversations being recorded and wished to exercise his right to ‘opt-out’. After speaking with him about the purpose of the research and the intended use of the data, he felt better informed, but maintained he wished not to be filmed and to have any data that he appeared in to be deleted. This participant’s data was destroyed and the situation resolved. This incident was a useful experience as it illustrated that the opt-out method worked. My presence in the venue before the data recording sessions, during and after, helped the customers and bar staff to exercise their right not to participate, or ask any questions.

In the next section, I will describe the dataset collected. I will then discuss how the data were prepared (2.4.1) and, in section 2.4.1, transcribed.

2.4 The data

The complete dataset is summarized in Table 1 below, which shows the dates data were collected; for how long; how many complete service encounters were captured, and the volume of customers for that day. Just less than 12 hours of recordings were made, totalling 199 service encounters. ‘Complete service encounters’ were defined as an interaction between customers and bartenders where a request is made by the customer for an item which the bartender either produces (drinks) or passes the order to the relevant place to be produced (food), and money is exchanged.

Table 1: Summary of data collected for the dissertation

November	Total Hours	Total Interactions	Volume of customers
22/11/2010	01:34:51	9	Low
26/11/2010	01:03:57	7	Low
27/11/2010	02:40:10	103	High
December			
12/12/2010	02:23:32	55	Medium
17/12/2010	00:52:49	0	Very high
April			
1/4/2011	01:39:44	16	Low
5/1/2011	01:40:57	7	Low
Totals			
	11:56:00	199	

The data were collected over three rather different months. November was a ‘regular’ month for this town, when the student population is present. December is a festive month, where the volume of customers increases. April is like November, in that it is ‘regular’. The time of year may affect the way that customers used the bar and produce varying clientele. As Table 1 shows, some recording sessions featured more interactions than others. For instance, 27th November 2010 was a busy Saturday service lunch, meaning a high volume of customers entered the bar, whereas 22nd November was a Monday and a quieter day for business. The 17th December recording took place in the evening during the Christmas festive season. This recording features a high volume of service interactions but due to the noise levels in the venue none of the interactions were suitable for analysis of the talk; yet the embodied conduct is available for analysis.

Having provided a summary of the data, I will now discuss how this collected data was prepared for analysis.

2.4.1 Preparation of the data

The raw data retrieved from the video recorders were converted using Prism Video Converter Software into windows media video (WMV) files, and a clip of each service encounter was made and given a corpus code. Similarly, the audio files were divided into clips and labelled with the corresponding corpus codes using Audacity. A document was created logging each of these service encounters by corpus code, and its original position on the audio/video file. This was useful when searching the corpus for particular phenomena (Heath et al., 2010). The document also included information about the number of participants in each encounter, as well as notes regarding the interaction that takes place in each clip. Heath et al., (2010) suggest ensuring preliminary notes do not detract from the later, more detailed analysis, when cataloguing and reviewing data, they advise that preliminary reviews should be kept to

description and *classification* of the materials The data were kept securely on a hard drive and locked securely in a locker.

2.4.2 *Transcription of the data*

I transcribed the data using the Jefferson (2004) transcription system for conversation analysis (CA) (see appendix A for symbols). Transcription is an initial step in the analysis process (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998). In CA, transcripts are not treated as ‘data’ as such; data are the original recordings. Rather, the transcripts are an ‘aide memoire’ to the data, or a representation of it (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998). This is because: transcripts are selective in the details represented and thus are never treated by conversation analysts as a *replacement* for the data (Hepburn & Bolden, 2013).

The Jefferson system aims to capture a number of details which are heard in talk, but are not represented in an orthographic transcript. The system uses symbols to capture the timing and placement of talk, the onset of overlaps, pauses in turns or gaps between turns. It also captures the sound qualities such as when a speaker stretches a sound or speeds up a word; emphasis; quietness/loudness; marked pitch changes, in and out breaths, laughter/crying and cut off words or sounds and other intonational features of the talk (Drew, 2005). It is important to notice and record the subtle nuances of the talk as these can be consequential for the way the talk is heard by, and responded to, by recipients. In turn, this is consequential for the way talk is organized (Sidnell, 2010). However, “even the production of a written transcription based on recorded data involves some loss of detail” (Liddicoat, 2007, p. 9), such that the recordings always remain the primary data.

Writing about visual elements of video recorded data, Greiffenhagen and Watson (2009) argue these should not be viewed as an ‘add on’ to spoken talk but as a “unified configuration” (p. 67). By this, they mean that if the oral, gestural and visual elements of

interaction *are* to be separated, this is typically done retrospectively by the analyst than by the participants. They also state that the analytic method of CA can be extended to include visual analysis. Heath (1986) reminds us that as far back as 1964, Sacks made observations about visual conduct in his early lectures. By applying the method and practices of CA to visual conduct, participants', as opposed to analysts', analysis of the interaction is revealed. Heath and Luff (2013a) state that "conversation analysis is not in principle concerned with language use or talk *per se* , but rather with the practical accomplishment of social action and activity" (p.286). Therefore, the applicability of CA to visual conduct is evident.

In face-to-face interaction, then, visual conduct such as the gaze and embodied actions of participants is instrumental to the accomplishment and coordination of social actions. It should, therefore, be represented on a transcript in some way (Hepburn & Bolden, 2013). However, there are debates about the best way to do this, and, consequently, many different approaches to the transcription of embodied conduct. There is no one recognised, systematic, transcription system, such as the Jefferson system, for transcribing visual conduct, so there are different options to select from, adapt, and so on. I will outline some of the transcription systems then go on to show how I have adapted them to suit my analysis.

One of the most well-known approaches to transcription is that of Goodwin (e.g., 1981). He expanded his transcripts to include participants' direction and length of gaze; which Heath et al. (2010) suggest as the first step in transcribing visual conduct. Goodwin (1981) indicated on his transcripts where the gaze of participants began and ended, in aggregate with the talk. Another group of researchers who have done much to develop systems for representing embodied conduct includes Heath and his colleagues, who suggest working with graph paper to indicate length of gaze and bodily orientation in correspondence with the talk (Heath et al., 2010). Similar to Goodwin, Heath et al. note the duration of embodied actions. However, they work with paper and suggest leaving a large margin to

write notes and observations about the visual conduct, as well as using video stills. Working in such minute detail with the transcripts in paper form did not suit my analysis; as to record the duration of embodied actions throughout the interactions would have been largely time consuming when the details may not have been relevant, for the participants or my analysis. Nor did using paper transcripts; while I have annotated transcripts on paper I preferred using electronic transcripts for their ease of reworking, finessing, updating and modifying as on-going analysis proceeded. I have combined a number of transcription features from various other systems including Mondada's (2007a) as well as the directional gaze arrows of Goodwin (2003) and how Grieffenhagen (2008b) and Grieffenhagen & Watson (2009) have used a transcription system to highlight important areas of the transcript. Extracts of my transcription style will be presented in Extract 2.1.

Extract 2.1: An example of my transcription system



Image 2.5

1 C: Hi ya mate can I get a black coffee please.



Image 2.6

2 B: Black coffee yeah.

The above extract is taken from the next chapter (Chapter 3) of this dissertation. I chose to transcribe visual elements of my data that were (tractably) relevant for the participants, by including still images from the video data, as many others do. Firstly, I will discuss the decisions made about the images themselves, then decisions made on how to incorporate spoken and embodied actions.

The collected video data provided reasonably good quality images. Images of customers and bartenders engaging in a service encounter at Cash Till 2, the furthest away from the camera, were slightly less clear than those at Cash Till 1 so ‘corrections’ to the

images were made. I highlighted and enlarged areas of the image, such as the screen of the cash till (Greiffenhagen & Watson, 2009), to best represent its role in the on-going action. This included altering the brightness and contrast and the backgrounds of the images were removed to maximise clarity. However, in some cases removing backgrounds removed too much from the 'scene' of the action, raising issues about the inclusion and exclusion of ethnographic context (Greiffenhagen & Watson, 2009). Subsequently, decisions were made for *each* image individually on how to best represent the action. As shown in Image 2.5, I chose to occasionally indicate on the image areas of interest or to depict gaze through directional arrows (Goodwin, 2003).

When deciding on how to incorporate images and spoken talk there were a number of practical considerations. The first thing to note is that, because embodied conduct often preceded spoken talk, images precede TCUs with image numbers in extracts. I decided to reserve line numbers for spoken talk and assign each image an image number. Secondly, the placement of these images was an important factor in how to best represent the unfolding actions. I combined the images in the line-by-line unfolding transcript to indicate the sequential placement of the actions represented, rather than present them separately and indicate where they feature sequentially (Laurier & Wiggins, 2009). The corresponding image and talk is represented through the use of a speech bubble. Another decision was made to include stills from the video, where possible, as opposed to attempting to communicate the visual conduct via symbols or vernacular description. In so doing, the temporal unfolding of visible conduct in coordination with speech is exposed (Hepburn & Bolden, 2013).

Video stills can represent the action far better than the researcher's words in double parenthesis. Mondada (2012) presents video stills in her transcription method yet highlights the possibilities and limitations of video recordings and what the transcripts represent, or omit. Her method of incorporating several angles of video stills, as well as images of documents

and artefacts that may feature in the interaction, produces transcripts that “have been made in order to provide the necessary details for documenting the synchronized and coordinated temporality of talk, of gesture and gaze, and of inscribing action” (p.310). However, where actions are repetitive or the conduct is not well communicated by a still image, descriptive text in double parenthesis was included. An example is presented below.

Extract 2.2: An example of text in parenthesis

7	(3.0)	
	_ _ _	
		((B selects table, enters food items))
8	B:	Chicken tikka masala and a pint of-is that with rice
9		Or chips:?

Here, the actions of the bartender (B) occur during the 3-second gap at line 7. The broken line indicates where the action occurs; the line may appear under timed gaps or at a particular point in the spoken talk where an image and a corresponding speech bubble is not included. This sequence, “selects table, enters food items”, is an interaction between B and the till. Such activities occur frequently in Chapter 4, so to include images throughout is repetitive and would detract from the analysis. After initially presenting the sequence using stills, I reduced the complexity of the transcripts by presenting them this way. Like Greiffenhagen (2008), I have incorporated a succession of stills to capture specific gestures, or recurrent sequences, where required, in a second-by-second style.

As technology has developed, so too has transcription software, and the possibilities for multi-modal transcripts. ELAN and CLAN are now widely used transcription systems which allow for visual conduct to be incorporated with the Jefferson transcript in one place (Mondada, 2007a). Tools such as Comic life have also been used to display the visual conduct and the spoken talk (e.g., Laurier & Lortimer, 2012) creating story-board style

imagery. I chose not to work with such tools, preferring to transcribe data using a combination of Microsoft Word, PowerPoint and Windows Live Movie Maker mainly due to the software's accessibility. This way, I was able to work with my files in a variety of locations without the need for specialist software.

Having discussed how the data were transcribed, I now move on to explain how the data were analyzed.

2.5 Conversation analysis: Talk and embodied conduct

The dissertation aims to explore how customers achieve service in a bar. To do this, the data collected were analyzed using CA. Greiffenhagen and Watson (2009) argue that CA can be extended beyond the analysis of talk to the analysis of embodied conduct. While readers will probably not require an in-depth explanation of CA, it is worth defining and explicating some basic concepts and, in particular, their relevance to analysing video data and embodied conduct.

Conversation analysis emerged from *ethnomethodology* (see Garfinkel, 1967), literally, the study of 'people's methods'. The term *ethnomethodology* a term which refers to "the investigation of the rational properties of indexical expressions and other practical actions as contingent on going accomplishments of organized artful practices of everyday life" (Garfinkel, 1967, p.11). Therefore ethnomethodologists study "the common sense resources, practices and procedures through which members of a society produce and recognise mutually intelligible objects, events and courses of action" (Liddicoat, 2007, p.2). My thesis is distinctly ethnomethodological, as I aim to explore the achievement of obtaining service at the bar counter by identifying exactly what members have to do to carry out actions (Sharrock & Anderson, 1986).

As members of society, people accomplish social action through conversation and accompanying embodied actions. It has been claimed that “talk is a central activity in social life” (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998, p.1) with conversation being regarded as the primordial site through which all of life is lived (Drew, 2005). It is through talk that we are socialised, that we construct our identities, and manage our social lives, social institutions and social norms. However, talk and embodied conduct should not be studied as separate, decontextualized entities or modes of communication. Goodwin (2000b) states that often, everything that is not language is defined as ‘context’, rather than as other resources in an array of meaning-making methods. He argues the relevance of participants ‘semiotic fields’. These are ‘things’ external to the spoken talk, which can be added to the interaction, or treated as no longer relevant by participants, not analysts. Goodwin suggests that, instead of treating social action as a separation of language and context, analysts should look instead at ‘contextual configurations’ of talk and embodied actions? This is because, when interacting with others, people attend to current actions embedded within larger activities and relevant phenomena in their surroundings. In this thesis, then, I analyse participants’ talk, embodied actions and the contextual configuration of the customers and bartenders within the bar environment.

However, CA, despite its title, is not restricted to the analysis of ordinary conversation but “all forms of talk-in-interaction” (Drew, 2005, p. 73). Indeed, Pomerantz and Fehr (1997) argue the term is a misnomer, and that ‘conversation analysis’ and ‘talk in interaction’ both wrongly imply that only the verbal aspects of the talk are of interest; this is not the case. Paralinguistic features of the talk, such as sound quality, gaps, pauses, restarts – along with the embodied conduct of interacting parties – have always been under inspection by conversation analysts. Let us now consider some of the basic concepts in CA.

2.5.1 Basic concepts in conversation analysis

Drew (2005) describes four basic concepts of CA which underpin how conversation is ‘sequentially organized’ in terms of the patterns, structures and practices found in conversation. These concepts will be explored in relation to the encounters under investigation in this thesis: the service encounter: turns at talk and turn-taking, turn design, social action and sequence organization. The first three will be explained somewhat briefly in this section, to prime the reader in the concepts and terminology of CA which will be referred to throughout the analytic chapters. I will also address, as I go along, how CA can be extended to the embodied conduct of participants in interaction.

2.5.2 Turn-taking

The first of the four concepts to be discussed is the idea that speakers *take turns* at talk and have methods for doing so (see Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974). Turn-taking, whilst omnirelevant in interaction, will be a particular focus in Chapter 5: on multi-party service encounters. Simply put, turns at talk are composed of turn constructional units (TCUs), and it is through turns that actions are designed and accomplished. When a speaker begins a turn at talk, they have both the right and obligation to produce one TCU (Sacks et al., 1974). When a speaker approaches the possible completion of this TCU, transition to a next speaker becomes relevant. If transition occurs, the next speaker begins just after the completion of the TCU in progress; the point of possible completion of a speaker’s TCU is referred to as the ‘transition relevance place’ (TRP) (Schegloff, 2007). Schegloff states that “the turn taking organization for conversation works extremely effectively, and produces long stretches of turns-at-talk that follow one another with minimized gap and overlap between them” (2007, p.1).

Greiffenhagen and Watson (2009) argue that CA's greatest potential for contributing to visual analysis is that the emphasis is on the analysis being done by participants. They argue that not only do participants analyze verbal turns in interaction but visual conduct and features of the visual field also. As we will see in later chapters, this is particularly notable in multi-party service encounters, where more than one customer is present and is making a request, yet they do so within the methods of turn-taking outlined above.

2.5.3 *Turn design and action*

The second concept described by Drew is *turn design*: the observation that speakers design their turns to perform some conversational action at a particular position in the sequence of the conversation. Turns at talk are contingent on the prior turn, and therefore create contingencies for what comes after. Therefore a speaker's first turn at talk, creates contingencies for what can be said after, and so on. How speakers design their talk that is the resources they use to build sentences conveys particular information. The third concept, linked to turn design, is 'social action' itself, which is the analyzability of speakers accomplishing actions with their talk, such as a speaker requesting information, and also the participants understanding of these actions being done, so the next speaker then provides this information and action is accountably achieved. By 'accountable', I mean that people also display, in each turn, their understanding of those turns as fitted or inapposite within the unfolding sequence. However, as I suggested earlier, social action is not only achieved through talk but also through embodied conduct. So, for example, people may request a bill in a restaurant with a gesture, rather than speaking their request.

2.5.4 Sequence organization

The final ‘basic’ concept in CA is *sequence organization*. As well as focusing on the design of individual turns of talk, CA examines how participants produce long stretches of social interaction effectively to accomplish social action (Schegloff, 2007). As stated, participants in conversation take turns at talking, and these turns can be grouped together into ‘sequences’ of talk and action. These sequences can each be understood as participants doing some course of action, for example “can you pass me the salt” is best understood as “doing a request”. By passing the salt, with or without a spoken turn to accompany that action, the sequence is complete. As Schegloff (1997, p.2) states “sequences are the vehicle for getting some activity accomplished.” By analysing participants making requests, or accomplishing various actions (offering, greeting, inviting etc.) in conversation, the analyst is exploring the ‘sequence organization’ of the social interaction.

The analysis of sequence organization focuses on *adjacency pairs*. Explained briefly, adjacency pairs comprise two turns at talk by two different speakers which are ‘adjacently placed’ (Schegloff, 2007). They comprise a *first pair part*, such as a question or an offer which initiates a *second pair part* that is “responsive to the action of a first pair part” (Schegloff, 2007, p. 13). Adjacency pairs are also pair-type related; for example, greeting-greeting, offer-acceptance. Talk is organized through initiating first pair parts which occasion a second within the same pair-type (Schegloff, 2007).

While CA’s central concern is with how action is achieved through talk, Berger and Rae (2012) state that gesture is just as important in understanding the sequential organization of social interaction because participants can respond to the actions of others using resources other than talk. By collecting and analysing video data, the embodied conduct of participants is available to analyse sequentially (Knoblauch, 2006).

In the final section of this chapter, I explain how the data were actually analyzed. I will explain the analytic steps taken, from initial and recurrent viewings of the data through to the building of collections of possible analytic phenomena.

2.6 Analytic steps taken

Conversation analysis takes an inductive approach to data. By repeatedly watching and listening to the recordings, the analyst begins to identify phenomena which may form part of the analytic focus (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008). This is termed ‘unmotivated looking’ (Psathas, 1990). Simply put, ‘unmotivated looking’ involves beginning analysis without assumptions rather than “searching for a particular pre-identified or pre-theorized phenomena” (Liddicoat, 2007, p.3). As previously stated, transcription is also a key preliminary part of any conversation analytic project, as it involves the slow motion analysis of the dataset.

Schegloff (1996a) offers a number of points to consider when making an account of some action in the data. These points aid conversation analytic accounts of the data from becoming unstructured (Liddicoat, 2007). The first of Schegloff’s (1996a) requirements, which can be extended to video data, is that the formulation of an action being accomplished in the data should be accompanied by numerous further examples of that action alongside a discussion of the deviant cases. The action should be grounded in the participants’ reality; that is, one must show that analytic observations are not just analysts’ concerns but are understood, and also oriented to, by the participants.

CA’s approach to constructing accounts of occurrences of action in the data is to notice, through unmotivated looking, how the action is achieved by the participants then identifies patterns in the data for doing so (Liddicoat, 2007). By reviewing the data, the talk and embodied conduct can be analyzed in order to see how they ‘relate’ to each other (Knoblauch, 2006). In terms of the visual conduct, Knoblauch (2006) states that the task of

analysis is not to *describe* the non-verbal elements of the interaction, but firstly to determine the knowledge needed to understand what is going on in the situation; then to identify the visual conduct that constitutes the situation. When analysing the data, as Heritage (1988) writes, the analyst does not simply describe what is going on but aims to show that these regularities in the data are methodically produced. By making collections of phenomena, and discussing deviant cases, different aspects or features of a phenomenon can be revealed (Sidnell, 2010). Once a collection of phenomena has been assembled, the analysis is then developed. Collections of phenomena are presented, and each individual case explored and explicated to how it contributes to the collection.

The next chapter, Chapter 3, will be the first analytic chapter. In this chapter, I will present my analysis of the way that interactions between customer and bartender are opened in the public bar. Through repeatedly viewing the video data, and adhering to the principle of ‘unmotivated looking’, I began to notice reoccurring patterns in the pre-beginnings of these interactions. After reviewing the corpus, and building a collection of pre-beginnings and first spoken turns, I found that customers routinely ‘hover’ in an area close to the bar while waiting for bartenders to initiate the spoken interaction. These spoken and embodied practices will be properly exposed with extracts from the collection.

Chapter 3:

Opening encounters at the bar counter

3.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I explore the ways in which customers and bartenders open interaction at the bar. I will investigate the non-verbal and verbal conduct of the participant in order to reveal, through analysis, customer and bartender practices. These identified practices communicate the availability of customers and bartenders to enter into a service encounter. First, in section 3.1, I will provide an overview of what we already know about how conversational encounters are opened; and identify a lack of research into face-to-face openings. The analysis that follows is organized across four sections. In the first analytic section (3.2.1), I will show how customers wait, or '*hover*', at the bar in an active manner prior to the initiation of spoken talk. In the following section (3.2.2) I will present the identified practices of customers to demonstrate they are available to be served, in order for bartenders to select them as the next customer. However, despite customers' best efforts, their availability may still appear ambiguous to the bar staff. The bartender must then disambiguate between customers being served and those wanting to be served, using a variety of first turn formulations to allow customers to self-select themselves as 'next'; this will be discussed in section 3.2.3. In the final analytic section (3.2.4), I will present extracts which explore situations where it is the customer that initiates the interaction. I will then discuss what we have learnt from the analysis presented in this chapter.

3.1 Openings in interaction

This section will review what we already know from previous research about openings in interaction. I begin by reviewing literature on telephone openings (3.1.1) before reviewing what is known about openings in face-to-face interaction (3.1.2).

3.1.1 Openings on the telephone

From the earliest days of CA, conversational openings have been of interest. For example, in his first conversation analytic studies, focused on telephone calls, Schegloff (1968) claimed that for any activity to get done at least one party must be available to engage in another's action. He states:

The initial problem of coordination in two party activity is the problem of availability; that is, a person who seeks to engage in an activity that requires the collaborative work of two parties must first establish, via some interactional procedure, that another party is available to collaborate (p. 1089).

Much research on openings is based on recorded telephone conversations, about which Schegloff writes. He identified a distinctive, canonical sequence for the openings of telephone conversations (e.g., 1968; 1979; 1986). From this, we know openings are initiated by a 'summons and answer sequence' (Schegloff, 1968). In telephone conversation, one way to establish whether or not the other party is available to engage in conversation is to 'summons' them: a caller dials the number of an intended recipient, whose telephone rings. If the recipient is available, they retrieve the handset and talk; in doing so they answer the summons. The summons-answer sequence ensures that a channel of communication is open and confirms "the availability of an attentive ear and a mouth ready to speak" (Schegloff,

1986, p.117). The next stage in the opening sequence is the ‘identification and/or recognition sequence’, in which the caller shows or claims to show recognition from the voice sample provided in the answer of the called (Schegloff, 1979). The identification/recognition sequence has also received attention in face-to-face encounters from a cognitive perspective, looking at how parties produce ‘identification displays’ which are said, by Schiffrin (1977), to be the externalization of the cognitive process of recognition. What we know about this sequence in face-to-face encounters is that it is used to invoke categories, separate strangers from acquaintances and may or may not require a recipient designed recognition sequence (Schiffrin, 1977).

The next stage in Schegloff’s canonical opening sequence is the ‘greeting’. Greetings are not separable from identification work but they put participants into what Goffman (1963) referred to as “ratified mutual participation” (p.100). The fourth sequence is the ‘howareyou’ sequence (Sacks, 1975), but this is not always present (Schegloff, 1986). Another aspect of telephone conversational openings we know about is their *asymmetry*. In Schegloff’s data, there is an asymmetry of information between the ‘caller’ and the ‘called’. The caller knows who the target of the call is meant to be or who the likely answerers of the call may be; the answerer does not know who the caller is at the time of the phone ringing. The answerer of the call is the less informed party yet they are the one taking the first turn (Schegloff, 2002).

When Hopper was writing about openings in 1989, mobile phones were not as prevalent as they are now. But he began to test the canonical model of opening sequences and argued that technological advances would transform and constrain possibilities for speakers. Following this discussion, Schegloff (2002) argued that when analysing data, the technology (such as the mobile phone) should come analytically second to the analysis of the talk-in-interaction that is enabled by that technology. So, rather than analysing the mobile phone and its impact on the opening sequence, he argued for researchers to remain analytically focussed

on the talk. Through subsequent studies, we have learned that mobile telephone openings *do* differ to those of the dialogue phone openings; yet they retain many of the norms of landline talk (Hutchby & Barnett, 2005). They differ in that they often feature caller identification (ID) facilities which means that the answerer's first turn can be 'recipient designed' for the caller who may already be known (Arminen & Leinonen, 2006; Hutchby & Barnett, 2005).

However, it is the 'caller ID' technology, also available on landlines in recent times, not mobile phones specifically, that enable this. The 'howareyou' sequence has arguably been replaced by a "where are you?" sequence, or a similar formulation which is responded to with the answerer's location (Hutchby & Barnett, 2005, Laurier, 2001; Weilenmann, 2003) due to the 'mobile' nature of the mobile phone. Another advance in technology which has been observed to alter the opening sequence is video conferencing. For example, Licoppe and Dumoulin (2010) showed how court hearings operate with parties located physically in different sites. They noted that, in their data, opening sequences were less routinized than in traditional courtroom settings (Drew & Atkinson, 1979) due to the technology. The technology meant that ensuring all parties were able to hear and see each other preceded official introductions and therefore, opening sequences. Heath and Luff (1993) also explored video-mediated communication between personnel within the same organization, in different offices for example. Video cameras throughout the building allowed for individuals to assess the availability of a person prior to attempting contact. They could see if the person they wished to contact was present in their office before connecting with them both audible and visually.

We have an insight into telephone openings in the context of service encounters also. However, openings in telephone service encounters have been examined predominantly for their efficiency rather than their sequential organization; in telephone based directory assistance calls, operators' speed and efficiency at handling enquiries was found to be linked

to the tone of the operators' voice (e.g., Hecht & LaFrance, 1995). In an institutional context, answerers of calls address themselves with an "institutional label" (Hopper, 1989, p.181) to confirm the caller has been connected to the person/organization they require; the caller's identity is often of little concern and recognition is not required (Schegloff, 2002). The amount of identifying information conveyed, and displayed, in the first turn of a telephone opening sequence, has also been shown to impact the effectiveness of the unfolding interaction (Leydon, Ekberg & Drew, 2013).

Thus far, conversation analysts have discovered much about the way conversations are opened on landline and mobile telephones and even in video-mediated interaction. However, less is known about openings in face-to-face interaction. In the next section (3.1.2), I will present what we do know about face-to-face encounters, as well as what we do not yet know.

3.1.2 Face-to-face openings

There are some important differences between telephone openings, mobile telephone openings and face-to-face openings. Whilst the literature is somewhat lacking, and sometimes anecdotal, we do know that, in contrast to telephone conversation, speakers have to be close enough physically for their spoken openings to be heard. Kendon (1990) states that when participants identify a person they wish to greet they must 'sight' each other; a pre-interactional step, which refers to the practice of visually locating a greeting recipient. This means that parties must be in close enough proximity to *see* one another. Once the potential interactants can visually receipt a greeting, there are a wealth of gestural resources available to the parties that are not available to those attempting to initiate conversation with another via the telephone. In telephone openings, if a person dials another's telephone number, the phone of the called person will ring. A non-answered telephone summons may indicate that

the called person may not be able to hear the phone; alternatively, they may be unavailable to answer it, or can choose to ignore it.

In face-to-face interaction, things are not so simple. There is greater work to be done before participants begin to speak, to open the conversation. During such “pre-beginnings” (Mondada, 2009, p. 1977), a term which describes the sequences of actions prior to the first spoken turn, participants assemble in shared interactional space, and align their bodies to achieve mutual orientation and gaze prior to speaking (Mondada, 2009). The subsequent gestures and utterances, which can be carried out in close proximity or from a distance, comprise what Kendon (1990) calls ‘salutations’. Face-to-face interactions permit greetings to be gestural; therefore participants must be close enough to be seen but not necessarily heard.

As mentioned previously, telephone calls rarely occur without a reason (Hutchby & Barnett, 2005). However, Hutchby and Barnett argue that, in face-to-face encounters, ‘accidental’ conversations between unacquainted parties are more likely to happen, in the corridor or on the street. These accidental conversations may also occur between strangers. There are some social norms that have been identified when strangers versus acquaintances open interaction. We know from Pillett-Shore’s (2011) data collected at a party, that persons previously acquainted greet each other without the need for introductions, yet when two previously unacquainted parties meet a mutual party may be present and therefore introductions are required. Pillett-Shore explored introduction sequences and identified that in such sequences, one party coordinates displayed attention between the unacquainted parties, and delivers person reference formulations for those treated as ‘introducible’.

We know more from previous research on openings in *institutional* contexts than we do in *social* contexts, as mentioned previously. We know that in courtrooms, for instance, face-to-face opening sequences are extremely routinized (Drew & Atkinson, 1979). In the

doctor's surgery, the pre-beginning of an opening sequence involves completing 'non-collaborative' tasks, which are tasks of the individual party, such as the patient closing the door and sitting down, or the doctor retrieving notes, *then* aligning gaze and body orientation to communicate availability to engage in interaction prior to the chief complaint being launched (Robinson, 1998). By orienting his or her body and gaze toward an object such as medical notes, doctors may display his or her engagement in another activity and their unavailability to be a patient or receiver of talk (Robinson, 1998). Similar to openings in the doctor's surgery, we also know that in supervision encounters between supervisor and student, the orientation to, and involvement with, paper documents have a part to play in the opening of those encounters and the subsequent topic initiation (Svinhufvud & Vehviläinen, 2013).

In service encounter openings, which are the focus of the current chapter, there is said to be a 'ubiquitous assumption' (Clark & Pinch, 2010) that such encounters begin at the point of spoken interaction. However, others have shown this to be incorrect. This is not talk that initiates, say, a sales encounter; but, at the very least, establishing eye contact precedes the verbal encounter (Clark & Pinch, 2010). Goffman (1969) writes that "the union and interaction of individuals is based upon mutual glances" (p.93). These mutual glances can be sought out or avoided as eye contact opens up availability for face-to-face engagement. Like the pre beginnings in doctors' surgeries (Robinson, 1998), Clark and Pinch (2010) found that customers display 'high-' (aligning, gazing toward products) and 'low-' (browsing the store) involvement bodily conduct to demonstrate their availability to enter into a spoken encounter with a member of sales staff. When there is a physical counter in the setting, such as at a bar or market stall, which spatially partitions the parties to the interaction, customers wait at the counter until both customer and seller are available to interact (Brown, 2004; Dausendshon-Gay & Krafft, 2009). This process involves the customer demonstrating their availability, but ultimately the seller initiates the spoken interaction (Dausendshon-Gay & Krafft, 2009).

In another study of sales encounters, Brown (2004) explored queues as a method for managing who is 'next'. He found that customers could establish their availability for service, especially when there is more than one customer, through coordinating their bodies with various mechanisms in the environment. These mechanisms were observed to be artefacts and the design of the environment, such as snaking barriers or a ticket machine. The point to be made here is that these artefacts do not simply create the queue but can be recruited and manipulated by participants to manage the order in which they are served. Similarly, the barriers and ticket machines do not themselves pre-determine the order in which customers are served; this is still the doings of the customers. For example, customers may choose to walk around the snaking barriers when no other customers are queuing, or they may choose conventional queuing methods rather than taking a ticket when fewer customers are present. In a café, a 'wait here to be seated' sign placed at the entry ensured customers could be greeted and seated in the order they arrive rather than entering the venue and sitting where they choose (Laurier, 2012). Similar to Brown's findings, this sign was found to be ignored in the case of regular customers who walked past it to their 'usual' table, with a minimal greeting.

What I hope is clear at this point is that, apart from the work described above, there are relatively few studies that examine face-to-face openings in *any* conversation, whether in social or institutional settings. Where they do, the focus is on the pre-beginnings of the interaction and not on the initiation of spoken talk. In this chapter, I will combine an analytic focus on both the pre-beginnings and spoken talk that together construct the opening sequence of sales encounters at the bar. I will examine the way customers and bartenders communicate their availability to enter into a service encounter. I will also examine the first one or two spoken turns of bartenders and customers and the trajectories they afford for openings. In subsequent chapters will reveal the unfolding sequences once the interaction has

been opened. I have identified a series of practices which occur in the opening sequence of the service encounter, which I will present in the Section 3.2.

3.2 Analysis

The analysis is presented across four sections. First, in Section 3.2.1, I will present a customer practice I have termed ‘hovering’. Laurier, Whyte and Buckner (2001) have referred to this practice, briefly, in reference to customers looking for a free table in the cafe; stating that: “customers could be seen to ‘hover’, visibly scanning the tables and their occupants” (p.210). I am extending this concept from the cafe to the bar, taking a sustained look at how ‘hovering’ is done, and to what end. In this chapter hovering refers to the way that customers approach the bar and their subsequent conduct whilst waiting. ‘Hovering’ involves customers positioning themselves in a particular physical space and orienting their bodies toward the bartender. At the same time, they monitor the actions of the bartender with their gaze and adjust their hovering behaviour according to their interpretations of the bartender’s actions. The practice of hovering also enables bartenders to identify, and open interaction with, an accountably ‘waiting customer’ rather than a customer who may be stood in close proximity to the bar counter but is not waiting to be served. In Section 3.2.2, I will analyse the ways that bartenders disambiguate ‘waiting’ from ‘non-waiting’ and describe the practices that emerge. The third section (3.2.3) discusses bartenders’ practices for identifying which, if any, customer is to be served next from a series of potential ‘next’ customers. The final section (3.2.4) examines some cases in which it is the customer, not the bartender, who initiates the spoken interaction. I will begin by explicating the practice of hovering.

