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The Place of the Answering Machine
in Institutional Interaction

Julia Neikirk
Honor's Thesis
Oberlin College
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Introduction

Marshall McLuhan stated that "the medium is the message." (1995:7) By this he meant that each new technology that we use for communication affects how we communicate. Writing changed speech communication, print changed written communication, the telegraph changed printed communication, and so on. McLuhan divides mediums into two categories: hot and cool. Hot mediums are high definition for one of our senses (ibid:22). Cool mediums give less information, and require the active interpretation of the audience (ibid). A photograph is a high definition hot medium, where a cartoon is cool; both are visual media, but with different levels of definition. Speech is a cool medium; to understand speech, the hearer must actively listen to the speaker (ibid). The telephone is a very cool medium, not only because it involves speech, but also because it "cannot be a background instrument. You cannot speak on the telephone and visualize or do something else at the same time." (Hopper 1992:32) McLuhan claims that America is undergoing changes, related to a movement from print to television, which are transforming society from hot to cool. "The 'hard' sell and the 'hot' line become mere comedy in the TV age, and the death of all salesmen at the stroke of the TV axe has turned the hot American culture into a cool one that is quite unacquainted with itself." (1995:27)

McLuhan's assessment of media as hot or cool may not be the most useful or accurate way to describe the intersection of technology and communication. This does not mean that technology does not have an effect on communication, or that scholars have not continued to consider questions that McLuhan raised. Some scholars have explored, for instance, specific aspects of telephones and telephony in society. Alan Firth, for instance, has studied the place of the telephone in the global marketplace. He says that inventions such as the telephone, the fax

machine, and the Internet have made visual, face-to-face encounters superfluous. Instead of a traditional marketplace, there is "a virtual marketplace of tele-encounters." (Firth 1995a:151) Despite McLuhan's earlier point about the death of salesmen in the television age, salesmen are alive and well in today's market, and making use of technologies to enhance their capabilities. Firth goes on to say that,

"rather than being a mere conduit of communication, the medium [the telephone] itself carries important symbolic meaning for the implicated parties, implicitly signalling such things as the perceived momentary status of the parties' inter-organizational relations, the perceived seriousness of the problem confronting them, and a preference not only to 'talk things over' but to do so with the intention of resolving 'problems' promptly, amicably, and in institutionally sanctioned ways." (Firth 1995b:218)

Robert Hopper focuses on the importance of the telephone not just in institutional contexts, but to the whole of American society. A telephone number, for instance, is an intrinsic part of a person's identity (1992: 85). Hopper states: "we are the people of the phone," (1992:3) and further that "the sound of the telephone conversation is the poem of the North American industry, the voice print of Western culture." (ibid.: xi) Scholars do not study the technology itself but focus instead on how it influences the participants' communication.

Telephone conversations are unusual in several ways: messages must travel a distance, communication is based only in sound (where face to face encounters draw on visual clues), generally conversations occur only in dyads (caller-answerer), the only means of entry to these

encounters is a summons-answer sequence (an unusual way for a face to face encounter to begin), and talking is the primary and often the only activity taking place in such an encounter. Telephony splits sounds from other senses, splits the dyad from society, and splits communication from other activities (Hopper 1992:41). McLuhan refers to the telephone as the irresistible intruder that ignores the visual privacy provided by cubicles and offices, and any difference in the statuses of the caller and answerer (1995:271). Identification and recognition of the interactants' names and identities form an important part of telephone conversations; names particularly play a role in the opening of most telephone conversations. The name of the target individual is the telemarketer's key to entering into an interaction, for instance. "Professional callers identify a stranger-answerer by name and then launch inquiries that simulate acquaintance. The goal is to keep a potential consumer on the line against her will." (Hopper 1992:208) This relates to McLuhan's assertion that "in a visual and highly literate culture when we meet a person for the first time his visual appearance dims the sound of his name. Whereas in an ear culture the *sound* of the man's name is the overwhelming fact." (1995:31) In a telephone conversation, the name's sound holds great significance. Perhaps the telephone is supporting McLuhan's proposed societal shift from hot to cool; on the other hand, in a normal telephone interaction, there is not visual information available, and so the sound *must* become the most important aspect of the conversation.

As this example shows, the telephone as a medium raises some interesting questions about the nature of interaction. It also has implications for how an interaction will proceed. One technology associated with the telephone that has become increasingly inescapable in American society is the answering machine. While researchers in conversational analysis have used recordings of telephone conversations to explore rules of conversation, so far they have not paid

much attention to answering machines. This may be because an answering machine message is not clearly a part of conversation. In a telephone conversation the caller and an answerer participate in an exchange. An answering machine allows the answerer to make the same statement to every individual who calls, and provides time for any caller to deliver a single response. The telephone allows people at a distance to communicate; the answering machine allows busy people to communicate without coordinating an encounter. An answering machine is a medium for people to exchange information, to conduct business, and to plan and coordinate future interactions, face to face or otherwise. The answering machine, and related technology such as voice mail, has become a ubiquitous means of interacting with other people. It would make sense, then, for scholars to fit answering machine messages into the larger body of conversation theory. How does the answering machine fit into our idea of communication?

When I began considering that question, I had to think about how I could best study answering machine messages, and fit them into an existing body of theory about conversation. Conversation analysis was the best way to pursue answers. The process of conversation analysis, in which conversations are recorded, transcribed, and described, focuses on social interaction. It begins with the study of the "**interactional accomplishment of particular social activities . . . , [focusing on] sequences of activities.**" (Drew and Heritage 1992:77) Ultimately, conversation analysis seeks to identify the structural features underlying the orderly construction of talk (Firth 1995a:155). To explore how answering machine messages might fit into conversation, I will consider commonly studied aspects of talk such as error correction, routines, speech acts, and turn taking with respect to data I collected in my own research.

Research:

I spent from June through August of 1997 working at a medical staffing company outside of Philadelphia. Medical staffing is a variation on normal temporary staffing work, in which a company negotiates positions for nurses at hospitals, nursing homes, or in private care cases. This company had two divisions: Per Diem and Travel. I worked in Per Diem, which finds shifts for nurses at local hospitals on a day to day basis, but for research I observed the Travel recruiters.

Travel sends nurses across the country to various hospitals for short term contracts, typically about three months. Travel nursing is a common phenomenon, especially in certain areas of the country; there are journals devoted to travel nursing, and a booming business in travel nursing companies that negotiate contracts for nurses and give them incentives for choosing one company over another such as benefits, free housing, and travel reimbursement. The goal for a travel recruiter is to negotiate a three-month contract for a nurse, then renew that contract for as long as possible, or send the nurse on as many subsequent travel assignments as he or she is willing to take. The recruiters receive commission for their working nurses, so they have an incentive to speak with as many nurses as possible. Generally, the longer the recruiter has been with the company, the more nurses he or she will have working.

First contact between a recruiter and a nurse occurs either when the recruiter calls the nurse or the nurse calls the company. The company advertises periodically in travel nursing journals or newspapers to attract new nurses. Calling unfamiliar nurses from lists from various sources is *cold calling*. Travel nursing journals sell the company lists of *leads*, subscribers. In addition, the company obtains lists of the names, addresses, and telephone numbers of nurses who have a license in a particular state from that state's board of licensure. While I was there, for

instance, they were working their way through a list of New Jersey leads. Recruiters, particularly new ones, spend most of their time calling these leads, or answering incoming calls from the new nurses.

The process of recruiting should go like this:

1. initial call (cold call to nurse or an incoming inquiry)
2. sending an application
3. receiving a completed application
4. offering the nurse available positions
5. submitting the nurse's resume to a hospital
6. locking the nurse into a contract with that hospital
7. when that contract expires, return to 4.

The process often stalls at number 1. This outline is an idealization of the recruiting process; the recruiter may have to make many telephone calls to the nurse between number 2 and number 3, reminding the nurse to return the application, perhaps even sending out another application. A recruiter's day, however, will predominantly be spent on the telephone (they have a monthly quota of over a thousand calls), trying to get a hold of his or her nurses, pitching jobs to them, listening to their complaints, and trying to interest new nurses. Recruiting does bear a resemblance to telemarketing.

These recruiters are predominantly under thirty years old and male. To be hired they must have a college degree, but not a medical background. When I was doing my research, all of the recruiters had cubicles in one large room. Cubicles provide a small illusion of privacy, but all the sounds of other recruiters' conversations accompany all activities. I observed each of the twelve recruiters who were working for the company at that time, and recorded answering machine messages as they occurred. The most experienced had been with the company for four years, and the newest recruiter had been there for less than a month. I recorded between two and nine

messages for each recruiter, spending about an hour with each.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Time w/ Company</u>	<u>Speaking speed</u>	<u># of Messages</u>	<u>Avg. length</u>
XS (31-38)	4 years	3.68 w/s	8	32.14 secs
WR (11-18)	2 1/2 years	3.7 w/s	8	42.60 secs
RM (5-6)	2 1/2 years	3.85 w/s	2	23.36 secs
TL (23-30)	2 years	3.85 w/s	8	45.06 secs
DA (42-50)	1 year	3.79 w/s	9	37.41 secs
AB (57-60)	11 months	3.53 w/s	4	55.76 secs
CZ (61-68)	11 months	3.4 w/s	8	30.59 secs
BN (7-10)	7 months	4.0 w/s	4	53.39 secs
JB (69-70)	6 months	4.0 w/s	2	66.52 secs
EG (51-56)	4 1/2 months	3.3 w/s	7	45.59 secs
BC (1-4)	2 months	3.43 w/s	4	29.78 secs
GT (19-22)	1 month	3.5 w/s	4	41.25 secs

The Data

I recorded sixty-six outgoing calls from the recruiters, about forty-four minutes of total recording, with each call averaging 40.28 seconds each.

<u># Messages</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Average:</u>	<u>Length</u>	<u>Speed</u>	<u>Words</u>
21 (32%)	Cold calls		43.29 seconds	3.55 w/s	153
19 (29%)	General follow-up calls		33.55 seconds	3.61 w/s	122
19 (29%)	Application follow-up calls		46.51 seconds	3.81 w/s	176
7 (11%)	Miscellaneous				

The longest message, 69, was 72.56 seconds long (279 words), and the shortest complete message, 4, was 20.13 seconds long (67 words). A complete transcription is in the Appendix of this paper. I will use these messages to try to illustrate the theoretical points of the place of the answering machine in communication.¹

This paper falls into four parts. In Part One I will discuss our definitions of

¹All names have been changed for privacy.

communication, particularly with regard to the role of the hearer in the speech. I intend to use errors and error correction in my data to show how answering machines messages resemble other instances of solo talk, rather than conversation. In Part Two I consider the use of formulae and routines in certain types of speech where the speaker is under pressure to perform. The structure of answering machine messages, especially the routines associated with their openings and closings, is clearly based on telephone conversations. Part Three deals with the speech acts, politeness, and the statuses of the speaker and hearer. I will explore how variations in the directives issued in the course of an answering machine message show the speaker's efforts to be polite to a specific type of hearer. Finally, Part Four is about the effect of the activity type and context on aspects of speech. I also will describe how the speaker fits answering machine messages into an intended sequence of interactions with devices such as tying and latching. This is my effort to show how the study of answering machine messages is possible and useful with existing theory.

