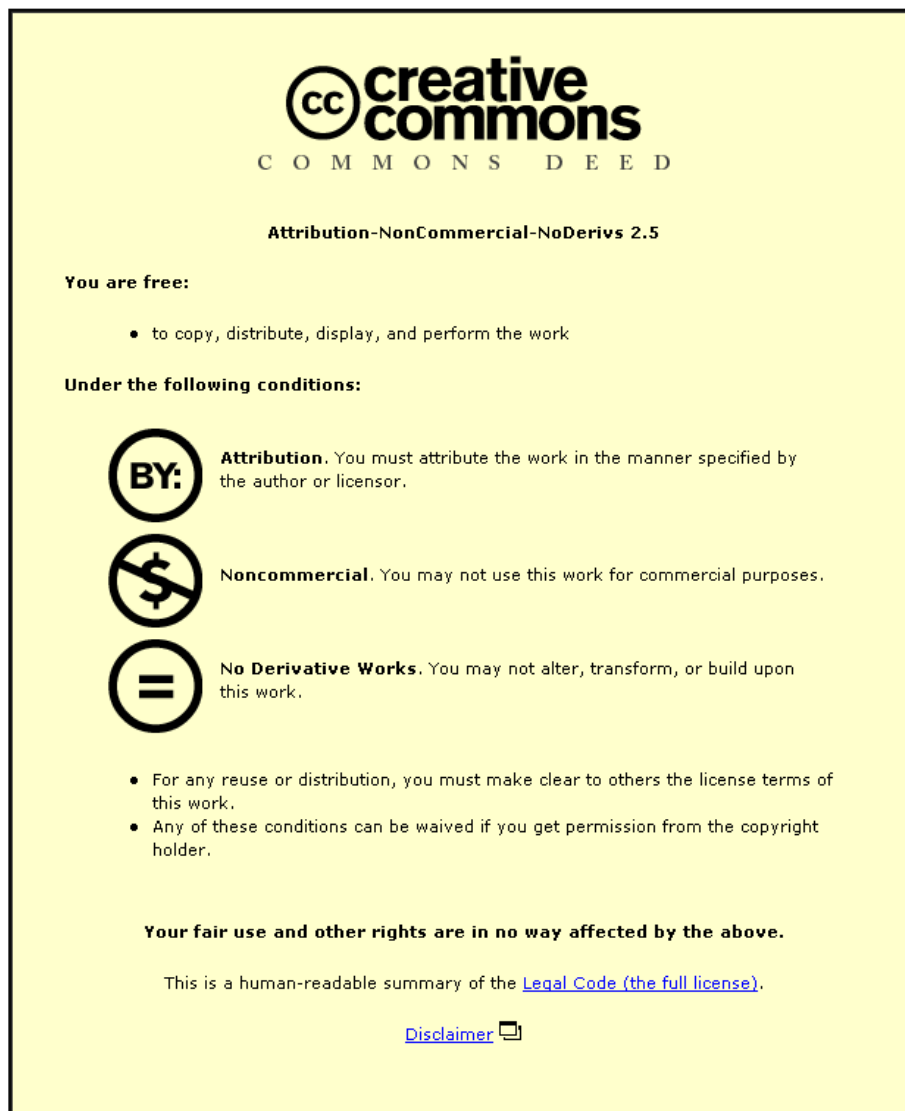


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Advice giving in telephone interactions between mothers and their young adult daughters

by

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A Doctoral Thesis

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Abstract

This thesis focuses on the social organisation of advice, as it unfolds in interactions between mothers and their young adult daughters on the telephone. The analysis is based on a corpus of 51 telephone calls from 5 different families. Advice giving is studied here using the methods of conversation analysis and discursive psychology. The main interest has been to consider the dimensions that are relevant to the potentially tricky action of advice giving, building on the dimensions of normativity and knowledge asymmetry that have already been identified in the literature. The less strictly institutionalised context studied here provides a relatively new arena for considering the array of issues that are relevant to advice giving. Indeed, this has provided a broad scope for specifying how reciprocity is brought off in advice giving sequences and how the position of 'advice recipient' is managed.

The analysis begins by considering the different forms of advice that were found in the data and their affordances in terms of the recipient's next turn. Contingency is identified as an important dimension in advice giving and a range of resources are identified which build contingency into the advice in various ways and which provide the recipient with different degrees of optionality when responding to advice. The thesis then goes on to consider how recipients respond to advice and the sorts of issues that make relevant one response type over another. The analysis identifies the importance of affiliation and alignment when considering different types of advice response. Furthermore, it is shown that morality, activity type, and alignment to the recipient's position, are important features of why a particular response type is chosen over another. The final analytic chapter then considers how the potentially tricky action of advice giving is made relevant in the first place. It is shown that the choice between different forms of advice is related to local issues of entitlement and contingency.

In considering these different components to advice giving, the analysis explicates an array of important issues in advice giving sequences including: knowledge asymmetry, normativity, entitlement, contingency, affiliation, alignment and morality as well as considering evidence to suggest that advice is a dispreferred action. The findings are discussed in terms of their implications for studying advice and promoting advice acceptance, as well as considering how we can begin to see relationality being constituted.

Tables of Contents

Brief Contents

<i>Acknowledgments</i>	<i>i</i>
<i>Abstract</i>	<i>iii</i>
<i>Tables of Contents</i>	<i>iv</i>
<i>Chapter 1: Introduction to the thesis</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Chapter 2: Methodology</i>	<i>31</i>
<i>Chapter 3: The formation of advice</i>	<i>46</i>
<i>Chapter 4: Responding to advice</i>	<i>88</i>
<i>Chapter 5: Why that now?: The morally compromising position of ‘advice recipient’</i>	<i>123</i>
<i>Chapter 6: The form of advice: local issues of entitlement and contingency</i>	<i>159</i>
<i>Chapter 7: Discussion</i>	<i>201</i>
<i>References</i>	<i>218</i>
<i>Appendices</i>	<i>232</i>

Detailed Contents

Acknowledgments	<i>i</i>
Abstract	<i>iii</i>
Tables of Contents	<i>iv</i>
Brief Contents	<i>iv</i>
Detailed Contents	<i>v</i>
Extracts	<i>viii</i>
Tables	<i>x</i>
Chapter 1: Introduction to the thesis	<i>1</i>
Giving advice	<i>2</i>
Psychological studies on advice	<i>2</i>
Language based studies on advice	<i>5</i>
Towards an interactional approach.....	<i>7</i>
Conversation analytic studies: the social organization of advice	<i>9</i>
Giving advice: normativity, asymmetry and institutional roles.....	<i>10</i>
Responding to advice: managing competence and autonomy	<i>16</i>
Advice resistance.....	<i>17</i>
Rational for the thesis	<i>20</i>
The mother and young-adult-daughter relationship	<i>23</i>
Overview of the research	<i>23</i>
An interesting site for studying advice	<i>25</i>
Conversation analysis and relationships	<i>26</i>
Thesis outline	<i>28</i>
Chapter 2: Methodology	<i>31</i>
Theoretical and analytic framework	<i>31</i>
Data collection	<i>33</i>
1. Participants	<i>33</i>
a. Recruitment.....	<i>33</i>
b. Who they were	<i>34</i>
2. Telephone interactions	<i>36</i>
3. ‘Natural’ data?	<i>37</i>
4. Managing the corpus	<i>39</i>
Transcription	<i>41</i>
Analytic approach	<i>42</i>
Ethical considerations	<i>44</i>
Chapter 3: The formation of advice	<i>46</i>
Introduction	<i>46</i>
The formation of advice	<i>47</i>
The implications for how reciprocity is brought off	<i>49</i>
1. Normativity	<i>50</i>
A. Imperatives.....	<i>51</i>
B. Verbs of obligation	<i>53</i>
C. ‘If-then’ constructions	<i>57</i>

D. I would do X.....	61
E. Advice-implicative interrogatives.....	63
F. Assessments and descriptions.....	69
2. Knowledge asymmetry	75
A. Unmarked assertions.....	75
B. Epistemic downgrading	78
C. Tag questions.....	80
D. Interrogatives	81
Discussion	84
Chapter 4: Responding to advice.....	88
Acceptance	89
Unmarked acknowledgments	92
Claiming ‘prior commitment’ to the advice	97
1) Displaying established intent	98
2) Reformulating or elaborating on the action component of the advice.....	102
3) Claiming ‘firstness’ in agreement	104
Discussion: Claiming ‘prior commitment’ to the advice	109
Assertions of knowledge or competence.....	110
Rejection of advice	114
Straightforward accounts	114
Exceptional circumstances	116
General discussion	120
Chapter 5: Why that now?: The morally compromising position of ‘advice recipient’	
.....	123
1. Acceptance.....	124
2. Resisting the action of advice giving	126
Explicit claims of competence and knowledge	126
Claiming ‘prior commitment’ to the advice	131
1) Displays of established intent	131
2) Elaborating or reformulating the action component of the advice	134
3) Claiming ‘firstness’ in agreement.....	137
Unmarked acknowledgments.....	140
3. Rejection of advice	144
1) Rejection following misalignment	144
2) Rejecting advice within ‘problem solving’ sequences	150
Discussion	154
Chapter 6: The form of advice: local issues of entitlement and contingency	159
Introduction.....	159
Dispreferred first pair parts.....	161
1. Constraining forms of advice: a local warrant	163
‘Solicited’ advice	163
Alignment with the recipient’s perspective.....	169
Uncalled-for yet pushy advice	179
2. Less constraining forms of advice: local contingencies	182
Advice not aligned to the recipient’s perspective	182
An alternative course of action is forwarded.....	183

The problem is raised on the recipient's behalf	187
Unpacking a problem	192
Discussion	197
Summary: contingency and entitlement in action	197
Local vs. categorical entitlement	198
A dispreferred action?	199
Chapter 7: Discussion.....	201
Chapter summaries	201
Theoretical implications	208
1. Advice	208
2. The mother-daughter relationship	213
Categories of talk	213
Relationality in action	214
Practical implications	215
Future directions	216
Concluding remarks.....	217
References	218
Appendices.....	232
Appendix 1: Jefferson Transcription Convention	232
Appendix 2: Participant information sheet	232
Appendix 3: Consent form	232

Extracts

Chapter 1

Extract 1.1: Kinnell & Maynard (1996: 421).....	12
Extract 1.2: Hepburn & Potter (2011b: 14).....	19

Chapter 3

Extract 3.1: Heritage & Sefi (1992: 393)	48
Extract 3.2: P2C9 - Relationship trouble, 6:33	52
Extract 3.3: P3C10 - Selling the house, 9:00	52
Extract 3.4: P2C9 - Farah's bum, 8:20	52
Extract 3.5: Heritage & Sefi (1992: 387)	54
Extract 3.6: Waring (2007a:379)	54
Extract 3.7: P3C2 - 'Withholding the cash', 15:11	54
Extract 3.8: P1C10 - 'You need to go to bed', 2:04	55
Extract 3.9: P2C13 - Checking up, 0:57	55
Extract 3.10: P3C5: Interview outfit 1, 11:50.....	55
Extract 3.11: P2C14 - Headaches (scan), 7:41.....	55
Extract 3.12: Hepburn & Potter (2011a: 308).....	57
Extract 3.13: Kinnell & Maynard (1996: 421).....	58
Extract 3.14: P3C6 - Interview outfit 2, 3:23.....	58
Extract 3.15: P2C2 - Chocolate hens, 4:07	59
Extract 3.16: P3C6 - Interview outfit 2, 6:20.....	59
Extract 3.17: P2C1 - Car trouble, 0:53.....	61
Extract 3.18: P2C2 - Chocolate hens, 4:03	62
Extract 3.19: P2C4 - Moving house, 3:52	62
Extract 3.20: Butler et al. (2010: 278).....	64
Extract 3.21: P3C2 - 'Withholding the cash', 14:00	66
Extract 3.22: P2C4 - Salmonella, 5:26	67
Extract 3.23: P3C2 - Agency, 3:18	69
Extract 3.24: P3C4 - Sunbeds, 0:16	70
Extract 3.25: P5C3 - Bugs, 2:56	72
Extract 3.26: P1C10 - 'You need to go to bed', 2:04	76
Extract 3.27: P2C9 - Thailand, 0:55	76
Extract 3.28: P3C5 - Interview outfit 1, 11:50.....	76
Extract 3.29: P3C6 - Interview outfit 2, 3:23.....	76
Extract 3.30: P3C5 - Interview outfit 1, 13:27.....	77
Extract 3.31: P2C2 - Chocolate hens, 4:07	78
Extract 3.32: P2C9 - Relationship trouble, 6:23	78
Extract 3.33: P3C2 - 'Withholding the cash', 15:11	78
Extract 3.34: P3C2 - Agency, 3:18	78
Extract 3.35: P3C4 - Exercise, 2:30.....	79
Extract 3.36: P3C6 - Interview outfit 2, 6:20.....	79
Extract 3.37: P2C13 - Checking up, 0:57	80
Extract 3.38: P2C2 - Chocolate hens, 4:07	81
Extract 3.39: P2C4 - Salmonella, 5:26	82

Chapter 4

Extract 4.1: Heritage & Sefi (1992: 393)	89
Extract 4.2: P2C1 - Car trouble, 0:13.....	90
Extract 4.3: P2C13 - Checking up, 0:57	91

Extract 4.4: P2C1 - Car trouble, 0:53.....	91
Extract 4.5: P2C14 – Headaches (painkillers), 4:19.....	93
Extract 4.6: P2C2 - Chocolate hens, 3:56	94
Extract 4.7: P2C9 - Farah’s bum, 8:20	96
Extract 4.8: P1C10 - ‘You need to go to bed’, 2:08	98
Extract 4.9: P2C5 – Jimmy passports, 1:47	99
Extract 4.10: P3C10 - Selling the house, 9:00	99
Extract 4.11: P1C4 - The appraisal, 11:19	101
Extract 4.12: P3C2 - ‘Withholding the cash’, 15:11	103
Extract 4.13: P1C15 – Mum ill, 7:18.....	103
Extract 4.14: P5C3 – Bugs, 2:56	105
Extract 4.15: P1C6 – Boyfriend’s job, 1:45.....	106
Extract 4.16: P3C10 - Selling the house, 5:15	107
Extract 4.17: P3C10 - Selling the house, 2:10	108
Extract 4.18: P2C8 – Sudocrem, 0:59.....	110
Extract 4.19: P5C4 – Rhyme time, 2:16.....	112
Extract 4.20: P2C9 – Relationship trouble, 6:33	112
Extract 4.21: P3C6 – Interview outfit 2, 5:06.....	114
Extract 4.22: P3C5 – Interview outfit 1, 11:50.....	115
Extract 4.23: P5C5 - Cake shopping, 11:06	115
Extract 4.24: P2C13 – Checking up, 0:42	116
Extract 4.25: P2C4 – Salmonella, 5:26	117
Extract 4.26: P3C4 – Sunbeds, 0:16	118

Chapter 5

Extract 5.1: P2C1 - Car trouble, 0:13.....	124
Extract 5.2: P2C13 - Checking up, 0:46	124
Extract 5.3: P2C1 - Car trouble, 0:53.....	125
Extract 5.4: P2C8 – Sudocrem, 0:59.....	127
Extract 5.5: P5C4 – Rhyme time, 1:45.....	128
Extract 5.6: P2C9 – Relationship trouble, 6:	129
Extract 5.7: P2C5 – Jimmy passports, 1:40	131
Extract 5.8: P1C4 - The appraisal, 11.19	132
Extract 5.9: P1C10 - ‘You need to go to bed’, 2.04	133
Extract 5.10: P3C2 – ‘Withholding the cash’, 14.00.....	134
Extract 5.11: P1C15 – Mum ill, 7:18.....	136
Extract 5.12: P5C3 – Bugs, 2:56	137
Extract 5.13: P1C6 – Boyfriend’s job, 1:45.....	138
Extract 5.14: P3C10 - Selling the house, 5:12	138
Extract 5.15: P2C14 – Headaches (painkillers), 4:19.....	140
Extract 5.16: P2C2 - Chocolate hens, 4:03	141
Extract 5.17: P2C9 - Farah’s bum, 8.10	142
Extract 5.18: P2C14 – Anniversary, 0.28.....	145
Extract 5.19: P3C2 – Agency, 3:18	146
Extract 5.20: P2C13 – Checking up, 0:19	147
Extract 5.21: P3C4 – Sunbeds, 16.60	149
Extract 5.22: P3C6 – Interview outfit 2, 4:07	151
Extract 5.23: P3C10 – Saul’s art space, 14.14	151
Extract 5.24: P5C5 – Cake shopping, 10:48.....	153

Chapter 6

Extract 6.1: MDE: Stalled, 1	162
Extract 6.2: P3C5 - Interview outfit 1, 12:13.....	164
Extract 6.3: P5C5 - Cake shopping, 10:21	164
Extract 6.4: P2C9 - Farah's bum, 8.10	166
Extract 6.5: P2C9 - Relationship trouble, 6:05	167
Extract 6.6: P5C4 - Food shopping, 4:08	169
Extract 6.7: P2C13 - Checking up, 0:38	171
Extract 6.8: P2C14 – Headaches (painkillers), 4.19.....	172
Extract 6.9: P2C4 – Salmonella, 5:02	173
Extract 6.10: P3C6 – Old cigarette cards, 19.38.....	174
Extract 6.11: P3C10 - Selling the house, 8.48	176
Extract 6.12: P3C4 - Exercise, 2.27	179
Extract 6.13: P2C14 – Headaches (scan), 5.51.....	180
Extract 6.14: P2C1 - Car trouble, 0:43.....	183
Extract 6.15: P2C13 - Checking up, 0:19	184
Extract 6.16: P3C2 – Agency, 1.28	186
Extract 6.17: P1C6 – Boyfriend's job, 1:22.....	187
Extract 6.18: P2C2 Chocolate hens, 3.56	189
Extract 6.19: P5C4 – Food shopping, 4:14	190
Extract 6.20: P2C9 - Relationship problems, 3:.....	192
Extract 6.21: P2C14 – Headaches (glasses), 4:36.....	194

Tables

Table 2.1: Participant overview	34
Table 2.2: Amount of data	39
Table 3.1: Strategies for managing reciprocity.....	85
Table 4.1: Affiliative responses and their alignment with the action of advice giving	120
Table 4.2: Responses that disaffiliate with the content of advice.....	121
Table 6.1: The local environments for different forms of advice	197

Chapter 1: Introduction to the thesis

Giving advice is a pervasive action in everyday life. We see it in institutional settings, where professionals are called on specifically to give advice on matters they are specialised in. We see advice at the centrepiece of the popular 'self-help' book in modern society; within television programmes and radio shows; springing up in newspaper and magazine articles and within internet forums. We also see it weaving its way in and out of the very heart of our social existence, where people interact with each other in everyday encounters.

What is particularly interesting about advice is that giving it is a tricky thing to do. It can claim that the person didn't already know what to do whilst exerting pressure on them to do something. In interactions between mothers and their young adult-daughters, we might expect advice giving to be a particularly tricky thing to do. Whilst in our early years our parents' protection and nurturance is fundamental to our being, as we grow into adulthood we learn to take care of ourselves independently. For mothers, however, the need to protect and guide her child may continue nevertheless. Here lies one possible problem: how can a mother continue to offer her 'caring' advice to her grown up daughter, without it being heard as 'interfering'? Indeed, how can a daughter acknowledge a mother's 'interfering' advice, without letting it threaten her independence? It is these kinds of interactional and relational problems, entangled in advice giving and receiving, that lay at the centre of this research.

The thesis is concerned with the social organisation of advice within interactions between mothers and their grown-up daughters in everyday conversations on the telephone. By studying advice as it unfolds within mundane interaction, the 'dilemma'¹ in giving advice can be unravelled further, highlighting new and important dimensions to how it works. Indeed, this dilemma is complicated by the lack of an institutional warrant to give or request advice in these 'mundane' interactions. The thesis will consider how this dilemma is managed and oriented to by participants themselves, within interaction.

The aim of the thesis is to contribute to interactional research into the social practice of advice giving; explicating the dimensions which are made relevant within unfolding interactions and giving specific attention to how the troubling position of advice recipient is managed.

¹ As referred to by Heritage and Sefi (1992).

This introductory chapter will aim to map out the broad areas of research that are relevant to the thesis. Particular space will be given to providing an overview of the research on 'advice' across a range of theoretical and methodological perspectives. The aim will be to highlight the value of using the approach of conversation analysis for the specific aims of the thesis. It will be argued that in order to understand the social practice of advice, the only place to study it is within social interaction, as it unfolds moment by moment.

Advice has indeed become a growing area of study in conversation analysis and yet the research into advice in 'mundane' interactions between familiars is surprisingly scarce. This chapter will give particular attention to outlining the conversation analytic research on advice, suggesting what is missing and how studying 'mundane' interactions will be particularly useful.

The chapter will then move to considering the specific relationship between mothers and daughters, providing a brief overview of how this relationship has been studied. The purpose of this will be twofold. Firstly, I will suggest why this relationship is a particularly interesting arena for studying advice, and secondly, I will propose the value of an interactional approach to studying relationships, where 'advice' giving is a potentially fruitful area. The chapter will then close by giving an overview of the thesis with a summary of each chapter.

Giving advice

Psychological studies on advice

Advice giving is a particularly interesting topic for the social sciences as it is one possible way in which we are able to influence and support other people. Not surprisingly then, it has become a popular topic for study within a range of subjects across the broad disciplines of psychology and linguistics. This has included research in the organizational sciences (e.g. Harvey & Fischer, 1997; Yaniv & Kleinberger, 2000; Gino, 2008; Bonaccio & Dalal, 2006; Dalal & Bonaccio, 2010; Tost et al., 2012.), research on supportive communication (e.g. Goldsmith & Fitch, 1997; Goldsmith, 1999, 2000; Feng & MacGeorge, 2006), cognition (e.g. Righetti, et al., 2011; Collins et al., 2011), and cross cultural differences in language use (see Martinez-Flor, 2005 for a review). Across these studies there seems to be a common concern with identifying the conditions under which advice is accepted.

However, as we shall see, there have been varying approaches to addressing this issue, both in method and theory.

A prominent approach to studying advice has been through the use of experimental designs. This has included research into the Judge Advisory System, where the research is organised around a judge and advisor (See Bonaccio & Dalal, 2006 for a review). Participants (assigned to the role of judge) are usually presented with a computer task which they perform in individual cubicles. The participant is usually faced with a decision they have to make (a choice between alternative answers or an estimated value). These have included: estimating people's weights (Gino & Schweitzer, 2008; Tost et al., 2012), determining the impact of an agricultural virus (Harvey & Fischer, 1997), multiple choice questions about computers (Van Swol & Sniezek, 2005) and questions about historical events (Yaniv & Kleinberger, 2000). The judge is then given the opportunity to revise their decision after they have received 'advice' from a (usually absent) advisor. The advice is usually provided in the form of an answer such as a date in history (Gino, 2008), or the number of cattle predicted to have died (Harvey & Fischer, 1997), and this is often accompanied by a confidence value. Calculations are then made as to how much the participant alters their prior judgment after receiving the advisor's answer. 'Advice' is therefore constituted as a specific value. There are of course variations in the design of these studies and these are discussed in detail by Bonaccio and Dalal (2006).

Research which is broadly of this kind has been concerned with identifying factors which impact on the utilisation of 'advice'. Harvey and Fischer (1997) looked at the effect of a judge's level of training, as well as the adviser's relative expertise, on a computer based agricultural task. 'Advice' was given in the form of a figure of how many cattle would be predicted to have died given the details of an agricultural virus. It was found that judges trained to a low level were more likely to use the 'advice' when it was from an expert whereas more highly trained judges were less influenced by the 'advice', even from experienced advisors. Other studies have considered the impact of variables related specifically to the decision maker. For instance, Gino and Schweitzer (2008) looked at 'advice' uptake where the 'advice' was constituted in the form of a numerical value, in the case of a weight estimation task. They found that participants were significantly more likely to use 'advice', when the emotional feeling of 'gratitude' was manipulated compared with 'anger' or a 'neutral' emotion. Again, in a weight estimation task, Tost et al., (2012) found that 'advice' use was significantly less in a condition where the decision maker was made to feel high levels of power compared with low power. Research has also considered factors

associated with the advice itself. Gino (2008) looked at the uptake of 'advice' (constituted in the form of a date) when it was paid for to assist with answering multiple choice questions on historical dates in American history. It was found that when the 'advice' was paid for, it was used significantly more than when it wasn't.

Within this area of research, little attention is given to the actual activity of advice giving. Instead, the focus is given to calculating how much the participant's new answer has been influenced by the 'advice' and what factors can account for this. As such, 'advice' is straightforwardly and minimally constituted as a specific answer or numerical value.

More recently, attention has been given to considering what counts as advice, where this has been considered to be an important area of study (Bonaccio & Dalal, 2006). Dalal and Bonaccio (2010) have approached 'advice' by investigating different types of advice and their related favourability. So, rather than using numerical values, Dalal and Bonaccio (2010) focused on how the advice was constructed. In their study, participants were asked to imagine scenarios such as deciding on a number of job offers and things that their friend could have said in relation to the decision. The study was designed to measure participant evaluations of alternative types of advice. It was found that 'information' (e.g.) "Company B has flexible working hours; I know because I have worked there" was preferred over other forms including 'recommend for' e.g. "I think you should pick job C" and 'recommend against' e.g. "I don't think you should pick job D". However, where advice was explicitly solicited (and arguably where autonomy was less important), 'recommend for' was also considered as a favourable form of advice even though it was rated low for autonomy and arguably because participants were maximising accuracy (where 'recommend for' was rated highly for accuracy by the participants).

This more recent focus on the form of advice by Dalal and Bonaccio (2010), takes a step away from seeing advice as simply part of a decision making process and towards an analyses of the language used to give advice in its own right. Indeed, this focus on language is taken up by studies from a broadly linguistic perspective where the focus is on the actual language used to give advice. By approaching 'advice' in this way, these language based studies provide the possibility of the social act of advice itself to be the focus of research, rather than seeing it merely as a cog within a more important decision making wheel.

So, now we have considered the more cognitive approaches to advice where the central focus is with isolating the factors associated with uptake of advice through experimental studies, we will now consider linguistic approaches to advice giving, where the advice itself takes centre stage.

Language based studies on advice

Within speech act theory, advice has been grouped within a class of speech acts called 'directives', whereby the speaker gets the recipient to do something (Searle, 1979). Unlike requests however, advice is distinguished as something which is considered to benefit the recipient (Searle, 1969), and is therefore delivered in the recipient's interest (see Martinez-Flo, 2005). Further to this, Brown and Levinson's (1987) work on 'politeness' describes advice as a potentially face threatening act. Brown and Levinson (1987:61) make a distinction between positive and negative face. Positive face is "the positive consistent self-image or 'personality' (crucially including the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved of) claimed by interactants." Whereas negative face is: "the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-distraction – i.e. to freedom of action and freedom of imposition." Brown and Levinson (1987) characterise advice as threatening a recipient's negative face in that it imposes on the recipient's freedom to act. They detail various strategies for managing face threatening acts. An example given for the specific case of advice is the preface "I think perhaps...." (Brown & Levinson, 1987: 171).

Now the theoretical background has been outlined, we will consider some of the research that has been developed out of this perspective. Empirical research into advice, which has its foundations in speech act theory and politeness theory, has tended to associate certain forms of advice with certain sociological factors (e.g. Hinkel, 1997; Matsumura, 2001; Halbe, 2011; see Martinez-Flor, 2005 for review). Indeed, Brown and Levinson (1987) propose the relevance of social distance, relative power and cultural considerations concerning relative imposition, when choosing the form of a face threatening act.

Within the context of second language learning, Matsumura (2001) looked at Japanese students' pragmatic competence during their year abroad in Canada. Questionnaires were used to code responses as being 'indirect' or 'direct' forms of advice and in relation to the pre-defined factor of 'status'. The premise being that more indirect, less face threatening forms would be used with people of a higher social status. Students living in Canada showed a marked increase in pragmatic competence in relation to these factors, compared with those developing second language skills living in their home town.

Status has also been identified as an important aspect of advice giving within the military workplace (Halbe, 2011). Questionnaires were again used where the focus was on the relationship between the form of advice and the relative status of the advice recipient. There was some evidence that the form of advice or suggestion was considered

appropriately used according to the rank of the advice giver and recipient. For example, talk about the recipient's best interest was generally not considered appropriate for superiors by the high up, commissioned officers, whereas senior sergeants were comfortable with advising their superiors, presumably because of their expertise in the field (Halbe, 2011). However, as Halbe (2011) claims, further research is needed to make the results clearer and more generalizable.

Similar approaches to studying advice are found in research which investigates supportive communication. Goldsmith (1999), using a naturalistic experiment, obtained different types of advice which she then used to inform her questionnaire in the second stage of her research. Goldsmith (1999) used combinations of examples from the different content categories that were established such as 'problem is uncontrollable' and 'actions you can take', to accompany advice where the advice recipient was nervous about giving a presentation. The participants were asked to rate the advice in terms of questions relating to positive and negative face. It was found that certain types of advice were associated with positive face in particular, such as the examples: 'view the audience as friends' and 'don't worry'. Those negatively associated with positive face included 'I can't believe you are nervous' and 'It's not a big deal'. The combination of different content categories also seemed to relate to the perception of positive or negative face. Goldsmith (1999) argues here for the value of looking at content as well as form when considering politeness theory.

Questionnaires were also used by Feng and MacGeorge (2006) when looking at factors which effect the reception of advice within supportive communication. Participant was asked to recall a conversation from the last week or month in which they experienced an upsetting problem and someone gave them advice, and were asked to rate aspects of the situation in various ways. The results indicated that 'closeness' to the recipient was the strongest significant predictor of receptiveness to advice, followed by the advice giver's 'expertise' and the advice recipient's 'expressivity' rating (traits such as warmth, helpfulness and empathy).

Research by Goldsmith and Fitch (1997) and Goldsmith (2000) is particularly notable within the field of supportive communication for what it contributes to the study of advice. That is, more emphasis is given to studying advice as it is naturally produced. Goldsmith and Fitch (1997) carried out an ethnographic study in which the researcher took field notes of advice episodes that the researcher participated in, as well as making transcripts from ethnographic interviews. Three dilemmas relevant to advice giving were identified: being helpful and caring versus butting in; being supportive versus being honest; showing

gratitude and respect versus making one's own decisions. These dilemmas became entangled in such issues as the expertise of the recipient, how close the relationship was and whether the advice was solicited.

This study was used by Goldsmith (2000) to identify what was found to be 6 different ways in which advice is made relevant to the recipient (e.g. solicited or volunteered). These different advice 'dialogues' were used in the second part of Goldsmith's (2000) study, across 10 different advice situations (i.e. topics) with the exact same advice for each situation. Respondents were presented with one possible scenario each and had to rate the advice in terms of whether it was solicited or not and whether it was threatening to positive and negative face. It was found that the more advice was perceived as solicited, the less the advice was seen as threatening to both positive and negative face.

Towards an interactional approach

At this point it is worth taking stock of the research thus far presented and how it develops an understanding of the social practice of advice giving. While the above studies may be valuable in providing an overview of the relevance of possible aspects of advice, the methodology chosen leaves a number of questions unanswered. The language based studies rooted in speech act theory have taken advice itself as the topic of study and as such have taken a step closer than the experimental studies to examining advice as a social practice. However, because the emphasis has been on made up examples, little can be known about the use of advice in everyday interaction. Whilst Goldsmith and Fitch (1997) used real life situations, these conversations are recalled and reflected upon rather than studied in situ. Therefore, as argued by Edwards and Potter (1992: 66) "The constructive, to-be-achieved nature of that 'original event' cannot be studied."

The studies have extracted different forms of advice from their sequential contexts through the use of experiments and questionnaires. Whilst Goldsmith (2000) argues for the importance of sequence in understanding advice, this is done by controlling for sequence rather than observing how it unfolds in everyday situations. By controlling for and measuring specific factors such as 'status' and 'sequence', the potentially important dimensions to advice are made relevant *for* the participant of the research, as opposed to being made relevant *by* a recipient within an interaction. We therefore don't gain an understanding of how different forms of advice actually work in situ, when a whole range of dimensions are made relevant. Indeed, Potter and Wetherell (1987) argue that whilst speech act theory has been successful in highlighting the performative nature of language, theorists have often failed to use real life examples and as such, provide only an abstract approach to language.

More recently, naturalistic data has been used to consider advice from the perspective of speech act theory (e.g. Hudson, 1990; Mackiewicz, 1999; Hyland & Hyland, 2012; DeCapua & Dunham, 2012; Vine et al., 2012). For example, Mackiewicz (1999) analysed recorded interactions in a university writing centre, where tutors gave students advice on their written work. The analysis focused on the strategies that tutors used to manage positive and negative aspects of face. For example, hedging words such as 'might' and invoking 'generalized rules', were claimed to assume less power from the advice giver and therefore provide the student with greater control and power over their work. Strategies for mitigating negative threats to face associated with giving advice have been looked at in other naturalistic data including: written feedback to students (Hyland & Hyland, 2012); within recorded interactions between workplace mentors and migrant interns (Vine et al., 2012); and within students written responses to imagined scenarios (as part of a course to become a teacher) where parents approached them with concerns for their child (DeCapua & Dunham, 2012).

Studies such as these are valuable in developing an understanding of what advice actually looks like and the types of issues that may be relevant when giving someone a piece of advice. So, for example, Hudson's (1990) analysis of advice on a radio programme, shows how the form 'I would' provides for 'agent de-emphasis' and thereby softens the strength of a piece of advice. Similarly 'personal opinions' and interrogatives are considered by Hyland and Hyland (2012) as less imposing on the advice recipient. DeCapua and Dunham (2012) identified other 'relational work' such as the use of the conditional 'would' to mitigate advice and display understanding of the recipient's problem. Vine et al. (2012) showed how the particular identities of 'mentor' and 'mentee' are constructed through the mitigation of advice and subsequent displays of understanding and involvement from advice recipients. Attention has also been given to the different components in advice giving, such as empathy and criticism and their relative placement within a response and for different topics (DeCapua & Dunham, 2012), as well as different styles of advice including 'recommending', 'persuasive', 'supportive' and 'permitting' (see Kiuru et al, 2004 who use a 'typology' approach).

Whilst these language based studies on naturalistic data take us closer to understanding advice giving as a social practice, the methods and theory do not seem to focus on the sequential unfolding of advice as a means to understanding the relevant dimensions. These studies continue to make a priori judgements about the relevance of certain categories such as 'status', 'power' and 'politeness'. These categories can be

considered premature in the sense that they have been determined prior to analysis of the participant's orientations (see Edwards and Stokoe, 2004). By analysing interaction in its own right, we can uncover the sorts of psychological issues that are made relevant and worked up by the participants themselves, rather than seeing these things as a motivating force (Edwards & Potter, 1992; 2005). Indeed, by looking at talk in its local sequential environment, Curl and Drew (2008) showed how the choice between different forms of requests relates to the local issue of entitlement as opposed to broader issue of status and politeness. The primacy of sequence is also argued by Edwards (1997: 11): "indirect speech acts' are decontextualized, and often conversational, kinds of pre-sequences whose sense is analysable in contexts of use via empirical, sequential analysis." Moreover, by focusing on categories such as 'politeness' and 'face', attention is given to the individual's needs and motivations, rather than looking at the social organisation of interaction in its own right (see Schegloff, 1988a and Lerner, 1996).

Now that more traditional approaches have been considered and critiqued in terms of their contribution to an understanding of the social organisation of advice, we now turn to the conversation analytic research on advice. Here the focus is on the sequential unfolding of talk in interaction, in order to explicate the practices which are achieved in talk and oriented to as such by participants themselves (Drew, 2005). The next section will summarise some of the key findings within this area of research. Specifically, the main interactional issues surrounding the giving and receiving of advice will be outlined, and the various strategies that have been identified to manage these. It will then be possible to show how exactly the thesis will make a significant contribution to understanding the social organisation of advice.

Conversation analytic studies: the social organization of advice

Advice has indeed become a growing area of research within conversation analysis over the last 20 years. Not surprisingly, particular attention has been given to advice within 'institutional' interactions where advice is a common feature of those settings. This has included advice giving within healthcare settings including: interactions between health visitors and first time mothers (Heritage & Sefi, 1992; Heritage & Lindström, 1998, 2012), HIV and Aids counselling interactions (Silverman et al., 1992; Silverman, 1997; Kinnell & Maynard, 1996), the Child Health Line in Australia (Butler et al., 2009), the NHS Direct helpline (Greatbatch et al., 2005), Swedish district nurse-patient interactions (Leppänen, 1998), pharmacy interactions within a hospital paediatric oncology clinic (Pilnick, 1999, 2001, 2003), doctor-patient interactions concerning advice to stop smoking (Pilnick & Coleman,

2003, 2006, 2010), a consumer-run warm-line for mental health issues (Pudlinski, 1998, 2002, 2005, 2012), genetic counselling interactions (Sarangi & Clarke, 2002), as well as an online forum for people with Bipolar Disorder (Vayreda & Antaki, 2009).

Helplines have been of particular interest, including calls to a poison information centre (Landqvist, 2005), Kids helpline in Australia (Butler et al., 2010; Emmison, Butler & Danby, 2011), the NSPCC Helpline (Hepburn & Potter, 2011b) and emergency 9-1-1 calls (Raymond & Zimmerman, 2007) (see Emmison & Firth, 2012 for a review on Australian helpline interactions). Educational settings have also received attention on this topic including career-guidance training course interactions (Vehviläinen, 2001, 2003), peer tutoring in a graduate writing centre (Waring, 2005, 2007a, 2007b, 2012), academic supervision interactions (Vehviläinen, 2009, 2012), and academic counselling interactions (He, 1994). Hutchby (1995) also contributes to this field by looking at advice within call-in radio sessions whilst Couture & Sutherland (2006) looked at family counselling interactions. Finally, Jefferson and Lee (1981, 1992) looked at advice in the context of troubles telling in mundane interactions.

Now that the breadth of different contexts in which advice has been studied has been identified, the following sections will outline some of the key issues associated with giving advice that have been identified in the literature. This will include sections on: the action of giving advice; responses to advice, and finally; advice resistance.

Giving advice: normativity, asymmetry and institutional roles

Research into advice giving has tended to use the broad definition for identifying advice that was put forward by Heritage and Sefi (1992). They define advice as something which: “describes, recommends or otherwise forwards a preferred course of future action” (p.368). Heritage and Sefi’s (1992) research into advice giving and receiving has been particularly important in defining important dimensions in advice. Specifically, they outlined ‘normativity’ and ‘asymmetry’ as important aspects of advice delivery. ‘Normativity’ refers to how prescriptive an action is put forward as being. Giving advice imposes and prescribes that an action *should* be done rather than claiming that it will be done, or as information. The second important dimension in advice is ‘asymmetry’. By giving someone a piece of advice, the advice giver treats themselves as more knowledgeable than their recipient on that matter. As Hutchby (1995: 221) writes: “In that it involves a speaker assuming some deficit in the knowledge state of a recipient, advice-giving is an activity which assumes or establishes an asymmetry between the recipients.” At stake, appears to be the issue of the

recipient's competence which is problematized through the interactional category of 'advice recipient'.

An issue which is therefore made relevant in advice giving sequences is the advice giver's warrant to give advice. This entitlement can be managed in the sequential approach to advice delivery. Heritage and Sefi (1992) focused on the delivery and reception of advice in interactions between health visitors (HVs) and first time mothers. They outlined the various ways in which advice delivery was prepared for (or not) in the interactions. It was found that the majority of advice giving was initiated by the HVs rather than the mothers. HV initiated advice can be mapped on to a 'step-wise' entry into advice giving; schematized as follows:

Step 1: HV: initial enquiry

Step 2: M: problem-indicative response

Step 3: HV: focusing enquiry into the problem

Step 4: M: responsive detailing

Step 5: HV: advice giving

The full stepwise entry into advice giving allows a problem to be developed and a solution to be put forward through the joint work of both recipients, whereby the problem becomes progressively focused. The HV's focusing enquiry also provides a way for the HV to fit their advice to the specific details of the problem rather than presuming the mother's ignorance (Heritage & Sefi, 1992).

Heritage and Sefi (1992: 380) argue that the stepwise approach provides a way for the advice to be delivered "as the joint construction of the participants." As such it legitimises the advice (Heritage & Sefi, 1992; Kinnell & Maynard, 1996). Vehviläinen (2001) argues that "the stepwise entry creates a favourable environment for advice as it allows the professional to fit the advice to the client's perspectives, and thus minimise resistance." The successful uptake of advice through this approach has been identified elsewhere (e.g. Silverman, 1997; Couture & Sutherland, 2006). Indeed, within doctor's advice to patients to stop smoking, Pilnick and Coleman (2003: 114) show that interactional problems arise when doctors attempt to "personalise a problem before establishing that both parties can agree to the existence of a problem."

Whilst the step-wise approach is clearly a favourable approach to advice delivery as it enables the action of advice to be legitimised by the recipient, professionals may have

certain constraints such as time and money, which do not provide for such lengthy sequences (Silverman et al., 1992). Another way of managing the potentially problematic action of giving someone a piece of advice is to disguise the action as something else. Such strategies for doing this include: advice-as-information sequences (Silverman, 1997), advice-implicative interrogatives (Butler et al., 2010) and sharing one's own problem and solution (Pudlinski, 1998).

A number of studies (Kinnell & Maynard, 1996; Silverman, 1997; Pudlinski, 1998) have identified what Silverman (1997) has termed, the 'advice-as-information sequence' (AIS). The following extract is taken from Kinnell and Maynard (1996: 421) and provides an example.

Extract 1.1: Kinnell & Maynard (1996: 421)

(6) [B02A1.PRT]

1 CO: .hh U::m (0.5) we we (.) strongly recommend that people use:
 2 (0.3) latex rubbers a(h)nd I personally strongly .hhh recommend
 3 that women don't assu:me that a man will always carry a rubber
 4 with him. .h (0.3) I think that (0.5) if yer goinna be sexually
 5 active, it is (1.0) just as (0.3) important for you: to ha:ve a
 6 supply of rubbers,
 7 (0.3)
 8 CL: yeah=
 9 CO: =as it is for your pa:rtner. .hhh u::m so that there can be no
 10 excuse.

The advice is delivered here through impersonal pronouns: 'we...recommend' (line 1), 'people' (line 1), which becomes progressively more personal to 'women' (line 3) and then the indefinite 'you' (line 4) (Silverman, 1997). Peyrot (1987) has referred to these types of references as 'oblique references'. Furthermore, the counsellor refers to a 'hypothetical scenario' through the 'if-then' construction. A hypothetical scenario is described as follows: "the recommendation is delivered but its relevance to the client is contingent upon whether the client is involved in the hypothetical scenario" (Kinnell & Maynard, 1996). The 'advice' is therefore delivered in a way which creates ambiguity over its relevance for the recipient (Silverman, 1997).

The value of delivering advice-as-information is that whilst delivering information builds in an asymmetry at the informational level, it avoids delivering it at the instructional level, as in the case of canonical 'advocacy advice' such as 'you need to do X' (Heritage & Lindström, 2012). So although 'advice' is delivered, it is done in a non-personal way that isn't necessarily relevant to the recipient and so avoids the imposition of delivering more

overt advice (Silverman, 1997). The key thing here is that information, unlike advice, doesn't require strong uptake as 'acceptance' is not made conditionally relevant (Silverman, 1997). Silverman et al. (1992) argue that these information delivery sequences provide a way of stabilizing advice by subverting interactional trouble through this less imposing format, especially concerning such personal matters as in advice regarding sexual behaviour. However, Silverman et al. (1992) argue that this type of sequence also has its limitations in that clients are not required to demonstrate that they have made links to their own personal situation. Furthermore, these sequences of advice may be particularly hard to terminate (Heritage & Lindström, 2012).

Meanwhile, Pilnick (1999) argues that the distinction between 'personal' and 'impersonal' is not always so clear cut. Although referring to a particular class of people may appear to be an ambiguous reference for the recipient, in certain environments membership in that particular class may be strong, therefore underscoring the reference and advice as being relevant to the recipient (Pilnick, 1999). So, for example, in pharmacy interactions in an oncology ward, the patients are already members of a particular group of people, compared to the pre-test HIV counselling sessions in Silverman (et al., 1992; 1997)'s data where the client doesn't know yet if they have HIV: "This means that there are potentially different implications involved, for example, the possibility of hearing something that is produced as a general statement about members of a class as personal by virtue of belonging to that class" (Pilnick, 1999: 620-621).

A further important point made by Pilnick (1999) is that differentiating between actions such as 'advice', 'information' and 'instruction' is fundamentally a participant's concern, and this means paying attention to how the action is responded to by the recipient but also to how it is followed up in third position. "Ultimately then, the interpretation of an utterance does not lie just in the hands of the respondent but may be actively negotiated by both participants" (Pilnick, 1999: 620).

Another strategy that enables advice to be delivered in an ambiguous way is: packaging advice within a question (Silverman et al., 1992; Silverman, 1997; Wajnryb, 1998; Pudlinski, 1998 and most extensively: Butler et al., 2010, see also Vehviläinen, 2012 on 'question-prefaced' advice). Silverman et al. (1992) provide an example where advice was not actually delivered as such but the patient was able to produce a summary of the advice as an upshot of the counsellor's 'leading questions' and statements. Pudlinski (1998) argues that incorporating a solution within a query is favourable in that it provides for client participation, yet the advice giver is afforded less control over the recipient's uptake of the

advice. Furthermore, within feedback sessions between teachers and their supervisors, questions are considered a useful strategy for delivering negative feedback in an ambivalent way (Wajnryb, 1998). However, both Pudlinski's (1998) and Wajnryb's (1998) analyses seem to unnecessarily focus on the intentions and motivations behind certain strategies rather than prioritizing a sequential analysis.

Building on these preliminary observations, Butler et al. (2010) have explicated *how* these questions work; how the dimensions of normativity and asymmetry are built in, and how these questions are treated and understood by the participants themselves. By using an interrogative form and orienting to possible contingencies, counsellors on a children's helpline in Australia (Kids helpline) were shown to soften the epistemic gradient of normativity and asymmetry by attending to the child's authority to know about appropriate courses of action. Butler et al. (2010) show how recipients themselves treat these advice-implicative interrogatives (AIs) as packaging advice; by responding to the interrogatives as suggesting a course of action rather than just seeking information. However, a key feature of these AIs is that they project an answer as the relevant next action rather than a response that accepts or rejects the advice. In this way, they are less interactionally demanding (Butler et al., 2010). This strategy embodies the client-centred/non-directive approach adopted by this particular helpline, whilst also orienting to the more practical issue; that the counsellor has less access to the child's life and experiences (Butler et al., 2010).

So far we have seen how advice can be designed and initiated in different ways in order to manage the potentially troubling nature of advice as an action. In particular, we have looked at the step-wise approach to advice delivery, and the construction of advice in the form of information or as a question. Whilst establishing the existence of a problem and the appropriateness of advice may be one issue for advisers to contend with, we will now turn to another important issue that has emerged in the literature. In particular, a number of studies have shown that the management of one's institutional rights and obligations is also an important issue when giving advice.

A number of studies have shown how practitioners manage the issue of responding to requests for advice when they are not actually supposed to give advice. Butler et al. (2009) identified three strategies used to manage requests for advice, by nurses on a child health line in which the nurses were not meant to offer medical advice. Firstly, nurses would offer diagnoses whilst going on to explicitly refer to their boundaries of expertise: "the nurses invoke their membership as a nurse and use this to both account for and display their

professional boundaries” (Butler et al., 2009: 823). Nurses also deferred to the parent’s authority, while in other cases they re-specified a medical problem as a child development or parenting problem and therefore as something within their own area of expertise. Whilst the nurses limited epistemic access is also a relevant issue here: “The downgrading, and upgrading, of epistemic entitlements in these calls demonstrates how states of knowledge are treated as distinct from having rights to use that knowledge (Drew 1991, Gill 1998)” (Butler et al., 2009: 831). Similarly, Sarangi and Clarke (2002) showed how genetic counsellors closely monitored the bounds of their rights and responsibilities by prioritizing the expertise of other professionals when clients requested information or advice. Furthermore, Vehviläinen (2003) showed how career guidance officers oriented to the institutional goal of self-directness by giving advice when requested but sanctioning the request after, or initially withholding from giving advice until the student has put forward their own solution. We therefore see different ways in which advice givers manage the problem of *not* giving advice (see also He, 1994).

In other settings, the professional’s role as ‘advice giver’ may not be clearly established and the practices they deploy can display some orientation towards this. Within interactions between first time mothers and health visitors, the most frequent approach to advice delivery is for advice to be delivered without the health visitor first even establishing a problem (Heritage & Sefi, 1992). The explanation is given that this approach works to provide the HV with a ‘ticket of entry’ into an obligatory visit where other more cautious approaches to advice might lead to the advice being subverted by the mothers. Contrastively, Pilnick (2003) shows how pharmacists often use pre-sequences before delivering information which she suggests may display the uncertainties around the pharmacist’s role as advice giver. The pharmacist may announce their intentions to deliver information or offer this as a possibility. We therefore see the specific rights and responsibilities of advice givers being constructed and managed through these different approaches to advice delivery.

This section has highlighted the various features surrounding the delivery of advice. The dimensions of normativity and asymmetry were outlined and how they may be managed or disguised in advice giving sequences. Finally, the management of a professional’s rights and obligations through various strategies was also shown to be an important feature in these sequences. The next section will focus on the various strategies that have been identified in responding to advice.

Responding to advice: managing competence and autonomy

As has been outlined above, by giving someone a piece of advice, the advice giver positions themselves as more knowledgeable than the recipient on a matter. Whilst speakers may orient to this asymmetry by disguising the action that is being done, recipients of advice also orient to this asymmetry in the way they respond to advice. Heritage and Sefi (1992) identified three main types of responses to advice within interactions between health visitors and first time mothers. Firstly, recipients used 'marked acknowledgments' which treat the advice as informative through tokens such as 'oh' or partial repeats, whilst also working to accept the advice through utterances such as 'right.' In comparison, recipients also responded with 'unmarked acknowledgments' which display passive resistance through minimal and ambiguous tokens such as 'mm' and 'yeah'. Recipients also resisted advice more strongly by asserting their knowledge or competence through turns such as 'I know' (Heritage & Sefi, 1992).

Whilst marked acknowledgments most strongly demonstrated acceptance of the advice, they were most prominently found in environments where the recipients themselves initiated the advice sequence and therefore appear to be sensitive to the relative asymmetry that such responses propose (Heritage & Sefi, 1992). In other words, recipients do not seem to readily construct themselves as lacking in competence. Moreover, in these environments where requests for advice were made, the mothers often used closed questions which packaged an answer, therefore demonstrating the recipient's concern with preserving their displayed competence (Heritage & Sefi, 1992, see also Vehviläinen, 2009).

Further evidence that competence is indeed an issue for recipients when responding to advice comes in the extra work recipients do when accepting advice. Pudlinski (2002) shows how recipients may accept advice by jointly planning a future activity by referencing specific activities and thus working to display their competence. Waring (2007b) further shows how recipients manage the issue of competency when responding to advice in peer tutoring interactions in a graduate writing centre. Two strategies were identified in which recipients displayed their competence rather than mere acquiescence. Recipients may accept advice by making 'claims of comparable thinking' or accepting with an account as to why the action had not been done already. Such responses can display the recipient's competency; "reconfiguring the asymmetrical consultant–client role relations as less symmetrical" (Waring, 2007b: 123). This kind of detailed analysis provides new ways of approaching what at first might appear to be considered as 'marked acknowledgments' and shows the value in looking at the subtle ways recipients work to display their competence.

Waring (2007b) goes on to suggest that there may well be a preference for autonomy in response to the delivery of advice. Indeed Waring (2012) goes further by providing evidence of a preference for tutee initiated advice over tutor initiated advice (where the actual advice is pre-empted), in the case of graduate peer tutoring sessions.

This section has provided an overview of the main response types that have been identified in the literature, focusing particularly on advice acceptance and highlighting the relevant issues of autonomy and competency and how these are handled by the advice recipient. The next section will draw out these issues further by considering research which has looked at the potentially problematic interactional environment of advice resistance.

Advice resistance

A small number of studies have looked specifically at the domain of advice resistance. Silverman (1997) showed how there is a preference for acceptance over rejection in response to advice. This preference is maintained in the health visitor interactions (see Heritage & Sefi, 1992) through the avoidance of an explicit rejection (Silverman, 1997). Unmarked acknowledgments orient to this preference by minimally implying resistance and thus affording the recipient an opportunity to downgrade their advice (Silverman's, 1997). Assertions of knowledge which imply the redundancy of the advice also observe the preference for acceptance by the accompaniment of 'no fault' accounts which refer to personal knowledge of which the advice giver would not be expected to know. Even outright rejections of advice appear to be mitigated by such features, with unmitigated rejections occurring in exceptional circumstances (Silverman, 1997).