3.2.1 *The practice of hovering*

This section will unpack the component features of the practice of ‘hovering’. It is worth noting that ‘pre-beginnings’ are often embedded in embodied conduct prior to the talk; therefore, images are presented to represent the action that occurs prior to the spoken talk which is also represented in the transcript. Firstly, let us examine what C is doing in Image 3.1, in Extract 3.1, below.

Extract 3.1: LG-12D-C15



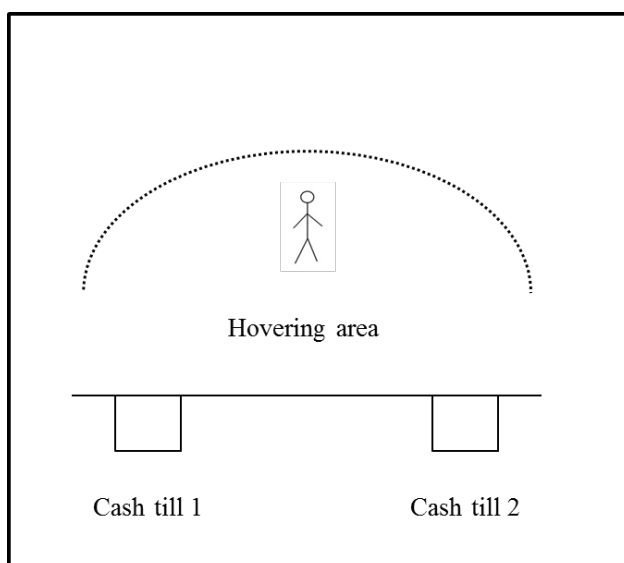
Image 3.1

In Image 3.1, C is ‘hovering’. As mentioned previously, hovering refers to the practice of *actively* waiting at the bar; the term attends to the embodied conduct of the customer whilst waiting. Hovering is an observable practice which begins with customers approaching the bar, and standing virtually immobile, with their torso oriented toward the bar counter. Unlike Clark and Pinch’s (2010) observation that ‘high-involvement bodily conduct’ communicates customers’ availability to enter into an encounter, I found that displaying ‘high-involvement bodily conduct with an object, such as a menu, may compromise their observable availability. While hovering, then, I rarely observed customers interacting with such objects, or with other customers, and I suggest that this is because such activities would compromise their

‘seeability’ as a ‘waiting customer’ who is available to interact with the bartender, should they be selected as the next customer.

Analysis of the data also revealed that there is a particular ‘hovering area’ within the larger bar environment in which customers hover; their “frame of dominant orientation” (Robinson, 1998, p.98). Hovering within this space communicates customers’ availability to collaborate in action with a bartender, or to negotiate what Goodwin (1981) refers to as a ‘participation framework’. When no one else is waiting and no bartender is present at the bar, customers tended to position themselves between Cash Till 1 and Cash Till 2, as C is doing in Image 3.1. The image shows C hovering at the bar; there are no bartenders serving it, and no other customers waiting. C stands approximately one metre from the bar counter, positioned between the two cash tills. The bar can be accessed by staff on either side so both tills are equally convenient. As C hovers at the bar, he displays, and makes recognisable, his availability to enter into a service encounter with B, when B becomes available to do so. Figure 3.1 below is a schematic of the practice of hovering between two tills.

Figure 3.1: One customer hovering in the ‘hovering area’



By hovering within the semi-circle (Figure 3.1), with their body oriented toward the bar counter, customers are within close enough proximity to be identifiable as hovering – or actively ‘doing waiting’ – by the bar staff and also to audibly, and visually, receive initiating turns by the bartender. Customers standing outside of this zone, not oriented toward the bar are ‘doing not waiting’ and are therefore not the recipients of openings such as “yes please”.

When there are few, or no, other customers waiting at the bar counter the practice of hovering is employed in its most passive form: hovering does not involve activities such as arm-waving or foot-tapping. Rather, note that, in Image 3.1, C stands with his hands in pockets waiting for a bartender to exercise his normative category-bound obligation to initiate a service encounter. While his body is relatively still, the orientation of his head and the direction of his gaze monitor the unfolding actions.

C’s approach to the bar counter, then, and subsequent hovering, makes available the potential for establishing mutual understanding of the context or ‘intersubjectivity’, which B or C can then ‘solidify’ (Hopper, 1989) by initiating the encounter. Whilst ‘solidify’ is an imperfect term, I mean to use it to describe the way in which B and C consolidate pre-service actions in order to initiate spoken talk and, thus, the start of the encounter ‘proper’. Extract 3.1 continues below, in which C and B first establish their availability to enter into the service encounter, which is then initiated by B at line 1.

Extract 3.1: LG-12D-C15 cont.



Image 3.2

1 B:

Yes [pl'se.]



Image 3.3

2 C:

[Hi mate.]

3

(0.6)

4 C:

Uh table thir:ty five.

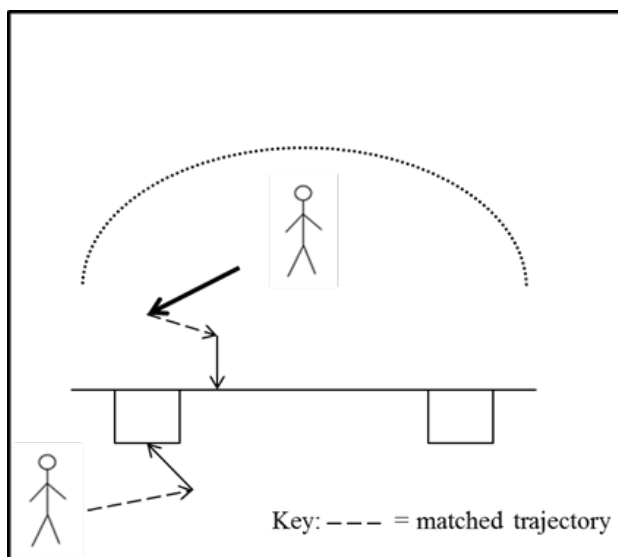


Image 3.4

Before B can be seen in the images presented, he can presumably be seen by C. This is evidenced by C's movement toward Cash Till 1 in Image 3.2, and his gaze towards B, as his recipient. Prior to the spoken interaction, C and B begin to solidify the interaction by *finding*

each other in the environment. Shortly after C's steps towards Cash Till 1, B can be seen in Image 3.3 walking to the right and issues a first turn, "Yes please" (line 1). This 'solidifies' the interaction verbally. This solidification now means C and B have entered into a service encounter. The movements of C and B are simplified and displayed below in Figure 3.2.

Figure 3.2: The movements of B and C



B says, "yes please", prior to C being 'in position' at the bar; however, C is within audible distance. First turns have been found to be coordinated with embodied conduct and are sensitive to gaze and space between participants (Mondada, 2009). In this current situation, where no other customers or bartenders are present, B and C each recognise their recipient and coordinate themselves to come together and open the interaction. This 'coming together' has been observed elsewhere, particularly in the street where strangers come together to interact (Mondada, 2009) or as a street seller approaches, or is approached by, a potential customer (Llewellyn & Burrow, 2008). From Extract 3.1 we see that C and B coordinate their movements, in aggregate with their talk (lines 1-4), that C begins to walk toward B as he approaches the bar. As B walks toward the till, C matches the trajectory of B and begins to walk right (Image 3.3) similar to what Kendon (1990) termed 'sighting'. B and C begin to

find shared 'intersubjective' space. By line 4, C and B have aligned themselves to stand facing each other. Similar practices were identified by Mondada (2009) in her analysis of pedestrians asking passers-by for directions. She identified the transition from 'strangers' to imminent co participants as systematic, projected and "visibly and publicly assembled in time" (p.1977). In the bar, customers and bartenders displayed systematically their availability through co-ordinated actions including matched trajectory, mutual gaze, bodily movements and first turns.

Let us now consider the implication of using "Yes please" as a first turn in the opening sequence. Interactions opened at the bar counter are akin to telephone openings in that they are opened *for a reason* (Hutchby & Barnett, 2005); they are not accidental conversations that could occur in a public space. In Extract 3.1, "Yes please" shows that B has recognised C as the next customer to be served, without ambiguity, as the "yes" is responsive to C's hovering; "please" invites an order to be placed. The "yes" acts as a second pair part to C's hovering in a similar way to the summons/answer sequence on the telephone. As a gloss, by saying "yes" B is confirming C's question "am I next?" Second, to say "yes please" displays the institutional nature of the interaction. C observably requires a service that B can provide. By saying, "Yes please" B invites C to request that service and shows his availability to fulfil, grant, or otherwise progress that request.

In response, however, C issues a greeting rather than placing an order: he says "Hi mate", at line 2, in overlap with the latter part of B's first turn. C has heard B's initiating "yes" and launches his greeting in overlap with the "pl'se". C's greeting is not reciprocated by B. Across the data, I found that greeting exchanges, by which I mean "Hello-Hello" or some equivalent, were routinely absent. As noted earlier, Schegloff (1986) identifies the greeting exchange as one of the four adjacency sequences in canonical openings on the telephone. In Extract 3.1, there is a gap at line 3 which constitutes "monitor space" (Davidson, 1984,

p.117); space available to B to respond to the greeting, but that B declines. In other words, B ‘socializes’ C into the order of the encounter, in which greetings are not a component feature. After the gap at line 3, C goes on to provide his table number at line 4. By providing his table number C is initiating the ordering sequence which indicates the opening sequence is complete.

The opening sequence in this extract, then, has some interesting features. Firstly, the response of “hi mate”, in overlap with B’s initiating turn produces a gap in the interaction. We cannot know, due to the lack of research on service encounters, if they operate as they do in the canonical openings. What I can say is that in my corpus, the canonical greeting exchange is not the same as those outlined in the previous literature of canonical openings. Hopper and Drummond (1992) found that in telephone data, “strangers usually omit greetings; intimates rarely omit greetings, but truncate identification” (p.196). At the bar, greetings exchanges lengthen the spoken interaction. We do know from previous studies that there is a *preference for progressivity* in service encounters, and that truncating the spoken interaction aids such progressivity (Kuroshima, 2010; Lee, 2011). This is not to say that greeting exchanges do not occur in face-to-face institutional settings; they do (Laurier; 2012; Mondada, 2009; Robinson, 1998). However, and returning to Extract 3.1, we can see that C prefaces his turn at line 4 (in which he states his table number) with “Uh”. This marks out C’s turn as following something inapposite (Heritage, 1998); a greeting may have been expected, yet was never received. Extract 3.1 therefore displays the emergent ‘rules’ of the bar evolving in real time. Here, C expected the normative greeting-greeting response (Schegloff, 2007), but, in not receiving it, has learned the ‘norms’ of this bar.

Let us consider a second example. In Extract 3.2, two customers are currently being served at the bar, and other customers are waiting. How do customers hover when there are additional ‘waiting’ customers present? We will see that customers adjust their hovering

methods in such circumstances, to ward off being trumped by another customer who, through hovering in closer proximity to the bar, may be more visibly available as the next customer.

In this situation, then, customers must be more active and deliberate in their hovering to ensure that they are served in turn and that their place in the queue is correctly recognised.

We now explore this in Extract 3.2. Here, the environment in which C is waiting is more complex than we saw previously in Extract 3.1 as there are more customers at the counter and two bartenders. Let us start by following C through Images 3.5-3.7 as it unfolds.

Extract 3.2: LG-27N-C14



Image 3.5



Image 3.6

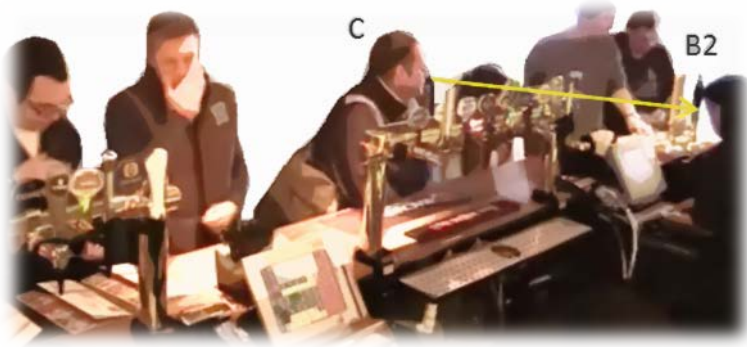


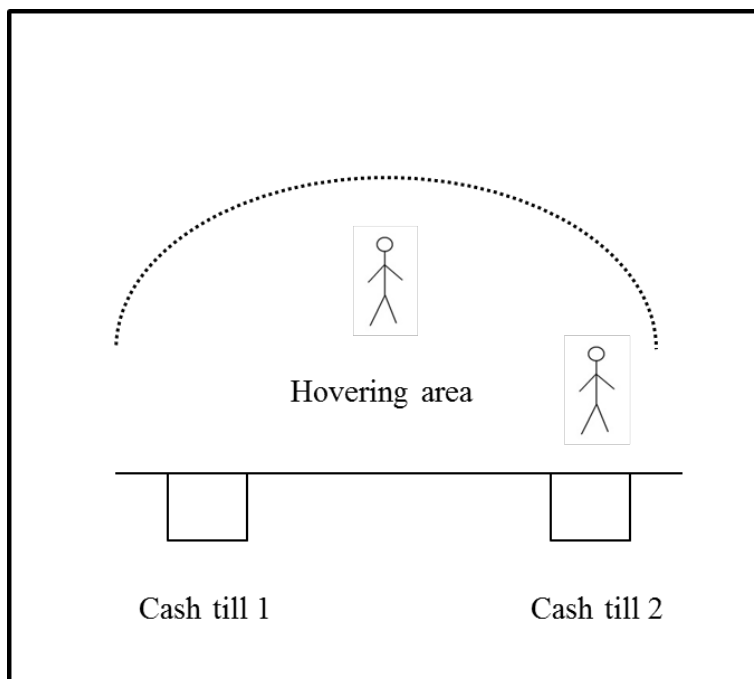
Image 3.7

C is labelled in Image 3.5 as the man on the left. B1, in front of him, is not available as he is engaged in a service encounter with a customer who cannot be seen in the image. B2, on the right of the image, is also not available as she is serving the customer directly in front of her. As C approaches the bar counter, he positions himself in front of B1. When customers position themselves in front of one till or the other they are observably hovering to gain the service of the bartender currently serving that particular till. Customers hover in front of a selected till, or behind a customer currently being served. To stand between either till is to maximise availability to be served by either bartender, as we saw in Extract 3.1; that is, if gaze and bodily orientation is not fixed to one bartender over another.

As the sequence unfolds, we see that by Image 3.6 C has altered his hovering position. He has previously been standing in front of B1, yet now moves to a position between the two tills, keeping his gaze and body oriented toward B1. This projects his availability to be served by either B1 or B2, yet displays his 'position' as next to be served by B1. Whilst he is hovering between the two tills, a practice previously observed in Extract 3.1, his gaze (Image 3.6) recruits B1 as the bartender to serve him once available. By Image 3.7, C returns his gaze to select B2 as the bartender he requires service from. C's movements maximize his availability to be served by either bartender. By Image 3.7, two more customers are hovering in close proximity to B2.

Extract 3.2 exemplified a practice observed across the corpus: As multiple customers begin to hover, those who have waited the longest move towards the bar counter, positioning themselves in front of one of the tills. When one bartender is serving at the bar, they interact with one of the two cash tills; customers position themselves in front of that till. If two bartenders are serving they distribute their hovering between the two tills. When customers are hovering in front of either till, additional customers then hover between the two towards the back of the semi-circle area, illustrated in Figure 3.3 below. This does not commit them to either till but maximizes their availability to move to either when one bartender should become available.

Figure 3.3: Multiple customers hovering



By employing hovering practices such as those displayed in Extracts 3.1 and 3.2, customers maximise their chances of displaying themselves as, and subsequently being served as, the 'correct' next customer. By 'correct', I mean the customer who has been waiting the longest and therefore next in turn. Customers who are queuing do not have access to the length of

time in minutes that each customer has been waiting. However, instead of the actual waiting time in minutes, customers who are hovering can use ‘member’s measurement systems’ (Sacks, 1988) to gauge who has been waiting a ‘long’ time, a ‘short’ time or about the ‘same’ time as they have; being next in turn is demonstrable and recognisable as such, to both the bartender and the other customers. When two bartenders are serving on the bar, they monitor the customers who are waiting in order to successfully serve customers in turn. This is evidenced through customers being routinely served in the ‘correct’ order. C’s movements in Extract 3.2 place him in the queue for B1 but he makes a transition to the queue for B2. We return to Extract 3.2 as C orients to B2.

Extract 3.2: LG-27N-C14 cont.

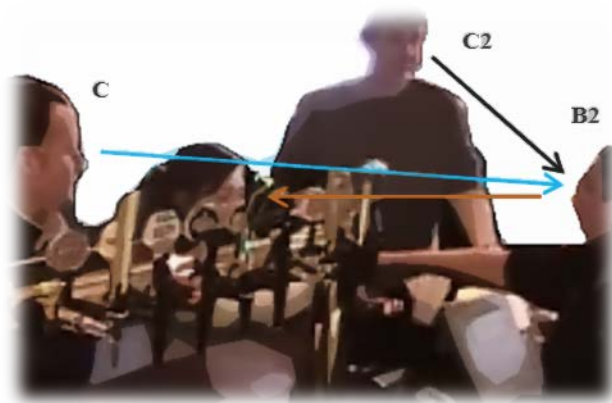


Image 3.8



Image 3.9

1 B



Image 3.10

Image 3.8 shows B2 extending her arm, passing change and closing the interaction with the customer she has been serving throughout C's wait at the bar. C and C2 are competing customers. While C2 may not have had access to C's wait we, the analysts, have had, as has B2. Her gaze is oriented straight ahead. Both C and C2 have their gaze oriented to B2. As she retracts her arm, B2 establishes mutual gaze with C2 to her right (Image 3.9). The directional arrows in the images represent the gaze of the participants. The blue arrow depicts the gaze of C; black is used for C2 and orange for B. By serving C2, B2 would be serving C out of turn. Before speaking, B turns back to C (Image 3.10) and initiates the service encounter at line 1 with "Yes please", verbally solidifying the interaction using the same initiator as seen in Extract 3.1. C has accomplished being the next customer to be served by hovering effectively at the bar.

In Extract 3.3, B is hovering much closer to the bar, and less work is done on his part than we have seen previously in Extracts 3.1 and 3.2.

Extract 3.3: LG-27N-C67

1 B: Yes please.



Image 3.11

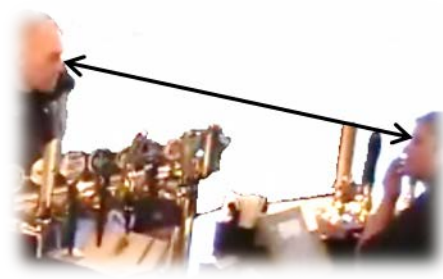


Image 3.12

2 C: Can I order some food.

3 B: Course ya can (.) there's a twenty minute wait s'that okay.

In Image 3.11 the arrows show the gaze direction of B and C. C's gaze is directed towards the menu whilst he is hovering. Whilst C's orientation to the menu could be described as 'high-involvement bodily conduct' (Clark & Pinch, 2010) the practice of 'high-involvement bodily conduct' at the bar counter decreases C's availability as a 'waiting' customer, as I suggested earlier. However, here, C's involvement with the menu projects and makes observable that he may wish to order food. B gazes toward C as she issues her first turn (line 1). B's turn at line 1 selects C as the next customer to be served and solidifies them into a service encounter, yet he is not oriented to her as this turn is issued. The "yes please" formulation selects C as the next customer without ambiguity. Once C recognises that he is the intended recipient of B's turn, mutual availability is established through gaze and the ordering sequence is initiated at line 2.

The hovering observed in this extract is different to that of the hovering in Extracts 3.1 and 3.2: it is more purposeful than standing a metre or so away (Extract 3.1), although C's orientation is to the menu, not to following B with his gaze (Extract 3.2). The bartender

in Extract 3.3 has monitored who is next to be served. Although C and B have not established eye contact prior to B's turn at line 1, B conveys her availability to him and selects him as the next customer through her turn "Yes please".

In this first analytic section, I have identified and described the constituent actions of the practice of 'hovering'. Extracts 3.1-3.3 demonstrate the ways in which customers 'hover' prior to B 'solidifying' the service encounter through talk. First, in Extract 3.1, I explored the practice of hovering when there are no bartenders or customers present at the bar. Extract 3.1 also provided an example of the work B and C do to find shared 'intersubjective' space to open the service encounter. Extract 3.2, in contrast, showed the difference in the hovering practice when more customers were active in the hovering space, and more bartenders were working behind the bar. Extract 3.2 also demonstrated how customers hover actively in the process. Lastly, Extract 3.3 showed further variability in the practice of hovering and depicted that even customers engaged in other activities, such as reading the menu, and hovering when they are within the hovering area and orientated to the bar. In the three extracts presented, which are typical of three categories of 'hovering' across the dataset, the customers and bartenders successfully accomplish opening the service encounter with the correct next customer. The practice of hovering is, thus far, effective. However, in Section 3.2.2, we will examine cases in which there is less certainty over which customer is to be 'correctly' served next.

3.2.2 Opening interaction with "You all right"

In the previous section (3.2.1), the extracts presented (3.1-3.3) examined customers hovering and bartenders solidifying the interaction with certainty. The bartender's recurrent use of the formulation "yes please" to open service encounters presupposed that the customer wants something the bartender can provide. In this section (3.2.2), I focus on a second type of

response to customers' hovering. Here, the bartender's first turn takes a different format ("you all right there"), which has implications for the unfolding interaction. We start with Extract 3.4.

Extract 3.4: LG-1A-C1



Image 3.13

Image 3.14

- 1 B: >Y' all< right there.
- 2 C: Not too bad. =Can I have a pint To::f,



Image 3.15

In Extract 3.4, C displays his availability as a 'waiting' customer by approaching and hovering at the bar. The situation is similar to the approach seen in Extract 3.1; there are no other customers at the bar and only one bartender. The bartender issues his first turn and solidifies the interaction verbally prior to him being 'in position'. As he approaches C (Image 3.13) B issues his first turn, yet he has an additional task to complete before he can action any request: he is carrying glasses which he places on the back of the bar. In this extract he does

not initiate the encounter with a “yes please” as seen in Extracts 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3. Instead, his turn is delivered as a question. Asking “Y’ all right there” at line 1 is a truncated version of ‘are you all right?’ The “there” is indexical, referencing C in the environment. This works to question C’s business standing at the bar, with less certainty than “yes please”. It is not a ‘howareyou’ described by Sacks (1975) as a greeting substitute; however C’s response treats it as one. Sacks states that in talk between friends, answers to this question can be organized into three sets; positive (“really good”), neutral (“fine”) and negative (“awful”) with each occasioning a different sequential course. Positive and negative answers are pursued for an account, yet neutral answers are found to be responded to with an assessment and treated as closure relevant. Therefore respondents may withhold providing a positive/negative response to avoid a sequence expansion. Here, the preference for progressivity in service encounters may account for the response C gives at line 2. C and B do not know each other therefore C’s “Not too bad” does not require pursuit from B. The design of C’s turn at line 2, “not too bad.=can I have” is two TCUs also. By connecting these two TCUs with a rush-through, the first pair part “Ya’ll right” at line 1 and the response by C “not too bad” is potentially deleted by C by the end of the turn and treated, effectively, as a “yes please”. So, at this point in the sequence, the interaction between C and B has been solidified with a question and the response to that is a sequence closing third and an initiation of the first topic. The difference between using “y’all right there” and “yes please” is that “y’all right there” does not have the same implications for the unfolding interaction. The former solidifies the interaction between C and B but does not have the same presupposition as “yes please”.

However, the formulation “you all right there” was found to be the most common way in which bartenders initiated spoken interaction with customers. By opening the encounters this way, B is able to allow for the contingency that the customer may be approaching the bar

for something other than to request a service, or that he/ she is already being served. Extract 3.5 is an example of how “you all right there” is most commonly used.

Extract 3.5: LG-27N-C40



Image 3.16



Image 3.17

- 1 B: You all right there.=
- 2 C: =Hot chocolate please.

C has been hovering, waiting for a bartender. Image 3.16 shows B handing change back to the customer he has been serving previously to our target C who is on the right of the image. As B retracts his hand he orients his gaze to C and selects him as the next customer to be served. B’s initiating turn in this extract “you all right there”, is the same first turn as that of Extract 3.4. However, there is no “not too bad” prior to the initiation of the request. Rather than C treating B’s turn as a ‘howareyou’ first pair part, and so, like C in Extract 3.4, responding with “not too bad” before launching his request, here B’s turn is treated as a greeting substitute which solidifies the ‘sales’ interaction and completes the opening

sequence allowing for the first part of the request to be issued by C (line 2). Note also that there are more than two bartenders serving on the bar. B allows for the contingency that this customer may be being served by another bartender, evidenced in the formulation of his first turn. “You all right there” is less implicative on the unfolding interaction than “yes please” because C may already be being served and therefore be waiting for drinks to be prepared rather than hovering. B has identified C as the customer to be served next, but C’s hovering status is ambiguous.

In this section (3.2.2), we have examined a second way in which bartenders open interaction at the bar counter. The formulation “you all right there” has been shown to function similarly to “yes please”. However, its formulation allows for the contingency for customers to not place a request, but do something else in the next turn. “You all right there” *checks* to see if a customer is waiting to be served rather than presupposing that they are; which is what “yes please” does. “You all right there” is either responded to with the second pair part to the ‘howareyou-ness’ of the question, but this requires no further pursuit; alternatively it can be treated as a greeting substitute which is not responded to; instead the request is issued in the next TCU. This section has also shown that the formulation “you all right there” serves as way to solidify and open the interaction between the two parties. But it also allows for the customer to be already engaged in a service encounter and therefore waiting rather than hovering.

In the next section, I explore the practices employed when the environment is busier and there is more ambiguity about which customer is next.

3.2.3 Practices for identifying the next customer

In the two previous analytic sections, 3.2.1 and 3.2.2, the bartender has issued his or her first turn to a next customer with more or less certainty. While ‘yes please’ and ‘you all right’ are

different, they nevertheless are directed at one recipient, who is selected as the next customer, or a candidate next customer. The following extracts feature a different environment where there are multiple customers waiting at the bar, making who is next in line to be served a trickier proposition.

Extract 3.6: LG-12D-C16

1 B: Anyone waiting.



Image 3.18

2 (0.6)

3 C1: Um: yeah.=Can I have um the gammon (1.3) the sh- the gammon,

In Extract 3.6, B (on the right hand side of Image 3.18), is faced with a problem. The customer on the left is currently being served but there are four hovering customers waiting to the right of the bar and in the vicinity of Cash Till 2. These four customers might be a party who intend to order together, in which case B must identify the lead speaker for that group (see Chapter 5). However, if they are to order individually, one of the four must be identified to order first; both for the group and for the bartender. One way in which bartenders manage such situations is to design their turn to allow the waiting customers to self-select as the ‘correct next’.

Extract 3.6 highlights the difference between openings on the telephone and institutional openings between co-present parties. In Mondada’s (2009) data, she identified

the observable, gestural pre-beginnings that parties accomplish prior to the openings of conversation in face-to-face openings, which are not part of telephone openings. Whalen and Zimmerman (1987) compare the non-verbal embodied conduct, such as what Mondada refers to, in to the preparations callers make prior to a telephone summons, such as locating the number and dialling. Whilst hovering can be compared to a ‘summons’ in the canonical telephone opening, there is far more work involved in the pre-beginnings of the encounters at the bar than selecting a number and dialling. In Extract 3.6, B’s first pair part at line 1, “anyone waiting” invites a customer to self-select. We can see that C1 provides the second pair part at line 3, after a gap, saying “um yeah”. “Yeah” is the fitted response to the yes/no interrogative issued by B (Raymond, 2003). She then does a rush-through into her request as we have seen in previous extracts. By self-selecting she solidifies the interaction between herself and B and removes the problem that B had initially in identifying the next customer, or who he should interact with as a lead speaker.

This extract raises interesting issues with regards not just to the sequential organization of service encounters, but their *moral order* too. As a bartender, B has responsibility for monitoring the hovering area and correctly selecting the next customer. If the bartender were to serve a customer out of turn it would become accountable. The practice illustrated in Extract 3.6 is one which can be employed to manage when ambiguity to which customer is the correct next is present. By using “anyone waiting” B removes the responsibility of making a definitive selection, as we have seen turns such as “yes please” or “you all right” do.

Another feature of “anyone waiting” is that, like “you all right there”, it manages the possibility that the customers are already being served by another member of the bar team, or are not ready to place an order. Across the data, customers stood at the bar to peruse menus, draft lager pumps and glass front fridges for what they offer. In Extract 3.6, “anyone waiting”

was a successful method for overcoming these problems of ambiguity; Extract 3.7 shares some features with Extract 3.6

Extract 3.7: LG-27N-C63



Image 3.19

1 B:

↑Are tya twaitin'.



Image 3.20

2 C:

=He:llo. =Can I get um a chocolate hot chocolate fudge cake (0.5) um
an'



Image 3.21

3

a cappucci↓no a cup of tea: and a tap water please.

The customer at the focus of Extract 3.7 is the female customer at the right of Image 3.19. Although her hovering positioning is between both of the Cash Tills which, as we saw earlier, works to summons a bartender to either till, her bodily orientation is directed toward the bartender serving the customer to the left of Image 3.19 . At this point in the interaction, only this bartender is serving. The potential for another bartender to serve on the bar, using the other till to the right of Image 3.19, accounts for C's double positioning: her body is located between tills, but is oriented to the only bartender and the till she is currently working on. Her hovering is, therefore, ambiguous. As previously mentioned, hovering at the bar is not always treated as unambiguous membership of the category 'waiting' customer. Here, B orients to the ambiguity of C's status by asking "are you waiting". The design of B's turn line allows for the contingency that C is not requesting a bartender and is currently interacting with an absent bartender, or some other possibility.

At line 2, C confirms she is waiting by issuing a greeting token, "Hello", treating the prior turn by B as a form of greeting. A type-conforming response to B's yes/no interrogative (Raymond, 2003) "are you waiting", would be "yes", as we saw in Extract 3.6. However, C's greeting functions to display she is a 'waiting' customer. As we have seen in previous extracts, such as Extract 3.4, when two TCUs are connected with a rush through, the second TCU – the request – deletes what has been done in the first and second pair parts. Whilst "are ya waitin'" as a first pair part and "hello" as the second pair part seems inapposite, "hello" works to confirm C is waiting; she greets B then issues her request.

The previous two extracts in this section have demonstrated practices for effectively disambiguating a situation in which more than one customer may be the 'correct next'. Extract 3.8 unfolds in a different way.

Extract 3.8: LG-27N-C38

1 B: Anyone else waiting.



Image 3.22

2 C1: Yeah can I have a::

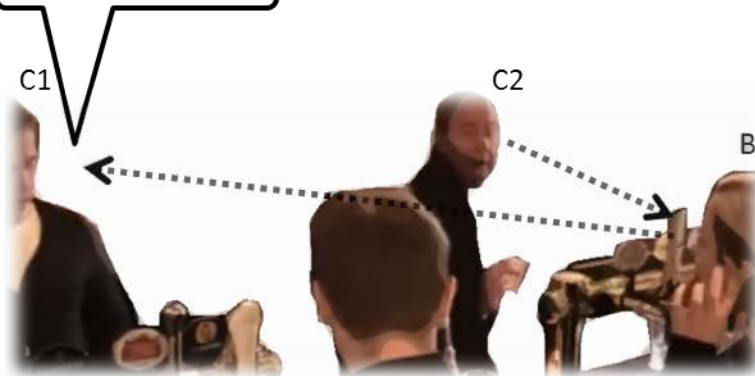


Image 3.23

3 (2.6)

4 C2: Bottle of Becks..



Image 3.24

5 B: Yes darlin'.

6 B: I'll be two seconds darlin' that all right.

In Extract 3.8, B is the female bartender to the right of Image 3.22; C1 is off camera on the left and C2 is the man leaning forward in the centre of Image 3.22. As we can see from Image

3.22, there are several people in the hovering area. There are currently three bartenders serving at the bar. The hovering customers are difficult to identify as waiting or being served due to their hovering positioning. B is faced with the problem that she does not know out of these hovering customers which, if any, are to be served next. At line 1, B asks “Anyone else waiting”, in a similar context and environment to Extract 3.7. When issuing this turn she does so with her gaze and orientation towards the customers positioned at the left of the bar counter. By doing this she is selecting her potential recipient of this turn from this group of people.