Part One: Communication, Solo Talk, and Error Correction

Is leaving a message on an answering machine a type of communication? This depends on the definition of communication. John Gumperz states that "mere talk to produce sentences . . . does not by itself constitute communication. Only when a move has elicited a response can we say communication is taking place." (1982:1) Gumperz's stipulation that communication must include a response is not atypical in linguistics. There are two ways in which to consider answering machines with respect to this definition: does the outgoing recording on the machine count as communication to the caller, and does the message left by the recruiter count as communication to the owner of the machine?

To some extent, the message that a caller leaves is a response to the outgoing recording on the answering machine. These recordings generally request that the caller leave a name, number, and purpose for calling. Anyone who leaves a message appears to be responding to the message, which would mean the recording counts as communication, according to Gumperz's definition. On the other hand, I have noticed in my personal experience that outgoing recordings on different machines do not vary much. Some people may try to be clever by doing their best Elvis impersonation or by trying to fool the caller into thinking that he or she is speaking to a person rather than a machine ("Hello? . . . I'm not here right now."), but predominantly the recordings are similar in form. While the recording may seem to cause many different responses, usually the person leaving a message is responding more to the assumption that their target answerer is not home than to the specific contents of the machine recording. Variations in data are due to the caller's goals and specific style. In my data I found two messages that contain explicit responses to

the outgoing message: 32 and 57. (Others may have been responsive as well, but since the outgoing messages were not part of my data, I cannot judge this accurately.) In both cases the response was in the opening of the message.

1 32. Yes hi Laura's^a place this is X^b over at ((company name)). It's been a little time since I've talked
2 to you last. (0.5)
3 Just wondering if you still have the interest in travel nursing . . .

According to XS, the outgoing answering machine message mentioned "Laura's place." Compare this to another message from the same recruiter:

1 34. Good afternoon this message >is for Heather.< Hi Heather, it's X over at ((company name)),
2 (.)
3 just wanted to give a call again and touch base regarding travel

While 32 shows the response in the opening, otherwise even the opening is very similar to that of 34 and others from XS. The case of 57 is interesting, because it is the only case I have of technical difficulties. I provide 58 as a comparison:

1 57. Good afternoon this is AB calling you from ((company name)) we're a nursing agency and
2 there's a really >high pitched squeal< on your end of the phone you might wanna check that out.
3 (.)
4 I'm inquiring about a one bedroom apartment . . .

1 58. Good afternoon my name is A (.) B, (.) and I'm calling from ((company name)) we're a
2 nursing agency. (.)
3 I'm inquiring about the one bedroom apartment . . .

Messages regarding apartments are not part of the recruiters' normal repertoire, and recruiters

^a Name changed for privacy.
^b If I only use the first initial, then the recruiter only used his or her first name.
^c Name eliminated for privacy.

make them less often than, for instance, cold calls. As AB shows, however, after responding to problems with the answering machine, he immediately launches into a non-responsive monologue.

Whether the outgoing recording counts as communication is not a question I seek to answer here. I am more concerned with the status of the message that the caller leaves. Many of the answering machine messages left by recruiters, particularly cold calls, do not result in a return call. When the owner of an answering machine listens to the message and decides not to return the recruiter's call, does that decision count as a response? If not, then many of the recruiters' messages would not qualify as communication, according to Gumperz.

The answering machine occupies an odd place in communication. According to Paul Gray and James van Oosting, the real language world must include a space, a time, a speaker, and a hearer (1996:40). Telephone conversations have a shared time, a speaker, and a hearer, but the speaker and hearer occupy different spaces. Few people, though, would argue that a telephone conversation does not count as a form of communication because the speaker and hearer are separated spatially. In the answering machine's case, the speaker and hearer are separated both spatially and temporally. There may be a significant time lag between the moment when the speaker speaks, leaving the message, and the hearer hears, listening to the recording. When the speaker speaks, there is no hearer, just a tape recorder. When the hearer listens, there is recorded speech, but no speaker. The speaker and hearer are separated in every possible way.

What effect might this have on attempted communication? "To engage successfully in conversation, participants are required not only to produce sentences but also to coordinate in a meaningful fashion, their talk with the talk of others present." (Goodwin 1981:ix) The caller leaves a message with the understanding that while there is no hearer present now, there will

eventually be one, who will participate in a future interaction. Callers coordinate their talk with that projected future hearer. A message, whether the recording by the owner or the message left by the caller, only becomes relevant when someone listens to it, when there is a hearer. In this sense, answering machines are not communication at the time when they are left. Robert Hopper and Jack Whitehead suggest that communication occurs when the receiver of a message assigns a meaning to it (1979:2). In the case of an answering machine, the delivery of the message is instantaneous, but the interpretation of the message is delayed. Communication, however, is occurring. Firth suggests that spatio-temporally disjoined communications can transcend the separation of modes (1995a:167). I believe this is true, and this means that some forms of communication will require special study. Scholars cannot limit their consideration of answering machines to an isolated message from one point in time, any more than they could listen to one end of a telephone conversation and claim to understand the whole conversation. A single answering machine message is, however, a place to begin.

Solo talk commonly occurs in certain settings. Lectures, speeches, and even telephone sale pitches are types of solo talk designed to have an effect on the listener. An answering machine message left by a recruiter is a type of solo talk where the caller's goal is to persuade a target answerer to call him or her back. Persuasion is the process by which messages change attitudes (Hopper and Whitehead 1979:362). While there is an intended hearer, that hearer is not present and is not responding while the speaker is leaving the message. An answering machine message probably cannot count as a conversation. Emanuel Schegloff, for instance, says that conversation for adults has as a requirement at least two participants; if the talk only has one participant, then it is something other than conversation (1992:371). He compares this to playing the piano. If a

pianist is playing for an audience, then he or she is performing. If the pianist is playing alone, this is practicing. Practicing and performing are not the same thing, because performing has the requirement of an audience (ibid). On the other hand, if a child is at home practicing the piano while Dad's making dinner and Mom's doing laundry (or vice versa), and both parents can hear the child playing, does that qualify as a performance? Or if a concert pianist dresses up in formal clothing, sets up a video camera to make a tape for his or her grandmother, and plays several pieces of music alone in his or her home, does that qualify as practicing? Schegloff's point about numbers of participants is a good one, but maybe not as clear cut as he suggests. I agree that it would be difficult to consider an isolated answering machine message as a conversation, but this is not the only route of study possible.

Answering machine messages fit better into our consideration of communication as part of a sequence of an *intended* interaction, rather than as an isolated whole. Even though a single answering machine message often makes up the entire interaction between the caller and answerer, the caller intends for it to lead to further encounters. The recruiters would agree that a message that does not lead to a call back is not successful; linguists like Gumperz might say that this does not qualify as successful communication. "The persuasiveness of performance depends upon listeners' understandings of both what is said and what is intended in saying it." (Brenneis 1978:166) The hearer's reception and interpretation of the speaker's message are vital in communication; without the immediate feedback of face to face to telephone interaction, the speaker cannot know or react to the hearer's perceptions.

Some scholars have done work on genres of talk in which the speaker is all but unaware of the listener's perceptions. Charles Ferguson points out that sportscasting is a monologue (or

sometimes dialogue) directed at an unseen, unknown audience who is voluntarily listening, but provides no feedback (1983). Erving Goffman's work on radio talk similarly focuses on a genre in which the speaker receives no immediate feedback about his or her performance (1981). Scholars have explored the stylistic difference between monologues and dialogues within conversation. Monologues are stretches of conversation where one speaker holds the floor for a considerable time, whether they occur in cases of solo talk or as part of a conversation. Monologues are not common in much of social interaction. If the primary purpose of the exchange is information exchange, especially in impersonal topics, then monologues are an appropriate conversational strategy (Meinhof and Johnson 1997:125). In a telemarketing call, often the caller uses monologues, multi-unit turns, to make his or her sales pitch by giving information about the product. I have observed this when listening to recruiters making cold calls. Elements of the monologic sales pitch that a recruiter uses in a telephone conversation appear also in the answering machine messages that he or she leaves. Message 52, from EG, shows the typical sales pitch:

5 52. I was calling today to see if you had an interest in some of our travel nursing assignments. (.)
6 We are currently staffing throughout the country and we have some excellent positions available (.)
7 in Philadelphia as well as throughout the state of New Jersey. (.) These positions offer a very
8 competitive pay rate as well as a comprehensive benefits package. (.) If you're interested . . .

Merritt claims that a monologic discourse consists of sentence-like units in a distinctive style. This occurs because "the matter of choosing and arranging sentences in the discourse is at the discretion of a single author." (1976:317) In a monologue, then, personal style determines the structure of talk. In a dialogue, on the other hand, since the speaker has to compete for the floor, his or her personal style cannot determine the entire structure of the interaction. The turn taking system is a way for more than one author to construct an interaction; this is a topic I will take up later.

Although the speaker does not receive any immediate feedback in cases such as answering

machine messages, the style in which he or she speaks may not be as far from natural conversation as one would expect. In his discussion of radio announcers' talk, Goffman points out three bases for verbal production: fresh talk, memorization, and reading from scripts (1981:227). Radio announcers often read from a text, a fact of which the audience probably is aware. Despite that awareness, "there is no worse crime that an announcer can commit than to *sound* as though he is reading." (ibid:238) Radio announcers, then, have to make their scripted talk sound fresh, as though it occurred in a natural conversation. One way in which they accomplish this task is to speak as though listeners are immediately present. "In a fundamental sense, then, broadcasting involves self constructed talk projected under the demands, gaze, and responsiveness of listeners who aren't there." (ibid:241) Though radio announcers are performing solo talk, scripted talk at that, they are imitating the style of naturally occurring conversation. This is an element that Johnstone noted in telephone survey callers (1991). The recruiters' calls, unlike low end telemarketing, are not scripted by the company; each recruiter chooses his or her own sales pitch. Two of the newer recruiters admitted to having written down their sales pitches, just in case they lost their place in a call. Even in those cases, the recruiters did not read their pitch verbatim while I was there. On the other hand, they make these same calls many times a day, which means that the pitch starts to sound practiced. I believe that this is as detrimental to the recruiter as to an announcer who sounds as if he or she is reading. "Dynamism builds credibility." (Hopper and Whitehead 1979:362) Recruiters have the twin goals of sounding professional and unscripted, because of politeness strategies, a topic which I will discuss later. For now it is enough to note that the style of solo talk is based on the style of natural speech.