Whilst advice resistance is oriented to as a dispreferred action, research by Waring (2005) suggests that responding to and specifically resisting advice also seems to be done in ways which orient to the recipient's relative 'territories of knowledge'. Waring (2005) looked specifically at the organization of advice resistance in peer tutoring interactions in a graduate writing centre. Waring (2005) identified the different practices of advice resistance and shows how they relate to the different aspects of writing which are addressed by the tutor. When the tutor gave advice on general academic writing, the graduate student gave mitigated advice which worked to respect the tutor's area of expertise by, for example, citing resource difficulty and therefore validating the advice nonetheless. However, when the aspect of writing concerned content-related matters, the rejection of advice was not mitigated but interruptive through strategies such as 'asserting a personal agenda'. Further still, when the advice related to the mechanics of writing, the student would respond by undermining the significance of the advice. These patterns seem to map out the competing

knowledge asymmetries and identities of the recipients; the domains in which the student or tutor's knowledge is prioritized (Waring, 2005).

Advice giving can also be associated with potentially negative categories of behaviour, as well as different territories of knowledge. Silverman (1997) gives the example of 'safe sex advice' and argues that such advice carries the negative implication that the recipient has not been having safe sex. Even the initial move of accepting a problem may be particularly consequential in certain environments. For instance, accepting smoking as a problem in doctor-patient interactions can implicate the patient as responsible for their illness, putting at stake their legitimate access to the sick role (Pilnick & Coleman, 2003). However, in other environments, the rejection of advice may be less problematic. Vehviläinen (2001) showed how career guidance counsellors used strategies to prioritize the exploration of different perspectives, as opposed to achieving alignment and the acceptance of advice. The type of behaviour being advised in is surely therefore going to have implications for whether the advice is resisted.

Another important consideration when looking at advice resistance is contemplating what action advice is an alternative to (Raymond & Zimmerman, 2007; Hepburn & Potter, 2011b). Within a child protection helpline, the delivery of advice can be understood as an alternative action to the delivery of a service; getting social services involved, for example (Hepburn & Potter, 2011b). Stivers (2005a) shows how resistance to treatment proposals is frequently done in environments where the proposal is an alternative to antibiotics. Furthermore, Jefferson and Lee (1981, 1992) looked at the organization of advice within troubles telling sequences. They found that regardless of whether advice was designed so as to promote acceptance or not, it was recurrently rejected by the troubles teller. Jefferson and Lee (1992: 534) suggest that the problem is related to the particular environment in which the advice occurs:

"The accepting of advice may bring with it removal from the category troubles teller and loss of whatever perquisites that troubles-relevant category and its attendant conversation-general category-speaker, may entail. Correlatively, the delivering of advice may bring with it removal from the category troubles recipient and acquittal from whatever obligations that troubles-relevant category and its attendant conversation-general category, recipient, may entail."

Here, then we see the relevance of the particular local environment for the acceptance and rejection of advice and related to this, the importance of considering what advice may be an alternative to.

So far then, a number of issues have been identified which relate to the resistance of advice. Not least, the earlier discussion on fitting the advice to the recipient's perspective is particularly relevant here, as delivering unfitted advice is suggested to be less well received by the advice recipient. We have also seen the relevance of the recipients' territories of knowledge; the types of topics being advised on; considering what advice is an alternative to, as well as considering the preference organisation associated with responding to advice. These issues all seem to be relevant to the action of resisting and indeed accepting a piece of advice. Next, we will consider how advice resistance is managed by the advice giver.

Whilst research has shown ways in which advice givers use strategies which work to pre-empt the possibility of advice resistance, very little attention has been given to the strategies used by advice givers to manage resistance once it has occurred. However, Hepburn and Potter (2011b) have identified one such practice within the NSPCC child protection helpline. The child protection officers (CPOs) would repackage the resisted advice in an idiomatic form whilst appending a tag question and speaking past the transition relevant space. The following is a brief example:

Extract 1.2: Hepburn & Potter (2011b: 14)

15 CPO: [.hh #a-]#It sounds as though the grown ups
16 have got to be grow:n u:p.=Doesn't it.=Really:,

These packages are built as hard to refute; firstly by the idiomatic construction and therefore the normativity which is projected in them and subsequently by building the recipient as on-board with the advice, whilst not giving them the opportunity to verify this. As such, these packages work to 'design the recipient' by building the recipient as having a particular, hard to refute stance, despite interactional evidence to the contrary. However, Hepburn and Potter (2011b) argue that these packages may still be vulnerable in that the recipient has their own resource of detailing the specifics of the situation, which the CPO does not have access to. Similarly, Wiggins (2004) proposed that generic advice on healthy eating is potentially more at risk of being rejected, than individually tailored advice.

The management of advice resistance was also looked at in peer-tutoring interactions in a graduate writing centre (Waring, 2007a). Waring (2007a: 372) showed how advice givers used accounts in a range of positions, which worked to "bolster the viability of

the advice.” Whilst the pre-advice and post-advice positions promote acceptance and preempt possible resistance respectively, a third position; ‘post-problematic uptake’ works in the specific environment of advice resistance to manage problematic uptake whilst also managing the potential ‘face threat’ to the recipient (Waring, 2007a, see also Pudlinski, 2012). Furthermore, Waring (2007a) argues that accounts in post-acceptance position suggest a further interactional goal beyond acceptance; the pursuit of understanding or ‘doing pedagogy.’

More recently, Heritage and Lindström (2012) have looked at how continued resistance to advice in interactions between health visitors and first time mothers can result in interminable advice sequences. A marked acknowledgement works to close advice giving sequences because it “instantiates a recipient’s reciprocal and congruent stance to the action(s) performed by an advice giver” (Heritage & Lindström, 2012: 176). Continued attempts to deliver advice in the face of resistance can make it difficult to bring the sequence to a close. Heritage and Lindström (2012) identified some of the resources that are available to the health visitor in such environments, to terminate the sequence. These include: commenting on something in the local environment, such as the baby; delivering an offer; and reintroducing a trouble that was raised by the mother.

This section has provided an overview on the research which has looked at advice resistance. This has been important in drawing out important features which are relevant to advice giving sequences. In particular, it has highlighted the importance of considering: preference organization, relative territories of knowledge, categories of behaviour, and what advice is an alternative to. The section closed by considering the kinds of resources available to advice givers and advice recipients once advice has been resisted. This included the use of idiomatic advice, tag questions, accounts, and finally the use of offers or bringing the attention to features in the local environment as a way of terminating the sequence.

Now that the main interactional issues surrounding the giving and receiving of advice have been synthesised from the literature, in what follows, I will propose what is missing in the research and how the thesis will make a significant contribution.

Rational for the thesis

Whilst there is a growing field of interactional research into advice, it is significantly focused on ‘institutional’ settings, with research on advice in ‘mundane’ interactions being scarce. This is somewhat surprising given the concern in conversation analysis with understanding the order and rules that govern interaction, where mundane interaction provides a less specialized (Heritage, 2004) and therefore, arguably a more ‘natural’ domain

of enquiry. Although institutional interactions are governed by the same basic order, these interactions are more specialized forms where talk and therefore actions such as 'advice giving' and 'advice receiving' are re-specified to the goals of the institution (Heritage, 2004: 109):

"In addition to its stability, ordinary conversation encompasses a vast array of rules and practices, which are deployed in pursuit of every imaginable kind of social goal, and which embody an indefinite array of inferential frameworks. Institutional interaction, by contrast, generally involves a reduction in the range of interactional practices deployed by the participants, restrictions in the contexts they can be deployed in, and it frequently involves some specialization and respecification of the interactional relevance of the practices that remain (Drew & Heritage, 1992)."

Advice is therefore designed in, and for the specific requirements of, particular institutions (as has indeed been discussed above). By focusing on mundane interactions in this study, it may be possible to explicate the action of advice giving more broadly, and the orders and features that underpin it. Indeed, there will be important epistemic differences in these interactions concerning access rights and the investment in the other person, which add interesting aspects to the study of advice. It is, however, important to note here that whilst 'mundane' is a useful way of distinguishing the type of interaction being studied here in comparison to the clearly institutional kinds of interactions on the other end of the spectrum, assuming a clear cut distinction would be problematic. Indeed, family interactions themselves may become organised around particular goals, suggesting a grey area in which mother-daughter interactions operate in an 'institutional' versus 'mundane' sense. This will be discussed in more detail in the final chapter. For now, the point is to highlight the value and novelty of studying advice in a less strictly institutionalised context.

Research is also needed to focus specifically on features of turn design in order to show how asymmetry and normativity are brought off and made relevant for the recipient in their next turn. Whilst Butler et al. (2010) shows how the dimensions of 'normativity' and 'asymmetry' are actually built into advice-implicative interrogatives, less attention has been given to other forms of advice (although see Hepburn & Potter, 2011b on advice resistance). Indeed there may be other dimensions beyond normativity and asymmetry that become important when considering features of turn design in detail. Furthermore, whilst 'competency' and 'autonomy' have been highlighted as relevant issues for the recipients of

advice, further research is needed to show how these features are built into the different formulations of advice delivery as well as responses to advice.

An important issue for turn design is the response options that are set up through the different advice formulations. Silverman (1997) showed how delivering advice-as-information provides a way of delivering 'advice' which does not require strong uptake from the recipient. Furthermore, Butler et al. (2010) show how one of the advantages of AIs is that an accept/reject response is not required of the recipient. Whilst this particular design feature of 'advice' has been looked at for AIs and AIs, this focus within other and more canonical forms of advice is missing. It has been identified that advice can be mitigated through features such as an 'I think' preface (Maynard & Kinell, 1996; Couture & Sutherland, 2006), turbulent delivery and rising intonation (Couture & Sutherland, 2006). Whilst Couture and Sutherland (2006) suggests that these practices provide 'space' for the recipient, rather than simply instructing them, further research would help explicate what 'space' indeed means and looks like for the recipient. Leppänen (1998) similarly refers to certain forms of advice as more imposing than others. Explicating *how* certain forms might be more imposing would be an important next step and would provide further insight into the various dimensions of advice.

By focusing on these important turn design features as well as the sequential environment of advice it might also be possible to make further distinctions within the category of 'advice' (as suggested by Butler et al., 2010 and Hepburn & Potter, 2011b). As such, it might be possible to show how such activities as 'advice giving', 'suggesting' and 'recommending', for example, are brought off. In doing so, the aim is to move away from vernacular labels for actions that we use as members and begin to look at the actual dimensions that make up an action (See Potter, 2012) and consequently see the relevance of these categorizations by studying the actions themselves (Sacks, 1995: 27).

The aim here is not to specify the 'rules' for giving advice and the different forms of advice, but to focus on the methodological achievements of certain actions and outcomes in specific contexts (Schegloff, 1988b (on Sacks), see also Edwards, 1997). For example, building on Curl and Drew's (2008) work, Craven and Potter (2010) have shown how directives are designed in ways which display high entitlement to get someone to do something, whereby 'compliance' is projected as the relevant next action. Hepburn and Potter (2011a) similarly looked at the design of threats and how they set up 'compliance' as the relevant next action through an 'if-then' construction, in which the speaker is the agent of the negative upshot (evoked by the 'then'). They showed how the speaker can downgrade

their threat by taking their own agency out of the action, for example: “if you don’t eat your dinner there will be no pudding” (Hepburn & Potter, 2011a: 108) rather than ‘I won’t give you any’. So, similarly in terms of advice, the interest is with how reciprocity is managed or brought off in different ways through different forms of advice. Indeed, returning to the dilemma at the start: how can a mother continue to offer her ‘caring’ advice to her grown up daughter, without it being heard as ‘interfering’? And how can a daughter affiliate with a mother’s ‘interfering’ advice, whilst showing that she isn’t in need of such advice?

We now turn to the specific context of interest for studying the social practice of advice: conversations between mothers and their young adult daughters. The following discussion will provide a brief overview of how this relationship has been studied, why it provides an interesting site for studying advice and what we might learn about this relationship from the perspective of conversation analysis.

The mother and young-adult-daughter relationship

Overview of the research

The mother-daughter relationship has been studied from a range of disciplines with prominent interest from the perspectives of psychoanalysis, feminism, and intergenerational family research (see Boyd, 1989; Henwood & Coughlan, 1993; Henwood, 1995; Henwood, 2004; Shrier et al., 2004 for reviews).

From a psychoanalytic perspective, the interest has been at looking at the mother-daughter relationship in regard to women’s individual psychological development, concerning how separation and independence is achieved. By the 70s Freudian theories of development were criticized for portraying a negative view of women’s continued development throughout life as these theories rested on the patriarchal view of ‘penis envy’ (Henwood & Coughlan, 1993; Henwood, 1995; Henwood, 2004; Shrier et al., 2004). Some feminist writers have attempted to recast women’s development and ultimately the mother-daughter relationship in an altogether positive light, with emphasis on the ‘self in relation to others’ (Shrier et al., 2004), where interdependency is seen as a complex and positive part of being in a relationship (see Henwood, 1995; Stone, 2011). However, the psychoanalytic perspective nevertheless has been criticized for being heavily based on theory and limited empirical research (Shrier et al., 2004). From an intergenerational family relationships perspective in contrast, the emphasis seems to be on understanding the nature of different types of family relationships, how they change over time and in relation to various social

factors. As such, this research incorporates the broader social context, rather than just focusing on the individual (Henwood, 2004).

Empirical research which has looked at the mother-daughter relationship has been based on interview and survey data from which responses are coded and analyzed (e.g. Fingerman, 1996; Charles et al., 2001; Bojczyk et al., 2011), as well as qualitative approaches to analysis (e.g. Miller, 1992; Pennington, 2004; Usita & Du Bois, 2005). Across this research, there seems to be some key features which have been found to characterize the mother-daughter relationship (Boyd, 1989). In particular, the adult-mother-daughter relationship has been found to be close (Boyd, 1989) which is experienced as positive and strong throughout life (Shrier et al, 2004). Indeed, the mother-daughter relationship is considered to be an interesting relationship in its own right, because of the seemingly particular close nature of this relationship in comparison to other parent-child relationships (see Fingerman, 1996). However, there appears to be life-span differences in how this closeness is experienced. Fingerman (2000) compared younger dyads (daughters in their early twenties) and older dyads (middle aged daughters) and found that mothers were more invested in the daughters than the reverse throughout adulthood. The focus also changed, being on the daughter and her needs in her early twenties and then moving on to the broader family in later life.

The adult mother-daughter relationship has also been characterized as embodying a struggle between dependence and independence (Boyd, 1989, see also Tannen, 2006). For instance Bojczyk et al. (2011) found that mothers and their daughters who were in their mid twenties continued to see the mother in the nurturing role whilst also seeing the “dual forces of dependence and independence playing out in their current relationship” (p471). In Miller’s (1992) narrative analysis, similar issues were found around identifying and differentiating as well as a prominent theme of dependence-independence. Pennington (2004) undertook an exploratory study looking at cultural differences between African American mother-daughter relationships and European American mother-daughter relationships, where the daughter was an adolescent. It was found that there was a higher degree of connection sought by African American mothers through authority and mutual friendship whilst European American mothers seemed to enable independence.

The mother-daughter relationship has also been characterized as ambivalent (Bojczyk et al., 2011). Furthermore, it seems that ambivalence is a prominent feature of parent-child relationships more generally (Fingerman et al., 2004). Indeed, Hay et al. (2007) found higher scores on worry for the other partner in relationships between parents and

young adult children in relationships which were viewed as more important as well as having more ambivalence. So, whilst the mother-daughter relationship is characterized as interdependent and close, it has also been found to be prone to conflict. However, conflict is not apparently treated as a threat to the relationship (Boyd, 1989). Usita and Du Bois (2005) looked at conflict in mother-daughter relationships from the perspective of adult daughters of immigrant Japanese mothers. Sources of conflict that were identified included unsolicited advice, not living up to the other's expectations, and the daughter's independence of the mother.

Whilst the above has attempted a brief overview of the research in this field, it is important here to note that the themes concern complex issues (Boyd, 1989). Indeed researchers in this field consider a wide range of social factors including the composition of the family (Fingerman, 2003), cultural variations (Pennington, 2004), and variations across the lifespan (Fingerman, 1996), and as mothers age and become cared for themselves by their daughters (e.g. Cicirelli, 1993). Moreover some of this research is only exploratory and does not intend to be generalized. The research in this area has even been criticized for being too heavily based on euro-centric samples and views of the family (Pennington, 2004). Furthermore, the psychoanalytic perspective itself has been criticized for being heavily based on theory and contrastively, very limited empirical research (Shrier et al., 2004).

An interesting site for studying advice

The research above highlights some important aspects of the relationship including: closeness, interdependence and ambivalence. From this brief overview, the adult mother-daughter relationship can be seen as an interesting topic to study in itself. This specific relationship is particularly interesting for studying the social organization of advice. Indeed, as 'advice' is tied up with issues of autonomy and competency, it makes it a particularly relevant arena for considering the countervailing theme of dependence-independence discussed above. In fact, Randall (1995: 117) argues that the mother-daughter relationship, because of its "highly interactive and interconnected nature", makes a particularly interesting relationship to study and using the method of conversation analysis, providing 'advice giving' as an example. Moreover unsolicited advice has even been found to be a source of conflict in this relationship (Usita & Du Bois, 2005).

However, whilst this relationship provides an interesting context for study, it is important here to underscore the divergent approach taken in this thesis to the study of relationships. The next section will outline some of the broad criticisms of the approaches taken by the traditional psychological and sociological approaches to studying this

relationship, discussed above. In doing so, the approach taken here to the study of the mother-daughter relationship will be clearly outlined.

Conversation analysis and relationships

The same criticisms which have been discussed in relation to the mainstream approaches to the study of advice can be applied to the above research on the mother-daughter relationship. In particular, structured interviews and surveys assume the relevance of a priori, researcher-led categories to the topic under investigation (e.g. see Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Edwards & Stokoe, 2004; Potter & Hepburn, 2005; Antaki, 2006; Benwell & Stokoe, 2006). Some researchers looking at this specific relationship have treated the relationship as constituted through talk which has been built in an interview setting (e.g. Henwood & Coughlan, 1993; Henwood, 1997, 2004; Hall & Langellier, 1988; Petraki, Baker, & Emmison, (2007). For example, Henwood & Coughlan (1993) and Henwood (1997) argued that 'closeness' was socially constructed in interviews as an idealization of the mother-daughter relationship. Hall and Langellier (1988) showed how mothers and daughters enacted their relationship through various story telling strategies. Petraki, Baker, & Emmison, (2007) identified 'moral versions' of both motherhood and daughterhood which were constructed in interviews, including the mother as hard working and responsible and the daughter as respectful and obedient, whilst also carefully considering the interview setting as an interactional arena in its own right. Although these studies might provide some insight into the nature of this relationship as it is viewed in culture, the best place to study relationships is as they play out in interaction as a participant's rather than an analyst's concern (see Benwell & Stokoe, 2006).

Relationships have indeed been studied within the field of conversation analysis, where they can be studied in all their glory, as they are built, in everyday interaction (see Mandelbaum, 2003; Pomerantz & Mandelbaum, 2005; Raymond & Heritage, 2006; Benwell & Stokoe, 2006). For example, Mandelbaum (1987) showed how couples told stories together in a way that displayed 'togetherness'. 'Intimacy', was shown by Jefferson et al. (1987) to be achieved through the fine grained ordering of laughter particles in relation to what the other person has said. Conversation analytic work has also shown how varying degrees of 'familiarity' is achieved in face to face interactions (Pillet-shore, forthcoming) and through the opening exchanges on the telephone (e.g. Schegloff, 1979; Lindström, 1996; Drew & Chilton, 2000).

Drew and Chilton (1996), showed how a daughter and her elderly mother oriented to their calls as occasions just to 'keep in touch' through the structural organisation of call

openings and the initiation of certain kinds of topics, such as requests for updates on the other's life. On this same topic of showing interest in the other's life, Bolden (2006) showed how the discourse maker 'so' is enacted to do 'other-attentiveness' in interactions between familiars. Moreover, Morrison (1997) showed how recipients can construct other attentiveness and involvement in the other's life through the choice of more opaque (or 'locally subsequent') reference forms concerning the other person's life. Finally, Patterson and Potter (2009) showed how 'caring' is constructed through the turn by turn negotiation of closings in calls between a young women with a learning disability and three other family members.

Other studies have focused on contexts where 'relationships' become the focus of the interaction. For example, Stokoe (2010) looked at the interactional unfolding of recipient talk in speed dating encounters. The analysis shows how talk was introduced on relationship histories, and showed among other things, how recipients treated certain histories as more accountable than others. Indeed, Stokoe (2003: 338) has shown how the category of 'motherhood' is deployed to do moral work in complaints against neighbours: "for both warding off *and* shoring up complaints." Furthermore, Edwards (1995) looked at how couples talk about their troubles in therapy and explicated the kinds of interactional work that is used to establish one version of events over another.

Even when studying relationships in everyday natural interactions, there is still a risk that categories are 'read into' the analysis (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006, see also Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998 on identities in talk). For instance, Hall and Langellier (1988) associate the story telling strategies that are identified, as being associated with the membership of being in a mother-daughter relationship. However, these categories have been made relevant by the analyst. Indeed, the strategies could have been adopted by other categories of people and in other contexts for instance, such as friend-friend interactions or father-daughter interactions. Furthermore, Henwood and Coughlan (1993), problematically relate metaphors of 'binding and clutching' to negative stereotypes concerning the female gender when 'gender' is not necessarily the relevant category for the recipients (see Stokoe, 2005). Furthermore, Deborah Tannen's popular book and lively read "You're wearing that? Understanding mothers and daughters in conversation" (Tannen, 2006), falls short of a rigorous sequential analysis of recorded conversations and is laden with presumptive categories concerning the interpretation of different actions of talk.² In comparison, by focusing on just mother-daughter relationships here, the thesis does not suppose a unique

Tannen's (2006) analysis will be discussed in more detail in the final chapter.

type of talking that belongs to this pairing and relies on details of the local sequence of talk in order to unpack the actions that are being done and how they are understood.

Whilst we may not be able to tie a particular action with a category of person, the conversation analytic studies above show how we are able to see features of relationships being managed such as 'familiarity' and 'intimacy' as well as how recipients manage what explicitly-oriented-to relationship categories mean in specific contexts of interaction. Indeed, not being able to associate actions with categories of people such as 'mum' provides for the defeasibility of such ascriptions (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006). Of course that is not to say that participants themselves don't work up actions as being associated with particular categories for the purpose of their talk.

So, by studying the mother-daughter relationship in interaction it will be possible to see how the aspects of that relationship are made relevant in interaction by the recipients themselves and this will provide the tight boot strapping process through which the nuts and bolts which constitute the relationship can be explicated.

Thesis outline

To far in this introductory chapter, the topic of 'advice giving in mother-daughter telephone interactions' has been introduced and discussed, and the theoretical approach taken in the thesis has been established. I will now provide an outline of the rest of the thesis, giving an overview of what is to come in each chapter.

To begin with, Chapter 2 will discuss the methodology of the thesis; how the research was undertaken and important issues that were addressed during the process. It will provided a formal outline of the theoretical and analytical approach taken to researching the topic of advice in mother-daughter telephone interactions; the underpinnings of an interactional approach that has featured centrally in the discussion so far. In particular, the approaches of conversation analysis and discursive psychology will be outlined. Furthermore, Chapter 2 will discuss the methodological approaches to: the recruitment of participants; recording interactions; managing the corpus; transcription, and data analysis. Finally, the chapter will address the ethical issues that were relevant to the study.

In order to develop a comprehensive understanding of advice giving in this context, the thesis will be divided into four chapters which address different component parts of the advice giving sequence. By isolating features of the sequence in this way, the thesis aims to

explicate each important component part in a clear and focused way. As such, the thesis will work like an onion, being unravelled layer by layer; component by component. As such the various dimensions that are relevant in advice giving can be illuminated in a concentrated fashion. The discussion will then work to bring all the components together in order to develop a thorough analysis of advice giving in mother-daughter telephone interactions, with implications both for advice giving and the mother-daughter relationship.

Chapter 3 is the first analytic chapter of the thesis and will focus specifically on the form of advice. To begin with, this will require specifying the important dimensions to advice that have enabled a broad understanding in the thesis to what counts as advice. The chapter will focus specifically on *how* the dimensions of normativity and knowledge asymmetry are calibrated through different advice formulations in order to provide the advice recipient with different 'options' in their responsive turn. The chapter will discuss the possibility of distinguishing between different types of advice; how a piece of advice might be built as merely a suggestion on the one end of the scale, to a more forceful piece of advice on the other. The chapter will also discuss how the formation of advice has implications for whether the 'recipient is designed'³ in a more or less compromising manner. This final thread will be picked up again in Chapter 5.

Chapter 4 will focus on the resources recipients have to respond to advice and the actions they perform. In particular, it will show how the issue of competence can be managed in more or less exposed ways, showing how recipients of more implicit advice as well as more pushy advice (as discussed in Chapter 3), can recode their competence back in. Furthermore, Chapter 4 will also show some of the resources recipients have to get out of the 'pressure' to follow the advice; how advice can be rejected in different ways. Building on Chapter 3, this chapter will also show how recipients themselves orient to the various forms of advice detailed in that chapter, as advice, whilst also drawing on evidence for the interactional affordances of one form of advice over another.

Chapter 5 will then consider how the different response types are fitted to their local environment. In particular, this chapter will consider the interactional question: 'why that now?' Each response type will be considered in terms of the local interactional context and by considering why an alternative form of response is not used. One main focus in the chapter will be to consider why a piece of advice is resisted in explicit ways in some instances compared to much more implicit ways in others. In doing so, the analysis will build on the observation from Chapter 3, that certain forms of advice put the recipient in a more

³ To adopt Hepburn and Potter's (2011b) term.

morally compromising position, by extending the analysis to considerations of the broader sequence. A central theme in this chapter will therefore be the issue of morality.

Chapter 6 will build on the analysis of advice as a potentially problematic activity by considering how it is occasioned by what has come before it in the interaction. In doing so, this chapter will consider how advice is made relevant as an action in the first place. In particular, this chapter will develop the analysis in Chapter 3 by considering why a more 'pushy' piece of advice is chosen on an occasion over a more implicit form of advice on another. Indeed, the chapter will explore whether there is any order to this choice that can be pinned down in terms of the local sequential environment in which the advice is delivered. This chapter will conclude by 1) considering whether we can see relationality at work in the way recipients come to forward a future course of action for the other, and 2) considering the evidence that advice is a dispreferred action.

In the final chapter, the main findings in the thesis will be summarised and discussed. This will enable the possibility of pulling together the array of dimensions that are relevant to the action of advice giving. Furthermore, this chapter will discuss how this study has developed our understanding of what we are able to say about the relationship between mothers and their young adult daughters. Finally, the chapter will conclude by drawing together the implications of these findings for future research as well as some useful practical implications.

Chapter 2: Methodology

This chapter will provide a detailed account of how the research was carried out. It will start off by providing an outline of the methodological approach underpinning the various decisions that shaped the research, starting from data collection through to data analysis. While the previous chapter positioned the theoretical approach taken here in relation to other psychological and linguistic perspectives, this chapter will begin by providing a more formal outline of the perspectives of conversation analysis and discursive psychology which are taken here. The chapter will then address methodological issues that concern data collection: the recruitment of participants, the method for recording interactions and how the resulting corpus was managed. The chapter will then discuss the method used for transcribing the data followed by an outline of the analytic method that was adopted. In the final section, the focus will be on the relevant ethical issues and how they were managed.

Theoretical and analytic framework

This research is situated within the theoretical framework of discursive psychology and conversation analysis. Discursive psychology (DP henceforth) positions itself as a respecification of traditional psychological approaches to language (Edwards & Potter, 2005). Traditional approaches have treated language as simply representing peoples' emotions and thoughts. This is reflected in the use of methods such as interviews, which aim to reach peoples' 'inner worlds' (Edwards, 2006a). DP in contrast treats language as not simply a way of 'communicating' but instead focuses on how these psychological matters become issues that are managed within talk (Edwards, 2006a; see also Potter, 1996; Edwards, 1997; Antaki, 2004; Antaki, 2006, and collections in Hepburn & Wiggins 2005 & 2007). Here, talk is considered a social practice rather than representing what people actually think (Potter & Hepburn, 2007). Language itself is enriched with detail and is considered valuable in its own right and for its performative nature, without trying to look beneath it or inside the heads of participants for further explanation of actions (Edwards, 2006a). Language does not independently refer to something objective, but instead points to contextually specific meanings (Edwards, 2006a).

As well as respecification of traditional approaches to language, DP also studies the way psychological terms such as 'want' are used in interaction (e.g. Childs, 2012), contributing to what Edwards and Potter (2005) call the 'psychological thesaurus'. Here, the focus is on the performative, action oriented nature of psychological terms. DP is also concerned with tacit references to psychological issues. Here the interest is on how certain descriptions of the world do the work of managing psychological states. For example, giving a vague account of a partner's short skirt, regarding the night her fidelity is called into question can manage the possibility of being heard as over interested and moreover, jealous (Edwards, 1997: 158). A central theme for DP is with how reality, psychological descriptions and categories, are built off of each other in talk to achieve interactional goals (Edwards & Potter, 2005).

Conversation Analysis (CA henceforth), like DP, is concerned with the performative nature of language (Edwards, 2006a). CA treats social action as underpinning the way in which language is organised (Drew, 2005). Talk is considered to be a fundamentally social domain, which is organised accordingly (Drew, 2005). The aim of CA is to develop an understanding of members' methods for interacting with each other (Heritage, 1984a). CA aims to discover the practices that are used in a culture and the underlying conversational structures which together contribute to social order (Drew, 2005). Like DP, CA is concerned with the actions being done in talk (Drew, 2005), rather than looking for what people really think or feel. As such, CA is a useful tool for DP as it enables an important understanding of the way talk is organised (Edwards, 2006a).

DP and CA are united by their focus on studying language as action and by their foundations in ethnomethodology (see Edwards, 1997). However whilst DP takes a constructionist and anti-realist position, in that knowledge and reality are considered to be constructed through talk (Potter, 1996), constructionism is not typically a feature of CA. However, they are compatible approaches in that DP uses CA as a resource to validate a constructionist position on language and psychology.

An important aspect of both CA and DP is that the focus is on the participants' orientations to language, rather than trying to make inferences about people's intentions. Indeed, DP takes the participants' own orientations to psychological topics such as 'intention' as the focus of enquiry (e.g. Edwards, 2008). CA uses a 'next turn proof procedure' in which talk is analysed in terms of how the recipient of that talk treats it (Sacks et al., 1974). The analyst then has a method which is grounded in the data as opposed to any a priori conceptions of what a person's turn of talk may be doing (Sacks et al., 1974). CA

treats context as something which is constructed collaboratively through interaction rather than something pre-existing (Heritage, 2004). Therefore, CA takes an inductive approach to the data which enforces the relevance of any category, identity or settings to be evidenced in the interaction rather than treat it as relevant from the start.

Another important concern that DP and CA share is with taking naturally occurring interactions as its analytic focus (Edwards, 2006a; Drew, 2005). As Potter (2004: 205) argues: “It is natural in the specific sense that it is not ‘got up’ by the researcher using an interview schedule, a questionnaire, an experimental protocol or some such social research technology.” Only by analysing instances of talk that actually happened, can the situated and performative work of language actually be captured (see Edwards & Potter, 1992). Collecting naturalistic data also ultimately avoids obtaining data which is “the implausible products of selective processes involving recollection, attention, or imagination” (Heritage & Atkinson, 1984: 3). Indeed, interviews are host to other methodological issues because of the fact that an interview is itself an interactional event which needs to be analyzed in its own right (Potter, 2004; Potter & Hepburn, 2005). Furthermore, experiments fall short of capturing the vast array of possibilities that are available to participants in interaction and therefore findings are less likely to be relevant to real world situations (Heritage & Atkinson, 1984).

Recording naturalistic recordings of interactions as they would have happened is ultimately the only way of studying the highly finessed order of talk in interaction. However, the distinction between what counts as natural and artificial is not straightforward (Potter, 2004). This issue will be addressed in the following section on data collection, to which we now turn.

Data collection

1. Participants

a. Recruitment

The participants in this study were all recruited as part of a mother-daughter dyad. The selection criteria was quite broad but specified the following:

- Young adult participants who live apart from parents, or the parents themselves, so as to allow for telephone calls to be prominent
- Participants who speak fairly regularly on the telephone

- All children in the broad category of ‘early adulthood’ so approximately between the ages of 18 and 30

This allowed for the possibility of fathers and sons to begin with. However, because these interactions proved more difficult to recruit, the focus became exclusively on mothers and daughters. Furthermore, whilst the initial recruitment of a mother-daughter dyad was on the basis that they lived apart to allow for frequent telephone conversations, where this involved mothers with other daughters in the family, those daughters were also recruited (if willing), to provide further recordings.

Those people who were willing to participate were recruited through personal contact and on willingness to participate. Because the researcher was familiar with the participants either through their own personal contact or personal contact that was ‘once removed’, the participants were provided with a ‘safe’ environment to carry out their personal interactions. Another perspective would be that complete anonymity might make people feel more at ease. Still, whilst there are clearly pros and cons to these different approaches to recruitment, what is clear from the data is that conversations of a personal and sometimes sensitive nature occurred nevertheless.

b. Who they were

All together, 5 families were recruited with a total of 5 mothers and 9 daughters, comprising 9 mother-daughter dyads. The daughters’ ages ranged between 19 and 31, although most participants were in their early to mid-20s. The mothers’ age ranged between 48 and 56. The table below gives an overview of the participants that were recruited for each family.

Table 2.1: Participant overview⁴

Family	Pseudonym	Age
Family 1	Mum	52
Family 1	Genevieve	25
Family 1	Sarah	22
Family 2	Mum	54

⁴ Where two ages are provided, this was because the participant had a birthday during the recording period.

Family 2	Lottie	22
Family 2	Katie	24/25
Family 3	Mum	56
Family 3	Sinitta	22
Family 3	Patricia	26
Family 3	Beth	31
Family 4	Mum	48
Family 4	Leanne	26/27
Family 5	Mum	50
Family 5	Lucy	19

Further details can be specified, including that all families apart from family 4 were recruited from the South East of England whilst family 4 were recruited from the East Midlands. Indeed, more could have been established regarding their socioeconomic backgrounds, whether the mothers worked whilst the daughters grew up or not; such background characteristics could be endless. However, following Schegloff (1979), these demographic details are not the concern of this analytic approach. Indeed, as Psathas (1995) argued, conversation analysis takes interactional practices as its focus rather than categories of people or places. The focus is on formal descriptions of meaning regarding these practices to enable the possibility of ‘unique adequacy’ (Psathas, 1995). So, whilst this approach can be criticised for not being representative of the population and indeed, what we can say about ‘mother-daughter relationships’ more generally, this is not the interest here. Indeed, whilst ‘statistical significance’ features strongly in the field of social psychology, Schegloff (1993) argues that this is not the only type of significance.

For interactional analysis, significance or relevance can be understood in terms of a “displayed orientation of a co-participant to some feature of what a speaker has done” (Schegloff, 1993: 101). Furthermore, relevance features in the first instance, through the formal description of an action and the relevance it has to the interaction (Psathas, 1995). Relevance is understandable here in terms of the unfolding sequence and how an action is relevant for a particular moment, rather than abstracting practices such as ‘advice’, for example, and comparing their relative occurrence for different categories of people (Schegloff, 1993). Demographic details and even the categories ‘mother’ and ‘daughter’ are then ultimately a participant’s concern, rather than an analyst’s (see Schegloff, 2005; Benwell & Stokoe, 2006).

Now that details about the participants have been outlined and discussed, the next section will outline the type of interaction that was recorded and the methodological issues surrounding how those interactions were recorded.

2. Telephone interactions

Mobile telephone interactions were initially chosen as the specific vehicle for capturing interactions between participants; the aim being to incorporate a modern and up-to-date way that people interact with each other. Furthermore, the telephone more broadly, provided a useful and practical solution to isolating and capturing interactions between two family members. However, it became problematic to expect that a mobile phone would always feature on both sides of the call. For example, one participant lived in the countryside where mobile phone signal was poor whilst others preferred to use a landline. So, as a practical solution, participants were also given the option of using their landline phones where this featured as the way they would naturally contact each other.

For sure, the type of phone used in an interaction can be a focus of study in its own right. A small number of conversation analytic studies have indeed taken the mobile phone as a site of enquiry (e.g. Laurier, 2001; Weilenmann, 2003; Hutchby & Barnett, 2005). For instance, Hutchby and Barnett (2005) looked at how the opening sequence on a mobile phone compares to that in a landline. For the current study though, whilst being 'mobile' compared to being 'locatable in one place' is an interesting topic in itself, this is not the focus here. Instead, the focus is on the interactions themselves, whilst allowing for the possibility that being 'mobile' (or not) might feature as part of those interactions.

The interactions were primarily recorded with the use of a digital recorder and an Olympus TP7 device. The Olympus TP7 has a wire which plugs into the microphone socket of the digital recorder. The wire has an earpiece attached to it with a built in microphone. When the participant receives or makes a call, the recording device simply has to be switched on and the earpiece inserted and then the telephone placed to the ear which has the inserted earpiece. This enables for both sides of the conversation to be picked up and recorded, thus capturing all the interactional information that was available to both participants. As both sides of the conversation were recorded from one end of the call, this meant that only one member of the dyad was placed with the responsibility of recording the calls.

Whilst all the other families used this method, family 3 were given an alternative device for recording which was particularly suited to the mother's preference to use her landline phone. The mother was provided with a Re-Tell telephone recording connector

which worked as an adaptor, allowing the digital recording device to intercept the main telephone wire. The mother still had control over recording the call and yet this option allowed her to use the phone with no extra wires attached at all. Because this method meant the recorder was always set up and ready to be activated simply by pressing 'record', it was adopted here to provide the participant with a straightforward way of recording, after she had reported that she kept forgetting to use the device she was initially given.

Each family was given the equipment so that one of the participants could take the responsibility of recording the calls that took place with the other recruited family member(s). The participants were asked to record around 12-15 of their telephone conversations with the other member (or as long as they were happy to) and they were given approximately 2 months to record the calls. However, it was stressed that they should take as long as they needed to record that amount of calls so that the participants would not be tempted to make calls for the purpose of completing the research project as this would have resulted in potentially contrived data. This time span was also made flexible to allow for personal problems and changes in situation that arose and which made recording problematic for a period of time in some cases. In particular, one family experienced the loss of a grandmother prior to recording, whilst in another family, one of the daughters moved back in with her mother temporarily. One problem that seemed to be common and might have been a result of this more open ended approach was that participants would not always remember to record their calls. Indeed a problem with incoming calls more generally is that participants sometimes only remembered to record the call once it had already started.

Now that the methodological issues surrounding the choice of how the telephone interactions were recorded have been discussed, the next section will consider how 'natural' we can take the data that has been collected to be.

3. 'Natural' data?

An important methodological issue with recording people's interactions is that participants might not act in the way they would have done, had the recording not taken place. The issue then arises as to how 'naturalistic' the data 'really' is (see Speer & Hutchby, 2003). The first defence to this criticism is ultimately that the alternative approaches to studying interaction are more problematic in this respect. Alternative methods such as interviewing mothers and daughters on how they interact with each would result in talk being too far removed from the interactional event itself (see Edwards & Potter, 1992; and Potter & Hepburn, 2005 on problems with qualitative interviews).

However, it is important to consider this methodological issue and to acknowledge that the recording equipment is likely to have some impact on the participants' behaviour even though this might be to a far lesser degree along the continuum. As such, careful consideration was given to the actual equipment that was used. The alternative possibility of using mobile phone software was considered as it provided for a more 'natural' use of the phone (see Hutchby & Barnett, 2005) which would potentially translate to less intrusiveness on the researcher's part and quicker acclimatization to being recorded. However, the Olympic TP7 device (discussed above) is fairly minimal, with the participant having to use an ear piece as opposed to a head set (as in Weilenmann, 2003). It also became apparent that downloading software has its own problems. Some software is limited to only allowing recordings once the call has begun, limiting how much of the interaction is captured, and some phones have a recurrent beeping noise so people are continuously aware that they are being recorded (as in Hutchby & Barnett's, 2005 study. Although Hutchby and Barnett (2005) argue that this allows the possibility of continued consent, in this study where participants give signed consent prior to taking part, the continued beeping would be considered unnecessary and moreover an interference to acclimatization. In addition to this, software is specialized for particular types of phones, and not all phones can even use software.

Although using an external device maybe slightly intrusive, downloading software to people's phones can raise issues of intrusion in terms of using up extensive memory space on their phone. Furthermore, participants reported on the ease of use with the current approach. For sure, it is less intrusive than a video camera, had the research focus been on face to face interactions. Indeed, only one side of the conversation was continually reminded that they were being recorded, as only one participant was actually doing the recording.

This problem with the impact of the recorder can further be resolved by the researcher's analytic approach to the problem. Indeed, Speer and Hutchby (2003) argue that the dilemma itself is irresolvable and rather than trying to uncover some kind of 'objective' reality, this potential orientation to the recorder should be embraced. In their article, they show the value of analysing participants' explicit orientations to the recorder by analysing how these orientations feature as part of the interaction itself. An alternative, theoretical argument could also be made that for interaction to happen at all, order has to take place nevertheless. So, even though participants may be 'on their best behaviour' or were more 'guarded', talk as action will still be the interactional currency and so 'advice giving', for example will still be analysable for its sequential implicativeness. Furthermore, within the

current corpus there is evidence to suggest that participants were not seemingly responding to the recorder in this way as sensitive topics were discussed and direct complaints and scolds were enacted nevertheless, and even by those doing the recording.

4. Managing the corpus

After the data was collected, another important methodological issue concerned how the data was managed. The overall amount of data is represented in table 2.2 below. A total of 51 (usable) calls were recorded and covering a total of 5.46 hours. The shortest call length was 37 seconds and the longest was 27 minutes. Some calls were short and in the service of making arrangements whilst others were more focused on catching up on each other's lives. This volume of data could be considered relatively small, compared to other studies where the collection of around 20 hours of data is common. However, it is important to consider that these phone calls provided particularly dense environments for interactions compared with other face to face interactions where other business may be going on. For example, at a family meal time, there is the main business of eating, where talking features as just part of that context. In telephone conversations in comparison, talking is overwhelmingly the only purpose. Therefore five hours of data actually equates to a vast amount of interaction to be analysed.

Table 2.2: Amount of data

Family	Total number of calls	Total minutes/hours of data
1	16	24.9 minutes
2	14	99.25 minutes
3	10	145.85 minutes
4	6	19.3 minutes
5	5	38 minutes
Total	51	5.46 hours

Once this data was collected, the problem then was deciding how to narrow down the analytic focus. The initial interest was in how people construct their relationships through their conversations. So initially, interesting segments of data which seemed to

display relationality in some way were transcribed and analysed. However, this broad interest was difficult to capture. Furthermore, the discipline of conversation analysis requires the researcher to take part in “unmotivated examination of some piece of data”, so that the initial interest in relationality had to be set aside to allow for the possibility of other interesting things being more important in the interaction (Sacks, 1984: 27). Indeed, as talk is organised primarily at the level of action, then ‘action’ must certainly be the starting point for analysis rather than people (see for example Schegloff, 2005). This led to a focus on ‘advice giving’, not least because this featured regularly in the data. Furthermore, advice was a particularly fruitful place to consider relationality (if it did indeed become relevant) because of the potential trickiness in giving it, which relationship partners *may* have more entitlement in. Again though, such an interest in the data ultimately had to be put aside to enable unmotivated looking in order to explicate the practice of advice in its own terms.

Analysis therefore continued through the selection of episodes of talk where advice giving seemed to feature in some way. What counted as advice itself remained a topic for investigation rather than something pre-defined. In order to preserve the normative and vernacular nature of language, the starting point is a “loose, to-be-refined notion of the phenomenon” (Edwards, 2005: 7). The aim here is not to try to come up with a technical definition for ‘advice’, but rather to see how an action that might be hearable as advice, is brought off, with different interactional consequences (e.g. Edwards, 2005 on complaints). Heritage and Sefi (1992: 368) put forward a broad definition that has tended to be used in interactional research on advice. They describe advice as something which “describes, recommends or otherwise forwards a preferred course of future action.” They also argued that advice proposes the normativity of the future action as well as a knowledge asymmetry between advice giver and advice recipient. These specifications provided a useful starting point for developing the corpus. A total of 41 episodes of advice formed the collection, with some episodes having multiple attempts at the same advice and other, particularly extended episodes, having different types of advice relating to different aspects of a particular problem.

Another issue surrounding the management of the corpus concerned the storage and organization of the data. The audio recordings were transferred on to the main computer being used for analysis whilst also being stored on to my own university u-drive. The sound files were converted from their original WMA format to the more functional MP3 format using the software ‘Tunebite’. An excel spread sheet provided a useful way of

documenting basic details about each call along with a summary of the call itself and any features of interest on first hearing each call. Another excel spread sheet was used to document episodes of advice in the data and any key features that were related to them.

Now that the methodological issues concerning data collection have been addressed, we will now consider how the data was transcribed and analysed.

Transcription

The method adopted for transcription is the Jefferson Transcription System, designed specifically for the purposes of conversation analysis by Gail Jefferson (see Appendix 1, page 233) (Jefferson, 1983; 2004, see also Hepburn & Bolden, 2012). The Jefferson Transcription System provides for the transcription of specific details of how talk is actually delivered, including hearable breathiness, emphasis and pitch movement, speed and volume, and finally, the temporal placement of talk (see Jefferson, 1983; 2004; Hepburn & Bolden, 2012). As Drew (2005: 78) argues, the transcription system allows for the recording of “what was actually said and how and when it was said.” As such, it enables an analysis of the actions being done in interaction, and the details of speech delivery that provide for those actions, within their locally specific context (Jefferson, 1983; Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008). Furthermore, all these production details are important because nothing can be disregarded as irrelevant prior to actual analysis, as it is only within interaction that the relevance of these details become manifest (Heritage, 1984a).

The software programme ‘Audacity’ was particularly useful in capturing some of these details. It enabled silences to be timed and different segments of talk to be slowed down and amplified, allowing for features relating to the delivery of talk to be represented on the transcript.

The ‘representation’ of the data is an issue that requires particular attention here. By developing a symbolic record of what happened, the idea is not to then treat the transcript as the data, but rather the transcript is treated as a ‘representation’ of the data and the audio recording is continually revisited as part of the analysis (Heritage, 1984a; Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008; Hepburn & Bolden, 2012). Rather than seeing more details as related to a more ‘accurate’ representation (see Mischler, 1991 on this critique), it is acknowledged that what is recorded is selective and specific to the analytic approach that is adopted (Hepburn & Bolden, 2012). Indeed, the transcription method here is necessary for,

and has developed out of a concern with, talk as action (Hepburn & Bolden, 2012). Further still though, as Ashmore and Reed (2000) argue, it is also important not to then implicitly treat the audio recording as something objective that replaces the event itself. However, for the purpose of an interactional analysis, what is captured on the recording device is considered: “a good enough record of what happened. Other things happened to be sure, but at least what was on the tape had happened” (Sacks, 1984: 26, see also Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008).

As well as these theoretical considerations with the transcript, there were also practical considerations and moreover, choices that were needed in terms of how to represent features of the interaction. Firstly, rather than use absolute timings to represent the silence between turns at talk, I chose to adopt the approach taken by Hepburn and Bolden (2012) and leave the first 0.1-0.2 second ‘beat of silence’ between turns, as an unmarked transition. This is because the ‘beat of silence’ is normative and unremarkable so that it is only when the silence extends beyond this that the silence becomes of interest; that is, to the recipients, in the first instance. Another practical issue concerned the decision to include background noise or not. Whilst it would be impractical to include all background noise and talk, such detail may nevertheless be relevant to the interaction. The decision was therefore to record whatever appeared to be most clearly relevant whilst at the same time never straying far from the audio recording itself.

A final practical but also theoretical consideration concerned the names on the left hand side of the transcript to identify speaker change. The choice was made to use ‘mum’ and the daughter’s first name. The criticism here is that such categories are a priori to the analysis, bringing with them various assumptions about the interaction (Billig, 1999). However, the reason for this choice is that the recipients themselves referred to each other this way, and as such they are representative of the recipients’ own orientations and concern (Schegloff, 1999). At the same time, (as discussed above), the analysis has attempted to hold off relying on such a prior categorizations that this labelling and moreover, the choice of participants, could otherwise bring to bear.

Analytic approach

The main analytic approach that informs the study is that of conversation analysis. Drew (2005) outlines four key concepts which are the underlying resources used in CA, and

as such will be briefly outlined here. Firstly is the concept of 'turn taking', which underpins one way that talk is organised (Sacks et al., 1974). According to Sacks et al. (1974), talk is broken up into units called turn construction units (TCUs), and each speaker is entitled to just one TCU at a time. These TCUs are built out of words, phrases or sentences. The completion of a TCU projects a possible transition space, where a next speaker is entitled to start talking (Sacks et al., 1974). This is an important resource as, for instance, starting a turn early or late has implications for the actions that are being done. For example, delaying a turn at a TRP can indicate that a dispreferred response is coming next (Schegloff, 2007).

Social action is another concept (as discussed above) and a resource for analysing interaction. Talk can be broken down according to the underlying action being accomplished, such as a piece of 'advice' or an 'order' (Drew, 2005). These actions can also be analysed for the way they are designed. This third concept of 'turn design' focuses on the way actions are produced; for example, designing a request as 'urgent' (Drew, 2005). 'Turn design' or 'action formation' has gained particular attention in recent years, with an interest in how an action is brought off as, for example, a 'directive' (Craven & Potter, 2010), a 'threat' (Hepburn & Potter, 2011a) or a particular type of 'request' (Lindström, 2005; Heinemann, 2006; Curl & Drew, 2008). This concept is particularly important to the next chapter (Chapter 3), where the focus is on how advice is designed and the different ways that reciprocity is brought off.

The final concept outlined by Drew (2005) is 'sequence organisation'. Turns of talk do not just exist in isolation but are organised as larger sequences and at a basic level, within adjacency pairs. Here, an initiating action such as a question makes an answer conditionally relevant as its second pair part. Some actions also have alternative second pair parts. These alternatives are understood as being either preferred or dispreferred responses to the specific action that was underway and can be identified as such through certain features (Schegloff, 2007). For example, dispreferred actions are often delayed and elaborated on with accounts (Schegloff, 2007). Sequence organization features centrally across the thesis as it is used to consider: how advice sets up different second pair parts (Chapter 3), how advice is made relevant within the sequence in the first place (Chapter 6), and finally; how second pair parts relate to the advice they are responsive to (Chapters 4 and 5).

These four concepts have all been important tools in the analysis and will feature centrally in the analytic chapters that follow. Having discussed the tools used for analyzing the data, we will now turn to the final section of this chapter, where I discuss the ethical considerations in the research.

Ethical considerations

Full ethical clearance was obtained from the University before commencement of the study. Participants were initially informed about the study (see Appendix 2, page 235, for the information sheet) and asked to pass on their details if they were interested so that all family members could be sent an information sheet with more details about the study, as well as the contact details of both my supervisor and I, should they have any questions. All participants were then asked if they were still happy to take part. Following agreement, a meeting was set up to discuss the research with each participating family and as many as the family members as possible. All participants gave written informed consent to take part in the study and for their anonymous transcripts and recordings to be presented in publications, conferences and teaching materials (see Appendix 3, page 236, for an example consent form). Indeed, participants referred to the recorder at various times, showing some continued awareness of the research.

In order to protect the participants' privacy, all transcripts and sound files are stored with an anonymous label e.g. P1C6. The P1 stands for the participant number, referring to a particular family and 'C6' stands for the call number. 'P1C6' therefore refers to participant/family 1, call 6. The transcripts are also stored with pseudonyms in place of the participants' original names along the left hand side of the extracts and whenever their names are mentioned throughout. Pseudonyms all had the same number of syllables to retain some production features. All extracts and sound files have been anonymised when presented in the research process, to anyone other than my supervisor. This has meant that all identifying details have been given pseudonyms in transcripts. All names have also been deleted from the sound files by silencing the production of the name itself and therefore allowing the same amount of time to lapse where it would have been produced. Participants' confidentiality is also preserved by storing the data on just one computer, as well as being backed up on the secure university u-drive. Participants' privacy was also protected by informing them of their right to withdraw from the study and to delete calls if they did not want to submit them. Indeed, there is some evidence to suggest calls were listened through (by the person doing the recording at least), as this is explicitly made reference to in one of the calls. Furthermore, there is evidence that calls have been deleted as there were occasional missing file numbers on the device.