Next, then, a customer (who is off shot) responds to B’s turn at line 1 with a type conforming “Yeah” and begins his request, solidifying the interaction. His drawn out “a” at the end of line 2 marks some delay regarding the item he will order. During this delay, however, another customer (C2, in the middle of the image) raises a note to attract the attention of B (Image 3.23). In the long 2.6 second gap, C2 manages to secure the attention of B. Once mutual eye gaze is established (Image 3.24) C2 issues an order in a direct truncated turn, “bottle of Becks” (line 4). B’s response “I’ll be two seconds darlin’ that all right” does several things. It confirms to C2 that she will progress his request after a short delay. It informs C1 that he is next and C2 that he will be served, by her, after C1. In this extract, then, we can see that the practice of getting customers to self-select may be problematic and require further work by bartenders to correctly organize waiting customers.

The analysis in this section has identified ways in which bartenders, when faced with ambiguity about the correct next customer, disambiguate the situation and organize waiting customers into an order for service. Extracts 3.6 and 3.7 exemplified the bartender practice of inviting customers to self-select when potential customers are recognised but the order in which the party is to be served is unclear, or the lead speaker for the group ordering as a whole cannot be identified. In Extract 3.7, a case was presented in which the bartender

employed this practice to disambiguate the status of the customers at the bar, but this failed and became problematic as two customers competed to be next to order. The ‘moral order’ of these interactions has also been discussed in this section and, by delegating the responsibility of correctly identifying next customers from bartender to customer; we have seen its careful management. Extract 3.8, however, reminds us that the order in which customers will be served next is still decided by the bartender.

The final analytic section in Chapter 3 presents cases in which the customer is the first speaker. Out of 199 service encounters, only 11 start with the customer initiating the first turn, making them something of a collection of deviant cases. I will present a sample of these cases.

3.2.4 Customer speaks first

So far in this chapter, we have seen instances and organizations in which the bartender initiates spoken interaction with customers. The customer may do work to display their availability, such as hovering, but it is the bartender who almost always solidifies the interaction between them. There are, however, occasions when customers initiate the spoken encounter. Extract 3.9 illustrates the most common type of customer-initiated encounter.

Extract 3.9: LG-27N-C15

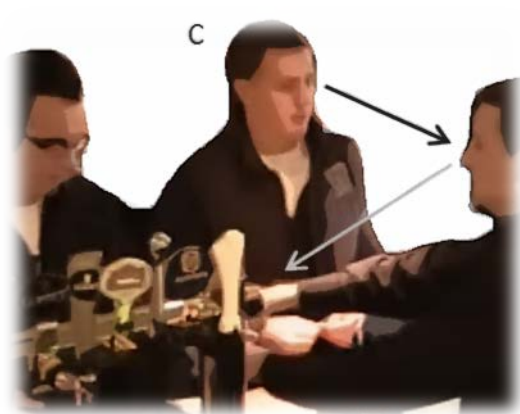


Image 3.25

1 C: Hi ya mate can I get a black coffee please.



Image 3.26

2 B: Black coffee yeah.

In Extract 3.9, Image 3.25, we see that C has been hovering next to his friend who has been the ‘active’ customer. Whilst hovering close to the Cash Till, C has his gaze oriented to B. B’s gaze is oriented to the change he is returning to the customer he has previously been serving. As B retracts his arm (Image 3.26), he turns his gaze to C. In orienting his gaze to meet C’s, B has selected C as the next customer to be served through his gaze and his maintenance of that gaze. At line 1, C then launches a greeting and his order in one turn. While C has issued the first spoken turn, the images represent the embodied actions. It is B who has selected C as the next customer using eye gaze, which functions much like a spoken “yes please”; it selects C to place a request. However, C issues the first *spoken* turn here (line 1). What B does in the second turn at line 2, by issuing the repeat of the order “black coffee yeah” he displays that the previous turn has been heard and allows the customer to repair if it is not correct (Kuroshima, 2010). There is no greeting exchange but neither is this accountably absent. While it is rare for the customer to take the first turn in the interaction, we can see that it is not problematic for the progressivity of the interaction. When customers take the first spoken turn, often this customer has been selected through gaze or gesture, such as a nod of the head. It is then for C to take the first spoken turn in the interest of efficiency

as no greeting exchange or ‘howareyou’ sequence is needed to accomplish service encounters at the bar counter.

Extract 3.10 is another example of a customer’s taking the first spoken turn.

Extract 3.10: LG-27N-C2



Image 3.27

1 C: He[lllo.]



Image 3.28

2 B: [You] all right there.

3 (0.6)

4 C: Uh two pints of uh.

In this extract, as the customer approaches the bar counter, B is observably drinking out of a mug (Image 3.27). Once he identifies C as a customer who requires service, he turns and is

subsequently out of shot. It can be assumed he places the mug down as when he re-enters the shot he does not have the mug. At line 1, whilst B is out of the shot, C issues a greeting token “Hello”. This greeting occupies the space in which B may have issued a turn if he was physically able to do so. C has issued this turn as soon as B is in close enough proximity to receipt it, a practice employed by bartenders as seen in Extract 3.4. B’s turn at line 2, “you all right there”, is in overlap with C’s “hello”. B enters C’s turn using a formulation that has been identified in prior analytic sections as a *first* turn by the bartender. Here B’s mouth was occupied when C approached the bar, and in place of B taking the first turn, C issued it instead. C could have waited until B was available to talk, as hovering customers do, which would maintain the ‘bartender speaks first’ norm observed across the data. In speaking first C has solidified the interaction; successfully so, as B responds as soon as he can, entering the turn of C. Compared to Extract 3.9, this extract shows the customer taking a more active role, initiating spoken talk and so doing the ‘solidifying’. Extract 3.11 is a deviant case in the corpus in which a customer interrupts the bartender who is already occupied with another task.

Extract 3.11: LG-1A-C16

1 C: Excuse me can we have some more bar:beque sauce and some like



Image 3.29

2 you know with th- (0.6) you know what I mean the (0.2) uh sau:ces

3 [the ke]tchup and that,

4 B: [>Yeah<]



Image 3.30

In this extract, C approaches, and briefly hovers close to, the bar (Image 3.29). However, she does not wait for a bartender to solidify the interaction with a verbal turn. Rather, she opens the interaction with “Excuse me” (line 1) directed at B who cannot yet be seen, by us, in Image 3.29. Formulating the first spoken turn “Excuse me” acts as a kind of pre and, in its

formulation, prefaces any subsequent action as sequentially inapposite. In other words, C shows that she is aware that she is interrupting an on-going task that B is engaged in.

Between lines 1 and 4, C places her request; combining her talk with hand gestures. The “some more” in line 1 also demonstrates the request C is making is in addition to a previous request that has been made. In this venue, sauces are brought to the table with cutlery prior to the food for that table arriving. Cutlery and sauces are kept in a location only accessible by staff; therefore C is entitled to request B provide her with the sauces she has not delivered. B confirms C’s request can be granted at line 4. Image 3.30 reveals that B is currently engaged in collecting glasses. She does not abandon this task. There is no charge for sauces; therefore the till is not required and no further action at the bar counter is required. This “excuse me” is the only example across the whole corpus of a customer requesting service from a bartender in such a direct manner. Yet it is constructed as an incursion into on-going action (“excuse me”), attending to, and maintaining, the moral order of ordering.

The extracts presented in this section (3.2.4) show how customers may take the first turn at talk under some specific conditions. First, it may be that the bartender does not need to initiate the interaction *verbally*; a gaze may suffice if there is enough certainty assumed by B that he is in fact the next customer to be served. We have also seen an instance in which a customer takes the first turn at talk because the bartender was physically unable to do so. The last extract has demonstrated how customers may enter bartender’s on-going actions when a supposedly completed order was, in fact, incomplete. Whilst customers rarely initiate spoken interaction, these cases have illustrated under what circumstances such turns do occur and further strengths the norm for bartender speaking first. The following section (3.3) will summarise and discuss what we now know after the presentation of this analysis.

3.3 Discussion

In this chapter, I began by reviewing what we know about openings in interaction, firstly on the telephone, then in face-to-face interaction. In the analytic sections of this chapter, I have shown how service encounters are initiated at the bar. As revealed in the analysis, the initiation of sales encounters occurs long before spoken interaction starts. First, I have identified a practice that I have referred to as *hovering* (3.2.1). Hovering is a customer practice, which involves the customer standing in a ‘hovering area’, with their body oriented toward the bar counter. If there are two (or more) bartenders working on the bar, customers can select one bartender as their potential partner for interaction, through gaze and bodily orientation. I have demonstrated that hovering is an *active* process whereby customers monitor the unfolding situation and adjust their hovering accordingly, to ensure they are served in the correct order. However, while hovering can be identified as a customer practice, hovering is little more than waiting for the bartender to solidify the interaction. In other words, hovering does not involve activities such as shouting an order at non available bartenders or performing persistent embodied actions such as snapping of the fingers to convey service is required; quite the opposite.

In the hovering section of the analysis (3.2.1), I presented extracts where the bartender’s first turn to select the customer, and solidify the interaction between customer and bartender, was “yes please”. I found that “yes please” was issued by bartenders to select, without ambiguity, the recipient of the turn as ‘next customer’. In the subsequent analytic sections, I identified two different ways in which bartenders selected a next customer in situations where there is ambiguity over whether the customer requires a service or not (3.2.2) whether a customer is next or not (3.2.3). Across a series of extracts, I showed that bartenders use the formulation “you all right”, especially in conjunction with the indexical term “there”, as a downgraded version of “yes please”. This practice allows for the contingency that the

customer does not require a service; a potential non-dispreferred response may be “yes thanks, I’m being served”. What we now know from this analysis is that bartenders’ first turns reveal their on-going understanding and interpretation of the emergent order of service interaction.

In the section that followed (3.2.3), I set out bartenders’ practices for disambiguating between customers who are waiting and those who are not. In response to bartenders issuing the question, “anyone waiting?”, customers self-selected as next customer. This was an effective bartender practice as it dealt with the issue of selecting one person from a multi-party group. This way, a lead speaker for the group may emerge, or the customers in the group can decide the order in which they place their requests; taking that responsibility from the bartender. By asking “are you waiting”, the status of the customers’ hovering is directly made accountable. This is an effective way to disambiguate a customer who requires any form of service, from one who does not. In the final analytic section (3.2.4), I presented examples of customers taking the first turn. It is often the case that the bartender has selected the next customer with gaze or embodied gesture, aligning with the theme of this chapter that the bartender is the one to solidify the interaction. The cases of this corpus where the customer *does* initiate the interaction with the first spoken turn, the bartender is either unavailable to do so or the request can be issued without needing immediate action.

What we now know about how service encounters open is that customers ‘hover’, we know what this looks like and its effectiveness as a way of organizing the order of service encounters. We also now know that the first turn a bartender issues is designed in response to the customers’ hovering, dependent on a variety of emergent interactional situations. We have learnt through the analysis presented that there is a strong case for the social norm, at least in this bar, being that the bartender is the one who selects which customer will be next, solidifies this and issues the first spoken turn.

Much previous literature on service encounters (see Clark & Pinch, 2010, for a review), has employed surveys, interviews, focus groups, and so on, to research their organization and phenomenology as we saw from Chapter 1. The strength of my analysis, in contrast, lies in its naturally-occurring data collection. Hopper (1989) claimed that face-to-face openings were difficult to study due to the largely visual nature and because “communicative activity is braided into other actions such as working or walking” (p.178). In this chapter, I have demonstrated how face-to-face openings *can* be examined for the ways in which parties establish availability to enter into an encounter at the bar and argue for more work on face-to-face openings. I would also argue that what we know about openings in conversation is largely based on the telephone (Schegloff, 1968, 1978, 1986; Hopper, 1989; Hopper & Drummond, 1992); and that more attention on the topic is needed.

In the next chapter of this dissertation, Chapter 4, I examine a specific part of the ordering sequence. When customers order food, a table number request sequence is initiated. I will explore the role of the Cash Till, and the environment, once recruited into the interaction, in the sequencing of the unfolding interaction. The programming of the cash till has certain implications on the unfolding ordering sequence, which impacts on the responses customers provide in the next turn, which will be revealed.

Chapter 4:

Ordering: Objects and embodied conduct in requests for food and drink

4.0 Introduction

In this chapter, we move on from the opening sequence, to the ordering sequence. The ordering sequence is the next sequential action in the service encounter at the bar counter as has a wealth of interactional components. Here, we specifically focus on one part of that ordering sequence, and that is how the requesting for food items occasions the requesting of the customer's table number; which is bound by various objects which are mobilized in this sequence. A key focus of the chapter is how different objects in the bar's environment emerge, and are constituted as, essential resources in accomplishing the ordering of drinks and food at the bar. The objects of interest are: the Cash Till and the tables in the bar, as well as the bar environment itself. I will show how the bartenders and customers recruit and index these objects at particular junctions in the ordering sequence, and how work collaboratively with talk, to progress the activity of ordering objects. Firstly, in section 4.1, I will briefly outline what we know from existing literature about requests, before moving onto how objects are mobilized in interaction, specifically within service encounters (4.2). I will then unpack a series of activities in which, first, bartenders interact with the Till to progress customers' order for drinks and food, by selecting buttons on the till screen, satisfying the tills programming and registering items. Thirdly, I will show how customers orient to the bar's 'semiotic field' (Goodwin, 2013); that is, its layout and the arrangement of its tables, in response to bartenders' questions (4.3.2-4.3.4) about their table number. Through the analysis presented in these sections, I will show how customers are able to identify their chosen location in the bar by providing a number for the table, by referencing its location (4.3.2 &

4.3.3) or through embodied gesture (4.3.4). I also explore situations in which customers provide their table location prior to the till being recruited into the interaction (4.3.5).

Throughout the chapter, I also consider the parties' differential access to, and knowledge of, these objects: only the bartender has access to the till; the parties display unevenly distributed knowledge of tables and table numbers. The bartender has access to the visual prompts from the till and expert knowledge of its programmed requirements. The customers have the knowledge of their table location, but not always the expert knowledge of its specific number. By the end of this chapter (4.4), I will have shown how customers and bartenders make relevant aspects of the bar's objects in aggregate, during the initial stages of the ordering process. I will have done this by examining the mobilization of two key objects in this sequence: the till and the tables, from this we will then know how the order of ordering is achieved. In the next sections I will review what we already know about requests in service encounters (4.1) and the role of objects in the organization of service encounters (4.2).

4.1 Requests in service encounters

A key action in service encounters is the making of requests, for goods, payments, information, and so on. Requests, as social actions, have received some attention from conversation analysts. As Curl and Drew (2008, p.130) have suggested, "making a request, be it for an object, assistance, or information, is a basic and ubiquitous activity in human interaction". When speakers make requests, they design their turns to manage the entitlement they have to make it, and also the contingencies surrounding whether the hearer will be able to fulfil it (Curl & Drew, 2008). In the context of the public bar, customers approach the bar and bartender to order food, or drinks, or both. The bartender's role is to grant the customer's request. However, the bartender makes requests for information from customers, about, say,

the type and measurement of the drink, in order to fulfil the request. By making and granting the requests, the customers and bartenders construct the routine order of the service encounter.

Researchers have found that, in contrast to ‘ordinary’ talk, customers in service encounters make requests using declarative forms such as “I’d like two black coffees” rather than information-seeking forms such as “Do you sell coffee?”. As a ‘service’ encounter, any request is for goods that the seller (presumably) provides; the customer’s entitlement is high. This notion of entitlement is particularly visible when a seller cannot grant a request, or there is a departure from its routine organization, because such deviations become accountable (e.g., Raevaara, 2011). As we know from Chapter 1, Merritt (1976) found that the ‘customer request – seller response’ sequence can also take the form of a question-following-a-question. For example, she found that a request made by a customer such as ‘Do you have coffee to go?’ can be answered with a move to prepare the drink whilst asking another question, “Cream and sugar?” (p.315). This pattern, in contrast to question-answer adjacency pairs, may be accounted for by customers not always knowing the specifics of the request they make, or the parameters of requests that can be made (Lee, 2009). Request-granters produce collaboratively the specifics of customers’ requests over a number of turns or ‘extended sequences’ (Lee, 2009).

4.2 Objects and the organization of service encounters

The study of embodied conduct and its centrality to the organization of action has a well-established history and trajectory in the analysis of interaction, within the study of human sociality in its multimodal forms. In contrast to psychological studies of ‘body language’ (e.g., Greenlees, Bradley, Holder & Thelwell, 2005), and counter to notions that interaction analysis examines ‘just talk’ (e.g., Frosh, 1999), the study of embodied conduct, including

gaze and gesture, has begun to show “unprecedented richness of details of the precise timing of tacit activities in coordinated work” (Depperman, 2013, p. 1).

Within this literature, however, less attention has been paid to the way people mobilize *objects* as resources in and for interaction. We know from the work of Goodwin (2013, p.8), that actions are “constructed by assembling diverse materials, including language structure, prosody, and visible embodied displays [and] [s]emiotically charged objects”. Within this broader array of such ‘semiotic materials’, a small number of researchers have examined the ways in which people mobilize objects to organize everyday life, across domestic, workplace and public settings. From the relevance of tools on board an ocean-going ship to the organization of daily life on board – such as the maps which provide representations of the external environment (Goodwin, 1995) – to use by pilots of aeroplane instruments, reference manuals and computer programmes to calculate landing speeds (Hutchins, 1995, see also Nevile, 2004), interaction analysts have established the relevance of a “full array of visible and audible resources” in “spatial environments populated with material objects” for our understanding of social interaction, including rethinking some basic notions about social life (Depperman, 2013, p. 4).

In this chapter, I investigate the activities in a different sort of environment: the public bar, where customers buy drinks and food across a bar, from a bartender. There is a multitude of objects in the bar space, including the bar itself with beer taps and a till. The bar counter constructs a barrier between bartender and customer, but is also a site for the activity of ordering (Brown, 2004). Beyond the bar itself, is a larger space with numerous tables where customers can sit to eat and drink. A key activity at the bar is the ‘service encounter’ between customer and bartender, which involves both their spoken interaction and mobilization of objects that figure in that interaction. As shown in section 4.1, the service encounter comprises a series of *requests* that run in both directions between customer and bartender.

While the customer requests drinks and food from the bartender, the bartender, as we will see, requests information about the customer's table number. What I will show is how two types of object, the till and tables, are integral to the accomplishment of both of these activities.

Moving back to requests, as 'basic and ubiquitous' (Curl & Drew, 2008) human activities, only a small number of existing studies have focused on their design and organization in service encounters in relation to objects. We know about the preference for progressivity of an encounter (e.g., Kuroshima, 2010) and as previously mentioned, what happens when requests are not granted (e.g., Vinkhuyzen & Szymanski, 2005; see also Raevaara, 2011). We know from these studies that objects can be recruited into service encounters at every phase, from specifying and recording the detail of orders, to the use of calculators and computers to total prices and complete financial transactions. For example, in Moore, Whalen and Gatham's (2010) study of a reprographics business, they examined customer- client interaction, focusing on the way the staff deployed a standardized form to ensure that the correct information about a customer's order was captured.

A handful of other studies are particularly relevant to the current chapter's focus on service encounters and the objects that progress them; often with a focus on human-computer interaction (HCI). For example, Lee (2009; 2011a; 2011b) examined the way call-takers in airline sales encounters oriented to their computer as an object displaying permitted flight options. When a customer's request could not be granted but an alternative flight was available, the call-taker formulated this information and relayed it to the customer through a series of questions. Similarly, Whalen and Vinkhuyzen (2000) examined telephone calls, but to a customer support centre, rather than in a direct sales environment. They investigated the way call-takers use the computer and its software to help callers diagnose computer problems. One aspect of the interaction involved the call-taker making requests for information from the callers, including the serial number of their machine and other reference information. This

information then allowed a ‘job ticket’ to be created and the issue with the equipment to be explored. Such requests and their completion, and the call-taker’s interaction with their workplace objects, were essential ingredients in the accomplishment of service encounters (see also Whalen, 1995).

As discussed at the start of this chapter, the centrality of mutually-informing resources such as gaze direction, body orientation and involvement with objects, demonstrates the importance of analysing such resources in addition to the spoken talk that comprises a social encounter. Focusing on sales encounters, we return to the work of Llewellyn and Burrow (2008) who investigated ‘Big Issue’ sales transactions on the street, observing how sellers and customers use its landscape, verbal conduct, gaze direction, and involvement with objects like shopping bags and purses, to initiate or, very often, *avoid* such encounters. We know from Chapter 3, that prior to any spoken talk, customers’ involvement, or lack of it, with objects in a store has also been shown by Clarke and Pinch (2010) to indicate availability to enter into a sales encounter on the shop floor. Others have investigated how parties make projected activities observable through the indexing, movement with or use of objects. For example, butchers may wipe their hands on their apron to display that they are ready to serve the next customer (e.g., Dausendschön-Gay & Krafft, 2009). Alternatively, existing studies have taught us that objects can be used to mark the completion of actions. For example, in Brown’s (2004) studies of a Swedish market stall and a tourist information centre, objects symbolized the closing of an encounter once a request had been made and a service provided: in the market stall customers left with their goods in a bag; in the tourist information centre they left with a document.

What we don’t know, is how objects feature in the service encounter at the bar. Specifically, how the Cash Till, as a mobilized object, organizes the requesting sequence in this setting. In this chapter, the setting under investigation involves some similar activities,

objects, gestures, to that of the studies outlined above which work together in a situated, material environment. For example, the bar has a computerized till; the bartender inputs information, and the till processes that information. When customers order drinks and food, the bartender formulates the order 'for the till', by entering the items on the screen. This process then records the items as sold for stock purposes, and totals the price which is subsequently formulated by the bartender. Food orders, once completed, are sent electronically to the kitchen staff for preparation. To complete food orders, however, the bartender must enter a table number into the till, and to do this, must request this information from customers. As we will see, customers sometimes know their table number. However, when they do not, they use the resources available in the bar's environment, as well as their bodies, to locate their table and formulate it for the bartender. The analysis I present contributes to the general, on-going trajectory of 'multimodal CA' (Depperman, 2013).

4.3 Analysis

The analysis is organized into five inter-related sections, each illustrating how objects are fundamental to accomplishing the ordering sequence. The first section (4.3.1) introduces, and examines, the role of the Cash Till and the bartender's orientation to it, as a customer's order is initiated. The second (4.3.2), third (4.3.3) and fourth (4.3.4) analytic sections describe the differing formulations of bartender requests and discuss how participants select tables, as particular objects in the surrounding space, to accomplish a particular interactional goal within the ordering sequence, and thus constitute the tables as aggregate components of social action. The final section, 4.3.5, presents situations where the customer locates, and provides their location, to the bartender prior to the Cash Till being mobilized in the interaction or any request for a table location is made. Let us first consider the Cash Till.

4.3.1 The cash till as a mobilized object

As an electronic device, the till registers and calculates the payment totals of items ordered, relaying the ordered food items to the kitchen staff. It also holds money. The ‘contextual configuration’ (Goodwin, 2000b) of the environment is organized such that the customer is located on one side of the bar counter, with the till positioned on the bar counter facing the bartender on the other side. The till’s programming records the order which ensures that, like other paper and electronic forms, certain information is collected and so constrains the content of each order. The first substantive interaction the bartender has with the till is as they ‘log in’. Each member of the bar staff team has a key fob; by placing this key fob against the till they gain access to various menus. This allows transactions to be recorded as completed by a specific bartender. When a customer requests a drink, the various expandable options can be accessed by touching square buttons on the till’s screen until the requested item is located and logged. When a customer requests food, the expandable menu button displays a screen of table numbers, temporarily halting the progressivity of the interaction (Stivers & Robinson, 2006). While this may be an integral part of the activity for the bartender, it is invisible to the customer; something which manifests itself in particular interactional features, as we will see later in the chapter. The bartender must input a table number before locating and registering the items requested. Unlike paper forms, which may be produced at a counter and visible to both parties (see Moore et al., 2010), the till screen is visible only to the bartender. Figure 1 below displays the sequence of actions the bartender must perform prior to registering items ordered.

Figure 4.1:Table number entry



When a food order is initiated by the customer, the bartender must select the ‘food’ button at the top left of the till screen. This then expands in to a list of eight further options. To access the food-ordering screen, the bottom right button of these eight options is selected. This then expands to a screen of all the possible table numbers from which the bartender must select to progress the activity of ordering. These activities occur every time a food order is initiated.

In the public house that provided the setting for data collection, customers order food in one of two ways: they either browse the menu and *then* order food and/or drinks at the bar *prior* to locating a table, or go directly to a table prior to interacting with the bar staff. On each table, or in the vicinity of each table, there is a menu. Customers select items, take note of their table number (demonstrable by them producing the information when it is requested), and approach the bar to order. When selected as the next customer, they order and pay in one transaction. The customers then return to their specified table and, when ready, waiters bring food items to the correct table. This is the ‘script’ for this bar; it is interactionally instantiated and maintained (see Edwards, 1994).

The subsequent analysis of the till, as a mobilized object in, and for, interaction is divided into four sections which show how the till and its programming, and the spatial arrangement of the bartender and customer, work to produce the service encounter. Over the

next three sections (4.3.2-4.3.2), I will focus on different ways that the cash till ‘prompts’ the bartender to formulate a request for information about customers’ table numbers, temporarily halting the progressivity of the ordering sequence.

4.3.2 ‘What table are you on?’

Extract 4.1 gives us our first example of the interaction between customer and bartender, and bartender and till. Let us focus on the way table number requests are organized relevant to the till and formulated by the bartender as an ‘insert sequence’ (Schegloff, 2007) within an overall food order sequence. The embodied actions shown in video stills occur at the position indicated by a broken line (---).

Extract 4.1: LG-27N-C64

- 1 B: Any one waitin’.
 - 2 C: Yeah can I order some food please,
 - 3 B: Yeah it’s about a twen’y minute wait dar[lin’.=is that all]=
 - 4 C: [Yeah that’s fine]=
 - 5 B: =[right yeah.]
 - 6 C: =[yeah.]
- ((B logs on to till))



Image 4.1

As was typical across the data, an order for food is initiated (lines 1-7) but, before it is progressed (lines 14-15 below), an object-rich sequence about table numbers is inserted and

itself completed (lines 8-12 below). Let us unpack this basic organization. At line 1, the bartender invites a next customer to place their order. As we will have seen from Chapter 3, bartenders have different ways of initiating a next customer-bartender interaction; such turns let potential customers know that a new order sequence can be initiated. Here, the bartender asks a question, “Any one waitin’”, to allow customers to self-select. In this pair of turns, both parties establish their availability to enter into a service encounter. In Extract 4.1, once the customer has self-selected himself as next customer with a pre-request (line 2), the bartender confirms that the customer can order food but that there will be a twenty minute delay. The projection of the bartender’s account is understood by the customer who confirms in overlap “Yeah that’s fine” (line 4), and again at lines 6-7. So far, then, it is established that the customer will be placing a food order, and has accepted the condition of a twenty minute wait.

Extract 4.1: LG-27N-C64 cont.

7 B: What table are you [on.]

8 C: [Uh] table thirteen.

((B selects food button))



Image 4.2

9 B: Thirteen.

10 C: Yeah.

((B selects table number))



Image 4.3

11 B: (3.9)

12 B: 'kay what would you like darl[in'.]

13 C: [Um] can I have

14 chicken bacon and barbeque melt baguette pleas:e.

At line 7, then, the bartender logs into the till to begin to turn the customer's verbal request for food into an order on, and for, the till. The table number request, "What table are you on", comes at line 8, immediately after the bartender has logged into the till, and prior to the till requesting this information. The bartender therefore progresses to a next action in the food ordering process by issuing the request in this sequential position, displaying knowledge of the till's programming and what information will be required to progress the order.

The bartender's formulation of the 'table number' request presupposes that the customer has already selected a table. A fitted response could, however, be a number or a gesture towards the table, perhaps accompanied by the words "That one". In Extract 4.1, the customer supplies a number (line 9). However, note that the customer prefaces his response

with “Uh”, suggesting that the request was not entirely expectable at this position in the interaction (Heritage, 1998). On receipt of the table number, the bartender then taps the ‘food’ button; the till displays an array of table numbers on the screen. At line 10, the bartender checks with the customer to confirm the number; the customer confirms at line 11. The bartender is then ready at this point to enter the table number and does so in overlap with the customer’s confirmation at line 11. Once completed, ordering resumes (lines 13-15).

Let us consider Extract 4.2, which provides a second example of the way the bartender mobilizes the till as part of a customer’s request for food.

Extract 4.2: LG-27N-C67

- 1 B: Yes please.
- 2 C: Can I order some food.
- 3 B: Course y’can (.) there’s a twenty minute wait
((B logs into till))
- 4 s’that okay.
- 5 C: Yeah tha’s fi[ne.]
- 6 B: [↑Yep] table number ple:ase.
((B selects food button))
- 7 C: Uh eleven.
- 8 B: Eleven.
- 9 (0.4)

((B selects table number))
- 10 B: And what can I get for ya.

The same basic activities are underway in Extract 4.2: a next customer is selected (this time the bartender selects the customer directly); the customer issues a pre-request for food (line 2); the bartender gives a go-ahead with an account (lines 3-4); the customer accepts the condition of the order (line 5); a sequence about the customer's table number is initiated and completed (lines 4-8) before ordering resumes (line 9). Again, the till is mobilized by B logging in: this time, and in contrast to Extract 4.1, this is done prior to the customer's acceptance of the twenty-minute wait.

At line 6, B formulates a different version of the request seen in Extract 4.1 ("What table are you on"), this time asking specifically for a table number using the noun phrase "table number please". Like the question in Extract 4.1, B's question presupposes that C has already selected a table but, unlike Extract 4.1, also knows that number. A fitted response, this time, is a number, which the customer supplies. Again, like Extract 4.1, the customer's response is prefaced with "Uh", demonstrating it is somewhat inapposite; yet the information is provided, displaying that the customer knew it. The customer's "uh" also reveals an asymmetry of knowledge between the bartender and the customer; the bartender can see that a number is required to be entered into the till and at this point in the sequence; the customer knows a table number is required, but perhaps not why and where it becomes relevant.

In Extract 4.3, the bartender cannot access the till because another bartender is already using it; we explore the consequences of this situation.

Extract 4.3: LG-12D-C55

- 1 C1: Have you ordered food.
- 2 C2: ↑Yep.

3 C1: Okay.



Image 4.4

A first noticeable thing about Extract 4.3 is that items of food appear earlier in the sequence; before any requests for table numbers are issued. The bartender cannot access the till at the point which the customer is placing her order. Image 4.4 in Extract 4.3 shows there are three customers around the till at line 1. The till can handle several transactions at one time, afforded by the 'logging in' function for individual bartenders. C2 states she has ordered food when asked at line 1, but, in fact, her transaction is not complete. We re-join the interaction as C1 places her order.

Extract 4.3: LG-12D-C55 cont.

4 (1.0)
5 C1: Can I have thē: ranchers burger,



Image 4.5

- 6 B: Yep.
- 7 C1: An:d (0.7) uh apple and mango jay two oh.
- 8 B: Do you want a glass an' ice,
- 9 C1: Yes please.
- 10 (21.5)
- 11 C1: Would I be able t' 'ave a tap water as well please.
- 12 B: Yeah.
- 13 C1: Thank you.



Image 4.6



- 14 (15.1)
- ((B logs in, enters drinks, selects food button))
- 15 B: What ta:ble number were you on?
- 16 C1: Thirty five?
- 17 B: 'Kay.
- 18 (4.4) ((B enters table number))
- 19 B: Do you want ice in your tap water as well,

As C1 begins to place her order, C2's bartender returns with her drink (line 5). This restricts the bartender's access to the till. Although the items have been ordered and the sequence has been closed at line 13 by the customer, the bartender has not made a request for the table number. When the till becomes available for use, after the bartender has prepared the drink, he registers the drink and, while still on the drink selection screen, he asks "What table were you on?" (line 15). Note that the bartender's request, while again presupposing that the customer has already selected a table number, is, this time, delivered in the *past* tense; it is a question that, as we have seen in Extracts 4.1 and 4.2, is routinely located before the customer formulates their food order. He then presses the food button and brings up the table number screen. Although C1 has already requested the food order, B cannot process it without requesting the table number. B could have asked C1 for her table number prior to accessing the till; however, the way this interaction unfolds shows that it is the till that occasions the placement of this table number request, not the 'script' of B.

What we now know from this section (4.3.2), is how the cash till is mobilized in food ordering sequences, and is relevant to the sequential unfolding and organization of such activities. We find that the bartenders' requests to customers are built grammatically to presuppose that the customer has already identified a table (and, sometimes, a table number) and will be able to identify it when asked. The preface 'uh' prior to the customers providing their table number suggests that the question is somewhat inapposite; but customers nevertheless formulate an answer to the question. This is relevant to the asymmetry of knowledge between bartenders and customers: the bartender has access to the visual prompts from the till and expert knowledge of its programmed requirements (see Drew, 1997). So bartenders are aware that, and when, table numbers are relevant but, as we saw in Extract 4.3, it is the till that occasions the table number request. The next section shows how the format of

table number requests may be designed to allow for the contingency that customers do not know their table number.