Errors and error correction are surprisingly frequent in natural speech. Radio talk, which

Goffman studied; is not fresh talk; commonly disregarded errors of fresh talk are jarring in radio talk, because of the skill of the announcers (Goffman 1981:322). The announcers have to produce technically flawless talk that has the illusion of being fresh and spontaneous, a task difficult for a non-professional. Radio announcers are held to higher standards than participants in other genres of talk (ibid:240). In announcing, then, the speaker makes fewer mistakes than occur in natural conversation, and simultaneously is faulted more for his or her errors. Announcers and recruiters share some qualities. Recruiters, like announcers, use their voices for professional ends, and perhaps like radio announcers hold themselves to high standards of speech. This means that they make fewer errors, especially in leaving answering machine messages, than they might in natural conversation; this does not mean that their speech is error free, however.

Linguists have identified both types of errors and means of correcting them. Goffman categorizes mistakes as influencies (hitches in the flow of connected words such as stuttering), slips (switching words or parts of words), boners (misunderstandings), and gaffes (unintentional breaches of manners) (1981:209). Except for boners, these mistakes occur in my data; errors are not common, however, which supports the idea that recruiters are held to high standards of speaking. These are mistakes that occur in my data:

51 messages had um/uh/ahm/er or other hedging: 76%
4.32 ums per message with ums (3.6 without JB)^a
3.22 ums per message overall (2.6 without JB)
5 messages used "you know" as a hedge (7%)
20 messages had influencies: 30%
15 messages had slips: 22%
8 messages had no perceptible errors: 12%
5 messages were incomplete (pick-up or cut-off by timed machine): 7%

^a I recorded JB at the end of what I think was a bad day, and I'm not sure whether I recorded his normal style, or his style when he is very distracted.

3 messages did not include the company telephone number: 5%^a
2 messages had gaffes: 3%

Once such a mistake occurs, the speaker and hearer must decide what to do about it. Repairing the mistake verbally is an option, but an overt remedy draws more attention to the fault. Gail Jefferson suggests that errors and corrections follow this pattern: a cut-off marker (which is a projection of something to come), a pre-correction hesitation, and then the correction itself (1974:187). Nika Besnier (1989) and A.W. McHoul (1990) both distinguish between self and other initiated repair. In self-initiated self-repair, the speaker notes the problem and makes a repair, whereas in other-initiated other-repair, the hearer points out the error and corrects it for the speaker (McHoul 1990:350). Self-initiated other-repair and other-initiated self-repair are also possible. In any of these cases, pointing out the problem initiates the correction. McHoul suggests that same turn self-correction (which is self-initiated) is uncommon except in cases of word searches (1990:374). What if there is no hearer present to initiate a repair, however? Repair, when it occurs, would have to be self-initiated self-repair. Goffman's study of radio announcers, who speak without immediate hearers, touches on how they variously cope with their mistakes.

Without another person present to point out or correct the mistake, the speaker has the option of driving through or repairing it (Goffman 1981:214). In a drive through, the speaker does not acknowledge that the mistake occurred, and the hearer has no way of knowing whether the speaker did not notice the mistake or is just ignoring it. In an answering machine message, this is an easy possibility, since there is no hearer to initiate a correction. One example of a drive through is message 27 from TL:

^a Out of complete messages only.

7 27. . . . I do have ER assignments (.) uh *down* there in the Carolinas North Carolina South Carol-
8 as long as the rest of the eastern sea board, (.) as well as the rest of the country. (.)

The drive-through occurs in line 10. This is an error in meaning, presumably TL meant to say "as well as the rest of the eastern sea board," or perhaps "along the rest . . .", but he does not stop to correct the error.

Corrections are far more common than drive-throughs in my data, in fact the only clear drive-through I identified is the one in message 10. Errors are rare and when they occur, they are corrected. They also are corrected quickly. While in radio announcing, the announcer has some leisure to make a self-referential correction, the recruiter has only a limited amount of time to speak. Recruiters therefore must repair the mistake quickly, or risk being cut off by the answering machine. Examples of errors and correction range from single letter slips in message 14:

16 14. So (.) I'll look forward to receiving it back here in the bail- (.) mail . . .
to misspoken words in message 48:

1 48. Hello this is DA calling from ((company name))? I was trying to meet- LEAVE a message
2 from Chris? (.)

According to Goffman, repairs tend to have greater stress and occur at a faster rate than the surrounding talk (1981:214). In 48, this appears to be true, though I have not noticed this on any systematic level.

Mistakes, Goffman also claims, occur most often in distracting, hasty, or confusing situations. Rarely is leaving an answering machine message any of the above; distractions such as other recruiter's telephone conversations are a normal part of the working environment. I do have one clear case where a recruiter did become distracted, with disastrous results, in message 28 from TL:

11 28. . . . you're not obligated or committed to work for me by doing that, (.) all that does actually is
12 put me to work for you: an::d (.) yeah I- just lost my train of thought. Anyways Julie (.) give me a
13 call. Have a good night. Bye.

The closing of this message following the message is a departure for this recruiter, since he usually uses reiteration to close the business of the message. Distracted, he did not attempt to repair the damage, but finished the message almost immediately. The only other time in which this recruiter does not close a message with reiteration is message 26. While in the process of leaving message 26, TL realizes that he had talked to the nurse more recently than he had originally thought. Message 26's closing (line 16) is abbreviated, and contains no reiteration. When one part of the message goes wrong, then, the rest of the message is affected by the error. This is also evident in message 70 where JB makes an error in his reiteration:

10 70. Once again Clara my name- (.) er: my number is one eight hundred . . .

Though he closed his other message with a reiteration beginning with "once again" and including his name, JB never does reiterate his name and the company name in message 70 following that error.

An error in one answering machine message can have ramifications for other messages as well. I consider being cut off by the answering machine when a recruiter speaks for too long to be a mistake. This is an easy error to make. The recruiter has no way to know how long he or she has to leave the message; some answering machines cut off the caller after thirty seconds, some after a minute, and in one case after barely fifteen seconds (in message 57). One recruiter, WR, seemed prone to being cut off by answering machine. In message 12, he is cut off by the answering machine after about a minute. The message immediately following the cut-off, message 13, is his shortest message, and one of his fastest at 4.0 w/s (words per second). In fact, this

message is so short that WR makes another error by not including the company telephone number in the message. In message 15, WR is cut off by another answering machine after thirty seconds; while message 16 is not short as message 13 was, once again WR is speaking at 4.0 w/s, where message 15 was 3.5 w/s. After WR is cut off by an answering machine, he is more conscious of the time limit, and speaks more quickly in the following messages. It is a belated type of repair.

By repairing a mistake, the speaker is choosing not be associated with something that he or she has recently said. Speakers do not dissociate themselves from all mistakes, and they even may dissociate themselves from something that was not a mistake. Goffman uses the term *faultable* to refer to any speech behavior to which a remedy is applied, whether or not the speech behavior was correct in a given situation (ibid:224). "The very efficacy of an apology is due to its capacity to convince us that the person making it is a somewhat different person from the one who committed the offense in the first place." (ibid:320) Goffman's announcers remove themselves from the error by drawing attention from the text he or she was reading to his or her own identity as an announcer. I can only find one clear case of this self-conscious removal occurring in my data, with TL's gaffe in message 26:

2 26. I'm not (.) sure- I: might have talked to you recently about the uh- the application I sent out to
3 you I if I *did* I'm sorry I don't mean to badger you.
4
8 Eight hundred ((three digits))^a >nine nine nine two<, now that I'm looking at my pad I *did* talk to
9 you recently so I apologize ((gets progressively quieter)) for uh (.) like I said badgering you it's not
10 intentional . . .

He apologizes for a perceived badgering of the nurse. On the other hand, in message 29 he states:

10 29. . . . if you're interested. Um: if not (.) you know give me a call say so because I will be (.) you
11 know (.) calling you every two or three weeks until I get affirmative answer (.) or a negative

^a I eliminated the three middle digits of the phone number for privacy.

12 answer just a (.) solid answer would do . . .

Calling a nurse repeatedly within a short time frame is a gaffe, which TL removes himself from in message 26, but in message 29 he asserts that this is an avenue he will pursue if the nurse does not return his call. Since answering machine messages are necessarily short and since the recruiters make few mistakes, these types of self-conscious correction are rare.

In sum, error correction for the callers is necessarily self-initiated self-correction. Repairs are quick, because the answering machine context which has an unknown time limit, and a major error may have a deleterious effect on the rest of the message. Errors show a specific way in which answering machine messages differ from conversation, in which many errors are disregarded and repairs are other initiated. While answering machine messages differ from natural conversation in style and in the lack of hearer feedback, they are also based on conversation.

Part Two: Formulae, routines, and smooth talking

Selling traditionally involves a special kind of speech. In his work on auctioneers Koenraad Kuiper suggests that for an instance of speaking to be a performance, both the speaker and hearer have to perceive the speaking as somehow special (1996:2). The special nature of sales-speaking is recognizable to anyone who has received a telemarketing call:

"A sales pitch, like storytelling, may stretch turn taking procedures to grasp an extended turn . . . the right kind of answer moves towards a sale. If a resisting answer occurs, the caller's rejoinders aim to route the encounter toward a place where the answerer may not be able to resist." (Hopper 1992:210)

Answerers can recognize a telemarketer because of the way in which the caller uses his or her voice and the rules of conversation.

Miller and Heiman criticize the traditional sales approach: "when sales representatives prepare at all for an individual sales call, they usually concentrate on just one thing: the polished and supposedly all-important 'product pitch'." (1987: 13) They further describe "track selling" in which the salesperson memorizes a script, and delivers it verbatim to every customer. No matter what the response of the customer, the goal for the salesperson is his or her own commission. Robert Miller and Stephen Heiman claim that this is not an effective way to sell a product in today's market. A recruiter is a special type of salesman, and "track selling," outdated though it may be, is a part of the recruiting technique. One way in which certain types of speech, such as a product pitch, differ from fresh talk is their use of certain routines and formulae.