The research itself did not introduce any risk of harm to the participants as sensitive topics were raised by the participants themselves rather than by an interview schedule (see

Coyle & Wright, 1996). Indeed, the recordings were of naturally occurring interactions that were not 'got at' for the purposes of the research (Potter, 2004). Furthermore, the participants themselves were given control to record what they wanted to and delete calls that they weren't happy about. There was also minimal demand on participants' time, as these calls would have taken place anyway. The additional time simply involved the procedure of physically recording the calls. Where personal issues arose for families, for example one family lost their grandmother at the beginning of the research process, they were reminded of their freedom to withdraw from the study and to not feel obliged to continue.

Now that the methodological issues pertaining to the research have been discussed, and the methodological approach has been outlined, we will now turn to the first analytic chapter.

Chapter 3: The formation of advice

Introduction

This first analytic chapter will take the initial step into the exploration of the social organisation of advice in 'mundane' interactions by focusing on how advice is constructed. By considering how advice is built, and specifically isolating this aspect of advice giving sequences, this chapter will begin to unravel the various dimensions that are brought into play when giving someone a piece of advice.

In these 'mundane' interactions between familiars, there are important epistemic differences with the more institutional interactions that have been studied so far. Such differences concern: access to the other's life, rights to help, and investment in the other's well-being. In the case of mother-daughter relationships, the stereotypical image of an 'interfering mother' springs to mind. Indeed, this image is played on and dramatized in shows such as 'Everybody loves Raymond' and the novel, film and mini-series 'Midred Pierce'. Whilst analytically, it is important to hold off making such a priori assumptions about how mothers and daughters interact with each other, this chapter will begin to unravel how a piece of advice might come to be heard as 'suggesting', being 'interfering', 'pushy' or 'patronising'. So what this chapter aims to do is to begin to specify what such characterizations might begin to look like in practice and how exactly certain epistemic rights are brought to bear on the interaction.

To begin with, this chapter will outline the key dimensions in advice giving that have been identified in the literature, proposing what might be missing from the broad definition that has been established thus far. In particular, it will be shown how little attention has been given to considering what sort of response is made relevant by 'advice'. The chapter will develop this focus on the advice recipient's response options by focusing on the key dimensions outlined by Heritage and Sefi (1992) of 'normativity' and 'knowledge asymmetry'. These two dimensions will be considered in turn considering how they can be calibrated in advice giving and in ways which have implications for the recipient's next turn; something which has been given very little attention in the literature. The chapter will conclude by considering how exactly a piece of advice might be built as merely a suggestion on the one end of the scale, to a more forceful piece of advice on the other.

The formation of advice

In line with other conversation analytic work which describes particular categories of actions, the starting point for analysis is a broad and vernacular definition of ‘advice’ (see Edwards, 1997 on this issue; Edwards, 2005 on complaints; Craven & Potter, 2010 on directives; Hepburn & Potter, 2011a on threats). As such, what counts as ‘advice’ can be seen as a participant’s concern and a live issue for recipients in the details of actual talk-in-interaction (see Edwards, 1997; Hepburn & Potter, 2011a). As discussed in Chapter 1, interactional research into advice has tended to use the broad definition put forward by Heritage and Sefi (1992: 368). They describe advice as something which “describes, recommends or otherwise forwards a preferred course of future action.”

Heritage and Sefi’s (1992) work on advice between health visitors and first time mothers has been particularly important in specifying the dimensions of ‘normativity’ and ‘knowledge asymmetry’ in advice delivery. ‘Normativity’ evokes a moral dimension; that the action *should* be done. By giving someone a piece of advice, the advice giver also positions themselves as more knowledgeable than their recipient on a particular matter. Other researchers have also noted that advice can be distinguished as an action which is constructed in the interest of the advice recipient (Searle, 1969, see also Martinez-Flo, 2005 for a review⁵).

Less attention appears to have been given to identifying the implications of this broad action for the recipient’s next turn. As Craven and Potter (2010) have done with ‘directives’, and Hepburn and Potter (2011a) have done with ‘threats’, a central part of describing an action involves considering what response options are set up through that particular action. Looking at the possible responses which are set up through advice enables a distinction to be made between ‘advice’ and other actions such as ‘commands’ or ‘directives’.

The following extract is taken from Heritage and Sefi (1992: 393), and is used here to highlight the key dimensions in advice.

⁵ Although with very different goals there where the focus is on defining specific speech acts.

Extract 3.1: Heritage & Sefi (1992: 393)

(6 cont.) [3A1:15]

- 1 M: I haven't ba::thed her yet. Is once a week
2 enough.
3 (0.7)
4 HV: We::ll (0.2) babies do: sweat a lo:t.
5 (0.3)
6 HV: So I would recommend giving her a ba:th
7 every da:y.
8 M: 1→ Every da::y,
9 HV: So that she gets used to it and sh- that's her
10 little pl:aytime for her.
11 M: 2→ Oh ri::ght.

1. The health visitor is clearly forwarding the action of bathing the baby every day and this is achieved by constructing the action as a recommendation and therefore something she is endorsing.
2. This course of action is clearly in the mother's interest of looking after her baby and in this situation; of dealing with the baby's potential sweat problem.
3. The course of action is also presented as something normative through the verb of obligation 'should'. It is also constructed as something that she 'would' recommend, which evokes what Edwards (2006b) refers to as 'back-dated predictability'; proposing that the advice being delivered here is something that the health visitor would normatively give. By invoking the generality of this advice, the health visitor's expertise is invoked and the course of action is built as a common practice, rather than just a one-off thing.
4. A knowledge asymmetry is invoked between the adviser and advisee in that the health visitor is assuming a lack of knowledge on the mother's part through the asserted form which the advice takes.
5. Finally, we can consider the response options which are set up by the advice. Whilst 'giving her a bath every day' is clearly endorsed, it is presented as the health visitor's opinion. What the health visitor is not doing is directly 'ordering' the mother to do the action. The mother is here provided with the option to 'accept' or 'reject' the health visitor's opinion. Indeed, in this case, the mother displays acceptance of the advice through repetition of the key components in line 8, followed by the news receipt 'oh' and acknowledgment 'right' in line 11 (Heritage & Sefi, 1992).

So, to summarise, there appears to be some key features intrinsic to 'advice' and which give rise to a whole range of formulations:

- A future action is forwarded
- The action is in the interest of the recipient
- The action's normativity is imposed
- A knowledge asymmetry is invoked between the speaker and recipient
- An accept/reject response is provided for

This network of dimensions has provided a useful starting point for considering what counts as advice in the current corpus. This has meant considering a broad range of formulations which do the work of delivering advice. This chapter will consider these formulations in terms of their affordances in bringing off the action of advice giving. The next section will introduce this aspect of advice delivery which has been given little attention in the literature thus far.

The implications for how reciprocity is brought off

Whilst normativity and knowledge asymmetry are considered to be central dimensions to advice (Heritage and Sefi, 1992), little attention has been given to considering how these dimensions are made relevant across different forms of advice. Furthermore, little attention has been given to considering the implications of these dimensions for the recipient's next turn (see Butler et al., 2010), where we can get a handle on the interactional strength of a piece of advice. Indeed, it is the normative 'push' that is translated into the response options available to the recipient and the relative distribution of knowledge which designs the recipient as knowing more or less on the matter and providing them with different degrees of 'space' to assert their own knowledge.

Some studies have shown how advice can be 'softened' by disguising it as a more innocuous activity. These forms include: delivering advice-as-information (Silverman et al., 1992; Kinnell & Maynard, 1996; Silverman, 1997; Pudlinski, 1998), packaging advice within a question (Butler et al., 2010; see also Silverman et al., 1992; Silverman, 1997; Wajnryb, 1998; Pudlinski, 1998) and sharing one's own problem and solution (Pudlinski, 1998). Features of turn design have also been identified as mitigating the force of the advice, including an 'I think' preface (Maynard & Kinell, 1996; Couture & Sutherland, 2006) and the use of turbulent delivery and rising intonation (Couture & Sutherland, 2006). Whilst it has been identified that such alternative constructions provide 'space' for the recipient (eg. Couture & Sutherland, 2006) with certain forms being less imposing than others (Leppänen, 1998), less attention has been given to specifying what this 'space' actually looks like for the

recipient. Exceptions to this include research by Silverman (1997) and Butler et al. (2010). Silverman (1997) showed how the affordance of delivering advice-as-information is that it only requires minimal acknowledgment tokens as opposed to strong uptake from the recipient. Butler et al. (2010) showed how an interrogative form can be used to soften the normativity and knowledge asymmetry in advice, by focusing on the recipient's capacities, experiences and contingencies in doing the future action. One of the advantages is that an answer is made a relevant next response as opposed to an accept/reject response (Butler et al., 2010).

Whilst attention has been given to specifying the response options which are set up for advice-as-information sequences and advice-implicative interrogatives, this focus within other forms of advice is missing. Furthermore, following Butler et al. (2010), more attention needs to be given to specifying how exactly normativity and knowledge asymmetry are built in these forms and made consequential to the interaction. The analysis which follows will aim to fill this gap by showing how normativity and knowledge asymmetry are built into a range of advice formations, specifying a range of different strategies for ratcheting up and ratcheting down these dimensions. Furthermore, the analysis will show how this calibration of these dimensions projects different response options for the recipient. It will be shown how 'contingency' is a central dimension to the level of constraint which is imposed on the recipient's next turn. Taken as a whole, the analysis will show that the more normativity and knowledge asymmetry which is built into the advice, the less contingency that is afforded to the recipient. The analysis will proceed by focusing on the dimensions of normativity and knowledge asymmetry in turn.

1. Normativity

The word 'normative' is defined in the dictionary as: "Relating to or setting a standard or norm" (Little Oxford English Dictionary, 2006: 465). Indeed, 'advice' does not predict the likelihood of an action, or present the occurrence of that action as information, but rather it proposes that there is a kind of moral obligation to do the action (see Heritage & Sefi, 1992; Butler et al., 2010; Hepburn & Potter, 2011b). This moral obligation associated with doing an action is clearly going to relate to the degree of 'pressure' which is put on the recipient to accept the advice.

As Butler et al. (2010) have been prolific in drawing out this connection between normativity and the options provided to the recipient, their findings are particularly useful here as a starting point in explicating the dimension of 'normativity' in advice giving more broadly. Their analysis of advice-implicative interrogatives shows that manipulating contingency can soften the normativity and asymmetry of the advice giving.

'Contingency' is one feature that marks the distinction between different forms of request (Curl & Drew, 2008) and between the actions of requesting and directing someone to do something (Craven & Potter, 2010). A related concept is that of 'entitlement', which refers to the speaker's displayed rights to do a particular action such as requesting (Lindström, 2005; Heinemann, 2006; Curl & Drew, 2008) or directing (Craven & Potter, 2010). A speaker's choice between the request form 'could you...' and 'I wonder if...' was found to be related to the speaker's entitlement to ask and possible contingencies with the 'grantability' of the request, with 'could you...' being the more entitled request form (Curl & Drew, 2008). Craven and Potter (2010) show how a directive sets up compliance as the next action by completely disengaging with the recipient's contingencies in doing an action and consequently, displaying the speaker's high entitlement to 'tell' rather than 'ask'.

Whilst 'contingency' and 'entitlement' are key features which help distinguish between the actions of requesting and directing someone to do something, the analysis will show that these features also help distinguish between varying strengths of advice and perhaps even different kinds of advice giving. Indeed, it has been suggested elsewhere that there may be distinctions that need to be made between 'advising' and 'suggesting' (Butler et al., 2010) and within the category of 'advice' more broadly (Hepburn & Potter, 2011b).

The analysis which follows aims to identify and discuss a range of advice formulations which have been identified in the corpus of mother-daughter telephone calls, focusing specifically on the dimension of 'normativity' and the role of 'contingency' in terms of how they position the advice recipient. Specifically, the analysis will show how normativity can be softened by providing the recipient with contingency to orient to other favourable courses of action, and that this contingency is achieved and translated in various ways according to how the advice is designed. The analysis will start by looking at forms of advice which project high normativity and progress to forms with low normativity, although this should be seen as a loose ordering as opposed to a strict progression.

A. Imperatives

The first type of advice construction that will be looked at is the imperative form. Whilst grammatical forms like imperatives can be used for a range of actions, using the

dimensions detailed above, we can begin to specify how an imperative might come to be understood as oriented to delivering a piece of advice. In each of the following extracts, a future action is being forwarded as a way of managing a problem and is therefore put forward in the recipient's interest. By making the action relevant for the recipient, the normativity of the action is proposed as well as a knowledge asymmetry between advice giver and advice recipient.

The following extracts provide examples of this form of advice:

Extract 3.2: P2C9 - Relationship trouble, 6.33

1 Mum: ↑↑Talk to him.

In this extract, Mum is advising Katie to talk to her husband after having trouble getting on with him.

Extract 3.3: P3C10 - Selling the house, 9:00

1 Mum: e-But ↑if he starts prattling on 'oh I'm saving
2 you on estate agents so I'll of[fer]you:: less.=
3 Pat: [Yeah.]
4 Mum: .hh [You ha-] as you] said (.) have a figure.
5 Pat: [Well I] said]
6 Mum: In [mind.]

Here, Mum is advising Pat to 'have a figure in mind' to present to the next door neighbour who is interested in buying their house.

Extract 3.4: P2C9 - Farah's bum, 8:20

1 Mum: Iz just be careful what you give her an: (.) give
2 her some plug up sort of foo:d rather than (.)
3 .hhhhh anything that would have made her
4 runny.=What, (.) did she have today.

In this final extract, Mum is giving Katie some advice on what sort of food to give her daughter, Farah, after suffering from a runny tummy.

In each of these extracts an imperative form is used to forward a piece of advice. Drawing on Craven and Potter's (2010) analysis on directives, one thing that the imperative

form seems to do here is delimit any possible contingencies the recipient may have in following the advice. There is no coding in of how morally favourable a particular action is in the way that we would see with verbs of obligation such as 'need' (as we will see in the next section). By more strongly 'telling' the recipient to do a particular action, the normativity of the action is presumed. So, rather than build a case for why the action should be done, the recipient is more explicitly recruited to the action. This instructional level clearly distinguishes this type of advice as 'advocacy advice' (Heritage & Lindström, 2012).

The implications of this are that the recipient is provided with little contingency in choosing an alternative course of action. By imposing the relevance of the action, these imperative forms put constraints on the recipient's next turn. However, because of the dimensions discussed above, unlike an imperative oriented directive, compliance is not made the relevant next action. In particular it seems to be the future oriented dimensions, and the sequential orientation to the recipient's interest, which make acceptance or rejection a relevant next. That is, in each example, the action is being forwarded in the service of the recipients' interests: to get on with the husband, to sell the house to the neighbour, and to solve Farah's runny tummy.

What we can say then is that as a form of advice, the imperative provides the recipient with little options other than an accept/reject type response as the recipient's contingencies have not been provided for. Recipients may of course still reject the advice or do things to wriggle out of these constraints (as we will see in Chapter 4), however as Craven and Potter (2010: 426) argue with the action of directives, an important aspect for the recipient is the response option that has been set up by the initiating action.

So far then, advice oriented imperatives provide the recipient with no contingency concerning the doing of a particular future action and as such delimit the recipient to an accept/reject type response to the advice. The next section will focus on a similarly constraining form of advice, this time where verbs of obligation are used.

B. Verbs of obligation

The next collection to be looked at here is an archetypical form of advice, which we might expect to see in institutional data, where advice giving is one of the main institutional priorities (e.g. Heritage & Sefi, 1992; Silverman, 1997; Waring, 2005, 2007a,b). The following are two examples taken from two of these institutional settings:

Extract 3.5: Heritage & Sefi (1992: 387)

(21) [4B1:16]

1 HV: 1→ 'hh Now this (0.2) uh:m she started bottle
2 1→ feeds from bi:rh.
3 M: 2→ Yeah.
4 (2.2)
5 HV: 5→ The hospital recomme:nd that she shouldn't
6 5→ start solids until she's (.) four months.
7 M: Four m₁onths.
8 HV: 5→ At lea:st.
9 (.)
10 HV: 5→ 'hhh Some babies don't even need to start
11 5→ before six months (0.2) 'hh and really the
12 5→ longer you can fob off solids the better for
13 5→ he::r.

Extract 3.6: Waring (2007a:379)

5 Liam: W↑ell- what I think you need to focus on (.) is
6 tighten it up a little bit,
7 there's like a lo:t'v (0.5) >I don't know< how
8 important everything is.
9 (.)
10 Liam: when you discuss it.

In both of the above extracts, the advice giver uses a verb of obligation to forward a future action for the recipient. The first extract comes from an interaction between a health visitor and first time mother, where the mother is being advised about when her baby should start eating solids. The health visitor uses the verb of obligation 'shouldn't' (line 5). Similarly, in the second extract Liam (a peer tutor from a graduate writing centre) uses the verb 'need' to 'push' the recipient to change their written work in a particular way (line 5). These verbs impose strong normativity; that the future action is one which the recipient is morally obliged to do. These verbs of obligation are also fairly common in the current corpus:

Extract 3.7: P3C2 - 'Withholding the cash', 15:11

1 Pat: Yeah. .hh W'll: maybe next time you ask him you
2 **should** say: 'an I think that the amount that you
3 pay: °is° that you split up between the three of us
4 should reflect the interest that you've (.) accrued
5 over the last month.'

In this extract Pat is advising Mum on what she ‘should’ say to her uncle who is apparently failing to distribute the grandmother’s estate to the rest of the family.

Extract 3.8: P1C10 - ‘You need to go to bed’ , 2.04

- 1 Mum: Ow you are tired. You **need** to [go to be:d.]
- 2 Gen: [(Got our]frie-)?

In this extract, Gen has previously said that she is tired, and now, following a display of tiredness via a yawn, Mum advises Gen to go to bed using the verb ‘need’.

Extract 3.9: P2C13 - Checking up, 0:57

- 1 Mum: [G-](0.2) **gotta** get those [glasses]
- 2 Katie: [(yeah but)?]
- 3 Mum: ordered as well,=Haven’t you.

In this extract, Mum is advising Katie to order her glasses in order to solve the headaches she has been experiencing. She does this through the verb ‘got to’.

Extract 3.10: P3C5: Interview outfit 1, 11:50

- 1 Mum: You’re gonna have to wea::r (0.2) a jacket an:

Mum is here advising Pat on what she should wear for an interview through the form ‘gonna have to’.

Extract 3.11: P2C14 - Headaches (scan), 7:41

- 1 Mum: =Well you **ought** to talk to your father about it,
- 2 ='cause he's short sighted=I don’t really know
- 3 much about short sighted[ness,] a- only that it’s
- 4 Katie: [°°Oh°°]
- 5 Mum: the opposite to ↑me.

Finally, in this extract Mum is advising Katie to order her glasses (again) as she thinks they will help to solve her headaches. Mum is here advising Katie to talk to her father about her eyesight as he is also short-sighted and she does this through the form ‘ought to’.

In all of these extracts a future action is being forwarded and in each case, through the use of a verb of obligation: ‘should’, ‘need’, ‘got to’, ‘have to’ and ‘ought to’. In extract

3.7 the action is a specific form of words to say to the uncle; in extract 3.8 the action is to go to bed; in extract 3.9 the action is to order a pair of glasses; in extract 3.10 the action is to wear a particular outfit to an interview; and in extract 3.11, the action is to talk to her father about being short sighted. Indeed, each action is being forwarded in line with the broad interests of the recipient; to solve a particular problem and the favourability of the action promotes this. Again, what is projected through these verbs is that the recipient has a kind of moral obligation to do the action. The words all invoke a sense of duty in doing the action. In the dictionary, 'ought' is even defined as a word "used to give or ask advice" (Little Oxford English Dictionary, 2006: 482). (Other relevant features in these extracts including the tag question in extract 3.9, and the epistemic downgrading in extract 3.7, will be discussed in the section on 'knowledge asymmetry' (page 75).

Whilst the actions are clearly put forward here as 'normative', more can be said about the strength of this normativity and how it is achieved. These verbs all give little orientation to possible contingencies in doing the future action. Such contingencies could include the recipient's desires, capacities or previous experiences. So, in extract 3.9, the recipient may not want to order the glasses; she may not have the money to order the glasses and indeed she may have already ordered the glasses. By using the modal 'got to' however, Mum disattends to any of these possible contingencies. In essence, these contingencies are built out of the advice, similar to the way contingency is built out of directives (see Craven & Potter, 2010). However, unlike in the case of directives, the recipient is still provided with the option to accept or reject the advice. This is especially achieved through the orientation to a moral dimension in which 'choice' is an integral part. The imperative oriented form of advice does not expose this moral dimension in the same way, which is what seems to make it slightly more forceful.

Furthermore, there is a clear instructional level to the advice which distinguishes it as 'advocacy advice' rather than merely 'advice as information' (see Heritage & Lindström, 2012). So, the recipient is clearly being addressed and manoeuvred into doing a particular action. It is this personal recruitment to the action, together with the lack of contingency being provided, that makes the advice, similarly to the imperative forms discussed above, particularly forceful.

These forms of advice therefore project a high entitlement to forward a particular action. This is made further apparent by considering the response options that they set up. By indeed paying no attention to the recipient's contingencies, the advice giver has made an 'accept' or 'reject' response a relevant next. In order to orient to possible contingencies, the

recipient is therefore put in the compromising position of delivering a response which does not affiliate with the advice; what has been identified by Silverman (1997) as a dispreferred response. Indeed rejecting the 'right' thing to do casts one as doing the 'wrong' thing on a moral level. Further than this, accepting this kind of morally charged advice has the potentially negative implications of casting the recipient as not knowing something quite important. The advisee therefore puts constraints on the recipient's next turn through this form of advice, where the recipient has been provided with no basis for not doing the future action.

So far then we have seen that by recruiting the recipient to a future action and disengaging with the recipient's contingencies to not be able to do the action through these verbs of obligation, the recipient is provided with limited options in their responsive turn. As such, by designing advice in this way, the recipient is put under pressure to accept the advice; a potentially invasive move. The next section will look at another form of advice, this time where the advice is designed to put less pressure on the recipient to accept the advice through a type of 'if-then' construction.

C. 'If-then' constructions

Hepburn and Potter (2011a) show how an 'if-then' construction is used in threats to build a negative upshot as dependant on the recipient's actions. Unlike warnings, the negative upshot is understood to be implemented by the speaker (Hepburn & Potter, 2011a). The following extract is an example of this type of 'if-then' construction, taken from Hepburn and Potter's (2011a: 308) paper.

Extract 3.12: Hepburn & Potter (2011a: 308)

3. Crouch 06 6:40

01 Mum: [An]na?
02 (1.6)
03 Anna: U↑hhuh ((more of a sob than a response))
04 (0.6)
05 Mum: If you don' eat your dinner:, (0.4)
06 there' ll be no pudding.

In this extract, Mum threatens to take away Anna's pudding if Anna doesn't eat her dinner. Although Mum removes her agency here, as the provider of food, it is clear that Mum will be the person to implement the negative upshot. Indeed this removal of agency

does not make this hearable as a different action but it can instead be considered for what it does within the interaction (Hepburn & Potter, 2011a).

The focus here however, is on 'if-then' constructions whereby the 'if' is the proposed future action and the 'then' is the positive outcome. Unlike a 'threat', the speaker has no agency or interest in the doing of the action or its outcome, and in contrast to both 'threats' and 'warnings', the outcome is positive. These formulations are also different to the 'if-then' constructions identified by Kinnell and Maynard (1996) in their HIV counselling data, where the 'if' is presented as a hypothetical situation; an activity that the recipient might choose to engage in, with the 'then' being the advice, given that hypothetical situation.

Extract 3.13: Kinnell & Maynard (1996: 421)

(6) [B02A1.PRT]

1 CO: .hh U::m (0.5) we we (.) **strongly recommend that people use:**
2 (0.3) latex rubbers a(h)nd I personally strongly .hhh recommend
3 that women don't **assu:me** that a man will always carry a rubber
4 with him. .h (0.3) I think that (0.5) if yer goinna be sexually
5 active, it is (1.0) just as (0.3) important for you: to ha:ve a
6 supply of rubbers,
7 (0.3)
8 CL: yeah=
9 CO: =as it is for your **pa:rtner**. .hhh u::m so that there can be no
10 **excuse.**

This form is used to deliver 'information' as the advice is not intrinsically relevant to the recipient; it only becomes relevant once the client engages with the hypothetical situation (Kinnell & Maynard, 1996). In this example, the future action being forwarded is situated in the 'then' component (lines 5-6).

Contrastively, in the examples below, the action being forwarded is the conditional 'if' component, and the normativity of that action is constructed through the contingent 'then' component.

Extract 3.14: P3C6 - Interview outfit 2, 3:23

1 Mum: Well, (1.3) <if you go late in the day then you know
2 that (0.6) >you can only go for that- (0.2) limited
3 time,=so: .hhh >if you got a bit< more work done,

In this extract Mum offers to take Pat shopping to get an interview outfit. Pat has raised a problem with this however; that she needs to spend her time on interview preparation (getting to know the schools she is interviewing for etc.). Of interest here is Mum's 'if-then' construction whereby the conditional action of going shopping late in the day is logically connected to a locally oriented to positive thing; having a limited time to shop. Mum goes on to explicate the upshot of what she is 'suggesting'; that Pat gets on with some work now, with the positive outcome of being able to go shopping being left unsaid. The action being forwarded here is therefore getting work done now and leaving shopping until late in the day.

In the following extract, Mum gives her daughter, Katie some advice with regard to some chocolate hen lollipops which belong to her two year old granddaughter.

Extract 3.15: P2C2 - Chocolate hens, 4:07

1 Mum: If you put 'em in the fridge you're probably able to
2 break 'em off the fri::- s:tick,=Won't you,

Just prior to this, Mum has 'suggested' to Katie that she take the chocolate hens off of their sticks (presumably because a plastic stick might be considered dangerous to a toddler). The ability to take the chocolate hens off of their sticks is therefore presented here as a desirable thing, given this context. Furthermore, being 'able' to do something is an inherently positive thing in itself. So Mum uses the conditional 'if-then' structure to logically connect the action of putting the chocolate hens in the fridge with a positive outcome. The action being forwarded here is therefore putting the chocolate hens in the fridge.

The following extract provides a final example of this 'if-then' construction.

Extract 3.16: P3C6 - Interview outfit 2, 6.20

1 Mum: .HHH ↑I think if you: straighten it (0.3) an:d (0.3)
2 have it- (0.4) >in a ponytail< .hh (0.5) I kno:w it
3 would have made you feel better to have it (.)
4 trimmed but .hh (0.7) I think it will be fine.
5 (.)
6 Mum: e# I think what you're wearing is more important.

In this extract, Mum builds the action of Pat straightening her hair for an interview as logically linked to the positive outcome of things being 'fine' (line 4). This occurs in an

environment where Pat has already reported problems with the condition of her hair and of wearing her hair in the proposed way. However, despite claiming to need a haircut, Pat has reported that she can't afford to get it done. So, 'it will be fine' can be heard here as reassurance.⁶ Mum is therefore forwarding the action of straightening her hair and putting it in a ponytail.

So, in all three extracts, a connection is made between doing a particular action and a favourable outcome that will benefit the recipient. Indeed, in each extract by raising a favourable course of action for the recipient, the dimensions of normativity and knowledge asymmetry are invoked. The 'if-then' construction builds this link as logical and scripted (see Edwards, 1997), and as such it proposes that the action is something worth doing. It is the favourability of the outcome of these actions which brings into play a normative dimension.

As the extracts above show however, the extent of this favourability is variable. In the first extract, the positive element of the outcome is not on the surface, very explicit and the more general upshot (of being able to go shopping) is left for Pat to infer. In the second extract the positive consequence is made explicit through the word 'able', although this is preceded with an epistemic downgrade 'probably'. However, this positive endorsement seems quite tame when compared with the final extract. The consequence 'it will be fine' more explicitly endorses the action using an explicit positive assessment. Furthermore, this advice is delivered in a sequential environment where the advice has already been rejected. The alternative option of 'getting her hair trimmed' is even acknowledged and cast as a positive option only in terms of 'feelings' rather than 'appearance' and therefore something transient and less important for the interview. Furthermore, the closing intonation and emphasis on the word 'fine' seem to embody the matter as closed. The point here is that the normativity of the action can be ratcheted up or down depending on how favourable the doing of one candidate action is constructed. This is achieved through features of turn design but also through the sequential position of the advice.

Whilst varying degrees of normativity are evoked, common across these 'if-then' constructions is that they all orient to the doing of these actions as just one possibility. The conditional 'if' therefore provides the recipient with alternative options. Accepting this 'if-then' proposition has different implications to accepting a more explicit construction of advice. Accepting the favourability of one possible action is quite different to accepting that

⁶ This extract in particular makes relevant the notion of 'remedy' as Mum seems to be trying to solve a specific problem. Although beyond the scope of this chapter, it would be interesting to see if it is possible to make distinctions between the action of advice giving and delivering a remedy or whether they are both variations of the same type of action.

you are morally obliged to do a particular action. The terms that are being accepted are not the same. The 'if-then' construction provides for the possibility of alternative favourable actions. Whilst one outcome such as breaking the chocolate off the stick (as in extract 3.15) is cast as a favourable outcome, this achievement is not limited to one action i.e. putting the chocolate hens in the fridge. Furthermore, there is also the option that there will be alternative favourable *outcomes*. Therefore, the normativity projected in these constructions is softened through this conditional format, providing the recipient with the option of dealing with their problem in alternative ways. The key thing here is that the recipient is provided with the contingency of raising alternatives to that which has been 'suggested'.

In sum, these 'if-then' forms of advice can be seen as a less invasive forms in that they forward one possible favourable course of action, providing the recipient with the option of specifying alternative favourable actions and sometimes even alternative favourable solutions. By not limiting favourability (as in the case of verbs of obligation) we can see how the recipient is provided with contingency to have an alternative perspective. The next class of advice formulations show another way that contingency can be provided for.

D. I would do X

This next section will look at advice which uses the form 'I would/wouldn't do X'. Hudson (1990) looked at 'I would' constructions in advice given on a radio call-in programme called 'The Garden Show'. Hudson (1990) argued that this form works to de-emphasise the agent. Within this radio programme, this enabled the advisee "not to overtly posit the caller as the agent, and hence to avoid issuing overt unmodulated imperatives" (Hudson, 1990: 296). Whilst Hudson (1990) was interested in defining the linguistic components of various forms of advice, the interest here is with what the implications are of constructions of advice in terms of the next action which is set up. The following extracts are all examples of 'I would/I wouldn't do X' forms of advice:

Extract 3.17: P2C1 - Car trouble, 0:53

- 1 Mum: **I wouldn't** check it- (.) I've just started the
- 2 engine up to mo:ve it.=So **I'd** give it another: half
- 3 hour before you o- (0.3) t- undo the s- top.

In this first extract Mum has been enquiring into whether Lottie's water tank in her car is still leaking after Mum's husband (Katie's step dad) had tried to fix it. Lottie has just said that she will check it in a minute. Mum comes in with some advice in the form 'I wouldn't do X'. This is cut off and an account is then offered as to why Lottie shouldn't check the water yet (the engine has just been on and so opening the top could be dangerous). Mum is therefore forwarding the action of not checking the water yet. The advice is then positioned as an upshot of this account; with the 'I wouldn't', abbreviated to 'I'd'.

Extract 3.18: P2C2 - Chocolate hens, 4:03

1 Mum: [↑I] would↑ take them off the stick if
2 that's possible,

In this extract, Mum is advising Katie with regard to the granddaughter's chocolate lollipops (this comes just before extract 3.15). Mum is forwarding the action of taking the lollipops off of their plastic sticks. There is some orientation to the recipient's contingencies here through the form 'if that's possible.'

Extract 3.19: P2C4 - Moving house, 3:52

1 Mum: =°I wouldn't actually,°
2 Mum: .hhh=
3 Katie: =No
4 Mum: I wouldn't get involved.=>And I know- I'm not being
5 nasty< but shes: °a° quite a one,=i'n't she.

In this last extract, Katie has just indicated the possibility of moving house next to a mutual friend. Katie has just indicated that her husband is 'dubious' about living next door to this friend. Mum uses the form 'I wouldn't actually', leaving the action being forwarded as understandable from the prior talk. Mum is forwarding the action of not moving next door to the mutual friend.

The interest here is with the affordance of using this particular construction in a way which captures all of these extracts. Whilst the rest of the turn might calibrate the level of normativity in doing the future action, the focus here is on what this particular construction in itself achieves. Edwards (2006b) looked at these 'I would' constructions in police interrogations where these forms were used to deny or assert an action which is in dispute. Edwards (2006b) argues that the modal 'would' proposes a 'backdated predictability', that

the action it is coupled with is treated as something the speaker is expected to do. The action is constructed as normative to their character. The 'practical reasoning' (see Edwards, 1997, 2006b) this formulation does here is to propose a basis for doing a particular future action; that it is something the advisee would themselves normatively do in that situation and is therefore in the recipient's interest to do/not to do. This is quite different to the more generalized moral order which is proposed through verbs of obligation, which we looked at to begin with.

Again, we can see that these forms are advice oriented through this normative dimension which appeals to the recipient's interests, as well as the knowledge asymmetry which is invoked by the advice giver raising a course of action on the recipient's behalf. In the case of this specific form though, by not invoking a more generalized moral order, less pressure is put on the advisee to accept. Furthermore, by de-emphasising the recipient as agent (Hudson, 1990), in that the focus is on the speaker through 'I' as opposed to 'you', the recipient is not being directly recruited to do something. The implication of this is that the recipient's own contingencies are provided for. The adviser is informing the recipient about herself, and as such the construction is an A-event informing (Labov & Fanshel, 1977). The formulation therefore provides for an alternative side where the recipient's own contingencies can be made relevant. Further to this, there is less at stake in accepting this proposition than there is in accepting more explicit advice in a form such as 'you should do X'. Accepting an 'opinion' which delivers advice puts one in a much less compromising position than accepting you have a moral obligation to do something. Accepting the latter is to put one's competence and autonomy in jeopardy.

In sum, by removing the recipient's agency through 'I would/wouldn't' constructions, the advice giver avoids invoking a more general moral order, providing the recipient with the possibility of orienting to personal contingencies in order to reject the advice. Moreover, the design of the advice puts less constraints on an accept/reject type response to the advice. We will now turn to a form of advice which is apparently less constraining still, in that the advice is packaged within a question. Indeed, we also now turn to more implicit forms of advice.

E. Advice-implicative interrogatives

In this section we will look at the practice of advice-implicative interrogatives which has been identified by Butler et al. (2010). This section will build on the observations made so far concerning the dimension of 'contingency'. As discussed above, Butler et al. (2010) identified advice-implicative interrogatives as one method for softening the normativity as

well as knowledge asymmetry when giving advice in calls made to a children's helpline in Australia. They show how using an interrogative makes relevant the recipient's authority to know about the suitability of a future course of action. Possible contingencies are provided for in the design of the questions, and address: whether the action has been tried; whether the recipient is able to do the course of action; and/or whether the recipient thinks the action is worthwhile.

The following extract is taken from Butler et al. (2010: 278) and is used here to exemplify two types of advice-implicative interrogatives and how the recipient's contingencies are made relevant through them. Their data is taken from a children's helpline in Australia where children call up to talk about their problems with a trained counsellor. In this extract "the client has called about being excluded by her friends, after one friend told the others "things that weren't true.""

Extract 3.20: Butler et al. (2010: 278)

PC160508_1835 (3:30 - 4:54)

1 Couns: ..That doesn't sound fun at a:ll.
 2 (0.3)
 3 Caller: Mhh_
 4 (1.2)
 5 Couns: n.hhhh t.hh †Have you talked† to any
 6 of the people that- (.) that you used
 7 to hang ou:t with:.
 8 (0.9)
 9 Caller: Um: mm: no:
 10 (0.3)
 11 Couns: No:?
 12 (1.7)
 13 Couns: D'you think it would be worth try:ing
 14 having a talk to: them.
 15 (1.2)
 16 Caller: Um:h (0.3) ye:ah.
 17 (0.3)
 18 Couns: Yeah?
 19 (0.3)
 20 Caller: Yeh.

In lines 5-7 the counsellor enquires about a past action, making this hearable as a relevant action to the caller's problem she has just presented. As such, the interrogative packages normativity and knowledge asymmetry through this oblique forwarding of a candidate solution. Furthermore, the course of action, as being fitted to the recipient's problem in this way is hearably in the caller's interests. Advice is therefore made relevant. However, the normativity of the action is contingent on whether the action has been done before. Such history taking or 'advice-relevant interrogatives' are seen as preliminaries to

'suggestions' in that delivering the more explicit suggestion is contingent on whether the action has been done before. The 'no' response indeed works like a 'go-ahead' to the less ambiguous, future oriented enquiry (lines 13-14). This 'advice-implementing interrogative' requires the caller to assess the action in terms of whether she thinks it is worth doing, and furthermore, just an attempt at the action through the word 'trying'. The action is therefore not presupposed as the right solution but rather the appropriateness of the action is made contingent on the caller's understandings and capacities. Butler et al. (2010) explain that 'advice-relevant interrogatives' are more opaque as forms of advice as they specify a further contingency for doing the future action which goes beyond the caller's capacities, to the issue of whether the action has actually been done before.

The softening of an action's normativity through an interrogative form has important implications for the recipient's next turn. An interrogative form makes an answer relevant as opposed to an accept/reject response and is therefore less interactionally demanding (Butler et al., 2010). So, whilst recipients do often treat the interrogative as packaging a 'suggestion' by for example, delivering accounts as to why an action can't be done, the crucial thing is that this orientation is only optional (Butler et al., 2010). Moreover, by designing these interrogatives in ways which specifically enquire about the recipient's capacities, understandings and experiences, the possible contingencies with doing the action is made the focus rather than the acceptance of advice.

Now it has been considered how interrogatives can package advice, and the important role of 'contingency' in softening the normativity that is packaged in the 'advice' has been emphasized, we will now consider two examples where this normativity is calibrated to put more constraint on the recipient's next turn. The extracts below will show how disengaging with the recipient's contingencies can pull back on the dimensions of normativity and knowledge asymmetry that advice-implicative interrogatives can otherwise soften.⁷

This first extract comes from a call between Mum and her daughter Pat. The topic launch on line 2 refers to Mum having signed over her probate rights of her deceased

⁷ It is particularly useful to look at the actual responses to these questions as evidence for this constraint imposed on the recipient's next turn. Whilst questions project an answer as a relevant next response as opposed to an accept/reject response, questions can impose constraint on the type of answer that is expected (e.g. Raymond, 2003; Schegloff & Lerner, 2009). Looking at the responses provided can therefore illuminate the degree of constraint which these questions can impose. As we shall see in chapter 4, even in response to the more archetype forms of advice, the recipient can provide unmarked acknowledgments (even though this is not projected as an option) which subvert an accept/reject type response (Heritage & Sefi, 1992). The nice thing about answers is that they can

mother's will to her brother, who is apparently failing to distribute the estate to the rest of the family.

Extract 3.21: P3C2 - 'Withholding the cash', 14.00

- 1 Pat: .hhHH[HH [(r↑ighhht)
- 2 Mum: [So [David's still withholding the cash:,
- 3 (.)
- 4 Pat: ↑Is he?↑hh=
- 5 Mum: =Yeah,
- 6 Mum: It' [s ↑rea:lly]
- 7 **Pat: [Are you not gonna ask] him for it.=**
- 8 Mum: =↑Yeah I have done↑ a couple of times this week.
- 9 (0.3)/.hhh
- 10 Mum: [He's just en:]joying the power.
- 11 Pat: [>What and said wha#t,<]
- 12 [(1.3)
- 13 Mum: [.hhhhhh
- 14 Pat: What did you say.
- 15 Mum: tch ↑urm: (0.3) so when are you:- when are you
- 16 going to- do a: bank transfer or a check .hhhhh
- 17 an:d (.) igh (1.4) e says 'oh I haven't had that
- 18 seventy four pounds yet'

The dimension of grievance, as well as the brother's culpability in causing it, make Mum's turn in line 2 hearable as a complaint (Edwards, 2005). Pat's news marker and confirmation check in line 4 can be considered here to be a 'display of ritualized disbelief' (Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2006), especially through the elevated pitch of its delivery. These tokens: "do not so much "ask questions" as convey a stance: that news in the prior turn is unexpected in some way and needs confirmation before it can be otherwise receipted and reacted to" (Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2006: 169). As such, this turn is itself potentially incipient to a stronger display of alignment with the complaint. Whilst this does not follow, the display of disbelief makes the 'suggestion' that follows hearable as aligning with Mum's complaint.

nicely illuminate the kind of constraint that is imposed; through the work to resist a specific type of answer and in a way that an unmarked acknowledgment cannot.

The interrogative in line 7 packages a candidate solution to the problem: ‘asking for the money’ and as such is packaging advice. Again, normativity, knowledge asymmetry and the interests of the recipient are made relevant. The interrogative form pursues a ‘yes/no’ type response from Mum. The negative interrogative seeks confirmation of the negative form of this proposal. By not orienting to the recipient’s contingencies and capacities surrounding this future action, the normativity of the packaged solution is held in place. The question also and perhaps more strongly packages an accusation. There is no orientation to ability; instead, what is being questioned is Mum’s already-committed-to plans, through the form ‘are you not’. This treats Mum as having some responsibility in managing the problem and therefore of failing by not having *already* asked for the money. This negative interrogative therefore appears to be ‘suggesting’ a course of action that *hasn’t* been done but that might have been expected. By holding Mum to account in this way, the interrogative appears to be going further than merely suggesting a future action.

The interrogative is indeed treated in this way through Mum’s latched response (line 8), and increased pitch. Furthermore, the emphasis on the word ‘have’ brings into play the contrastive ‘haven’t’, delivering a rejection of the presupposition in the interrogative it is responsive to. Mum then goes on to give a basis for not receiving the money which is critical of David: ‘he’s just enjoying the power’ (line 10). Here then we see evidence for the critical and constraining nature of the negative interrogative, whereby an action is strongly favoured in as much as not having done it already is treated as problematic. So, despite being a question, little choice is afforded to Mum in the terms of that question. Indeed, Heritage (2002a) showed how the negative interrogative (NI) is treated in hostile news interviews as an assertion to be agreed with rather than a question to be answered. Furthermore, within assessment sequences, negative interrogatives in first position are considered to be resources for upgrading a speaker’s epistemic access by making an answer conditionally relevant and an answer which is constricted to a ‘yes’ or a ‘no’, whilst at the same time strongly preferring agreement (Heritage & Raymond, 2005).

The next extract comes at the end of the call. Mum has reinitiated previous talk about Katie not being well. Katie had been at a party but had to come home early as she became ill.

Extract 3.22: P2C4 – Salmonella, 5:26

1 Mum: Oh- #er:# <'cause you know s- (.) p_rawns it's
 2 salmonella=Isn't it.
 3 (0.5)

4 Katie: °'eahhh°
5 (0.2)
6 Mum: So: watch it.
7 (0.5)
8 **Mum:** >Are< you going to work tomorrow?
9 (0.8)
10 Katie: Well yeah, if I feel better.
11 (2.6) / ((computerized voice in background -
12 answering machine + sniff during))
13 Katie: Alright=well I better go.
14 (.)
15 Mum: Okay darling,

The interrogative in line 8 comes in an environment where Mum has just given Katie advice to 'watch it' with regard to being ill. Mum has based this advice on the fact that Katie had eaten prawns prior to getting ill and that prawns are associated with contracting salmonella. The interrogative is therefore hearable as packaging advice to not go to work, given that Katie should be closely monitoring how she feels. As such the interrogative builds in the normativity of the implicit future action: '*not* going to work' and its relevance to Katie's interests of getting better. It also builds in Mum's greater knowledge on the matter by raising this course of action for Katie.

Similar to the previous extract, Mum is enquiring about Katie's already-committed-to future plans with no orientation to Katie's capacities or contingencies, for example: 'do you *think* you will go to work?' Moreover, the word 'work' is emphasised and there is questioning intonation at the end. Given the baldness of the enquiry, the intonation sounds misaligning and more like an interrogation. With the prior advice to 'watch it', these features seem to contribute to a high expectancy that Katie should not go to work. The design of this interrogative places constraints on the possible next action from Katie as it strongly prefers a 'no' response. The interrogative is therefore constraining, providing Katie with little agency over her actions.

Evidence for this constraint comes from Katie's response in line 10. Firstly, the response is delayed relative to other second pair parts in the sequence. The turn is also 'well prefaced', despite the response aligning to the form of the question; as a yes/no type interrogative (See Raymond, 2003). Katie also provides an account which specifies the circumstances in which she will go to work and therefore orients to the conditional nature of

the 'yes'. By building a 'yes' response as dispreferred, Katie indeed treats the interrogative as strongly preferring a 'no' and therefore adheres to the constraining nature of the interrogative.

These extracts have shown how the normative dimension of advice-implicative interrogatives is enhanced by disregarding the recipient's contingencies associated with a future action. In Butler et al. (2010) it was shown how the interrogative form as well as an orientation to the recipient's capacities provided a practice for giving advice whilst at the same time softening the dimensions of normativity as well as knowledge asymmetry. The analysis here has shown how these dimensions can be calibrated in the opposite direction by contrastively dampening the interrogative form and paying little attention the recipient's capacities to do an action. In so doing, the recipients themselves treat the advice-implicative interrogatives as strongly suggesting a future action, with more interactional pressure to accept the advice. However, a useful thing about this practice nevertheless, is the potential defeasibility of 'just asking a question', in which only an 'answer' in seemingly being made relevant.

In the final section on the dimension of 'normativity', we will look at forms of advice which appear further down the continuum still, when compared with the archetype form of advice which we looked at earlier.

F. Assessments and descriptions

In this section we will consider the advice-implicative work of assessments and descriptions, where the action of 'advising' is much less exposed. In these forms of advice the recipient is provided with more contingency and the action being forwarded is built as normative to a much lesser degree.

In the first extract, Pat is telling her mum about two possibilities she has been looking into with regard to applying for a teaching job in South East Asia. Pat first describes one option that she has pursued; signing up to a teaching agency. She then goes on to describe another option that she is pursuing; applying for a job that has come up on the TES website (a website which advertises teaching jobs worldwide).

Extract 3.23: P3C2 - Agency, 3:18

- 1 Mum: <I think the agency's a good way to go.=Because at
2 least then they can, .hh research: (0.7)
3 Mum: [°for you.°]
4 Pat: [They can yet] the schoo:ls, yeah.=

5 Mum: =Yeah.

In her turn in lines 1-3, Mum delivers an explicit positive assessment of the action of using the agency. In doing so, Mum asserts her own knowledge with regard to the matter whilst also suggesting the normativity of a particular action. As such, Mum appears to be packaging some advice to use the agency. Further than this, Mum appears to be favouring using the agency over the alternative option which has just been discussed; using the TES. One affordance of this advice formulation is that the agent (Pat) is taken out; there is no explicit reference to Pat doing the action. Furthermore, whilst this one future action is favoured, it does not reject alternative possibilities, allowing Mum to prioritise the initial course of action in an unproblematic way. The action is not being put forward as a moral obligation but it is more minimally being evaluated as something positive and merely from Mum's perspective. Pat is therefore afforded the optionality of proposing and committing to other future actions. Indeed, she has the option to agree or disagree with Mum's assessment rather than to accept or reject the implicit advice.

In this next extract, Sinitta is informing her mother that she is going to have a series of sunbeds.

Extract 3.24: P3C4 - Sunbeds, 0:16

1 Sin: .hhh An I think I'll also start going for some
2 sunbeds like twice a [wee*k.]
3 Mum: [.hh?]
4 (.)
5 **Mum:** Ow:: (0.4) Dad's not happy about tha:t.
6 Sin: ↑Why?
7 (0.7)
8 Mum: Becau::s:e (0.4) in cas:e it's dangerous[:]
9 Sin: [Oh wel]l.=
10 I'm >still gonna do it.< huh=
11 Mum: =Yeah,=
12 Sin: =.hhh Yeah.
13 Sin: <Just (0.5) so then I can get a proper tan on
14 holiday.
15 (0.8)
16 Mum: Yeah

17 (0.4)

18 Sin: An not come back pa(h)sty whi(h)te HH=

19 Mum: =Yeah

20 (.)

21 Mum: .HH I I mean:, (0.3)

22 Sin: 's₁not like I'm gonna do it every day.

23 (.)

24 Mum: I know.

25 (0.4)

26 Sin: S'I'll be alright.

27 (1.3)

28 **Mum: <I'm surprised that they: (0.8) do it in a: health**

29 **centre.**

30 (.)

31 Sin: >.HH< [They've got] a new thing up now.=You <have

32 Mum: [<You know a:]

33 Sin: to pay>, (0.5) f:our pound deposit.

Mum responds to Sinitta's informing by reporting Dad's negative feelings about this future action. As such, 'going for sunbeds' is cast as something bad and therefore not going for sunbeds is constructed as the normative thing to do.⁸ As such, the action of not having sunbeds is apparently in Sinitta's interests. Furthermore, by raising this issue for Sinitta, Mum (and Dad) is positioned as more knowledgeable on the matter. This description is therefore clearly heard as delivering advice not to have sunbeds. Indeed, Sinitta treats it as such by claiming that she is still going to do the proposed action. By presenting the opinion as Dad's rather than hers, Mum softens the force of the objection whilst avoiding being made accountable for the opinion herself. Unlike the prior example, because this particular future action is being negatively assessed, the recipient is not provided with alternative options; her favoured option is being blocked. However, Pat is not explicitly being told not to do something as her agency is removed, and Pat is not treated as morally obliged to not have sunbeds. As such Dad's reported assessment, as a formulation, provides Pat with the option of orienting to her own desires rather than simply accepting or rejecting the advice, as in the case of verbs of obligation.

⁸ The fact that Dad's feelings matter makes relevant his involvement in Sinitta's life choices and therefore the close relationship between Sinitta and Dad.

Whilst Dad's reported assessment is clearly hearable as advice, assessments can also more ambiguously deliver advice. Further on in this sequence, after Sinitta has rejected the advice and reassured Mum that 'It'll be alright' (line 26), Mum delivers another assessment. She is indirectly proposing that sunbeds are not compatible with 'health centres' through her reported 'surprise' at their existence in one (lines 28-29). Sunbeds are therefore here being indirectly built as something unhealthy and therefore something bad. Mum is therefore indirectly proposing that having a sunbed is bad and therefore that not having them would be the normative, healthy thing to do, that is therefore in her interest (although indirectly). In raising this issue for Sinitta, Mum is also proposing a knowledge asymmetry between her and Sinitta on the matter. Mum therefore appears to be forwarding a future action.

Again, the affordance of this formulation is that the agent (Sinitta) is taken out; there is no explicit reference to Sinitta doing the action. Moreover, whilst a future action of not having sunbeds is favoured, it is done in an embedded way. Sinitta therefore has the option to agree or disagree with Mum's assessment rather than to accept or reject the implicit advice. Indeed, even agreeing with Mum's surprise does not necessarily align with the evaluation that sunbeds are 'bad'.

In the next extract Mum is telling Lucy about a toy she has bought for Lucy's baby, Eva (her granddaughter). Mum describes that she will wash the toys before giving them to Eva because of her tendency to put things in her mouth (the premise being that the toys were bought second hand).

Extract 3.25: P5C3 – Bugs, 2:56

1 Lucy: heh huh .H[H
2 Mum: [I'm just gonna give them a little wash
3 over,>
4 (.)
5 Lucy: Ye:ah
6 Mum: 'cause they're from e-bay:, an tends an since she
7 puts everything in her mouth, [(0.5)]
8 Lucy: [.hh]

Although Mum is apparently merely describing what she will do, she appears to be invoking a normative action, and therefore an action in the recipient's interest, of making sure the granddaughter's toys are clean (and perhaps things that she puts in her mouth

generally). By making this description in first position (lines 2-3 and 6-7), Lucy is essentially put in a less knowledgeable position with regard to this conduct. However, as a description of what Mum will do, the advice-implicative work of the utterance is subtle. Here, Mum is able to build a narrative that implies a potential course of future action for Lucy, without explicitly spelling out the relevance to her own conduct. This formulation therefore has affordances similar to those already mentioned for assessments. Lucy is not put in the position of having to accept or reject a piece of advice but more minimally, she is normatively expected to respond to a description. Meanwhile, Mum's turn remains defeasible as merely 'a description'.

In sum, these extracts have shown how normativity can be softened in advice giving through assessments and even descriptions. Assessments and descriptions often only seem to positively evaluate one option and therefore provide the recipient with the possibility of there being alternative positive future actions. In essence, the recipient isn't obliged to do one particular action. Also, by de-emphasising the recipient as agent, the recipient is provided with the option of raising contingencies with the forwarded future action which are specific to them. Furthermore, the recipient is not put in a position to accept or reject advice but to do a more innocuous activity such as agree/disagree or acknowledge. This can mean that disaffiliating with an implicit piece of advice is done so in an off the record fashion. Assessments and descriptions put comparatively little constraint on the recipient and instead project contingency and therefore optionality.