4.3.3 *'Do you know your table number?'*

Sometimes, in contrast to asking questions that presuppose customers already know which table they will eat at, bartenders ask a 'pre-' question – 'yes/no interrogative' (YNI) formatted question: "Do you know your table number?". The grammatical design of the YNI (see Raymond, 2003) allows for customers to *not know* their table number; to have not selected one, or to have selected one but not noted its number. The action carried in the YNI request, however, prefers a 'yes' response, in that a 'yes' will progress the activity underway, while a 'no' will (temporarily) suspend it. Extract 4.4 begins with C initiating an order for food.

Extract 4.4: LG-12D-C50

- 1 C: Order some food pl'se.
- 2 B: D'you know your table number.
- 3 C: Yeah twen'y two:.
- 4 (4.0)

((B logs in, selects food, enters table number))
- 5 B: Yep.
- 6 C: Can I 'ave uh ranchers burger ple:ase.

At line 1, C makes a pre-request to order food. This occasions B to issue a table number request (line 2). As noted earlier, while the grammatical design of the question allows for the customer to not have noted her table number, a 'yes' will align with the action projected. C treats the question as non-problematic; responding to its grammatical form ("Yeah", line 3) and aligning with its action-orientation ("twen'y two"). B is then in a position to progress the

food order as the positioning of the table number request means the information can be entered into the till with no delay. Once the table number information is inputted to the till, B resumes the ordering process (line 5). In contrast to earlier extracts, in which the bartender logs in, selects ‘food’ from the menu concurrently with the talk, in Extract 4.4, B does not initiate these activities until line 4. By logging in, selecting food and entering the till number in this sequential position; a four second in the interaction is created (line 4) before spoken interaction continues.

Extract 4.5 shows some trouble in the interaction due to the required table number request’s sequential positioning.

Extract 4.5: LG-27N-C58

- 1 C: Chicken and stuffing and a (bowl of) ()
- 2 B: Yeah um do you know your table number.
((B logs into till))
- 3 C: Eh.
- 4 B: Do you know your table number.
- 5 C: Yeah twenty five.
- 6 (5.4)
((B selects food, enters table number))
- 7 B: An’: do you want that on white or brown bread.
- 8 C: White.

In response to C’s request, B starts to confirm that this request can be granted with his “Yeah” at line 2. But note that, within the same turn, he launches the expected request for a table number. The “um” at the start of this request projects this shift to a second action, as B must, in this sequential slot, ask C for a table number. This shift from the action of ordering food to a request for C’s table number occasions an ‘open class repair initiator’ (Drew, 1997) from C

("Eh"). A repair of this kind shows C has had some general trouble with the prior turn. Like the customer's uh-prefaced responses to requests for table numbers in the previous section, it also marks out such a request as somehow inapposite. So the parties are on different sequential tracks: C is probably unaware of B's project when requesting a table number. At line 4, B repeats his original question in its entirety, which is then responded to both with a grammatical type-conforming 'yeah', as well aligning with its action-orientation by supplying the table number. The food order is then resumed (line 7). Here, then, the table request has produced some turbulence in the ordering sequence.

Extract 4.6 shows what happens interactionally when C cannot provide a table number.

Extract 4.6: LG-27N-C40

- 1 B: You all right there.=
- 2 C: =Hot chocolate please.
- 3 B: Hot chocolate.
- 4 C: Uh order some chips as well please.

((B logs into till, selects food button))

5 B: Ye:ah d'you know what table number.

6 C: Uh hasn't got a table number it's the (sofas)

7 in the middle,



8 B: Ah right okay.

9 (2.5)

((B selects table number))

10 B: Just some chips yeah.

At lines 1-3, C latches his drinks request onto B's summons, which B then confirms with a 'repeat receipt' (see Puchta, Potter & Wolff, 2004; Stokoe & Edwards, 2008). At the point where a food item is requested (line 4), B logs into the till, selects 'food' on the till recruiting the object to the interaction. Again, the request is an interrogative, the grammatical design of which prefers a 'yes' plus an alignment with the action (Raymond, 2003). However, C does not comply with the grammatical constraints of the YNI; instead of saying 'no', he supplies an account for why he cannot provide B with a number: "hasn't got a table number". C goes on to describe his location in conjunction with a pointing gesture at the end of line 6, "it's the (sofas)". In saying this and being able to locate the table in the environment, it is evident that C has selected a table, but there was no number on it. The 'Uh' which prefaces his account

orients to the dispreferred non-type conforming nature of his response. B has attempted to obtain his table number, but has discovered it is impossible for him to find: the fault lies with the bar and not the customer. C's gesture to formulate the table's location, in tandem with his description ("it's the (sofas) in the middle,") provides B with enough information to invoke his professional knowledge of the bar's 'semiotic field' and identify the correct table number.

We have learned from this section, that the YNI, "do you know your table number" is, in most cases, responded to with a type conforming 'yes' plus the table number. While the question is designed for the contingency of not having obtained the table number it still prefers a 'yes'. This particular extract (4.6) has illustrated how a gesture to a table in the environment can inform B and ensure the location is collaboratively achieved. The next section of analysis, 4.3.4, focuses on a table request which is *designed* to produce such embodied response to the question.

4.3.4 *'Where in the whereabouts': Embodied responses mobilizing the environment*

In the previous sections, we have seen that table number requests have been issued with the noun phrase 'table number' or at least the referent 'table' in the request. The till, as a key object in the interaction, prompts the bartender for a table number; the bartender formulates one request (asking the customer for the table number) to fulfil another (the table number request made by the till). In this section, we examine a different method for requesting such information and the role of different objects in the completion of the action. Rather than ask for a number, the bartender asks the customer 'whereabouts' they are sitting, which generally prefers, and receives, a description of location. What is interesting is that these verbal descriptions are indexical and accompanied by a gesture towards a table and embodied formulation of its spatial location. The gestures and verbal descriptions must then be

converted by the bartender into 'table number' for the till, such that the food order can be progressed.

Extract 4.7 is a first example of an embodied response.

Extract 4.7: LG-1A-C3

- 1 B: >Y' right.<
2 C: >Y' right.< Can I have a chicken
3 and stuffin' sandwich on white bread please.
4 B: Ye:s.
((B logs into till))
5 C: And uh:=
((B selects food button))
6 B: =Whereabouts are you sitting.
7 C: Uh just there ()



Image 4.8

- 8 B: >Jus' there yeah.<
9 C: Yeah.
((B selects table number))
10 C: An' uh: can I have a Carlsberg please.

Like the examples we saw earlier, the basic sequence of ordering remains the same: a next customer is selected (lines 1-2); an order is initiated (lines 2-3) and progressed (line 10, but only after the customer's table number is established (lines 6-9).

Extract 4.7 provides further evidence that C and B are in different epistemic positions with regards to the relevance and placement of table number information in the overall ordering sequence. At line 5, C begins to expand on his food order ("And uh:"). However, B interrupts, taking 'directorship', explored further in Chapter 5, of the ordering process (Lee, 2009; 2011a) by inserting the request for table number information. B's question, "Whereabouts are you sitting", differs in grammatical form from the yes-no interrogative seen earlier (4.3.3) ("Do you know your table number"), and requires different information than the form of 'wh-question' seen in the first analytic section (4.3.2) ("What table are you on"). It *does* presuppose that C knows where he is sitting, in the same way that earlier questions presupposed customers knew their table numbers. But the information requested is different: a fitted response is a formulation of a location. The question asks 'whereabouts' rather than 'where', making a more general response relevant, in contrast to a specific table or its number. At line 7, C provides such a response, by gesturing towards the location of his table, at the same time formulating, in words, the location indicated by his pointing gesture ("Uh, just there"). That talk and gesture work in tandem here, is evidenced by C's use of the indexical 'there', which is given its meaning via the pointing gesture which locates which 'there' is being referred to (see also Rauniomaa & Keisanen, 2012). B follows the direction of C's gesture to establish mutual gaze at the table being formulated. The inclusion of 'just' in C's answer here works to make the indexical reference more precise, whereas in the next extract the same type of sequence is illustrated, yet, the syntactical position of the 'just' in combination with the pointing gesture has a different function.

We continue our exploration of gestural responses in Extract 4.8.

Extract 4.8: LG-22N-C1

- 1 B: Hi ya how can I he[lp.]
2 C: [Hi] can I have um (1.0) a
3 chicken tikka masala and uh pint of Fosters please.=
((B logs into till, selects food))
4 B: =Course you can.=Have you got a rough idea of
5 Whereabouts you'll be sitting?
6 C: Um, I'll just sit down here somewhere.



Image 4.9

- 7 (3.0)
((B selects table, enters food items))
8 B: Chicken tikka masala and a pint of-is that with rice
9 or chips:?

Here, B designs his question about C's likely 'whereabouts' in a more expanded way: "have you got a *rough idea* of whereabouts you'll be sitting?" (lines 4-5). If 'whereabouts' provides for a more general response than just 'where', or a request for a number, then the even more mitigated request for "a rough idea" provides for an even less specific formulation of location. Note also that B's question does not presuppose C knows his 'whereabouts', as it begins, like questions in the earlier analysis (4.3.3), with "have you got", providing for C to give 'no' as a response. C's response is ambiguous with regards to whether he *already* had a 'rough idea' of his table, or whether he is selecting his table as he formulates his turn: "Um, I'll just sit down

here somewhere” (line 6). Similarly to previous extracts, however, his turn starts with ‘um’, marking B’s question as inapposite. The word “just” in combination with “down here somewhere” is designed reciprocally to provide a ‘rough idea’ about his table. It differs to the ‘just’ seen in Extract 4.7 in that here it does not work to specify, which would be “I’ll sit just there” but to provide this ‘rough idea’. Finally, as we can see from Image 4.9, C uses a pointing gesture to locate the table, which B follows to establish shared gaze at the key object: a table. By establishing mutual gaze, C knows the correct table has been identified and B uses his professional knowledge to convert C’s answer into a response the till will accept, evidenced by the entering of the number into the till, and the progression of the order. Like Extract 4.7, B does not formulate verbally the table number for the customer to know, but, during the gap at line 7, selects from the array of number the screen is showing. Therefore, the till is the intended final recipient for the table number information, and, again, we can see how the customer and the bartender are in different epistemic positions with regards to the way table numbers are relevant to *the till’s* role in progressing food orders.

We now know that the ‘whereabouts’ way of requesting the table number works as efficiently as asking the customer what table they are on. It was noticeable that this design was used regularly when there were fewer other customers in the bar; presumably larger numbers would obscure the potential for a shared view of the bar and block pointing gestures. In the next extract (4.9), although the bartender uses the same request formulation for the table number, the customer orients to the question being a request for a table number.

Extract 4.9: LG-5A-C7

1 B: You 'right there.

2 C: Uh (1.1) two () burger but one without the barbeque dip.

((B logs into till))

3 B: Okay **whereabouts** are you sitting.



Image 4.10



Image 4.11

4

(1.6)

((C turns his head))

5 C: Here **to the right** **(there it is.)**

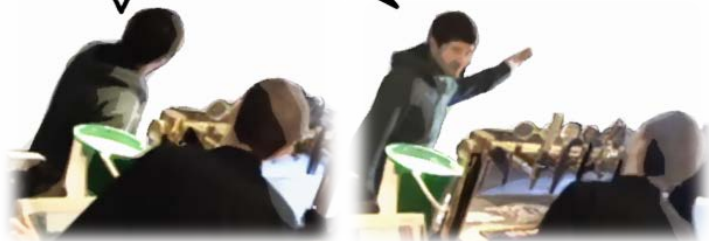


Image 4.12

Image 4.13

6 B: Okay.

7 C: There's no, there's no number on the [table.]

((B selects food))

8 B: [Nah (t]h's).

9 B: Most without a number to be honest with you.=

((B selects table number))

B accompanies his question, “whereabouts are you sitting” with a pointing gesture (line 3). More specifically, he raises his right hand and performs a circling motion throughout his uttering the word. C subsequently formulates where his table is in the bar environment, by moving into the environment and pointing at the table (line 5). Images 4.12 and 4.13 show B leaning his body to the right in order to follow C’s gesture; they collaboratively identify which table C is sat at. B receipts this information at line 6 (“Okay”) and, like previous extracts, he does not formulate verbally the number but presumably has identified the number being referred to by C. C expands his response, providing an account for why he has not supplied a table number: “There’s no, there’s no number on the table.” C orients here to the bar’s ‘script’, that numbers are relevant to the ordering process. What he may not know is that it is the *till* that requires a number, and not the bartender per se. B responds to the C’s account for not giving a number with his own account: “Most without a number to be honest with you.” (line 9).

While the till requires that bartenders enter table number information, for each order and each customer, bartenders must formulate a request. There is no ‘script’ for doing so; while bartenders have been trained to use the electronic till they have not been trained to ask such questions. So, there are options for designing such requests in different, and particular, ways (see Stokoe, 2013). In each example shown in this section, the customers’ referential actions and gestures are recipient designed for the bartender (see Hindmarsh & Heath, 2000). By doing things such as moving into the environment (Extract 4. 9), and securing mutual gaze to an object in that environment, the participants show how their bodily conduct along with the verbal description works to locate key object referents for the main activities underway. Like Rauniomaa and Keisanen (2012, p. 829), we also show, therefore, that “making a request and responding to one are complex multimodal actions where embodiment plays a central role”.

The next section of analysis presents examples of interactions where the customer supplies information as to where they are sitting, prior to the till being mobilized in the interaction.

4.3.5 Tables and tills

We now examine some instances in which customers provide their location within the environment *prior* to the bartender requesting it. They reference their table by providing the number which they have actively sought from within the environment to supply to the bartender. In contrast to previous examples, then, in which the bartender took ‘directorship’ (Lee, 2009) of the table number request sequence; in the examples that follow this directorship is temporarily reversed. Nevertheless, the bartender mobilizes the till and its programming to reinstate similar inserted sequences within the overall food ordering activity.

Extract 4.10: LG-12D-C15

- 1 B: Yes [pl’se.]
- 2 C: [Hello.]
- 3 (0.6)
- 4 C: Uh table thir:ty five.
- 5 B: Yeah.
- 6 C: Can I possibly have a great big gourmet burger and a
((B logs onto till)) ((B selects food))
- 7 °pint of tap water. °

8 B: Yep.

9 C: Thanks.
 ((B circles finger over table numbers))

10 B: Thirty five did you [say.]

11 C: [Yeah.]

12 (1.8)
 ((B selects table number))

13 B: Do you want ice in the tap wa;ter.

B's turn at line 1 "Yes ple'se" invites C to place an order. This is treated by C as a greeting, and C replies "Hello"; this was relatively uncommon across the corpus. But our main interest is in what happens at line 4, in which, rather than initiate the food order sequence, C provides a table number in that slot. By stating the table number C accomplishes several things. First, it constitutes a 'pre' to ordering food. Second, C displays knowledge of the way food ordering happens in this bar, and that a table number is integral to such an activity. That is, C has established that this is not, say, waitress-service at the table. B confirms receipt of this information (line 5), and logs into the till. C then places the order, which B confirms at line 8. C then moves to close this sequence, with "thanks" (line 9). However, at this point, B is prompted by the till's screen of table numbers, for him to supply the information. So, even though C has already supplied the table number, and B has responded to C, B nevertheless *re-invokes* a table number sequence (line 10), in the slot where such a request would usually be positioned. It is somewhat accountable, however, and B asks C "thirty five *did you say*", acknowledging that C has already provided this information.

What is of interest in this extract is that the interaction unfolds with the same sequential properties as those excerpts in which customers *do not* pre-empt the request. The

bartenders taps on the till screen always follow the same routine activity and this extract shows the talk following a similar routine pattern. In Extract 4.11 below, the customer provides the information about her order and her table whilst the bartender co-ordinates her action with the till to produce an efficient transaction.

Extract 4.11: LG-27N-C59

1 B: Yes ple(h)ase.

2 C: Can I order some food [please] to table si[:x].

((B logs into till))



Image 4.14

((B selects food))



Image 4.15

3 B: [↑Yeah] [ta]ble six.

4 C: Can I have a bowl of soup,

Here, C is selected as the next customer by B; C issues a pre-order and provides her table number within the same turn (line 2). B coordinates her interaction with the till with information provided in C's turn. As C announces food will be ordered, B logs into the till, then selects the food button when the table number is provided and subsequently enters the number. The inclusion of the information in C's first turn allows for a truncated version of the spoken element of this sequence, without the insert expansion sequences that are occasioned by the till. However, the interaction B has with the till remains the same. The

sequence still operates with the bartender logging into the till, selecting the food button and subsequently entering the table number.

4.4 Discussion

Earlier in this chapter, in section 4.1 and 4.2, I presented what we already know about requesting and the role of objects in the service encounter. I then presented, over five analytic sections, the role that objects have in the requesting sequence at the bar counter. As a key part of the analysis of ordering, I examined the way two types of object, a cash till and tables, figure in the organization of public bar service encounters, and, more specifically, in the progress of orders for food. Like Suchman (1987), my focus is not on the way objects determine action, but are mobilized as resources in and for action. Similarly to Greiffenhagen and Watson (2009), I do not view the till as a ‘participant’ in the interaction or a third party but examine how it is recruited into the interaction. As Brassac, Fixmer, Mondada & Vinck (2008) suggest, “[a]lthough the ecology of action is becoming a key topic in various disciplines, studies that explicitly take artefacts and gestures into account – both theoretically and empirically – as they are actually mobilized by participants in interaction have remained under developed (p. 1).

I began, in the first analytic section of this chapter (4.3.1), by revealing how the cash till is mobilized in the requesting sequence before moving onto investigate the interactional consequences of that recruitment. Within interactions in the bar, having a ‘table number’ was central to bartenders’ ability to complete customers’ food order requests. However, because customers rarely, other than those shown in section 4.3.5, supplied a table number when initiating food orders, bartenders had to formulate requests for this information. This meant that ordering sequences were temporarily halted while table numbers were established.

Integral to the completion of table number request sequences were the till itself, as well as the

tables and their location in the bar's 'semiotic field', each to be formulated, interacted with, and gestured toward alongside questions and descriptions. As Goodwin (2013, p.21) argues, to build action, "participants must know in detail what each other is doing, the kinds of knowledge each can accountably be expected to possess".

Over the following analytic sections I highlighted various aspects of the activity of food ordering that displayed each party's stance towards the other's state of knowledge with regards to the unfolding activity. For example, by ordering at the bar, customers displayed implicit knowledge that they were not in a restaurant where, say, they are shown to tables by wait-staff who take orders at those tables. Bartenders' questions presupposed that customers had identified a table where they would eat. Similarly, customers showed that they knew to identify a table by providing information about it when asked by bartenders.

From the second analytic section (4.3.2), I investigated the formulation "what table are you on". The detail of ordering sequences revealed some asymmetry of knowledge between bartender and customer. In this section, there was a presupposition that customers *did* know their table number, and would be able to provide it. As the analysis showed, overwhelmingly customers do, evidenced through the provision of this number. I noted the 'uhs' which prefaced their answers, which marked the somewhat inappropriateness of a question about table numbers which were often temporarily halted the progress of their order.

The following section (4.3.3), considered the bartender requesting the table number using the formulation "Do you know your table number". This formulation allowed for the contingency that the customer did not know their table number and could therefore reference that table within the environment. We learned from section 4.3.4, that by requesting "whereabouts" a customer was sitting, customers produced embodied responses that mobilized objects in the environment. In the section, and elsewhere, I showed that bartenders

were able to convert customers' gestures towards tables, on tables without table numbers or, in cases where customers did not know the number, into table numbers for the till. The fact that they did not formulate verbally the table number for the customer further marks these interesting asymmetries of practical knowledge about the bar and its ordering organization.

Finally in section 4.3.5, I showed how customers reference their table number prior to the bartender requesting it. Yet, the interaction unfolds the same, sequentially. What we now know from this section is that, the actions of the bartender in this sequence unfold in the same order whether the bartender requests the table number or the table number is provided. The variance lies in the spoken turns.

What we now know from these sections (4.3.2, 4.3.3, 4.3.4 & 4.3.5) is that while it was clear that customers knew, in the main, that they must select a table to eat at, they did not know where in the ordering sequence such information might become relevant. I also noted that bartenders, unlike customers, had visual and physical access to the till and its screen. Bartenders' requests for table numbers were, therefore, a standard item in the ordering process from their point of view, but something that was somewhat unexpected, at the moment of interactional relevance, for customers. The centrality of the till was further underscored in cases where the bartender could not access the till or where customers supplied table numbers without being prompted to do so.

Overall, I have shown that the interactions at the bar counter, ostensibly between customer and bartender, is more than dyadic (cf. Depperman, 2013). The bartender interacts with the cash till and the customer. Meanwhile, the customer interacts with the bartender, but, indirectly, and via the bartender, answers questions that the till initiates (see Scott & Purves, 1996). Both parties interact with the bar's 'semiotic field' and its components; in this case, tables, table numbers, and their location in space. Through this chapter, I have aimed to

expand our knowledge of how embodied conduct within the environment may be analyzed in conjunction with talk, and the integral nature of objects to the progression of social life.

In the next chapter of this dissertation (Chapter 5) I will explore how multi-party interactions at the bar counter unfold, again in the ordering sequence but also in payment sequences. I will discuss the practices that I have identified, and the functionality of those practices for multi-party interactions. We will see that in situations where there is more than one customer ordering, customers negotiate and confer their orders between themselves, then operate with a lead speaker to effectively accomplish the interaction.

Chapter 5:

Negotiating and aligning in the service interaction

5.0 Introduction

In this chapter (5) I focus on multi-party, customer-bartender, service encounters. In service encounters comprising more than one customer, parties can be observed to align as a unit to progress the service transaction. Furthermore, multiple bartenders co-produce the service provided. What is meant by customers 'aligning as a unit' is that customers negotiate collaboratively the ordering and payment sequences; yet the ordering and payment activities themselves are produced by one member of the party to an active bartender. For the purpose of this analysis, a 'party' refers to a group of individual customers who place their order together in one payment transaction. A 'unit' refers to when a party of customers align such that the customers negotiate their order and align their payment sequence to feature one person acting as the 'lead speaker' for that party.

In the first section of this chapter (5.1) I introduce basic CA concepts of turn-taking, before going on to present what we know from existing CA studies of multi-party interaction (5.1.1). In the analysis section that follows (5.2), I will examine the interactional organization of multi-party service interactions and how they are achieved. I will present findings about how customers negotiate and confer their order amongst themselves in turns that are designed for each other, not the bartender, in section 5.2.1. I will then show, in section 5.2.2, how, during the ordering sequence, one member may speak on behalf of the 'unit'. In the third section (5.2.3), I discuss situations where customers share turns at talk when interacting with the bartender. In the final analytic section (5.2.4), I will present how multi-party customers negotiate payment.

5.1 Turn-taking and multi-party interaction

In this section, I will outline what we already know about turn-taking, specifically in multi-party interaction. Schegloff (1996a) describes multi-party interaction as interaction that occurs when *three or more* participants interact. A key issue in multi-party conversations is that of turn-taking and the problem of who will talk next; along with to whom the prior turn was addressed. As described in Chapter 2, Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) outline the practices of organized turn-taking. First, they found that, in any conversation, speaker change recurs or at least occurs, with overwhelmingly one speaker talking at a time. Sacks et al. stated that any speaker's turn will reach what they term 'a transition-relevance place' (TRP). Whilst TRPs were briefly outlined in Chapter 2, it is worth reminding ourselves that a TRP is the point when a current speaker approaches possible completion of a turn at talk (Schegloff, 2007). At this point, an opportunity for a change in current speaker arises. The next speaker will then begin their turn and continue until the next TRP. Sacks et al. also stated that occurrences of more than one speaker talking at the same time, in overlap, are common but *brief*, because the transitions between turns are finely coordinated. The order and size of turns taken within conversation are not fixed but instead they vary, with neither the length nor what parties say being specified in advance.

Speakers use observable techniques for allocating turns in conversation. These function to select a next speaker, maintain speakership or provide opportunity for a party to self-select themselves to speak next. As Jovanovic, op den Akker and Nijholt (2006) point out, when a conversation comprises two participants, the hearer is always the addressee of the utterance, but in multi-party interaction this is more complex. Goffman (1981) observed that addressees are 'ratified participants' oriented to by the speaker, signifying the utterance is

specifically intended for them, and that a response is expected from them more so than another ratified participant. Heritage (2004) writes that:

By producing their next actions participants show an understanding of prior action and do so at a multiplicity of levels – for example, by acceptance, someone can show an understanding that the prior turn was complete, that it was addressed to them, that it was an action of a particular type (e.g., an invitation), and so on (p.105).

Speakers can, therefore, design their turns for a particular addressee. Lerner (1996) found the use of a second person reference – specifically the recipient indicator ‘you’ – can be employed to tackle the problem of who is being referred to or who is being addressed.

Recipient design refers “to a multitude of respects in which the talk by a party in the conversation is constructed or designed in ways which display an orientation to or sensitivity to a particular other(s) who are the co participants” (Sacks et al.,1974, p. 727).

Sacks et al. (1974) show that at any TRP a number of possibilities for a next speaker arise. These can be grouped in the following ways: either the next turn is either allocated by the current speaker selecting the next speaker or the next turn is allocated by self-selection. If the turn-so-far has been constructed using the ‘current-speaker-selects-next’ technique, then the party selected has the right and is obliged to take the next turn to speak. If the turn-so-far does not use the current speaker selects next technique, then self-selection for next speakership may be instituted, but need not be, as there is the option for the current speaker to self-select if another does not. When the current speaker selects next technique is not used, the first to self-select has rights to that turn and transition occurs at that place (Sacks et al., 1974).

Having reviewed what we know about the basic organization of turn-taking, the next section of this chapter (5.1.1) reviews existing work on turn-taking in multi-party interactions. In multi-party interactions turn-taking functions differently to dyadic conversations, speakers have different ways for selecting next speaker and self-selecting. Ways in which speakers can collaboratively produce turns, or speak on behalf of another, will also be discussed.

5.1.1 Multi-party interaction

Existing studies of multi-party interactions have addressed turn-taking issues not just in terms of spoken talk but also in the ways that the words people say are coordinated with their embodied conduct, to progress the organization of turn-taking. For example, Jovanovic et al. (2006) studied multi-party interaction in meetings, focusing particularly on addressee identification, along with how well the prediction of the recipient addressee could be achieved through utterance design, gaze and conversational context (in this case the context of a meeting) – singularly and as a combination of these resources. Their analysis showed that, of these factors, gaze was a less effective method of addressee prediction, potentially due to conversational ‘distracters’ within the environment, such as whiteboard, projector and notes. Similarly, Bakx, Turnhout and Terken (2003) were interested in how looking behaviour predicts an individual’s conversational attention in multi-party interaction. Bakx et al. studied multi-party conversations between humans and an information system (essentially a computer). The directional gaze of the human participants in this study was found to be a good indication of conversational attention and also addressee prediction. Similar to Jovanovic et al., Bakx et al. did note that the computer served as an object of interest within the environment, receiving orientation and gaze from the participants, even when they were addressing each other. Users were looking at the computer not only when addressing the

system but also whilst addressing each other. Bakx et al. (2003) concluded that along with gaze, utterance length has a part to play in identifying the utterance addressee. In the setting of the bar, there are a variety of objects within the environment and during multi-party interactions customers often gaze at objects such as menus and bartenders are often focussed on the till, whilst these are not seen as ‘conversational distracters’ they do impact on the smooth progressivity of turn-taking, and this is one of the things I will be focusing on in the next chapter of this dissertation (Chapter 6).

Along with studies exploring the current-speaker-selects-next technique, Mondada’s (2007b) study examines how speakers self-select to take a next turn at talk. Mondada focused on the use of pointing gestures, both at others and artefacts present in the environment, as a method of self-selection in multi-party meetings. The study also observed how participants used various differing pointing techniques to establish themselves as the next speaker. These pointing gestures could take place before completion of the current speaker’s turn, after or at the beginning of the incipient speaker’s turn. Mondada (2007b, p.220) found that “pointing gestures manifest the temporal, situated, embodied emergent process of the establishment of speakership”. However, the use of artefacts when pointing was found to aid entry to the conversation, rather than distracting from the turn-taking organization as Bakx et al. (2003) and Jovanovic et al. (2006) found.

Research has been conducted into the differing ways that speakers and recipients interact and align (or ‘subdivide into sub-parties’) in multi-party conversations. For example, Mandelbaum (1993) looked at the way storytelling is achieved interactively, illustrating how both speaker and recipient co-produce how stories are told to others. While Mandelbaum’s research illustrated the ways in which a party produces a story for recipients through alternate turns at talk, Lerner (2002) investigated the ‘choral co-production’ of participants’ turns in multi-person conversations. Lerner’s study showed how co-producing a turn chorally

provides participants with a method to accomplish what he terms ‘conjoined action’. An example given is how participants co-produce an explanation or a complaint for a third participant. An addressed participant can also use choral co-production when demonstrating agreement with what the current speaker is saying. Speaking simultaneously as a practice is another observable way in which participants share a turn. This occurs in instances such as greetings and closings, where turn-taking is suspended for such recognizable actions to take place. Lerner also found, like Mandelbaum, that when participants are mutually reminiscing, “each participant seems to be simultaneously a speaker and a recipient – entitled both to produce and appreciate the known-in-common matter” (p.28). In co-producing turns this way, participants are able to sustain or establish co-ownership of the experiences being reported and do so in a way that allows them to show appreciation of the co-participants shared entitlement. Lerner claimed there is also a distinction to be made between the sharing of turns that are co-operative and those that are competing for speakership. In instances where more directly competitive attempts at sole speakership have failed turn sharing is a direct entry into another’s turn and is the “first step to sole turn occupancy” (p. 32).

While the above studies of multi-party interaction have focused on turn sharing and co-production of talk by participants, others have also examined the way parties behave interact and align as a collective. Lerner (1993) explored multi-party interaction in terms of the practices for speaking to a collectivity and speaking (and acting) for and as a collectivity. An example given in Lerner’s study is that of a arriving at a restaurant. When a dining party arrives, they do not give each individual’s name but give one name to represent the dining party collective. Similarly, when being seated by the staff the party are addressed as a group rather than individually. The party will then act as a collectivity by taking their seats. In terms of verbal interaction between speaker and recipients, when a question is posed to an assembly such as “how was the food?”, one member of the party can adequately answer this question

on behalf of the party. However, in such situations, there is opportunity for ‘conjoined participation’. Conjoined participation refers to when two or more participants share a conversational slot or a turn at talk. More than one party member can respond to the question posed to the group and therefore produce the conjoined action of, say, answering a question. There is also opportunity for conferring between the group before the reply is given.

When interacting with a group of individuals, participants can be addressed as, and align themselves as, a multi-party unit. Lerner outlines the relevance of both speaking to and being part of an association in conversation and suggests four combinations of practices for establishing this relevance. Firstly, a speaker can conjointly address co-participants as an association, therefore making relevant the multi-person unit of participation. Secondly, a speaker can cast themselves as a ‘lead speaker’ or representative for a co-participant or an association of participants. A speaker can also demonstrate their co-participation with the prior speaker by retrospectively joining in the production of action or by co-producing an on-going turn. The final practice of establishing the relevance of an association of participants in conversation is conferring (Lerner, 1993). This involves one member of the association addressing remarks to another member concerning the association. In this sense “conferring with a co-participant as members of an association can be used in conjunction with other actions to accomplish speaking for that association to other participants” (Lerner, 1993, p. 221). In the service transactions studied in this thesis, bartenders are observed addressing multiple customers as an association and customers can be observed speaking on behalf of the other members of this association. Often when the ordering sequences unfold, customers will share turns at talk to produce a collective order. The four practices outlined by Lerner for establishing the relevance of an association are a useful framework for analysing multi-party service transactions.

Kangasharju (1996) brings together Mandelbaum's (1996) and Lerner's (1993) research. Her study explored how, within multi-party conversation, individuals can treat participants – or participants can treat themselves – as a sub-group of an association. Kangasharju outlines the same practices for establishing the relevance of an association in conversation as Lerner (1993) which are stated above. The term used by Kangasharju for this particular type of association is a 'team'. Kangasharju defines a team as "characterized by the fact that participants explicitly act as an association making this association visible to the other participants" (p.292). The research focuses on participants affiliating or disaffiliating within a large group and aligning as a 'team'. Her study combines the collaborative story telling of Mandelbaum (1996) with the aligning phenomena of Lerner (1993) to produce an exploration into how participants align as a unit when occupying oppositional positions. Although aligning turns are for the most part considered to be a collaborative and form the construction of 'teams', Maynard (1986) investigated children interacting in a classroom and found otherwise. Those present in an environment where a two-party dispute is on-going can, without invitation, either dispute or align with a position or counter position without actually achieving collaboration. Meaning that by entering into another's interaction, a speaker is not always forming part of a team.

Along with the concept of 'teams', Kangashaju's (1996) analysis also identified what she termed 'team talk'. Team talk is the "completion of a turn by another member of the team, repetition of parts of another's turn, and, in general, talk produced in collaboration with others and from common elements" (p. 137). Developing this further, Gordon (2003) investigated the constantly shifting alignments of interactional teams between stepfamilies at meal times. Her study expanded the concept of 'team talk' by focussing on how teams form to support and align with each other. Gordon identified three ways in which conjoined participation was enacted by the participants. The first was turn sharing, referring to the way

participants share a turn at talk or a conversational slot. The second way was taking parallel turns or turns which are parallel in function to support a speaker's action; the third was what she calls 'schema echo'. 'Schema echo' refers to a participant situating their talk within the knowledge schema of another co-participant knowing they will be aligned with and supported (Gordon, 2003).