Formulae are lexical items linked to social tasks, which make both speaking and listening easier because they reduce the options available to both the speaker and hearer. Rather than building an utterance from separate components, the speaker can just retrieve a formula from his or her memory. In a sentence with maximum novelty, the speaker selects each word individually, while in a sentence of minimum novelty, the speaker looks up the entire sentence and speaks it verbatim. Like the titles of movies or songs, which Goffman describes as "frozen" wholes, the words of a formula or routine are set off from the utterances in which they are embedded (Goffman 1981:258). An example of a frozen whole in answering machine messages might be the utterance of the caller's telephone number. Those strings of numbers are only meaningful as part of a larger whole that is recited verbatim. Formulae are not just used in cases of special performances; there are formulae associated with many aspects of social life, such as politeness formulae. Speakers use different formulae in different circumstances for different ends. "Speaking is therefore a matter of recalling speech in the context in which it is appropriate." (Kuiper 1996:5) Kuiper connects the use of formulae with external events that proceed at a rapid rate; the response to the increased pressure of the situation is the use of formulaic speech (Kuiper 1996: 26) The goal is speech with the maximum effect for the minimum effort. Recruiters are, as I said above, under an unknown time limit which puts pressure on their performance. Many elements present in answering machine messages are formulae, from ways of self-identification to pleasantries to ways of requesting a return call. The overall organization of the message, however, comes from a routine.

Del Hymes defines a linguistic routine as "a recurrent sequence of verbal utterances, whether conventional or idiosyncratic." (quoted by Kuiper 1996:6) Routines are not always

linguistic, but linguistic routines are what I am concerned with here. In ordinary speech, meaning is inherent in the words; in many routines meaning is derived from social usage (Wilhite 1983: 47). Novelty is possible in both formulae and routines, but in a non-creative routine, the same alternative is consistently chosen, and is felt to be the most appropriate (Ferguson 1983:165). There may be variant forms of a routine that a native speaker would not use, though semantically they are as appropriate as the selected form (Kuiper 1996:17). Watson describes a routine as a

"sequence of utterances or behaviors which is regular and procedural and which communicates as much by its form as by its content A routine exists when conventional or symbolic meanings have become attached to speech or behavior carried out in a particular sequence and with a particular style." (1975:53)

Routines thus are an important part of social life, including telephone conversations and even answering machines. The routines associated with telephone conversations have received some scholarly attention. I believe that answering machine messages are directly modelled on telephone conversations, rather than any alternate type of interaction. Answering machine messages particularly imitate the routines of a telephone conversation.

"Goffman (1971) maintains that for adults in American society almost every kind of transaction is opened and closed by ritual." (Corsaro 1979:315) Telephone transactions are no exception; they are clearly opened and closed by a ritual set of exchanges. Schegloff (1992), for instance, described the canonical telephone opening. It is a routine, but not a ritual. "There is no officially sanctioned opening dialogue specified in the telephone book," so the canonical telephone opening is simply a "sequential collage of cliches." (Hopper 1992:52) The canonical telephone

opening begins with the summons/answer sequence. A summons is an attention getting device. In a face to face encounter a summons might be a term of address with rising intonation, "pardon me?", or a physical device (Schegloff 1972:357). While a summons is an unusual way to begin a face to face encounter, it is almost the only way to start a telephone conversation. This opening is peculiar to America. Work by Godard in France (1977) and Sifianou in Greece (1989) suggest that attitudes toward telephone conversations and behaviors differ among industrialized societies. In America, however, the summons of the telephone opening is the ringing of the telephone, and the answer is the initial "hello?" from the answerer. The production of a summons makes an answer conditionally relevant, "with the constraint of *immediate juxtapositions* . . . when [the answer] does occur it *terminates the sequence*." (Schegloff 1972:364) A summons/answer sequence is a way to begin interaction, then, not the goal of the interaction. It establishes the availability of both parties for collaboration (ibid:372).

If no one answers the telephone, however, the caller infers that the answerer is not home or not in the office (i.e., not available for collaboration), not that the answerer is simply not answering the telephone. Even if the call is not answered, the answering machine completes the summons/answer sequence. Schegloff says:

"The machine's magnetic voice will not only answer the caller's ring but will also inform him when its ears will be available to receive his message and warns him both to wait for the beep and to confine his interest to fifteen seconds. Thereby both abab and the properties of [summons/answer] sequences are preserved." (1972:374)

"Abab" is the sequential alternation between speakers in the canonical opening. The telephone

rings, which is a summons, and the machine answers that summons automatically. Subsequently, the machine plays its recorded message and then emits a beep. That beep informs the caller that the machine is available for interaction, in other words that he or she is now being recorded and should begin to speak. The beep of an answering machine is a completion of the summons/answer and a turn ending signal. Openings, both in answering machines and other telephone conversations, do not end with the summons/answer sequence, but have several additional steps.

In a telephone conversation, following the summons/answer sequence is an identification/recognition sequence, token greetings, and initial inquiries and responses (Hopper 1992:56). An example of this might be:

telephone rings
A: Hello?
C: Judy?
A: Yeah?
C: This is Brian.
A: Oh, hi.
C: Hi.
A: How are you?
C: Fine. How are you?

Normally, greetings open spoken interactions, occur in pairs, and are non-repeatable (ibid:59). In telephone conversations, there often is an exchange of greetings after the initial answer of "hello?" The "hello?" is an answer to the summons rather than a greeting since the answerer does not know whom he or she is greeting.

There is a clear sequence of opening elements in the answering machine messages of my data. My first task was to define what counted as the opening of the message, and where the body of the message began. The first greeting and identification, I feel, are part of the opening.

First Word (55 complete):
40 "Hello" variant (73%)

- 20 "Hello" (36%)
- 16 "Hi" (30%)
- 4 "Hey" (7%)
- 8 "Yes" (15%)
- 6 "Good afternoon/evening" (11%)
- 1 Nurse's name (1%)

The ringing of the telephone and the picking-up by the answering machine qualify as a summons-answer sequence, indicating that while the intended answerer is not available for collaboration, the machine is. Next in the canonical sequence of telephone openings are an identification/recognition sequence, token greetings, and initial inquiries and responses. Only one message in my data opened with other-identification. More often, the recruiter used a greeting to open the message; this may correspond to the token greeting of Schegloff's canonical opening.

This is a breakdown of the commonly occurring sequence in answering machine openings, out of 55 complete openings:

- a) 27 Greeting Other-I.D. Self-I.D. Tying-Reference (43%)
- b) 11 Greeting Other-I.D. Self-I.D. Date (20%)
- c) 4 Greeting Self-I.D. Other-I.D. Tying Reference (7%)
- d) 4 Greeting Other-I.D. Greeting Self-I.D. (7%)
- e) 2 Greeting Other-I.D. Self-I.D. Date Tying-Reference (3%)
- f) 2 Greeting Other-I.D. Self-I.D. (3%)
- g) 2 Greeting Self-I.D. (3%)
- h) 3 Other

Message 54 from EG is a typical example of sequence a from above, which is the most common opening:

- 1 54. Hello this message is for Ethel Mallett, (.) My name's E and I'm calling from ((company
- 2 name)) travel nursing agency, (.) Ethel we received your number and your name from the New
- 3 Jersey state board of licensing (.) and . . .

Tying references, explicit mentions either of a previous interaction or an explanation for how the recruiter received the nurse's telephone number, often immediately precede main business of the call. Rather than a tying reference, some recruiters say the date. Message 63 is a good example of

this:

1 63. Hi Lily this is C from ((company name)) travel nursing? August twenty seventh around seven
2 p.m.?

While these two messages follow the same general sequence, they obviously are different in the details. Message 54 has an unpacked other identification ("this message is for . . .") where message 63 is packed (using the nurse's name without the framing device). My data is almost evenly divided between having packed (31) and unpacked (32) other identification. It is not common for a recruiter to identify the nurse by first and last name. This only occurs in eleven cases, seven of which come from EG. This is probably an element of personal style that falls within the normal sequence of openings in the message.

Sometimes there is an explicit division between the opening of the call and the main body of it. Generally, I found that the recruiter explicitly opened the body by stating a reason for the call. I found 51 examples of this:

22 "I was calling . . ." (43%)
9 "I was wondering . . ." (18%)
5 "I wanted to touch base . . ." (10%)
5 "I wanted to check in . . ." (10%)
3 "I'm inquiring . . ." (6%)
3 "I was trying to keep in touch . . ." (6%)
2 "I was following up . . ." (4%)
2 Other (4%)

A typical example of this pattern is message 1 from BC:

1 1. Yes hello this message is for Sarah. Hi Sarah this is BC calling from ((company name))
2 Nursing? (0.5) I'd received your name from the New Jersey board of licensing
3 and I was calling to see if you had any interest in some of our nursing opportunities . . .

This did not always occur. TL, for instance, tended to expand on a tying reference to open the

^a Includes variants such as "I wanted to call" or "I was trying to call."

business of the call. Message 25 shows this:

- 1 25. Hi Angela this is TL from ((company name)), I: last talked to you I think uh around the first of
2 July. (.)
3 Uh: (.) at that point you were possible looking for uh (.) Tennessee . . .

TL never explicitly mentions that he is calling or why; RM shows the same pattern in his messages.

In Firth's studies of telenegotiating, he found that a retrospective tying reference, such as confirmation of receipt of a document or fax, signals the end of casual talk and a beginning to the main business of the call (1995b:189). While I feel that the recruiter's explicit statement "I was calling . . ." signals the beginning of the main business of the call, the tying reference does not clearly fall into either the opening or the body of the message. When there is a tying reference, it occurs at the end of the opening. When both a tying reference and a statement of the reason for the call occur, they are immediately juxtaposed. In cases where both occur, I consider the tying reference to be a part of the opening, although it represents the closing of the opening. For those messages without a statement of the purpose for the call, the tying reference simultaneously closes the opening and opens the main business of the message. TL and RM, for instance, only use a tying reference to open the business of the call.

While the canonical sequence is a guideline for the beginnings of most American telephone conversations, it is not without variations. Hopper suggests that canonical openings vary depending on the identities of caller and answerer (1992:83). Acquaintances might go through summons/answer, identification/recognition, greetings, and inquiries, but intimates are more likely to simply use summons/answer, greetings, and inquiries. Strangers, on the other hand, will use summons/answer, identification/recognition, "yes" rather than more polite greetings, and go straight to business rather than conducting inquiries. Variations and possibilities show that

although the canonical opening is a framework for describing interaction, it does not describe a particular interaction. As Hopper points out, "telephone partners are not robots, nor ritual users, but actors dancing around a semiotic maypole indicated by the canonical instance." (1992:65)

The answering machine messages of my data are business calls, and most of the recruiters are not intimates to their nurses, though they may qualify as acquaintances rather than strangers in follow-up calls. This might explain, for instance, why recruiters do not usually conduct even token inquiries, and instead proceed straight to business. Reductions in the canonical sequence result also from the fact that there is no immediate hearer who can provide answers to inquiries, and that there is an unknown time limit to these messages. It is more important for the recruiter to go through the main business of the messages than to be polite and ask how the nurse is doing.