Summary

This section has shown a variety of forms of advice which have demonstrated the relevance of 'normativity' to the optionality which the advice recipient is provided with. It has been shown that 'contingency' works as the antithesis of 'normativity' so that the more contingency that a recipient is given with regard to doing a future action, the less normative the action is constructed and vice versa. This logical relationship is important because it shows exactly how normativity can be softened in advice giving. Furthermore, it is this orientation to contingency which provides the recipient with optionality and 'space'; the more contingency that is oriented to, the more the recipient can orient to their contingencies as a viable option, and as an alternative to an 'accept/reject' response. Indeed, the more contingency that is provided for, the less morally accountable the recipient is to 'accept'.

We have seen how contingency can be built out of (rather than into) the advice by orienting to the recipient's moral obligation to do an action but then comparatively how contingency can be built in by orienting to the action as just one possible favourable option. Questions can specifically provide space for the recipient to orient to contingencies in doing an action (see Butler et al., 2010) by making an answer a relevant next, but we have also seen how by disengaging with these contingencies, this interactional space is retracted. One key way that contingency is afforded is by taking the recipient's agency out of the advice giving. Through 'I would do X' constructions and assessments or descriptions, the recipient is specifically not explicitly recruited to do an action and therefore the recipient has the scope of making relevant contingencies which are specific to them. Furthermore, assessments, descriptions and interrogatives, by only making an assessment, acknowledgment or answer a relevant next action, only implicitly deliver a piece of advice. As such, the recipient is not even required to respond to the 'advice'.

The analysis has also highlighted the importance of sequence and intonation when considering the normativity that is projected through an utterance. Sequential context is important for the recipient and analyst to interpret an action as advice. Furthermore, the ratcheting up of a piece of advice can be achieved through its sequential position as was discussed with regard to Extract 3.16 (attention will be given specifically to sequence in Chapters 5 and 6). Intonation has also been highlighted as having implications for the normativity which is projected. In extract 3.16 the closing intonation and emphasis on 'fine' seemed to build the matter as closed, rather than facilitating alternative options. Contrastively, the questioning intonation in the All in extract 3.22 seemed to similarly project a strong normativity of 'not going to work' because of the bald enquiry it was coupled with.

Now that we have considered the dimension of normativity and its relevance to how reciprocity is brought off, the next section will consider the dimension of 'knowledge asymmetry'; how it can be ratcheted up and down, and related to this; the implications for the recipient's next turn. Indeed, now we have seen how an advice giver might provide less 'pushy' advice, through the *form* of advice at least, we can now consider how advice might be delivered in a more or less 'patronizing' way.

2. Knowledge asymmetry

The relative distribution of knowledge through turns of talk has become a growing focus of study within the field of conversation analysis over the last ten years (e.g. Drew, 1991; Heritage & Raymond, 2005; Stivers, 2005b; Raymond & Heritage, 2006; Heritage, 2010; Raymond, 2010; Heritage & Raymond, 2012; Heritage, forthcoming). In particular, there is the recent edited book: 'The Morality of Knowledge in Conversation' (Stivers, Mondada & Steensig, 2011). Of particular interest for advice giving, are the practices that have been identified which enable speakers to upgrade or downgrade the epistemic primacy that is embodied through various initiating actions, for example: within assertions (Stivers, 2005b); assessments (Heritage & Raymond, 2005; Raymond & Heritage, 2006), and questions (Heritage, 2010; Raymond, 2010; Heritage & Raymond, 2012).

Advice is a particularly fruitful place to see how knowledge is distributed between recipients as the action itself proposes a position of greater knowledge (Heritage & Sefi, 1992): "it involves a speaker assuming some deficit in the knowledge state of a recipient" (Hutchby, 1995: 221). It is therefore of interest to see how speakers manage this asymmetry in the way advice is designed. Identifying strategies to appeal to the recipient's competence regarding a future course of action is clearly an important move in facilitating the recipient's positive engagement with advice giving. Of course, such appeals may not always be welcome. It might even sound odd for a doctor to give new advice concerning a serious illness in a way that claims the recipient would already know what they should do. While the value attached to the distribution of knowledge will vary according to different social and moreover, local contexts, this section will take the important preliminary step in showing how exactly knowledge can be distributed in different ways when giving advice. Moreover, the analysis will show not only what a formation has to say about the relative distribution of knowledge regarding an appropriate future course of action, but also the implications of this for the optionality that is provided for in the recipient's next turn.

Again, we will start off by looking at how advisors claim strong relative claims of knowledge, to progressively weaker relative claims.

A. Unmarked assertions

The following extracts illustrate examples of advice in the form of verbs of obligation. In each of these examples the advice is asserted directly.

Extract 3.26: P1C10 - 'You need to go to bed', 2.04

- 1 Mum: °There we are,°=so I thought I'd let you know anyway
2 (1.2)
3 Gen: ↑Yeah: thank you:,↑ ((sounds like said through
4 yawn))
5 (0.4)
6 Mum: **Ow you are tired. You need to [go to be:d.]**
7 Gen: [(Got our]frie-)?

Extract 3.27: P2C9 - Thailand, 0:55

- 1 Mum: .hhhhh ((mouth noise)) <Erm: I've- #I'm- obviously::
2 ur:m:#: very con↑cerned (0.5).hhh ur:m:#: **an you**
3 **need to <check> with your: <travel insurance.**>
4 (1.1)
5 Mum: Is the big thing: because: they may not insure you.

Extract 3.28: P3C5 - Interview outfit 1, 11.50

- 1 Mum: You're gonna have to wea::r (0.2) a jacket an:

By being delivered as an initiating action, these turns in themselves make a claim to epistemic primacy (See Heritage & Raymond, 2005 on assessments). Delivering advice in itself positions the speaker as more knowledgeable about the relevance of an appropriate course of action, on the basis of being the first person to make the proposition. What is notable about these examples is that the advice giver does not do anything to downgrade the epistemic authority that is projected. Instead the examples above impose a steep epistemic gradient between the advice giver and the advice recipient.

Less prototypical forms of advice such as 'if-then' type constructions can be delivered as unmitigated assertions of knowledge:

Extract 3.29: P3C6 - Interview outfit 2, 3:23

- 1 Mum: Well, (1.3) <if you go late in the day then you know
2 that (0.6) >you can only go for that- (0.2) limited
3 time,=so: .hhh >if you got a bit< more work done,

As discussed in the previous section, the action being forwarded can be constructed as more or less normative. By asserting that degree of normativity, the adviser is built as

more knowledgeable about the extent to which the forwarded action is seen as a good thing to do. In other words, unlike with verbs of obligation, the recipient is positioned as not knowing something less morally laden. At the same time, by proposing just one option, as discussed in the previous section on normativity, the recipient is provided with the option of providing their knowledge on an alternative favourable course of action.

Whilst the extracts above are all B-event assertions, in that they make propositions about the recipient's world in which the recipient is considered to know more about (see Labov & Fanshel, 1977), A-event assertions of the type 'I would do X' are different:

Extract 3.30: P3C5 - Interview outfit 1, 13:27

- 1 Mum: I would ring Jane as soon as possible so that you
2 can: know that th[at's:
3 Pat: [Yeah

Asserting knowledge about yourself provides the recipient with the opportunity to assert their own knowledge on the matter. Whilst forwarding the action in the first place raises some doubt as to whether the recipient is competent enough to consider the matter, providing the recipient with the space to assert their own knowledge does not deny their knowledge and competence.

So far then, straight assertions seem to do little to manage the knowledge asymmetry that is made relevant via the delivery of a piece of advice. This 'K+' position (Heritage & Raymond, 2012) is an inherent feature to advice and yet straightforwardly asserting advice does not provide the recipient with any more optionality in their response than the advice had already been designed to give. By accepting the advice, the recipient is also accepting that the adviser is more knowledgeable than the recipient on the matter and furthermore, that the recipient is lacking in knowledge. At stake then is the recipient's competence. However, as we have seen, the extent to which the advice is built as normative, in itself provides more or less possibilities for the recipient to assert their own knowledge on the matter.

Now that we have considered how advice givers can display strong relative epistemic knowledge through unmitigated assertions, we will now consider ways which this distribution can be recalibrated, starting with the use of epistemic downgraders.

B. Epistemic downgrading

Whilst speakers have the option to deliver advice in an unmitigated way, they often use resources to downgrade their epistemic authority when forwarding a particular action. This can be achieved through certain words which make a claim of uncertainty. The following extracts provide examples of this:

Extract 3.31: P2C2 - Chocolate hens, 4:07

- 1 Mum: If you put 'em in the fridge you're **probably** able to
2 break 'em off the fri:- s:tick,=Won't you,

Extract 3.32: P2C9 - Relationship trouble, 6:23

- 1 Mum: That's **probably** what you n_↑eed=>A [bit of<
2 Katie: [HHH
3 Mum: time together.

Extract 3.33: P3C2 - 'Withholding the cash', 15:11

- 1 Pat: Yeah. .hh W'll: **maybe** next time you ask him you
2 should say: 'an I think that the amount that you
3 pay: °is° that you split up between the three of us
4 should reflect the interest that you've (.) accrued
5 over the last month.'

In each of these extracts, the advice giver displays some uncertainty with the proposed future action through the downgraders 'probably', 'might', and 'maybe'. In doing so, the speaker proposes that they are in a less knowledgeable position than they would through a straight assertion. In doing so, these formulations provide the recipient with grounds to deliver their own knowledge on the matter. The epistemic gradient between the recipients is therefore cast as being less steep, allowing the recipient with space to deliver their own knowledge. This is comparable to assessments where the speaker may downgrade their assessment using evidentials such as 'that sounds good', where the speaker is claiming only indirect access to the thing that is being assessed (Heritage & Raymond, 2005; see also Stivers, 2005b on assertions). Speakers may also preface their advice with 'I think':

Extract 3.34: P3C2 - Agency, 3:18

- 1 Mum: <I **think** the agency's a good way to go.=Because at
2 least then they can, .hh research:(0.7)

- 3 Mum: [°for you.°]
 4 Pat: [They can uet] the schoo:ls, yeah.=
 5 Mum: =Yeah.

Extract 3.35: P3C4 - Exercise, 2:30

- 1 Mum: Yeah >.HH< (.) but I- I **think** you should have one
 2 day off one day on >an< not do it every day.

Extract 3.36: P3C6 - Interview outfit 2, 6.20

- 1 Mum: .HHH ↑I **think** if you: straighten it (0.3) an:d (0.3)
 2 have it- (0.4) >in a ponytail< .hh (0.5) I kno:w it
 3 would have made you feel better to have it (.)
 4 trimmed but .hh (0.7) I think it will be fine.
 5 (.)
 6 Mum: e# I **think** what you're wearing is more important.

By prefacing these different formulations of advice with 'I think', the advice is presented as coming from the adviser's perspective. As such, it presents what follows as opinion. The epistemic gradient between adviser and advisee is therefore softened. By claiming the advice to be coming from one's own perspective, it allows the recipient to have a different perspective where disaffiliating with the advice is cast as less problematic. This resource has the specific affordance of being used as a preface, and therefore to project this optionality from the beginning of the turn.

Similarly to the epistemic downgraders in the previous extracts, the 'I think' preface provides the recipient with more leeway or what has been referred to in the section on 'normativity' as 'contingency'. By downgrading one's certainty with regard to a claim, the recipient is given the opportunity to put forward their own knowledge. The recipient is given the space to propose possible contingencies with doing an action and therefore has more options in responding. Here then we see how conceding epistemic authority to some degree can provide the recipient with contingency and therefore more optionality. Furthermore, by forwarding the advice as just a possibility, disaffiliating with the advice is cast as less problematic. Indeed, by aligning with the advice, the recipient is only aligning with a possibility rather than what could otherwise be constructed as fact and so a lack of knowledge therein is less compromising of one's competency.

Now we have considered the interactional import of epistemic downgraders, the next section will focus on another strategy for recalibrating the knowledge asymmetry imposed through the delivery of advice; the use of tag questions.

C. Tag questions

Whilst the epistemic gradient between advice giver and advice recipient can be softened through these various discourse markers, the tag question provides a way of more forcefully conceding epistemic authority to the recipient (Heritage & Raymond, 2005). In a sense, the assertion is made into a question (Heritage & Raymond, 2005). However, this form is less 'questioning' than an interrogative form as a stronger degree of certainty is claimed over the answer (Heritage & Raymond, 2012). The tag question also treats the recipient as able to confirm the declarative content and therefore as able to agree with it (Hepburn & Potter, 2011b). As such the tag question also makes a disagreement more difficult because of this preference for a confirmation (Hepburn & Potter, 2011b). Tag questions have also been shown to dampen a response requirement when delivered in response to displays of upset, where an NSPCC caller's expressed emotions and actions are being reformulated by a child protection officer (Hepburn & Potter, 2010).

In this first extract, the tag question treats Katie as already knowing the advice that she needs to get her glasses:

Extract 3.37: P2C13 - Checking up, 0:57

- 1 Mum: [G-](0.2) gotta get those [glasses]
- 2 Katie: [(yeah but)?]
- 3 Mum: ordered as well, =Haven' t you.

By conceding epistemic authority in this way, the epistemic gradient between Mum and Katie is softened. Yet, by treating Katie as knowing this advice, the tag question is coercive as it treats Katie as being on-board and able to confirm the advice (see Hepburn & Potter, 2011b). As such, Mum's turn seems to function as a reminder.

In the next extract, Mum is delivering some advice in an 'if-then' construction and then appending it with a tag question.

Extract 3.38: P2C2 - Chocolate hens, 4:07

- 1 Mum: If you put 'em in the fridge you're probably able to
2 break 'em off the fri::- s:tick,=Won't you,

Unlike the previous extract, the tag question here has rising intonation. This seems to do more questioning work, and as such, it seems to display less expectancy for a confirming type response. This seems to provide Katie with the opportunity to assert her own knowledge which may be counter to Mum's. So, whilst epistemic authority is conceded like in the previous extracts, it seems to be done here to a stronger degree through the rising intonation.

Tag questions are one way of recasting the epistemic balance between advice giver and advice recipient; providing the recipient with an opportunity to confirm or disconfirm a proposition. They do this by proposing that the recipient is competent and knows about the appropriate future course of action. However, this redress appears to be rather minimal as the recipient is still constrained in their response as a confirmation is preferred. So whilst their epistemic authority might be regained to some extent, their response options are still limited. However, as the last extract shows, this constraint may be calibrated by other features such as intonation.

With the specific action of advice, we see that while 'who knows what' is a live issue for the recipients; it is not the only live issue. So whilst epistemic authority might be conceded, in doing so, a piece of advice can be more strongly put forward. Therefore whilst aligning with the advice can position oneself as competent, what is at stake is being coerced into accepting the relevance of a particular action (see Hepburn & Potter, 2011b on the use of tag questions to manage advice resistance). Furthermore, conceding epistemic authority to an 'if-then' form of advice is quite different to conceding it using a verb of obligation. The former still allows the recipient to exert their own knowledge with regard to the action which is being forwarded, whilst the later leaves the matter as closed.

Whilst tag questions work to concede epistemic authority on an established matter, interrogatives more clearly redistribute who knows what. The next section will focus on this strategy of using an interrogative form, looking at how it manages the dimension of knowledge asymmetry.

D. Interrogatives

Advice-implicative interrogatives were looked at in detail in the section on normativity but it is worth looking at them again briefly here in order to consider how they

manage the issue of knowledge asymmetry. As Butler et al. (2010) have shown, advice-implicative interrogatives provide a way of softening the epistemic gradient between the advice giver and advice recipient. This builds on Heritage and Raymond's (2012) analysis where questions are shown to cast an epistemic gradient in which the answerer is treated as more knowledgeable on a matter than the questioner. Alls therefore treat the recipient as more knowledgeable about the appropriateness of a future action. These interrogatives can therefore provide a way of delivering advice which is less compromising of the recipient's competence. However, as discussed above, by disengaging with the recipient's contingencies interrogatives can also more strongly forward a future action.

Extract 3.39: P2C4 - Salmonella, 5:26

- 1 Mum: Oh- #er:# <'cause you know s- (.) prawns it's
 2 salmonella=Isn't it.
 3 (0.5)
 4 Katie: °'eahhh°
 5 (0.2)
 6 Mum: So: watch it.
 7 (0.5)
 8 **Mum: >Are< you going to work tomorrow?**
 9 (0.8)
 10 Katie: Well yeah, if I feel better.
 11 (2.6) / ((computerized voice in background -
 12 answering machine + sniff during))
 13 Katie: Alright=well I better go.
 14 (.)
 15 Mum: Okay darling,

This extract was analysed in the section on 'normativity' where it was discussed that Mum's interrogative in line 8 is hearably delivering advice to not go to work, given its sequential position (page 67). Mum is enquiring about Katie's already-committed-to future plans with no orientation to Katie's capacities or contingencies, for example: 'do you *think* you will go to work?' Moreover, the word 'work' is emphasised and there is questioning intonation at the end. The questioning intonation coupled with the baldness of the enquiry makes the interrogative sound misaligning and more like an interrogation. With the prior advice to 'watch it', these features seem to contribute to a high expectancy that Katie should not go to work.

Whilst this has been discussed already, it is important to note what this construction has to say about the knowledge asymmetry between adviser and advisee. Whilst an interrogative claims K- in terms of what the answer *will* be, this disengagement with the recipient's contingencies does however propose a K+ position in terms of what the answer *should* be. The interrogative in effect gives Katie little space to exert her own knowledge on the matter and instead, Mum is privileging her own knowledge by favouring a particular response. By enforcing the preference for a 'no' response, Mum is privileging what she knows over what Katie might know, and indeed, holds some scepticism over what Katie knows by making this bald enquiry in the first place. Furthermore, unlike in the Kids Helpline data which was analysed in Butler et al. (2010), Katie's thoughts and understandings are not being enquired about or privileged. Therefore, a relative knowledge asymmetry between adviser and advisee is upheld to some degree, whilst being implemented in an epistemically more privileging interrogative form.

In sum, while interrogatives can propose that the recipient is competent and knowledgeable with regard to a particular matter, they can also be designed in ways which recalibrate this provision.

Summary

This section has focused on another dimension in advice giving; the relative distribution of knowledge being proposed. Here we have seen how different formulations of advice put the recipient's competency at stake to varying degrees. So, unmarked assertions build the recipient as being in a relatively K- position; epistemic downgraders build the recipient as being in a comparatively less K- position; tag questions concede epistemic authority to the recipient; whilst advice-implicative interrogatives treat the recipient as being more knowledgeable, although to varying degrees. Whilst who knows more, is a live issue for the recipients, the notable thing about advice is that this is not the only live issue. At stake is also that a future action is being put forward to be accepted or rejected. Therefore whilst aligning with the advice can position oneself as competent or lacking in competence, what is at stake is being coerced into accepting the relevance of a particular action.

Being conceded knowledge with regard to an advice-implicative description is quite different to being conceded knowledge with regard to a piece of advice in the form of a verb of obligation. In absolute terms, the recipient of the former is provided with more space to exert their own knowledge on the future action being put forward because of the relatively

low degree of normativity which is packaged within that form of advice. Furthermore, even having relative epistemic knowledge conceded to you through a tag question makes it more interactionally tricky to reject the advice as the recipient is treated as already on board with it (see Hepburn & Potter, 2011b).

The chapter will now be drawn to close with a discussion of the main findings and their implications.

Discussion

This chapter has looked at some of the ways advice can be formulated, considering the implications these different forms have in terms of how reciprocity is brought off. In particular, this meant considering two important dimensions in advice giving; that of normativity and knowledge asymmetry. So to begin with, different forms of advice were considered for how normativity was built into them and then translating this into the type of response that was made available to the recipient. It was shown that the more contingency that was built into the normativity of a particular action for the recipient, the more optionality that was provided to the recipient. In particular, optionality is provided for by: downgrading the favourability of a particular action, removing the recipient's agency, and/or disguising the advice through advice-implicative actions (see table 3.1 below). In different ways, each of these strategies puts less constraint on the recipient to accept the advice, making available the possibility of orienting to contingencies and alternatives to following the advice.

The second section focused on how knowledge asymmetry was built into different forms of advice and how this again, translated in terms of the response options that were made available to the recipient. It was shown that the relative distribution of knowledge can be recalibrated through tag questions, epistemic downgraders and questions (see table 3.1 below). However, the opportunity that is given to the recipient to assert their own knowledge more generally, comes back to the amount of contingency that is afforded to them; the normative push that is exerted.

Table 3.1: Strategies for managing reciprocity

Calibrating normativity	Calibrating knowledge asymmetry
<p>Downgrading the favourability of a particular action. For example: If you do X, then Y (where Y is favourable) <i>(extracts 3.14-3.16)</i> <i>Maybe you should do X (extracts 3.31- 3.36)</i></p> <p>Removing the recipient’s agency. For example: I would do X (my side telling) <i>(extracts 3.17-3.19)</i> X is good (an assessment) <i>(extract 3.23,3.24)</i> I am doing X (a description) <i>(extract 3.25)</i></p> <p>Disguising the advice through advice-implicative actions. For example: Have you done X? (Interrogative) <i>(extracts 3.20-3.22)</i> X is good (assessment) <i>(extract 3.23,3.24)</i> I am doing X (description) <i>(extract 3.25)</i></p>	<p>Tag question e.g. You need to do X, don’t you <i>(extracts 3.37-3.38)</i></p> <p>Interrogatives Have you done X <i>(extract 3.39)</i></p> <p>Epistemic downgraders Maybe you should do X <i>(extracts 3.31-3.36)</i></p>

Whilst distinguishing between different forms is useful in considering how reciprocity is brought off, a word of caution is necessary. Throughout the analysis, attention has also been given to relevant features of intonation and sequence. So, whilst a tag question may concede epistemic authority, this can be accentuated through the use of turn final rising intonation. Furthermore, by using an ‘if-then’ construction to forward a piece of advice that has already been rejected and using closing intonation, the advice can be recalibrated to be more constraining than the ‘if-then’ form would otherwise project. More attention will be given to intonation throughout the thesis and sequence will become a key focus. The interest in form is ultimately just one piece of the puzzle, but an important piece nevertheless.

So, coming back to the form of advice, we can consider the issue of competence in more detail when we join the analysis of the two sections of ‘normativity’ and ‘knowledge asymmetry’ together. That is, claiming a deficit in knowledge can put one in a more or less compromising position, relating to the normativity that is projected in the advice. Indeed, this issue has been oriented to at various stages in the analysis. Accepting a deficit in knowledge with regard to a candidate favourable course of action, is quite different to accepting a deficit in knowledge with regard to a course of action that you are supposedly

obligated to do. The latter is more morally compromising as accepting concedes to not knowing about something with particular moral weight. However, rejecting the advice also puts the recipient in a morally compromising position through the recipient's decision to not follow the advice. We might consider this to be a 'catch 22 position': an unavoidable problem. Comparatively, certain forms of advice only implicitly deliver advice and therefore 'acceptance' is also not exposed, as in the case of acknowledging an advice-implicative description, for example. In such cases, the issue of competence is only an implicit issue. This issue of competence and morality will be given particular attention in Chapter 4 when looking at how recipient's manage the position they have been afforded; how they choose to respond to the advice. Furthermore, we will also see how the degree of compromise is related to the sequential positioning of the advice in Chapter 5.

Now, at the beginning of the chapter, it was proposed that by considering how normativity and knowledge asymmetry are coded into a piece of advice, we can begin to get a handle on what makes a piece of advice emerge as a 'suggestion' on one end of the scale, to a more forceful and perhaps 'interfering' piece of advice on the other. The analysis here has tried to show that this difference can be cashed out, in a preliminary kind of way, in terms of the amount of contingency that is provided to the recipient in their next turn. More specifically, the analysis has specified what that contingency can look like, and in relation to the dimensions of normativity and knowledge asymmetry. In a tentative way, and for reasons I will turn to next, it could be argued that the strategies which soften the normativity of a piece of advice, which therefore give the recipient more contingency and moreover, optionality, are the strategies which allow a piece of advice to be heard as 'merely suggesting'. On the other end of the continuum, advice which projects strong normativity and does not provide the recipient with optionality in terms of the appropriate future course of action to follow, can more readily be heard as 'pushy'.

Indeed, Peyrot (1987) makes a distinction between assertions and suggestions in the case of psychotherapy sessions, where the psychotherapist offers 'proposals' for the characterization of the patient's problems. Whilst Peyrot (1987) was not looking at advice, the observations that were made there have useful parallels here. Peyrot (1987) argues that the distinction between a suggestion and an assertion (in the case of proposals) rests on the ability of a 'suggestion' to allow the proposal to pass, which is not made possible by an assertion.

Whilst the analysis here has specified how exactly a piece of advice might be designed to allow it to 'pass', proposing how we might see advice as doing a 'suggestion', it

is certainly worth remembering here that 'categories are for talking' (Edwards, 1991). It is the fuzzy, indexical nature of language which indeed provides for the use of categories in talk, to achieve social action, rather than to achieve a universal or even culturally specific notion of semantic categories of talk (Edwards, 1991). Indeed, characterising a piece of advice as a suggestion maybe one way of backing down on the forcefulness of a piece of advice, following problematic uptake from the recipient. Therefore, in the end, what a 'suggestion' is, is ultimately a participant's concern. So a more cautious conclusion to this chapter is that beyond categories of talk, the analysis has shown how the dimensions of advice can be calibrated to bring reciprocity off in different ways.

Chapter 4: Responding to advice

Chapter 3 showed how advice can be built in ways which encode different degrees of optionality for the recipient as well as different degrees of knowledge asymmetry between the recipients. These varied between less pushy and less K+, interrogatives and descriptions on the one end of the continuum to more pushy and more K+, verbs of obligations and imperatives on the other. The chapter concluded by proposing that the more optionality that is provided to the recipient, the more the speaker is hearably giving a 'suggestion' as opposed to a pushier piece of 'advice'⁹. Some 'suggestions' may even only appear to implicitly deliver advice such as descriptions and assessments, where the advice is delivered as information rather than directly advocating the recipient to carry out an action at the instructional level (See Heritage & Lindström, 2012). Part of the usefulness of these ways of delivering advice is their defeasibility as, for example: 'only asking/ saying/ describing', and most explicitly of '*not* giving advice'.

Although varying degrees of optionality can be projected and recipients can be more or less on the record of responding to 'advice', we might still wonder how recipients of more implicit advice head off issues of competency that the advice has coded in. Indeed, we might also wonder how recipients who have been given a more imposing piece of advice get out of 'accept'/'reject' type responses that they have been manoeuvred into giving by the terms of the advice; how do they recode their competency back in?

This chapter will address these issues by considering a range of response types that appear most frequently in the data and which traverse different formulations of 'advice'. Whilst the 'advice' being responded to might have been done in a more or less on the record way, the analysis will show how similar issues are being managed through the type of response that is given, albeit in more subtle ways in some cases. The focus will be in considering what actions the different types of response do and how they compare to the response types found in the literature. These include: acceptance, unmarked acknowledgments, claiming 'prior commitment', explicit claims of competence, and rejections.

⁹ Although a note of caution was also given concerning this type of categorization.

Acceptance

The first class of response which will be looked at here is where the recipient treats the just prior action as delivering advice; showing some commitment to undertake the action by accepting it. Whilst 'acceptance' is rare in the data, considering what it looks like and where we get it will enable a comprehensive understanding of some of the issues that pertain to being an advice recipient. Heritage and Sefi (1992) show how acceptance is achieved through 'marked acknowledgments'. The pro forma type in their data includes components such as 'oh' and 'right'. The 'oh' treats the advice as 'news' whilst 'right' does some acceptance of it. Recipients may also use 'partial repeats' to display marked acceptance (Heritage & Sefi, 1992). Indeed, Silverman (1997) argues that a patient's 'advice summary' is one of the strongest forms of advice acceptance. The following extract is taken from Heritage and Sefi (1992) and is used here to exemplify a marked acknowledgment:

Extract 4.1: Heritage & Sefi (1992: 393)

(6 cont.) [3A1:15]

- 1 M: I haven't ba::thed her yet. Is once a week
2 enough.
3 (0.7)
4 HV: We::ll (0.2) babies do: sweat a lo:t.
5 (0.3)
6 HV: So I would recommend giving her a ba:th
7 every da:y.
8 M: 1→ Every da::y,
9 HV: So that she gets used to it and sh- that's her
10 little pl:aytime for he:r.
11 M: 2→ Oh ri::ght.

In line 8, the mother repeats a key part of the information and then in response to further information from the health visitor, she treats the information as news and accepts it with 'oh right' (line 11).

As noted above, within the current corpus, 'acceptance' of advice is rare. Furthermore, although 'acceptance' is occasionally displayed, there is less work done by the recipient to treat the advice as 'news' through tokens such as 'oh'. Instead, the responses in the current corpus seem to only minimally 'accept' the advice rather than provide a more marked uptake. The following extracts will show variations of advice 'acceptance' that are found in the current corpus, whilst also providing some evidence that these alternative versions are still treated as displays of advice acceptance.

Extract 4.2: P2C1 - Car trouble, 0:13

- 1 Mum: Just a quickie d'you- (.) >has-< †have you: urm:†
2 remembered to check your water.
3 (1.2)
4 Lottie: →No I haven't but I will do (in a bit,)=no I'll >do
5 it in a minu:te.<
6 (.)
7 Mum: <I've- I've jus: started it up, (.) to: urm:, (.)
8 get it out the way of my car:, .hh bu[t-]°uh° I
9 Lottie: [Yeah,]
10 Mum: just wondered how the water level was: doing, after
11 Pete put all that stuff in for you=that was all,

In this first extract, Mum is formulating an enquiry in the form of a 'reminder'. It proposes that the recipient knows to do the action (of checking the car water level) but might have forgotten to do so. The polar question asks if Lottie has remembered to check her water, rather than whether she has actually checked it. Presumably this allows Lottie to give a preferred answer 'yes' even if she hasn't actually done it. We can consider this as advice-implicative in that the question forwards the future action of checking the water (see Butler et al., 2010 and Chapter 3, page 63). Indeed, Lottie responds by providing more than the 'yes/no' response projected by the form of the question and states how she will do the action in the future through the construction 'I will do X'. She therefore displays some commitment to do the action and therefore 'accepts' the implicit advice, aligning with the action being done by Mum.

In this case, Mum even treats this response as overdone by underplaying the urgency of the course of action by proposing that she has moved the car (which indeed turns out later to be a suggestion that Lottie should not move the car straight away as it presumably needs to cool down) and then downplaying the advice implicativeness of her enquiry by claiming that she had 'just wondered' (lines 8 and 10). So, this third position turn from Mum treats Lottie's response as accepting advice, whilst at the same time guarding against the hearing that her interrogative was ever intended as advice.

In the next extract, Mum from family 2 is again delivering some advice in the form of a reminder.

Extract 4.3: P2C13 - Checking up, 0:57

- 1 Mum: [G-](0.2) gotta get those
2 [glasses] ordered as well,=Haven't you.
3 Katie: [(yeah but)?]
4 (0.5)
5 Katie: →Yeah=I'll pop in to town on my lunch hour an do it.
6 (0.2)
7 Mum: Yeah hh
8 Mum: Good.
9 (1.3)
10 Mum: ↑Brilliant.
11 Katie: You okay?

Mum uses a verb of obligation 'got to' to give Katie some advice with regard to a particular action and specifically for Katie (of ordering glasses). The tag question at the end however, treats Katie as already knowing about the course of action as it concedes epistemic authority (Heritage & Raymond, 2005). As such, similar to the previous extract, it appears to be reminding Katie about a course of action she already knows about (see Chapter 3, Extract 3.37, page 80). The response from Katie aligns with Mum's action by displaying some commitment to doing the action in the future with the form 'I will do X' (line 5). Again, this response is treated as sufficient by Mum as she delivers a positive assessment (line 8) (following a more minimal 'yeah') and then eventually closes the sequence with a high-grade assessment (line 10) (See Antaki, Houtkoop-Steenstra & Rapley, 2000).

The next extract comes later on in the conversation from Extract 2. Lottie has just reiterated that she will check the water 'in a minute'.

Extract 4.4: P2C1 - Car trouble, 0:53

- 1 Mum: I wouldn't check it- (.) I've just started
2 the engine up to mo:ve it.=So I'd give it
3 another: half hour before you o- (0.3) t-
4 undo the s- top.
5 [(0.5)
6 Mum: [.hhh
7 Lottie: →Okay,<
8 (0.3)
9 Mum: But yeah, jus: let us ↑know yeah?↑

This extract is slightly different to the above formulations of 'advice' in that Mum is not delivering a reminder but is instead delivering some advice against Lottie's decision to check the water in a minute; Mum suggests that the water is checked after a longer period of time. Lottie also only minimally accepts the advice with 'okay' (line 7), rather than doing a more marked version as in the above extracts where commitment to the proposed action is explicitly articulated. However, this is treated as sufficient as Mum then goes back to the initial apparent reason for the call with the request to 'just let us know', as opposed to pursuing the advice, engaging in a move to close the call (see Schegloff & Sacks, 1973; Button, 1987, 1991).

In sum, in all three extracts, 'acceptance' of the advice is done. The recipients are aligning themselves as recipients of more or less implicit 'advice'. Here, Stivers' (2008) distinction between affiliation and alignment is useful. Not only is the advice being affiliated with as the right thing to do, the action of 'advice giving' is also being aligned with. The recipient therefore also accepts the position of 'advice recipient'. However, as Chapter 5 will flesh out, we can go beyond the category of 'advice recipient' to consider in further detail the specific terms being accepted by the recipient.

Unmarked acknowledgments

The next type of response that will be looked at here is what Heritage and Sefi (1992) have referred to as 'unmarked acknowledgments.' These include tokens such as 'mm', 'yeah' and also more controversially (discussed in the next section) 'that's right'. Unlike the responses above which work to 'accept' the advice, these unmarked acknowledgments don't receipt the advice as news or display any commitment to do the future action. As such, they are described as doing 'passive resistance' to the advice that has been given (Heritage & Sefi, 1992), raising some ambiguity in terms of whether the advice is being accepted or not (Kinnell & Maynard, 1996). As well as resisting advice, Pudlinski (2002) argues that unmarked acknowledgments work to confirm the previous turn whilst keeping the recipient as 'teller'.

Evidence that these unmarked acknowledgements can be heard as doing some kind of implicit resistance comes from looking at how the interaction develops next. Indeed, Pilnick (1999) argues that whether a piece of advice is characterized as 'advice' as opposed

to something like 'information' or 'instruction', relies on considering how it is responded to and then how that response is treated by the initial speaker.

Heritage and Sefi (1992) have shown how these unmarked acknowledgments can sometimes result in more overt resistance from the recipient. They can also be treated as resistance in themselves by the adviser providing an alternative position as a viable option (Heritage & Sefi, 1992; Silverman, 1997). As such, this type of response provides the advice giver with an opportunity to re-do their turn in an implicit way (Silverman, 1997). By considering how the recipients themselves orient to the different forms of advice response, it is possible to see advice resistance in action (see Pilnick, 1999).

The following extracts will exemplify the unmarked acknowledgments found in the current corpus, considering how they are followed in third position (as was done in the previous section on 'acceptance') as a way of characterizing their resistive work, as well as the initiating action itself. Indeed, third position is a place where we can see intersubjectivity being displayed in action (see Schegloff, 1992). Furthermore, linking back to Chapter 3, this provides a way of showing whether the participants themselves orient to a particular construction as delivering 'advice'; 'the next turn proof procedure' (see Sacks et al., 1974).

In the first extract, Katie has just been describing the nature of her headaches she has been suffering with. She has reported that things have improved a bit after not taking codeine, which had earlier made her drowsy.

Extract 4.5: P2C14 - Headaches (painkillers), 4:19

- 1 Mum: =I ↑↑tell you wha:t↑↑ the best one to try is the:
2 urm: (.) w:hich (.) urm I (.) dosed meself up be-
3 °°fore°° (0.4) -fore on is the <they do a migraine
4 one quick relief migraine one.
5 (0.3)
6 Katie: →°Y:[eah°
7 Mum: [<I know it's quite expensive but it (.) it's
8 good. hh
9 (0.2)
10 Katie: →Yeah
11 Mum: >Have you not tried that one.<
12 (0.2)
13 Katie: No not yet
14 (0.6)

15 Mum: °Yeah (.) >↑well°< (0.6) .hhHH (.) try 'em ou:t.<But
 16 ↑is i:t↑ (0.2) now that you haven't taken any
 17 painkillers have you still got headache. Hh.

Mum positively assesses a stronger painkiller and by positively appraising the action, without explicitly invoking Katie's agency (to take the painkillers), Mum's turn could be seen as a 'recommendation'; a specific type of advice. Katie delays her uptake of this before delivering a quiet 'yeah' (line 6). Hearing that Katie may be on the way to delivering a dispreferred response, Mum's turn orients to one possible contingency in getting the tablets and overrides it by further emphasising its value. Still, Katie delivers a slightly delayed response here with a minimal 'yeah' (line 10) which doesn't deal with Mum's action as more broadly delivering a piece of advice to be accepted. The 'yeah' does not clearly accept the advice or treat it as news (Heritage & Sefi, 1992).

In third position, Mum treats the 'yeah' as doing resistance by pursuing uptake of the advice. Mum pursues a response from Katie which deals with the relevance of the migraine tablets for Katie (line 11). 'Acceptance' is therefore treated as a relevant next action following Mum's turn, reflexively treating it as delivering some advice.

In the next extract, Mum has been looking after her 2 year old granddaughter, Farah, during which time she gave her some chocolate hen lollipops. Farah is back with Katie and Mum is forwarding the action of taking the chocolate hens off of their plastic sticks before giving them to Farah.

Extract 4.6: P2C2 - Chocolate hens, 3.56

1 Katie: .hhh >Alright then< Well-(0.4)
 2 Mum: [>↑DID SHE EAT HER,<] (.) [>did she eat her,<]
 3 Katie: [>(Alright then) <] [(Better go)]
 4 Mum: chocolate ↑hen an:d↑(0.3)
 5 Katie: No.=>I didn't give them to her but she will
 6 have.<=>°I put them on the [(plate)°<]
 7 Mum: [↑I]
 8 would↑ take them off the stick if that's
 9 possible,
 10 (.)
 11 Katie: °Yeahh°
 12 (0.2)
 13 Katie: °>Have a look.<°

14 (0.3)
 15 Mum: If you put 'em in the fridge you're
 16 probably able to break 'em off the fri::-
 17 s:tick,=Won't you,
 18 (.)
 19 Katie: →Yeahh.
 20 (.)
 21 Mum: That's quite dangerous ↑i'n it.

Mum gives Katie a piece of advice in lines 7-9, using an 'I would' form (see Chapter 3, Extract 3.18, page 62). Katie responds by accepting the advice with a minimal 'yeah' and an undertaking to 'have a look', which orients to the contingency in Mum's advice 'if that's possible'. Mum then delivers a further 'if-then' form of advice where the 'if' packages a course of action for facilitating 'taking them off the stick' and the 'then' packages its favourability (lines 15-17). As discussed in the previous chapter, this form of advice provides the recipient with high contingency whereby this future course of action is presented as just one possibility; the conditional 'if' provides the recipient with alternative options. Mum also concedes epistemic authority, treating Katie as knowledgeable on this matter through the tag question (see Heritage & Raymond, 2005 and Hepburn & Potter, 2011b on practices for managing advice resistance).

Katie responds to the advice with a minimal 'yeah'; what Heritage and Sefi (1992) refer to as an 'unmarked acknowledgement'. By looking at Mum's third position turn, we can see evidence that this type of response is indeed treated by the participants as displaying resistance. Mum's turn in line 21 underlines the potentially noxious upshot of not doing the advised conduct. Again, the tag question builds Katie as already knowing this. Mum is therefore doing work to pursue uptake from Katie, orienting to a lack of clear uptake on Katie's part so far. By treating the 'yeah' as doing resistance, there is also evidence here that Mum's turn in lines 15-17 is being treated as delivering advice. So even though optionality is provided for, 'acceptance' is still treated as a relevant next.

Whilst 'yeah' may be treated as an unmarked acknowledgment in the above extracts, the implicit nature of other forms of advice may cast a 'yeah' type response as appropriate. In the following extract Katie's 'yeah' can be seen to be doing agreement as opposed to resisting advice.

Extract 4.7: P2C9 - Farah's bum, 8.20

- 1 Mum: Iz just be careful what you give her an: give her
2 some plug up sort of foo:d rather than (.) .hhhhh
3 anything that would have made her runny.=What, (.)
4 did she have today.
5 (1.1)
- 6 Katie: °Ur::m (0.3) .hh (3.9) ((tongue tapping noise
7 throughout)) what she ha::ve (1.8) ur:m° (0.9) >I
8 dunno< she was at nursery >so I'm not sure what we
9 had l:unch after but check her thing an then< .hhh
10 she ha:d like chicken and potatoes for dinner.
11 (0.6)
- 12 Mum: °It's° (0.3) better than steak=↑I:n it.
- 13 Katie: →°Mm°
14 (0.2)
- 15 Mum: No?
16 (0.2)
- 17 Katie: →°Yeah I (guess/do,)°
18 (0.3)
- 19 Mum: Did she have dinner with: urm:↑ (0.9) Nanna
20 [Bee?]
- 21 Katie: [(Bee.)]

Mum delivers some advice to Katie about how to manage the granddaughter's 'runny tummy' (lines 1-3). Mum uses a strong imperative form, yet this is prefaced with 'iz just' which is hearable as packaging 'the normative advice is just...' This softens Mum's turn, making it more hearable as advice than say, an order. Whilst this sort of advice might be expected to require stronger uptake through its low contingency form, Mum subverts the possibility of an advice response by enquiring into what Farah had eaten that day.

After a long turn in which Katie recounts what Farah has had to eat, Mum delivers an assessment of what she has eaten by contrasting it with an alternative meal; steak (line 12). This assessment is itself hearable as packaging advice in that Mum is continuing to propose giving Farah certain kinds of foods over others. The tag question treats Katie as already on board with this advice (see Hepburn & Potter, 2011b).

Katie responds with a minimal (unmarked) acknowledgement token 'mm' (line 13). Mum pursues agreement by reversing the preference in line 15, treating line 13 as heading

for disagreement. Katie cooperates with a stronger agreement through the 'yeah' and the barely audible 'I guess' or 'I do'. Mum does not treat this agreement (whether it is indeed hedged or marked) as resisting the implicit advice in some way but instead moves on to another related topic (line 19). Indeed, Katie could have gone on to display stronger commitment to giving Farah certain foods e.g. 'Yeah, I'll make sure she doesn't have any rich food'. So, even though the implicit advice is not 'accepted' or treated as news, this does not appear to be problematic in response to Mum's assessment.

In all 3 extracts, the recipient gives a minimal response to the advice which does not clearly affiliate with the advice being given or align with the action of advice giving. It instead fudges what is being done. In the first two extracts, this minimal receipt is treated as such by the advice giver's pursuit of stronger uptake. The minimal response is therefore treated as resisting the advice by the recipients themselves. In the final extract, a minimal response is not treated as doing resistance to the implicit advice. This is perhaps one of the affordances of giving advice in less pushy ways such as through assessments, as much less is required of the recipient in terms of accepting or rejecting the 'advice'. Indeed, Heritage and Lindström (2012) argue that one of the problems with advocacy advice, where the instructional element is exposed, is that unmarked acknowledgments are treated as resistance. Contrastively, advice-as-information, and we can extend this to other implicit forms of advice; put less interactional demand on the recipient (Silverman, 1997). This is not to say, however, that in other cases the advice may be progressively exposed and upgraded in the face of resistance.

Claiming 'prior commitment' to the advice

The previous section showed how recipients can give a minimal receipt to avoid a clear acceptance or rejection of advice. Recipients can also use strategies to display a stronger commitment to doing a future action but at the same time, head off the implication that such commitment was dependant on the advice itself. This next section will focus on a collection of responses which affiliate with the appropriateness of a future action, yet they embody stronger resistance to the local position of 'advice recipient'. As such, these responses go beyond merely fudging the action being done through the response. They do this by claiming 'prior commitment' to the proposed future action. This section will outline three ways in which this can be done:

In the following extract, Mum is talking to her son-in-law, Jimmy on the phone. Jimmy's fast approaching holiday to Thailand with his family has come up. The family are waiting for their passports to be processed; the delay of which could be potentially problematic for their holiday. A display of prior commitment is used again but this time in response to an advice-implicative interrogative.

Extract 4.9: P2C5 - Jimmy passports, 1:47

- 1 Mum: tcha ur: (.) 'ave you: chased them ↑up or:
2 Jimmy: →No we're >just< looking into that now.

In line 2, Jimmy's responds to Mum's advice-implicative interrogative in a way that orients to the action of the interrogative by delivering more than a 'yes' or 'no' answer, whereby 'chasing them up' is treated as an appropriate action to do in the future (see Butler et al., 2010). Of particular interest here is that Jimmy displays some prior commitment to doing the action through the present tense 'we are (doing X)'. The point is that Jimmy could have used an alternative form 'we will', which would have still been consistent with his claim, especially as the actual 'chasing' is still left to be done. However, by using the present tense, Jimmy codes into his response that it is something he has *already* considered. Indeed, by using an interrogative, Mum has already proposed that Jimmy is likely to have considered it.

Because of the subtle work that is done through these claims of prior commitment more generally, the advice giver's next turn has not been a useful place to find evidence for participant orientations to the action being done. Indeed, the actions are, resistive in an off the record way and the advice itself is after all, being endorsed. One place we can see recipient's orienting to the work being done through this action though is through self-repair. The next extract is an example of this kind of explicit recipient orientation.

In the next call, Pat has been telling Mum about the valuations she has received from two estate agents for her house she is intending to sell. Pat and her husband James have also had interest in the house from their neighbour. Just prior to the extract, Mum and Pat have been discussing the estate agent fees which make using them (rather than selling privately) a less attractive option.

Extract 4.10: P3C10 - Selling the house, 9:00

- 1 Mum: e-But ↑if he starts prattling on 'oh I'm saving
2 you on estate agents so I'll of[fer]you:: less.=
3 Pat: [Yeah.]

4 Mum: .hh [You ha-] as you] said (.) have a figure.

5 Pat: → [Well I] said]

6 Mum: In [mind.]

7 Pat: [We]<said> we'll s- we'll give him the one

8 eight nine figure,=

9 Mum: =Mm

10 Pat: .HH <An he- he- if he came to us saying one

11 eighty,

12 (.)

13 Mum: Mm

14 Pat: We'd sa:y one eight seven,

15 Mum: Ye[ah]

16 Pat: [An] he'd say one eight three an[: >we'd<] say-

17 Mum: [Yeah]

18 Pat: (.) I think we'd drop to one eight six.

19 Mum: Yeah

20 (0.5) ((sniff during))

21 Mum: Yeah.

22 (0.2)

23 Pat: 'cause then that's: (1.3)

24 Mum: An then they he has to pay the stamp duty,

Of interest here is Mum's advice in lines 1-6 to have an established figure in mind that they can use in negotiations with the neighbour in order to avoid losing out on the sale of the house. Mum starts off giving some advice with an 'if-then' construction which culminates in an imperative: 'have to have a figure'. What is interesting here is that Mum cuts off her initial 'you ha-' (line 4) and restarts it with an acknowledgment of Pat's stated commitment to this action.

Pat orients to this prior commitment earlier than Mum, although almost simultaneously (line 5). When Pat attempts her turn for the second time, she even emphasises the word 'said'; the very word which carries this notion of prior commitment. As Pat continues, she uses the construction 'we'd' (do x), short for 'we would' (do x) (lines 14, 16 and 18). Pat seems to be claiming what Edwards (2006b) refers to as 'back-dated predictability.' Rather than simply reporting what they 'will' do, Pat is making claims about what they are likely to do, invoking a thought out, robust decision. Indeed this is displayed through her precise and detailed plan that follows. Notably, Pat's response is 'well' prefaced

as opposed to being prefaced with an agreement. This may be used to orient to the non-straightforwardness of her response (see Schegloff & Lerner, 2009), setting up a response which goes beyond a simple acquiescing ‘yes’ and indeed this is what follows.

Self-repair is a useful tool for identifying what elements of a turn’s form matters for the recipients themselves (Drew, 2012). Indeed, Lerner and Kitzinger (2007) showed that the choice between the apparently equal alternatives of a collective person reference ‘we’ and an individual person reference ‘I’, did indeed matter so far as self-repair was used to change the speakers initial selection. Mum’s restarted turn in extract 4.10 makes relevant Pat’s ‘prior commitment’ to the action, thus showing how this dimension matters to the recipients themselves. Whilst Mum’s restart above has shown how the advisee’s ‘prior commitment’ is a live issue for *advice givers*, the following extract shows self-repair being used by the *advice recipient*, to ‘explicitly orient’ to one version over another (Lerner & Kitzinger, 2007).

The extract comes at the end of a call. Mum has called Gen to ask how her appraisal went at work (they both work for the same employer). Just prior to the extract Gen has been complaining about the long hours she is working at the weekend and Mum has undermined the extent of this problem.

Extract 4.11: PlC4 - The appraisal, 11:19

- 1 Mum: .HH Well don't get doing too ↓much or you
2 will knock [yourself ou:t.]
3 Gen: → [<NO WELL I'LL def-] (0.3) speak
4 to-<I'm gonna speak to him tomorrow and
5 just say I wanna swap next weekend's shift.
6 (0.4)
7 Gen: >Well I don't wanna swap it, I don't
8 wanna do it, < Basically.<

Mum delivers some advice here in the form of a warning, to make sure Gen doesn't work too much. The ‘if-then’ construction in Mum’s turn allows Gen to pre-empt where the turn was headed for and therefore to come in early. Gen affiliates with the advice by proposing to speak to the boss and therefore manage the possibility of ‘doing too much’. At this point, Gen does some alignment with the advice by accepting it with the future tense form ‘I will...’ (line 3). However, Gen then goes on to repair what she has said to a version which indicates a present commitment to the action in the future with ‘I’m gonna...’ (line 4). The repair comes after she has produced some talk in the clear of the overlap and so she seems to be disrupting the smooth progressivity of the talk in order to repair one version for

another. The meaning would essentially be the same using either version but the second version builds into it an established commitment to the future action. Gen 'explicitly orients' to one form over another (Lerner & Kitzinger, 2007) and as such, specifies the relevance of displaying 'prior commitment' when responding to this advice. Furthermore, Gen's cut-off at line 3, on 'def-', looks like she was going to say 'definitely'. This word works to counter doubt by strongly asserting her commitment. So, Gen is showing a more general orientation to intent which provides further support for what the repair from 'will' to 'going to' is doing. In addition to this, Gen specifies what she will do in terms which go beyond those formulated by Mum. Gen doesn't simply say 'I'll not do too much', she says how exactly she will go about 'not doing too much'. Elaborating on a future action is indeed another strategy for claiming prior commitment which will be looked at in the next section.

In sum, the extracts in this section have shown how advice recipients can claim prior commitment to a piece of advice by orienting to a present or established intent to do that action. In responding in this way, recipients affiliate with doing a particular future action, whilst resisting the compromising position of 'advice recipient'. The recipient in effect claims to already be in the position that the advice is manoeuvring them into. The recipient essentially establishes that the commitment to doing the action has been made independent of the advice. At the same time, the advice is not being oriented to as simply redundant as the action still has some relevance to the recipient. The next section shows how 'prior commitment' can be claimed by elaborating on the action component of the recipient's turn.

2) Reformulating or elaborating on the action component of the advice

Within this collection, advice recipients tend to use the basic formula: 'yeah, I will do (a version of) X'. What is notable about this type of response is that although the recipient may (although not necessarily always) use the future tense 'I will', to display commitment to doing 'X', it turns out that 'X' (the action component) becomes reformulated or elaborated into the recipient's own words. In doing this reformulation or elaboration, it is proposed that the recipient reclaims some ownership of the action, presenting their independent commitment to it.

In the following extract, Pat and Mum are talking about the distribution of the grandmother's Will to the family. Pat's uncle is in charge of distributing the money but Mum has been reporting his failure to do so, despite her attempt to ask for it.

Extract 4.12: P3C2 - 'Withholding the cash', 15:11

- 1 Pat: Yeah. .hh W'll: maybe next time you ask him you
2 should say: 'an I think that the amount that you
3 pay: °is° that you split up between the three of us
4 should reflect the interest that you've (.) accrued
5 over the last month.'
6 (0.2)
7 Mum: →<Well I (.) yeah: (.) I- (0.6) I'll have a look at
8 his breakdown an: (.) an say >well what about the
9 interest.<

Mum initially responds to Pat's advice (lines 1-5) with delayed agreement. She then goes on to display commitment to the action through the formulation 'I'll' (an abbreviation of 'I will') (line 7). However, the action is reformulated and put into Mum's own words. The action is essentially the same but Mum reformulates what exactly will be said and done and in what order. So, Mum will ask about the interest after she has seen how he has worked it all out, rather than before. As such, Mum reclaims some ownership over what she should do. Although her response affiliates with the suggestion from Pat to some degree, it is not hearable as advice acceptance. It reclaims the 'primacy' of her commitment (to adopt Heritage & Raymond's (2005) notion of epistemic primacy).