In a further study of conjoined action, Lerner (2002) investigated the choral co-production of participant's turns in multi-person conversations. He showed how chorally co-producing a turn provided the participants with a method to accomplish conjoined action. An addressed participant can also use choral co-production when demonstrating agreement with what the current speaker is saying. Speaking simultaneously as a practice is another observable way in which participants share a turn. This occurs in instances such as greetings and closings, where turn-taking is suspended for such recognizable actions to take place.

Whilst existing literature has provided us with a broad knowledge of how turn-taking in multi-party encounters occurs, what we do not know, and what I will focus on in this chapter, are instances of customer-bartender service encounters in which the customers align as a unit for the purpose of a service encounter. The next section of this chapter, the analysis (5.2), focuses on how the customers and bartenders take turns in ways that are different to that observed in dyadic interaction. In the service encounters generally, the membership categories 'customer' and 'bartender' can be made interactionally relevant. The parties orient to each other as customer-bartender with each category carrying with it different entitlements and obligations with regards to the activities accomplished sequentially throughout the transaction (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006). In multi-party interaction, as we will see, the category 'customer' can comprise several people, as the customers align into what Kangasharju refers to as a 'team', or as what Lerner refers to as an 'assembly' or 'collectivity'. These alignments

and the conduct displayed by members of both categories functions to progress the service interaction smoothly. This will be revealed in four analytic sections.

5.2 Analysis

This section explores the ways in which service transactions at the bar are achieved when there are multiple participants, rather than a dyadic customer-bartender sequence. Each of these sections explore the ways in which service transactions are completed by multiple parties often operating and aligning as one, with a lead speaker. The first section of the analysis (5.2.1) will explore the ways in which customers *negotiate and confer their order* between themselves and the functionality of this for the parties. The second section (5.2.2) illustrates the ways in which a *lead speaker forms and speaks on behalf of the unit* and what happens to the interaction when the positioned lead speaker cannot speak on behalf of the other unit member(s). Following on from that, in section (5.2.3) how customers *share turns* at talk and conversational slots is examined, as customers often jointly produce action through conversation. Finally, in section 5.2.4, how *payment* is negotiated and provided in a multi-party service interaction will be discussed. The final section of the analysis (5.2.4) will be an introduction to customer payment practices which will be further explored in the final analytic chapter (Chapter 6).

5.2.1 Negotiating and conferring-ordering sequences

In this first section of the analysis I will examine the ways in which ordering sequences are accomplished through multi-party interaction. In particular, I examine the resources of customers and bartenders recurrently used during the ordering sequences. The multi-party customer 'units' have different interactional resources to that of the bartender for checking each other's progress in the ordering process, and can negotiate and confer their choices or

answers before they produce them as ‘final’ for the bartender. The bartender has a role in which s/he must attend to the status of the customer and negotiate the alignment of the customers. This extract begins mid-way through an interaction. Prior to this sequence, there has been a discussion over the business of a parking ticket which has been issued to the customers who have parked in the pub car park. This business has been closed and the following sequence begins.

Extract 5.1: LG-27N-C5

1 C1: Um: wha d’you want.



Image 5.1

2 (0.9)

3 C2: A- (0.3) uh: (0.5) orange and mango >jay two oh:,<

4 (3.4)

5 C2: Jus’ tha’.

6 (1.6)

7 C1: (Well) °I’ll just have a water actually mate°

8 C1: °°thanks.°°

At line 1, it is the customer, C1, who initiates the business of ordering a drink, rather than the bartender. This is counter intuitive as C1 understands, as do all parties, that the ordering sequence is the next business to attend to in this interaction. I found that it is mostly the bartender, as a category-bound activity of doing ‘bartending’, who typically requests drink orders from customers. We see from Image 5.1 that B1 is physically oriented to the interaction, so is available to initiate the ordering sequence, yet it is C1 that poses the question to C2, “Um: wha d’ you want”. C1 turns his body to face C2 (Image 5.1) and extends his arm slightly at the beginning of his turn on line 1. The second person reference ‘you’ (see Lerner, 1996), combined with the gesturing work by C1, ensures it is mutually understood by all parties that the turn is designed for C2. B1, at this point, collaboratively enables this side sequence (see Jefferson, 1972) by recognising the initiation and orienting his gaze to the till screen. This works to remove himself from the current ongoing interaction between C1 and C2.

Goodwin (1980) proposed a series of rules that are implicated in the organization of speaker and hearer in face-to-face interaction. Firstly, a speaker should obtain the gaze of their recipient during the course of a turn at talk and secondly a recipient should be gazing at the speaker when the speaker is gazing at the hearer. Interestingly, during lines 1-5, C2 does not orient her gaze to either C1 nor B1, but instead gaze is focussed slightly right of B1 towards the back of the bar. Here, neither of the rules are satisfied, resulting in an unidentified recipient for this turn at line 3 and consequently 5. At the beginning of the turn by C1, B1 has oriented his gaze to the till (line 1). As we saw in the previous chapter, this object is relevant to the transaction as this is where the order is registered, and the price calculated. People often orient to objects in the environment as both a speaker and a hearer (Jovanovic et al., 2006). Given the context, the participants treat B1’s gaze and interaction with the till as his receipt of the turn, and his subsequent tapping into the till as his

accomplishment of the action, to record the drinks ordered. In their study of interactions with computerized information kiosks, Bakx et al. (2003) found that participants directed their gaze to each other when negotiating the information they were receiving but also oriented to the information kiosk whilst addressing each other. Here B1, although gazing to the till to log the order, is still present within the interaction, and his gaze does not mean that he is not a recipient of turns.

Returning to the start of the extract, when C1 asks C2, “wha d’you want” (line 1), he initiates a sequence between himself and C2 maintaining his position as speaker for himself and C2. The customers negotiate and confer the order between them *prior* to the involvement of B1. In this sense, although it is a customer who has initiated the ordering sequence, the interaction between C1 and C2 operates as a kind of pre-expansion to the order ‘proper’, with B as its recipient. Returning to the extract, C2 selects a drink at line 3, and when no confirmation or acknowledgement utterance is delivered by either party, she adds “Jus’ tha’” and flicks her gaze toward C2 immediately after (line 5). At this stage, given that C1 has initiated a sequence, it is unclear as to the intended addressee is at line 3.

It is observable across the data that, when two or more customers are at the bar, before a ‘final’ order is placed, the customers will negotiate their order before producing a final version of the desired drinks to the bartender. At lines 7-8, C1 places his order, we return to the extract below to continue the analysis.

Extract 5.1: LG-27N-C5 cont.

9 B1: Uh:: just a- (0.5) glass of water an >°wha' was it°?<

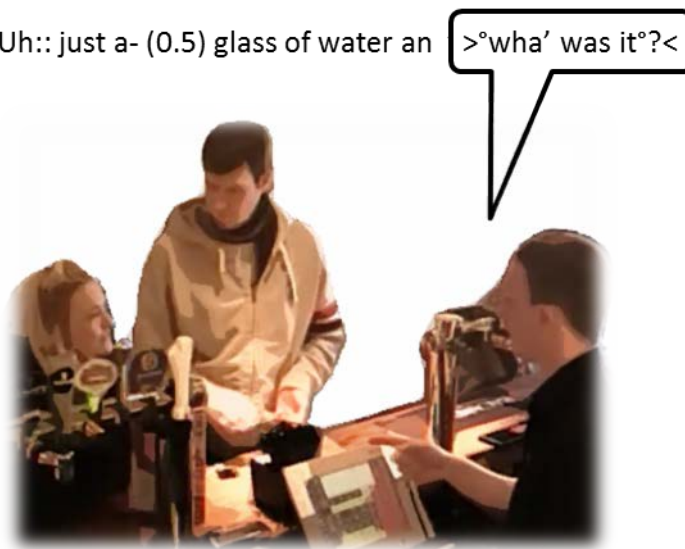


Image 5.2

10 C1: Orange and mango jay two oh?

11 B1: Orange and mango jay [two oh?]

12 C2: [Yes] please.

The uncertainty of the intended addressee of the drink order by C2 at line 3 also appears to have been heard by B1 who, at line 9, repeats the order made by C1 and asks “an’ wha’ was it?”. B1 is understood as the intended recipient for the turn from C1 for his beverage choice at line 7. As C1 did not repeat C2’s order when placing his own, he may have understood B1 as hearing her drink order regardless of whether or not it was he was the intended recipient. B1’s turn requesting confirmation of the order is observably designed for C2, and the inclusion of the hand gesture by B1 to C2 confirms this (Image 5.20). At the beginning of B1’s turn at line 9 he points at C2 and maintains this pointing gesture until C1 begins to speak at line 10. At line 10 it is C1 who provides B1 with C2’s order again, with questioning interrogative. B1 performs a repeat with questioning interrogative for C2 to confirm. During this turn at 11, B1 maintains his gaze at C2. This observable gesturing and turn sequence by

B1 demonstrates the current speaker selects next technique (Sacks et al., 1974) being employed yet it is C1 that self-selects and speaks as the lead for the unit. The questioning intonation of the turn leads to B1 repeating the turn again selecting C2 as next speaker. C2 at line 12 to progress the order provides a “Yes please”.

So, within the service interaction, aligning in a way in which one customer interacts as a lead speaker works to aid the smooth running of the transaction. C1 interacts with B1 as the lead speaker throughout the interaction, with B1 being the active bartender. The interactional trouble of who the intended recipient for C1’s drinks order was disrupts the flow here. Ultimately, C2 is required to confirm her order. The questioning intonation of C1’s turn at line 10 could have initiated a conferring sequence between C1 and C2 before C1 confirms the drink with B1. The functionality of a lead speaker was suspended in order to progress the transaction with the correct information. In these situations where a group has aligned as an assembly it is possible for more than one participant to respond to a turn; collectivities do not solely operate with a lead speaker (Lerner, 1993).

Extract 5.2 provides a further example of a similar interaction in which C1 orders his drink and then prompts C2 to order hers. Unlike Extract 5.1, however, this is not treated by C2 as a possible conferring and interactional trouble does not follow regarding who the talk is intended for; rather, she formulates her order for B1.

Extract 5.2: LG-27N-C57

1 B1: =>Y'all right there.<
2 (0.9)
3 C2: Are we ordering no:w or (take it over?)
4 C1: Uh: I'll have a look at this °fo:od me:nu.°
5 (1.0)
6 C1: Let's order some drinks.
7 (2.2)
8 C1: Uh:: can I 'ave uh: (0.5) d'you do ()
9 B1: Na::h no.
10 C1: No?
11 (0.7)
12 C1: I'll have a Carlsberg then [please mate.]
13 B1: [Carlsberg y]es,
14 (10.3)
15 B2: I'm having a WI:cked day 'oday.
16 (17)
17 C1: Wha' d'ya want Natasha?
18 (0.9)
19 C2: Um:
20 C1: >T'drink.<

- 21 (4.7)
- 22 C2: Uh jay two oh ple:ase uh: orange and passion fru:it tha:nk
- 23 yo:u?
- 24 B1: Glass and ice with that?
- 25 C2: Uh yes ple:ase.

At line 1, B solidifies the interaction with the interactional ‘unit’ comprising C1 and C2, with the formulation “Y’all right there”. Rather than issuing a second pair part to the bartender, C2 issues another first pair part observably designed for C1 (line 2). C2 then responds to this, providing the second pair part to her question (line 3). He then goes on to state “Let’s order some drinks” (line 4) before going on to place his order in a turn designed for B. Even though B has solidified the interaction and opened the encounter between the party, C1 and C2 engage in a sequence designed to be ‘private’. What I mean by ‘private’ is that the sequence between lines 2-4 is designed for the customers and not for the bartender. The first turn designed for the bartender is at line 8 where C1 places his order. This action is usually the second pair part to the bartender’s initiating turn “Y’all right there” at line 1, which we know from Chapter 2.

After C1 has negotiated his order with B, between lines 8 and 14, and after B1 places the drink on the bar at line 16, C1 addresses C2 at line 17 with “Wha’ d’ya want Natasha?” C2 begins her turn at 19 with “Um” and at line 20 C1 produces the increment “T” drink” clarifying he is requesting her *drinks* order as opposed to food, which the couple are also potentially ordering. This increment at line 20 deletes the turn by C2 at line 19 as a potential misunderstanding of the question. C1 is managing the ordering process for both himself and C2, and doing so in a way that minimizes interactional trouble. C2 then provides her drinks order with a turn designed for B1 with not only the brand of required drink but also the

inclusion of the specific flavour. The order by C2 at line 22 does not include the same framing as that of C1's at line 8. C2 seemingly has the knowledge that her required drink is available. The drink C2 has ordered however occasions a declarative with questioning intonation by B1 "Glass and ice with that?" (line 24). This yes/no interrogative (Raymond, 2003) receives an "Uh" prior to the confirmation which works to display this was not something that C2 could have known would be an option and therefore could have been produced in original order at line 22.

In this extract, then, the customers do not work with a lead speaker as such; rather, it is C1 that initiates the ordering by taking the first turn and prompts C2, providing clarification, when it is her turn in the interaction to provide her order. Her turn at line 22 is understood as being designed for B1, the inclusion of the "please" and "thank you" works to confirm this, as not only are these words often reserved for non-familiar participants but "thank you's" often feature as a final turn between two participants, evidenced in this extract. Here C2 is interacting with B1 but orienting to the fact this will not be a sustained interaction and C1 will continue with the turns throughout the sequence.

The next extract (5.3) comes from the same service transaction as Extract 5.2; however, this time the ordering is for food rather than drinks. The extract is an example of customers conferring their intended actions. In this extract, C1 and C2 monitor each other's status in the ordering process.

Extract 5.3: LG-27N-C57

1 C1:



Image 5.3



Image 5.4



Image 5.5

2 C2: Um:: (°either burger or°)a baguette.

3 (32.6)

4 C2: Wh[at ya having.=are you ready?]

5 B1: [That's everything for no:w][or:,]

6 C2: [Yeah] that's it thank you.=

7 are you ready to order?

8 (0.5)

9 C2: Yeah?

10 C1: Uh: (0.9) yeah could I just have so:me por:tion chips, por:tion

11 onion rings please mate.

At lines 1 and 2, the question-answer sequence is again designed specifically for the customers and not for the bartender. The images (5.3-5.5) show that C1 has moved from his original position of orienting to the menu, to interact with C2 privately. This positioning (Image 5.5) makes observable that C1 and C2 are involved in a side sequence where turns are intended solely for each other, as noted before, this functions as a pre-expansion to the base adjacency pair between B1 and C1 or C2. As in Extract 5.1, it is C1 who initiates this ordering sequence but at this point the talk is between the two customers. C1 treats C2 as in a

position to order food with the turn at 1 “wha’ ya ’avin’”. In line 2, C2 formulates two possibilities for her food choice, a burger or a baguette, her eventual choice between the actions will progress the course of action in this interaction. These two food choices are different in that a burger is a meal and a baguette a sandwich. The customers orient to a want to share their food requests before producing the order for the bartender. At line 1, C1 poses the question to C2 and at line 4 C2 poses the question to C1 only in this turn C2 treats C1 as possibly not being ready to state his food choice. After the question by C2 at line 4 “What ya having”, replicating the question from C1 to C2 at line 1, she immediately latches another question: “are you ready”. This negotiation between the customers and formulation of intended possible actions allows both parties access to the knowledge of what each other will order. C2 does not receive a response from C1 in answer to her question as B1 has already begun his turn in overlap.

In B1’s overlapping turn “That’s everything for now or” (line 5), he orients to the possibility that the customers are not at the stage of being ready to place a drinks order and provides for the customers only wanting to order drinks at this stage. The “for now” at line 5 displays B1 is aware there may be a possible future action that the customers may wish to do. The “or” at line 5 provides the opportunity for the action of ordering food to come next. Trail offs such as “or” work to manage preference in the turn, by adding the trail off “or” the preference is neutralised (Stokoe, 2010). B1 uses the turn at line 5 to check the status of the customers in the ordering process, using the preference neutral “or” to indicate if they are or in fact are not ordering anything else it is no problem for the bartender. The turn does not directly ask “can I take your food order” but allows for the customers to negotiate further and co-produce their status as being ready to order food or not. At line 6, C2 confirms “Yeah that’s it thank you” in response to B1’s question (line 5). C2’s confirmation here, however, refers to the drinks order. The latching turn at 7 “are you ready to order?” is designed for C1

and pursues his status in the ordering process, requesting if he is ready to order food which is the next action in the sequence. C2 pursues this again at line 9 with “Yeah?” with C1 providing C2 at line 10 formulating his turn with “Uh yeah” at the beginning of the turn responds to C2s question but is also available for B1 to hear. This then confirms his status as a customer who is ordering food. The order at line 10 by C1 has some interesting features. The inclusion of “just” in the turn at line 10 “could I just have some” orients to the order not being a full meal. After the negotiation at lines 1 and 2 C1 is aware of two possible choices C2 will order. This “just” signifies his order is less than a full meal and the repair of “some” to the use of “portion” in lines 10 and 11 further confirm this. Portion is a measured amount rather than an unspecified amount of “some”.

Extracts 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3 share some gross interactional features; yet, with closer analysis, subtle differences can be seen. In Extracts 5.1 and 5.2, the customer initiates the ordering sequence after the closing of some other business. In Extract 5.1, the bartender gazes away when C1 poses the question to C2 “Um wha’ d’you want” at line 1 which leads to the order by C2 not be acknowledged by B1. This is due to the undetermined recipient of the turn and the prior positioning of C1 as the lead speaker. B1 then has to decide if he is the recipient of this turn or not. In Extract 5.2, C1 has placed his order and uses the turn at 10 “Wha’ d’ya want Natasha” to prompt C2 to place her order, he then clarifies which part of her order is required to be placed at that point. In Extract 5.3, the customers attempt to monitor each other’s status as the bartender manages the possibility that the talk by C1 and C2 is a conferring sequence between the two of them and that they may not order further items at all. B1 uses the turn at line 5 “That’s everything for now or” to do this. This section of the analysis has demonstrated the varying ways the actions of negotiating an order in multi-party service transactions get done. A lead speaker can prompt a co-participant customer when it is sequentially relevant to state their progress in the ordering process or to actually order. The

occasioned subsequent turn must be interpreted by the parties as to who it was designed for. In this case all participants co-ordinate both through verbal and non-verbal actions to accomplish the ordering.

The next section of this analysis focuses specifically on occasions where one customer speaks on behalf of the customers operating as a unit.

5.2.2 Speaking for the unit

In multi-party interactions, where the parties align as a unit, they can and do speak on behalf of the other team member. When customers are observably a unit the bartender will treat them as such. The next section of analysis details some examples of this occurrence.

Extract 5.4: LG-27N-C31



Image 5.6

- 1 B1 : >Yes< please ladies.
- 2 C1: Hi (.) u:m can we order separately.
- 3 B1 : Yeah 'cou'se,

In this extract, B1 is speaking to the customers as an association. B1 has observed the two customers as 'together' and her first turn "Yes please ladies" positions the customers as a unit and presupposes that they will provide their order together. As Image 5.6 illustrates, while

the customers wait to be served they position themselves in close proximity of each other and occasionally interact. The customers have been observably displaying the category-bound activities of customers who are 'together'. When members observe other members doing category bound activities, inferences are made about those members (Carlin, 2003). Their positioning and observable togetherness results in B1 treating the pair as a unit. As Lerner (1993) states, the term 'ladies' allows for either recipient to speak, but they are not both obligated to speak as one person may speak for the association. At line 2, C1 *does* speak on behalf of both customers. C1 corrects the assumption that they wish to process their order as one and requests the customers' order not as a unit, but individually. At this point C1 is acting as the lead for the pair if not only to clarify they will be ordering separately. This extract has illustrated how customers can be observable as a unit, with B1 displaying that understanding, yet as the sequence unfolds we see that they wish to be de-coupled from that unit. Thus the lead speakers' role is to clarify that there will not be a lead speaker!

In Extract 5.5 below, the customers *have* aligned as a unit in the ordering sequence and B1 is treating them as such.

Extract 5.5: LG-27N-C3

- 1 C1: Uh: can I 'ave uh: (0.3) chicken tikka masala,
2 (1.6)
3 C1: And uh: (0.2) ranchers burger as well °please.°
4 (1.2)
5 B1: Hm::: ye:ah (0.5) chicken tikka masa:la: wiv rice or chips?
6 C2: Um rice please.
7 B1: Uh sorry what el:se was that?
8 C1: And uh ranchers burger as well.

At lines 1-3, C1 orders food for both himself and C2. C1 uses “I” in the first meal order at 1 but does not at line 3. The inclusion of “I” in the first meal positions C1 as the person who is requesting the chicken tikka masala, to B1, when he requests the second meal there is no use of “I”. At line 5, B1 requests further specifics of the first meal order “chicken tikka masala wiv rice or chips?” with the intended recipient as C1. The way the turns have been designed in the ordering sequence of this interaction works to display C1 as the person who has ordered the first meal and the second meal is being ordered on behalf of C2. C1 has positioned himself as the lead for this transaction by placing the order for both customers. This inclusion of “I” further strengthens that the further specifics required for this meal choice can be provided by C1, yet the second pair part is provided by C2. Here, although the customers have aligned as a unit and the service transaction is progressing with a lead speaker, C2 is attending to the interaction and has produced a turn in a conversational slot where needed. B1, at line 7, then requests for the second meal order again “Uh sorry what else was that?” which C1 then responds to (line 8). The service transaction then continues with C1 as the lead. Although the unit has aligned to proceed with a lead speaker and B1 has

oriented to this alignment, C2 is still present within the interaction and C1 cannot provide all information required to progress it. He can only answer questions on information that has been provided to him by C2 prior to the ordering sequence. In interactions like these, which are operating with a lead speaker, the lead speaker is the recipient of the turns from the bartender. In this extract, however, C1 has done additional work to suggest he is the person ordering the meal which requires further specifics occasioning B1 to direct the turn at C1 without B1 managing which customer the turn should be designed for.

In Extract 5.6 a similar sequence unfolds, only here C1, the lead speaker for this interaction has previously heard the order by C2 and therefore attempts to respond for C2.

Extract 5.6: LG-27N-C5

- 1 B1: Uh::just a-(0.5) glass of water an' >°wha' was it°?<
- 2 C1: Orange and mango jay two oh?
- 3 B1: Orange and mango jay [two oh?]
- 4 C2: [Yes] please.
- 5 B1: Would you like it over ice?
- 6 (0.7)
- 7 C2: Nu- uh:: no thank you.

Whilst this extract has been presented earlier it is worth exploring again briefly here. This extract begins mid-way into the ordering sequence; C1 and C2 have already stated their drinks order. At line 1, B1 repeats the order he has heard, which interestingly is that of C1, who is operating as the lead and questions at the latter of his turn; “an’ wha’ was it?” In this sequence, unlike Extract 5.3, C1 has heard the order previously placed by C2 and therefore is in a position, as the lead speaker, to provide the drink requested at line 2 on her behalf. He

does this with questioning intonation however, selecting C2 as the next speaker in this sequence. As C1 is the lead speaker for this interaction, B1 takes receipt of this turn and repeats the drink matching the turn of C2. Here, B1 is selecting C2 as the recipient and the customer who is in a position to give final confirmation of the drinks she requires, so the action can be completed and the transaction progressed. C2 confirms the drinks choice with “Yes please” (line 4).

At line 5 B1 requests the specifics “Would you like it over ice?” C1, as lead speaker, cannot provide the answer to this question as he does not objectively know the response C2 will provide. As C2 is the speaker who can provide this information, the question selects C2 as the next speaker. This turn at line 5 is designed for C2 and all parties understand this, with C2 answering at line 7. Here C1 has initially been the recipient of the turn by B1 yet as the interaction unfolds, it is C2 who is the participant who is required to issue turns to B1 providing the information required progressing the interaction. Where a lead speaker can provide the information requested, the interaction progresses with a lead speaker. Where further specifics are requested for a participant’s other than the lead speaker, that participant is selected to speak, either by the bartender, or by the lead speaker themselves.

A final example of a member of the unit speaking on behalf of the other participant is presented in Extract 5.7.

Extract 5.7: LG-27N-C57

- 1 C1: Uh: (0.9) yeah could I just have so:me= por:tion chips,
2 por:tion onion rings please mate.
- 3 B1: Uh:: yeah. Do you know whereabouts you're going to be sitting=
4 C1: =Oh um (0.3) I'll go and grab a table ()
5 (22.7)
- 6 C2: Um:
- 7 C1: Twenty three.
- 8 B1: Twenty three.
9 (2.4)
- 10 C2: And a ham and cheese melt plea:se.=

In Extract 5.7, C1 has ordered his food (lines 1-2) occasioning B1 to request where the couple will be sitting (line 3). As we know from Chapter 4, in the bar transaction when food is ordered the bartender must enter a table number so the waiting staff know where to deliver the food. At line 4, C1 leaves the interaction to go and find a table number. He returns to provide the table number at line 7, but then leaves the interaction completely from 7 onward.

Extract 5.7: LG-27N-C57 cont.

11 B1:

=Sorry was that (.) a portion of chips:



Image 5.7

12 C2: And a portion of onion rings.

13 (4.6)

14 B1: And a ham and cheese melt.

15 C2: Yes please.

16 (2.6)

17 B1: Uh do you want nɑ:chos or salad with that.

18 C2: Um: uh: nachos plea:se.

At 10, C2 reinitiates the ordering sequence by stating her order “And a ham and cheese melt please”. At line 11, B1 makes accountable the fact that he has possibly forgotten the order C1 has placed (“Sorry was that a portion of chips”); C2 completes B1’s turn with “And a portion of onion rings” collaboratively producing the complete order for B1 to enter into the till. As Image 5.7 shows, C1 is not available to respond to the turn by B1 at line 10. C2 observably does ‘listening’ as she leans over the bar toward B1 (Image 5.7), before providing the answer

on C1's behalf. Extract 5.7 is similar to Extract 5.6; however, in Extract 5.7 C1 is not present to confirm his order. B1 treats C2 as in a position to provide C1's order choice as they have previously aligned as a unit. In the case that C2 could not provide the information B1 is requesting she is in a position to retrieve the information from C1. B1 is observably treating the pair as a unit and as it unfolds C2 is able to provide the response on behalf of C1 as he is not locally present.

What we now know is that individual customers align to function as a unit and that parties construct and orient to this alignment during the ordering process. When a transaction is operating with a lead speaker, the other members still orient to the interaction and may be called upon, if the lead speaker cannot respond on their behalf. Even if the lead can respond, there may be call for the individual, on which the lead speaker is speaking on their behalf, to provide input. Where the lead speaker is not present the other member of the unit is then able to speak on the others behalf. It is not the case that a lead speaker must be the recipient of turns and the issuer of responses, more that the bar transaction operates in this way, where appropriate to accomplish the actions as smoothly and as problem free as possible. Without an identifiable lead speaker in operation the bartender would be issuing turns to two potential recipients which, in turn-taking terms, can be complex. We know from previous literature outlined in sections 5.1 and 5.1.1 this is not how multi-party interactions unfold. The bartender would have to do additional work to select his recipient and occasions of more than one speaker taking a turn at talk would confuse the smooth running of the interaction.

In the next section of the analysis (5.2.3), a particular interactional phenomenon, in which customers *share* turns at talk or conversational slots, is explored.

5.2.3 Turn sharing

As elaborated in prior sections, customers align as a unit for the purpose of the service interaction. The following analysis focuses on occurrences where both customers talk rather than operating with one lead speaker. Extract 5.8 is an example of this.

Extract 5.8: LG-27N-C31

- 1 B1: (Jus' say//ave) your table number pl[ease.]
2 C1: [U:m d]oesn't have a table
3 number?
4 B1: W[hereabouts are you sit]tin'.
5 C2: [It's over the:re.]



Image 5.8

- 6 C1: It's right at the corner.=
7 B1: =Is it the sofas.
8 C1: Ye[ah.]
9 C2: [Yea]h.

Prior to the question from B1 at line 4, C1 has been the lead speaker for this interaction and C2 has not taken a turn at talk. B1 asks at line 4 “Whereabouts are you sittin’” and C2, upon hearing the “wh”, begins to answer with “It’s over there”. This question is designed for the recipient C1, who has been the acting lead speaker. C2 is entitled to produce the second pair part as she also has knowledge of where they are both sitting. From Image 5.8 it is observable that both customers take receipt of the turn by B1 and both gesture to the location. They go on to provide verbal information of where they will be sitting. C2, on the left, turns her body and points toward the location of her table, followed by C1 who does the same. C2’s turn at line 5 is said in overlap, however, and C1 goes onto formulate a more specific description of where the customers are sitting with “It’s right at the corner”. B1 then narrows down the location further by describing the type of chair the customers are sat on at line 7, which both C1 and C2 confirm. At line 8, C1 has already begun to confirm this as the correct seats, yet C2 continues to confirm also. Extract 5.8 shows the two customers both occupying the turn at talk, producing the responses to the first pair parts from B1. In Extract 5.9 a similar occurrence happens only here the customers turn share to collaboratively produce the order.

Extract 5.9: LG-26N-C4B

- 1 B1: You all right there.
- 2 C1: He;llo it’s nice an easy i’n’t it we want, what do we
 want?
- 3 two: what were they.

4 C2: [Um: chilli and] chilli (0.9) um no chicken and chilli

5 C1: [Heh heh heh]

6 C2: [mayonnaise wraps=]

7 C1: [Heh heh heh]

8 C2: =We'll [get it out in a minute] I'm like ch-ch-ch heh .tch

9 C1: [I thought it was easy.]

10 (1.7)

11 B1: Uh: do you want those with na:chos or salad.

12 C1: Nachos I wo[uld think.]

13 C2: [Ye::ah] [nachos why not push the boat out being

14 as it's friday.]

15 C1: [Heh heh heh heh heh heh heh

16 really healthy.]

At line 1, B1 initiates the sequence with a first-pair part: “You all right there”. Again, this turn can be answered with a second pair part by one customer on behalf of the ‘unit’, or by both. C1 initially begins to produce the order at line 2, but subsequently selects C2 to speak at line 2 and 3. At line 2, C1 begins to say “we want” before going on to question “what do we want? Two what were they” which selects C2 to state the order. At line 4, C2 struggles to formulate the order, which occasions laughter from C1 at lines 6 and 7. C2 is the accountable at line 8 for her inability to produce the order clearly at line 4. When the sequence is opened by B1 at line 1, C1 selects herself as the recipient of this turn and the next speaker to respond. In the first part of the turn C1 is heard to be about to deliver the order on behalf of herself and C2. In the latter half of this turn she poses the questions to C2, selecting her as the speaker to clarify the order. C2 performs a repair on her order “Um chilli and chilli um no chicken and

chilli mayonnaise wraps” at lines 4 and 5. Her turn displays that she has been unexpectedly selected as next speaker illustrated by the “Um” and the repair. The laughter and the accounting at line 8 by C2 and at line 9 by C1 with “I thought it was easy” orient to the shared knowledge that this action of ordering has not been a smooth interaction. The customers have collaboratively produced their order through turn sharing as opposed to aligning and placing the order using a lead speaker. When the accounting occurs by C2 at line 8 she begins with “We’ll get it out in a minute” before shifting the footing to “I’m like” to account for her repairs. Here she orients to the collaborative nature of their ordering and how this has not been a successful process.

After this initial ordering sequence a further specific is requested from B1. He questions at line 11 “do you want those with nachos or salad”. This question is not a yes/no interrogative question but requires a response of preference, one or the other option, from both customers. As he is addressing an association, in that the two customers *are* ordering as a unit, his question allows for either or both recipients to answer. However, each customer needs to choose to complete the sequence. At line 12, C1 answers “Nachos I would think” and at line 13, C2 enters her turn confirming this with “Yeah”. This turn at line 12 by C1 is designed as a potential response for both C1 and C2. C1 does not formulate “I’ll have nachos” or something to that effect but “nachos I would think”: a suggestion that they will both choose, which C2 confirms. Through conjoined action, the customers collaboratively produce their option choice, which happens to be the same. It is C2 that agrees with the choice made by C1, but she accounts for this decision afterward “why not push the boat out being as it’s Friday”. This comment suggests that there is a difference between ordering salad and nachos. This occasion’s laughter from C2 and a comment suggesting this is not the ‘healthy’ option.

The turn sharing we have seen at lines 12 to 16 is, then, another way of negotiating and conferring the ordering between customers, as C2 has knowledge of what C1 is requesting to which she can either align or not. The turn sharing in Extract 5.9 is different to that of Extract 5.8, however, because in the latter extract the two customers are producing conjoined action rather than chorally producing the same information, when one lead speaker would suffice.

Extract 5.10: LG-27N-C5

- 1 B2: Jus' rip it up then.
2 (0.2)
3 B2: >We'll ge- I'll ge-< we'll get rid of our copy, if yuh-
4 if you're a customer.
5 (0.2)
6 B2: Cos obviously we don't kno:w,
7 (0.2)
8 C1 Oh yeah no w'll- (.) [basic'] we uh: we was gonna go=
9 B2: [So w-]
10 C1: =an' do some shopping an' we jus' [gonna have a drink]=
11 C2: [We just went to]=
12 C1: =[in here,]
13 C2: =[Some]rfield; an' then we were gonna c[ome here]
14 B2: [YE-Like I]
15 B2: =Send the copy off.