Canonical Telephone Opening (acquaintances):

Summons/answer - identification/recognition - token greetings -
initial inquiries/responses - business of call

Canonical Telephone Opening (strangers):

Summons/answer - identification/recognition - "yes" - business of call

Answering Machine Messages (both strangers and acquaintances):

Summons/answer - token greeting - self/other identification -
date or tying reference - opening main business

Answering machine messages switch the positions of token greetings and identification, and generally eliminate the inquiries entirely.

In the same way that there are routines associated with the opening of a telephone call, there are also routines associated with its closing. The closing section of a telephone conversation consists of topic termination, leave taking (including goodbyes), and contact termination (hanging up) (Clark and French 1981:3). Herbert Clark and J. Wade French discuss the role of the word "goodbye" in leave taking. While "goodbye" has no literal meaning, it can be used as an isolated illocutionary act (showing a willingness to break contact), as part of an exchange of goodbyes (an

adjacency pair), or as part of the final closing section of a telephone conversation (1981:1-2). In an answering machine message, "goodbye" is a cross between an isolated illocutionary act and the closing section of a telephone call. On the one hand, the caller is the only one who is speaking, and he or she decides when the contact is over; by saying goodbye, the caller ends the contact. On the other hand, if I am right that the answering machine message is closely modelled on the telephone conversation, then the goodbye probably is an imitation of the closing exchange of goodbyes that occur in normal telephone conversations. The recruiters do not always close their calls with "goodbye," see below, but when "goodbye" or a variant occurs, it is always the last utterance the recruiter makes.

Final Utterance (62 complete):

- 40 "Goodbye" or variant (65%)
- 11 "Have a nice day" or other pleasantries (18%)
- 8 "Thank you" (13%)
- 5 Other (8%)

The leave-taking part of a telephone call or of an answering machine message consists of more than just an utterance of "goodbye"; there are other elements. Here are the elements that I found in the closings of the answering machine messages:

Elements present in Closing:

- 40 Goodbye variations (65%)
- 40 "Thank you" (66%)
- 36 Pleasantries (57%)
- 35 Projections (57%)

Pleasantries include such formulae as "have a nice day" and projections generally include utterances such as "I look forward to hearing from you." An example of a message that included these items is 7, from BN:

- 17 7. . . . thank you very much and I do look forward to speaking with you Robin. (.) Have a nice
- 18 day. Bye bye.

All of the routine utterances associated with the closing of a telephone conversation can appear, strung together, in an answering machine message.

Closings cannot occur at any point in the conversation; both participants must recognize and consent to the end of the encounter for the closing to be polite. Before participants go through aspects of closing such as saying goodbye and hanging up the telephone, both must finish with their business. This is the topic termination that Clark and French referred to above. Harvey Sacks and Schegloff have discussed the positioning of topics within the call. The first topic following the opening exchanges of the call usually is the reason for the call, if the conversation is a monotopical one (Schegloff and Sacks 1973:300). The answering machine messages in my data typically are left to elicit a return call, so they are monotopical. According to Schegloff and Sacks, if the conversation is monotopical, then the closing of the topic will initiate the closing of the call (ibid:308). A possible pre-closing utterance might be "Okay," with a downward intonation and no production of a new topic; this passes the floor to the hearer and indicates that the speaker has finished with his or her business. After the pre-closing utterance, if the hearer does not initiate a new topic, then the actual closing of the conversation occurs. In an answering machine message there is no hearer to provide a new topic, so once the caller has finished with his or her business, he or she is free to close the message.

How does one go about closing a message? Most often I found that the recruiters opened the closing section of their messages by using some form of reiteration. In the example I cited above, the full closing included:

- 7 7. once again my name is B with ((company name)) (0.5) thank you very much and I do look
8 forward to speaking with you Melodie. (.) Have a nice day. Bye bye.

Reiteration, repeating certain elements especially following "again" or "once again," occurs in 50

of the messages, generally directly before the closing. Not all of the recruiters use reiteration, but when reiteration does occur, it usually immediately precedes closing utterances. This is the distribution among the recruiters of closing openings:

- 7 recruiters open their closings with a reiteration. (58%)
- 1 recruiter opened his closings with thanks. (8%)^a
- 1 recruiter used "uh" "so" or "but" to open closing. (8%)
- 3 recruiters did not seem to have a pattern.^b

This is a distribution of total sequences of closings (parentheses indicate that the element does not occur in every message):

Reiteration	Closing elements
BN: Name Company name	Thanks (Projection Pleasantry) Bye
GT: Name Company name	Phone # Date Thanks Pleasantry Bye
AB: Name Company name	Request Projection Thanks Pleasantry Bye
TL: Name Company name	(Nurse name) Phone # Request (Pleasantry) Bye
XS: Name Company name	Nurse name Phone # Pleasantry (Thanks)
DA: Name Company name	Projection Pleasantry Bye
CZ: Name Company name	Thanks Projection Bye

Those who did not use reiteration, but still had a pattern:

ED: Thanks	Nurse name	Pleasantry	Name	Company Name	Bye
JM: So/but/uh	Request	Phone #	Projection	Pleasantry	Bye

Clark and French describe the function of leave taking as a reaffirmation of acquaintance (i.e., the breakup of contact will be temporary) (1981:4). Leave taking consists of 1. summarizing the content of the contact, 2. justifying the closing of the contact, 3. expressing pleasure about each other, 4. planning future contact, and 5. wishing each other well. (ibid) Some of these elements are present in the closings of these answering machine messages. Reiteration is a form of summarizing the important content of the message, that is the recruiter's name, the company name,

^a Thanks followed by reiteration by EG.

^b RM and JB probably because I did not have enough data. BC genuinely lacked a pattern.

and sometimes the telephone number. Justification of the closing of contact in answering machine messages is not necessary, since there is a time limit anyway. Expressing pleasure in the nurse is implied by the pleasantries ("I do hope you have a good day") and by projections ("I do look forward to speaking with you"). The recruiter plans future contact with projections, and the recruiter wishes the nurse well with pleasantries. The closing of an answering machine message, then, fulfills most of the requirements of the closing of a telephone conversation, except that there is only one speaker. The closing of an answering machine message, then, is constructed by a single author rather than mutually constructed by two interactants.

Answering machine messages, according to Hopper, have a canonical sequence not just for openings or closings, but for the entire message: greeting, self-identification, stating business, and saying goodbye (1992:214). If I include the tying references and dates from my data in the "stating business" slot, then these messages follow this routine. Hopper says that variations occur in how people fill each of those slots. An acquaintance might use "hi" or the target answerer's name as a greeting, give only his or her first name as identification, not include a telephone number, and close simply with "bye." Strangers are more likely to open with "Yes" or the caller's name rather than "hi," to give their full names, to always leave a telephone number, and to close with "thank you." (ibid) My data supports a difference in style between cold calls and follow-up:

First Word in Cold Calls (17 complete):

- 12 "Hello" (71%)
- 2 "Yes" (12%)
- 2 "Hi" (12%)
- 1 "Good afternoon" (5%)

First Word in Follow-up Calls (29 complete):

- 17 "Hi" or "Hey" (58%)
- 6 "Hello" (21%)
- 6 "Yes" (21%)

The more formal "Hello" appears more often in calls to strangers. According to Hopper, we also should expect "thank you" in place of "Goodbye" in closings. In my data "goodbye" variations dominate the data. Eight calls close with "thank you," and only one of those is a cold call. The others are follow-up calls, to acquaintances. The question of whether the recruiter's familiarity with the nurse affects the message is something I will consider later. For now it is enough to note that while the routine for answering machine messages may encompass many types of messages and does not show systematic variation based on the time of acquaintance between the nurse and recruiter, the messages themselves are not identical. "While performance is loosely motivated and organized by conventions, principles, and expectations, it is not predictable from mental scripts of situations." (Schegloff, Ochs, and Thompson 1996:6)

Kuiper defines fluency as "the complete absence of voiced hesitancy," and describes a category of performers to whom he refers as smooth talkers (1996:25).² Auctioneers, sportscasters on radio and television, and salespeople qualify as smooth talkers, because they must be fluent and speak quickly in high pressure situations. Goffman's radio announcers are slightly different, because although they are held to high standards of speech, their talk is scripted. The recruiters, however, must speak convincingly to persuade the nurse to call him or her back, while constantly being aware that there is a time limit, of unknown length, to his or her speech. To speak convincingly in a short amount of time, smooth talkers make use of linguistic formulae, which reduces the lexical look-up time required by real-time speech. They also make use of routines that allow them to go very rapidly through a sequence of utterances with a minimum of creativity and thought. The sequence of elements in an answering machine message free the recruiters from worrying about organizing their talk; linguistic formulae help them to fill slots of the routine. All

of this allows the recruiters can speak at a rapid rate. The quickness of auctioneers' speech, Koenraad Kuiper and Douglas Haggio claim, is not the result of an increase in the rate of their speech, but a minimization of the pauses between words and phrases (1984:214). They can minimize pauses because they do not have to consciously search for the next utterance. Because recruiters are making routine calls, this is often the case for them as well. The routine and formulaic nature of their speech allows them to speak convincingly in the small amount of time available to them.

Openings and closing of telephone conversations provide a pattern for the openings and closings of answering machine messages. The structure of telephone conversations is the structure of answering machine messages. Routines associated with telephone conversations are present in answering machine messages. They allow the recruiters to speak very fluently while leaving a message. While an individual might speak fluently in a particular setting and circumstance, under other circumstances he or she may not be capable of fluent speech (Kuiper 1996:1). The fluent speech is being used to an end, however, and that end is convincing the nurse to return the recruiter's call.