The next extract provides another example of this strategy, this time in response to a piece of advice in the form of an interrogative. In the extract, Mum has been reporting symptoms of being unwell, which she has indirectly proposed may be related to a prior bout of illness.

Extract 4.13: P1C15 - Mum ill, 7:18

- 1 Gen: =<You been to the doctors about it.=Have you?=
2 Mum: →=>Well I've gotta go- I've gotta go to the< doctors
3 on Thursday anyway. So I'll [ask her about] it then.
4 Gen: [Oh: right.]

The response treats the interrogative as packaging advice by orienting to the relevance of doing the action in the future. The 'well' preface signals something dispreferred (Pomerantz, 1984) or non-straightforward (Schegloff & Lerner, 2009), suggesting the question prefers a 'yes' type response. By orienting to the relevance of doing the suggested action, Mum affiliates with the advice to go to the doctors. Mum shows some commitment

to doing the action in the future through the form 'I (wi)ll' (line 3). At the same time though Mum is not straightforwardly accepting Gen's advice but elaborates on what she will do in her own terms. What's nice about the interrogative form is that it provides for the possibility of the recipient's version of things to be presented, and therefore the primacy of the recipient's commitment.

In sum, another strategy for claiming prior commitment to a future action appears to be of elaborating or reformulating the action that is being committed to. As Pudlinski (2002: 488) claimed in responses he considered to be displaying 'advice acceptance': "Competency is demonstrated by participating in planning how and when to do the suggested activity..." I would go further to suggest that the recipients display some resistance to the action of advice giving by orienting to the primacy and independence of their commitment. In other words, whilst a particular future action is affiliated with, the advice giving itself is resisted. These types of response are similar to those found in Pilnick's (2003) analysis of pharmacist interactions in a pediatric oncology outpatient ward but in response to 'instructions' (see Pilnick, 1999 on distinguishing 'instruction' from 'advice'). Parents of the child patient would often display competence by summarizing and delivering extended displays of understanding, going beyond a mere acknowledgment, as set up by the prior turn (Pilnick, 2003).

The next section shows how recipients to other forms of advice (which don't make an 'accept' or 'reject' response a relevant next) can nevertheless head off the implications of responding to implicit advice.

3) Claiming 'firstness' in agreement

As discussed in the previous chapter, advice can be given in implicit ways by softening the normativity inherent in the forwarding of a future action. Whilst contingencies may be provided for by delivering a question or an assessment for example, a knowledge asymmetry is nevertheless invoked.¹⁰ With regard to the particular domain of assessments, Heritage and Raymond (2005) show how first and second position are unequal alternatives, with first position claiming in itself, stronger claims to knowledge. Therefore, work is required of the recipient of a first positioned assessment if indeed they wish to reclaim the 'firstness' of their subsequent assessment. Going first or second appears to matter to participants and work is done to offset implications about who knows what and therefore

¹⁰ Although as the previous chapter also showed, questions and assessments can themselves be pumped up and down in terms of the normativity they project.

what the 'terms of agreement' are (Heritage & Raymond, 2005; see also Stivers, 2005b on assertions).

Giving someone a piece of advice essentially involves delivering an opinion about what the recipient should do on a matter concerning their own life. Therefore, even when the advice is delivered implicitly, a recipient may be at pains to make it known that they already knew what was being put forward as a potential course of action. Advice giving is a domain where the 'terms of agreement' may indeed be particularly contentious. The extracts in this section show how recipients to implicit advice negotiate the 'terms of agreement' and use subtle strategies for managing the potentially compromising position of 'advice recipient'.

In the first extract Mum is telling Lucy about a toy she has bought for Lucy's baby, Eva (her granddaughter). Mum describes that she will wash the toys before giving them to Eva because of her tendency to put things in her mouth (the premise being that the toys were bought second hand).

Extract 4.14: P5C3 – Bugs, 2.56

- 1 Lucy: heh huh .H[H
2 Mum: [I'm just gonna give them a little <wash
3 over,>
4 (.)
5 Lucy: Ye:ah
6 Mum: 'cause they're from e-bay:, an tends an since she
7 puts everything in her mouth, [(0.5)]
8 Lucy: → [.hh]Yeah: you
9 [can say] that again. [huh]
10 Mum: [urm] [(Will/we'll)] do that,

Although Mum is apparently merely describing what she will do, she appears to be invoking a normative action of making sure the granddaughter's toys are clean (and perhaps things that she puts in her mouth generally) (see Chapter 3, Extract 3.25, page 72). By making this description in first position (lines 2-3, and with an account lines 6-7), Lucy is essentially put in a less knowledgeable position with regard to this conduct. Lucy responds by agreeing with the description that the granddaughter puts everything in her mouth (lines 8-9). Rather than just agreeing or even simply acknowledging Mum's report however, Lucy does work to reclaim the 'firstness' of, in this case, the description (see Heritage & Raymond, 2005 on assessments). Lucy seems to be going so far as 'assessing' Mum's descriptions and

remarking on its validity. This neatly repositions Lucy as knowing more than Mum on this matter, with the implication that she is indeed already attuned to the appropriate conduct.

Indeed, Mum seems to orient to this resistance by re-characterizing her description as just that, through her return to what she will do (line 10), thus guarding against the more noxious hearing that her description was advice-implicative.

The following extract is another example of an agreeing response but this time to a piece of advice which is hearable as raising a potential problem with Sarah's boyfriend's potential opportunity of more work. Here, Mum is proposing that the boyfriend needs to 'keep it up'. This example is slightly different as Mum's advice is for a third party; Sarah's boyfriend.

Extract 4.15: P1C6 - Boyfriend's job, 1:45

- 1 Sarah: che ch:ehh Yeah:. [Handy.]
2 Mum: [Well as] long- u- as long as 'e
3 keeps it up then,=an makes sure he
4 [goes:,=an] don't let 'em d[own.
5 Sarah: →[Nah: that's it.] [Yeah.
6 (0.5)
7 Mum: Yeah
8 Sarah: →↑Aoh: no: yeah. yeah: uyeah. Sound innit.
9 (.)
10 Mum: Ok[ay.]
11 Sarah: [So] (1.3) <handy.>

Sarah comes in early in Mum's turn with an agreeing type response 'that's it' (line 5) which claims what Waring (2007b) has referred to as 'comparable thinking', and is followed by an agreeing 'yeah', in overlap. After Mum does a third position agreeing turn (line 7), Sarah comes in with another response to the initial advice (line 8). Sarah's turn initial 'aoh' has some resemblance of a change of state token 'oh' (Heritage, 1984b). As such, Sarah seems to be making a claim to be able to assess the boyfriend's work ethic independently by doing an 'oh' prefaced response to an assessment (Heritage, 2002b). The contrastive 'no' also works to claim the inappositeness of Mum's concern (Heritage, 2002b). The multiple 'yeahs' seem to be halting the course of action (see Stivers, 2004), whilst the subsequent 'oh' prefaced agreement 'uyeah' works to mark some independent access or 'firstness' again. All these features combine to insinuate the unexpected and unnecessary concern and 'advice' from Mum, claiming that her boyfriend is already committed to good work ethic.

Sarah then back-tracks to the positive upshot and treats Mum as in a position to know, nicely subverting Mum's concern further.

In the next extract, we can see a claim to 'firstness' being done in response to an advice-implicative assessment. Pat has been offered a job in South East Asia and her and her husband James are looking to sell their house before they go. Pat is telling Mum about the valuations they received from two estate agents. Pat is at the end of her telling about an alternative possibility of renting.

Extract 4.16: P3C10 - Selling the house, 5.15

- 1 Mum: But- (0.2) but it would be a great position if: if:
2 you had some savings: (0.3) you know, (0.2) to
3 [add to]
4 Pat: →[Absolutely.
5 Mum: to add to while you're away.
6 Pat: I know.=°I know.<Imagine if we could put lik*e
7 (0.2).hhh ↑because the cost of↑ living's so low and
8 we're not paying rent,
9 Mum: >M[m.<]
10 Pat: [We] could- we could realistically put five
11 hundred pounds a month,=In savings,=
12 [At leas:t*.=[Ea]sily.
13 Mum: [↑Mm.] [↑Mm]

Mum's assessment in lines 1-3 forwards the action of 'saving money' and for a second time in the call. The 'absolutely' from Pat (line 4) claims access to the position to be able to evaluate the advice which is being given. It demonstrates prior understanding of what is being assessed. The 'I knows' display semantic agreement, especially through the emphatic intonation of the first, while also claiming independent knowledge and therefore disputing the epistemic subordination associated with going second (see Heritage & Raymond, 2005). The claim to 'firstness' is also made through the word 'imagine' which proposes that Pat is introducing a new idea to Mum. Pat's report of how much exactly she could save provides evidence that her and James have indeed already thought about saving money. So again, Pat resists the position which the advice is putting her in by making a claim to already be on-board with the action that is being forwarded.

We will now see how claims of 'firstness' can be used in response to stronger forms of advice, reworking the knowledge asymmetry that is imposed. This final extract (in this

section) comes earlier on in the same telephone call in the previous extract. Immediately prior to the extract, Pat has been reporting on the valuation process of her house and has already reported a first valuation of 180-185 (thousand pounds).

Extract 4.17: P3C10 - Selling the house, 2:10

- 1 Mum: W'll give him the Danielson's one then
2 Pat: Ye:ah. (.) >^ogive him the [Dan^o(ielson's...<)
3 Mum: [But don't ↑drop it. Say
4 one eight ni:ne.
5 Pat: →Yeah: yeah we'll give him the highest one.
6 Mum: °Yeah°=
7 Pat: =An we'll have a figure in our head of where we
8 will:(.) drop to
9 Mum: Yes.
10 (0.7)
11 Pat: An:du:~m:, (0.8) we'll be laughing 'cause d'you know
12 what,

Pat's response (lines 5 and 7-8) to Mum's advice on lines 1 and 3-4, essentially halts the course of action with the multiple 'yeahs' (see Stivers, 2004) and then reasserts 'we'll give him the highest one'. This treats the advice as unnecessary. The reformulation of the action to 'give him the highest one' also displays some understanding of 'why' her and James will pick the Danielson quote, again displaying some primary access to the decision to follow that particular conduct. So again, the recipient resists the advice by claiming some 'firstness' and therefore 'prior commitment' to the course of action, through the terms of her agreement.

In sum, the extracts in this section have shown how recipients of less 'pushy' advice can nevertheless respond in ways which reconfigure the asymmetry that is invoked through the giving of advice. By agreeing in a way that establishes the primacy of the advice recipient's opinion, the interactional position of 'advice recipient' is subverted. Again, this type of response does some affiliation with the course of action being proposed whilst at the same time resisting the potentially compromising position of 'advice recipient'. A particular affordance of this agreeing type response is displayed in the previous extract where an imperative form had been used to give advice. By giving an agreement which indeed claims prior commitment in some way, an advice recipient can retrospectively treat the prior action as carrying less stature than it had been designed to.

This analysis also provides an alternative basis for understanding ‘that’s right’, which Heritage and Sefi (1992) have included in the category ‘unmarked acknowledgments’. For rather than resisting the advice through ambiguity, ‘that’s right’ seems to resist by claiming independent rights to assess.

Discussion: Claiming ‘prior commitment’ to the advice

As this broad type of advice response has not been identified thus far in the literature and is a prominent type of response in the mother-daughter corpus, it is worth discussing it in more detail and in relation to other comparable types that *have* been discussed in the literature.

All three strategies appear to affiliate with the advice, yet they resist the local position of ‘advice recipient’. They do this by claiming prior commitment to doing the action in the future. This can be done by 1) displaying established intent through forms such as ‘I am’ or ‘we are’ instead of ‘I will’; 2) by elaborating or reformulating the future action in some way; 3) by delivering an agreement which claims primary rights to assess. The analysis has tried to show that the recipients themselves orient to relevance of this subtle action of claiming prior commitment, through the use of repair in particular.

A similar type of response was identified in interactions from graduate peer tutoring sessions by Waring (2007b). Within those interactions tutees were shown to ‘accept with claims of comparable thinking’ or with accounts, as a way of reconfiguring the asymmetry between tutor and tutee. In the claims to ‘prior commitment’ however, there are no tokens of acceptance. There are also no explicit formulations of agreement such as ‘I agree’ or ‘I thought the same’. By using explicit claims of agreement such as these, the tutees in Waring’s (2007b) study align themselves as co-assessors of what future course of action is appropriate (Waring, 2007b). This seems to be done by positioning their agreement as coming *after* the tutor’s advice, therefore acknowledging the tutor’s contribution. In comparison, by doing agreement in a way that claims ‘firstness’ and independence, the advice giver’s role as advice giver or even co-assessor is not aligned with. The advice recipient essentially takes ownership of the appropriate future course of action, heading off the knowledge asymmetry and lack of autonomy that is imposed through advice giving.

Although the advice is resisted it is not straightforwardly redundant either as the action still essentially is yet to be done. Whilst this section has looked at responses which resist advice giving in more or less veiled ways, the next section will consider more exposed resistance to the position of advice recipient, through more explicit claims to competence and knowledge.

Assertions of knowledge or competence

In addition to 'marked acknowledgments' and 'unmarked acknowledgments', Heritage and Sefi (1992) also identified 'assertions of knowledge or competence' as another way of responding to advice. These claims of competence or knowledge do not reject the advice but they resist its delivery. They do this by claiming the redundancy of the advice. Although the responses in the previous section essentially claim redundancy, this is done in an 'off the record' way.

The following extract provides an example of a response which does an assertion of knowledge. Mum is giving Katie some advice with regard to her daughter 'Farah', who Mum has just been looking after.

Extract 4.18: P2C8 - Sudocrem, 0:59

- 1 Mum: >Did you,< (0.2) did you think her ha:nd
2 looked any better.
3 (1.1)
4 Katie: †>Yeah yeah,<†=I hadn't really noticed to be
5 honest, So-rry,
6 (.)
7 Katie: Why- <what did you put on it.
8 Mum: S:udoccream.
9 (0.5)
10 Katie: Yeah that's what I've been putting on it.
11 (0.4)
12 Mum: Yeah but I've been putting it on: sort of
13 like (0.6) every hour?
14 (0.6)
15 Katie: Oh right.
16 (0.3)
17 Mum: And she's †quite accepting,
18 (0.6)
19 Katie: →Yeah.=†No I know I-† (0.3) I know.
20 (0.4)
21 Mum: She walks round with her <hand out> sort of
22 he he hah hah hah
23 (.)

- 24 Katie: Ye:ah
 25 Mum: hu .hhh Bless her.
 26 (2.2)
 27 Mum: ↑E↓oh:[:]
 28 Katie: [I've] I've just had Shelly on the phone,

In this extract, Mum has initiated the advice sequence in a roundabout way, by reporting how she has potentially helped to alleviate Farah's rash, when looking after her for Katie¹¹. In line 10, Katie initially responds with an agreement plus an orientation to the redundancy of the advice by specifically claiming that the action is something she already does. However, Mum pursues the advice giving by specifying the frequency in which she has been applying the cream. Mum seems to be forwarding the action of putting sudocrem on Farah's hand on a very frequent basis.

In response to this (line 15), Katie does a news receipt which embodies her openness to doing the particular action in the future (Heritage & Sefi, 1992), without actually doing on the record 'advice acceptance', in that it is responsive to an informing. However, once this newsworthiness is pursued further, Katie does strong resistance to the advice (line 19). Katie negates the newsworthiness with the 'no', although notably this is prefaced with an agreeing 'yeah'. The repeated strong claim to knowledge 'I know' does strong and bald resistance to the advice by making her prior knowledge an explicit issue. Furthermore, there is some contestation in the production of Katie's turns through the repetition and increased pitch.

Mum orients to this resistance by building her turn in lines 21-22 as continuing post response whereby she provides an elaboration of her turn which allows her to reflexively re-characterize it. Mum seems to be orienting to Farah's potentially 'funny' behaviour, especially through the laughter in post position and therefore taking the heat off of Katie and what she has or has not been doing.¹²

The following extract is another example of a piece of advice being responded to with an assertion of knowledge. This time the advice is delivered using a strong verb of obligation. In the extract, Mum gives some advice to Lucy concerning her baby daughter,

¹¹ Mum essentially makes use of the normative preference for a noticing over an announcement: "*In achieving the official and explicit registering of some features of the environment of the interaction affiliated to or identified with one of the participants*" (Schegloff, 2007: 82). By introducing the matter herself, Mum manoeuvres Katie in to pursuing Mum's potential helpfulness in alleviating Farah's problem; enabling for a favourable course of action to be topicalised in a roundabout way.

¹² Here we see how laughter has the function of managing the sequence so that it is brought off in a less problematic way (see Potter & Hepburn, 2010 and Shaw, Hepburn & Potter, forthcoming).

In line 1 Mum delivers a piece of advice using a high entitled, imperative form (see Chapter 3, Extract 3.2, page 52). Katie responds by doing a turn initial agreement followed by a subsequent resistance of the advice giving through the explicit orientation to the redundancy of the advice (line 3-5). The response is indexical to the advice, in that it is reliant on it for the understanding of what 'do' actually refers to. By providing a minimal 'I do' and moreover, delivering it in a way that stresses the 'do', the recipient seems to more baldly resist the advice by explicitly countering the presupposition that she hasn't already talked to her husband about it. Mum's downgraded form of advice giving, to an advice-implicative interrogative form (lines 8-9) (that works to unpack the problem allowing a fitted course of action to be made relevant next), displays some orientation to this resistance, by backing down.

In sum, explicit claims to competence and knowledge work to more strongly resist the action of advice giving. They explicitly orient to and head off any issue of incompetence or ignorance that the advice may package. As such, they strongly misalign with the action of advice giving. At the same time, these responses do affiliate with the actual content of the advice, which is indeed embodied in the turn initial 'yeahs'. This provides some evidence for what Silverman (1997) has referred to as a preference for 'acceptance'. However, this mitigating work is quite minimal which might indeed suggest that "something out of the ordinary has been going on" (Silverman, 1997: 151). This will be discussed in the next chapter. In comparison with claims of 'prior commitment', these seem to sit further along the continuum as more strongly misaligning with the action of advice giving. They do this by explicitly heading off the relevance of the advice and the position that the advice attempts to put the recipient in.

We see some evidence of this strong resistance through the advice giver's subsequent 'backing off', to varying degrees. Indeed, whilst the sort of evidence for the more subtle claims of prior commitment is seemingly less available in the recipient's next turn, what is clear is that this sort of remedial work from the advice giver is more a feature of these explicit claims of competence and knowledge. However, this is of course an interactional choice and as Heritage and Sefi (1992) have shown, the advice giver may choose to continue giving advice nevertheless. Of course it would be interesting to consider why advice might be pursued on some occasions and not in others. However, this is beyond the scope of the chapter, and unfortunately of the thesis too.

Rejection of advice

Whilst the previous three sections have looked at ways in which the *action* of advice giving is resisted, this section will consider instances in which the *content* of the advice is rejected. Again, adopting Stivers' (2008) distinction, these kinds of responses disaffiliate with the advice, doing less work to resist the action of advice giving itself. Responses which reject advice in this way have been shown to orient to a preference for the acceptance of advice (Silverman, 1997). This is displayed by the way rejections are mitigated through features such as 'no-fault' accounts, 'well prefacing' and delay (Silverman, 1997). This section will briefly demonstrate these kinds of disaffiliative and indeed dispreferred responses.

Whilst Silverman (1997) reports on whether the account given by the recipient is something the advice giver is expected to know or not ('no-fault accounts'), the current analysis will make a further distinction regarding the type of account being delivered. Whilst some accounts seem to give a straightforward basis for rejecting the advice, other accounts seem to do some affiliation with the advice by orienting to the not doing of the action as an exception, where value is given to the 'rule' nevertheless. Straightforward accounts will be looked at to begin with, followed by those which present 'exceptions'.

Straightforward accounts

In the following extract, Pat has been discussing how she will wear her hair for an interview. She has a problem in that she needs to have a haircut but she has limited funds to get one.

Extract 4.21: P3C6 – Interview outfit 2, 5:06

- 1 Mum: <↑What about the person that↑ used to do it for you.
2 (0.9)
3 Pat: →Helen only did it once an she charged twenty qui:d. =

Mum makes a 'suggestion' by enquiring into another possibility; an alternative hairdresser. The construction 'what about' works nicely to not prefer a particular response i.e. a 'yes' or a 'no' and as such, it provides space for the suggestion to be rejected. The form essentially just asks the recipient to comment on the proposed action. In response, Pat delivers a rejection by delivering an account as to why Helen would not be a good option.

The account straightforwardly provides grounds for not getting Helen to do her hair which doesn't maintain any value for 'Helen' as a candidate solution to her problem. By not delivering an explicit 'no', and delaying her response, the rejection is mitigated.

Furthermore, the account that is given is not in response to a strong form of advice but is an answer to a question, making it less potent as a rejection.

In the following extract, Pat has been telling her mum about a job offer she has received. This is followed by Mum initiating talk on what Pat will wear to her interview.

Extract 4.22: P3C5 - Interview outfit 1, 11:50

- 1 Mum: You're gonna have to wea::r (0.2) a jacket an:=
 2 Pat: →=.hh ↑Well no because↑ (.) Suzzie was saying that-
 3 (0.6) urm: (0.4) don't go as formal.=Because it's
 4 (0.5) .hhh <Thailand,>

Mum delivers some forceful advice in the form of a verb of obligation, on what Pat should wear (see Chapter 3, Extract 3.10, page 55). Pat responds by rejecting the advice. This rejection is more exposed than in the prior extract as it is responsive to a stronger form of advice. Indeed, a 'no' is even delivered which explicitly does this rejection. There are features of dispreference including the 'well' preface and a straightforward account which does not explicitly orient to the value of wearing formal clothes. The account makes reference to a friend: 'Suzzie' who has, by virtue of previous experience in applying for jobs abroad, the entitlement to know what the appropriate attire will be. By recruiting Suzzie's judgment here, Pat validates and accounts for her rejection of the advice.

In the next extract Lucy and Mum are discussing how Lucy will manage with her baby and without a push chair, whilst picking up a cake for Mum from the shops. Lucy has raised this as an issue by proposing the possibility of using the car seat.

Extract 4.23: P5C5 - Cake shopping, 11:06

- 1 Mum: =°What's° [the best way] to [do it.=°Just° bring the:
 2 Lucy: [hhh] [Well ↑I can just (quid)
 3 those in a [trolley,] but urm: .nhhh I coul- (0.2)
 4 Mum: [sling.]
 5 Lucy: p- could put her in the sling yeah.
 6 (0.2)
 7 Lucy: →But urm=

- 8 Lucy: = [>it's kind of< [(0.2)]hard by your]s(h)elf .HH
 9 Mum: = [>But that's a [bit of a<]pain >on your own.<]

Mum delivers some advice using an imperative form which provides Lucy with potentially limited optionality in her response. Mum is here forwarding the action of using the sling to carry Eva in the shop. Lucy responds by aligning with the 'advice' in an understated way with a 'confirmation' before a straightforward agreeing 'yeah'. This alignment is further delayed by the 'but urm' and the inbreath and pause following Mum's completion of her advice (line 3). The delay of this hedged alignment and moreover, the hedged alignment itself is hearable as mitigating a more disaffiliative response. Lucy's 'but' signals that something contrastive and disaffiliative is to follow. Indeed, Mum anticipates the problem in terms of the impact on Lucy, and orients to this simultaneously with Lucy's rejection. However, Lucy doesn't actually reject the advice explicitly but does this through her account or rationale for not using the sling. So, Lucy does some minimal acknowledgment of the sling as an option (line 5) prior to her rejection (lines 7-8).

This disaffiliative response is further mitigated through the interpolated particle of aspiration in the word 'yourself' (See Potter & Hepburn, 2010). Without the laughter, Lucy could be heard as doing an implicit complaint in that it is Mum who has asked her to get the cake and it is specifically the word 'yourself' which carried this imposition. The laughter hearably modulates and disarms this potential complaint (see Potter & Hepburn, 2010).

Exceptional circumstances

Whilst the above accounts that are given all provide a reason for not doing the forwarded future action, the following extracts are examples of accounts which more explicitly work up the exceptional circumstances for not doing the specific future action. As such, the following rejections are more affiliative in that they more strongly orient to the value of the advice nevertheless.

In the following extract, Mum has enquired into Katie's continuing headache problem which has apparently improved to some extent since they last spoke, and which Mum proposes is likely to be because she hasn't been on a computer.

Extract 4.24: P2C13 – Checking up, 0:42

- 1 Katie: =Yeah I'm >going into work< [tomorrow,]
 2 Mum: [Is that a] good
 3 idea. =Darling.

4 (1.0)
 5 Katie: →<↑Yeah no it's fi:n:e=I- (0.2) ur:m:
 6 (0.3) I'll explain to them maybe:, (.) I'll:
 7 see if there's anything else I can do that I'm
 8 not on the computer all day,

The enquiry in lines 2-3 invite Katie to assess going to work as a possible future course of action (see Butler et al., 2010), seemingly because of the apparent negative impact of the computer. Katie's initial 'yeah' (line 5), seems to acknowledge the advice being delivered and as such does some preliminary affiliation with it. The 'no it's fine' then more explicitly rejects the advice after this mitigating 'yeah'. Katie goes on to give an account for why she is rejecting the advice. The account seems to affiliate with the preliminary concern for spending too much time on a computer by accommodating this concern into her rejection. So Katie maintains her decision to go to work by building going to work as an exceptional circumstance in which Mum's concern will be attended to; i.e. she will try to avoid working on a computer.

The next extract comes towards the end of a call in which Katie has reported becoming ill at a party after eating some prawns.

Extract 4.25: P2C4 - Salmonella, 5:26

1 Mum: Oh- #er:# <'cause you know s- (.) prawns it's
 2 salmonella=Isn't it.
 3 (0.5)
 4 Katie: °'eahhh°
 5 (0.2)
 6 Mum: So: watch it.
 7 (0.5)
 8 Mum: >Are< you going to work tomorrow?
 9 (0.8)
 10 Katie: →Well yeah, if I feel better.
 11 (2.6) / ((computerized voice in background -
 12 answering machine + sniff during))
 13 Katie: Alright=well I better go.
 14 (.)
 15 Mum: Okay darling,

Mum's enquiry in line 8 is hearable as strongly proposing that Katie should not go to work, given the prior advice to 'watch it', and the low contingency advice-implicative interrogative form being used (see Chapter 3, Extract 3.22, page 67). Katie responds by disaffiliating with and rejecting the suggestion in that she is not committed to doing what Mum has put forward in her interrogative (line 10). As in the previous extracts, this rejection is mitigated by the delay (line 9) and the 'well' preface (line 10). Katie also provides an account which specifies the circumstances in which she will go to work and therefore orients to the conditional nature of the decision to go to work. Furthermore, the particular condition in which she will go to work is in line with Mum's concern to 'watch it'; 'if I feel better'. So again, this provides an example of an advice recipient orienting to the exceptional circumstances of disaffiliating with the advice and therefore doing some affiliation with the more general advice to 'watch it'.

The following extract provides a final example of a rejection being oriented to as an 'exceptional circumstance'.

Extract 4.26: P3C4 – Sunbeds, 0:16

- 1 Sin: .hhh An I think I'll also start going for some
2 sunbeds like twice a [wee*k.]
3 Mum: [.hh?]
4 (.)
5 Mum: Ow:: (0.4) Dad's not happy about tha:t.
6 Sin: ↑Why?
7 (0.7)
8 Mum: Becau::s:e (0.4) in cas:e it's dangerous[:]
9 Sin: [Oh wel]l.=
10 I'm >still gonna do it.< huh=
11 Mum: =Yeah,=
12 Sin: =.hhh Yeah.
13 Sin: →<Just (0.5) so then I can get a proper tan on
14 holiday.
15 (0.8)
16 Mum: Yeah
17 (0.4)
18 Sin: →An not come back pa(h)sty whi(h)te HH=
19 Mum: =Yeah
20 (.)

- 21 Mum: .HH I I mean:, (0.3)
 22 Sin: →'s↑not like I'm gonna do it every day.
 23 (.)
 24 Mum: I know.
 25 (0.4)
 26 Sin: S'I'll be alright.

In line 5, Mum seems to be delivering some advice that Sinitta should not have sunbeds, by reporting Dad's feelings on the matter (see Chapter 3, Extract 3.24, page 70). Sinitta does not orient to the problematic status of having sunbeds straight away and pursues an account, in an environment where we might expect one given the dispreferred status of Mum's explicit objection (See Bolden & Robinson, 2011). Mum goes on to specify the problematic nature of using sunbeds whilst doing a self-repair on line 8 from 'Beacu::s:e' it's dangerous to 'in cas:e' it's dangerous, seemingly managing her footing to avoid a direct confrontation. Sinitta then gives a bald rejection. Note in particular, the casual display of disinterest with engaging with the concern through 'oh well' (line 9). The bald character of this rejection is finally remediated by the laughter in post position (see Shaw, Hepburn & Potter, forthcoming, on this specific extract).

After Mum's pursuing acknowledgment, Sinitta goes on to account for her rejection by orienting to the exceptional circumstances in which she will have sunbeds. The word 'just' minimises the extent of sunbed usage to a specific infrequent occasion; going on holiday (lines 13-14). Sinitta expands on this to explain that it would help her to avoid the less favourable and extreme 'pasty white' skin (line 18). Interestingly the word 'white' is interpolated with laughter, which seemingly works to flag its insufficiency in relation to the conjured image of a 'sunny holiday' where some tanning would be expected (see Potter & Hepburn, 2010 on IPAs). The laughter therefore seems to mark its insufficiency as a basis for using sunbeds. Sinitta then goes on to further minimise the extent of her sunbed use 'not...everyday' (line 22) and then explicitly orienting to the concern with 'I'll be alright' (line 26). Sinitta's accounting work therefore does work to mark her sunbed use as something exceptional and something she is cautious about. As such, she does some affiliation with the concern at the same time as rejecting the advice.

In sum, this section has shown a specific type of advice rejection; where the content of the advice is disaffiliated with. Disaffiliating with advice in this way does appear to be a dispreferred and an accountable thing to do here, as claimed by Silverman (1997). Further attention can also be given to the type of account that is given. Accounts can work up the

exceptional circumstance of rejecting the advice which accommodate and uphold the advice nevertheless, treating it as valid. As such, these accounts can do some affiliation with the advice nevertheless. Whether the response counts as rejection or not however, depends on the form of the advice it is responsive to; ‘rejection’ might not be as exposed when responding to less pushy advice in the form of advice-implicative interrogatives, for example.

General discussion

When responding to a piece of advice a recipient has the option of affiliating or disaffiliating with the content of the advice as well as aligning or disaligning with the action of advice giving. The response types discussed above show the various ways in which recipients can code their position along these two continuums of affiliation and alignment. The tables below present schematic summaries of these two dimensions.

Table 4.1: Affiliative responses and their alignment with the action of advice giving

27

		<i>Type of advice</i>
Alignment with the advice giving	Explicitly disaligning	Assertions of knowledge and competence I know (<i>extract 4.18,4.19</i>) I do (<i>extract 4.20</i>)
	Implicitly disaligning	Claims of prior commitment a. Displaying established intent I am (doing x) (<i>extract 4.8</i>) We are (doing x) (<i>extract 4.9</i>) We said we’ll (do x) (<i>extract 4.10</i>) I’m going to (do X) (<i>extract 4.11</i>) b. Elaborating on the action component I will (do a version of X) (<i>extract 4.11-4.13</i>) c. Claiming firstness in agreement You can say that again (<i>extract 4.14</i>) Absolutely (<i>extract 4.16</i>) Multiple ‘yeahs’ (<i>extract 4.15, 4.17</i>)
	Alignment fudged	Unmarked acknowledgement mm (<i>extract 4.7</i>) Yeah (<i>extracts 4.5-4.7</i>)
	Aligning	Acceptance: I will do x (<i>extract 4.2-4.3</i>) Okay (<i>extract 4.4</i>)

Table 4.1 above schematises affiliative responses (where the content of advice is endorsed), showing how these responses sit at various points on the alignment continuum. Table 4.2 below represents the other end of the affiliation continuum, where the content of advice is rejected, although again, to varying degrees.

Table 4.2: Responses that disaffiliate with the content of advice

		<i>Type of advice</i>
Affiliation	Rejection	<p>Rejections with straight accounts “<u>H</u>elen only did it <u>o</u>nce an <u>s</u>he charged twenty <u>q</u>uid.” (extract 4.21)</p> <p>Rejections orienting to exceptional circumstances (advice still accommodated) “Well yeah, if I feel <u>b</u>etter.” (extract 4.25)</p>
	Fudged rejection	<p>Unmarked acknowledgement mm (extract 4.7) Yeah (extracts 4.5-4.7)</p>

As table 4.1 shows, recipients are able to resist the potentially compromising position of ‘advice recipient’ using various methods to propose the independence of their affiliation with a course of action. Resistance to the action of advice giving can be done in more or less exposed ways from ambiguous unmarked acknowledgments, to claims of prior commitment, and finally, to explicit claims of competence. Recipients therefore make a choice between bringing the issue of competency to the surface or not. Advice recipients can also push back on advice by disaffiliating with the content of the advice. However, by fudging whether the advice is being accepted through unmarked acknowledgements or by orienting to the rejection as an exceptional circumstance and endorsing the logic of the advice nevertheless, recipients can choose to affiliate with the content of the advice to varying degrees.

The different types of advice response identified here have also been shown to traverse across the different forms of advice that were identified in Chapter 3. As discussed in that chapter, the form of advice provides varying degrees of space for the recipient to accept or reject a piece of advice. Certain forms in themselves, such as advice-implicative interrogatives, can provide the recipient with space to assert their prior commitment or disaffiliation with a future course of action. Indeed, a disaffiliative response might not itself be exposed as a ‘rejection’. However, whilst the form of advice may only make an answer or

an assessment relevant next, for example, the analysis has shown that the recipient's competence is still treated as a live issue. As Heritage and Raymond (2005) showed, the terms of agreement matter to recipients, and where the topic is concerning the recipient's running of their own life, the terms being agreed with have the potential to be particularly contentious.

This chapter has shown how resisting the action of advice giving is sometimes done with unmarked acknowledgements, sometimes with claims of prior commitment and other times with explicit claims of competency. Furthermore, the advice can be affiliated with to varying degrees. However, questions remain about whether there are certain environments which make one type of response more relevant than another. The next chapter will attempt to address these questions, essentially considering 'why that now?'

Chapter 5: Why that now?: The morally compromising position of ‘advice recipient’

This chapter will build on Chapter 4 by extending the analysis on advice responses. Now that some key response types have been identified and the actions explicated, this chapter will consider the analytic question ‘why that now?’ By considering why certain actions are done as opposed to others, for example an ‘acceptance’ rather than an ‘unmarked acknowledgment’, the chapter will illuminate issues which are live to the recipients of advice, adding further complexity to the interactional domain of advice giving.

As discussed in Chapter 4, one important aspect of giving advice seems to be fitting the advice to the recipient’s perspective. The step-wise approach to advice giving in which the recipient’s perspective is gained first, has been shown to be a favourable approach to advice giving (Maynard, 1991; Heritage & Sefi, 1992; Silverman, 1997; Couture & Sutherland, 2006; Vehviläinen, 2001). Furthermore, advice that is solicited by the recipient seems to be related to subsequent positive displays of advice acceptance (see Heritage & Sefi, 1992; Silverman, 1997). In ‘mundane’ interactions, seeking the recipient’s opinion first may be less of a relevant thing in that the advice giver isn’t driven by clear institutional goals in terms of 1) giving advice and 2) what the advice should be.¹³ Furthermore, as we shall see in Chapter 5, advice is often given in these interactions when the advice has not been solicited and may be alternative to the recipient’s perspective.

Whilst the recipient’s perspective is clearly an important consideration when giving someone a piece of advice, this chapter will add another dimension to the mix. The analysis will highlight the importance of considering what is at stake for the recipient in being positioned as an advice recipient; entailed in a specific localised context.

The analysis will begin by considering the environments for advice acceptance, followed by the environments where we see the action of advice giving being resisted. Finally, the analysis will consider the environments where recipients reject the content of advice.

¹³ Although that is not to say that these family members will not have specific goals of their own.

1. Acceptance

Prior research (e.g. Heritage & Sefi, 1992 and Silverman, 1997) and indeed analysis of the current corpus, suggests that there is a reluctance to occupy the interactional role of ‘advice recipient’. This is not to say that there won’t be certain environments where ‘acceptance’ may be more readily seen, but that such environments are interesting areas for considering why there is less reluctance to be cast as an advice recipient. Heritage and Sefi (1992: 395) argue that in the case of health visitor interactions with first time mothers, ‘advice acceptance’ seems to come in environments where “the advice recipient has already cast herself in the role of prospective advice recipient”. Within the examples of advice acceptance in the current corpus, whilst advice has not been solicited, the position of ‘advice recipient’ is made more palatable nonetheless. The sugar-coating in these instances however, is that very little seems to be at stake in accepting the advice.

Each of the extracts presented in the previous chapter on advice acceptance, will now be considered in turn.

Extract 5.1: P2C1 - Car trouble, 0:13

- 1 Mum: Just a quickie d’you- (.) >has-< ↑have you: urm:↑
2 remembered to check your water.
3 (1.2)
4 Lottie: No I haven’t but I will do (in a bit,)=no I’ll >do
5 it in a minu:te.<

In this extract, Lottie is responding to a ‘reminder’ to check the water, in that Mum is not only enquiring into the possibility of this future action but also into whether she has remembered to do the action. As such, Mum is proposing that Lottie knows to do the action already but might have forgotten. So whilst Lottie’s response embodies advice acceptance, the terms that are being accepted mean that Lottie’s competence is not put in a very compromising position; she is accepting a reminder in the form of an advice-implicative interrogative that she will do something she has already committed to do.

Extract 5.2: P2C13 - Checking up, 0:46

- 1 Katie: <↑Yeah no it’s fi:n:e=I- (0.2) ur:m:
2 (0.3) I’ll explain to them maybe:, (.) I’ll:

3 see if there's anything else I can do that I'm
4 not on the computer all day,
5 (.)
6 Mum: Yeah.
7 (0.2)
8 Katie: 'til I've got my glasses, u-
9 Katie: Ur:m (0.9) [but]
10 Mum: [G-](0.2) gotta get those
11 [glasses] ordered as well,=Haven't you.
12 Katie: [(yeah but)?]
13 (0.5)
14 Katie: Yeah=I'll pop in to town on my lunch hour an do it.

Similarly in this extract, the advice from Mum comes in an environment where Katie has indeed already asserted some commitment to getting her glasses (line 8) and so she is already positioned as committed to the future action, in a broad sense. Furthermore, Mum concedes epistemic authority to Katie through the tag question (line 11). This advice together with the tag question in itself functions as a reminder, treating Katie as already onboard with the advice. Again, aligning with the advice might be less problematic here as Katie is already positioned as knowing.

Extract 5.3: P2C1 - Car trouble, 0:53

1 Mum: I wouldn't check it- (.) I've just started
2 the engine up to mo:ve it.=So I'd give it
3 another: half hour before you o- (0.3) t-
4 undo the s- top.
5 [(0.5)
6 Mum: [.hhh
7 Lottie: Okay,<

In this last extract Mum's advice is in the service of Lottie's already stated interest to check the water. Lottie would not necessarily be expected to know not to check it yet. Although Mum has oriented to this previously by saying that she moved the car out of the way (see Chapter 4, Extract 4.2, page 90), the implications of moving the car have not yet been made clear (i.e. that this would have caused the engine to heat up, making 'checking the water' at this time problematic). Because Lottie wouldn't necessarily be expected to

know this, aligning with the action of advice giving puts Lottie's competence in a less compromising position; less is at stake in accepting the advice.

In all three extracts an underlining feature seems to be that accepting the advice does not threaten the recipient's competence. Indeed, the position the recipients inhabit is not one of clear incompetence. In these instances, the recipient is either aligning with the position of 'already knowing', or as the recipient of advice they would not necessarily be expected to know. This issue of what is at stake in accepting the advice seems to be a central issue that recipients orient to in choosing one type of response over another. The next section will demonstrate this by considering alternative response types where there is indeed more at stake when responding to the advice.

2. Resisting the action of advice giving

Whilst the previous section showed that 'acceptance' was found in environments where the recipient's competence was put in an uncompromising position, this section will show how more strongly misaligning responses seem to come in environments where conversely, the stakes are high. I will argue that a central issue when choosing one type of response over another seems to be with how the advice positions the recipient.

Whilst advice may cast the recipient as less knowledgeable, it may also carry with it a critical dimension in which the lack of knowledge may translate in to something morally contentious. Recipients may be positioned as: not looking after oneself, being a bad mother, having bad work ethic, or being frivolous with money, for example. Giving someone advice can implicate the recipient in unfavourable behaviour (Silverman, 1997; Heritage & Lindström, 1998). The example given by Silverman (1997: 155) is that advising a recipient "to be sure to have safer sex in future", implies that the recipient has not been having safe sex in the past. In this case, merely accepting the advice would put the recipient's sexual morality at stake.

This issue of 'stake' can be most clearly demonstrated by first considering responses on the other end of the alignment spectrum to 'accept' responses; where the action of advice is more strongly rejected with explicit claims of competence and knowledge.

Explicit claims of competence and knowledge

The specific focus here are the responses which strongly resist the action of advice giving through constructions such as 'I know' or 'I do'. They achieve this by explicitly orienting to issues of incompetence or ignorance that the advice may package. In

comparison to the examples of advice acceptance, these forms of advice response seem to occur in environments where there is a potentially critical dimension to the advice. At stake appears to be a morally compromising position in that the recipient is potentially cast as failing to have already done something.

In the following extract, Mum is discussing Katie's 2 year old daughter's hand (her granddaughter), who she has been looking after.

Extract 5.4: P2C8 - Sudocrem, 0:59

- 1 Mum: >Did you,< (0.2) did you think her ha:nd
2 looked any better.
3 (1.1)
4 Katie: †>Yeah yeah,<†=I hadn't really noticed to be
5 honest, So-rry,
6 (.)
7 Katie: Why- <what did you put on it.
8 Mum: S:udocrem.
9 (0.5)
10 Katie: Yeah that's what I've been putting on it.
11 (0.4)
12 Mum: Yeah but I've been putting it on: sort of
13 like (0.6) every hour?
14 (0.6)
15 Katie: Oh right.
16 (0.3)
17 Mum: And she's †quite accepting,
18 (0.6)
19 Katie: Yeah.=†No I know I-† (0.3) I know.

In this extract, Mum has initiated the advice sequence in a roundabout way, by reporting how she has potentially helped to alleviate Farah's rash, when looking after her for Katie. In line 15, Katie treats Mum's informing about how she had treated the rash as news, embodying her potential openness to doing the particular action of applying the cream every hour in the future. It is Mum's subsequent pursuit which seems to carry a critical dimension. Mum negates the assumption that Farah is not accepting of the cream (line 17). This potentially implies that Katie is part of the issue here in that not putting the cream on regularly might lie with Katie rather than Farah. Moreover, this critical dimension is

particularly weighted as looking after Farah is crucial to Katie's role as her mother. Katie's strong and bald resistance to the implicit advice to put the sudocrem on regularly is therefore understandable here as she is resisting not only the advice but the potential judgment that accepting it might entail. So whilst this advice-as-information form is on the surface less imposing, the implication of what is being proposed is what seems to matter.

Similarly in the next extract, Mum's advice in lines 22-23 carries a potential critical dimension.

Extract 5.5: P5C4 - Rhyme time, 1.45

- 1 Mum: Urm: (0.2) ↑yeah (.) hm (.) have you had a good day?
 2 Lucy: Ur:, yeah I have.=It's been alrigh-*t.=Ur:: .hhh had
 3 a lie i::n an:d play::ed a lot an I- I erm: tcha.hh
 4 I'v:e (.) <I put on that dee vee dee of nursery
 5 rhymes.
 6 (0.5)
 7 Lucy: It's like- i(h)t's just re(h)ally o(h)ld it was like
 8 (.) nineteen ninety eight or something.
 9 (0.2)
 10 Mum: Oh re(h)a[ll(h)y.]
 11 Lucy: [ahh]ha ↑yeah but it's still quite
 12 good.
 13 (.)
 14 Lucy: So we [were-](0.3) dancing and singing to that, an:
 15 Mum: [(cough)]
 16 Lucy: °ha°- Eva was getting a little bit fright(h)e(h)ned
 17 (.)hu he=
 18 Mum: =ehh heh heh heh
 19 Lucy: But [urm: °but° yeah I think she liked it,
 20 Mum: [.HH
 21 (0.7)
 22 Mum: Okay well you have to just keep doing it until they
 23 get [used to it.]
 24 Lucy: [<Yeah>]
 25 Lucy: I know heh huh .h[h It's [pretty-]
 26 Mum: [Are you- [>are you] going to<
 27 rhyme time again next week.=

Lucy has been reporting how she has been playing a nursery rhyme DVD to her baby daughter, Eva. The potential problem arises that Eva was frightened (although notably, she softens this trouble in various ways). Lucy is orienting to a potential problem that she is possibly unsure about via the 'I think' (line 19). Subsequently, in lines 22-23, Mum strongly forwards a future course of action through the construction 'have to', positioning Lucy in a relative 'K- position' (Heritage & Raymond, 2012) concerning what she should do to solve the problem.

Mum's advice seems to undermine the problem by asserting that the issue 'just' needs persistence (line 22). As such, it carries the implication that Lucy may be disposed to give up early. Furthermore, it is not about giving up on something trivial, but a matter essentially concerning her daughter's development. At stake in not claiming competence here is therefore a morally compromising position. Lucy's explicit assertion of knowledge is therefore fitted to the sequential environment, as it enables this critical element to be headed off. So, even though Lucy is apparently alluding to a problem that she is unsure about, thus potentially making advice relevant, the actual nature of the advice makes 'acceptance' less palatable.

In this next extract, Katie has been reporting a trouble; that her and her husband have not been getting on.

Extract 5.6: P2C9 - Relationship trouble, 6:30

- 1 Katie: .hhh Just SILLY=Isn't it.
2 (0.8)
3 Mum: ↑Wyeah, ↑
4 (0.9)
5 Mum: ↑↑Talk to him.
6 (.)
7 Katie: Yeah I do:.
8 (.)
9 Katie: °Talk to him.°

We join the conversation at the point where Katie has begun to minimise the extent of her trouble to the point that she has characterized it as 'silly'. Mum uses a low contingency, imperative form of advice (see Chapter 3, Extract 3.2, page 52) which seems to fit with Katie's tag question through which Mum's opinion has been made relevant. Interestingly, Katie is seemingly warranting an opinion from Mum; an environment where

we might expect advice acceptance (see Heritage & Sefi, 1992), and yet Katie does a strong assertion of knowledge in response to the advice (line 7). However, by considering the nature of this advice, it seems that Mum is not just forwarding a future course of action but is handing out some judgement. The advice itself seems to have a critical dimension in that Mum is proposing that the problem can be resolved through Katie's actions, rather than the potential culprit; her husband, or even the couple more broadly. Katie is therefore potentially at fault for not having already resolved the problem in this way. The high pitched production of 'talk' (line 5) seems to embody some exasperation, and therefore an obvious and overdue solution to the problem. Indeed, the critical nature of the advice seems to be oriented to by Mum. The inter-turn delay (line 2) and the pseudo 'well prefaced' agreement (line 3) from Mum, treat her response as dispreferred.¹⁴

Further evidence for the critical nature of the advice comes in the way Katie delivers her response. By stressing and elongating the 'do' (line 7), Katie seems to more baldly resist the advice, explicitly countering the presupposition that she hasn't already talked to her husband about it. The intonation and explicit rejection seem to embody a defensive move, treating the advice as critical.

In all three extracts, the advice goes beyond forwarding a future course of action, to being loaded with judgment whereby the recipient is cast as failing in some way. Further than this, the critical dimension is not concerning something trivial but something of particular moral standing; the social responsibility of being 'a good mother' or 'a good partner'. It therefore seems fitting that recipients do work to strongly resist advice through explicit claims of competence and knowledge, when not doing so would put them in a morally compromising position. Interestingly, all 5 extracts in this collection are concerning the recipient's conduct in relation to another person; a domain where conduct may be under more scrutiny. Another important point to make here is that little work is done to soften these dispreferred rejections. As Silverman (1997) argues, such bald rejection can display that "something out of the ordinary has been going on" (p151). Indeed, these rejections are in environments where the recipient's moral standing is up for grabs.

We will now consider the environments where we get less exposed type of advice resistance.

¹⁴ These features possibly orient to a dispreferred response to a self-deprecation in that Katie is proposing that the nature of her relationship problem is 'silly' and where the preferred response would be disagreement (Pomerantz, 1984).

Claiming ‘prior commitment’ to the advice

This section will consider the environments in which claims of ‘prior commitment’ are found. As discussed in the previous chapter, this is where recipients resist the advice by treating the forwarded action as something they are already committed to doing. This includes: the display of established intent; reformulating and elaborating on the action component of the advice; and claiming ‘firstness’ in agreement. The central argument here is that claims of ‘prior commitment’, which were discussed in the previous chapter, regularly occur in environments where there is a potentially critical dimension to the advice, where the recipient seems to have some stake in resisting the advice. However, the critical dimension seems to be less potent when compared to the environments where we see the kind of stronger resistance, discussed above. The analysis will proceed by discussing in turn, the three types of responses which claim prior commitment.

1) Displays of established intent

Recall the following extract; Mum is talking to her son-in-law, Jimmy on the phone. Jimmy’s imminent holiday to Thailand with his family has come up. The family are waiting for their passports to be processed at the passport office, the delay of which could be potentially problematic for their holiday.

Extract 5.7: P2C5 – Jimmy passports, 1:40

- 1 Mum: tchYeah.=Have you got your passports through
2 yet?
3 (0.2) ((click noise))
4 Jimmy: Ah: I’ve got mine,
5 Jimmy: °Yeah,°
6 Mum: Yes*, [°hhuhhh°]=
7 Jimmy: [<Me going so far.]=
8 Mum: =Hu ha ha ha ha >.hh hh< [.HH]
9 Jimmy: [>They’ll be al]right,<
10 Mum: tcha ur: (.) ‘ave you: chased them ↑up or:
11 Jimmy: No we’re >just< looking into that now.

Mum’s advice-implicative interrogative in lines 10-11, comes in an environment where Jimmy has claimed that the passport issue is not a problem (line 9 in particular). So Mum pursues the problem status of the passports despite this, although notably using a high

contingency interrogative form whereby this low entitlement to pursue the topic, is oriented to. Whilst getting the passports through is dependent on the speediness of the passport office, 'chasing them up' treats the problem as not completely out of Jimmy's hands. Jimmy is therefore built as having some responsibility in alleviating the problem.

The present tense version 'we are doing x' (line 11) codes into Jimmy's response that it is something he is already committed to doing. As discussed previously (Chapter 4, Extract 4.9, page 99), the alternative form 'we will', would have still been consistent with his claim, especially as the actual 'chasing' is still left to be done. But by using the 'claim of prior commitment', Jimmy heads off any judgement that his efforts are minimal and that he could be contributing to the problem of his family (Mum's daughter and granddaughter) being unable to go on their holiday. Jimmy could have also displayed a stronger claim of competence with 'yeah we are', for example, however it might have been considered slightly overdone and defensive for this sequential environment. Whilst Jimmy has a stake in showing he is managing the problem, the advice is not as clearly critical of his role as a father for example, as in the extracts in the previous section. Furthermore, the interrogative form provides Jimmy with the optionality of an 'answer' where an 'I know' type response is less fitted.

The next extract provides another example but this time where advice is delivered using a warning. The extract comes from the call between Gen and Mum where Gen has been complaining about the long hours she is working at the weekend and Mum has undermined the extent of this problem.

Extract 5.8: P1C4 - The appraisal, 11.19

- 1 Mum: .HH Well don't get doing too much or you
2 will knock [yourself ou:t.]
3 Gen: [NO WELL I'LL def-] (0.3) speak
4 to-<I'm gonna speak to him tomorrow and
5 just say I wanna swap next weekend's shift.
6 (0.4)
7 Gen: >Well I don't wanna swap it, I don't
8 wanna do it,< Basically.<

Mum's warning in lines 1-2, whilst forwarding a future action, notably does not align with Gen's complaint against her boss. As such, Mum seems to be proposing that Gen can do something about her problem, rather than more clearly taking the stance that the problem lies with the boss. Gen is therefore treated as having some responsibility in the

closing in which Mum is giving Gen grounds for getting off the phone. The ‘in a minute’ from Gen does the work of delaying the immediacy of getting off the phone (line 9). Saying ‘I am’ does not seem to provide that in itself. Indeed, Gen goes on to initiate a complaint against a third party and therefore staying on the phone seems to be in her interest. Therefore the response can be considered not only for what it is doing in terms of the local sequence, but also in terms of the broader telephone interaction.