- 16 said if y'don't know [if s]omeone par:ks up (.) an'=
- 17 C2: [Yeah]
- 18 B2: =doesn't come an' let us know that >we're gon-< they're
- 19 gonna come in la:t[uh_] we issue >↑tjck<ets:'nd=
- 20 C2: [So-]
- 21 C2: =Yeah=
- 22 B2: =Send the copy off.

In Extract 5.10 turn sharing occurs during an accounting sequence. The customers have parked their car in the pub car park but have not told the bar staff they intended to enter the bar and become customers after completing some other tasks. This has resulted in a parking ticket being issued to the customer's vehicle. At lines 9 and 11 C1 is reporting the intended future intentions of the couple, legitimating their account of being genuine customers of the bar. C1 reports "we was gonna go an' do some shopping" with C2 entering C1's turn before completion with "We just went to Somerfield". This turn sharing is comparable to the storytelling practices investigated by Mandlebaum (1993) in which two familiars were reporting on an event they both had knowledge on. Mandlebaum states that co-producing turns in this way illustrates a co-ownership of the experiences. Similarly Lerner (1993), Kangasharju (1996) and Gordon (2003) all found that turn sharing, or sharing of a conversational slot, demonstrates alignment between speakers and the pair forms a team. This team then works to construct the customers as a unit, who are interacting as one, with the same experiences of what is being reported.

Another stance on the action, in terms of C1 having positioned himself as the lead speaker, is that this turn entry is competition for speakership. As Lerner (2002, p.31) states, an interruption like that by C2 within C1's turn "can itself be part of a sequence of actions

designed to re-establish a participant's position as explainer in order to forward their own competing version." However, this interruption by C2, which enters C1's turn, is collaborative as opposed to competitive and works to co-produce the action being done by C1. C2 retells the accounting including the "just" on line 12 and "Somerfield" at line 14 providing more details about the actions they intended to complete before coming to the bar, a repair on the vaguer reporting done by C1. The existence of a lead speaker speaking on behalf of the unit, or team is suspended with a situation where the two customers are collaboratively reporting. After C2's entry into C1's turn, C1 brings his turn to completion. C2 then becomes the speaker reporting the future actions until B2 interrupts her turn with raised voice at line 15, reinstating her position as speaker in talking on this matter at this time. B2's interruption works to self-select herself to speak next and ends C2's turn without option for continuation.

This section has illustrated the ways in which customers use turn sharing to perform different actions within the service interaction. Where multiple customers are treated as an association by bartenders, who shall speak is dependent on the turn addressed to them. This may result in the customers clarifying whether or not they will be progressing as an association. Turn sharing also provides an opportunity for customers to collaboratively produce the ordering sequence. Similarly, it is observable that occurrences where the interaction is operating with a lead speaker, another customer may wish to enter that turn and is entitled to do so. In the final section of analysis (5.2.4), multi-party payment sequences are explored in relation to negotiating and conferring. This section introduces the analysis of payment sequences that is explored in more detail in Chapter 6.

5.2.4 Negotiating payment sequences

When there are multiple customers ordering as a unit, the price is formulated as a total.

Participants in a unit have different ways of aligning to fulfil this payment. The below extract illustrates the customers negotiating payment before the ordering begins.

Extract 5.11: LG-27N-C3

- 1 B1: Y's guys what can I get ya.
- 2 C1: Ya all right mate.= Um °you wanna pay on your CAR-card don'
3 ya.°
- 4 C2: Uh yeah please.=
- 5 C1: =Uh two pints of Fosters please.
- 6 (1.2)
- 7 B1: Yes sj:r.
- 8 C1: I'll get it all on my card and the we'll have to (0.7) go to
9 the cash point if (we've got enough.=)
- 10 C2: =Yeah.
- 11 (4.9)
- 12 C2: I'll 'ave uh:
- 13 (8.6)
- 14 C2: Tikka masala.

At line 1, B1 initiates the ordering sequence “Y’s guys what can I get ya.” The “guys” works similarly to the “ladies” seen in Extract 5.4. At line 2, C1 latches “um you wanna pay on your CAR-card don’ ya” to C2 before continuing to provide the answer to B1’s initial question at line 1. After C2 confirms this is how he would like to pay for his drinks at line 4, C1

formulates the drinks request for both himself and C2 “Uh two pints of Fosters please”. C1 has positioned himself as the lead speaker for the transaction here and temporarily suspends the initiation of the ordering sequence to confer between himself and C2 on how payment will be produced for the drinks. Once C2 has confirmed C1 then orders drinks for both himself and C2 therefore constructing the pair as a unit who will order as such. B1 has initially opened the sequence with a turn address to the pair as an association, inclusive of the term “guys” from which either customer could respond to the turn. However the confirmation of the drinks requested at line 7 “yes sir” is designed for C1. It is observable and oriented to B1 that C1 is the lead speaker for this transaction.

At line 8, C1 further confers with C2 regarding payment. He provides a solution to the payment problem “I’ll get it all on my card”. C2 agrees to this solution at line 10 and the business of payment is negotiated and closed. Accepting payment as a ‘gift’ has been found to be a delicate practice (Llewellyn, 2011a). However, between lines 8 and 9 a strategy for reimbursing has been negotiated. At this point in the sequence, B1 is pouring the drinks and although locally present this conferring sequence between C1 and C2 emerges in its design for the customers only. Once C1 is confirmed as the individual in the unit that will be paying for the order, and his position as lead speaker has been established, C2 then provides B with his order. At line 12, C2 states “I’ll ’ave uh” before going on to provide “Tikka masala”. The positioning of these turns in the sequence and the projection of C2’s voice makes these turns observably designed for C1. As the lead speaker and the provider of the payment C1 will be the person to provide B1 with the order and payment for both parties. This extract has shown that multi-party customers negotiate how they will pay prior to the payment sequence. The next extract (5.12) illustrates a similar practice.

Extract 5.12: LG-26N-C4b

1 C2: I may's well pay for it [an' then,]

2 C1: [Yea:h.]



Image 5.9

3 B1: Do you want ice with those.

4 C1: Um: yes please.

5 C1: The thingy one's ni- they do a nice mel:on one but they don't

6 always do it everywhe:re [and that's ni:ce.]

7 C2: [No: I've not seen] the melon one many

8 places.

9 C1: [()]

10 C2: [I've tried]a couple but I think I prefer thé, here you go
11 (there's your pound)



Image 5.10

12 C1: Oh >don't (worry [about that<]
13 C2: [HEH HEH HEH] HEH HEH HEH HEH



Image 5.11

14 C1: You'll end up with five pee in your (purse) somewhe:re.

There are three concurrent actions occurring in Extract 5.12. Firstly, the customers have ordered their food and drinks, which B1 is preparing. Until the drinks have been produced, this sequence at the bar is on-going. To clarify, the final closing of this sequence is upon production of the food, but the interaction between customers and bartenders closes here. The second action is the negotiation of the payment, while a conversation between C1 and C2 occurs. While B1 is preparing the drinks that the customers have ordered, C2 states “I may’s well pay for it an’ then” (line 1). This turn is formulated in a ‘low-key’ way which implies

convenience to both parties rather than it being an inconvenience where C2 must pay for the order. C2 is referring to the order the customers have just placed, which is recognisable and understood by both parties. This is not the same as offers like “we are treating you”, as found in Llewellyn’s (2011b) study, but an orientation to the nature of the multi-party service encounter. Customers and bartenders understand that when ordering as a unit, the total payment is to be paid in one payment. The “it” references the order they will place and all parties understand this as the negotiation of how the payment will be made. C1 agrees with this payment proposal and confirms in overlap at line 2 with “yeah”. Before C2 makes this statement at line 1 she has a note in her hand (Image 5.9) which remains displayed whilst she places her drinks order. Between lines 3 to 9 the pair talk between themselves regarding a drinks choice they have previously ordered. At line 10, C2 prematurely interrupts her own turn changing the topic from the drink back to payment. As the turn is in overlap, the end is not entirely clear however C2 states “here you go”. From the video data it is observable that during this conversation C2 has been looking through her purse. During lines 10 and 11, C2 takes a coin out of her purse and places it on the bar in front of C1 (Image 5.10). C2 then says “Oh don’t (worry about that)” and places the coin back into C2’s purse seen in Image 5.11. This rejection has been observed in similar instances by Llewellyn (2011b). During the latter part of this sequence, C2 attempts to give money to C1, which is rejected by C1. By C2 saying in line 1 “I may’s well pay for it and then,” without finishing her turn, orients to the customers having an on-going money agreement. So, as the interaction has unfolded the prior sequence in which C2 has accepted payment transpires as though they may already have a ‘gifting’ (Llewellyn, 2011b) situation that has been re-invoked here.

In this extract, how customers negotiate the matter of payment when there are other activities in progress actions has been illustrated. Although the customers are engaging in a conversation regarding drinks choice, the matter of payment has taken priority and cut short

the speaker's own turn. There is a payment negotiation in progress and the customers attempt to manage that for this interaction. When C2 attempts to give C1 a coin, which is rejected by C1 this occasions laughter which is managing the process of payment being potentially skewed in these multi-party service interactions.

Next, we return to a familiar service encounter. In this extract (5.13) payment has not been successfully negotiated between parties and trouble ensues.

Extract 5.13: LG-27N-C5

- 1 C1: There's a minimum spend on card isn't there.
- 2 B1: (Uh) yeh there is.
- 3 C1: She's jus' getting' some money out.=how much is that?
- 4 B1: Uh: that'll be:: (6.7) one pound nine'y two,
- 5 C1: How much?
- 6 B1: One pound ninety two
- 7 (4.1) ((C1 hums))
- 8 C1: She's jus' getting some money out.
- 9 (10.6) ((B1 taps on the till))



Image 5.12

10 C1: Have you got any cha:nge cos I'm like ten pee shor:t.=if

11 you've got change,

12 (1.6)

13 C2: >Just use that.<

14 (0.9)



Image 5.13

15 B1: °Cheers°

16 (2.3)

17 C1: >There y'go,<

18 C2: Tha:nks, lovely

In this extract, there is a problem: not being able to provide payment at the point which it is due. C1 and C2 have already conferred regarding payment, yet it has unfolded neither have payment on their person; C2 has left the environment to fetch some money to complete the interaction. C2 returns to the conversation just prior to being addressed at line 10. Her absence leaves C1 as the sole participating customer. At line 1, C1 asks “There’s a minimum spend on card isn’t there” which the bartender confirms at line 2. This turn displays that C1 is able to pay for the drinks via another means than cash, but as B1 informs him there will be a minimum spend required for him to do so. Up until now the price for the payable drink

ordered has not been formulated, but the customers are aware they do not have the means to cover the amount owed. B1 has access to the till and the ability to provide C1 with the price payable although he has not yet done this up until this point. Here, we see C1 requesting the price for the drinks at line 3 after accounting for the delay in providing payment. After the price is produced at line 7, C1 counts the change he has, concluding not enough he repeats “She’s jus’ getting some money out” at line 8. Not having the means for payment at this stage in the interaction is observable as being accountable. From Image 5.12 it is observable this extended waiting period is troublesome for the interaction, C1 leans back looking for C2 and B1 taps his fingers on the till as an observable gesture of doing ‘waiting’ (line 9). Here C2 is the customer able to provide the object to enable the completion of the transaction and without her re-entry with the artefact needed, the five pound note, the transaction is in limbo.

On arrival of C2, C1 asks “Have you got any change ’cos I’m like ten pee short if you’ve got change”. This works to show C2 did have money but was only a small amount short of being able to pay the amount potentially reinstating his intentions of being the payee in the interaction. C2 produces the note and hands it to C1 rather than B1 with the turn “Just use that”. C1 then hands it to B1, which can be seen in Image 5.13. As mentioned in section 2.2.1, these turns are examples of negotiating privately. This demonstrates that C1 is again the main interactant in the service transaction as the customers align as a team interacting through C1. Payment has been collaboratively produced by C1 and C2 together, but it is C1 who produces the final money to complete the sequence. At line 17, C1 provides C2 with her drink with the utterance “There y’go” to which C2 thanks him with “Thanks, lovely”. C2 was not present at the time of the drink production when B1 placed it on the bar. In this sequence, C1 has verbally and nonverbally ‘provided’ C2 with her requested beverage.

In each of the extracts in this section, the customers have negotiated and aligned their means of payment. Customers can negotiate payment prior to the ordering sequence, this

positions the person who will provide payment and therefore promotes the smooth running of the interaction. Customers can also negotiate the payment, and who will provide this payment, at a relevant place within the transaction, during a conversation. The positioning of this negotiation within the interaction works to ensure that the payment method is in place before the payment is required. This again promotes the smooth running of the transaction and positions one customer as the payment provider. Where customers have reached the point in the sequence at which payment is due, customers can co-produce the payment. As this analysis has illustrated, this can cause delay in the smooth running of the interaction. Payment will be explored in greater depth in the next chapter (Chapter 6).

5.3 Discussion

This chapter has examined the ways in which multi-party customer and bartender interactions occur. Firstly, the chapter outlined existing literature on multi-party interactions (5.1), and considered the organization of turn-taking in multi-party interactions (5.1.1). The analysis section (5.2) focussed on the ways in which multiple customers align into one functional team or 'unit'.

Firstly, I identified that, in the multi-party service interaction, customers can and do negotiate their order between themselves before placing their order with the bartender (5.2.1). These side sequences functioned as pre-expansions to the base action of ordering. I showed how customers negotiate their order to align their food or drinks choices, prior to producing a 'final' or 'public' order. This negotiation provides the acting lead speaker with the information of the other participants order before the order is placed with the bartender. Interactional trouble can occur within the negotiation of orders: work must be done to ensure that the negotiating turns are observably designed exclusively for the unit and not for the bartender. I found the lead speaker may 'prompt' the participating customer to provide their

order at a particular point also; it is then at the discretion of the customer to provide the bartender with the order or to provide the lead speaker with the request, which the lead will then replay to the bartender.

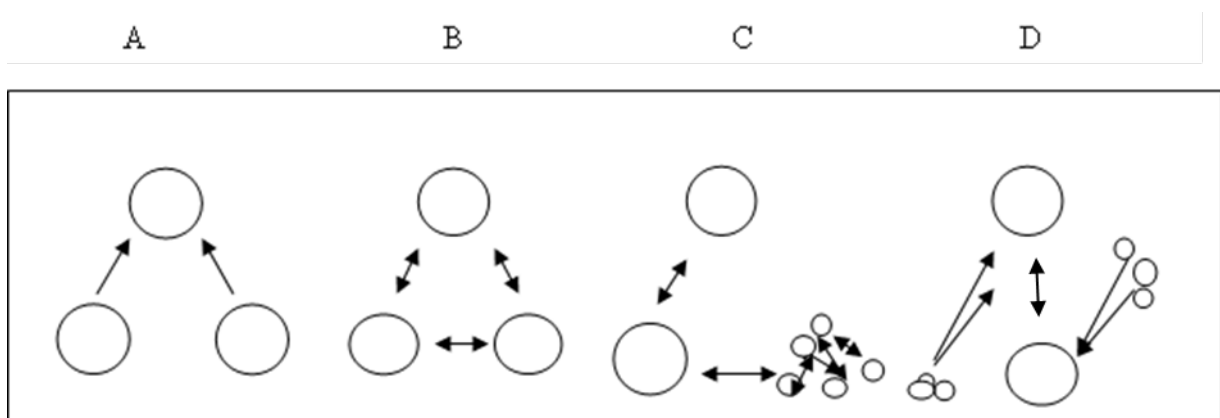
Also explored in the analysis was how one customer, frequently the lead speaker but not exclusively, can speak on behalf of a unit (section 5.2.2). I found that when customers were observable as a unit, achieved either by doing 'togetherness' or by operating with a lead speaker, one customer is *entitled* and *expected* to speak on behalf of the other. Where the lead speaker cannot complete a question-answer format as they do not have the information to speak on behalf of the other, there is an opportunity for any next speaker to select. This could include the bartender selecting the participant who can provide this information, or the second speaker to self-select. I presented another way in which customers align as a unit for the accomplishment of the bar transaction: *turn sharing* (section 5.2.3). When customers have aligned as a unit, certain turns are available to be collaboratively produced. Where no lead speaker has been determined, or when the recipient of a turn is undetermined, all parties are available to co-produce a turn. I presented examples of how customers use turn sharing to compete actions. Customers can collaboratively produce their order or specifics of their order by sharing a turn at talk. The other occasion where the customers share a turn at talk is when reporting to the bartender. Customers can chorally co-produce information they are reporting to the bartender by sharing a turn. This is not a way to compete for a turn at talk but is used to collaborate on the information they are reporting.

The final section of the analysis (5.2.4) began to explore ways in which payment is provided in multi-party service encounters. Firstly, it is important to note that, when customers have aligned as a unit, payment is due as one total for all the food and drinks ordered by the parties. I then showed how this payment is produced either by one of the customers for all parties, or collaboratively produced. There were varying stages at which the

payment method was decided upon. Customers either decided how payment would be made prior to the ordering, or at a relevant place in the sequence. If the method of payment is not discussed in either place, interactional trouble can occur and the smooth running of the interaction is temporarily suspended. Payment for the items ordered is understood by all parties to be an action which must occur: customers often pre-negotiate how payment will be made and have their method of payment ready to give to the bartender on formulation of the price, or in the sequential slot where payment is due.

In order to summarize what we now know from these analyses, it is useful to return to some of the literature previously explored relate and illustrate how the alignment of these interactions takes place in my data. Let us consider again Mandlebaum’s (1996) analysis of multiple parties negotiating blame through storytelling. This featured two participants recounting a story to a single recipient. The direction flow of which is illustrated in Figure 5.1: A, below.

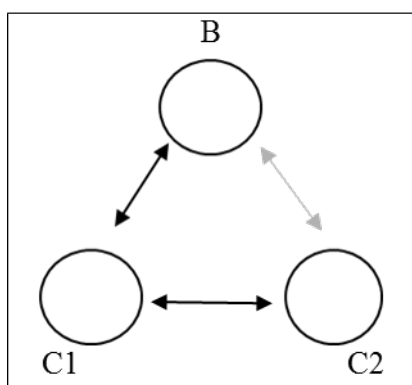
Figure 5.1: Conversational flows



Episodes of this interaction, where two parties align to interact with one recipient, have been presented within the analysis of the customer and bartender interactions. Multiple customers are seen to interact with one bartender when explaining and accounting, which was explored in Extract 5.1. However, the analysis presented in this paper has focused mainly on the

customers interacting as a unit or team. Lerner (2002) studied the use of turn sharing and choral co-production of turns by participants in multi-party conversations, the flow of which is illustrated in Figure 5.1: B. This direction flow allows one speaker or more to take turns at talk in which other participants may join in with, repeat or chorally produce. Lerner's (1993) study considered similar phenomena to that presented in this chapter. Lerner's focus was on participants acting, speaking as and being spoken to as, a collectivity. This involved conferring between participants, and opportunities for conjoined action, where not only the use of a lead speaker occurs but also other members of the assembly can become a recipient and speaker too. The directional flow and alignment is summarized by Figure 5.1: C. This has been discussed throughout the chapter and is a common feature of the customer-bartender interaction. Another directional consideration is that of Kangashaju (1996) and Maynard (1986); how participants can align themselves, in the case of Kangashaju as observable teams affiliating or disaffiliating with another group or in Maynard's study how external participants affiliate or disaffiliate with a dyadic conflict. This direction flow has been grouped together and illustrated schematically by Figure 5.1:D. The analysis section has examined a number of ways in which the multi-party bar transaction is completed. Below is the proposed alignment customers form in the multi-party bar transaction.

Figure 5.2: The proposed alignment of parties in the multi-party bar transaction



The analysis presented in the current chapter has identified a particular form of alignment, which is illustrated in Figure 5.2. The figure shows two customers negotiating and conferring and operating with a lead speaker. They align as a unit for the purpose of the interaction. The grey, fainter line indicates that C2 is a recipient of B's turns, and embodied conduct in that they are visibly and audibly available to C2. This fainter line also indicates that while multi-party interactions occur with a lead speaker, on occasions where the lead speaker is unavailable to lead, for whatever reason, C2 can and will receive and issue turns to B. Through the analytic sections in this chapter (5.2.1-5.2.4) I have shown how multiple customers' co-ordinate themselves as a two party interaction, with a lead speaker, for the purpose of the service transactions accomplishment. It has also considered instances where the function of a lead speaker is temporarily suspended or not available. The interactions analyzed in this chapter most commonly feature a stable lead speaker and a subsequent second, who can be addressed if needed or in the absence of the lead. I have also considered the introduction of another bartender and what affect this has on the organization of turn-taking something not common to the previously explored multi-party interactions.

In the final analytic chapter of thesis (Chapter 6), I will explore in more depth practices for providing payment, an activity which I began to explore at the end of this chapter. I will focus on, amongst other things, parties' orientation to payment from the pre-beginnings of the service encounter to the precise production at the correct sequential slot.

Chapter 6:

Preparing to pay: Preselecting, precise production and proffering

6.0 Introduction

This chapter considers how payment is accomplished sequentially by customers and bartenders. In the service encounter, by definition, goods or services are exchanged for money. The bar service encounter features customers making requests for food or beverages, these being produced at the bar (beverages), or the request being electronically sent to the kitchen for preparation (food), in exchange for payment. Payment for items ordered is produced efficiently to aid the progressivity of the interaction. Customers and bartenders have methods to correctly identify the sequential slot within the interaction in which payment is to be proffered and exchanged. These methods involve making preparatory moves to ensure the exchange is effective. I aim, in this chapter, to examine those resources and practices, including the pre-verbal, verbal and post-verbal actions of the customer and bartender. Firstly, I will discuss what we know about how and why customers produce such *observable* actions in service encounters from the existing literature (6.1). Then I will go on to discuss what we know about payment practices in service encounters (6.1.1) before presenting the analytic section of the chapter (6.2). Finally, (6.4), I will explain what we now know as a result of the analysis itself.

6.1 Observable actions in the service encounter

In this section, I will review what we already know about how and why customers produce 'observable actions'. By 'observable actions' I mean embodied actions that are produced by

participants, and, in relation to the bar, I am referring specifically to actions produced by customer or bartender and are consequential to the on-going activity. For example, a customer may proffer a note while standing at the bar to make observable they are a paying customer. The service encounter within a bar, or public house, is an interaction which can be categorized as ‘institutional talk’. To refresh ourselves from what was outlined in Chapter 1, Drew and Heritage (1992, p.25) categorise institutional talk as having three interactional dimensions: “(a) orientations to institutional tasks and functions; (b) restrictions on the kinds of contributions to the talk that are, or can be, made; and (c) distinctive features of interactional inferences”. An example of restriction to the talk is provided by ten Have (2001); in that the asymmetrical distribution of questions and answers are extremely evident in service encounter interactions (see also Merritt 1976). These questions may be essential to completing an interactional goal, such as recording a food order correctly. The existing research into service encounters, bar some notable exceptions discussed in the review of the literature (Chapter 1), has focused overwhelmingly, using traditional survey and interview methods, on consumer behaviour and has largely been driven by business with a primary focus on customer service both from the customers’ view point (e.g., Smith, Bolton & Wagner, 1999) and the employees’ (e.g., Bitner, Booms, & Mohr, 1994). The concern of the current chapter is not to evaluate the service encounter for the customers’ or employees’ evaluation of their *satisfaction* with it, but to identify the practices of the participants that *accomplish* it.

So, customers produce ‘observable actions’ to identify themselves as, say, paying customers, and to explicate the actions of both customer and bartender to accomplish payment for the order they make. One key observation made by Clark and Pinch (2010) is that customers often manage their conduct, through observable actions, to either avoid spoken interaction or initiate it, as mentioned in Chapter 1. They found that customers displayed

‘high-involvement bodily conduct’ or ‘low-involvement bodily conduct’ in order to display being open and available to entering a verbal sales encounter, or not. The gaze, orientation of their body and observable involvement with products proved to be indicative of openness to enter verbal proceedings. We also know that sellers have a way of identifying potential buyers. Llewellyn and Burrow (2008) investigated how street sellers of the magazine ‘Big Issue’ recognise and approach their potential buyers. They explicated the methods vendors and the passers-by utilise to initiate a sales encounter and how vendors are able to recognise the status of the encounter; that is, whether a sale will be made or not. Customers make their next actions observable to fellow customers and sellers, and sellers monitor these. This concept of ‘projection’ (see Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974) which is usually reserved for talk-in-interaction, was expanded by Dausendschön-Gay and Krafft (2009) to consider a multimodal concept of ‘preparation’. Preparation included talking into account the *embodied* conduct and of customers and sellers within the environment along with the talk.

Dausendschön-Gay and Krafft’s idea of ‘preparation’ in the service encounter is that customers make recognisable their next actions, in the same vein as projection. This means by orienting to and projecting next actions the encounter will progress in an efficient manner. Therefore, if projection has been expanded to encompass embodied actions so too can ‘progressivity’ (see Schegloff, 1979; Stivers & Robinson, 2006; Schegloff, 1997). Progressivity is rooted in the observations of Schegloff and Sacks (1973), that talk is organized around ‘adjacency pairs’ in which a second pair part is due upon the completion of a first. Schegloff (1997, p.15) writes that “moving from some element to a hearably-next one with nothing intervening is the embodiment of, and the measure of, progressivity”. In the service encounter, embodied actions can be ‘next’. An example of this would be the bartender formulating verbally the price for items ordered and the next action being the customer proffering a twenty pound note. To clarify the point: the customer retrieving money from a

bag, purse or wallet prior to this formulation, so that it can be produced when the amount is requested, is the projected aligning action which enables progressivity. The preference for progressivity in the service encounter has been explored specifically relating to the spoken interaction (see Kuroshima, 2009; Lee, 2011), and discussed previously in this thesis; however, this chapter will illustrate the importance of embodied actions and objects in accomplishing progressivity.

6.1.1 Payment practices

How customers provide payment for goods and services in the service encounter has largely been ignored in studies of consumer behaviour with some notable exceptions. Brown (2004) identified the ways in which people display themselves as customers wanting to *purchase* goods that are *chargeable* at a Swedish market stall. In a similar vein to Clark and Pinch (2010), and Llewellyn and Burrow (2008), Brown observed members performing the recognisable embodied actions of a paying customer, which distinguished them from a browsing party who does not intend on purchasing items. Examples of this preparation included placing shopping bags on the floor when approaching the market stall counter or placing a handbag or purse on the counter to display to other customers, and the sellers, that payment for goods will be at some point be made. Brown suggests this placement of a shopping bag or purse to be a move toward being an ‘effective customer’, making payment easily available when the time is right. It is my intention, within this chapter, to examine the minute detail of what customers do when they perform actions such as these. For example: Where do they place purses or handbags? At exactly what sequential position do they retrieve money from a purse or wallet? Are these actions tied to any initiating action? By examining these practices I will expand on the observations of previous research and enable the

explication of these recurrent practices and their purpose for the progressivity of the interaction.

In the literature, little is known about how customers and sellers exchange money for goods in the service encounter. We know, through Llewellyn's (2011a) study of 'The Big Issue' vendor, sometimes in service encounters customers 'gift' their payment at the point of exchange, declining the magazine. This gifting of payment was treated as delicate by both customer and vendor; the moment-by-moment practices for this delicacy to be observable were revealed. This was not only the work of the customer to gift money but the vendor had practices for obtaining a gift also; by 'searching' for and audibly counting the customer's change as it was returned to the customer. This provided an opening for the customers to gift the change. Another practice which relied on the customer making their actions recognisable was the vendor being able to 'see' the difference between payment and gift. This detailed insight is however, context specific; but it does highlight the work customers and sellers do during payment sequences, which can be investigated. Rarely is payment in the service encounter at the bar produced 'delicately' between customer and bartender, due to the nature of the service encounter in the public bar.

Gifting has also been observed between customers Llewellyn (2011b). He identified the practices by which one member of a party 'gifts' the admission fee to a museum on behalf of the other(s). Alluding to, recognising, resisting or accepting this gift are recognisable practices which members accomplish both verbally and with embodied action. In Llewellyn's study members were able to recognise the proffering of a note by one customer as a gift. They either accepted this gift or performed embodied actions such as placing a hand on the payer's purse to constrain it as an observable resistance to the gift. What we do know from this literature is that practices for payment are detailed and rich. Customers and sellers perform observable actions to display orientations to next actions. We know that by

monitoring the other party and co-ordinating actions between parties payment is accomplished.

This chapter will contribute to the somewhat lacking literature on payment practices. As Drew and Heritage (1992, p.22) state, in institutional talk “participants generally show an orientation to institutional tasks or functions in the design of their conduct”. By the end of this chapter I will have shown precisely how this is done in the service encounter at the bar. Customers in the bar project, or prepare, their payment in various ways and at various points in the interaction, yet customers and bartenders are not always oriented to the same task. While Brown (2004) has alluded to the preparatory actions that contribute to being an ‘effective customer’, it is the emergent, moment-by-moment details of how these actions are performed which are of interest. In this chapter I will illustrate how efficiency is produced, by what resources and practices. The chapter will develop from Llewellyn’s (2011a, 2011b) work by exploring how customers and bartenders monitor each other’s actions to successfully exchange payment. In the next section (6.2) we begin the analysis. Firstly, the four payment practices will be discussed.

6.2 Analysis

In the analysis that follows, I will describe four ways in which customers pay for their order:

1. The first section (6.2.1) shows customers taking money or a card from their pocket, bag, etc., as they approach the bar before they place their order. This money is ‘pre-selected’; that is, customers get the method of payment ready before the service encounter ‘proper’ has started. This pre-selecting is observable to the bartender; it is an activity designed to be ‘seeable’ as tied to the category ‘customer’ such that the bartender can treat them as such.

2. The second section (6.2.2) shows customers selecting money or a card from their purse, wallet etc., and proffering their payment to the bartender only when this action is due. Customers may have their money inside a purse, wallet or bag which they have in their hand, or on the bar. They monitor the actions of the service encounter to know when the correct sequential positioning is to recover money or a card from a wallet etc. in order to achieve payment.
3. The third section (6.2.3) shows customers selecting the money or card they will pay with then actively displaying this currency during the service encounter until the point at which it is exchanged. In doing this customers are making their payment 'seeable' for both bartender and other customers. They are recognisably the 'active customer' and their payment is ready and available to exchange when this action is required. The three sections outlined above feature customers and bartenders coordinating their actions to result in payment being produced at the correct sequential position.
4. The fourth and final section (6.2.4) shows customers proffering their payment, yet bartenders declining acceptance in the relevant sequential slot. Customers in this section are orienting to their next action in the service encounter which is payment; yet, the bartenders have more actions to perform before they can take the proffered payment from the customer.

6.2.1 Preselecting payment

This first section presents a practice I have identified across the corpus where customers 'preselect' payment prior to the order being placed. In Extract 6.1 below, the images (Images 6.1-6.4) illustrate the embodied actions of C whilst he approaches the bar counter.

Extract 6.1: LG-27N-C7



Image 6.1

Image 6.2

Image 6.3

Image 6.4

We can see C entering the venue in Image 6.1. Prior to reaching the bar counter, he reaches with his right arm and retrieves his wallet from his right pocket (Image 6.2). By 6.3, C has selected a note from his wallet, which he then returns to his pocket and stands with his arms folded (Image 6.4). At this point, the selected note is in his right hand so it is not being displayed. Rather, in his current stance, it is concealed from B's view. C's actions here are preparatory, which, assuming no trouble will arise at the payment sequence, promotes progressivity of the interaction if payment is easily accessible. By having payment available prior to being prompted, the strong preference for progressivity with minimal spoken interaction is displayed (Kuroshima, 2009). C's selection of this note is available to any customer or bartender in the locale to see also. This action, combined with him standing at the bar with arms folded, makes 'seeable' he will purchase something that will be chargeable. C is therefore an *active customer seeking service* (Brown, 2004). In other words he is displaying 'high-involvement bodily conduct' making himself available to a sales encounter pre spoken interaction (Clark & Pinch, 2010). Whilst the interaction between customer and

bartender has already begun through non-verbal communication spoken interaction begins at line 1.

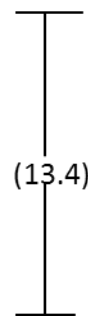
Extract 6.1: LG-27N-C7 cont.

- 1 B: ()
- 2 C: (You all right.)
- 3 C: Jus' 'av a Coke please,
- 4 B: Coke yeah.=
- 5 B: =Uh:m pint or a ha:lf.
- 6 C: Uh half please.
- 7 (1.1)
- 8 B: D' you want ice and lemon.
- 9 C: Uh no ta.

Image 6.5

Image 6.6

10



At line 1, the bartender appears to greet the customer and the ordering sequence begins. After the further specifics of the drink are requested regarding the size of the drink (lines 5 & 6), then the optional addition of ice and fruit (lines 8 & 9), B begins to prepare the requested beverage (line 10). During the gap at line 10 C moves from his position at the far end of the bar to middle; he upgrades his involvement in this service encounter. He has now moved into a position where B and C have a shared working space between them.