Part Three: Speech Acts and Politeness

How does one do something by speaking? Does the hearer understand that by producing an utterance the speaker is performing an action? An illocutionary act is performed in producing a meaningful utterance (Hancher 1979:1). The utterance "shut the door," is a locution, an illocution if the speaker says the words to the right person under the right set of circumstances, and a perlocution if the utterance is successful in causing the hearer to shut the door (or if the utterance has any effect on the hearer, such as making him or her angry) (ibid). For the performance of an illocution, there must be both speaker and a hearer present, and there also must be a relationship between the two (Stiles 1981:228). Illocutions include such words and actions as promising, declaring, and threatening. "Illocutionary . . . acts consist characteristically in uttering words in sentences in certain contexts, under certain conditions and with certain intentions . . ." (Searle 1969:24). John Searle differentiates illocutionary acts by several criteria, from their purpose, to the statuses of the speaker and hearer, to their propositional content (1976:3). He ultimately divides them into five types: representatives that assert the truth, directives, commissives that commit the speaker to future action, expressives that assert a psychological state, and declarations that attempt to fit the world to words or vice versa (1976:19).

Searle also suggests that there is both a primary and literal illocutionary force to every utterance (Geis 1995:28). "Illocutionary force is that part of the meaning of a sentence which corresponds to the highest clause in its semantic representation," according to Sadock (quoted by Geis 1995:24). Searle's distinction between literal and primary illocutionary force refers to the fact that sometimes what the words of an utterance literally mean might not be the speaker's actual

intention, which is the primary illocutionary force. Despite this, "the speech act or acts performed in the utterance of a sentence are in general a function of the meaning of the sentences." (Searle 1969:18) To successfully perform a speech act, the speaker must meet certain conditions that vary based on which speech act the speaker is trying to perform.

Directives, such as making requests, are the speech acts that are most relevant to my study. In uttering a directive the speaker tries to get the speaker to do something for the speaker's benefit. Recruiters issue directives to the nurses, for the nurse to give the recruiter a call back. In her classification of English speech act verbs, Wierzbicka describes one important type of directive, requesting:

"I say: I want Y to happen. I know that Y cannot happen if someone X doesn't do something to cause it to happen. I say this because I want to cause X to cause Y to happen. I don't want to say that X has to do it. I assume that X will understand that I have a reason to say that I want Y to happen. I assume that X will cause Y to happen." (1987:49)

Speakers often, for the sake of politeness, do not utter directives directly. A literal directive might be: "I order you to shut the door." Only rarely would such a sentence occur outside of hypothetical discourse. The directive must be uttered in a different way, in an indirect way. "In such cases a sentence that contains the illocutionary force indicators for one kind of illocutionary act can be uttered to perform, *in addition*, another type of illocutionary act." (Searle 1979:30) Even though the speaker is issuing a directive and even though the hearer understands it as such, the literal illocutionary force of the utterance is not that of a directive. For the hearer to

understand and respond to the primary illocutionary force rather than the literal force, there must be shared background information between the speaker and hearer. Speakers perform indirect requests by, for instance, asking about the hearer's ability to perform the act ("Can you pass the salt?"), by commenting on the speaker's wish for the hearer to perform the act ("I wish you would stop that."), by asking about the hearer's willingness to perform the act ("Would you mind giving us some privacy?"), or by providing a reason for the hearer to do the act ("You had better leave now.") (Searle 1979:36-39). The desired effect of talk, according to Gray and van Oosting, is seldom stated directly (1996:69). Requesting is a case where this is often true.

While the final goal of the interaction between nurse and recruiter is for the recruiter to lock the nurse into a contract, for a simple answering machine message, the recruiters have a less ambitious goal. Their goal is to persuade the nurse to call them back. For them to accomplish their eventual goals, they must speak to the nurse directly. In cold calls they leave a sales-pitch on the machine, and in follow-up calls they may leave information about specific job opportunities. These are just means to an end, however, and that end is a return call. In leaving a message, recruiters request that the nurse call them back; they issue a directive. They often issue several directives throughout the message. There are no cases in my data of a recruiter saying "I order you to call me back" or even "I request that you call me back." I do have a few cases where a recruiter says "Give me a call" (messages 23 and 28 for instance). Recruiters, and speakers in general, rarely make requests so directly, however. I am interested in why some requests are less direct than others. Why would it be necessary for the recruiter to veil requests with words?

Penelope Brown and Stephen Levinson argue that people have positive and negative face, and that individuals rationally try to maintain each others' faces so that others will maintain their

face. Negative face includes claim to territory or personal property, while positive face refers to the positive, consistent self-image of interactants (Brown and Levinson 1987:61). The needs of face, the public self image that each person wishes to claim for him- or herself, sometimes are at odds with personal or societal needs. Face Threatening Acts (FTAs) are acts that threaten either the speaker's or listener's face, and people try to minimize the risks of those acts occurring. FTAs can threaten both positive and negative face. Pressurized requests or compliments both threaten negative face, while disapproval and indifference threaten positive face (ibid:65-66). People will use the safest strategies necessary in conversation to minimize the risk of an FTA. Sometimes, however, the speaker must use an FTA, and then his or her goals will be to communicate successfully, to communicate efficiently, and to maintain the hearer's and his or her own face (ibid:68).

There are several communicative strategies available to the speaker to politely perform an FTA. I will use message 59 from AB to illustrate some of these strategies:

1 59. Good evening this message is >for Melodie Bucks.< (.) Melodie this is A B calling from
2 ((company name)) we're a nursing agency. (.) Carla I did receive your name and telephone
3 number from the New Jersey state board of licensing. (.)
4 Our company ((company name)) is placing R.N.s (.) throughout the state of New Jersey in
5 hospital settings, (.) as well as in Philadelphia and we do staff the rest of the United States. (.)
6 Offering our nurses free private housing, (.) and a very comprehensive benefits package. (.)
7 Please give me a call toll free, (.) at one eight hundred, (.) ((three digits)), (.) ninety nine ninety
8 two, (.) my extension number is two one nine, (.) and I would be *more* than happy to discuss the
9 opportunities, (.) that we currently have available.
10 So once again Melodie, (.) it's A B from ((company name)). (.) Thank you very much for your
11 time, (.) I look forward to speaking with you soon. (.) Thank you.

The speaker can perform the offending act "off the record." Rather than openly requesting a loan, the speaker might say, "I forgot to go to the bank today, and I'm out of cash." (ibid:69) A recruiter might say "I would be more than happy to discuss opportunities" (message 59: line 11),

which is not a direct way of requesting a call back. Another strategy mentioned by Brown and Levinson that the speaker can use is to act optimistic about the outcome of the request, to minimize the request itself. "I'm borrowing your scissors, okay?" (ibid:126) All of the projections like "I look forward to speaking with you soon" (59:15) are optimistic forms of requesting. What is evident from my data is that there are several ways to make a request and be polite. As Brown and Levinson say, "communicative intentions have built in social implications, often of a threatening sort. What then becomes interesting is how such communicative intentions become constrained . . ." (ibid:281). Given that communication is constrained in the messages of my data, what is threatening about the calls the recruiters are making?

For a variety of reasons, telemarketing threatens the hearer's face. "For Americans, unsolicited telephone calls from strangers are an infringement of privacy, a serious threat to a person's right to choose whom to interact with . . ." (Johnstone 1991:569). Because these are threatening acts, the speech of telemarketing, survey taking, and recruiting is constrained. Barbara Johnstone has studied telephone survey calls, which are unsolicited invasions of a person's privacy much the same as a recruiter's cold call. "Interviewers are required to violate strongly held beliefs [perform FTAs] about how people should treat one another." (1991: 569) Johnstone found that interviewers, therefore, use politeness strategies to minimize the offense. They use positive politeness strategies such as stating the reason for the imposition ("This is a statewide, non-partisan public opinion survey"), and suggesting working together ("We would appreciate your cooperation") (ibid:570). Positive politeness is evident in the recruiters' messages in the form of an explanation for the call "our company is placing R.N.s throughout the state of New Jersey . . ." (59:5). The interviewers of Johnstone's study use negative politeness strategies by

acknowledging the respondents' need to be left alone, and implying that they are in the respondents' debt for their "help" (ibid 569-570). Recruiters often do include profuse thanks in their messages, "Thank you very much for your time," which implies that they are in the nurses' debt because the nurse listened to the message (59:15). Johnstone suggests that although the interviewers are performing FTAs, by using politeness strategies they are more likely to be able to complete the call. The recruiters of my data do not have to worry about hang-ups, not from the answering machines; their goal is not to keep the nurse on the line, but to solicit a return call. Like Johnstone's interviewers, however, they use positive and negative politeness strategies to make their requests.

I found four levels of requests made by recruiters in answering machine messages. The first is promising, in which case the recruiter speculates about his or her own actions in the proposed future interaction: "If you call me back, I'll" The second is a projection, in which the recruiter speaks about how much he or she would enjoy a hypothetical future interaction: "I look forward to speaking with you." The third is an indirect request, in which the recruiter uses a classic technique of mitigating the request: "Could you give me a call back please?" The final group is direct requests, in which the recruiter bluntly states the request: "Give me a call back." Some messages have combinations of three or more of these types of requests. Message 59 shows promising in line 12, projecting in line 15, and direct requesting in line 10:

7 59. . . . (.) Please give me a call toll free, (.) at one eight
8 hundred, (.) ((three digits)), (.) ninety nine ninety two, (.) my extension number is two one nine,
9 (.) and I would be *more* than happy to discuss the opportunities, (.) that we currently have
10 available.
11 So once again Melodie, (.) it's AB from ((company name)). (.) Thank you very much for your
12 time, (.) I look forward to speaking with you soon. (.)

The same recruiter uses an indirect directive in the previous message, 58:

9 58. . . . If you could give me a call back,
10 (.) at your earliest convenience at one eight hundred, (.) ((three digits)) (.) ninety nine ninety two,
11 (.) my extension number is two one nine, (.) I'd appreciate it a *lot*? . . .

Why does the request in line 9 qualify as an indirect directive? How does one go about issuing an indirect directive?

Searle's felicity conditions for directives are that the hearer can perform the act (preparatory), that the speaker wants the hearer to do the act (sincerity), that the speaker is predicating a future act of the hearer (propositional content), and that the utterance is an attempt by the speaker to get the hearer to do the act (1979:44). Searle says that the speaker can make the indirect request by stating whether the preparatory condition is true, stating or asking the propositional content, stating (but not asking about) the sincerity condition, or finally stating reasons for doing the act (ibid:45). Message 58 above involves stating the preparatory condition ("if you *could* give me a call"), as well as referring to the sincerity condition ("I'd appreciate it a *lot*"). Geis suggests that there is only one difference between most indirect requests and direct ones: "every condition on requesting is satisfied but for one: identification of the desired thing and implicating or asserting a desire for it." (1995:23) A recruiter never says in making an indirect request, "I want you to give me a call back" in so many words. When asking someone to pass the salt, the speaker can tell before making the request that the addressee is close to the salt, is physically capable of passing it, and is willing to do so. Also in that case, it will be evident to the addressee that the speaker cannot reach the salt. No matter how mitigated or indirect, however, all request utterances that attempt to get the addressee to pass the salt, will contain an affirmative reference to salt (ibid:23). Indirect requests from the recruiters then will contain some reference to

a call back, which is how indirect requests differ from projections and promises.