So in all three extracts, the recipient seems to be managing a potential critical aspect of the advice by orienting to an established intention or current occupation with carrying out the particular action. However, it has also been argued that this critical dimension is less potent than what we have seen in the section on explicit claims of competence and knowledge and so this modulated form of resistance is quite apt. The next section will consider the environments in which recipients reformulate or elaborate on the action component of the advice.

2) Elaborating or reformulating the action component of the advice

In the following extract Mum has been complaining about Pat’s uncle’s failure to distribute the grandmother’s Will to the rest of the family, despite her attempt to ask for it. Pat has raised the issue that he will be making interest out of the money.

Extract 5.10: P3C2 - ‘Withholding the cash’, 14.00

- 1 Pat: .hhHH[HH [(r↑ighhht)
- 2 Mum: [So [David’s still withholding the cash.
- 3 (.)
- 4 Pat: ↑Is he?↑hh=
- 5 Mum: =Yeah,
- 6 Mum: It’ [s ↑rea:lly]
- 7 Pat: [are you not gonna ask] him for it.=
- 8 Mum: =↑Yeah I have done↑ a couple of times this week.
- 9 (0.3)/.hhh
- 10 Mum: [He’s just en:]joying the power.
- 11 Pat: [>What and said wha#t,<]
- 12 [(1.3)
- 13 Mum: [.hhhhh
- 14 Pat: What did you say.
- 15 Mum: tch ↑urm: (0.3) so when are you:- when are you
- 16 going to- do a: bank transfer or a check .hhhhh

17 an:d (.) igh (1.4) e says 'oh I haven't had that
18 seventy four pounds yet'

((lines 19-55 omitted where Mum provides further details about the problem and Pat raises the issue that he will be making interest))

56 Mum: >I would have done it< on the day.=or the
57 day[after,
58 Pat: [Yeah
59 (0.6)
60 Pat: Yeah. .hh W'll: maybe next time you ask him you
61 should say: 'an I think that the amount that you
62 pay: °is° that you split up between the three of us
63 should reflect the interest that you've (.) accrued
64 over the last month.'
65 (0.2)
66 Mum: <Well I (.) yeah: (.) I- (0.6) I'll have a look at
67 his breakdown an: (.) an say >well what about the
68 interest.<
69 (0.3)
70 Pat: mm.
71 (1.0)
72 Mum: 'cause he'll probably think (0.4) you know
73 (0.4)that's hi[s

Pat's advice in lines 60-64, although being in Mum's interest to get the money from the uncle, is potentially bringing Mum's handling of the problem into question. Indeed, at the beginning of the conversation about this issue, Pat was questioning Mum about how she had tried to get the money. The bald interrogative in line 7, following Mum's complaint treats Mum as having some responsibility in managing the problem. Furthermore, Pat's continues to question Mum quite abruptly in lines 11 and 14. Again, at stake here is Mum's slightly over cautious handling of a family problem, a lesser crime than the type we saw in the case of explicit claims of competence and knowledge (which would be an available option in response to this explicit form of advice).

By reformulating the action component of the advice in her response (lines 66-68, see Chapter 4, Extract 4.12, page 103), Mum claims her independence in committing to the future action, therefore resisting the position of advice recipient. In doing so, Mum's response manages the potential critical element, displaying some competence in managing the problem that merely accepting the advice would fall short of doing.

The next extract is another example where the recipient's handling of a problem is brought into question.

Extract 5.11: P1C15 - Mum ill, 7:18

- 1 Gen: =<You been to the doctors about it.=Have you?=
2 Mum: =>Well I've gotta go- I've gotta go to the< doctors
3 on Thursday anyway. So I'll [ask her about] it then.
4 Gen: [Oh: right.]

Gen delivers some advice through an enquiry which uses a tag formatted declarative form.¹⁵This form strongly proposes that Mum would have been to the doctors, packaging the activity as strongly expectable. Not having been already is built as the dispreferred response, reflected in Mum's 'well preface' and account for not having been already. By reformulating the action component of the advice in accounting for not having been, rather than saying for example, 'no but I'll do that' Mum displays her prior commitment to managing her problem in this way whilst also managing why she hasn't been to the doctors in the meantime. This works to manage Mum's competence in handling her problem in the way that the declarative strongly imposes that she should have already done. Again, a more resistant response is made less relevant here by the more minimal judgment that is carried in the advice and yet because of the interrogative form that is used here, Mum seems to have less available resources to do this.

So in both extracts, the recipients seem to be managing a potentially critical aspect of the advice in that the recipient's ability to handle a problem is at issue. The recipient manages this relatively mild critical dimension by claiming some prior commitment through the reformulation of the future action they will engage with.

The next section will conclude this broader section on claims of 'prior commitment' by considering the environments in which recipients claim 'firstness' in their agreements.

¹⁵ In an environment where Mum has projected her perplexity with her problem, this form fits quite nicely by being sensitive to the possibility that she may have already tried the doctors. It also does work to align with the problem (after alignment has so far been absent) as it proposes that it is bad enough to warrant seeing a doctor.

3) Claiming 'firstness' in agreement

As discussed above, claiming 'firstness' in agreement, is another way that recipients work to claim prior commitment to advice and therefore to resist the position of advice recipient. This section will highlight the potentially compromising environments in which these types of responses occur.

In the following extract, recall that Mum is telling Lucy about a toy she has brought for her granddaughter, Eva (Lucy's baby).

Extract 5.12: P5C3 – Bugs, 2:56

- 1 Lucy: heh huh .H[H
2 Mum: [I'm just gonna give them a little <wash
3 over,>
4 (.)
5 Lucy: Ye:ah
6 Mum: 'cause they're from e-bay:, an tends an since she
7 puts everything in her mouth, [(0.5)]
8 Lucy: [.hh]Yeah: you
9 [can say] that again. [huh]
10 Mum: [urm] [(Will/we'll)] do that,
11 (0.2)
12 Lucy: Ye[ah.]
13 Mum: [U-] ur:m, (0.5) but they're lovely.=They're
14 really cute.
15 Lucy: Yeah.
16 (0.3)
17 Lucy: tchah: bless.=.hhhh [Ye-
18 Mum: [On Sunday:ɔ

Mum's advice-implicative description essentially puts Lucy in a less knowledgeable position with regard to this general future action (of making sure Eva is not putting dirty objects into her mouth) (see Chapter 3, Extract 3.25, page 72). This conduct is crucially something that Lucy is responsible for knowing and doing, as Eva's mother. By claiming epistemic primacy in her agreement, Lucy manages to subvert any negative connotations that she is lacking in this domain of responsibility. Indeed, it seems to matter what the terms of agreement are (see Heritage & Raymond, 2005). Again, it is worth considering why a more explicit form of resistance isn't done. Here we can see the affordance of the advice-

implicative description through which the action of advice giving is far less exposed in the first place, making the critical dimension also less potent. However, the claim of epistemic primacy in Lucy's response shows that the description is packaging something potentially more noxious than a mere description.

This potentially critical aspect is also prevalent in the following extract where Mum is giving some implicit advice regarding Sarah's boyfriend.

Extract 5.13: P1C6 - Boyfriend's job, 1:45

- 1 Sarah: che ch:ehh Yeah:=[Handy.]
 2 Mum: [Well as] long- u- as long as 'e
 3 keeps it up then,=an makes sure he
 4 [goes:,=an] don't let 'em d[own.
 5 Sarah: [Nah: that's it.] [Yeah.
 6 (0.5)
 7 Mum: Yeah
 8 Sarah: †Aoh: no: yeah. yeah: uyeah. Sound innit.
 9 (.)
 10 Mum: Ok[ay.]
 11 Sarah: [So] (1.3) <handy.>

In lines 2-4, Mum delivers some advice in which she raises a problem concerning Sarah's boyfriend's conduct. Mum is essentially claiming that the boyfriend has the potential to lose out on the opportunity of more work, if he doesn't 'keep it up'. As such, Mum is proposing that he is inclined to have bad work ethic and that he will therefore be responsible for the demise of his new possibility of work. Sarah's response nicely manages this critical aspect. Claiming independent access and epistemic authority in agreement (see Chapter 4, Extract 4.15, page 106) seems to be used here as a way of subverting the critical dimension to this implicit advice. Again, by delivering advice in this less forceful way, the moral judgment that is being invoked is also being done to a much lesser degree.

In the final extract in this section, recall that Mum and Pat are discussing the sale of Pat's house and an alternative possibility of renting. We join the conversation with Pat negatively assessing the latter option.

Extract 5.14: P3C10 - Selling the house, 5:12

- 1 Pat: I wanna go with a clean sla:te.
 2 Mum: Yeah.
 3 (.)

4 Mum: But- (0.2) but it would be a great position if: if:
5 you had some savings: (0.3) you know, (0.2) to
6 [add to]
7 Pat: [Absolutely.
8 Mum: to add to while you're away.
9 Pat: I kno:w.=°I know.°<Imagine if we could put lik*e
10 (0.2).hhh ↑because the cost of↑ living's so low and
11 we're not paying rent,
12 Mum: >M[m.<]
13 Pat: [We] could- we could realistically put five
14 hundred pounds a month,=In savings,=
15 [At leas:t*.=[Ea]sily.
16 Mum: [↑Mm.] [↑Mm]

Mum's assessment in lines 4-6 forwards the action of 'saving money' and for a second time in the call. The 'but' positions Mum's appraisal of 'saving money' as contrasting with Pat's desire to 'go with a clean slate' (line 1). By saying this for the second time and as an objection to Pat's stated desires, this assessment carries with it the critical dimension that Pat may not be cautious with money. By re-claiming the primacy of her second assessment and asserting independent rights to assess, Pat manages to resist this implicit judgment (lines 7-15, see Chapter 4, Extract 4.16, page 107). Pat essentially claims that she is already positioned as someone who is committed to being cautious with her money, subverting the need to be advised on this matter. Again, being cautious with money, together with the less forceful assessment form, puts Pat in a less compromising position morally, than we saw in the case of explicit claims of competence and knowledge.

This section has attempted to show how claims of prior commitment via assertions of primacy in agreement, regularly seem to occur in environments where there is a critical dimension to the advice that simply accepting the advice would not address. Resisting the act of advice giving therefore seems to nicely head off such judgment by claiming to already be committed to the appropriate conduct. However, this critical dimension appears to be less exposed (as in descriptions and assessments for example) and moreover, less problematic than in environments where we seem to get explicit claims of competence.

In sum, this section on claims of 'prior commitment' has considered how this broad type of response is occasioned and across the three different types of claims of prior commitment that were established in Chapter 4. In particular, this section has focused on the occasioning of: displays of established intent; the elaboration of the action component

of the advice; and claims of ‘firstness’ in agreement. It has been shown that this broad type of response seems to occur in environments where the advice has put the recipient in a morally compromising position to some degree. However, this is notably less compromising than where we get the occasioning of more explicit claims of knowledge or competence, as was shown in the previous section. The next section will consider those types of responses further down the spectrum again, where resistance is more implicitly done through unmarked acknowledgments.

Unmarked acknowledgments

As discussed in the previous chapter, ‘unmarked acknowledgments’ refer to minimal responses to advice which do not clearly affiliate with the content of the advice or align with the action of advice giving. Instead, these types of response work to fudge the action they are doing. As such, they provide a more implicit resistance to advice compared to claims of prior commitment and more so again than explicit claims of competence. Whilst stronger claims of resistance seem to occur in environments where there is a critical dimensions to the advice, where the recipient is put into a potentially morally compromising position to some degree, these unmarked acknowledgments seem to occur in environments where much less is at stake. This section will show how this seems to be the case for a range of different forms of advice.

Recall the following extract, where Katie has just been describing the nature of her headaches she has been suffering with.

Extract 5.15: P2C14 – Headaches (painkillers), 4:19

- 1 Mum: =I ↑↑tell you wha:t↑↑ the best one to try is the:
 2 urm: (.) w:hich (.) urm I (.) dosed meself up be-
 3 °°fore°° (0.4) -fore on is the <they do a migraine
 4 one quick relief migraine one.
 5 (0.3)
 6 Katie: °Y:[eah°
 7 Mum: [<I know it's quite expensive but it (.) it's
 8 good. hh
 9 (0.2)
 10 Katie: Yeah
 11 Mum: >Have you not tried that one.<
 12 (0.2)
 13 Katie: No not yet

14 (0.6)
 15 Mum: °Yeah (.) ↑well° (0.6) .hhHH (.) try 'em ou:t.<But
 16 ↑is i:t↑ (0.2) now that you haven't taken any
 17 painkillers have you still got headache. Hh.

Mum is here recommending or positively appraising a particular painkiller (lines 1-4), with the implications being that Katie should take the painkillers as a future course of action. This comes in an environment where Katie has reported problems with her current painkiller she has been using. This recommendation does not treat Katie as expecting to know about this particular painkiller. Indeed, not knowing about a specialist type of painkiller in itself does not seem to be a very contentious issue. It does not bring in to question any aspect of Katie's character or behaviour by casting it in a negative light. Of course, this might be different if Katie were a chemist; more would surely be at stake. Not claiming or displaying competency in this instance does not seem to be a morally compromising thing to do. Indeed, Katie only does a minimal response to the advice in lines 6 and again in line 10, despite the pursuit from Mum. So whilst Katie does some resistance to the advice, this is done in a much more measured way.

In the following extract, we revisit a call between Mum and her daughter Katie. Mum is forwarding the action of taking some chocolate hen lollipops off of their sticks, in order to avoid any danger to Katie's toddler, Farah, who will be eating them.

Extract 5.16: P2C2 - Chocolate hens, 4:03

1 Mum: [↑I]
 2 would↑ take them off the stick if that's possible,
 3 (.)
 4 Katie: °Yeahh°
 5 (0.2)
 6 Katie: °>Have a look.<°
 7 (0.3)
 8 Mum: If you put 'em in the fridge you're probably able to
 9 break 'em off the fri::- s:tick,=Wont you,
 10 (.)
 11 Katie: Yeahh.
 12 (.)
 13 Mum: That's quite dangerous ↑i'n it.
 14 (0.7)

15 Katie: HHhhh
 16 (0.3)
 17 Mum: >°If you know what I [mean, °<
 18 Katie: [>Right< .hhh I BETTER GO
 19 'cause I'm just about to put her to bed now so

In the first instance, Katie 'accepts' some advice from Mum about taking the chocolate off their sticks. This 'acceptance' orients to the contingency 'if that's possible' in Mum's advice by committing to 'Have a look' (line 6). In this way, the response aligns with the possibility of a future action as opposed to something more concrete. As Mum apparently bought these chocolate hens for Farah, and has indeed herself left the sticks on so far (when looking after her), the expectancy for Katie to know about this potential hazard is possibly less contentious. This might explain why Katie does not orient to any prior knowledge or competency here. Whilst 'have a look' nicely displays some concern and attentiveness towards this issue, managing her responsibility as Farah's mother.

The unmarked acknowledgement comes in response to the subsequent piece of advice. In lines 8-9, Mum gives some advice concerning best practice for getting the chocolate hens off their sticks. Again, this advice does not appear to have a critical dimension to it in that knowing about this conduct or not, does not seem to be morally contentious. It is not clearly something that Katie would be expected to know about or to have done already. Therefore, Katie's minimal 'yeah', which does not exert any competence on the matter, again seems quite apt given this context. Furthermore, Mum's continued pursuit through the negative characterization of the problem more generally as 'dangerous' (line 13) is not putting Katie's competence at stake in that the chocolate was apparently given to Farah by Mum in the first place. This example shows that even though the advice concerns Katie's role as a mother, this 'topic' alone does not implicate Katie in a particularly compromising position morally.

In the following extract, the advice recipient does a minimal agreement, this time in response to an advice-implicative assessment.

Extract 5.17: P2C9 - Farah's bum, 8.10

1 Mum: How's Farah's bum:,
 2 (0.8)
 3 Katie: Yeah it's still a little bit r↑unny this aft- (0.2)
 4 this evening.

5 (.)

6 Mum: †Really?† ((produced through closed mouth))

7 (0.3)

8 Mum?: °mm[m°

9 Katie: [#But .hh she's she's happy in herse:lf,=I

10 jus:t (0.4) dunno:.

11 (.)

12 Mum: Iz just be careful what you give her an: give her

13 some plug up sort of foo:d rather than (.) .hhhhh

14 anything that would have made her runny.=What, (.)

15 did she have today.

16 (1.1)

17 Katie: °Ur::m (0.3) .hh (3.9) ((tongue tapping noise

18 throughout)) what she ha::ve (1.8) ur:m° (0.9) >I

19 dunno< she was at nursery >so I'm not sure what we

20 had l:unch after but check her thing an then< .hhh

21 she ha:d like chicken and potatoes for dinner.

22 (0.6)

23 Mum: °It's° (0.3) better than steak=†I:n it.

24 Katie: °Mm°

25 (0.2)

26 Mum: No?

27 (0.2)

28 Katie: °Yeah I (guess/do,)°

29 (0.3)

30 Mum: Did she have d†inner with: urm:† (0.9) Nanna

31 [Bee?]

32 Katie: [(Bee.)]

In this extract there seems to be an unclear cause of Katie's problem, which is indeed embodied in her display of puzzlement in lines 9-10 'I just dunno?' A problem without a clear cut cause makes an appropriate course of action to manage the problem, also less clear cut. Katie would therefore not be expected to know how to deal with the problem and therefore doesn't seem to have much stake in claiming competence with this issue, and where instead there is only minimal uptake of Mum's advice in lines 24 and 28 (see Chapter 4, Extract 4.7, page 96). Furthermore, that Katie's display of a K- position, in which advice from Mum was implicitly warranted, does not result in a stronger 'advice

acceptance', suggests that the warrant for advice, is not the only relevant dimension for advice acceptance.

In sum, whilst on the record claims of competence regularly occur in environments where the stakes seem to be high in resisting the action of advice giving, unmarked acknowledgments seem to comparatively occur in environments where less seems to be at stake in resisting advice. So, whilst unmarked acknowledgments do some fudging between resistance and acceptance, the choice not to more strongly resist the advice seems to relate to the local environment whereby the terms of acceptance are brought to bear.

3. Rejection of advice

So far in this section on 'why that now', the focus has been on responses which to varying degrees, align with the action of advice giving, whilst at the same time affiliate with the actual content of the advice. This next section will focus on the question 'why that now' for those responses of a different kind; where the content of the advice is disaffiliated with, so where the advice itself is rejected.

Within the current corpus, there seems to be two prominent kinds of environments where the content of advice is rejected. One common environment seems to be where the advice itself does not align with the recipient; where something contrary to the recipient's current position with regard to a future action is being put forward. Another common environment seem to be where the central action is that of 'problem solving', where the advice can be heard as providing a candidate solution. This is not to say that these are the only environments in which advice is rejected or even that rejection can necessarily always be accounted for in this way, however by considering these two environments it is hoped that some of the issues relevant to the rejection of advice can be explicated.

The analysis will proceed by considering both of these environments in turn. At the same time, the distinction made in Chapter 4, between straightforward accounts and 'exceptional circumstances accounts' will also be considered in terms of the environments in which they occur.

1) Rejection following misalignment

In the following extract, Mum is complaining that her husband is not around on their wedding anniversary.

Extract 5.18: P2C14 - Anniversary, 0.28

1 Katie: [>Did you not go to the Evenlode last night
2 °then.°<
3 Mum: <Yeah went to the Evenlode >but< Pete was told
4 yesterday he got home from work yesterday .hhh an
5 told me >very< guiltily that he was ↑going to
6 Cornwall.↑
7 (0.5)
8 Katie: °#Oh dear.°
9 (0.2)
10 Mum: tcha.hh So I: we di- <I didn't have a very good
11 night cause I was so: pissed off.=an I: (.) cried
12 this morning,=[I was
13 Katie: [hh
14 Mum: so upset about [it,
15 Katie: [.hh
16 Mum: but urm,
17 Katie: How long is he in Cornwall for then.
18 ((weird noise in the transition space))
19 Mum: #I don't know# back tomorrow at some point but
20 I mean: it's not the same as someone being here on
21 the wedding anniversary,=Is it.
22 (1.5)
23 Katie: [No:.]
24 Mum: [Takes the wh]o::le f::lippin: what's it out of it
25 =Doen't it.=
26 Katie: =Can't you do something at the weekend instea:d.
27 Mum: ↑Yeah probably but the moments gone really=
28 ↑innit. hh

While Mum is clearly orienting to a sense of grievance on her part, Pete is treated as having some responsibility for this grievance, by invoking his supposed guilt (line 5) and therefore agency. Mum is therefore hearable as delivering a complaint (Edwards, 2005). Katie appears to be doing little work to align with the complaint. The 'oh dear' in line 8 does some sympathy, however this is minimal through the quiet voice and it only aligns with the grievance as opposed to also treating Pete as being in the wrong. There is then a progressive

display of misalignment from Katie, with no uptake in line 15; a sceptical enquiry in line 17; and delayed uptake in line 22.

In lines 24-25, Mum continues to formulate the extent of her trouble. She uses an extreme case formulation 'whole flippin what's it' to bolster her complaint (Edwards, 2000). The tag question (line 25) at the end seeks agreement and alignment, which has notably been scarce so far. However, Katie goes on to deliver an advice-implicative interrogative which seeks a solution for the trouble (see Chapter 3, page 63). By forwarding a candidate solution as opposed to aligning with the complaint, Katie undermines the complaint; treating the problem as something that can be solved. As such, the advice has a critical dimension in that Mum is potentially making 'too heavy weather' of the problem.

It is this environment that Mum rejects the advice by claiming that it won't be the same. This account works to revalidate Mum's complaint following this objection. It could be argued that this rejection occurs here because it is in a problematic environment of a 'troubles telling', where giving advice focuses on the problem and its solution rather than the teller and their experiences (see Jefferson & Lee, 1981, 1992). While this may be the case, a central issue here seems to be with the nature of the advice and the way it not only takes the focus off of the recipient's experience but how it *undermines* the specific version of events; how the trouble is reflectively characterized as not being such a big deal.

In the following call, Pat has described two courses of actions she is pursuing with regard to applying for a teaching job abroad. The first action she described was approaching an agency and the second is contacting a school she has found on the TES website (a website which advertises teaching jobs worldwide).

Extract 5.19: P3C2 – Agency, 3:18

- 1 Mum: <I think the agency's a good way to go.=Because at
2 least then they can, .hh research:(0.7)
3 Mum: [°for you.°]
4 Pat: [They can vet] the schoo:ls, yeah.=
5 Mum: =Yeah.
6 (0.2)
7 Pat: But Suzzie went with them,
8 (0.2)
9 Pat: Ur:m on her first job °and they didn't (0.2)
10 obviously vet that school very well.°=

11 Mum: =Oh: no: .=That's [true.
 12 Pat: [>But that's< Jakarta.
 13 (0.4)
 14 Mum: mm
 15 (.)
 16 Pat: °an I would never go there.°

In lines 1-2, Mum appears to be packaging some advice to use the agency. As such, Mum is implicitly objecting to Katie's decision to apply for jobs from the alternative, TES. Katie aligns with this advice through a collaborative completion (see Lerner, 2004) in which Pat both repeats and rewords what Mum was saying (line 4). Pat also, notably pre-empts the slot for Mum to confirm the candidate completion (the 'yeah', line 4) and as such not only claims independent access to the assessment, but also claims superior authority to making this assessment (Lerner, 2004).

Pat then rejects this rational based on a friend's bad experience of going through the agency (lines 7-10). In doing so Pat orients to an alternative issue, to do with which country the job is in. Pat upholds her decision to apply for jobs on the TES but in a way which maintains a stance of caution, which Mum's initial advice was adopting. Again, the rejection of advice here is in an environment in which the recipient's conduct was not being aligned with and where you might expect this type of validation in the face of critique.

In the next extract, there is again an alignment issue concerning the advice, but this time the advice is rejected with an account which orients to 'exceptional circumstances'. The extract comes from a call where Mum has been enquiring into Katie's continual headache problems.

Extract 5.20: P2C13 – Checking up, 0:19

1 Mum: Good.=How- how's the day gone.=How's your head.
 2 (0.7)
 3 Katie: Yeah: >it's been a lot< better:
 4 (.)
 5 Mum: It's [been ↑better?
 6 Katie: [Still like a bit
 7 (0.7)
 8 Katie: Yeah: still a bit of a headache but (.) I've
 9 just been at home: °and it's been-° I fee- I
 10 feel a lot better in myself,

11 (0.2)

12 Mum: ↑Oh that's↑ good.

13 (0.4)

14 Katie: Yeah hh so hh yeah it's good.

15 Mum: Probably 'cause you've not been on a computer.

16 (0.8)

17 Katie: Yeah

18 (0.3)

19 Mum: So what you ↑doing.

20 (1.4)

21 Katie: Hum HHH[I'm going] to work °tomo-°=

22 Mum: [Are you going-]

23 Katie: =Yeah I'm >going into work< [tomorrow,]

24 Mum: [Is that a] good

25 idea.=Darling.

26 (1.0)

27 Katie: <↑Yeah no it's fi:n:e=I- (0.2) ur:m:

28 (0.3) I'll explain to them maybe:, (.) I'll:

29 see if there's anything else I can do that I'm

30 not on the computer all day,

To begin with, we can note here that Mum's advice implicative interrogative in lines 24-25, following on from Katie's proposal to go to work, positions itself as an objection to Katie's decision. This marks Katie's decision as one of poor judgment, which the term of endearment nicely works to soften (see Chapter 6, Extract 6.15, page 184). So again, the recipient's rejection (lines 27-30) comes in an environment where the advice has misaligned with the recipient's decision in some way. The rejection is therefore understandable here, as a way of validating the decision already made.

Of extra interest here though is that Katie seems to be orienting to the exceptional circumstance in which she is going to pursue the future course of action. In other words, Katie does some affiliation with Mum's underlying concern and previous diagnosis that the computer is accentuating, if not causing the problem (line 15). It is this diagnosis which indeed sets up the advice sequence and makes the vague 'so what you doing' (line 19), hearable as relating to 'work'. Mum has even managed to get Katie onboard with this diagnosis, although notably, Katie's acknowledgement is slightly delayed and minimal (line 17), perhaps because she can already hear that advice is in the air. Katie even displays some

trouble around this decision, with the inter turn delay and delay in turn beginning, before she has even articulated her decision (lines 20-21).

It would seem then that being on a computer is oriented to and acknowledged by both Mum and Katie as a bad thing to do, in terms of Katie's headache and so going to work nonetheless treats Katie's decision as potentially careless. By accommodating her affiliation with the advice against using computers into her rejection, Katie manages to head off this potential judgement.

The following extract provides a final example of a rejection being delivered in an environment where the advice giver has misaligned with the recipient in some way. It also provides another example of the rejection being built as an 'exceptional circumstance'.

Extract 5.21: P3C4 – Sunbeds, 16.60

- 1 Sin: .hhh An I think I'll also start going for some
2 sunbeds like twice a [wee*k.]
3 Mum: [.hh?]
4 (.)
5 Mum: Ow:: (0.4) Dad's not happy about tha:t.
6 Sin: ↑Why?
7 (0.7)
8 Mum: Becau::s:e (0.4) in cas:e it's dangerous[:]
9 Sin: [Oh wel]l.=
10 I'm >still gonna do it.< huh=
11 Mum: =Yeah,=
12 Sin: =.hhh Yeah.
13 Sin: <Just (0.5) so then I can get a proper tan on
14 holiday.
15 (0.8)
16 Mum: Yeah
17 (0.4)
18 Sin: An not come back pa(h)sty whi(h)te HH=
19 Mum: =Yeah
20 (.)
21 Mum: .HH I I mean:, (0.3)
22 Sin: 's↑not like I'm gonna do it every day.
23 (.)
24 Mum: I know.

25 (0.4)
26 Sin: S'I'll be alright.

Katie has just asserted her decision to have sunbeds in lines 1-2, when Mum delivers some advice which objects to this. Mum does this by referencing Dad's feelings and thereby negatively assesses the use of sunbeds (line 5, see Chapter 3, Extract 3.24, page 70 on this form of advice). Given this environment it is understandable that a rejection is delivered (lines 9-10) as a way of revalidating a negatively assessed decision. Again, this rejection specifies the exceptional circumstance in which Sinitta is pursuing having sunbeds, through which she affiliates with the advice against sunbeds nevertheless (lines 13-14, 18 and 22) (as discussed in the previous chapter, Extract 4.26, page 118). As such she heads off the critical dimension that she is being careless, given the common sense assumption nonetheless, that sunbeds can be dangerous. So again, an exceptional circumstance is oriented to as a way of heading off this notion of irresponsibility. But note that by doing defiance in the first instance (lines 9-10), Sinitta does work to uphold her autonomy.

The extracts in this section have demonstrated one particular environment where recipients reject advice. In all four extracts, the advice essentially undermines the recipient's decision regarding a future action. By rejecting this advice, the recipient works to validate that decision in the face of critique. Rejection is in this sense logically understandable as it occurs in a potentially unfavourable environment, but also socially understandable, as a way of reinstating one's moral standing. Beyond this, the extracts which did some affiliation by orienting to the exceptional circumstances in which the future action was being done (Extracts 5.20 and 5.21), both seemed to also be managing a potential criticism of carelessness.

2) Rejecting advice within 'problem solving' sequences

Another environment where advice rejection seems to be made relevant is where the advice recipient seems to be engaged in 'problem solving', where the focus is on finding a particular solution. To adopt Jefferson and Lee's (1981 and 1992) distinction, there seems to be a focus on a 'problem and its solution' as opposed to the 'teller and their experience'. The reporting of the problem seems to focus on finding an outcome, as opposed to indulging in the negativity of the problem.

The following extract comes from a context where Mum and Pat are discussing what Pat will wear for her job interview. After discussing the possibility of Mum driving Pat to get a new outfit, Pat raises a new problem concerning her hair.

Extract 5.22: P3C6 – Interview outfit 2, 4:07

- 1 Pat: Y↑hheah=I jus*t I hate my hai:r. I just don't know
2 [what to [do: with it.]
3 Mum: [<.hh [↑but once it's↑] st- straight an tied
4 [#ba:ck,]
5 Pat: [<Yeah °but° >when I<] straightened it last time for
6 that Egyptian day,=
7 Mum: =Ye[s]
8 Pat: ['cause i]t's such bad (0.4) ur:m in such bad
9 condition, .hhhh <it was a:ll urm: (.) frizzy?
10 (1.0)
11 Pat: tch an the e:nds were all frazzled?
12 (0.4) ((inbreath from Pat))
13 Pat: >An it< looked horrible? hh

Pat's problem that she is reporting is hearably related to her interview, given it follows immediately on from talk about what she will wear to the interview. This focus on a particular outcome; looking good at an interview, makes Pat's turn hearable as pursuing problem solving as opposed to making sympathy or emotional reciprocity (see Jefferson & Lee, 1981, 1992), a relevant next. Indeed, Pat explicitly orients to the problem in terms of not knowing what to do with her hair. In lines 3-4, Mum uses an 'if-then' type construction whereby Mum is suggesting one positive way of Pat doing her hair, although the 'then' component in which the positive upshot is actually articulated is left unsaid. This construction does not strongly push this particular option and as such, provides Pat with the space to orient to alternatives (see Chapter 3, page 57). Indeed Pat rejects this option in lines 5-13. As discussed in Chapter 3, giving a 'suggestion' in itself provides a welcome environment for rejection. What's more though here is that the environment itself facilitates rejection in that the focus is on considering possible solutions and so appraising different alternatives is conducive to this.

This next extract comes at the end of Mum reporting to Pat the positive feedback that Pat's brother received from his teacher at parents evening. Mum has just finished reporting the feedback and just prior to this, Pat has positively receipted it.

Extract 5.23: P3C10 – Saul's art space, 14.14

- 1 Mum: An she said urm: tch.hhh because of the standard he
2 nneeds to work at, (0.4) an everything, (0.4)/(.hh)

3 she said (.) °can-° is there any way: (0.6) that he
4 can have a dedicated room in your house.
5 (0.8)
6 Mum: She said it's so: important that he can: .hhhh/(0.9)
7 Pat: Spread out.=
8 Mum: =ha- spread ou:t, (0.3) [>you< go to one thing, come
9 Pat: [Yeah
10 Mum: back to it next da:y, (0.9) [<you know:] so I think
11 Pat: [Yeah.]
12 Mum: we're gonna have to do something with the dining
13 room,
14 (0.2)
15 Pat: <Or: what about the sp↑are room.
16 (0.6)
17 Mum: °It's° too sma:ll.=>'Cause we put a di-< we put a:
18 (0.4) wardrobe in there and everything.

The request for Saul to have a dedicated room raises a problem that needs a solution; which room he will have in Mum's house. Mum puts forward the dining room as a candidate solution to her problem and in a way that orients to her reluctance through 'gonna have to' (line 12). Pat's response in line 15 is in the form of an interrogative that suggests an alternative solution to Mum's problem. The 'or' does contrastive work with Mum's decision and therefore marks what Katie is about to say as an alternative suggestion of the same kind. Furthermore, the construction 'what about' does not strongly prefer a 'yes' or 'no' response and therefore is hearable as just giving a 'suggestion' in which rejection is provided for. So again, the form itself provides for rejection. However, as we have seen elsewhere, it is not form alone that achieves actions but the sequential position that such forms are positioned in. Indeed, the suggestion itself comes in an environment where possible options are being appraised, and where rejection is itself part of this process. Indeed, Mum's delivers a rejection in lines 17-18 by raising a problem with Pat's candidate solution.

The final extract will provide a further example in which we will be able to see how even a strong form of advice, when delivered in an environment where candidate solutions are being sought, seems to be treated as a suggestion nonetheless. In the extract, Mum and Lucy have a friend coming over for coffee at Mum's house and Mum has asked Lucy to pick

up a cake on her way round. Lucy has a 4 month old baby and carrying the baby whilst buying the cake becomes an issue.

Extract 5.24: P5C5 – Cake shopping, 10:48

- 1 Lucy: Yeah shall I urm: (0.2) .hh (0.2) when I'm doing that
2 shall I- (.) bring her in with the car seat or
3 something.
4 (1.0)
5 Lucy: Or jus:[t
6 Mum: [Ur:m (1.2) oh yeah because you've got (0.3)
7 Bubba.
8 Mum: .hhh I've got your mattrass by the way, for your
9 push [chair.]
10 Lucy: [Ah-ha]<Yeah I didn't use the push chair today,
11 so the mattrass hasn't been used. .HHH I just brought
12 her in i[n the car] seat. hh .hh=
13 Mum: [Ur:]
14 Mum: =°What's° [the best way] to [do it.=°Just° bring the:
15 Lucy: [hhh] [Well ↑I can just (quid)
16 those in a [trolley,] but urm: .nhhh I coul- (0.2)
17 Mum: [sling.]
18 Lucy: p- could put her in the sling yeah.
19 (0.2)
20 Lucy: But urm=
21 Lucy: =>it's kind of< [(0.2)]hard by your]s(h)elf .HH
22 Mum: =>But that's a [bit of a<]pain >on your own.<]

In lines 1-3 Lucy is raising a problem with getting the cake, seeking Mum's opinion on how to deal with carrying the baby through a 'yes/no' interrogative. A future course of action is put forward by Mum using an imperative form, which in itself puts constraints on Lucy to accept the advice (lines 14-17). However, the broader 'problem solving environment' seems to provide space for candidate solutions to be appraised. Indeed, whilst Lucy initially affiliates with the suggestion, she goes on to reject it (see Chapter 4, Extract 4.23, page 115).

In sum, another environment where advice seems to be readily rejected is where rejection seems to be welcomed; where there is an interactional focus on 'problem solving.'

Within this environment, the focus seems to be on finding a favourable solution to a problem, where appraisal of candidate courses of action is part of this process. Although, that is not to say the advice givers won't prioritise and pursue a particular course of action over another, as ended up being the case in Extract 5.23.

Discussion

To begin with, it is worth summarising some of the key points that have been made about advice responses:

- Advice recipients are faced with two problems when given a piece of advice: whether to accept the action of advice giving and whether to accept the content of the advice itself. Affiliation and alignment are useful terms to capture these issues.
- Recipients can orient to their competence as a way of resisting the action of advice giving in explicit, implicit and ambiguous ways.
- Recipients can also reject the content of advice in ways which disaffiliate with the advice to varying degrees.
- As discussed in Chapter 3, certain forms of advice in themselves provide the recipient with more leeway in terms of how to respond, and indeed rejection or resistance may not be so readily exposed as such.
- Choosing one response over another is not necessarily just to do with the form of advice however, but seems to relate to other local issues including: the potential critical dimension of the advice, whether the advice misaligns with the recipient's established decision, and whether advice is part of a broader activity such as problem solving.

So, recipients have the choice to align or misalign with the central action of advice giving as was discussed in the previous chapter. Recipients can: accept the advice, fudge acceptance with unmarked acknowledgments, implicitly reject the advice through claims of prior commitment or explicitly reject the advice with claims of competency of knowledge. The central thesis in this chapter has been that the position of advice recipient is a potentially contentious position to occupy whereby the recipient's moral standing can be thrown into question. The choice between one affiliative response and another seems to indeed relate to how much is at jeopardy in occupying the role of advice recipient.

Recipients may also choose to reject the content of the advice. The previous chapter showed how rejections can be done with straightforward accounts whilst others can mark the exceptional circumstances of not following the advice, therefore affiliating with the advice to a certain degree. This chapter showed that where recipients orient to the exceptional circumstance of not following a course of action, the recipient again seems to be managing a potential critical dimension that is tied up with not following the advice.

This chapter identified two environments that seemed to be conducive to advice rejections. Firstly, rejections seemed to occur following advice which misaligned with the recipient's stated commitment to a future action, and therefore where rejection might be expected. Secondly, rejections seemed to occur in problem solving environments where appraising different solutions is conducive to that central activity. The first environment has similarities with Vehviläinen's (2001) action opposition sequences, where counsellors facilitate the rejection of advice and indeed argument, by negatively evaluating the recipient's proposed career decisions (in career guidance counselling sessions). Whilst, as in the examples here, resistance is made relevant, the affordance is that alternative perspectives can be explored. Indeed, such exploration need not be done in a pushy way.

Chapter 3 showed how different forms of advice code in different degrees of optionality for the recipient in their next turn, with verbs of obligation putting more pressure on the recipient to accept the advice than an assessment or interrogative. Indeed Butler et al. (2010) argued that advice is easier to reject following a question, as the recipient is on record as merely giving an answer. So less constraining forms in themselves provide the possibility of rejection and indeed 'rejection of advice' may not even be unveiled. When normativity is pumped up, however, whilst there may be more pressure to accept the advice, there is also more at stake in accepting. For example, accepting that you didn't know that you *should* do a particular future action puts your competency in more jeopardy than not knowing about a *possible* future action. The analysis in this chapter has built on this issue of stake, showing that it is not simply the forcefulness, or moral push of advice as encoded through form, which throws ones competence into jeopardy, but also what is at stake in accepting or rejecting the advice, which puts a measure on this competency.

This relates to Waring's (2005) analysis where it was shown how recipients gave different types of resistance to advice depending on what was being advised on.¹⁶ For example, on issues concerning academic writing, the tutees mitigated their resistance by citing source difficulty. However, when the issue concerned content related matters, the

resistance was not mitigated but was contrastively bald and interruptive. Waring (2005) argues that the selective type of resistance relates to issues of identity claims and knowledge asymmetry. The tutee seems to orient to the tutors role as an advisor on academic writing by marking resistance of such advice as problematic and dispreferred. Contrastively, the tutees orient to their own expertise in a particular subject by treating resistance to advice on such matters as less problematic.

Similarly, in the current analysis, certain types of advice seemed to be resisted in particular ways (and here I am talking about alignment with the *action* of advice giving). Within these mundane interactions there is arguably less clear cut roles where we might expect certain topics to be more contentious than others. Rather, it seems that there is more scope for different aspects of identity and character to be thrown into jeopardy through locally contingent critical moves. However, the more explicit types of resistance in this data at least, seem to concern the recipient's relationship with other people; their role as a 'good mother' or 'partner'¹⁷. It is therefore possible to see what aspects of behaviour recipients treat as particularly morally contentious.

This dimension of morality is given particular attention in Heritage and Lindström's (1998) analysis where it was shown that in interactions between health visitors and first time mothers, there was a moral subtext where the mothers oriented to the health visitor's role as evaluator of her own capabilities: "There are occasions in which the defensiveness of the mothers' responses formulates the absence of moral evaluation by the HVs as a kind of "withholding" of moral judgement. In this way, moral considerations are circuitously reintroduced into the talk as its luminal context" (417-418). The supply driven role of the health visitor seems to bring with it a moral dimension where the health visitor is treated as a judge of the mother's behaviour. Similarly, the analysis here has shown how the advice recipient's defensiveness seems to relate to the moral charge which has been constructed and alluded to in specific local contexts. Furthermore, it seemed to be in environments which put the daughter's role as a mother into a morally compromising position, that we see some of the more defensive forms of advice resistance.

Elsewhere, Pilnick (2001, 2003) has reported on the potentially delicate action of giving what can be understood as treatment 'instructions' within pharmacy consultations, in an outpatient paediatric oncology ward, because of the patients long term status. In those

¹⁶ In the terms I have been using here though, resistance refers to what I have called advice rejection i.e. disaffiliation with the content of the advice.

¹⁷ Although, these categories are only tentative given that the participants themselves don't use them (see Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998; Benwell & Stokoe, 2006).

interactions, parents of the patient often provide displays of competence by coming in early within the pharmacist's turn (Pilnick, 2001), and pre-empting, summarising, or extending the pharmacist's turn to go beyond mere acknowledgment of the 'instructions' (Pilnick, 2003). These competence displays are considered to enact the parent's moral obligation to look after the patient, as their child. However, there is an alternative issue concerning the ambiguity over what is expected from these consultations in the first place, raising the possibility that the 'instructions' are simply being treated as irrelevant by the parents (Pilnick, 2003). Interesting though, is the example provided by Pilnick (2003) where a first time clinic attendee receives the pharmacist's 'information' with what Heritage and Sefi (1992) have referred to as marked acknowledgments. Here, Pilnick (2003: 843) argues that "there is no expectation from any party that this mother should have any knowledge about chemotherapy regimes, and as a result she is morally entitled to receive the information as both new and necessary."

As this research suggests, morality seems to be an important issue in advice giving because of the accompanying 'immorality' that it can bring to bear on the advice recipient. The analysis here has tried to demonstrate how this issue of morality is cashed out in the local sequences of talk. Whilst in certain contexts, the issue of why a recipient may want to claim prior knowledge or competence may be particularly accessible; a point to make here is that the action in itself constructs the future conduct as something the recipient is at pains to display their knowledge and commitment to. As such, stronger claims of resistance in themselves allude to the stakes being high.

This notion of 'stake' adds complexity to previous literature which has considered why advice is rejected. Jefferson and Lee (1981, 1992) claim that troubles telling environments are ripe environments for advice rejection as the troubles teller is required to adopt the role of 'advice recipient' as opposed to 'troubles teller'. They include examples where the advice giving is resisted, as well as where the content of the advice is rejected. This analysis has highlighted other issues to be considered in the mix including whether the recipient's morality is in jeopardy to some degree and how aligning the advice is to the recipient's stated commitment¹⁸. Furthermore, the 'problem solving' examples show how this activity of 'problem solving' might not actually be restricted to service counter interactions as proposed by Jefferson and Lee (1981, 1992). This opens up the possibility of

¹⁸ Indeed, it may be that the rejection of advice in troubles telling may be to do with the more local issue of whether the advice aligns with the advice giver's position on an issue as opposed to the broader position of 'troubles teller'.

differentiating between problem solving and troubles telling activities in their own right and as distinguishable by the way the activities are themselves constructed.

Other research has shown how advice acceptance can be facilitated by seeking the recipient's opinion first (e.g. Heritage & Sefi, 1992; Silverman, 1997; Couture & Sutherland, 2006). Acceptance also seems to be more prevalent where the advice has been solicited (Heritage & Sefi, 1992; Silverman, 1997). However, in the current chapter, even when the recipient is seemingly given the entitlement to offer advice (by evoking a K- position) the advice can still be rejected. Indeed the issues of stake, alignment and local activity, might be alternative and complimentary issues in considering ways of promoting advice acceptance.

It is also important to consider what these response types say about the relationship between the recipients. Within institutional settings, the activity of advice giving is often warranted by an institutional role. Although it might be said that the mother and daughter may be in a particular kind of close relationship whereby establishing independence is an issue for them both, the types of issues that seem to be tied to advice resistance are not exclusive to the categories of 'mother' and 'daughter'. Indeed, tying actions to categories of people is problematic in itself (see Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998; Benwell & Stokoe, 2006). The point here is that although the critical dimension of advice may be more prominent in mother-daughter relationships, it is potentially a live issue for any context. Similarly, the sorts of issues which are relevant to the rejection of advice, such as alignment and the broader activity that is going on, are again, not exclusive to a particular type of relationship.

Whilst at this point, a note of caution has been made on what can be said about the relationship between the recipients, what we can see being constituted more clearly through the way the advice is responded to, is the recipient's own social positioning; through the tight patrolling of certain territories of knowledge over others.

Chapter 6: The form of advice: local issues of entitlement and contingency

Introduction

Whilst Chapter 3, 4 and 5 considered the evidence for the problematic nature of advice in view of what comes next, this chapter will unravel the problematic nature of advice further by considering what has come before it. This chapter will build on the analysis in Chapter 3 in particular, by considering why one form of advice is used over another. This will be done by considering the broader sequential environment in which advice is delivered. In particular, this chapter addresses the question: how does a speaker come to deliver a bald constraining piece of advice over a less constraining alternative?

The interesting thing about mundane interaction is that unlike institutional settings, seeking help in a broad sense is not inherently central to the interaction. The advice recipient has not called a particular type of helpline or is not participating in a particular type of clinical encounter. As such, there are no clear-cut roles of 'advice giver' and 'advice recipient' which relate to the institutional roles of 'service provider' and 'service seeker'. This is particularly pertinent when we consider the intrinsic difficulties in giving advice in itself; that it claims a knowledge asymmetry and exerts a 'push' on what the recipient should do. The question therefore presents itself: how is advice occasioned in the first place? Indeed, are there favourable and unfavourable environments for giving advice? This is an interesting question for these interactions between familiars where the recipients may be concerned with influencing the others' behaviour for their own good but have, in some ways, a less clear 'institutional'¹⁹ warrant to do so. Indeed, whilst Randall (1995) found unsolicited advice to be a feature of mother-daughter conversations, more needs to be explicated in terms of the sequential environment that advice giving is found and how the form of advice relates to that. At the same time, considering favourable and unfavourable environments for delivering advice is no doubt a particularly important topic for institutional contexts.

Research on institutional interactions has shown that certain sequential environments are more favourable for the delivery of advice than others. In particular, the

favourability of seeking the recipient's perspective on a problem before delivering the advice, through 'step-wise' questioning, has been widely documented (e.g. Heritage & Sefi, 1992; Kinnell & Maynard, 1996; Silverman, 1997; Pilnick, 2003; Couture & Sutherland, 2006; Vehviläinen, 2001, 2003, 2012). Indeed, Maynard (1991) showed how seeking the recipient's perspective provides for a favourable environment for diagnoses and consequently, treatment recommendations in what he referred to as 'perspective display sequences'. Maynard (1991) showed that by eliciting the recipient's perspective prior to delivering a diagnosis, a problem could be delivered as a confirmation and alignment achieved between the doctor and parent's perspectives (where the patient was a child). In this sense, the stepwise approach also provides a warrant to deliver the advice (Kinnell & Maynard, 1996; Vehviläinen, 2001). Preliminary moves, before the delivery of advice such as questions (Vehviläinen, 2012), announcements, and offers (Pilnick, 2003), can also work to prepare the way for advice giving and therefore to subvert resistance (Pilnick, 2003).²⁰ Furthermore, advice that is solicited by the recipient themselves seems to be related to subsequent positive displays of advice acceptance (Heritage & Sefi, 1992; Silverman, 1997).

Waring (2012) has provided systematic evidence to support a preference for tutee initiated advice in graduate peer tutoring sessions. This, along with the evidence above suggests that advice itself, in certain environments at least, is treated as a dispreferred action. However, more systematic evidence is needed and from less specialised institutional interactions where this preference may indeed be tampered with for the specific institutional goals. For example, a "substantial majority of advice giving is initiated with only minimal preparation" in the interactions between health visitors and first time mothers (Heritage & Sefi, 1992: 389), where this is perhaps more illuminating of this specific interaction being observed where the health visitor appears to be establishing a legitimate basis for being there, rather than evidence against advice being a dispreferred action.

In order to systematically consider advice as a dispreferred initiating action, we must first consider the type of evidence which enables us to characterize an action as such.

¹⁹ As indicated previously, the distinction between 'institutional' compared to 'mundane' is not clear cut here as mothers may have certain goals concerning the wellbeing of their daughters. However, this grey area will be discussed in the next and final chapter.

²⁰ More broadly, the use of preliminary moves such as 'questions' can also promote a client-centred approach of self-directedness, where the recipients themselves can decide on the appropriate course of action (see Butler et al., 2010). A 'stepwise' approach can also expose the recipient's views and therefore provide the possibility of challenging them (Vehviläinen, 2001).

Dispreferred first pair parts

A dispreferred first pair part is considered to be an initiating action which is treated sequentially as a less favourable way of bringing about a particular outcome. For example, a request can be considered a less favourable way of borrowing something than having that something offered by the other person (Schegloff, 2007). This dispreference is hinged on an interactional asymmetry in alternatives to sequence initiating actions (Schegloff, 2007; Robinson & Bolden, 2010). Compared to the research on dispreferred responsive actions, the research on dispreferred initiating actions is fairly minimal (see Robinson & Bolden, 2010 for a review). Examples of dispreferred actions include: other repair over self-repair (Schegloff et al., 1977); soliciting an account from a recipient who is responsible for a particular action (Robinson & Bolden, 2010), and self-identification in the openings of phone calls over recognition from the recipient (Schegloff, 1979). However, the preference for recognition over self-identification does not appear to be as strong in Swedish (Lindström, 1996) and Dutch (Houtkoop-Steenstra, 1991) telephone conversations. Furthermore, telling someone something positive and new about oneself has been identified as dispreferred in favour of the positive thing being noticed by the other party (Schegloff, 2007).

The main evidence for these dispreferred actions is that they are delayed, and that this delay provides the possibility for more affiliative outcomes (Robinson & Bolden, 2010). This delay can be embodied through silences as well as other initiated repair, through which the alternative, more favourable outcome is elicited (Robinson & Bolden, 2010). The alternative action may also be drawn out through a pre-sequence. For example, 'My side tellings' such as 'I couldn't get hold of you last night' work to get information offered from a recipient about an event they are in a position to know more about, rather than doing a more dispreferred action of directly asking for that information themselves (Pomerantz, 1980). This pre-emptive work can avoid more critical moves which might embody accusations e.g. 'where were you' (Pomerantz, 1980). Pre-sequences do quite different work here compared to those identified elsewhere. Here, they don't prefer the 'go ahead' response, but rather, they prefer the recipient to pre-empt the action and do it themselves; therefore eliciting a more preferred version of the overall activity (Schegloff, 2007). The preferred action is therefore not only a different action but one which is done by the recipient (Schegloff, 2007).

Schegloff (2007) identified other distributional evidence for requests which may also be extended to other dispreferred firsts. Requests appear late in the conversation; they are often accompanied by excuses or mitigations, they may be 'masked' as another action, as an

offer in this case; and perhaps a less generalisable feature to other initiating actions: they might appear in conjunction with each other, where the first request may licence the occurrence of a second request by the recipient of the first (Schegloff, 2007). The following familiar extract used in CA teaching materials, will demonstrate some of these features:

Extract 6.1: MDE: Stalled (presented in Schegloff, 2007:64)

1 Don: Guess what. hh
2 Mar: What.
3 Don: .hh My ca:r is sta::lled.
4 (0.2)
5 'n I'm up here in the Glen
6 Mar: Oh::.
7 {0.4 }
8 Don: {.hhh}
9 Don: A:nd.hh
10 (0.2)
11 Don: I don' know if it's po:ssible, but {.hhh/(0.2)} see
12 I haveta open up the ba:nk.hh
13 (0.2)
14 Don: a:t uh: (.) in Brentwood? hh=
15 Mar: Yeah:- en I know you wan- (.) en I wou: (.) en I
16 would, but- except I've gotta leave in aybout five
17 min(h)utes. [(hheh)
18 Don: [Okay then I gotta call somebody else.
19 right away.