In the bar, the working space for preparing drinks is on the back bar for spirits and on the nearside of the front bar for lagers and soft drinks. Drinks are placed on the bar when prepared; C will then pay for the drink before removing it from the counter and returning to his or her seat, or he may remain at the bar. Brown (2004) identifies the counter in the market stall being a place for goods that are in-limbo. C's movement from the side of the bar to standing in front of B displays his observable engagement with B. He stands with the note in his right hand (Image 6.5), now explicitly observable, his actions are recognisable to other customers that he is currently being served and potential next customers will adopt the role of waiting. Note also that the drink B is preparing has a visible start and end point. That is, B and C can see the drink entering the transparent glass, and also when the glass is almost full. The projected next action in the sequence will therefore be payment; to promote progressivity the customer prepares to perform the affiliating action. C switches the note from his right hand to his left (Image 6.6); coordinating his actions to that of B, who has the drink in his left hand. At line 11, the interaction continues.

Extract 6.1: LG-27N-C7 cont.

11 B: One fifty four then please.

12 B: Thank you.

13 (19.9)

14 B: Ah:: you go.



Image 6.7



Image 6.8

15 B: [Che:ers.]

16 C: [Thank you.]

As B finishes preparing the drink, he extends his left hand with the glass in it with the accompanying turn at line 14 “Ah:: you go” (Image 6.7). C then extends his left arm to meet the extended arm of B. Once the drink has been placed on the bar in front of C, B takes the note from C’s extended arm (Image 6.8). This turn-by-turn production of actions allows the payment to be efficiently accomplished. The customer is seen to be orienting to the activity of payment from the beginning of the interaction; he monitors B for his actions to proffer payment at the correct sequential slot.

In Extract 6.1 the customer has ordered a single beverage. The note he selected prior to ordering was selected to cover the total amount payable for the item ordered. In the next extract (6.2) we will see the customer selecting payment prior to ordering but doing so with exact coins. Extract 6.2 shares features with Extract 6.1, which will be unpacked.

Extract 6.2: LG-1A-C1

The first two images in Extract 6.2 (Image 6.9 and Image 6.10), while not especially clear, display the embodied action prior to approaching the bar. In this extract the customer is, again, doing work prior to the spoken interaction beginning.



Image 6.9



Image 6.10

Image 6.9 shows C entering the bar and reaching with his left hand into his pocket. He inspects the coins and keeps the change in his hand (Image 6.10) before approaching the bar and entering the ordering sequence with a greeting from B (line 1). Again this action of selecting the coins prior to ordering is a preparatory move. His inspection of the coins allows him access to the amount he has in his possession. By assessing the coins he has, when the payment sequence arrives he does not have to check, he can simply proffer. Again, this is an orientation to the preference for progressivity and the avoidance of troublesome interaction. The next section shows the spoken interaction.

Extract 6.2: LG-1A-C1 cont.

1: B: >Y' all< right there.

2: C: Not too bad can I have a pint


3:  (1.8) Uh: I'll have a pint of Stella please.=



Image 6.11

4: B: =Ste:lla.

5: B: °Yes please.°

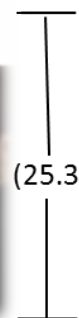
6:



Image 6.12



Image 6.13



During the spoken interaction between B and C, C keeps the coins in his hand, displayed. He lifts his hand up then down at line 2-3 (Image 6.11) as he inspects the draft lager. The

movement of the coins makes an audible noise as they knock onto each other. Coins cannot be displayed in the same way as a note, seen in Extract 6.2. However, C has his hand held at waist height and by making audible the coins a similar displaying of money is achieved, with the same interactional effects as Extract 6.2. During the gap at line 6, whilst B is preparing the drink, C inspects the coins again (Image 6.12), before retaining a selection and return the others to his pocket. In further reducing the coins in his hand he is again orienting to the preference for progressivity as he now has closer to the amount that will be charged. During the drinks preparation (line 6) the coins are stacked in his hands into a tube shape which are held at a height above the bar. This stance, combined with his positioning in front of B, again makes observable to other customers and bartenders alike that this person is engaged in a service encounter (Brown, 2004). The completion of the drink can be seen by the customer and as the pump flicks up (Image 6.13) it makes an audible sound. The next section of the extract shows the exchange of payment, post drink completion.

Extract 6.2: LG-1A-C1 cont.

7: B: Three fift:en °please.°



Image 6.14



Image 6.15



Image 6.16

At line 7 B formulates the price of the drink as he extends it toward the bar counter. Images 6.14- 6.16 occur after the spoken interaction is complete. In Image 6.14, C is extending his

hand of coins as B extends his arm with the drink in; Images 6.15 and 6.16 show the extension and coordination of both parties to accomplish the interaction to achieve the payment. By monitoring these moment-by-moment actions, B has displayed, and C has been able to recognise, the correct position in which to proffer the payment. There is an attention to the detail of the encounter which affords both parties to recognise the correct position in which to accomplish payment.

The final extract (Extract 6.3) in this section (6.2.1) shows a similar case. Images 6.17 – 6.20 below show the actions of the customer prior to the spoken encounter.

Extract 6.3: LG-1A-C11



Image 6.17



Image 6.18

Image 6.19

Image 6.20

The customer in Extract 6.3 has not long entered the bar and has been speaking with his friends (Image 6.17). Between Image 6.17 and 6.18 he walks towards the bar. He displays his orientation to payment as a future action in the interaction as he approaches the bar. He looks into his wallet at Image 6.18 and by the time he reaches the bar he has selected a note and can be seen in Image 6.19 returning his wallet to his pocket. Whilst he waits to be served he speaks with a friend who has joined him by Image 6.19. His note can be seen, and is therefore observable to others in the environment, in his right hand. During his wait in Extract 6.2, C1 did not display the note until he had begun the ordering process; whilst in

Extract 6.3 C did not have a waiting period. An interesting observation in this extract is that C is displaying his preselected note. By displaying a note, purse or wallet in a multi-party service encounter in this way, C1 may be making recognisable that he will 'treat' (Llewellyn, 2011a) his friend to his order. 'Treating' is the member's term for 'gifting' payment (Llewellyn, 2011a).

In contrast to the previous two extracts (6.1 and 6.2), in Extract 6.3 there are two customers (Image 6.19). Previously C has displayed payment to demonstrate being the active customer, in Extract 6.3, another alternative to C1 'gifting' payment is that he is using the displayed note to show he is, out of the two, the next to be served; similar to the practice observed by Brown (2004) with the shopping bags, his note may display his intention to purchase something. This minimises the amount of spoken interaction needed to initiate the sales encounter therefore making the interaction more efficient (Kuroshima, 2010). In the next part of this extract the spoken interaction begins and we can observe how the participants understand the interaction.

Extract 6.3: LG-1A-C11 cont.

- 1 B: You all right mate.
2 C1: Can I have a Bulmers pear please.
3 B: Yeah.
4 (1.5)
5 B: D' ya want any ice,
6 C1: Yeah please mate.



Image 6.21

- 8 C1: Cheers mate.



- 10 C1: Do you want to go to- sh- shall we go to the strip club.
11 C2: Huh huh.
12 C1: Cheers.

During the drinks preparation by B, in the gap at line 7, C1 is oriented to the conduct of B. He monitors through gaze the preparation of the drink. Again, the status of the drink preparation is observable to C1 and, in fact, all of the parties who have an interest. The

monitoring of the drink preparation allows the customers and bartenders a visible identifier of what stage that action is at, and how soon the next action will be required. The drink is produced at line 8 which occasions the turn at line 8 “Cheers mate” from C1. At this point it is clear that C1 will not be ‘treating’ his friend to a drink, Images 6.22 through to 6.24 shows the coordination of the drink and payment exchange. As B extends his arm to place the drink on the bar surface C extends the note and the exchange is made. This coordination is precisely timed so that there is minimal delay, progression occurs and without interactional trouble. The observed, co-ordinated, payment exchanges are similar to the ‘gifting’ of payment by customers to vendors of the ‘Big Issue’ in Llewellyn’s (2012) study. However, here a ‘gift’ for the item is not a possibility but the payment exchanges work equally as efficiently; C’s hand moves to proffer towards B’s hand who extends to take receipt of the money.

From this section (6.2.1) we now know how customers can *preselect* payment before the spoken service encounter is initiated. Extracts 6.1-6.3 then show a recurrent practice through which payment is accomplished. The practice is that customers select money from about their person; from a pocket, wallet, etc., prior to entering the spoken sales encounter. As Clark and Pinch (2010) found, preverbal conduct is an important factor in recognising a customer. Had these customers not selected payment in this way, they could be approaching the bar to initiate other actions, such as asking for directions to the toilet but the observable conduct of the customers displays that they are going to purchase something (Brown, 2004); preparation has been made which projects the next action the customer will perform. By pre-selecting payment customers are being efficient in terms of the progression of the service encounter. When B is observable ready to take payment from C, or the moment to exchange payment is recognised by both parties payment is accomplished.

Once a verbal encounter has been initiated, customers do work with their money to make recognisable and observable the stage they are currently at in the interaction. They are observable to other customers as currently being served. They display ‘high-involvement bodily conduct’ (Clark & Pinch, 2010) with their positioning at the bar, display and monitor actions to enable the smooth running of the interaction.

In the next section (6.2.2), payment is provided in a ‘timely manner’, rather than pre-selected prior to the spoken talk, as we have seen in section 6.2.1. In 6.2.2 I will demonstrate how the payment sequence is accomplished as efficiently when payment is selected when requested, or just prior to.

6.2.2 Precise production

Whereas in the previous analytic section (6.2.1) customers preselected payment to perform various actions such as: displaying the customer is ready to pay for something they will order and orienting to next actions, here payment is reserved until its production is required. This difference does not produce a problematic interaction. Extract 6.4 is an example of when payment is produced when required.

Extract 6.4: LG-1A

- 1 C: Order some food please,=
2 B: =Sure
3 (1.2)
4 C: Uh: the chicken New Yorker please.
5 (6.4)

6 B: Yeah.
7 (0.7)
8 C: And uh: cheese bacon 'n' chips ple:ase.



Image 6.25

Image 6.26

9
10 B: Seven fifty please mate.
11 B: Ch's.
12 (6.3)
13 B: Thanks.

In Extract 6.4, payment is retrieved after C has issued his order. There is no pre-selection of payment, or display of payment prior to the point at which B is in a position to receive it from C. C reaches for his wallet (Image 6.25) after issuing the final part of his order (line 8). At the beginning of the gap at line 9, B is observably oriented to the till and is registering C's order by tapping on the till. When these observable and audible taps come to an end, C proffers the note only seconds before B formulates the price for C (Image 6.26). While this sequence includes differences to those seen in the prior analytic section, there are also similarities. C has again monitored the observable actions of B to anticipate the next action; the actions of B project that payment will be required in the next slot. Secondly, C has positioned himself directly in front of the till. As Clark and Pinch (2010) have shown, C's position relation to the environment makes recognisable their openness and availability to engage in interaction with a sales clerk, or, in this setting, a bartender. Without the observable pre-selection of payment,

whether C will order something that requires payment is not known, but his orientation and positioning do make recognisable that he requires service of some form. His pre to ordering food at line 1 confirms this encounter will be one that requires payment as food items will be ordered.

Note that in Extract 6.4, C has not requested a drink. This means after the food order is complete, the next action in the sequence is to exchange payment. C orients to this next action by retrieving payment. There are no other tasks to be completed by either party before the action of paying is initiated. In the next extract (6.5), we will see what happens when a drink is ordered by C and prepared by B; the payment is still not selected and proffered until the correct sequential slot, as seen in Extract 6.4.

Extract 6.5: LG-1A-C6

- 1 B: You all ri[ght.]
2 C1: [↑Hi]↑ya.
3 C1: We're at the table up the top there the one just like,
4 B: The two sofas.
5 C1: Yeah the two sofas that one's got a number.

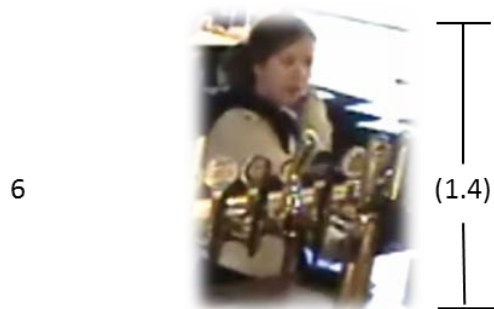


Image 6.27

- 7 C1: Can we order some food.
8 (0.9)
9 B: Yep.

10 (1.0)

11 C1: Um: can I get the crunchy breaded mushrooms please to start,

12 (2.0)

13 B: Yep

14 C1: And can I get the chicken New Yorker.

15

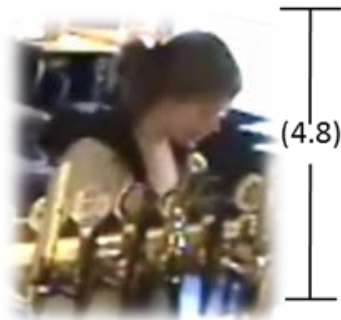


Image 6.28

16 B: Anything else,

17 C1: Uh:m can I get a pint of water please.

18 B1: Yeah.

19 (35.0)

In Extract 6.5, C is recognisable to others in the bar as a customer seeking to order items at the bar, which will be chargeable: she displays her purse. This is different to the sort of pre-selecting we saw in section 6.3.1, because coins or a note have not been selected and *withdrawn* from a purse, wallet or bag. That is, the container for money is on display, but not specific monetary items. While C is holding a purse, in the same way as Extract 6.4, she does not *retrieve* money from this until the slot in which it is due. After a greeting and a short sequence to establish where the customer is sat within the pub, C places her purse down onto the bar surface (Image 6.27). This placing of the purse mirrors the actions seen by Brown (2004) in the Swedish market stall. Again, she has positioned herself directly in front of the till and is observably a customer engaged in a sales encounter. The prior talk between lines 3-7, has informed B that C will be ordering something that must be prepared and brought to her

at her table, rather than prepared whilst she waits. This could either be a hot beverage or food items. The next turn at line 7 clarifies it is food that will be ordered. C then picks up her purse again and holds it in her hand throughout the ordering sequence (lines 11 to 14).

Immediately after C has ordered her final item, she orients to her open purse (Image 6.28) displaying an orientation to payment as the next action in this ordering sequence. She peers into the purse but at this point does not take any coins or notes out of it. In this extract (6.5), unlike Extract 6.4, there is a drink requested at line 17. She requests water which does not cost, yet requires preparation by B. After his confirmation at line 18, he begins to prepare the drink. Before B returns with the prepared drink, C1 is joined at the bar by a friend. There is a gap of around 35 seconds where B is preparing the drink before C2 joins C1 at the bar. During this gap, C1 could select the payment for her items ordered, as seen in the preselecting payment section; however she does not. Section 6.2.1 outlined how the practice of pre-selecting payment enables C to be in a position to provide B with payment as the drink is extended toward them, aiding and ensuring progressivity. Here, C displays recognisable next actions but C's behaviour does not necessarily demonstrate 'being an efficient customer' as Brown (2004) suggests; although preparatory actions are completed. The completion of a drink along with it being placed onto the bar surface is a recognisable completion of one sequence and indicative the next will begin. We re-join the interaction at that point.

Extract 6.5: LG-1A-C6 cont.

- 20 C1: Will you take that one for me and Cassandra.
21 C2: Yeah.

22



(0.8)

Image 6.29

23 B:

Seven pound ninety please.



Image 6.30

24 C1: Tha:nk you.

25



(15.2)

Image 6.31

26 B: Thank you.

When B places the drink on to the bar (Image 6.29), C1 is oriented to her friend so is not monitoring the interaction. At line 23, B requests the payable amount from C (Image 6.30). C1 then looks back into her purse and lowers her head further (Image 6.31) to locate the money required to cover this order. This takes longer than the interaction in Extracts 6.1-3, in which the pre-selection of payment meant C was available immediately to provide payment. The drink is placed on the bar and B waits for the money to be selected, then handed over, completing the final action of payment. By not monitoring the projected actions of B intersubjectivity fails and progressivity is affected. This extracts highlights the importance of

monitoring the displayed actions of customers and bartenders to ensure the progressivity of the interaction.

From analysing these interactions, we now know the timely production of payment can be less efficient than pre-selecting payment. Where customers who do not preselect their money, instead keeping it in their pocket (Extract 6.4) or their purse (Extract 6.5), they produce their money only when prompted verbally or through visual cues. Extract 6.4 and 6.5 show customers inspecting their money, but not retrieving it from their purse or wallet until the sequential position where payment will be requested. Customers can observe through the recognisable projected next actions that payment will be due and can produce this without interactional trouble. In Extract 6.5 there is a slight delay in producing payment, due to C interacting with her friend rather than monitoring the actions of the bartender. In selecting payment this way, customers are no less recognisable as being involved and oriented to the interaction than pre-selecting and displaying their payment. They are also efficient in a different way to preselecting; where preselecting customers may have payment immediately ready to hand over to B, customers who produce their payment in a timely fashion have the knowledge of the exact price. They have been prompted to produce payment by the formulation for the price amongst other cues. This enables them to select coins/notes that are as close to the exact price, without having to estimate the total as the pre-selecting customers have (unless prices are known by the customer). In the previous two sections (6.2.1 and 6.2.1) the point at which, and, how payment is produced and then exchanged has been considered.

The next section 6.2.3, considers the practice of ‘displaying’ payment throughout the interaction and what interactional purpose that may have.

6.2.3 *Displaying Payment*

In this section we will focus on examples of customers retrieving their payment and keeping it displayed until it is time to pay. The focus of this chapter is not to record at what point the payment is retrieved; whether this be pre-selected before the verbal interaction as in 6.2.1, or keeping their money within a purse or wallet (6.2.2), instead to outline what is being done when customers retrieve and keep it observable and displayed to both the bartender and other customers. Extract 6.6 is the first example of this.

Extract 6.6: LG-12D-C3

- 1 B: You al l right mate.
- 2 C: Yeah are you still doing the veggie breakfast.
- 3 B: Yep.
- 4 C: Can I get one of those and uh: (1.0) sausage and ma:sh.
- 5 (2.5)
- 7 B: D' ya know what t̩a:ble number you're on.
- 8 C: Twenty nine.
- 9 B: Twenty nine.
- 10 (9.5)

11 B: Would you like the veggie breakfast with white or brown.



Image 6.32

12 C: Uh: white.



13

Image 6.33

14 B: An' it's a sausage and mash.

15 C: °Yeah.°

16 B: Anything el:se,

17 C: No that's all thanks.

18 B: Six seventy then please.

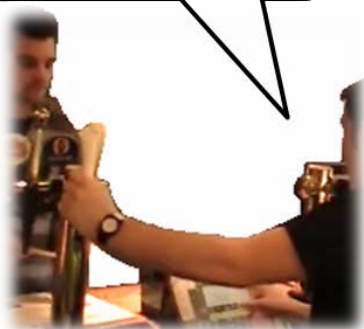


Image 6.34

19 (0.7)

In Extract 6.6, C selects a note from his wallet after he has placed his order and his table location has been located during line 10. He holds this note in both hands (Image 6.32), close to his body. At this point, the note is folded in half (Image 6.32). By selecting the payment after placing the order as discussed before, he is orienting to the next action he must complete in the service encounter to accomplish the transaction. After the sequence to confirm which bread the customer would like (lines 11-12) C unfolds the note and holds it in the position seen in Image 6.33. The note is displayed but not proffered; it is observably in C's hand, C is therefore recognisable as the customer currently being served, yet the note is partially concealed. He displays high-involvement bodily conduct (Clark & Pinch, 2010) and also an orientation to the actions which must be achieved in the service encounter. When the price is formulated (line 18) C then proffers the note which B accepts at line 21 below.

Extract 6.6: LG-12D-C3 cont.

20 B:

'k you.



Image 6.35

21

(9.1)

22 B: Three thirty change than:k you.

By handling the note this way, its value is somewhat obscured. C keeps the note close to him until prompted to provide B with payment. This works in a similar way to keeping the money in a wallet or purse, only with less effort required to proffer the note at the correct sequential position. C has selected a note which will cover the amount, and has returned his wallet to his pocket. If the note was not of high enough value to cover the amount payable, there would be a delay in the progressivity of the interaction whilst C selected additional money. However this is not the case and this technique of selecting and displaying payment contributes to an effective service encounter.

Another example of payment being displayed is presented in Extract 6.7.

Extract 6.7:LG-27N-C16

In this extract we see again a note has been selected but its value is concealed.



Image 6.36

1 C:

Hi ya mate can I get a black coffee please.



Image 6.37



Image 6.38



Image 6.39

2 B: Black coffee yeah.

3 (4.0)

4 B: Two seventy please,



Image 6.40



Image 6.41

5 B: Thank you.

6 (11.8)

7 B: Whereabouts are you sitting?

8 C: I have no idea round there somewhere.

9 B: I'll bring it over to you.

10 C: Thank you.

C has been waiting and monitoring his position in the queue for approximately two minutes. When he observes he is (potentially) the next to be served he retrieves a note from his wallet and stands with this note concealed in his hand (Image 6.36). By monitoring the environment

he gains access to his perceived position in the queue of customers. By retrieving money he orients to, and projects his next action.

During the first part of his turn at line 1 (“Hi ya mate”), C lifts the note up (Image 6.37) as he continues into the sentence (“can I get”) he begins to lower the note back down (Image 6.38) before bringing it back to the position seen in Image 6.39; lowered and less pronounced. This display of the note, precision timed with his sentence, makes overtly clear C has a note in his hand, yet the value of this note is again obstructed. He displays the note at its most prominent during the initial part of the turn displaying, and making recognisable, the solidification of the interaction between C and B. Whilst B can potentially recognise the value of the note C purposely has the note folded rather than flat out. Once the price has been formulated by B at line 4, C extends the note and proffers it for B to accept which he does. Again, in displaying the note in this way he is being an effective customer (Brown, 2004) but the way he does this is interesting. He is making recognisable his status in the interaction, he is orienting to the next action of the service encounter and he is doing so in a way that makes the interaction run efficiently.

This section of the analysis has illustrated the differences between customers who produce payment from a purse or wallet when prompted, from those who preselect a note. We now know customers who preselect a note, and display this note, do so with caution. The note’s value is concealed, albeit partially, until the sequential position in which to proffer it arises. The hands work similarly to a purse or wallet retaining the money until the correct time to proffer. By holding the money in their hands rather than keeping it in a purse or wallet allows a more efficient exchange of money. As we have seen from section (6.2.2) by producing payment in a timely manner this is no less interactionally troublesome, but to display payment as shown in this section (6.2.3) additional work is being done. This section is comparable to the first analytic section where customers preselect prior to the verbal

encounter, although here their selection and retrieval of the money in which they will pay with is more sequentially logical. By selecting the payment after placing the order they are orienting to the next action they will complete.

In the three analytic sections discussed so far (6.2.1 -6.2.3), we have seen how customers show that they monitor the status of the service interaction, through visual cues such as the preparation of the drink, and observed the embodied actions of the bartender to produce the payment at the correct time. Whether pre-selecting, producing when prompted or displaying the payment, the actual exchange of money has been produced in an efficient manner. In each of the prior sections (6.2.1-6.2.3), the customers and bartenders co-ordinate their actions to result in an emergent recurrent practice which results in the accomplishment of payment being exchanged. In 6.2.4, C proffers the payment for B to take, which B declines.

6.2.4 Proffering payment

In this section, 6.2.4, I focus on the proffering of payment by customers. This differs to the prior analytic sections in that, money is proffered for a period of time *before* the bartender accepts it. This is of analytic interest as customers are seen, as in the prior analytic sections, monitoring the actions of the encounter. Customers have either preselected or retrieved and displayed their payment, as seen, yet the actions of the bartender and customer in this section (6.2.4) are misaligned and the proffering of payment by C is rejected by B. Extract 6.8 illustrates this.

Extract 6.8: LG-27N-C11

- 1 C: Hi there you all right.=
- 2 B: =You a' right.
- 3 C: Can I have the (0.4) three ninety five breakfast please uh::
- 4 the big breakfa[st]
- 5 B: [The] bigger one yeah.
- 6 B: Uh: do you know your table number.
- 7 C: Uh:: dunno it's like just over there.
- 8 B: You with those,=
- 9 C: =Yeah three lads [there.]
- 10 B: [Three]other guys.
- 11 C: Yeah yeah.
- 12 (4.2)
- 13 B: Uh: d' you want white or brown toast wi' that.



Image 6.42

In this extract the base first pair part to the ordering sequence is issued after the greeting (line 3). Then there is a sequence regarding C's table number the customer is sat at, which is

resolved by line 11. During the gap in the spoken interaction at line 12, B enters the information into the till whilst C recovers money from his wallet. B offers C a choice of bread at line 13, with his response B proffers his note at line 14 (Image 6.42). We can see from the image that at B is oriented to the till.

Extract 6.8: LG-27N-C11 cont.

15 (2.0)

16 B: 's that everything.

17 C: That's it thanks.



Image 6.43

18 B: Uh three ninety five.

19 C: Thanks.



Image 6.44

20 (2.0)

21 C: Any chance of having the tele on for the football as well,

22 B: Uh yeah yeah I'll put that on.

23 (7.9)

24 B: Thank you.

25 C: Cheers.

C maintains the proffered stance whilst B checks the order is complete with “’s that everything” at line 16. C confirms “That’s it thanks” and proffers the note further at line 17 (Image 6.43). In both of these images, C can be seen proffering the note, yet B does not take it from him. It is not until the price has been formulated at line 18 that B extends his arm to take the note being proffered (Image 6.44). Once the note is taken payment is achieved and after returning C’s change the sequence is complete.

In the previous analytic sections (6.2.1-6.2.3), C has monitored the actions and oriented to the projected actions of B. We saw that C extended the payment as B has extended the drink to place on the bar surface; this exchange has been accomplished seamlessly. We have also seen that customers and bartenders do work so that money is proffered at the correct sequential position, ensuring progressivity. Customers and bartenders monitor the embodied conduct of each other and use visual cues to know when is the correct slot to proffer the payment. Customers have even swapped the hand the money is in (Extract 1: Image 6.5 & 6.6) to better co-ordinate their actions with the bartender to ensure the most effective exchange.

In Extract 6.8 the customer displays an orientation to the actions in the service encounter. First, the greeting sequence occurred (lines 1 and 2), then the base pair part to the ordering (3-4), which is then confirmed (5). Next, an insert sequence requesting the table number is issued and then closed (5-11). C proffers the note at line 14, whilst responding to the second sequence regarding B’s questions about bread type. C displays an orientation to the next action in the sequence and displays preparation (Dausendschön-Gay & Krafft, 2009). The action, however, is mismatched with the next action bartender, who at line 14 is still issuing information seeking questions, which must then be entered into the till. After this sequence is completed at line 14, and the information is entered into the till, the next action for B is to check the order is complete. C has made observable that he is ready to provide

payment by extending the note, yet B still checks there is nothing more to add to the order at line 16. C's status is available for B to see, he is ready to exchange payment. When C confirms there is nothing more to order at line 17, C proffers the note further, indicating he is ready for payment to be exchanged. It is at this point the next action for B is to formulate the price then extends his arm to take the note from C. Here the bartender and customer have not aligned their actions to achieve a seamless payment, instead C has prematurely proffered the note.

Extract 6.9 is another example of mismatched alignment of actions between C and B; the customer proffers the note yet B declines to accept it at the sequential position in which it is offered.

Extract 6.9: LG-22N-C1

- 1 B: Hi ya how can I he[lp.]
- 2 C: [Hi] can I have um (1.0) a chicken
- 3 tikka masala and uh pint of
- 4 Fosters please.=
- 5 B: =Course you can have you got a rough idea of
- 6 where n- bouts you'll be sitting?

7 C:

Erm, I'll just sit down here somewhere.

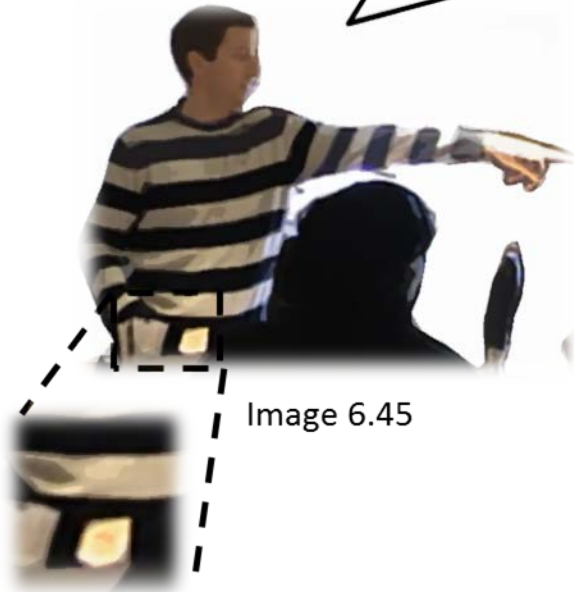


Image 6.45

Image 6.45 shows C waiting at the bar prior to the spoken interaction. His positioning at the bar displays 'high involvement bodily conduct' (Clark & Pinch, 2010). At this point he has a note in his hand which is concealed in his folded arms. The note is revealed (Image 6.46) when he issues his second pair part to the first in the sequence regarding whereabouts he is sitting (line 7). Immediately after the pointing gesture, C proffers the note and maintains this position throughout the further insert sequences shown between lines 8-16 and in Image 6.47 below.

Extract 6.9: LG-22N-C1 cont.

8



Image 6.46

9 B: Chicken tikka masala and a pint of-is that
10 with rice or chips:?

11 C: Uh rice plea[se.]

12 B: [Ri:]ce °an' a pint of Fosters.°

13 (2.0)

14 B: Anything els[:e?]

15 C: [Tha]t's it tha:nks.

16 B: °Okey Dokey.°

17



Image 6.47

After the ordering and insert sequences have been completed (lines 9-12), and a check by B that there are no additional items to be ordered (lines 14-16), B moves away from the till to prepare the drink C has ordered. Up to this point, the proffering of the note (Image 6.46) has been under the same interactional conditions as Extract 6.8. After the base pair part of the order has been placed by C, and the location of the table C is sat at has been confirmed, C proffers the note. C has done the preparatory work, yet it has gone wrong. The difference here is that B has the additional task of preparing the drink before accepting payment. The customer and bartender have misaligned their actions and therefore the note has been proffered sequentially premature. In the gap at line 17, C then retracts his proffered note and turns away from the bartender. He can be seen disengaging, by turning his body away from B, with the action he was previously displaying high involvement in (Image 6.47). During the preparation of the drink, B and C are involved in non-task talk, which comes to an end as the preparation of the drink is completed shown below.

Extract 6.9: LG-22N-C1 cont.

- 18 B: How are you today you all ri:ght?
- 19 C: Yeah I'm all right, ye:ah just er having some
20 new tyres fitted on my car so.
- 21 B: Killing some ti:[me.]
- 22 C: [Ju]s' killing time [yeah.]
- 23 B: [Heh]
- 24 heh heh

25 (1.0)

26 B: °unt blame ya, good way to do it.°

27 C: Yeah.

28 (6.0)

29 B: Eight fifteen then please.



Image 6.48

30 C: Tha[nk you.]

31 B: [Ye:ah th]ank you.

32 (9.0)

33 B: One pound eighty five change t[hank you.]

34 C: [Thank yo]u, chee:rs.

As B formulates the price for C verbally (line 29), she extends her arm holding the drink to place it on the bar. It is at this point C coordinates his action by extending his arm so the exchange of money can be made (as seen in previous successful interactions).

In Extract 6.10 a proffered note is being used to display high involvement bodily conduct initially and then the note is prematurely proffered.

Extract 6.10: LG-27N-C38a

1 B:

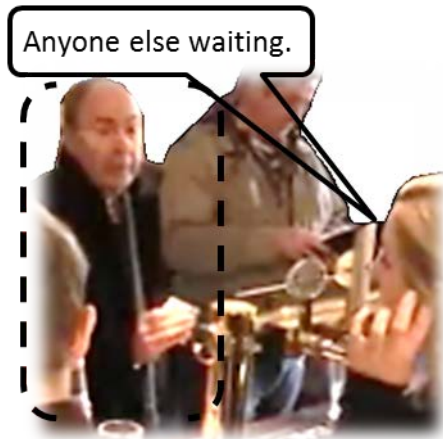


Image 6.49

2 C1:



Image 6.50

3



Image 6.51

In the first part of this extract C2 (the customer show in the images) is displaying a note in an attempt to become the next customer to be served. When B asks, “Anyone else waiting” (line 1), C2 raises the note he has in his hand and orients his face to B (Image 6.49). C2 is attempting to establish eye contact with B; establishing mutual eye gaze preceded and should

precede verbal contact in the sales encounter (Clark and Pinch, 2010). C1 is also displaying 'high involvement bodily conduct' (Clark & Pinch, 2010) attempting to engage in a service encounter. His intention to place an order for something payable is observable through the use of the note as an object and resource in the interaction, similar to the observations of Brown (2004). Image 6.50 shows C looking over his right shoulder to see who B is oriented to. At line 2, C1 begins to issue his order but his turn is incomplete and the stretching out of the "a" at the end is a delay in issuing the request for a particular item. In the gap at line 3 B turns her gaze to C2, who rotates the note in his hand in the direction of C1. She keeps her gaze with C2 inviting him to place his order which he does, with the note extended again (Image 6.52) at line 4 below.