The speaker is motivated by more than just concern about positive and negative face when selecting a type of request. Speakers also have to consider the role they are occupying. Donna Johnson and Duane Roen state that people select a politeness strategy based on variables such as power, social distance, and the level of the imposition (1992:35). Susan Ervin-Tripp says that speakers issue directives indirectly through statements about need ("I need a match."), through imperatives ("Give me a match."), through imbedded imperatives ("Could you give me a match?"), through permissive directives ("May I have a match?"), through question directives ("Got a match?"), and hints ("I could really use a match right now.") (1976:29). The speaker selects a style of indirect directive based on the relative ranks of the speaker and hearer. A superior's need ("I need a match.") is the subordinate's obligation (ibid:44). The subordinate could, but would not, use a statement about need to issue a directive to the superior because the superior has no obligation to satisfy the subordinate's needs. Charlotte Linde similarly explores the idea of mitigation:

"while some sentences are quite direct other sentences that perform the same (or similar) speech acts are more indirect. Furthermore, these differences in degree of directness correspond to differences in degree of politeness . . . a mitigated form is one that expresses a given propositional content in such a way as to avoid giving offense." (1988:379)

Linde says that subordinates mitigate requests to superiors, unless they make the request during problem conditions (ibid:386). Then, avoiding giving offense to the superior is secondary to the

need to communicate quickly and effectively. Does this imply that the recruiter has a lower status than the nurse, since some of his or her requests are mitigated? Or is it a matter of generic politeness?

Hierarchy, according to Hopper and Whitehead, restricts free and efficient communication (1979:281). On the other hand, Grice believes that people "speak idiomatically unless there is some special reason not to" (quoted by Searle 1979:50). Certain forms are conventionally used in polite requests, regardless of the statuses of the speaker and hearer. Indirect requests may be less a case of restricted communication than a case of communication where speakers rely on polite formula. Politeness formulae are an important aspect of social life and communication. According to Esther Greif and Jean Gleason, parents exert a certain amount of energy to explicitly teach children politeness formulae, which the children do not perform by instinct (1980:163). Parents signal that there are some things one must say, regardless of actual feeling or understanding. A father might tell his child to "say thank you" to someone who gave the child a gift, but not explain why it is necessary or expect the child to be motivated by actual gratitude. Yet "once acquired these routines become not only markers of membership in polite society, but also some of the most durable elements of our linguistics repertoire." (ibid:166) Using an indirect request rather than a direct one is a matter of using a formula. On the other hand, status helps to determines which formula is correct.

Status is an issue in most telephone conversations, whether or not the caller and answerer are aware of it. Hopper, and others, have noted the presence of a caller hierarchy in telephone conversations (1992:202). The caller has more power than the answerer. The ringing of the telephone summons the answerer from other projects, and the caller's project, the design for the

need to communicate quickly and effectively. Does this imply that the recruiter has a lower status than the nurse, since some of his or her requests are mitigated? Or is it a matter of generic politeness?

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call, takes precedence over the answerer's. Ronell, in The Telephone Book, says, "you're saying yes, almost automatically, suddenly, sometimes irreversibly . . . you don't know who's calling or what you are going to be called upon to do, and still you are lending your ear . . ." (1989:2).³ It is no coincidence that people of high status, particularly in the business world, often have someone else answer their calls (Hopper 1992:202). The hierarchy is partly due to the nature of answering: "whatever answers do, they must do this with something already begun." (Goffman 1981:5)

Answering machines reverse this hierarchy. In a normal telephone conversation, the answerer is at a disadvantage because while the caller knows the intended target and purpose of the call, the answerer does not. In an answering machine message, the caller must state his or her identity and purpose to an indifferent machine (Hopper 1992:212). As Corsaro points out, "social interaction is dependent upon social actors gaining access to each other's interpersonal space." (1979:315) An answering machine presents an interesting situation in terms of access, since they do not provide direct access to interaction. Instead, they provide the answerer with the right of refusal. Telemarketers, who "exploit a conversation system that normally forbids unwarranted access by strangers, to gain precisely that access!", normally do not leave messages because the machine negates their advantage (Hopper 1992:208). On an answering machine, the caller must be more polite, since he or she does not have the advantage of the caller hierarchy. It makes sense then that the recruiters use more mitigated forms, to minimize FTAs in answering machine messages.

Politeness strategies are not just limited to the ways in which people issue directives. In Johnstone's study, survey calls are supposed to proceed according to a script, but for reasons of politeness often the survey-takers do not follow the script. "It could, in fact, be argued that failing

to add extra expressions of politeness would in itself be impolite, as reading from a script, no matter how polite the script is, is not polite." (Johnstone 1991:570) As with radio announcers, then, even if a person is reading from the script they must sound as if they are not. The recruiters are not reading from a script, but they do make the same types of calls many times a day. They leave the same types of answering machine messages every day. One way to minimize the routine nature of a call is to tailor the message to the answerer. Benjamin Bailey makes the point that "personal treatment in American life includes use of the first name, recognition of biographical details and acknowledgements of specific acts, appearances, preferences and choices of the individual." (1997:347) Strangers and acquaintances are getting "personal treatment" that in other cultures might be reserved for intimates. For Americans, it seems that being polite means being more individual in speech patterns. "Being polite means acting like a person and treating other people as people." (Johnstone 1991:571) In cold calls, recruiters cannot elaborate on the message much, because they do not have any information about the identity of the nurse.

With follow-up calls, however, the recruiter can include some personal information in the message, which makes it directed specifically at that nurse, rather than a generic nurse. WR notably includes information about potential travel destinations, based on where the nurse previously mentioned wanting to go, in his messages. For example message 14:

9 14. if you would I would encourage you to complete uh: complete the paperwork and drop it back
10 in the mail for us. (0.5) That way I can keep you posted with anything that might even be (0.5) uh:
11 close to where you live in Trenton South Carolina . . .

WR makes the indirect request that the nurse finish filling out the application he had sent, makes a promise to keep her updated, and tailors his promise to where she lives. Being polite for the goal of soliciting the return call, the recruiter addresses the message to the specific nurse.

"[I]ndividuals' speech patterns are in part dependent on the person to whom he is talking . . . "(Giles, Taylor, and Bourhis 1973:177). In other words, the speaker responds to aspects of the identity of the hearer, and the relationship between the speaker's and the hearer's identity. Speakers respond to the addressee's personal characteristics, style of speaking, and to specific linguistic variables. This is especially the case in interactions between non-intimates (Bell 1994:167). *"Variation on the style dimension within the speech of a single speaker derives from and echoes the variation which exists between speakers on the "social" dimension."* (ibid:151) The multiple roles of the speaker and the hearer cannot operate independently of each other (Scallan 1994:15). Interactants have to mutually construct a satisfactory identity for each other. Speaker Accommodation Theory (SAT) suggests that the speaker has a "sociopsychological orientation" to the hearer, and that he or she adopts a strategy based on the goals of the interaction (Coupland et al. 1988:6).

In brief service encounters on the telephone, however, the speaker cannot respond to the identity of the hearer, since the speaker has no way of detecting important aspects of the hearer's background. The speaker cannot adopt a convergent or divergent strategy without some information about the background of the speaker. Speaking with individuals of an unknown background occurs often in American society, especially in telephone service encounters. The telephone enables us to transcend distance, not just physical distance but social distance as well (Hopper 1992:3). Tannen claims that this sort of situation causes people to make use of elaborated speech, which "packs all of the information into a strictly linguistic channel and places minimal reliance on the ability of the hearer to supply items of content." (1982:14) Rather than making use of paralinguistic and prosodic variables, the speaker will focus on content and make a

maximum use of lexicalization (ibid).

The answering machine is even more problematic for the caller than brief service encounters on the telephone. In a telephone service encounter at least the speaker will receive some feedback from the hearer, which confirms whether he or she has been understood.

"Given a speaker's need to know whether his message has been received, and if so whether or not it has been passably understood, and given a recipient's need to show that he has received the message . . . we have the essential rationale for the very existence of the adjacency pair." (Goffman 1981:12)

There are no adjacency pairs in answering machine messages; there cannot be, since there is no immediate hearer. While the caller can possibly respond to the characteristics of the outgoing recording on the answering machine, often outgoing recordings, for the sake of privacy and safety, do not specify the identity of the person who made the recording. The caller, if he or she responds to the speaker on the recording, may not be responding to the owner of the answering machine or their target answerer. If the target answerer is a stranger then the caller has almost no way of tailoring his or her speech to that of the answerer. Callers then have to construct an identity for their target answerer based on whatever information they have available, so that they can determine characteristics of their speech. When a recruiter makes a cold call, he or she probably orients to their target answerer's identity as a nurse.

"It is in the nature of human social life to treat people and events as instances of and understandable in terms of more general social categories." (Rosaldo 1973:209) People inevitably categorize one another. There are, however, many ways to categorize any given individual.

Sacks, for instance, has studied membership categorization devices, by what logic we describe other people (Mazeland, Huisman, and Schasfoort 1995:277). The role an individual occupies, that aspect of his or her identity that is relevant, is important in conversational inferences. Participants use these inferences to gauge each other's intentions and shape their responses. In any given circumstance, one aspect of a person's identity may be relevant where another is not. In a baseball game, it is significant if an individual is an umpire, but not if he is Catholic (Schegloff 1992:107). "Which set of categories constitutes a collection or what is oriented to as a categorization device may be the result of situated and task oriented interactional work of task at hands." (Mazeland, Huisman, and Schasfoort 1995:277) In other words, context determines the relevancy of a category. Self-concept is as important in interaction as perceptions about others (Hopper and Whitehead 1979:53). Self-identification is one clue about which self-concept is important in a given interaction. If someone answers the telephone with "Thank you for calling Pizza Hut," then his or her identity as an employee of Pizza Hut is the one that is relevant. In all of the messages in my data, the recruiters identified themselves as affiliated with the company. Clearly their identity as recruiters is the important one in these calls. Given that the task at hand is trying to find work for a nurse, the relevant category for the target answerer is that of a nurse. The recruiter selects a politeness strategy based on his or her identity as a recruiter speaking to a nurse, in the hopes of soliciting a return call.