Firstly, Donny's request for help from Marcia is delayed. In line 3 Donny introduces the problem but does not actually point towards the request itself until line 11. As is common with dispreferred second pair parts, this first pair part is not explicitly done but it only implicitly does a request for assistance. It is only through the construction 'I don't know if it is possible but...' that the request is itself understood as such. Moreover, the provision of this 'get out clause' in the first place, suggests the possibility that the request might not readily be accepted, marking it as dispreferred.

Using this kind of evidence for the action of interest here, Waring (2012) showed that there is a preference for tutee initiated advice in graduate peer tutoring sessions over tutor initiated advice. Waring (2012) showed that once a problem had been raised by the

tutor, space was provided for the tutee to initiate the advice themselves and the tutees even came in early with such solutions; pre-empting any advice from the tutor.

The analysis that follows will attempt to contribute to this research by using preference organisation as a tool to explore whether there is evidence to suggest that advice is a dispreferred action in certain environments, as suggested above. The analysis will explore this possibility by considering whether there is any order to the occasioning of more or less constraining forms of advice. It will be shown that there is indeed systematic evidence to suggest that advice is a dispreferred action in certain contexts and that the choice of form used to deliver advice in those environments, provides evidence for this.

This chapter will now consider the environments in which the various forms of advice are delivered. The first part will focus on the more constraining forms of advice; where the recipient is given little contingency in doing the forwarded action. The second part of the chapter will consider the environments where the less constraining forms of advice are occasioned.

1. Constraining forms of advice: a local warrant

By constraining forms of advice, I am referring back to the forms of advice in Chapter 3 that provide the recipient with little optionality with regard to doing the future course of action that is being put forward, and include such forms as: 'you need to do x'. They claim that there will be little contingency or problem with the recipient doing the candidate action. At the same time they may build the recipient as more or less knowing that they should do the action, and the tag question is one such resource for building in that the recipient already knows (see Hepburn & Potter, 2011b on the use of tag questions in advice resistance, for example).

'Solicited' advice

One environment in which relatively unmitigated constraining forms of advice seem to appear is where advice has been 'solicited'. Although directly soliciting advice is scarce in the corpus, the two clear examples that have been found provide some evidence that strong forms of advice are not dispreferred when they have been 'solicited' to some degree.

In the first extract, Pat has just found out that she has got an interview for a job and Mum has just been advising her on what she should wear. We join the conversation where Pat is changing the topic to what she should do with her hair.

Extract 6.2: P3C5 - Interview outfit 1, 12:13

1 Pat: I've- I've gotta start thin- I've got to go in
2 tomorrow and start taking photos of the
3 children:=an: (0.3) .hhhhh all of that s[o
4 Mum: [Yeahh
5 (.)
6 Pat: >I can't even think about my outfit yet=what am I
7 ↑gonna do with my< hair?↑
8 (0.8)
9 Mum: Have it really .hh=
10 Pat: =Maybe I could go and have it done in <London> when
11 I get there

In lines 6-7 Pat explicitly enquires: 'what am I gonna do with my hair.' The higher pitch production and the questioning intonation cast her 'hair' as a particularly problematic issue which she is in a K- position on. The interrogative provides Mum with grounds for asserting her knowledge on the issue in that Mum is being cast in a relatively K+ position to Pat (Heritage & Raymond, 2012). Mum's advice, which is only partially articulated, is essentially a second pair part to this enquiry. The strong imperative form (line 9), 'pumped up' by the emphasis on 'really', is therefore fitted to Pat's interrogative which essentially makes Mum's advice a relevant next action.

In the following extract, Mum and Lucy are coming to the end of their call where they are making arrangements for a get together the following day at Mum's house. Lucy has a 4 month old baby who she will be looking after. Mum asks Lucy to pick a cake up on her way round which raises problems with managing the baby.

Extract 6.3: P5C5 - Cake shopping, 10:21

1 Mum: [O]kay an m↑aybe I can get you to pick up a cake
2 or something.

((lines 3-31 omitted where it is agreed that Lucy will pick up cake, and from where)).

32 Lucy: Yeah shall I urm: (0.2) .hh (0.2) when I'm doing that
33 shall I (.) bring her in with the car seat or
34 something.

35 (1.0)

36 Lucy: Or jus:[t]

37 Mum: [Ur:m] (1.2) oh yeah because you've got (0.3)

38 Bubba.

39 Mum: .hhh I've got your mattress by the way, for your

40 push [chair.]

41 Lucy: [Ah-ha] <Yeah I didn't use the push chair

42 today, so the mattress hasn't been used. .HHH I just

43 brought her in i[n the car] seat. hh .hh=

44 Mum: [Ur:]

45 Mum: =°What's° [the best way] to [do it.=°Just° bring the:

46 Lucy: [hhh] [Well ↑I can just (quid)

47 those in a [trolley,] but urm: .nhhh I coul- (0.2)

48 Mum: [sling.]

49 Lucy: (p) could put her in the sling yeah

50 (0.2)

51 Lucy: But urm=

52 Lucy: =>it's kind of< [(0.2)]hard by your]s(h)elf .HH=

53 Mum: =>But that's a [bit of a<]pain >on your own.<

In lines 32-34, Lucy essentially asks Mum how to bring the baby into the supermarket,²¹ whilst notably displaying her own competence by incorporating a candidate way of doing it. As such she delivers a 'yes/no' interrogative like those found in advice solicitations from first time mothers' interactions with health visitors (Heritage & Sefi, 1992, see also Pilnick, 2003 on pharmacy interactions, and Vehviläinen, 2009 on advice requests in academic supervision sessions). Lucy is essentially asking Mum for her opinion but by minimally seeking a confirmation.²² The focus here is with how Mum's advice is eventually given. In line 45, Mum prefaces her advice with an orientation to the initial opinion solicit. It can be hearable as 'self-talk' (Schegloff, 2007) through the quiet voice, and essentially as a question already asked by Lucy; not a question to her. The preface re-orientates the

²¹ Lucy's restart in order to preface her enquiry with 'when I'm doing that' as well as this closed question, work in the service of dealing with the possible hearing that getting the cake will be too problematic.

²² This extract is complicated by the issue that this opinion solicit raises a problem with Mum's request. It raises a problem with a joint venture that is in need of a solution and as such, the future action is also in Mum's interest to some degree. This implicit problem is oriented to by Mum in her response through the news receipt and orientation to the baby. It is further oriented to by Mum

interaction before the advice is delivered. Although this preface might also work to downplay Mum's K+ on the topic, what follows seems to reinstate it through the use of an imperative form which is treated as minimal through the word 'just' (lines 45-48). Here, again then we see an example of a recipient soliciting an opinion and therefore seemingly giving their recipient the entitlement to deliver a pushy piece of advice.

The entitlement to give advice seems to also be made relevant in a more indirect way when the recipient invokes a problem they have. Again, this can be paralleled to the way first time mother reports of an untoward state of affairs are treated by health visitors as indirect advice solicits (Heritage & Sefi, 1992). However, unlike in those environments where the health visitors are quick to treat some, even vague orientations towards a problem as an advice solicit, the bald advice here seems to be subsequent to a clear problem orientation where there is a display of K- with regard to managing the problem.

Extract 6.4: P2C9 - Farah's bum, 8.10

- 1 Mum: How's Farah's bum:,
 2 (0.8)
 3 Katie: Yeah it's still a little bit r[↑]unny this aft- (0.2)
 4 this evening.
 5 (.)
 6 Mum: [↑]Really?[↑] ((produced through closed mouth))
 7 (0.3)
 8 Mum?: °mm[m°
 9 Katie: [#But .hh she's she's happy in herse:lf,=I
 10 jus:t (0.4) dunno:.
 11 (.)
 12 Mum: Iz just be careful what you give her an: give her
 13 some plug up sort of foo:d rather than (.) .hhhhh
 14 anything that would have made her runny.=What, (.)
 15 did she have today.

In this extract, Mum enquires about a known about problem; that Farah, Katie's daughter has an apparent upset tummy. Katie responds by treating the problem as still relevant (lines 3-4). After Mum's pursuit in line 6, Katie continues her turn with the 'but' preface, marking what she is about to say as disjunctive to what she has already said. Here

topicalising that she has the baby's pushchair mattress (because she washed it) which is ultimately why Lucy can't carry the baby in the normal way.

Katie presents some contrastive evidence; that the problem doesn't seem as bad because of the way Farah is behaving (line 9). Katie goes on to invoke a K- position on the matter through: 'I just dunno' (lines 9-10). This K- position is further 'pumped up' by the rising and falling intonation through the production of 'dunno', and the pause before this final word is delivered. There is therefore some ambiguity and uncertainty with regard to the problem on Katie's part.

It is in this environment that Mum responds quickly with a strong imperative form of advice. This is softened slightly by the 'iz just' preface, which sets up the action that follows as a generic and minimal piece of advice.

In the following extract Katie has been telling Mum about how she and her husband Jimmy have not been getting on. Katie has already played down the problem and talk has shifted to the topic of Katie and Jimmy coming round to Mum's house for lunch on another day. Mum has asked Katie if it is still okay for them to come over and then enquired about the timings. We join the sequence as Katie reinitiates talk about her relationship trouble.

Extract 6.5: P2C9 - Relationship trouble, 6:05

- 1 Katie: °Ur:m:° (0.9) <well Jimmy's got this: urm: rugby
 2 thing on, hh
 3 Mum: Yeah,
 4 (0.5)
 5 Katie: <↑Maybe we just need to spend some time together as
 6 well'cause like, hhh °think it's just° an endless
 7 cycle of him wor:king >all the time and then we get<
 8 Sundays off an .hhh feels li:k*e, we spend most of
 9 our time with everyone else,=>an we don't< actually
 10 have that time together,
 11 (.)
 12 Mum: Yeah
 13 Katie: D'you what I mea:n,
 14 (.) ((breathing from Katie?))
 15 Mum: ↑Yeah
 16 (1.1)
 17 Mum: That's probably what you n↑eed=>A [bit of<
 18 Katie: [HHH
 19 Mum: time together.
 20 (1.3)

21 Katie: °Fu[cking]°
 22 Mum: [Yeah?]
 23 Katie: Yeah
 24 (0.9)
 25 Katie: °Just silly isn't it.°
 26 (0.2)
 27 Mum: Ah?
 28 (.)
 29 Katie: .hhh Just SILLY=Isn't it.
 30 (0.8)
 31 Mum: ↑Wyeah, ↑
 32 (0.9)
 33 Mum: ↑↑Talk to him.
 34 (.)
 35 Katie: Yeah I do:.
 36 (.)
 37 Katie: °Talk to him.°

Katie seems to be seeking Mum's opinion in various ways with regard to her relationship trouble. She proposes a candidate solution through the epistemic downgrader 'maybe' in lines 5-10, therefore making relevant a second assessment in which an alternative orientation is provided for. Uptake is pursued after it has not been forthcoming, through an explicit orientation to understanding (line 13). Katie then seeks an opinion from Mum through the assessment plus tag: 'just silly isn't it' (line 25 and 29). Katie is treating Mum as able to confirm this self-deprecatory assessment. Agreeing with a self-deprecation is normatively treated as a dispreferred action (see Pomerantz, 1984) and yet in this environment it might be considered the appropriate thing to do; in order to reassure Katie on the extent of her problem. Mum responds with a high registered and yet soft sounding agreement which is 'well prefaced' even though just the 'w' is produced (line 31), thus orienting to an underlying preference for a disagreement whilst reassuring Katie at the same time. Mum provides space for Katie to come in next but after a gap she delivers her pushy advice; embodied through the imperative form and high registered pitch (line 33).

Again, in this extract Mum's strong imperative form of advice comes after a local warrant in that Katie orients to a problem that needs solving and moreover, one that she is having trouble finding a solution to.

In sum, the examples in this section all illustrate that one environment in which we seem to see constraining forms of advice in these mother-daughter interactions, is when there has been a local warrant to give such pushy advice by the advice recipient. In extracts 6.2 and 6.3, this warrant came from the ‘solicitation’ of the advice through an interrogative form. In extracts 6.4 and 6.5, the recipient’s opinion was ‘solicited’ by an orientation from the recipient towards a problem that they are having trouble finding a solution to.

Alignment with the recipient’s perspective

Another environment where constraining forms of advice seem to appear is where the advice is clearly aligned to the recipient’s perspective in some way. This can most strongly be seen in instances where the advice comes after the recipient has already displayed some commitment to doing the forwarded action. This is shown in the following two extracts.

Extract 6.6: P5C4 - Food shopping, 4:08

- 1 Mum: [David’s just] in um: (0.2) .tchhh Tescos getting
 2 some food,
 3 (.)
 4 Lucy: What now? hh
 5 (0.3)
 6 Mum: Y:eah.
 7 (0.2)
 8 Lucy: O:h. .HH well we’ve got a: f:ood delivery:, urm from
 9 half nine till half ten tonight.e#=>An I-< the
 10 reason I did it at that time because it’s free. .hh
 11 Otherwise it’s like four quid.=Or something, ha
 12 (0.2)/ ((outbreath from Lucy))
 13 Mum: °Oh° really:, is it free, from where, (.) from
 14 which supermar[ket.]
 15 Lucy: [O]cado,

Lines 16-74 omitted where Mum and Lucy discuss the benefits of on-line food shopping as well as potential negatives²³

²³ In doing so Mum and Lucy talk is relevant to both Mum and Lucy’s future courses of action, so both of them are implicated in ‘advice’ relevant activities.

75 Lucy: =.hh [AND URM]
 76 Mum: [>I don't know why<] we don't do that.=
 77 Lucy: =No well you should=an also at the end when you've
 78 picked your things, it comes up with a lis:t says do
 79 you wanna swap this for this and sav:e something pee
 80 or something pounds or something, .HH so: it helps
 81 you get money off, an: (0.6) brings [up] deals
 82 Mum: [(Good)]
 83 Lucy: and stuff:,
 84 (.)
 85 Lucy: [mm it's very help]ful=yeah, hhuh .hh=
 86 Mum: [()]
 87 Mum: =Well I'll have to sit and do it with David, show
 88 him (0.2) what you can do: be[cause] >you know he
 89 Lucy: [Ye:ah]
 90 Mum: doesn't do internet,< but if he realises how easy it
 91 is,

In this extract, after Mum has reported that her husband (Lucy's step dad) has gone food shopping, Lucy delivers a questioning repeat 'what now?' (line 4) followed by a news receipt of Mum's confirmation (line 8). The time is about 6.30pm on a Saturday night, and it seems that Lucy is orienting to this as an odd time to go shopping by treating time as something of interest. Lucy then delivers some contrastive but related news; that she is getting her food delivered to her. After discussing the online food shopping in more detail (lines omitted), Mum orients to the relevance of this activity for herself (line 76). She claims to not have sufficient knowledge as to why her husband doesn't shop online, therefore highlighting the relevance of this activity as a future course of action for her and her husband.

Lucy's advice in line 77 is aligning with Mum's position and as such is doing agreement, especially with the 'no' preface which is in alignment with the negative polarity of Mum's claim. There is a minimal marker of dispreference here with the 'well' preface but apart from that the strong verb of obligation is not mitigated; Lucy's turn is even latched rather than delayed, and the word 'should' is marked with increased pitch; upgrading the normativity of the advice.

In the following extract, Mum and Katie have been discussing Katie's headache problem, when Mum enquires into what Katie is doing (referring to whether she will go to work the next day or not).²⁴

Extract 6.7: P2C13 - Checking up, 0:38

- 1 Mum: So what you ↑doing.
2 (1.4)
3 Katie: Hum HHH[I'm going] to work °tomo-°=
4 Mum: [Are you going-]
5 Katie: =Yeah I'm >going into work< [tomorrow,]
6 Mum: [Is that a] good
7 idea. =Darling.
8 (1.0)
9 Katie: <↑Yeah no it's fi:n:e=I- (0.2) ur:m:
10 (0.3) I'll explain to them maybe:, (.) I'll:
11 see if there's anything else I can do that I'm
12 not on the computer all day,
13 (.)
14 Mum: Yeah.
15 (0.2)
16 Katie: 'til I've got my gla:sses, u-
17 Katie: Ur:m (0.9) [but]
18 Mum: [G-](0.2) gotta get those
19 [glasses] ordered as well, =Haven't you.
20 Katie: [(yeah but)?]
21 (0.5)
22 Katie: Yeah=I'll pop in to town on my lunch hour an do it.

Again, in this extract, Mum's use of a relatively unmitigated verb of obligation (lines 18-19) is delivered after Katie has just mentioned that she is going to get her glasses (line 16). The advice is therefore safely aligned to Katie's position with regard to the course of action being forwarded in that ordering the glasses is part of the same activity. Moreover, the tag question nicely acknowledges Katie's epistemic authority with regard to this course of action, where Katie has already displayed her knowledge on this matter.

²⁴ Note that the sequence of interest in this extract has been analysed in previous chapters, on pages 55, 80, 116 and 124.

In other cases, the advice giver delivers strong forms of advice once the recipient's position regarding a future course of action has been collaboratively established through the unfolding of the interaction. In the following extract, Katie is telling Mum about her ongoing headache problem and how she feels better for not taking codeine.

Extract 6.8: P2C14 - Headaches (painkillers), 4.19

- 1 Mum: =I ↑↑tell you wha:t↑↑ the best one to try is the:
2 urm: (.) w:hich (.) urm I (.) dosed meself up be-
3 °°fore°° (0.4) -fore on is the <they do a migraine
4 one quick relief migraine one.
5 (0.3)
6 Katie: °Y:[eah°
7 Mum: [<I know it's quite expensive but it (.) it's
8 good. hh
9 (0.2)
10 Katie: Yeah
11 Mum: >Have you not tried that one.<
12 (0.2)
13 Katie: No not yet
14 (0.6)
15 Mum: °Yeah (.) >↑well<° (0.6) .hhHH (.) try 'em ou:t.<But
16 ↑is i:t↑ (0.2) now that you haven't taken any
17 painkillers have you still got headache. Hh.

In lines 1-4, Mum is recommending or positively appraising an alternative painkiller and doing so with no reference to Katie's agency; putting less constraint on Katie's next turn (see Chapter 3). With minimal uptake from Katie in line 6, Mum orients to one possible contingency with taking the painkillers; that they are expensive, whilst also overriding this contingency by further emphasising the value of the painkillers. Still, Katie delivers a slightly delayed response here with a minimal 'yeah' (line 10, see also page 93 and 140 on this particular extract). Mum's turn in line 11 further works to get Katie on board with following the 'advice' by enquiring into another contingency of whether she has done the minimal action of 'trying' the tablets. Katie responds in a way that positions herself as being onboard with doing the future course of action by 1) claiming not to have already done the minimal 'try' and 2) by orienting to the possibility that she *will* try them, with the temporal reference 'not yet' (line 13). Mum's imperative form of advice which follows (line 15) is thus fitted to

Katie's collaboratively established position. Similarly, Vehviläinen (2012) showed that one of the affordances of question answer sequences in academic supervision sessions is that questions can provide a way for aligning perspectives and thus promoting advice acceptance.

The following extract is another example where a perspective is aligned with prior to a strong, imperative form of advice is delivered. Katie has a stomach bug after eating prawns at a party.

Extract 6.9: P2C4 – Salmonella, 5:02

- 1 Mum: ↑Well I'm sorry you've↑ had a: erm: a crap time?
- 2 Katie: That's alright, (.) it happens=°doesn't it^{hh}°
- 3 Mum: Yeah=is ↑Farah alright?↑
- 4 (0.5)
- 5 Katie: Yeah=Jim's just gone to go get her now.
- 6 (0.4)
- 7 Mum: °↑Oh: 'at's nice.°
- 8 (0.8)
- 9 Mum: >Oh she's had quite an a-< (.) >you've had a< (.)
- 10 quite a (.) long: (0.3) .hhhh break. hh
- 11 Katie: Wehhll I've just been trying to get better. hh
- 12 (0.2)
- 13 Mum: °Yeah°
- 14 (1.2)
- 15 Mum: Bless her:=
- 16 Katie: =°Just° woken u:p.
- 17 (0.3)
- 18 Mum: snhh >↑YOU'VE JUST woken up.<
- 19 (0.2)
- 20 Katie: Yeah I went back to bed.
- 21 Mum: Bl↑oody he:ll.
- 22 (1.2)
- 23 Mum: Oh- #er:# <'cause you know s- (.) prawns it's
- 24 salmonella=Isn't it.
- 25 (0.5)
- 26 Katie: °'eahhh°
- 27 (0.2)
- 28 Mum: So: watch it.

In lines 23-24, Mum asserts and treats Katie as knowing via ‘you know’ and the tag question, that her stomach bug might be connected to a serious problem; salmonella food poisoning. Katie indeed acknowledges this possibility in line 26, although in a hedged way and following delay. Having now established the basis for delivering the advice and getting (some) alignment from Katie, Mum delivers the strong imperative and idiomatic form of advice to ‘watch it’. Indeed Waring (2007a) argues that the delivery of an account (which is produced in lines 23-24) sets up an environment for advice acceptance.²⁵ Alternatively though, we could see Mum’s construction of a potentially ‘serious’ problem, as in itself warranting the advice.

In other cases, the advice that is given seems to be aligned to the recipient’s position more implicitly. The following extracts are examples whereby the recipient has an underlying interest in making money before moving abroad. Pat has just been telling Mum how her and her husband James are getting their house valued to sell and the work James has been doing on the house. Pat and James are moving abroad so the sale is in preparation for this.

Extract 6.10: P3C6 – Old cigarette cards, 19.38

- 1 Pat: And urm: (2.0) yeah: he’s got all his star wars toys
 2 out=>he’s gonna< sell them a:ll and he’s [got urm]:
 3 Mum: [Aw:]
 4 Pat: tch.hhh (0.3) <old cigarette cards> that his great
 5 granddad, his granddad, and his dad collected.=an
 6 they’re all in this big box.=
 7 Mum: =Yeah,
 8 (0.8)
 9 Pat: urm they’re all worth: money apparently,h
 10 (0.2)
 11 Pat: but I said (0.4) don’t sell them.
 12 (0.2)
 13 Pat: Keep them.
 14 (0.2)
 15 Pat: an you could like >put them into like a< (.) art
 16 book or frame them or something.

²⁵ A stronger version of fitting a piece of advice to a recipient’s perspective is shown by Emmison, Butler & Danby (2011), where call takers on a kids helpline reformulate the recipient’s own words in the form of a ‘script proposal’.

17 Mum: Yeah: or his dad might be really upset,
18 Mum: <if he sold them.
19 Pat: (d)Er: no he won't because when: they all moved out
20 of: their family home (1.5) urm: (0.2) tch (0.5)
21 when Amen had been kicked out and then Lou moved out
22 and went to Kidlington,
23 (0.2)
24 Mum: >mm,<
25 (0.2)
26 Pat: the one from Woodstock, .HHH James went <back> (0.5)
27 to have one last look at the place on his ow:n (.)an
28 found that box in the bin.
29 (0.2)
30 Mum: Oh.
31 (0.2)
32 Pat: S:o urm: (1.1) don't think anyone's missed them.
33 Mum: Yeah.
34 (1.3)
35 Mum: .hhh But you'd need he'd need to find the right
36 place to: .hh [take them.]
37 Pat: [Yeah he al]ready phoned somewhere but
38 they're in Warwick,=
39 Mum: =mm,
40 (0.2)
41 Pat: ur:m: (0.2) an they said they would pay for a- (0.2)
42 a: (.) en- urm you know a (.) free <post*>
43 Mum: Yeah
44 (0.5)
45 Pat: envelope to send them.=but urm: (0.4) he doesn't
46 wanna send them.
47 (.)
48 Mum: °No°
49 (2.4)
50 Mum: .H[H
51 Pat: [<(So) that's another idea.
52 Mum: Yes:
53 Pat: >An then we're getting rid of< aytch dee:, hh

- 54 (0.4)
 55 Pat: (An) that will save us some money per month,
 56 Mum: Right,

Pat is in the middle of telling Mum things that her husband has been doing in preparation for their move abroad. The news about the cigarette cards and their worth (lines 2-9) orient to the possibility that James is going to sell them, especially as this news comes after the report that James is selling another of his personal belongings. After Mum and Pat raise potential objections with this, Mum delivers some advice which is in accord with James' interest in selling the cards (lines 35-36). This relatively unmitigated advice projects strong normativity through the verb of obligation 'need'. The abbreviated 'he would' treats the advice as having back-dated predictability (Edwards, 2006b), again building on the normativity of the advice.

This strong advice seems to fit with the perspective of the other (the third party in this case), in that it is congruent with James' goal of making money out of the cigarette cards. The action of taking the cards to the right place is clearly fitted to this goal. Elsewhere, where the advice is in the service of managing a problem, the perspective seems to be aligned with first, in order for the advice to be fitted to it. Here, in contrast, the focus is on a particular goal, where having that goal on record seems to enable for the possibility of a piece of advice to be fitted to it.

In the following extract, Mum and Pat have been discussing the valuations Pat has received for her house and which Pat is going to give to the next door neighbour who is interested in buying the house. Pat and her husband James are selling their house in order to move abroad for Pat's job. Just prior to this extract, Mum has positively assessed selling the house to the neighbour, to avoid the estate agent's fees.

Extract 6.11: P3C10 - Selling the house, 8.48

- 1 Mum: S: o=
 2 Pat: =We'd [>have< (.) <massive> bills if we went through
 3 Mum: [he
 4 Pat: an agent.
 5 Mum: He migh: [t*
 6 Pat: [Twenty percent ((to James?))
 7 (0.8)

8 Mum: #W#- you'll have to- you'll have to: (0.2) tread
9 carefully with your neighbour because you w↑on't
10 want to lose him;

11 Pat: No.
12 (0.3)

13 Mum: e-But ↑if he starts prattling on 'oh I'm saving you
14 on estate agents so I'll of[fer]you:: less. =

15 Pat: [Yeah.]

16 Mum: .hh [You ha-] as you] said (.) have a figure.

17 Pat: [Well I] said]

18 Mum: In [mind.]

19 Pat: [We]<said> we'll s- we'll give him the one
20 eight nine figure, =

21 Mum: =Mm

22 Pat: .HH <An he- he- if he came to us saying one eighty,
23 (.)

24 Mum: Mm

25 Pat: We'd sa:y one eight seven,

26 Mum: Ye[ah]

27 Pat: [An] he'd say one eight three an[: >we'd<] say-
28 Mum: [Yeah]

29 Pat: (.) I think we'd drop to one eight six.

30 Mum: Yeah
31 (0.5) ((sniff during))

32 Mum: Yeah.
33 (0.2)

34 Pat: 'cause then that's: (1.3)

35 Mum: An then they he has to pay the stamp duty,
36 (0.2)

37 Pat: <Oh he has to pay the stamp duty,
38 (.)

39 Mum: Yeah so, (0.2) ↑all you've got to think about is the
40 solicitor really.
41 (.)

42 Pat: Yeah (2.1)/((background talking from James)) yeah if
43 he:: if he came in at one eight five we'd bite his
44 hand off.

45 (1.0)
 46 Mum: Oh n↑o: no.=If he says one eight f↑ive say well
 47 .hhhh one eight seven,
 48 (0.4)
 49 Pat: Hang on.
 50 [(1.4) ((absolute time))
 51 James: [If he comes in at one eight five]
 52 Pat: Yeah.=If he comes in at one eight five we'll go for
 53 more.=but if he:, (0.2) goes up to one eight five,
 54 (2.0) we'll go for it.
 55 Mum: Yeah
 56 Mum: Yeah.

Again, this extract raises the question of how it comes to be that Mum is able to deliver strong and relatively unmitigated advice. Like the previous extract, the highly normative form of advice comes after Pat has oriented strongly to her goal of selling to the man next door (lines 2-4). Therefore the advice, together with the explicit reference to this perspective with 'because you won't want to lose him' (lines 8-10) is strongly aligned to Pat's goal of making the maximum amount of money. As such, it also provides the basis for the next piece of advice: to have a figure in mind, should the next door neighbour essentially try to give them a raw deal (lines 13-18). Pat is therefore already aligned with the aim of getting the best deal with the next door neighbour because making the maximum amount of money is her and her husband's ultimate goal.

After discussing the negotiation process in more detail, and Mum informing Pat about solicitor fees, Pat (with James talking to her in the background) then strongly asserts, through 'bite his hand off', the amount her and James are willing to drop to (lines 42-44). Mum's strong rejection that follows and the strong imperative form of advice (lines 46-47), although not aligned directly with what Pat has just said, it aligns with the ultimate perspective and goal that has been displayed within the talk of maximising the amount of money the house is sold for and avoiding being exploited by the neighbour in this process.

In sum, this section has shown another broad environment where strong, constraining forms of advice seem to be found. That is, where the advice seems to align with the recipient's perspective. In particular, the advice might follow on from the recipient's stated perspective about following a particular course of action and so the advice is then clearly fitted to their perspective, as was shown in extracts 6.6 and 6.7. This perspective

might be collaboratively established, as was shown in extracts 6.8 and 6.9 in particular. Finally, this perspective might be available to the advice giver in terms of the recipient's orientation to a specific outcome, where the established nature of that goal seems to warrant the delivery of advice in order to achieve that goal, as was shown in extracts 6.10 and 6.11.

Uncalled-for yet pushy advice

Although low contingency forms of advice seem to be occasioned in environments where there is a local warrant to give the advice, these forms of advice are not necessarily limited to such environments. The occasioning in environments where there is apparently less entitlement to give it does not suggest that advice is actually less problematic than has been suggested so far, but rather this orientation is maintained through certain design features. Whilst the extracts presented so far are not completely stripped of such features, the following two extracts will show how such occasioning of highly normative forms of advice in alternative environments to those discussed so far, are built with particular attention to these design features.

The extract below comes in the context where Sinitta has topicalized what she has been doing each day. We can hear this as concerning Sinitta's exercise routine as it touches off talk about a health centre and then talk from Mum about Sinitta's swimming. Just prior to this extract, Mum has praised Sinitta for swimming 100 lengths in the pool the night before.

Extract 6.12: P3C4 - Exercise, 2.27

- 1 Sin: >So I've got< (0.5) swimming again tomorrow.
2 (0.8)
3 Mum: Yeah >.HH< but I- I think you should have one day
4 off one day on >an< not do it every day.
5 Sin: .hh [>And I'm having< [Saturday off.]
6 Mum: [I know you're [keen but]

The context here then is that Sinitta is apparently already positioned as exercising daily, when Mum comes in with some advice to propose that she should do something different; exercise every other day. Mum's advice seems to be unwarranted by Sinitta's prior talk. However, rather than baldly delivering this advice, it is accompanied with some mitigating features. Indeed, Mum has already praised Sinitta and therefore positively

assessed what she has done, therefore softening this alternative perspective already. Furthermore, the advice is delayed with an agreement preface within the turn. The advice is also presented as if coming from Mum's perspective through 'I think', rather than more objectively stating what she should do. Finally, Mum again positively assesses Sinitta's behaviour as 'keen' (line 6), again softening this contrastive opinion.

In the next extract, Katie has been reporting on her on-going headaches that she has been suffering with. Katie has deferred to her doctor friend's diagnosis that it could be sinus related. Her own doctor ordered some blood tests to test for anaemia but Katie disregards this possibility by claiming that it was probably due to her looking tired that he ordered them. Katie seems to be minimising the potential seriousness of her problem.

Extract 6.13: P2C14 – Headaches (scan), 5.51

- 1 Mum: <↑When do your blood↑ results come through.
- 2 Katie: A wee:*k.
- 3 (0.4)
- 4 Mum: An: d- >have you got an< appointment >to see your<
- 5 [doctor.
- 6 Katie: [Yeah.
- 7 (0.2)
- 8 Katie: [°Yeah.°]
- 9 Mum: [Thank]God for that.=What day's that.
- 10 (0.3)
- 11 Katie: <Thursday.
- 12 (0.2)
- 13 Mum: <Thursday what time.
- 14 (0.6)
- 15 Katie: Ten past ten.
- 16 (0.2)
- 17 Mum: °Ten past ten.°
- 18 (.)
- 19 Mum: °mkay.°
- 20 (0.8)
- 21 Mum: .hhH[HH]hh=
- 22 Katie: [Urm:,]

23 Mum: =Won't be able to come with you but >I was gonna
 24 suggest I< came with you hh an:d urm, (.) caused a
 25 s- riot*. =But I wont*.
 26 (0.2)
 27 Katie: N:ohh [huh
 28 Mum: [>Cause I'll be at wor:k.<
 29 (.)
 30 Mum: But (0.6) ur:m:, (.) I th:ink you want to push >if
 31 your< blood tests come back fine, .hhh <I think you
 32 should push immEDIATELY for: ur:m: referral for a
 33 °°#eugh#°° for a scan.
 34 Katie: °°Yeah:, (I do/maybe.)°°

In this extract, despite Katie having downplayed the extent of her headache problem, Mum pursues some strong advice which forwards a future action in which the problem is treated from an alternative perspective; that it is serious. Whilst this is an alternative perspective to Katie's, Mum herself works up her entitlement to give the advice. This is done by orienting to the problem as serious. This is especially shown through the third position display of emotional investment after hearing that Katie has got another doctor's appointment booked (line 9). After enquiring about the timing of the appointment, Mum orients to her desire but inability to go with Katie to the doctors in order to 'cause a riot', treating the doctor as unlikely to treat the problem seriously enough (lines 23-25). Katie's response aligns with Mum's claim to not be able to go with her whilst also hearably downplaying the extent of the issue by producing a laughter particle in post position. However, Mum pursues her concern with an external reason for not being able to go along that works to uphold the seriousness of the problem; she will be at work (line 28).

When Mum finally delivers her highly normative form of advice through the verb of obligation 'should' (lines 30-33), she is therefore delivering it to a recipient whose perspective is not clearly aligned. However, the disjunctive advice is mitigated with the turn initial delays and also the 'I think', treating it as coming from Mum's perspective and therefore allowing for an alternative perspective. Mum builds the advice as contingent on the possibility of the blood tests being fine, using this as a means to repair and upgrade the 'you want' to 'you should'. Mum uses the word 'immediately' whereby the problem is treated as important and urgent enough to warrant and entitle her to deliver the advice to Katie.

So, Mum mitigates her disjunctive advice whilst also working up her warrant to give the advice in the first place. The extra work needed to deliver such highly normative advice when the recipient has not provided the grounds to be given it, provides evidence that advice is dispreferred in this particular environment.

In sum, this section has shown that more mitigated forms of ‘pushy’ advice seem to occur in particularly problematic environments: where the advice is not aligned to the recipient’s perspective and is moreover, disjunctive. This mitigation work provides further evidence that advice needs a local warrant to be delivered. Moving further along the continuum still, the next section will consider less constraining forms of advice and the sorts of environments we find these in, providing further evidence that advice is oriented to as a dispreferred action in certain environments.

2. Less constraining forms of advice: local contingencies

This section is concerned with ‘advice’ that sits on the other end of the continuum to verbs of obligation and imperatives in terms of the degree of normativity which is built into doing a future course of action. As discussed in Chapter 3, this translates into the amount of optionality or contingency that the recipient of the advice is afforded. Less constraining forms of advice provide the recipient with more contingency and optionality, making the speaker’s action more hearable as a ‘suggestion’ or even an action which is defeasible as something other than advice, for example: ‘just a description’. The analysis in this section will show that as with constraining forms of advice, the occasioning of less constraining forms appears to relate to the environment that they occur in. In particular, less constraining forms which provide the recipient with more contingency, seem to be occasioned in local sequential environments where entitlement to advise is low.

Advice not aligned to the recipient’s perspective

One common thread which seems to make relevant a low contingency form of advice is that the advice itself is not clearly fitted to the recipient’s perspective in some way. The analysis therefore develops this dimension from the prior section, whilst also building on the research introduced at the beginning of this chapter where fitting the advice to the recipient’s perspective was discussed as a favourable environment for advice delivery (e.g. Heritage & Sefi, 1992; Kinnell & Maynard, 1996; Silverman, 1997; Pilnick, 2003; Couture & Sutherland, 2006; Vehviläinen, 2001, 2003, 2012). This congruence issue can be identified in

various ways. The following sections attempt to broadly characterise some of the types of incongruence that these high contingency forms of advice are occasioned by. In doing so, the analysis specifies some important considerations when delivering advice

An alternative course of action is forwarded

The extracts in this section are examples where the advice is presented as something alternative and contrary to the recipient's perspective in some way and are therefore similar to the last two extracts in the previous section where the more forceful advice was modulated through features of the surrounding talk. In the following extracts, this modulation is embodied in forms of advice that are in themselves, modulated.

In the following extract, Mum has called Lottie to enquire as to whether she has checked the water in her car after Mum's husband (Lottie's step dad) has done something to fix this component of the car. After Mum had initially enquired into whether the problem was fixed, there was some misunderstanding as to whether it was the water or the oil that Mum was enquiring about. This is the basis for Mum's repair in lines 1-2.

Extract 6.14: P2C1 - Car trouble, 0:43

- 1 Mum: >No I mean< water.=Has the water got, (ogh# egh#,)
2 is it s:till losing water.
3 (0.5)
4 Lottie: I urm I >haven't< checked: recently,>coz I haven't
5 really been, (0.2) I haven't really driven it
6 yesterday, (0.2) I'll- I'll check it in a minute.<
7 (0.3)
8 Mum: I wouldn't check it- (.) I've just started the
9 engine up to mo:ve it.=So I'd give it another: half
10 hour before you o- (0.3) t- undo the s- top.
11 [(0.5)
12 Mum: [.hhh
13 Lottie: Okay,<

We can see here that Lottie is unable to confirm whether the car problem has been fixed or not and accounts for this being to do with not having had the opportunity (having not 'really' driven the car). She then goes on to assert that she will check it 'in a minute' (line 6) therefore honouring the step dad's efforts to fix the problem and accepting Mum's

implicit advice to check the water that is packaged in the question (see Butler et al., 2010 and Chapter 4, Extract 4.2, page 90 for the earlier part of this extract). However, Mum responds by misaligning with Lottie's assertion, and proposing an alternative specification of Lottie's future course of action; to wait half an hour (presumably because the engine will be hot, which could make opening the water top dangerous).

Mum gives this advice through the form 'I wouldn't' which provides some contingency to Lottie in that Lottie's agency is not directly recruited (see Chapter 3, Extract 3.17, page 61). Furthermore, Mum cuts off the negative formulation by accounting for why she is giving the advice, enabling her to continue with a positively framed version 'I'd' (an abbreviation of 'I would') (line 9), whilst also promoting an environment for advice acceptance (see Waring, 2007a). Mum's advice is in the service of Lottie's already stated interest to check the water here, however the form of advice nicely orients to the sequential positioning of the advice, as an alternative specification of the action that a strong verb of obligation or imperative would not be sensitive to.²⁶

In the next extract Mum has been enquiring about Katie's on-going headache problem which leads to the topic of whether Katie will go to work the following day.

Extract 6.15: P2C13 - Checking up, 0:19

- 1 Mum: Good.=How- how's the day gone.=How's your head.
 2 (0.7)
 3 Katie: Yeah: >it's been a lot< better:
 4 (.)
 5 Mum: It's [been ↑better?
 6 Katie: [Still like a bit
 7 (0.7)
 8 Katie: Yeah: still a bit of a headache but (.) I've
 9 just been at home: °and it's been-° I fee- I
 10 feel a lot better in myself,
 11 (0.2)
 12 Mum: ↑Oh that's↑ good.
 13 (0.4)
 14 Katie: Yeah hh so hh yeah it's good.
 15 Mum: Probably 'cause you've not been on a comp↑uter.

²⁶ Interestingly, the first time that Lottie had asserted that she will check in a minute, Mum merely reported that she had just moved the car. It is only after Lottie apparently did not display being onboard with the advice implications of this description, that Mum upgrades to the nevertheless, still relatively less constraining form of advice.

16 (0.8)
 17 Katie: Yeah
 18 (0.3)
 19 Mum: So what you ↑doing.
 20 (1.4)
 21 Katie: Hum HHH[I'm going] to work °tomo-°=
 22 Mum: [Are you going-]
 23 Katie: =Yeah I'm >going into work< [tomorrow,]
 24 Mum: [Is that a] good
 25 idea.=Darling.

Mum positively assesses the news that Katie feels better (line 12) and then goes on to give a candidate basis for this improvement: that she hasn't been on a computer (line 15). Even at this point, Mum seems to be orienting, in an indirect way that not going to work (where Katie will be on a computer) is a favourable action. However, Katie gives a hedged agreement through the delayed and minimal 'yeah' (line 17). Mum then pursues this line by enquiring into what Katie has decided to do (line 19); pursuing her perspective on the matter of work. Katie responds by asserting her decision that she will go to work the next day. Mum continues to pursue her own position however, by forwarding the future course of action of not going to work (lines 24-25). However, as was found in the previous extract, this misaligning position is delivered through a less constraining form of advice; an advice-implicative interrogative (All), in this case. This All is more invasive here than in the Kids Helpline data in Butler et al. (2010) however, as Katie is being invited to assess a course of action she has *already* decided to do. Indeed, the term of endearment nicely softens this invasiveness by claiming a position of 'doing caring'.²⁷

In the following extract Pat is telling her Mum about two possibilities she has been looking into with regard to applying for a teaching job in South East Asia. Pat first describes one option that she has pursued; signing up to a teaching agency. She then goes on to describe another option that she is pursuing; applying for a job that has come up on the TES website (a website which advertises teaching jobs worldwide).

²⁷ This use of a term of endearment in a problematic environment is comparative to the use of terms of endearment in the potentially problematic environment of closing a telephone call (Patterson, 2010).

Extract 6.16: P3C2 - Agency, 1.28

1 Mum: .HH £How bout you.£
2 (0.3)
3 Pat: E:m: I'm: (.) I've just sent off my (0.2) s:canned
4 copies of my see are bee:, (.) que tee ess:
5 certificate, an my degree certificate, .hhh an a
6 photo=I got that photo off the school website,
7 (.)
8 Mum: Mm,
9 (0.5)
10 Pat: Ur:m: (0.2) tch to:: a: agency called teach
11 anywhere.
12 (0.4)
13 Mum: ↑Ah::.↑=[good idea.]
14 Pat: [<Who u]rm>

((Lines 15-32 omitted where there is talk about the agency))

33 Pat: Ur:m: (0.4) tcha <an there's: a: job in Bali that's
34 come up on the tee ee ess:,
35 Mum: Mhm,

((lines 36-71 omitted where Pat provides details about the job))

72 Pat: So I've just gotta update my letter to kind of sh:ow
73 that I understand that, an that [I-] I- do that
74 Mum: [Yeah.]
75 Pat: anyway,
76 Mum: >Mm.<
77 (0.3)
78 Pat: Urm: (1.0) °an then I'll get that sent off:°
79 (2.2)
80 Pat: But other than that, (0.2)
81 Mum: <I think the agency's a good way to go.=Because at
82 least then they can, .hh research: (0.7)
83 Mum: [°for you.°]

- 84 Pat: [They can vet] the schoo:ls, yeah.=
85 Mum: =Yeah.

In lines 81-83 Mum appears to be packaging some advice to use the agency (see Chapter 3, Extract 3.23, page 69). This advice comes after Pat has reported that she is applying for jobs using an alternative approach; by applying to advertisements on the TES website (lines 33-78). Mum is therefore forwarding an alternative course of action to the immediately prior one that was reported. By favouring the option Pat *first* reported, Mum is implicitly raising a problem with the *second* course of action that Pat reported. There is an implicit contrast here that the TES is less desirable because it doesn't have agents to inspect the schools. The advice-implicative assessment therefore nicely fits in this incongruent position, by putting less constraint on Pat to accept the advice. The 'I think' also works to those ends by making a claim from her own perspective and therefore allowing for the possibility of an alternative perspective.

In sum, this section has shown one environment where high contingency, less constraining forms of advice were found in the data. This is where the advice is forwarding an alternative course of action to the one that has just been established by the recipient. These high contingency forms therefore enable the advice giver to deliver a potentially problematic piece of advice by delivering the advice in an off the record way.

The problem is raised on the recipient's behalf

Another way that a problem might not be aligned to the recipient's perspective is when advice is delivered without the recipient orienting to a problem in the first place. In other words, the advice giver raises the problem *for* the recipient. Leppänen (1998) similarly proposed that more mitigated forms of advice from district nurses seemed to occur when the patients were not aware of the issues being raised.

The following extract is an example of this. Mum has just asked Sarah where she is, which has touched off talk about her boyfriend's job and the possibility that he might have more work offered to him.

Extract 6.17: P1C6 – Boyfriend's job, 1:22

- 1 Sarah: =But urm: (.) yeah: yeah: well s- I spoke to Robin
2 'cause I went over to see Li:ll?
3 Mum: Mm: ,

4 Sarah: to see what time they was gonna be ba:ck,
5 Mum: >Yeah.<
6 (0.3)
7 Sarah: .hh but Robin was there >an he was like< 'aw they'll
8 be back 'ere in a minute', (0.5)but urm Robin said
9 aw I spoke to me da:d, (0.9) an apparently:: 'e's
10 done a lot of good work today, so(it's/he's) gonna
11 be rollin on?
12 Sarah: [So 'opefully:] (0.6) they've got a bit
13 Mum: [Oh that's good.]
14 Sarah: more work for (h)im as well s[o.
15 Mum: [Oh that's good.
16 Sarah: che ch:ehh Yeah:.=[Handy.]
17 Mum: [Well as] long- u- as long as 'e
18 keeps it up then,=an makes sure he
19 [goes:, an] don't let 'em d[own.
20 Sarah: [Nah: that's it.] [Yeah.
21 (0.5)
22 Mum: Yeah
23 Sarah: †Aoh: no: yeah. yeah: uyeah. Sound innit.

In lines 1-14, Sarah is reporting some good news that her boyfriend has been working well and that he may be getting more work as a consequence. This praise towards her boyfriend is positioned as coming from a third party to the couple, which nicely works to objectify the praise and make it more genuine (Speer, 2012). Whilst Mum positively receipts this news in line 13 and 15, Mum nevertheless responds with some advice which orients to a problem. Mum is essentially presupposing that the boyfriend is prone to not having a good attitude towards work and is likely to 'let 'em down' (lines 17-19). Mum is therefore raising a potential problem on Sarah's behalf which is therefore not tailored to her perspective.

It is worth noting here that whilst the advice is for Bobby, it is still essentially for Sarah to take head of as Bobby's partner. Mum uses a specific kind of 'if-then' construction through 'as long as', an alternative version of 'if'. Whilst the 'then' is not said, it is logically linked to the possibility of getting more work. Mum is essentially raising a condition with the positive news rather than more explicitly recruiting Bobby to do a specific action. In doing so she is not as strongly making an accept/reject response a relevant next action from Sarah.

The point here is that the form that Mum uses to deliver the third party 'advice' puts minimal constraint on the recipient's next turn.

The next extract comes at the end of a phone call between Mum and Katie. Mum has been looking after Katie's daughter Farah (a 2 year old) and just as Katie begins to initiate the closing of the call, Mum raises an issue with a food item that Farah has been given; a chocolate hen lollipop (apparently given to Farah from Mum).

Extract 6.18: P2C2 Chocolate hens, 3.56

- 1 Katie: .hhh >Alright then< Well-(0.4)
2 Mum: [>↑DID SHE EAT HER,<] (.) [>did she eat her,<]
3 Katie: [>(Alright then) <] [(Better go)]
4 Mum: chocolate ↑hen an:d↑(0.3)
5 Katie: No.=>I didn't give them to her but she will
6 have.<=>°I put them on the [(plate)°<]
7 Mum: [↑I]
8 would↑ take them off the stick if that's possible,
9 (.)
10 Katie: °Yeahh°
11 (0.2)
12 Katie: °>Have a look.<°

Like the previous extract, Mum is initiating a potential problem for Katie, rather than Katie first orienting to this problem herself. The enquiry on lines 2-4, first brings the relevance of the chocolate lollipops to the interaction and it is presumably because they were given to Farah from Mum that provides the basis for this enquiry. Once it is clear that the lollipops have not yet been consumed, Mum forwards a course of action to assist with this activity. In doing so, Mum raises a potential problem with the toddler eating the lollipop that has not already been oriented to by Katie. Like the previous extract though, Mum uses a form of advice that provides optionality to the recipient. The 'would' construction does not recruit the recipient directly. Because Mum is orienting to herself rather than Katie, Katie is provided with space to orient to her own contingencies (see Chapter 3, Extract 3.18, page 62).

So again, a less constraining form of advice is used in an environment where the advice has not been sufficiently warranted by the recipient's perspective that there is a problem needing to be fixed.

The following extract provides a final example of this kind of environment. It contributes to the previous section first by showing an advice-implicative description being used to forward an alternative course of action. It then goes on to show examples of advice-implicative interrogatives being used to introduce possible problems and future courses of action. Mum has just reported that her husband (Lucy's step dad) has gone food shopping. Lucy has responded by reporting on a course of action that she has taken and which is presented as an alternative to his. This extract follows on from Extract 6.6, line 8, page 169.

Extract 6.19: P5C4 – Food shopping, 4:14

8 Lucy: →Q:h. .HH well we've got a: f:ood delivery:, urm
9 from half nine till half ten tonight.e#=>An I-< the
10 reason I did it at that time because it's free. .hh
11 otherwise it's like four quid.=Or something. ha
12 (0.2)/ ((outbreath from Lucy))
13 Mum: °Oh° ↑really:, is it free, from where, (.) from
14 which supermar[ket.]
15 Lucy: [O]cado,
16 (0.6)
17 Mum: ↑Really.
18 (.)
19 Lucy: Yeah hh
20 (.)
21 Lucy: If you urm, on [s-]
22 Mum: → ['s always] free though,=[(Is it?)]
23 Lucy: [It's not]
24 always free though:,
25 Lucy: Cause I-I've (.) go on the#: I dunno I think (0.3)
26 maybe for the fir:st deliv- I dunn↑o: .HH but when
27 I- go on to it to order, .HH it's always li,-ke
28 (0.2) ur two ninety nine, six ninety nine, four
29 ninety ni:[n:e,(.)] >you know<
30 Mum: ['s good]
31 Lucy: [stuff like that]=But it (0.2) it- was fr[ee. .hh]=
32 Mum: [Oh: right.] [But is this]
33 Lucy: Th:is [time.]
34 Mum: → [is](.) this slot free every evening then.

35 (0.7) ((long quiet inbreath from Lucy))
36 Lucy: No it's just free at certain times, >I just book-< I
37 just happened to book a slot that was free. (.) snffhh
38 (0.2)
39 Mum: ↑Oh: right.↑
40 Mum: ↑Oh [okay.
41 Lucy: [So hh (.)°it° (0.2) it shows you: ,=
42 Mum: =(is/does)=
43 Lucy: =it shows you different slots and how much they cost
44 and you just click on one you want. .hh
45 Mum: ↑Oh: [okay.
46 Lucy: [°So° .hhh=
47 Mum: →=↑Do [you get] the waitrose essential stuff.
48 Lucy: [Yeah.]((closed mouth production))
49 (.)
50 Lucy: Ye:ah (0.2) I do.

By reporting how she has bought her grocery shopping, Lucy neatly forwards a course of action for Mum and her stepdad which is positioned as an alternative to the course of action they have already taken (lines 8-11). So we see another example of a low entitlement form of an advice-implicative description being delivered as an alternative and therefore potentially less favourable course of action.

As well as this though, Mum raises some issue with Lucy's course of action (shopping on-line). Again, this is neatly done via the use of interrogatives rather than something 'pushier' (lines 22 & 34). Whilst lines 22 and 34 raise problems, line 47 more clearly forwards a future course of action. The yes/no interrogative is a history taking design which enquires into whether Lucy is buying a particular brand of food from Waitrose.²⁸ Whilst this interrogative form projects an unknown answer, it strongly prefers a 'yes' response (see Chapter 3, page 63). This closed form of interrogative, with no orientation to alternatives seems to suppose the relevance of getting this particular range of food, instead of providing scope for other types. As such, this interrogative is quite bald as well as restrictive in this environment as it strongly supposes that this is the sort of food she should be buying. Nevertheless, the interrogative form is useful here in that it is defeasible as a 'question',

²⁸ Ocado supplies the Waitrose food brand which is known for its high quality and more expensive food. However, the essential range from Waitrose is marketed as an affordable and basic alternative.

providing a means for raising a future action and potential problem on the recipient's behalf in a less exposed way.

In sum, this section has shown another environment where less constraining forms of advice seem to be occasioned in the data. Whilst the previous section showed how this broad type of advice formulation can be occasioned in disjunctive environments in that an alternative course of action is being forwarded, this section has shown that these formulations can be occasioned by another disjunctive environment; where the advice proposes a problem on the recipient's behalf. The next section will consider a final environment where less constraining forms of advice are occasioned in the data.