Extract 6.10: LG-27N-C38a cont.

4 C2:



Image 6.52

5 B: Yes darlin'.

6 B: I'll be two seconds darlin' that all right

7 (5.3)

Whilst this note is being proffered, as opposed to displayed, in the first part of this extract it is not being proffered to be taken by the bartender at any point between lines 1-7. The

bartender knows this proffering of the note is not for her to accept but is being used performativity. Its purpose, as mentioned above, is to make recognisable the status and intended actions of C2. The next part of the extract shows the note being proffered again, only this time it is recognisable as available for B to take.

Extract 6.10: LG-27N-C38a cont.

- 8 B: Anything else darlin’.
- 9 C2: Have you got any dry roasted peanuts.
- 10 B: We have yeah.
- 11 (3.5)
- 12 B: There you go.
- 13 B: Thank you.



Image 6.53



Image 6.54

Image 6.55

Between lines 8 and 10, C2 has ordered some dry roasted peanuts. B places these on the bar at line 12. As we can see from Image 6.53 as she extends her arm to place the peanuts on the bar; C extends his arm proffering the note. This collaboration of actions to make the payment exchange is seen across the corpus and presented in this chapter as the way in which customers and bartenders regularly exchange goods for money. From the perspective of the customer this is the correct sequential position to proffer the note and have B take it from him; however, this does not happen. B rejects C2's proffering. When she returns to the till, and the misalignment of actions is revealed, C2 retracts the note and turns to face away from the bar (Image 6.54). He then disengages with the interaction as seen in Image 6.55. He turns his bodily orientation around 180 degrees. This is a smooth succession of movements until B formulates the price for C2, orienting him back to the interaction. Image 6.56 below shows, although the actual exchange happens behind the lager taps, the second attempt and the successful exchange of payment.

Extract 6.10: LG-27N-C38a cont.

15 B: Four twen'y six darlin' ple:ase.

16 B: Thank you.



Image 6.56

17 (9.9)

18 B: There you go sweetie thank you.

From the final section of the analysis we now know the exchange of payment is not always timed to precision and have explored the circumstances of why this may be. In each extract the customer has proffered the payment however, the bartender has not accepted it. The analysis has illustrated that this occurs at a specific point in the interaction; when the customer has issued their order. In proffering payment they are orienting to their next action in the sequence; however, the bartender has further actions to complete before accepting this payment. In the final Extract (6.10) of this analytic section (6.2.4) C2 has worked with the visual cues available to him which have worked for other customers across the data, as the bartender extends the goods toward the customer, the note is proffered and exchanged. However, this extract depicts there is more to the successful exchange than that. In the next section, (6.3) the analysis presented will be discussed.

6.3 Discussion

This chapter has examined the ways in which customers pay for items ordered at the bar counter. Firstly, I outlined what we already know from the existing literature on customers' observable and recognisable actions in service encounters. Secondly, I positioned the work of the thesis in the context of the small body of existing literature on payment practices in service encounters. This revealed what we do not know about payment practices in the service encounter. The four analytic sections have presented my findings on the differing yet interconnected practices customers mobilize to select and provide payment for their orders.

In order to discuss the findings of the analysis presented in the analytic section, and reiterate what we now know it may be useful to summarise the four sections. In the first section of analysis (6.2.1), the customer practice of selecting payment prior to the initiation of the spoken interaction was presented. By preselecting payment, this does not mean the service encounter between bartender and customer has not already been initiated through

non-verbal interaction, but the key actions of the service encounter have not been initiated. By preselecting payment, customers displayed they will order something chargeable, showing an orientation and a projection to the future actions of the service encounter and are acting as an efficient customer. In sum, they oriented to the preference for progressivity in the service encounter. Lee (2010) and Kuroshima (2009), along with others, have explored this concept in service encounters recently but their research focuses on spoken talk. I propose that customers not only manage the preference for aligning responses to further the interaction but they also produce and monitor the production of others, actions in which to be both aligning and efficient.

In the second analytic section (6.2.2) customers selected and proffered payment when prompted by B either by spoken or visual cues, or both. This has less of an orientation toward minimising spoken talk and gaps in time between actions but afford a more efficient payment production. Customers retrieved money from a purse or wallet when payment was the next action allowing them to retrieve currency which was closer to the total than proffering a note deemed to cover the total. Customers may orient to a purse, wallet or bag etc. but they did not take money from this until prompted to do so. There is still an orientation to payment as a future action by C by looking into a purse, wallet, etc. and the customer is still efficient as they can produce payment once the total is known to enable the correct amount is exchanged.

In the third analytic section (6.2.3) customers were observed to be displaying their payment, but only proffering when prompted, again with either spoken or visual clues. Customers displayed their payment after they have issued their order but before the specifics have been requested and provided. This is again a recognisable orientation to the customer's next action in the sequence. The displaying of payment allows B to see that payment has been prepared, although the note is somewhat concealed before it is required to be proffered. In all

three of these sections, customers and bartenders calibrate their actions to accomplish payment at the correct position sequentially.

The fourth analytic section (6.2.4) showed instances where the actions of the bartender and customer were misaligned. Customers are seen proffering their payment before the bartender is ready to accept it. This is done either after the ordering, similar to the displaying section, although here money is being proffered not just displayed or when preparation of a drink ordered is complete. What was interesting about this section is that where the proffering was correct for those displaying, here it was misaligned with the actions of the bartender. The customer did the preparatory work, but the institutional tasks of the bartender and the order in which to do them was not available to the customer. The nature of institutional talk has implications for the progressivity of the interaction. Whilst C is orienting to his/her interactional tasks in this encounter, the lay/professional asymmetry is invoked with interactionally troublesome results.

What I hope to have communicated in this chapter is that, overall, customers orient to contributing to the service encounter in the most efficient way they can, thus constructing a moral and social order to the service encounter. In writing this chapter, I have contributed to, and developed, previous understandings of how customers pay for orders they place in the service encounter and the accomplishment of service encounters more generally. Where the existing literature has focussed on initiating, or avoiding the initiation, of service encounters (Clark & Pinch, 2010; Llewellyn & Burrow, 2008) this analysis has shown the detailed, moment-by-moment practices customers and bartenders have for a specific action in the service encounter: accomplishing payment. The analysis has shown that although preparatory, displayed, recognisable actions do make for an effective customer, as Brown (2004) stated, there is much more to the production and proffering of payment than efficiency; and it has been highly worthy of inspection. In the final chapter of this thesis (Chapter 7), I will

summarize my findings from the empirical work of the thesis, and set my work in its wider theoretical and methodological context.

Discussion

The aim of this thesis was to examine how customers purchase food and/or drinks items, from bartenders at the bar counter; thus accomplishing a service encounter. I investigated the sequence of the activities which comprise the service encounter, by identifying and analysing the organization of actions as they unfold. The main analytic focus was to explore the opening sequence, the ordering sequence and the payment sequence as, during analysis, these emerged as the core activities of the service encounter. A further objective of this thesis was to show that CA can be used effectively to analyse the embodied conduct of participants, in aggregate with their talk. CA is concerned with how social action is accomplished; which extends further than just the analysis of talk (Heath & Luff, 2013). People's embodied conduct, working with the spoken elements of participant's interaction, has been shown to be *integral* to understanding how participants make sense of the unfolding actions, in the service encounter. I will now summarize what we have learnt from the analysis presented over the four analytic chapters, and highlight how the aims of the thesis have been addressed.

I began, in the first analytic chapter (Chapter 3), by investigating how customers and bartenders initiate the service encounter. The findings of this chapter revealed that much of the work done by participants to display themselves as 'available' to enter an interaction, occurs prior to the first spoken turn. By analysing the 'pre-beginnings', I revealed the practice of 'hovering'. The term 'hovering' was extended from Laurier, Whyte and Buckner's (2001) use of the term in their study of a cafe. I used it to formulate the activities that customers do when waiting for service at the bar. From the analysis, customers were found to hover in a 'hovering area': a semi-circle area in front of the bar counter. In this area, customers stood facing toward the bar, with their bodies oriented toward the bar counter. I found hovering to be a somewhat passive practice, in that customers do not snap fingers or call out to bartenders;

instead, customers monitored the unfolding situation through gaze, and were found to adjust their hovering according to the unfolding situation, they waited for bartenders to ‘solidify’ the interaction with the first spoken turn. I then investigated how bartenders ‘solidified’ the interaction with various first pair parts. These first pair parts were found to be responsive to customer’s hovering which, despite the customer’s best efforts, could still be ambiguous. The formulation “yes please” was found to select the ‘next’ customer with greatest degree of certainty; while “you all right”, combined with the indexical term “there”, worked as a downgraded version, which allowed for the contingency that the customer did not require a service. I also showed that in situations involving several ambiguously hovering customers, or a multi-party group, the bartender formulated the first turn “anyone waiting”; customers could then self-select as ‘next customer’. Rarely were customers found to take the first turn at *talk* and, after an examination of instances in which they did, the bartender was found to solidify the interaction with embodied conduct. Overall, Chapter 3 revealed how service encounters, at the bar counter, are opened. We now know that customers hover to communicate their availability and, although this hovering can be ambiguous, bartender practices disambiguate the hovering effectively through their choice of formulation for their first turn.

In Chapter 4, we moved on from the opening sequence to explore the requesting sequence. I examined the way that objects were recruited into the requesting sequence of the service encounter. Specifically, I investigated how the Cash Till and the tables were mobilized to accomplish ordering. From the analysis, the Cash Till, once recruited into the interaction, was found to organize the sequence of the turns, due to its programming. To remind ourselves: when placing a food order at the bar, customers were required to supply a table number so that, when ready, food could be delivered to the correct location. The analysis of this chapter revealed that while customers were observed to know, mostly, their

table number, the placement of the request for that number was often marked as unexpected. This highlighted the asymmetry of knowledge between customers and bartenders. The bartender was the recipient of a request issued by the till for a table number, at a specific sequential position. The customer did not have access to the till screen visually, and therefore, the bartender formulated the table number request verbally to the customer. Bartenders were found to have several ways of requesting the customer's table number; which either made providing a number, or locating the "whereabouts" of their location relevant in the next turn. Formulations ranged from "what table number" to "do you know your table number"; again allowing for the contingency of the customer not knowing. By questioning "whereabouts", customers mobilized the environment in their response to the question. Overall, Chapter 4 revealed how interactions at the bar counter were more than a dyadic interaction between customer and bartender, and I argued that talk, embodied conduct, the recruitment of artefacts, and the 'semiotic field' should all be analyzed in aggregate to investigate the accomplishment of social action.

The focus of Chapter 5 was on multi-party interactions at the bar counter. I investigated how service encounters functioned when multiple customers aligned as a 'unit'. A unit was the term given to two or more customers who ordered and paid together. From the analysis of the ordering sequence, I identified several practices: firstly, prior to the base pair of turns that formulated the order, customers were found to negotiate and confer their orders between themselves, in a pre-expansion sequence. These turns were found to be designed in a way to be 'private' between the customers and not for the bartenders, while turns for the bartender were designed to be 'public'. This practice gave the parties access to what each other *may* order. The analysis revealed how one person acted as a 'lead speaker', receiving and issuing turns to and from the bartender on behalf of the party. The lead speaker was found to relay information gained from the negotiating and conferring sequence, or could

prompt others to provide information, or interact with the bartender, when the lead speaker did not have access to the information requested. The analysis also revealed the way that customers chorally co-produced turns. When customers collaboratively produced turns they were found to be contributing to the information being communicated to the bartender. The final practice identified in Chapter 5 was how multi-party customers negotiated the payment sequence. As customers in a unit paid for their order as one, they negotiated payment between themselves, with one customer handing over money or a payment card, to pay for the order. I showed that payment was negotiated prior to, or at the point where, payment is sequentially due. This minimised interactional trouble. Overall, the chapter explored the turn-taking organization of multi-party service encounters. I showed that multi-party service encounters functioned with one member of the party acting as a lead speaker, interacting using 'private' turns designed for party members, then relaying information to the bartender, so that the encounter functions with one lead speaker issuing and receiving turns from the bartender.

Chapter 6 continued the exploration of the payment sequences and I identified four different payment practices. I showed how customers oriented to the payment sequence at varying points in the interaction, to ensure that payment could be exchanged at the 'correct' sequential position. Firstly, I showed how customers pre-selected payment for their order, prior to the spoken interaction. We knew from Chapter 3 that this did not mean that the interaction had not begun, but that the 'key' actions of the service had not been initiated. Pre-selecting payment functioned to observably project that the customer would be purchasing something chargeable. Customers were also found to precisely produce payment; at the point payment was due, either when prompted by the bartender verbally, or by the customer recognising, through the bartenders projected actions, that payment was the next action in the sequence. Customers were also found to display their payment during the ordering sequence;

displaying payment was found to make observable, to customers, that they had the means ready to pay. This payment was, however, somewhat concealed until the correct sequential slot was interactionally visible, again made recognizable through a bartender prompt. These three practices showed customers orienting to the payment sequence at different stages, but all ensure that payment was produced efficiently, and at the correct position. In the final part of this chapter, I showed how customers sometimes proffered their payment at a point when the bartender was not ready to accept it, and therefore, the exchange did not happen. I examined how customers and bartenders became interactionally misaligned. Overall, in Chapter 6, I showed that customers efficiently produced payment to minimise the gaps in the interaction. Whether they had payment selected prior to the ordering sequence, produced it when prompted, displayed it to ensure the bartender knew they had access to payment, or prematurely proffered it, they worked to produce an efficient service encounter.

Each of the analytic chapters contributed to our knowledge of service encounters, yet they each have their contribution to traditional areas of conversation analytic research. Much of the existing literature on openings has been based upon interactions on the telephone ; the ‘canonical’ opening sequence identified by Schegloff (e.g., 1968; 1979a; 1986), was not consistent with my analysis. While I acknowledge there is some CA literature on face-to-face openings similar to my research - for example on embodied conduct (see Kendon, 1990; Mondada, 2009; Pillet-Shore, 2011) and in institutional contexts (see Clark & Pinch, 2010; Robinson, 1998) - our knowledge of face-to-face openings is still somewhat lacking. I have contributed to what we know about openings but also argue that research is needed to counterbalance the work on telephone openings that has informed so much of the substantive CA literature.

The thesis has also contributed to what we know about objects in interaction by expanding upon the work of Lee (2009; 2011a; 2011b), who investigated how a computer

programme shaped the requesting sequence of calls made to an airline service. I showed how, in the face-to-face service encounter at the bar, both the Cash Till's computer programming, along a wealth of other visual resources, could be made relevant by both parties to accomplish actions. In Chapter 4, on objects in interaction, and Chapter 6, on payment sequences, I argued about the importance of the role of objects, artefacts and the environment in accomplishing social action; thus, strengthening the argument for CA studies to analyse the visual and the spoken as standard. From the ordering sequence, I also contributed to what we know about multi-party interactions and turn-taking. I have contributed to, and expanded on, the work of those such as Lerner (2002), Mandlebaum (1993) and Mondada (2007), to present a new organization in turn-taking in CA: one person acting as a lead speaker issuing and receiving turns on behalf of the party. I argue for more research to be conducted on multi-party interactions in institutional contexts, such as the service encounter, to further uncover practices of aligning.

There were some limitations to the research, which I now discuss. The first issue is to do with the basic capturability of embodied interaction in its material environment. As stated in Chapter 2, when outlining the methodological considerations of the data collection process, to position a video camera is to expect that action will take place, which can be observed from the angle the video camera is positioned (Laurier & Philo, 2006). This means that activities occurring outside of what the video camera captured were not available for analysis. We do not, therefore, have access to the same 'semiotic field' as the participants do. Because only one video camera was used, due to concerns from the management and bar staff, we only saw a side angle of the bartender's face, amongst other viewing limitations. Similarly, I only had visual data of the front entrance and not the back entrance to the bar. This meant that I did not have access to the full 'pre-beginnings' of the interaction, for those who entered using the back entrance. Other researchers have positioned multiple cameras to capture a

variety of angles and, if I had done this, I would have gained better access to the ‘scene’ in which the interaction was taking place. However, this would have meant introducing at the least two more video cameras, which was not permitted when negotiating access to the venue, as a research setting.

Another potential limitation is that this research is based on one bar, in one town, in one country. This bar had particular-to-the-setting practices which may differ greatly to the bar next-door. In response to such a criticism, I argue that ethnomethodologists and conversation analysts do not seek to generalise findings, but to investigate how members of a particular setting organize their conduct to produce meaningful and recognizable actions, that come to form what we, as members, understand to be a ‘service encounter’. Other studies in different settings may add cumulatively to what we come to know about ‘service encounters’ more widely, across public or commercial sectors of service, perhaps. As I have stated, by analysing interactions in this particular bar, I have contributed to this steady accumulation of knowledge on service encounters, openings, how objects are mobilized in interaction, turn-taking in multi-party interactions and payment sequences.

My research has applicability to the service industry itself. As noted in Chapter 1, there is a wealth of research which focusses on customer satisfaction within the service encounter. While Holmqvist and Grönroos (2012) highlight that the study of language plays a crucial part in the service encounter, yet is largely ignored, they again choose to explore the language in terms of how this helps or hinders the satisfaction of the customer. They call for research on language in the service encounter, a challenge which, over the course of this these, I have undertaken. My research highlights that, by looking at the way in which the interaction unfolds, we can assess whether it is interactionally problematic, or functional. Take, for example, the table number request sequence from Chapter 5. Here, we saw that while customers can, and did, provide their table number, evidencing that they have sought

the number, the sequential placement of the question was found to be marked as unexpected. The use of certain formulations by bartenders occasioned different responses from the customer in the next turn. By recognizing this, service providers can design their requests to produce the most efficient responses. My research could aid training for bar staff to ensure they formulate their requests to maximise efficiency; in a similar way to the ‘Conversation Analytic Role-play Method’ (CARM) (Stokoe, 2011). Stokoe has shown that by examining ‘actual’ instances of neighbours reporting their disputes rather than training based on ‘imagined’ disputes, CA analysis can be usefully applied. This thesis contributes to applied CA (Stokoe, 2013; Stokoe, Hepburn & Antaki, 2012) which has been shown to be a highly effective way for analysing ‘what works’ (and ‘what doesn’t work’) in the encounters it studies. I argue rather than asking customers to report on their experience or ratings of encounters, post-hoc that service providers – as well as academics involved in the study of service management - may consider a conversation analytic approach to research customer satisfaction, rather than relying on customers reporting on their experiences through a questionnaire or focus group. In the same way that CARM has provided practitioners with a way to examine the interaction for what actually happens, the service industry would benefit from conducting similar investigations.

With that said, as the thesis has demonstrated, the service encounter in the public house is revealed to be relatively unproblematic. In fact the ‘smooth running’ of these interactions is highlighted throughout the analytic chapters. Therefore future research may look to more ‘troublesome’ interactions in and around the bar; only a fragment of the interactions that occur within this venue, are contained at the bar counter. The title given to this thesis ‘The order of ordering’, suggests that the service encounter in this setting is just that; ordered. What I do not mean to imply with this title is a grand ‘social order’ is revealed; instead choosing to examine ‘order’ at the micro level, turn by turn, action by action. Over

the course of this thesis, I have shown the orderly, recurrent actions performed by customers and bartenders to accomplish “getting served at the bar”. This thesis has taken us from the pre-beginnings of the interaction through to paying for items ordered and thus closing the interaction. Perhaps the most interesting contribution this thesis has to offer is to our understanding of what ‘social life’ at the bar counter of a public house looks like.

This thesis has presented new understandings of service encounters and of basic CA concerns. In time, it may also enlighten service providers about the intricacies, yet practical organization, of service encounters as they happen.

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Appendix A:

Jefferson transcription symbols

[]	Square brackets mark the start and end of overlapping speech.
↑ ↓	Arrows indicates marked pitch movement.
<u>Underlining</u>	Indicates emphasis.
CAPITALS	Indicates hearably louder than surrounding speech.
°↑I know it,°	‘degree’ signs enclose hearably quieter speech.
(0.4)	Timed pauses in seconds.
(.)	A micropause, hearable but too short to measure.
((staccato))	Additional comments from the transcriber.
she wa::nted	Colons indicate elongation of the prior sound.
:_	Colons in combination with underscores indicate intonation contours.
hhh	Out-breaths.
.hhh	In-breaths.
,	A comma is a ‘continuation’ marker.
?	Question marks indicate rising intonation, regardless of grammar.
Yeh.	Full stops mark falling intonation.
bu-u-	Hyphens mark an abruptly cut-off sound.
>he is<	Talk in brackets is faster than surrounding talk
<he is>	Talk in brackets is slower than surrounding talk..
=	Equals signs indicate latching – no pause between turns.
heh heh	Voiced laughter.
sto(h)p i(h)t	Laughter within speech is signalled by h’s in round brackets.
(guess)	Untranscribable word or words, or transcriber’s guess at a word.
stop.= =Go	‘Equals’ signs mark the immediate ‘latching’ of successive talk, whether of one or more speakers, with no interval.
£smile£	Pound signs either side of talk indicates suppressed laughter.

Appendix B:

Participant information sheet 1



Emma Richardson
E.Richardson@lboro.ac.uk
Mob: 07966651818
Loughborough University
Leicestershire, UK, LE11 3TU
Tel: +44 (0) 1509 263171

Research Information Sheet

The Researcher

- I am a postgraduate researcher from Loughborough University embarking upon a project involving the study of interaction within a bar setting.
- My primary interests are in how customers interact within the setting both at the bar and amongst themselves

The Research

- Will use the facility of existing CCTV data already being recorded by the bar to see how groups organize themselves in the bar.
- Will capture the interaction between the customer and bartender by supplementing the existing CCTV with further video and audio recording equipment.

What's Involved?

- The camera and audio recording equipment will be set up behind the bar and left to run for the amount of time agreed. This will remain in a fixed location and will not be handheld 'candid' style.

Good to know

- In no way are your skills as a bartender being analysed, the focus is on how the interaction happens.
- You are in complete control of the equipment, at any time you can turn it off or ask for the session to stop.

The Data

- Data collected will be kept secure and those featured within the data will be anonymous, as will the identity of the Venue. Pseudonyms will be used to remove all identifying features of the data.

So what I'm asking is:

- To collect a few hours' worth of interactions that happen at the bar by placing a camera behind the bar, preferably in the day, for example over a lunch time session.

Examples of the data to be collected

The audio data of the transactions will be recorded and transcribed like the below. It is these snippets I am interested in.



The video material will be used to make stills like this one on the left to show what is happening during the interaction.

Customer: Hiya um, can I have a large dry white wine and a small medium wine?
Bartender: Any preference?
Customer: Can I have a Pinot Grigio for the dry and any medium I have no idea what she wants!
(B tapping drinks into till)
Bartender: So it's a large dry and a small medium.
Customer: Yes.

If you have any further questions regarding the research, please don't hesitate to contact me on the above contact details. I will be happy to answer any questions.

Appendix C:

Informed consent form for the managers



Emma Richardson
E.Richardson@lboro.ac.uk
Mob:
Loughborough University
Leicestershire, UK, LE11 3TU
Tel: +44 (0) 1509 263171

Consent Form – Permission to record & access CCTV footage

This form should accompany the [Research Information Sheet](#) outlining the intended research.

To summarize:

The research will look at the ways customers interact within the bar, including interactions between customer and bartender and how customers use the space.

Data will be collected using audio and video recording equipment, in addition to the bar's own CCTV footage. This data will all be made confidential, anonymous and kept securely.

Please consider the following statements and tick as appropriate:

I have read and understand the purpose of the research	
I give permission for the bar to be used in this research	
I give permission for access to the CCTV footage	
I agree to recording equipment be used within the bar on the agreed dates and times	
I feel the customers in the bar will be sufficiently informed of the research taking place	
I understand the data collected from the session will be kept securely and confidentially	
I understand I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time without any reason and can request that any data collected be destroyed	

Signature of Bar Manager:

Signed _____ Date _____

Signature of Researcher:

Signed _____ Date _____

Appendix D:

Ethical Checklist

Page 1 of 6

ETHICAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE



RESEARCH PROPOSAL FOR HUMAN BIOLOGICAL OR PSYCHOLOGICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS

This application should be completed after reading the University Code of Practice on Investigations Involving Human Participants (found at <http://www.lboro.ac.uk/admin/committees/ethical/ind-cophp.htm>).

1. Project Title

2. Brief lay summary of the proposal for the benefit of non-expert members of the Committee. *This should include the scientific reasons for the research, the background to it and the why the area is important.*

3. Details of responsible investigator (supervisor in case of student projects)

Title: Forename: Surname:
Department:
Email Address:

Personal experience of proposed procedures and/or methodologies

4. Names, experience, department and email addresses of additional investigators

5. Proposed start and finish date and duration of project

Start date: Finish date: Duration:

Start date for data-collection:

NB. Data collection should not commence before EAC approval is granted.

6. Location(s) of project

7. Reasons for undertaking the study (eg contract, student research)

8. Do any of the investigators stand to gain from a particular conclusion of the research project?

9a. Is the project being sponsored? Yes No
If Yes, please state source of funds including contact name and address

9b. Is the project covered by the sponsors insurance? Yes No
If No, please confirm details of alternative cover (eg University cover).

10. Aims and objectives of project

11a. Brief outline of project design and methodology
(It should be clear what each participant will have to do, how many times and in what order.)

11b. Measurements to be taken
(Please give details of all of the measurements and samples to be taken from each participant.)

12. Please indicate whether the proposed study:

Involves taking bodily samples Yes No

Involves procedures which are physically invasive (including the collection of body secretions by physically invasive methods) Yes No

Is designed to be challenging (physically or psychologically in any way), or involves procedures which are likely to cause physical, psychological, social or emotional distress to participants Yes No

Involves intake of compounds additional to daily diet, or other dietary manipulation / supplementation Yes No

Involves pharmaceutical drugs (please refer to published guidelines) Yes No

Involves testing new equipment Yes No

Involves procedures which may cause embarrassment to participants Yes No

Involves collection of personal and/or potentially sensitive data Yes No

Involves use of radiation (Please refer to published guidelines. Investigators should contact the University's Radiological Protection Officer before commencing any research which exposes participants to ionising radiation – e.g. x-rays) Yes No

Involves use of hazardous materials (please refer to published guidelines) Yes No

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Assists/alters the process of conception in any way | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Involves methods of contraception | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Involves genetic engineering | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |

If Yes, please give specific details of the procedures to be used and arrangements to deal with adverse effects.

13. Participant Information

Number of participants to be recruited:

Details of participants (gender, age, special interests etc):

How will participants be selected? Please outline inclusion/exclusion criteria to be used:

How will participants be recruited and approached?

Please state demand on participants' time.

14. Control Participants

Will control participants be used? Yes No

If Yes, please answer the following:

Number of control participants to be recruited:

How will control participants be selected? Please outline inclusion/exclusion criteria to be used.

How will control participants be recruited and approached?

Please state demand on control participants' time.

15. Procedures for chaperoning and supervision of participants during the investigation

16. Possible risks, discomforts and/or distress to participants

17. Details of any payments to be made to the participants

18. Is written consent to be obtained from participants? Yes No

If yes, please attach a copy of the consent form to be used.

If no, please justify.

19. Will any of the participants be from one of the following vulnerable groups?

Children under 18 years of age Yes No

People over 65 years of age Yes No

People with mental illness Yes No

Prisoners/other detained persons Yes No

Other vulnerable groups (please specify) Yes No

If Yes, to any of the above, please answer the following questions:

What special arrangements have been made to deal with the issues of consent?

Have investigators obtained necessary police registration/clearance? (please provide details or indicate the reasons why this is not applicable to your study)

20. How will participants be informed of their right to withdraw from the study?

21. Will the investigation include the use of any of the following?

Observation of participants Yes No

Audio recording Yes No

Video recording Yes No

If Yes, to any, please provide detail of how the recording will be stored, when the recordings will be destroyed and how confidentiality of data will be ensured?

22. What steps will be taken to safeguard anonymity of participants/confidentiality of personal data?

23. Please give details of what steps have been taken to ensure that the collection and storage of data complies with the Data Protection Act 1998?

Please see University guidance on [Data Collection and Storage](#) and [Compliance with the Data Protection Act](#).

24. If human tissue samples are to be taken, please give details of and timeframe for the disposal of the tissue.

Please note that this information should also be outlined on the Participant Information Sheet

24. Insurance Cover

It is the responsibility of investigators to ensure that there is appropriate insurance cover for the procedure/technique.

The University maintains in force a Public Liability Policy, which indemnifies it against its legal liability for accidental injury to persons (other than its employees) and for accidental damage to the property of others. Any unavoidable injury or damage therefore falls outside the scope of the policy.

Will any part of the investigation result in unavoidable injury or damage to participants or property? Yes No

If Yes, please detail the alternative insurance cover arrangements and attach supporting documentation to this form.

The University Insurance relates to claims arising out of all normal activities of the University, but Insurers require to be notified of anything of an unusual nature

Is the investigation classed as normal activity? Yes No

If No, please check with the University Insurers that the policy will cover the activity. If the activity falls outside the scope of the policy, please detail alternative insurance cover arrangements and attach supporting documentation to this form.

25. Declaration

I have read the University's Code of Practice on Investigations on Human Participants and have completed this application. I confirm that the above named investigation complies with published codes of conduct, ethical principles and guidelines of professional bodies associated with my research discipline.

I agree to provide the Ethical Advisory Committee with appropriate [feedback](#) upon completion of my investigation.

Signature of applicant:

Signature of Head of Department:

Date

For all applications:

Please ensure that you have attached copies of the following documents to your submission

- Participant Information Sheet
- Informed Consent Form

In addition, please attach copies of the following documents if applicable.

- Willingness to Participate Forms
- Health Screen Questionnaire
- Questionnaires and Example Interview Questions
- Advertisement/Recruitment material
- Evidence of consent from other Committees

Appendix E: Participant information sheet for the bartenders



Emma Richardson
E.Richardson@lboro.ac.uk
Mob:
Loughborough University
Leicestershire, UK, LE11 3TU
Tel: +44 (0) 1509 263171

RESEARCH INFORMATION SHEET

The Researcher

- I am a postgraduate researcher from Loughborough University embarking upon a project involving the study of interaction within a bar setting.
- My primary interests are in how customers interact within the setting both at the bar and amongst themselves.

The Research

- Aims to look at the CCTV footage already being recorded by the bar to see how groups organize themselves within the bar.
- Aims to capture the interaction between the customer and bartender to see how this happens by supplementing the existing CCTV with additional video and audio equipment.

What's Involved?

- The camera and audio recording equipment can be set up and left to run for the amount of time agreed. This will remain in a fixed location and will not be handheld 'candid' style.

Good to know

- In no way are your skills as a bartender being analysed, the focus is on how the interaction happens.
- You are in control of the equipment, at any time you can turn it off or ask for the session to stop.

The Data

- Data collected will be kept secure and those featured within the data will be anonymous, as will the identity of the Venue. Pseudonyms will be used to replace all names and identifying features.

So What I'm asking is:

- To collect a few hours' worth of interactions that happen at the bar by placing a camera behind the bar, preferably in the day, for example over a lunchtime session.

Examples of the data to be collected

The audio data of the transactions will be recorded and transcribed like the below. It is these snippets I am interested in.



The video material will be used to make stills like this one on the left to show what is happening during the interaction.

Customer: Hiya um, can I have a large dry white wine and a small medium wine?
Bartender: Any preference?
Customer: Can I have a Pinot Grigio for the dry and any medium I have no idea what she wants!
(B tapping drinks into till)
Bartender: So it's a large dry and a small medium.
Customer: Yes.

If you have any further questions regarding the research, please don't hesitate to contact me on the above contact details. I will be happy to answer any questions.

Appendix F: Informed consent form for the bartenders



Emma Richardson
E.Richardson@lboro.ac.uk
Mob:
Loughborough University
Leicestershire, UK, LE11 3TU
Tel: +44 (0) 1509 263171

Consent Form – Bartender

This form should accompany the [Research Information Sheet](#) outlining the research intended.

To summarize:

The research will look at the ways customers interact within the bar, including interactions between customer and bartender and how customers use the space.

Data will be collected using audio and video recording equipment in addition to the CCTV footage already produced by the bar. This data will all be confidential, anonymous and kept securely.

Please consider the following statements and tick as appropriate:

I have read and understand the purpose of the research	
I agree to participate in the research	
I understand the data collected from the session will be kept securely and confidentially	
I understand I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time without any reason and can request that any data collected be destroyed	

Signature of Bartender:

Signed _____ Date _____

Signature of Researcher:

Signed _____ Date _____

Appendix G: Customer consent signs

Loughborough University
Leicestershire, UK, LE11 3TU
Tel: +44 (0) 1509 263171



Dear Customer,

In addition to this bar's existing CCTV, supplementary recording equipment will be used on the premise today between:

and

The data collected will be used to inform a study on interaction within bars. Individuals will not be identifiable in the study. The data will anonymized and kept secure and confidential.

By obtaining service at the bar between these times you agree to be filmed and acknowledge the above information.

For further information contact:

**Emma Richardson
E.Richardson@lboro.ac.uk**