Unpacking a problem

In other environments, although a problem may have been established by a recipient, work may be required to unpack the nature of that problem before a particular course of action can be forwarded. So, in the previous two sections, the advice seemed to orient to the low entitled position to give advice that the speaker occupied because an alternative course of action had been asserted or a problem was raised on the recipient's behalf. Here in contrast, whilst the recipient is clearly orienting to a problem that they have not themselves got a solution for, the problem needs to be unpacked in order for advice to be fitted to it. Here, we see the usefulness of advice-implicative interrogatives which work to explicate a problem further whilst at the same time, implicating the relevance of particular courses of actions in the case that they have not already been followed (Butler et al., 2010).

Extract 6.20: P2C9 - Relationship problems, 3:46

- 1 Mum: >ANYWAY< (0.5) U:M: (0.2) [I jus:]
2 Katie: [W'll- <Me]and Jimmy are
3 °just fucking: well I'm sick (0.2) e-not (0.2)
4 getting on really at the moment,°
5 (0.2) ((click noise at the end of pause))
6 Mum: ↑Why?
7 (0.5)
8 Katie: I dunno: we °just° dunno: =I dunno if it's °just the°
9 stress of everything #but we just# .HHHHH HWUH
10 °dunno.°
11 (1.2)
12 Mum: >What d'you mean not getting on.<=

13 Katie: =I dunn↑o: I jus-t .hhhh dunno, I jus:(0.3) we seem
14 to be existing with each other °at the moment we're
15 not really: .hh doesn't seem to be any sort of
16 RELAtionship at all at the moment,°
17 (1.5)

18 Mum: ↑Really.
19 (1.2)

20 Mum: ↑Any: reason?=or:=
21 Katie: =°Du~nno,°
22 (1.1)

23 Mum: .hhh (.) ↑Mm.
24 (1.7)

25 Mum: tcha Is: is it Jimmy being funny?=or is it you or:
26 (0.5)

27 Katie: °↑Yeah° >sort of we< #get# (0.2) evening an we
28 hardly even speak to each other #at the moment,#
29 .hhhckh hhhhhhH[HH]

30 Mum: [Is that be]cause his d↑ad's
31 there,=[or:]

32 Katie: [Well] n:↑o:.=Not necessarily a-ta:ll.
33 Mum: What's he doing:,
34 (1.8)

35 Katie: >°What d'you mean.°<
36 (0.6)

37 Mum: W'what's he do in the evenings.
38 Katie: °He just° (0.4) .hhh <one of us either sits on the
39 computer, when the other one watches teevee,=°#an
40 it's just°
41 (1.9)

42 Mum: °mm° ↑Well, (1.0) have you sp↑oken about it.=
43 Katie: =↑Yeah well last (0.2) I mean then just >everything<
44 (was stressy) and it like, .hh I'M NOW: (.) actively
45 looking for somewhere to rent....
46 ((Katie continues to unpack the problem))

In lines 2-4, Katie presents an ongoing problem; that her and her husband are not 'getting on'. Lines 3-4: 'sick of not getting on', specifically presents the problem as

something which keeps happening, a ‘script formulation’ (Edwards, 1995). At this stage, the nature of the problem is not clear and Mum’s account solicitation in line 6 is therefore quite apt. Still, Katie claims insufficient knowledge and only provides the vague candidate cause ‘the stress of everything’ (line 8-10). Katie continues to deliver vague responses (lines 13-16 and 21) which make it difficult to identify where the problem lies, especially as it concerns Katie and her husband’s relationship which Mum has limited epistemic authority to know about. Indeed, without knowing the details of the problem, Mum cannot know what has been done already and therefore what actions are relevant in the future.

Mum’s interrogatives become more specific, attempting to unpack the problem further. However, in themselves, some of these interrogatives could be heard as on the way to offering a diagnosis or advice. For example, lines 30-31 ‘is that because his dad’s there’, could be responded to with a ‘yes’ or ‘no’ type response. A ‘yes’ type response, which might have otherwise been given, could have given Mum the ‘go-ahead’ to give related advice or a diagnosis such as: ‘you need to spend some time alone together’ for example. They therefore can be heard as doing some preliminary work (See Schegloff, 2007 on pre-sequences). Mum’s interrogative in line 42 can more clearly be heard as advice-implicative as it isolates a specific action ‘talking to Jimmy’, whilst making the relevance of that advice contingent on whether it is something Katie has already done (see Butler et al., 2010).

Here then, these interrogatives nicely do preliminary work in forwarding courses of action, in a sequential context where little is known about the nature of the problem and therefore; what future action would be appropriate.

The following extract is another example of this kind, where Katie is detailing her on-going headache problems. The cause of these headaches is unclear and the discussion is focused on the exploration of different possibilities.

Extract 6.21: P2C14 – Headaches (glasses), 4:36

- 1 Mum: °Yeah (.) ↑well° (0.6) .hhHH try `em out. <But ↑is
- 2 i:t↑ (0.2) now that you haven’t taken any
- 3 painkillers have you still got headache. hh
- 4 (0.4
- 5 Katie: No.=It’s not nearly as bad I <just ke- it’s just,
- 6 (0.2) still und- <round that one eye °it just still
- 7 feels like I’ve got pressure there.° .hhh >But
- 8 like,< (1.0) like Penny was saying like (0.9) >you
- 9 got lots of< air pockets in your °ch-° skull, .hhh

10 an i#t can >be like< if: >you've got like< pain in
 11 your sinuses >it can< refer it to other areas and
 12 it's generally round your eye socket and your, .hh
 13 your head and stuff. hh.hh[h
 14 Mum: [°`eah,°
 15 Katie: <But I had the blood tests taken today, >and I get
 16 the results< next week=>I think< he just did that
 17 °just to° see if I was anaemic.=>°`cause° I think
 18 when I went in there< I was a bit tired an:
 19 looked- <probably a bit pale, .hh
 20 Mum: Have you ordered your: glasses?
 21 (0.5)
 22 Katie: <Ur:m: not yet no.=
 23 Mum: =tch↑aghhh
 24 (.)
 25 Katie: Well ↑no >°it's just°-< its `c↑ause I went in
 26 there:,=an then I had to l↑eave an I °didn't (.)
 27 >couldn't° get the< voucher.=So .hhh erm: (0.4)
 28 >but I'll< see what I can do about that tomorrow
 29 (0.4)
 30 Mum: >Need to get< on with that one,
 31 (0.3)
 32 Katie: °Yeah°

In lines 1-3, Mum is enquiring about the extent of Katie's headaches after she has stopped taking codeine (because the codeine had apparently made things worse) (see Chapter 5, Extract 5.15, page 140 for the just prior sequence). In lines 5-7 Katie reports that her headache is still a problem as she is still experiencing pressure around one of her eyes. She goes on to report candidate diagnoses; a doctor friend (Penny)'s suggestion that it could be sinus related (lines 8-13) and an alternative possibility that her doctor is testing for, but which Katie has disregarded (lines 15-19). There is therefore no clear cut problem, providing scope for Mum to unpack the nature of the problem further. One possible cause of the problem is thus raised by Mum through an interrogative; a problem related to vision (line 20).

The interrogative form is useful here as it orients to the possibility that the glasses may have already been ordered and therefore that the advice may be irrelevant. In other

words, Mum is not in a position to strongly forward getting the glasses as if the glasses had already been ordered, the advice would be redundant. Indeed, as Katie has apparently not yet ordered the glasses (line 22), Mum is now in a position to forward this course of action as a candidate solution to her eye problem. This is explicitly done in line 30 through the verb of obligation 'need'.

However, whilst the interrogative form orients to this possible contingency that the glasses had been ordered, the design of the interrogative shows expectancy that the glasses *should* have been ordered (see Chapter 3, page 63 for constraining forms of AIs). This is the first mention of the glasses and this possible diagnosis in the sequence. It is also a known-about action which is displayed through the reference to '*your* glasses', and therefore glasses which already belong to Katie. Given this, it is notable that Mum doesn't then orient to any possible contingencies in getting the glasses, for example: 'have you been *able* to get your glasses'. As well as this, the word 'glasses' is particularly animated with emphasis on the first part of the word and questioning intonation at the end. Given the baldness of the enquiry, the intonation seems to display a high expectancy that the action should have already been done. These features make the interrogative sound less aligning and more like an interrogation.

Indeed, the features of dispreference in Katie's response (the delay in line 21, the 'urm', and the mitigated 'no', in line 22) show that the enquiry was projecting a 'yes' type response and therefore that the action should have *already* been done in this instance. Moreover, Mum's 'tut' particle and display of exasperation in third position (line 23) provide further evidence for this expectation.

So, whilst this section has shown how advice-implicative interrogatives are useful in orienting to and dealing with possible contingencies in preparing the way for a fitted piece of advice, it has also shown how they can nevertheless be pumped up in order to prioritise a particular course of action. Furthermore, this section has shown that these 'less constraining' advice-implicative interrogatives provide for the possibility of unpacking a problem in order to unravel applicable courses of action that the recipient can follow.

Discussion

Summary: contingency and entitlement in action

This chapter set out to explore why certain forms of advice are occasioned over others and indeed how advice is occasioned in the first place. Although certain forms project higher entitlement than others (as discussed in Chapter 3), the interest here is with specifying what actually warrants this entitlement in these mother-daughter interactions. The following provides a summary of the main points which have come out of the analysis:

- The form of advice seems to relate to the local sequential environment
- Strong, constraining forms of advice are occasioned by a local warrant to give the advice: following an opinion solicit; following a strong problem orientation and K-position; and where there is strong alignment with the recipient's perspective
- Strong advice may be found in more disjunctive environments but are mitigated by other features of turn design
- High contingency/less constraining forms of advice occur in environments where the advice is not clearly fitted to the recipient's perspective. This includes environments where: an alternative course of action is being forwarded; a problem is being raised on the recipient's behalf; and a problem needs unpacking

Table 6.1: The local environments for different forms of advice

Constraining forms of advice	Less constraining forms of advice
<p>A local warrant:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 'Solicited' advice (<i>extracts 6.2, 6.3</i>) • K- position invoked (<i>extracts 6.4, 6.5</i>) • The advice aligns with the recipient's perspective (<i>extracts 6.6-6.11</i>) <p>Deviant cases: Where there is no local warrant to give the advice but the advice is mitigated by other forms of turn design that do work to orient to the dispreferred nature of the advice, and soften the constraint on the recipient's next turn. (<i>extracts 6.12, 6.13</i>)</p>	<p>Local contingencies:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An alternative course of action is proposed (<i>extracts 6.14-6.16</i>) • A problem is raised on the recipient's behalf (<i>extracts 6.17-6.19</i>) • The recipient's problem needs unpacking (<i>extracts 6.20, 6.21</i>)

Local vs. categorical entitlement

So, what we see is that the entitlement to give an explicit piece of advice is found in the local sequential context, rather than being tied to relational categories such as 'mother' and 'daughter'. This supports Curl and Drew's (2008) analysis where it was shown that the choice between different types of request form was not ultimately related to the social categories of people involved in the requesting i.e. a patient calling an after-hours medical surgery compared to a family member. Instead, the forms in each context varied according to the local contingencies and entitlements that were oriented to when making the request. For example, in an after-hours telephone conversation, callers dropped the more regularly found 'I wonder' preface when the problem being reported was oriented to as serious. Furthermore, Lindström (2005) showed how senior citizens' requests for help from their home help assistants are constructed in ways that embody different degrees of entitlement to ask. Lindström (2005: 228) concludes by again prioritising the local sequential environment: *"The analysis of requests suggests that the senior citizen's entitlement to assistance is not settled once and for all in the interview between the social worker and the senior citizen when the assistance is initially granted. Rather my analysis suggests that entitlement is oriented to and made relevant by the senior citizens and the home help providers within the micro-moments of caregiving."*²⁹

However, whilst these recipients clearly orient to these local issues of entitlement, the fact that a future course of action is forwarded in particularly unfavourable environments still displays some relational work in action. Furthermore, the regularity in the data of advice being delivered without an interactional warrant and often as an alternative course of action, displays something interesting going on. By forwarding a future action without gaining the recipient's perspective or even in spite of that perspective, we can see recipients managing each other for their own good and despite foreshadowing potential interactional trouble. So whilst the 'push' might be tailored to make it more palatable in the specific local context, its occasioning nevertheless displays a priority for the other's well-being, over and above a concern for the basic maintenance of social solidarity in that specific moment of interaction. Here then we might see how recipients display their investment and involvement in the other; the bounds of their relationship in action.

²⁹ Preliminary observations from Pilnick (2003) suggest that the different approaches to advisory activity in pharmacy interactions also seem to relate to different local contingencies.

A dispreferred action?

Whilst this chapter was primarily concerned with specifying the favourable and unfavourable environments for different forms of advice, considerations pertaining to preference organisation have provided a useful analytic tool. As discussed above, a dispreferred initiating action is considered to be a less favourable way of bringing about a particular activity. For example, an offer is generally a preferred initiating action over a request being made by the other person (Schegloff, 2007). For advice, the alternative preferred action would logically be that the recipient came up with a future course of action independently. Indeed, Waring (2012) showed that there was a preference for tutee initiated advice in a peer graduate writing school. Whilst this chapter has not focused specifically on evidence to suggest that space is given to prioritise and elicit the recipient's independent decision, the occasioning of certain forms of advice in particular sequential environments provides a different kind of evidence even so. Indeed, Schegloff (2007) argues that mitigation work and the 'masking' of an action provide alternative evidence for dispreferred initiating actions.

Firstly, the finding that strong forms of advice seem to be reserved for specific environments, in itself suggests that advice is not an inherently pro-social action and that these forms may even be anti-social in certain environments. Secondly, the environments where strong forms of advice do occur, the action of advice giving does indeed seem to be a pro-social thing to do. In particular, the entitlement to give advice seems to concern the congruence of the advice to the recipient's perspective and whether the advice is solicited in some way. In these environments advice seems to be a pro-social action in that the advice either 1) helps the recipient to find a solution that they are having trouble finding themselves or 2) the advice aligns with the recipient's interests. Indeed, Pudlinski (2005) argued that in the peer run warm lines he studied, more 'direct' forms of advice were reserved for certain sequential environments: when a) the problem presented was of an urgent nature and b) the client was implicitly seeking a solution. Advice giving in these situations also similarly seems to be a pro-social action; helping a caller who is in need.

Finally, it is the mitigation of and fudging of advice in alternative, potentially misaligning environment that further suggests that advice may be a potentially dispreferred action there. Indeed, by delivering advice in less forceful and implicit ways such as through an interrogative, assessment or description, a speaker can defuse any resulting interactional trouble with the claim 'I was just asking/ saying' etc. Furthermore, these forms themselves modulate the interactional pressure to accept the advice (as discussed in Chapter 3).

The implication of this line of enquiry is that entitlement and contingency might indeed be useful dimensions when considering the domain of preference organisation. Rather than seeing an action as straightforwardly preferred or dispreferred, the suggestion here is that this will relate to the local entitlement to deliver a particular initiating action. The dimensions of entitlement and contingency might therefore provide another layer to the interactional order (see Potter, 2012). Furthermore, the analysis provides evidence for the usefulness in considering the form of a dispreferred first and in relation to the local environment. Whilst 'delay' will be a useful tool in explicating further whether advice is built as a dispreferred alternative to the recipient coming up with the solution themselves, and indeed there is some evidence to suggest this in the extracts above, the analysis here provides further insight into the nature of advice giving in itself.

Chapter 7: Discussion

In this thesis I have shown how advice giving is managed in interactions between mothers and their young adult daughters on the telephone. I set out with the aim of explicating the dimensions that are made relevant within advice giving sequences, giving specific attention to how the troubling position of advice recipient is managed by both advice giver and advice recipient. Furthermore, the thesis aimed to contribute to the literature on advice giving by studying it in an arguably less institutionalised setting where research on this topic has been scarce. In doing so, the aim has also been to show how the relationship between the recipients is brought to bear and constructed in the interactions.

This final chapter will set out the main findings from the thesis and pull together the main conclusions that can be drawn from them. The first part of the chapter will be dedicated to summarising the findings from each chapter. I will then go on to discuss the main implications of these findings and the contributions they make, both to the study of advice giving, and the study of the mother-daughter relationship. Finally, I will discuss the limitations of the study and possible future directions to develop these findings further.

Chapter summaries

Chapter 3: The formation of advice

Chapter 3 was the starting point for analysis. The aim here was to outline the building blocks of advice giving, with the aim of explicating how advice can be designed in different ways to have different implications for how reciprocity is brought off. To begin with, this meant refining an appropriately broad definition of what counts as a piece of advice. It was argued that part of what makes advice distinguishable from other actions that influence the behaviour of the recipient, is the provision of an accept/reject response, that an action such as an 'order' does not afford. The following were presented as important features for identifying a piece of advice and gave rise to a variety of forms:

- A future action is forwarded
- The action is produced as in the interest of the recipient
- The action's normativity is imposed
- A knowledge asymmetry is invoked between the speaker and recipient

- An accept/reject response is provided for

The analysis then focused on considering how reciprocity is managed by explicating how the important dimensions of normativity and knowledge asymmetry are calibrated through the variety of ways that advice can be designed. It was shown that normativity is softened when contingency is built into the advice in different ways. When contingency is built into the advice, the recipient is provided with more optionality in terms of how they are able to respond to the advice. Resources for doing this include: downgrading the favourability of a particular action; removing the recipient's agency; and disguising advice giving through advice-implicative actions. It was also shown how the relative distribution of knowledge can be recalibrated and made to be more symmetrical through different features of turn design. This included: epistemic downgraders; tag questions; and advice-implicative interrogatives. However, the degree of optionality that the recipient is given to assert their own knowledge more generally, comes back to the amount of contingency that is afforded to them; the normative push that is exerted.

It was considered that forms of advice which provide the recipient with more optionality in their responsive turn can more readily be heard as delivering a 'suggestion' as opposed to a more forceful piece of advice. However, it was also proposed that caution needs to be taken with using such categories as ultimately, how an action is labelled is a participant's concern and interest for achieving interactional goals (Edwards, 1991). For example, 'merely suggesting' might be a way of defending one's action following problematic uptake of the 'advice' from the recipient. Indeed, recall Extract 4.2 (Chapter 4, page 90) where an advice-implicative interrogative designed as a 'reminder', was retrospectively characterized as just a 'wondering', therefore discounting the advice-implicativeness of the action, to get Lottie to check the water right away.

In considering how the recipient's competence is coded into a piece of advice, it was argued that the extent to which the recipient's competence was compromised, related to the degree of moral obligation that was imposed on the recipient to commit to the particular course of action. So, being positioned as someone who didn't know that they were morally obliged to do something is potentially more compromising than accepting some advice and deficit in knowledge regarding just a candidate future action. Indeed, rejecting a morally laden piece of advice is also potentially more difficult because of the way it casts the recipient morally. This incipient notion of moral compromise was built on throughout the rest of the thesis and in Chapter 5 in particular.

It was also shown at various points that the isolated forms of advice need to be understood in relation to other features of turn design including intonation, and also the sequential position that the advice is delivered in. Indeed, whilst sequence was oriented to in this first analytic chapter; it was more fully explored as the thesis progressed.

In various ways then, the first analytic chapter provided an important starting point to understanding the social action of advice and laid down some of the important foundations for looking at advice that were developed in various ways throughout the rest of the thesis.

Chapter 4: Responding to advice

The second analytic chapter built on the first by specifying the various resources available to advice recipients when they are given a piece of advice. Indeed, this meant considering how recipients reinstate their competence having been positioned by a piece of advice as K- on a particular matter, whether by explicit or implicit advice formulations. Furthermore, this chapter considered how recipients are able to get out of displaying commitment to doing the action in the future; how the pressure to 'accept' is managed. This meant drawing on important work by Heritage and Sefi (1992) and the response types they identified, whilst also drawing on more recent work by Waring (2007b). However, the analysis also contributed to this research by identifying a new type of advice response: 'claims of prior commitment'.

It was found that there seems to be two important dimensions which are relevant when responding to a piece of advice: whether to align with the action of advice giving and whether to affiliate with the content of the advice. Indeed, this distinction between affiliation and alignment that was a relevant analytic distinction in storytelling activities (Stivers, 2008) proved to be relevant to the activity of advice giving as well. Considering where the advice response sits along these two continuums has proven to be a useful way of analysing advice responses in terms of the actions being performed. So, whilst the content of advice might be affiliated with, the recipient can strive to re-establish their competence by claiming to already be in the position that the advice is manoeuvring them into, whether that be in an exposed or more implicit way.

In particular, recipients can accept the advice and therefore the position of 'advice recipient', while on the other end of the spectrum; recipients can resist the advice with explicit claims of knowledge or competence. Alternatively, recipients can fudge what action they were doing by using unmarked acknowledgements, where the resistance to the

position of advice recipient is more implicit. 'Claims of prior commitment' in comparison, do more work to resist the position of advice recipient and the lack of knowledge it imposes than an unmarked acknowledgment and yet this resistance is more measured and off the record than an explicit claim of competence or knowledge. This broad type of response works by claiming a commitment to do a particular course of action in the future, with the commitment being positioned as prior to the delivery of advice. This can be achieved through displays of established intent such as 'I *am* going to do x'; by elaborating on the action component of the advice; and by claiming 'firstness' in agreement.

It was also shown how recipients manage to reject a piece of advice that they have been manoeuvred into following. Again, recipients can fudge this commitment by using an unmarked acknowledgment. As such, these responses avoid more explicitly rejecting a piece of advice and the interactional trajectory that this may entail. Recipients can also more explicitly reject advice with accounts as to why the action isn't being followed. However, recipients can choose to orient to this rejection as an exceptional circumstance whereby the recipient shows some affiliation with the advice and some orientation to following the advice, nevertheless. This subtle affiliative work contributes to the literature on advice resistance, showing how rejection can be calibrated in different ways. Linking back to Chapter 3, part of the affordance of more implicit forms of advice is that a response which does not affiliate with the advice is less exposed as a more problematic 'advice rejection'.

This chapter also built on Chapter 3 by developing the analysis of what counts as a form of advice by considering how recipient's themselves orient to such formulations. Indeed by looking at the turn following advice, as well as the subsequent, third position turn, the analysis showed how participants themselves orient to a turn of talk as packaging advice, an important concern for conversation analysis (see Sacks et al., 1974). In looking at the responsive turns, it was also possible to see evidence that certain forms of advice do indeed put less pressure on an accept/reject type response. However, whilst it was proposed in Chapter 3 that certain forms of advice may put the recipient's moral standing in jeopardy to a much lesser degree, it was shown that recipient's displayed some investment in displaying their competence even when responding to advice-implicative actions. Indeed, Chapter 5 explored this issue further.

Chapter 5: *Why that now?: The morally compromising position of 'advice recipient'*

The aim of Chapter 5, then, was to develop the analysis of the various response types in order to explicate why one response type might be used over an alternative. Indeed,

the question also still remained as to why recipients of more implicit forms of advice seem to do extra work to display their competence, even though the advice giving might be off the record in the first place. The central finding relates the type of response to how the advice positions the advice recipient. Indeed, this positioning is understandable in terms of the local sequential environment where we can get a sense of the locally specific measure of competence. So, whilst accepting a piece of advice that is in the form of a verb of obligation might put one's competence in jeopardy, other features tied to the sequential unfolding of the advice work to relativize the moral value pertaining to that competence. In other words, what is at stake in being cast as an advice recipient is essentially a local matter.

Recipients seem to more generally be at pains to manage their competence when being advised on future courses of action as displayed through the reluctance to take up the position of advice recipient. Indeed, acceptance was a rare occurrence in the data. Moreover, when it was enacted, the advice was not treated as news though tokens such as 'oh', and the terms that were being accepted were relatively uncontentious. That is, the recipient was accepting advice where the recipient was designed as already knowing, or they weren't expected to know.

The chapter then considered the various response types that could be broadly categorized as advice resistance. Taken as a whole, it was shown that stronger displays of advice resistance seem to be occasioned in environments where the stakes are high. In other words, accepting the advice would cast the recipient as not just lacking in competency but competency concerning something particularly contentious. In particular, explicit claims of knowledge or competence seemed to occur in environments relating to the recipient's conduct concerning another person, where their conduct in relation to that person is thrown into question. In this respect, the advice does not just carry weight in terms of the pressure to accept, but also in terms of how it reflexively 'designs the recipient' (to adopt Hepburn & Potter's, 2011b term).

The next response type that was considered was 'claims of prior commitment'. As discussed above, this type of response is a more implicit type of resistive move in which resistance is done off the record. Indeed, this modulated version seems to occur in environments that are equally modulated. So, whilst there still might be an important aspect of the recipient's conduct that is at stake because of a critical dimension to the advice, this is to a lesser degree than is the case of explicit forms of resistance. Further down the continuum still, unmarked acknowledgments seem to occur in environments where this moral potency is diffuse.

Once resistance to the *action* of advice giving was considered, the analysis moved on to consider how rejection of the *content* of advice is occasioned. Two environments where advice rejection seems to occur were discussed. In particular, rejection was found where the advice proposed a course of action that was contrary to the recipient's position and so the rejection of advice here is understandable and to be expected. Another environment where advice rejection seemed to be common is where the activity in play seemed to be that of problem solving, rather than indulging in a trouble and where the appraisal of candidate courses of action features centrally as part of that activity.

Finally, whilst considering the environments for advice rejection, it seemed that rejections which did some concessionary work to affiliate with advice (through accounts which oriented to exceptional circumstances) were also attuned to a critical dimension to the advice. Indeed, not following the advice seemed to imply some irresponsibility on the recipient's part and so showing some endorsement of the advice nevertheless, worked to head off this negative implication.

Here then, we see the pervasiveness of this evaluative dimension to advice that is oriented to by advice recipients and which Heritage and Lindström (1998) found to be a relevant dimension to interactions between health care visitors and first time mothers. One important contribution of this chapter to the thesis, was to show that it is not the form of advice in itself, as a self-contained unit, that puts a measure on how much is at jeopardy in accepting or rejecting a piece of advice. For sure, form matters and we see this especially translated in the response options that are afforded to the advice recipient through different advice constructions. But form does not entail the extent of moral judgment that is packaged in a piece of advice. For this, we must consider another part of the scaffolding in particular: the local sequence of talk. Indeed, that is where we turn to next; this time to consider how the action of advice giving is occasioned in the first place.

Chapter 6: The form of advice: local issues of entitlement and contingency

This final analytic chapter aimed to unpack the problematic nature of advice further, by considering how advice is occasioned in the first place. In particular, it was concerned with explicating how it came to be that a 'pushy' piece of advice became occasioned over a more implicit form and vice versa. Furthermore, this chapter aimed to consider whether there was evidence to suggest that advice is a dispreferred action in these interactions, as was found to be the case in graduate peer interactions (Waring, 2012).

It was found that constraining forms of advice seemed to be occasioned by a local warrant, or entitlement to give advice. In particular, the advice was made relevant by the solicitation of the advice giver's perspective or by the advice recipient orienting to a problem that they are in a K- position on. Finally, these stronger forms of advice seemed to be warranted by their embodiment of the recipient's already established perspective. As such, the advice was aligning. As an exception to these environments and what we could call 'deviant cases', is the finding that constraining forms of advice were also used in disjunctive environments. Whilst these unsolicited forms of advice could be considered quite abrupt, advice givers were still shown to orient to the low entitled position in which the advice was delivered, by mitigating the advice through other features of turn design. In other words, work was done to orient to such advice as dispreferred.

In comparison, it was found that less constraining and often more implicit forms of advice seemed to occur where there were local contingencies to contend with. In particular, less constraining forms of advice were found in environments where an alternative course of action was being forwarded to that which had been endorsed by the recipient. Affording the recipient more optionality in these environments seems to be a useful tool for heading off a more problematic unfolding of the interaction; with more exposed resistance, for example.

Another environment where less constraining forms of advice were found is where the advice raises a problem on the recipient's behalf. In this case, the local contingencies which make advice giving problematic, is that the advice is not aligned to the recipient's perspective. That is, the advice recipient might not consider there to be a problem that needs a solution. Finally, it was also shown that these less constraining forms of advice seemed to also be delivered in environments where the recipient's problem needed to be unpacked in order for the advice giver to get a handle on the relevant course of action for dealing with the problem.

More broadly, this chapter showed the relevance of considering the dimensions of contingency and entitlement when considering why one action is selected over another, thus contributing to research by Curl and Drew (2008) and, by extending the relevance of these dimensions beyond requests (Lindström, 2005; Heinemann, 2006; Curl & Drew, 2008) and directives (Craven & Potter, 2010), to the social practice of advice giving. These dimensions also provided a useful tool in providing evidence that advice giving is oriented to as a dispreferred action in this context. This will be discussed in more detail in the next section. Finally, the localised dimensions of entitlement and contingency also provide a warrant for tight bootstrapping of interactional analysis so that relational categories are not

prioritised over actions of talk. The relevance of relationality to the interaction will be discussed shortly.

Now that the main analytic findings from the thesis have been summarised, I will now discuss the important theoretical implications and conclusions.

Theoretical implications

This section will be broken down into two parts. First I will consider the theoretical implications that concern the study of advice giving, and second I will consider the theoretical implications that concern the study of mother-daughter relationships.

1. Advice

The thesis has important implications for the study of advice giving as well as practical considerations for giving and receiving it.

To begin with, the thesis has made an important and useful contribution to considering the response options that are set up by different forms of advice. Whilst others have alluded to the 'space' that is provided to advice recipients with certain forms of advice (e.g. Leppänen, 1998; Couture & Sutherland, 2006) it has been shown here what this space actually looks like; how this 'pressure' translates in interactional terms. Furthermore, by building on the work of Butler et al., (2010) to show how normativity and knowledge asymmetry are calibrated in different forms of advice giving, it has been shown how the recipient can be designed in terms of the potentially contentious issues of 'competence' and 'morality'. Indeed, by focusing on the issues of 'normativity' and 'knowledge asymmetry', Chapter 3 explicated a whole range of ways that these issues can be managed and of which incorporate more implicit forms of advice. These constructions provide a useful way of forwarding a future action but with the possibility of subverting interactional problems that may otherwise ensue. In particular, whilst advice-implicative interrogatives (Butler et al., 2010) and advice-as-information sequences (e.g. Silverman, 1997), have been explicated in the literature the analysis here has explicated the usefulness of advice-implicative assessments and advice-implicative descriptions. Indeed, the range of forms that have so far been identified could provide a useful resource in other settings such as different health care contexts.

Whilst form is an important part of advice giving, particularly in terms of the optionality that is provided to the recipient, the thesis also explicated the potentially

evaluative aspect of advice. Contributing to Heritage and Lindström's (1998) analysis of how first time mothers orient to the evaluative role of the health care visitor, the analysis here has shown how advice can be oriented to as evaluating the recipient's competence and morality in this context, too. This was shown in the way recipients responded to advice in more or less resistive ways. Indeed, the evaluative weight of a piece of advice seems to be tied to the local context of talk; how the advice relates to what has come before and, given that context; whether the recipient is culpable for not already knowing or doing something. Indeed, this orientation to the potentially negatively evaluated position of 'advice recipient' is oriented to by both the rarity of recipients occupying that role in the data, and the more palatable and modulated version of 'advice recipient' that we find when they do. Moreover, this is paralleled by the rare solicitation of advice in the data, which again seems to be done in a modulated and off the record manner, where the recipient is more clearly soliciting an 'opinion' or where the advice concerns something that is less threatening to the recipient's competence.

In the specific context looked at here, of interactions between mothers and their young adult daughters, the morality of knowing how to handle situations maybe particularly contentious. Similarly to health visitor interactions, resistance seems to be more prominent than in medical encounters, where the recipient has not made 'seeking advice' their official business. It seems to be the case that: "responses to advice giving are fundamentally conditioned by the underlying social motivations that inform the interactants' reasons for participating in the first place" (Heritage & Lindström, 2012: 190). While the mothers in the health visitor interactions have not taken part in the interactions through choice, the health visitor is still apparently taking up a clear institutional warrant to give advice. It will therefore be interesting to see how this difference might relate to the way advice is responded to and furthermore; where and how recipients orient to the morality of knowing when responding to advice across a range of contexts.

The issue of morality being tied to domains of knowledge has indeed been addressed in a number of studies in the edited book 'Morality in Knowledge' (Stivers et al., 2011). For example, Stivers (2011) showed how 'of course' was regularly found in response to polar questions when the answer is available to the asker and where the question suggests something morally problematic. Heinemann, Lindström & Steensig (2011) showed how the Danish adverb 'jo' and the Swedish adverb 'ju' can be used in response to questions. The adverbs in themselves make a claim to shared knowledge but they can be used to do both affiliative and disaffiliative moves, depending on the broader activities going

on and whether the questioner *should* have known what the answer is. Whilst the morality of knowledge is therefore oriented to and constructed in question-answer sequences it is also found in children's play (Sidnell, 2011) in the way make believe is enacted. Sidnell (2011) found that children oriented to a moral order, where introducing new knowledge about joint play was treated by the children as a violation when it was done with an assertion instead of a proposal. Morality also seems to be a relevant issue when affiliating with a recipient's reported experience. Whilst the recipient is morally responsible for affiliating with the recipient, there is also the issue of prioritising the recipient's individual experience rather than encroaching on it by prioritising their own experience (Heritage, 2011). Indeed, Heritage (2011) discusses a range of resources for managing these issues. This research therefore contributes to 'morality' as an important dimension that recipients orient to across a range of activities and settings.

Now, one important implication of this dimension of 'morality' that has been given less attention in the literature (although see Silverman (1997) for some discussion on this) is that it provides another consideration for people wishing to give advice and influence the behaviour of their recipient. So far in the literature, it has been shown how fitting advice to the recipient's perspective provides one favourable environment for advice acceptance (e.g. Heritage & Sefi, 1992; Kinnell & Maynard, 1996; Silverman, 1997; Pilnick, 2003; Couture & Sutherland, 2006). Furthermore, environments where advice is solicited have been shown to be related to subsequent positive displays of advice acceptance (Heritage & Sefi, 1992; Silverman, 1997). This evaluative dimension to advice adds complexity to these areas, showing how fitting the advice to the recipient's perspective or delivering advice following a request may not straightforwardly result in the 'positive' interactional outcome of advice acceptance. Indeed, recall Extract 5.6 (Chapter 5, page 129) where even though the recipient did work to solicit Mum's opinion, and furthermore, Mum's advice aligned with the perspective that the relationship problem was easily solvable, Katie strongly resisted the advice. Here, we can see the value of considering the evaluative dimension to advice.

Jefferson and Lee (1981, 1992) have looked at advice resistance in the particular environment of troubles telling in mundane interactions. There it was argued that a trouble telling is not a favourable environment for advice giving because of the associated loss of rights whereby the troubles teller becomes a recipient of advice and the focus is taken away from the teller and their experiences of that trouble. The analysis has made some contribution to this domain by considering whether the issue might in part be understood at times, to not only concern the broader type of activity at play, but how the recipient of the

activity is being evaluated. So, part of the issue might be to do with whether the trouble is being undermined (and the recipient potentially seen as making heavy weather out of something: see Edwards, 2005 on this topic), as well as whether the focus is taken off of the troubles teller. Whilst this is just a preliminary observation, it is essentially still an important one as it opens up the possibility that advice in troubles telling environments, might in some cases be designed as a favourable possibility. Indeed, this is an interesting avenue for future research.

The finding that recipients seem to be oriented to the potentially evaluative aspect of advice provides important evidence that responding to advice giving is an interactional event through which people do work to manage psychological business. That is, recipients seem to be oriented to positioning themselves as committed to a future action in order to head off negative evaluations that put their morality at stake. Indeed, the issue of 'stake' is one that is particularly relevant to the area of discursive psychology. Potter (1996) showed how descriptions of the world do not merely provide a mirror image of what actually happened on an occasion but that people do work to manage their stake and interest in producing descriptions. For example, in the case of reporting paranormal activities, by describing an initial scepticism that a paranormal activity was taking place, the recipient is able to counter the possibility that they have a stake or interest in viewing the world in an unlikely way. As such, the speaker is able to work up the objective side of their description; working up the story as more believable, and heading off the negative psychological implication that the speaker might be 'delusional', for example (see Potter, 1996 and Wooffitt, 1992). Interestingly, when it comes to advice, the recipient's moral conduct is at issue as opposed to the factuality of a description. So, working up and orienting to ones stake in displaying an autonomous commitment to a future course of action, functions as a way of managing negative psychological implications that are specific to that social domain. So, this research also contributes to the domain of discursive psychology; showing another area where stake and interest is managed to deal with psychological issues and versions of the world.

Indeed, if we recall back to Chapter 1, we can consider some of the implications of this research for the study of advice in more traditional psychological studies. In particular are the experimental studies discussed at the beginning that are concerned with explicating and isolating factors associated with advice acceptance (see Bonaccio & Dalal, 2006 for a review). Chapter 5 in particular has shown that people are not simply accepting advice according to what they know or don't know as if all that matters is cognitive processing of

different variables. Instead, it was shown that knowledge was oriented to for interactional purpose (see Edwards & Potter, 2005; Antaki, 2006). As has been discussed, more strongly asserting one's knowledge and independent commitment seems instead to be related to potential negative evaluations that might be associated with accepting the advice, and of which are specific to the sequential positioning of the advice. So, rather than starting with isolated factors, studying advice in interaction where its currency is applicable, we can surely get a better handle on the way it operates. Furthermore, language based approaches which consider advice in terms of its potential 'face threat', are again focused on the feelings of individuals for explaining actions, rather than focusing on the interactional order in its own right (see Schegloff, 1988a and Lerner, 1996). So while people do work to patrol their territories of knowledge (see Heritage & Raymond, 2012), that is not to say that they are individually motivated to, but rather that doing so is what constitutes part of the social order of things.

Finally, the relevance of entitlement and contingency to the organisation of advice, contributes to other studies which have identified the relevance of these dimensions to other actions, including requests (Lindström, 2005; Heinemann, 2006; Drew & Curl, 2008) and directives (Craven & Potter, 2010). In doing so, the analysis provides for the possibility of focusing on the array of dimensions that are relevant to actions more generally (see Potter, 2012). These dimensions have been useful for pinning down how advice can be 'imposing', leaving little 'space' for the recipient to orient to their own autonomy, and how in other cases, the recipient's autonomy is prioritised. Furthermore, the analysis showed how local issues of entitlement and contingency are central to the interactional order of why one form of advice is chosen over another. The implication of this is the possibility of considering preference organisation as related to these dimensions. So, whether an action is considered dispreferred or not, can be understood in terms of the interactional entitlement to give the advice. Indeed, Schegloff (2007) argued for the relevance of form, and in particular the 'masking' of an action (as opposed to delay, necessarily) for providing evidence that an initiating action is dispreferred.

The future directions for this topic will be considered later in the chapter. For now, we will turn to the implications of the thesis for the study and understanding of the mother-daughter relationship.

2. The mother-daughter relationship

Categories of talk

To begin with it is worth pursuing the relevance of local entitlement and contingency, that was discussed at the end of the last section. In showing that the choice between one form of advice over another is related to localized issues of entitlement and contingency the analysis highlights the value in focusing on actions of talk, rather than presuming the relevance of entitlement that might be associated with the family roles of ‘mother’ and ‘daughter’ (see also Lindström, 2005; Heinemann, 2006; Curl & Drew, 2008 on requests). So, whilst we might take for granted that mothers might be able to dish out advice as they please, the thesis has instead shown that giving advice is necessarily still a socially organised practice that is adhered to as such by mothers and daughters too. Now, that is not to say that we can’t see evidence for some kind of entitlement that is relevant to being in a ‘close relationship’ (to caution against tying actions to specific categories of people), but that in order to do so, it is important to first start with the scaffolding that we are all implicated in using, as social actors.³⁰

Indeed, this interactional specification of advice allows us to reconsider some of the claims that are made by Tannen (2006) in her book “You’re wearing that? Understanding mothers and daughters in conversation.” Firstly, Tannen (2006) relies heavily on reconstructed interactions and so what really happened is not always available to the analyst. Secondly, while she argues that advice from mothers can carry critical ‘meta messages’, rather than specify how such actions are interactionally achieved, she is more focused on psychologising such observations. Thirdly, in doing so, Tannen (2006) makes assumptions about actions that are specific to mothers and daughters rather than seeing such actions as interactional accomplishments in their own right. The analysis here in contrast has tried to show *how* a piece of advice comes to be identifiable as ‘loaded’, ‘interfering’ and even a mere ‘suggestion’, whilst ultimately considering the categorization of talk as a participants concern (see Edwards, 1991).

Now, at the beginning of the thesis, the distinction was made between ‘mundane’ and ‘institutional’ interactions as a way of highlighting the contribution this research is

³⁰ Recently, the concept of ‘deontic authority’ has been put forward to characterise people’s rights to influence another person’s future action, whilst being focused on the action of ‘decision making’ (Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2012). Although this recent development is certainly worth considering in the future, in light of the points just made, I would want to hold off relying too readily on broader notions of recipient rights. Indeed, the analysis has shown the importance of smaller interactional categories such as ‘affiliation’ and ‘alignment’.

making, given the scarcity of research into advice giving in interactions between familiars. Whilst the interactions studied here might exist further down the continuum to strictly institutionalised interactions, these interactions might be better described as sitting somewhere between 'mundane' and 'institutional'. This is because family members are likely to still have goals to influence the other's behaviour; whilst such goals do not necessarily define the interaction as in more strictly goal orientated health care settings, for example. As such, the analysis here does not deny the potentially goal oriented nature of these interactions. Furthermore, as discussed above it is also possible to see that categories such as 'mundane' and 'institutional' can be considered in terms of their positioning along different continuums, rather than taking such categories for granted. After all, Sacks et al. (1974) proposed that different turn taking organisations do not exist as independent of the turn taking array, but as part of that array; transforming the turn taking rules to different degrees.

The proposal here then, is that by developing an understanding of the different dimensions that are relevant to interaction, and the different ways in which they can be calibrated, we can begin to build an interactional specification of what constitutes different kinds of relationships.

So far in this section, I have outlined the importance of not taking for granted the categories of 'mother' and 'daughter' in terms of getting a handle on advice giving sequences in the interactions. The next section will consider how we can see relationality at work through a sequential analysis of advice giving sequences. I will then go on to propose what sort of relationship is constituted in the way that these advice giving sequences are brought off.

Relationality in action

As we might expect, the majority of advice was overwhelmingly from mother to daughter. However, daughters also gave advice, and this in itself does not develop our understanding of the practice of advice giving or indeed the significance of such a difference (see Schegloff, 1993 on quantification). More telling though was the finding that recipients frequently delivered advice in unfavourable environments. Chapter 6 showed that recipients often gave advice without it being made interactionally relevant or even in spite of the recipient's alternative perspective. In so doing, we can see evidence for the advice giver managing their recipient for their own good and in spite of the possibility of interactional trouble unfolding. Furthermore, given the discussion that advice can be considered to be dispreferred in this kind of environment, this sort of move shows a priority for the well-being

of the recipient, over the interactional order of things. As such, these kind of moves can do work to constitute the relationship as close. In more institutional interactions, we might still see a particular action being prioritised; however in those cases this might be more visible as a concern to follow an institutional protocol.

Whilst the mothers and daughters in these interactions do seem to prioritise and 'push' certain courses of action for the other, it is also important to note here that this is done in ways which orient to the dispreferred status of such unsolicited advice. As discussed above, advice in these environments is modulated and often done in implicit ways, thus prioritising the recipient's autonomy. Indeed, we can begin to provide an interactional specification for issues such as 'independence' and 'dependence'; issues that have been identified in the literature as particularly relevant to the mother daughter relationship (e.g. Boyd, 1989; Tannen, 2006). Furthermore, the reluctance recipients show towards occupying the role of advice recipient, further shows the recipients' concern for making relevant their autonomy and moreover; how this autonomy is achieved. So while we can identify an interactional basis for *why* recipients have an interest in resisting advice (rather than a psychological basis; such as a desire to be independent, for example), through these advice giving sequences we can see *how* this notion of interdependence is brought into play and managed. What constitutes relationality at this specific interactional level will most likely be made clearer through comparison of this kind of talk between close family, partners, friends, and more institutional encounters. Here the dimensions that seem most relevant will probably illuminate important features that differ across the different corpora.

Practical implications

Finally, the analysis has implications for practitioners as well as people in everyday relationships. Not only does the analysis suggest when advice giving might be an appropriate thing to do, the analysis also highlights potential strategies for delivering advice even when it is not. Furthermore, the different response types that were identified could provide useful resources for clients in a therapeutic context; providing clients suffering with confidence and security issues with a way of handling their independence.

Future directions

This penultimate section will now draw together some future directions that have emerged whilst also considering some limitations that can be drawn from the thesis.

One important future direction would be to build up a bigger collection of advice giving sequences in order to explicate this practice further. Whilst a reasonable sized corpus was obtained for the current research, building on the corpus and extending the different forms of advice that have been identified will enable the practice of advice giving to be explicated in relation to other practices of social influence such as requests and directives. In particular, one idea would be to consider whether the pro social action of an 'offer' could be considered in certain occasions for its advice implicativeness.

Furthermore, now that interactions between mothers and their young adult daughters have been studied in their own right, one important next step would be to begin to make some more formal comparisons with interactions of a more strictly institutional nature. As discussed above, the aim would be to consider how the dimensions of advice giving are calibrated in different contexts, in order to begin to build an interactional specification of what constitutes different kinds of relationships. Indeed, whilst the current study has focused on mother-daughter interactions, an important next step will be to extend the analysis to other filial relationships and different types of close relationships more broadly.

The study has provided evidence to suggest that advice is a dispreferred initiating action in these contexts. Indeed the nature of this evidence; the systematic formulation of advice in different interactional contexts, provides an interesting new way of studying preference organisation that would be an exciting topic to pursue for other types of social actions. Still, as the focus of Chapter 6 was on the form of advice over the preference organisation of advice, there is scope for pursuing other evidence, and 'delay' in particular, to build on the proposal that advice is a dispreferred initiating action. Indeed, developing a larger scale study that looks at advice giving in a range of contexts would certainly provide a comprehensive understanding of the preference organisation of this social action.

Due to space, the thesis was unable to consider in detail how advice giving is pursued and brought to a close in the interactions (see Heritage & Lindström, 2012). This will be an important area to pursue not least because of how it will contribute to an understanding of the social practice of advice, but also because it provides another location for considering relationality. However, by explicating other important aspects of advice

giving, I would argue that the thesis has provided a good foundation for pursuing this area of research in the future.

Finally, whilst advice giving provides one interesting arena for considering relationality, the current corpus would provide some other interesting avenues to pursue this topic. In particular, it would be interesting to consider other more evaluative actions, such as 'admonishments'. These would provide a fuller understanding of the advice constructions which carry a particularly evaluative dimension to them by seeing how they relate to other more explicitly evaluative practices. Furthermore, it would be interesting to see how these actions unfold in these interactions compared with interactions involving younger family members, in order to pursue a range of different types of relationships.

Concluding remarks

Giving advice is a tricky thing to do. It involves many considerations which include, but are not limited to: the sequential placement of the advice; how much optionality to provide the recipient with; how much K+ to position the recipient as having; and whether the advice could cast some judgment on the recipient. Indeed, responding to advice also involves an array of careful considerations: whether to affiliate with the action being forwarded; whether to align as an advice recipient; indeed, whether accepting or rejecting a piece of advice would put them in a morally compromising position. For sure, this gloss fails to capture the interactional work that goes on in advice giving sequences. I would like to conclude by marvelling at the subtle and finely co-ordinated interactional work that these mothers and daughters participate in; often influencing one another's behaviour and yet finding ways to honour the other's autonomy at the same time (although not always!).

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Jefferson Transcription Convention

Appendix 2: Participant information sheet

Appendix 3: Consent form

Appendix 1

Jefferson Transcription Convention

This has been adapted from Jefferson (2004) and Hepburn and Bolden (2012).

[]	Brackets are used to represent overlapping talk at precise points in the talk.
=	An equals sign represents no break or gap within one turn or between two different turns; where the ordinary beat of silence between turns has not been produced.
(0.3)	A silence is measured to the nearest tenth of a second and placed in parenthesis.
(.)	A silence that is less than two tenths of a second (a micro pause) is represented as a full stop in parentheses.
<u>need</u>	Underlining of a word or a part of a word is used to mark a stressed production.
::	Colons represent an extension of the prior sound.
<u>ne</u> :ed	Underling and colons are used in combination to mark up-down contours. Where the letter is underlined and followed by a colon, as in this example, the pitch movement goes up and then down through the word. When the colon is underlined, the pitch is rising through the word.
↑↓	Arrows are used to represent marked intonation shifts.
.,?¿	Punctuation markers are used to represent normal shifts in intonation. The question mark represents questioning intonation, the comma marks slightly rising intonation, whilst the upside down question mark represents rising intonation that is in between the two. A full stop in contrast marks falling intonation.
NEED	Uppercase is used to represent talk that is louder relative to the surrounding talk.
°need°	Degree signs are used to represent talk that is quieter or softer relative to the surrounding talk.
<need>	The use of the left/right carats in this order to surround talk, is used to represent the talk as being slowed down in comparison to the surrounding talk.
>need<	The use of the right/left carat in this order to surround talk, is used to represent the talk as speeded up or rushed through.

<need	A left hand carat at the beginning of a word is used to display that the utterance was 'jump started'.
nee-	The hyphen is used to mark a word as being cut off.
need*	An asterisk is placed after a consonant to represent a dentalised sound.
Nee#d	A croaky voice is represented by the hash symbol.
.hh	Inbreaths are represented with a row of 'h's that have a full stop placed in front of them.
hh	Outbreaths are represented by a row of 'h's with no full stop.
neehhd	A row of 'h's within a word are used to display breathiness.
nee(h)d	A 'h' that is parenthesized is used to represent plosiveness.
heh huh	Laughter is represented by different combinations of 'h's and vowels.
£	A pound symbol is used to mark a smiley voice.
(need)	Single parenthesised words are used to represent an unsure hearing.
(())	Double brackets represent the transcriptionist's comments.

Appendix 2



Research into family mobile phone conversations Participant Information Sheet

Chloe Shaw,
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Dr Alexa Hepburn
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Background

My name is Chloe Shaw, and I am a PhD student at Loughborough University, supervised by Dr Alexa Hepburn in the Department of Social Sciences. My research will focus on how language is used in everyday conversations on mobile phones. My aim is to identify basic features of how young adults and their parents talk to each other in mobile phone conversations. I have been funded to carry out this research by the Economic and Social Research Council and this will be the basis of my doctoral thesis.

What is involved?

I will ask you and your parent/child to complete a consent form giving permission to take part in the research. Participants will be asked to record their mobile conversations (only between each other). Instructions about recording the calls will be provided separately. Ideally recording will continue for at least one month. However, participants are free to withdraw from the study at any time up until two weeks after I have collected the calls, and won't have to explain their reasons. Participants may contact me at the above email address or phone number. Participants also have the option to delete any individual calls up until two weeks after I have collected them, if they are unhappy about submitting them.

Once the recordings have been made, they will be collected from the participant and stored securely on to my and Dr Hepburn's university computers, under our ownership. Calls will be treated with strict confidence and will be kept anonymous and confidential to Dr Hepburn and I. We will have exclusive access to complete recordings and transcripts. Complete but fully anonymised recordings and transcripts will also be available to any research teams of which I am a member, or examiners of my thesis. The results may be published in academic journal articles and appear in conferences. All data presented in this academic realm will be in smaller excerpts, and fully anonymised so that all identifying information is removed. The results will also be fed back to all participants who take part in the study, in an accessible form.

What next?

If you would be happy to take part in this study, or have any questions, please pass on your contact details. I will then contact you to discuss the project further. Thank you very much for your time!

Appendix 3



Research into family mobile phone conversations

Informed Consent Form

(To be completed after the Participant Information Sheet has been read)

I would be very grateful if you would give permission to record your mobile conversations with the specified family members, and for the recordings to be included in the research database for this project.

Please initial the box by each item which you agree with.

1. I have read and understood the information sheet and this consent form and hereby give my permission for the conversations that I am a participant in to be recorded
2. I have had an opportunity to ask questions about my participation.
3. I understand that I am under no obligation to take part in the study.
4. I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the study and delete any of my calls if I choose up to two week after my calls are collected by the researcher.
5. I understand that if any information is used from the recordings, it will be fully anonymised so that everyone's confidentiality is protected.
6. I give my permission for anonymised transcripts to be used for research publications and presentations.

Additional permissions

7. I give my permission for the anonymised recordings to be used in research publications and presentations.
8. I give permission for anonymised transcripts to be used for teaching materials.
9. I give my permission for the anonymised recordings to be used for teaching purposes.

Name	Signature	Date

PLEASE COMPLETE AND SIGN **BOTH** COPIES OF THIS FORM – PLEASE KEEP ONE FOR YOUR OWN RECORDS AND RETURN THE OTHER COPY TO CHLOE SHAW (address on info sheet)