How a person speaks, then, is determined by his or her perceptions of the person to whom they are talking. Personal style, the roles of the speaker and hearer, and the speaker's perception of both him- or herself and the hearer have implications for the ways in which speakers go about doing things with words. In my data, the recruiters are trying to use words to persuade the nurses

to return their calls. The different forms of requests they use, the tailoring of the messages to individual nurses, and the linguistic style of the messages all show that they are using a multitude of politeness formulae to this end. The fact that relevant roles are work related indicates that the context is an institutional one. This context, as well as the fact that the recruiter is leaving an answering machine message rather than speaking directly to a person, will influence the way in which he or she speaks.

Part Four: Context, Roles, and Turn Taking

"What we do within any interaction (specifically, any communicative interaction) is constrained by the properties of the type of interaction which we are engaged." (Geis 1995:10)

Different types of activities, then, have different types of speech associated with them. An activity can be any type of culturally recognized activity, from very formal to informal and rigid to unscripted. Certain activities can even qualify as speech activities. Gumperz describes a speech activity as a set of social relationships enacted around a set of schemata in relation to a communicative goal (1982:166). A speech activity must involve communication by individuals occupying certain roles, within a specific context, and toward a certain end. Stephen Levinson's example of a speech activity is a seminar, in which lecture by a scholar is followed by a discussion between the audience and the scholar (1992:71). Scholars study speech acts within speech activities by examining "any form or use of language against a background context of a form of life." (ibid:66) Participants often orient to any given activity in which they may be interacting as an activity type, of which the present interaction is an instance. This helps the participant to act appropriately.

Levinson advocates studying the structure of an activity and how it constrains the roles of participants, the allocations of turns, and where and when the activity may take place (1992:71). If the activity is leaving an answering machine message, then the structure might be listening to the outgoing recording and leaving the message. The structure of a telephone conversation provides the structure of the message that the caller leaves on answering machine. While leaving the message, the caller has the role of hearer (to the recording) then speaker. The hearer does not

participate directly in this speech activity; first he or she records the outgoing recording on the machine, then he or she listens to the message. Turns within the activity are allocated according to the fact that there is really only one participant who is both the speaker and hearer. While the recording is playing, the caller must be the hearer, and when the recording ends then the caller has the option of taking a turn. Leaving an answering machine message is an activity that does not have a specific setting spatially or temporally. The speaker and hearer are, however, separated in both instances. In my research, the recruiter is in the office between nine a.m. and six p.m., calling the nurse's home. Nurses can retrieve messages whenever they are home.

To Levinson, the most important question is: "*in what ways do the structural properties of an activity constrain (especially the functions of) the verbal contributions that can be made towards it?*" (1992:71, emphasis his) Constraints are important because they limit both the speaker's options for action and the hearer's options for interpretation. Speakers and hearers must have shared background knowledge of constraints and options to maintain a conversation. In an answering machine message, constraints limit which elements the caller leaves in the message. Because of the constraints and conventions of speaking, the hearer can understand the message, whether for instance the caller expects a call back. The activity type determines, then, what kinds of utterances can be made and what sorts of inferences can be drawn from them. A description of an interaction, then, must account for the speech activity, and in addition the backgrounds of the participants and aspects of the context.

A particular context that has received extensive scholarly attention is the institutional context. Paul Drew and John Heritage describe institutional contexts as those in which the interactants' identities relate to work activities (1992:3). There are also usually specific, work-

related goals to an institutional interaction. Schegloff notes that conversation is the "form of social organization through which the work of most, if not all, the major institutions of societies . . . gets done." (1996:54) So institutional activities are often speech activities as well. The institutional context can have several effects on an interaction. It involves a reduction of options, identifying details, and a specialization of interactional functions. Legally enforceable constraints in formal cases (or local negotiable understandings about tasks in informal ones) can, for instance, limit allowable contributions (Drew and Heritage 1992:23). Some institutional contexts are formal, such as judicial proceedings in a court room, and others are quasi-conversational (ibid:28).

My data comes entirely from within an institutional context, and I believe is quasi-conversational rather than very formal. While each recruiter might have a script for how a call should go, there is no institutional script. Formality varies from recruiter to recruiter. Harry Levin and Peter Garrett say that "written and spoken sentences will be judged to be formal depending on the amount of work the reader/listener must expect to exert in understanding them." (1990:517) Level of formality may be determined by factors other than just the institutional context. I found that cold calls tend to sound more formal than follow-up calls. Compare, for instance, message 32 from XS with message 52 from EG:

1 32. Yes hi Laura's place this is X over at ((company name)). It's been a /ittle time since I've talked
2 to you last. (0.5)
3 Just wondering if you still have the interest in tra:vel nursing. (0.5) Didn't know if you were
4 looking to get hu closer to New Brunswick, (0.5) but um (0.5) thought I'd give a call say hello see
5 how you're doing in California. (0.5) Definitely give a call if you get a chance (.) just to chat and
6 say hello (0.5) eight hundred (.) >(((three digits))< (0.5) ninety nine ninety two extension two
7 twenty two, (0.5)
8 hope the weather out in California Laura *is* to your liking. Thank you very much have a great day!

1 52. Hello this message is for Jody Webber, (.) my name's E and I'm calling from ((company
2 name)) (.) travel nursing agency, (.) Hh Leslie we did receive your name and phone number from

3 the New Jersey state board of licensing, (.) and
4 I was calling today to see if you had an interest in some of our travel nursing assignments. (.) We
5 are currently staffing throughout the country and we have some excellent positions available (.) in
6 Philadelphia as well as throughout the state of New Jersey. (.) These positions offer a very
7 competitive pay rate as well as a comprehensive benefits package. (.) If you're interested please
8 give me a call at one eight hundred, (.) ((three digits)), (.) >nine nine nine two<, (.) extension two
9 two three (.) I'd be more than happy to elaborate on this information. (.)
10 Thank you very much Jody have a good evening, (.) and again this is E from ((company name)).
11 (.) Bye now.

EG uses the nurse's first and last name, and speaks in more or less grammatically correct sentences. XS deletes the subjects of his sentence, only uses the nurse's first name, and finally uses personal treatment in this message, tailoring his message to the nurse's location. 52 is a cold call, while 32 is a follow-up call, so the differences between them might be due to the fact that in 52 the nurse is a stranger and in 32 the nurse is an acquaintance. The differences might also be due to personal style. EG is the most formal, technically flawless of the recruiters, even among those making cold calls. XS qualifies as the most friendly sounding recruiter, always wanting to "chat and say hello" (32:6). While the messages of my data are similar in many ways, they are not entirely homogenous. I have to be careful in attributing what may be a personal style to an orientation to the institutional context. Since the recruiters are in an institutional context, however, I have to examine how it might affect these messages.

In studying the institutional context, scholars have focused on its effects on aspects of interaction such as turn design, sequence organization, overall structural organization, and lexical choice. Drew and Heritage found that in institutional interactions, lexical choice is technical rather than lay, participants may use "we" rather than "I", and they use calendar time rather than personal time (Drew and Heritage 1992:29). These elements are present to some extent in my data. The recruiters may, for instance, refer to possible positions by their technical names, as nurses

themselves would. TL refers to "O.R. tech," "tele," "I.C.U.," "psych," "E.R.," and "neo-natal intensive care" positions in his messages. Using the specific names of the nurse's specialties, rather than just the generic category "R.N." or "nurse" is a use of technical rather than lay terminology. It also is evidence of personal treatment since TL shows his knowledge of the nurse's specialty. Another example of institutional word choice is the use of "we" rather than "I" in the interaction. The use of "we" shows that the interactant is speaking as a representative of an institution and not as an individual. Some of the recruiters use the institutional "we" rather than "I" in answering machine messages. AB always describes the company by saying "We're a nursing agency."

Likewise, DA says in message 45:

- 2 45. Elizabeth, we're a nursing agency who received your name from the Health Care Travel
3 Professionals Magazine?
4 And we were wondering if you (.) *or* even if any of you associates would have an interest (.) in
5 doing some staffing work with our company. We currently have assignments throughout the
6 United States in the acute care hospital setting (.) and we're trying to find out if you would have an
7 interest. If you give me a call I'm . . .

DA switches from "we" to "I" when he starts making a request. Often recruiters use calendar time in their messages (CZ, WR, and GT for instance). These tendencies are not universal. Recruiters refer to themselves more often as "I" than "we," and technical terminology is limited. Lexical choice, then, can show individual recruiters' orientations to the institutional context, but not always.

Another area to examine how context affects speech is patterns of pausing. Pausing is an aspect of speaking that is easy to ignore, but it does play an important role in the organization of talk. While a gap is a between turn silence, a pause is silence within a turn (Goodwin 1981:18). "Pausing is under the control of the speaker . . . [and] pauses are not required by linguistic rules." (Markel 1988:82) How does a speaker decide how long to pause and how often? Markel suggests that familiarity determines the lengths of pauses and the number words per pause. If the speaker is

talking to a friend, there are likely to be more words per pause than when talking to a stranger (1989:87). Familiarity is not the only determinant of pausing patterns; the identities of the individuals and the activity type in which they are involved also are factors. McHoul says that teachers in the classroom can take lengthy intraturn pauses, because they do not have to be concerned with losing their turn (1978:192). Students are not likely to seize a pause and take the floor for themselves, unless the teacher has explicitly asked them to do so. If the teacher has selected a single student as the speaker, then the student can pause without fear of losing the turn as well (ibid). Pausing lengthens both the teacher's and students' turns. On the other hand, Ferguson's work with sportscasting suggests that a lack of listener feedback will often lead to an avoidance of silence, a minimization of pauses (1983:156). Goffman supports this idea in his study of radio announcers, who are "obliged to provide meaningful sound no matter what happens, dead air and nonlexical eruptions being unacceptable." (1981:269) The context can have different effects on pausing patterns, then. What are the patterns of pausing in answering machine messages?

When leaving an answering machine message, the caller is not competing for the floor, so he or she can pause for any length of time. On the other hand, there is no immediate audience feedback. This supports the idea that the caller will minimize pauses. Additionally, answering machines do not allow the caller to leave a message of infinite length, so although the caller is not competing for the floor, he or she will know that there is a time limit. As I mentioned above, Kuiper and Haggo found that auctioneers seem to speak quickly because they minimize pauses (1984:214). If recruiters are under the same pressure as auctioneers to produce convincing speech at speed, then they may have similar patterns of pausing.

Pauses in the answering machine messages I recorded are not often more than 1.5 seconds. Norman Markel says that while intimates speak more than six words per pause, strangers usually speak less than five words per pause. In my data, however, generally there are more than five words per pause, except when the recruiter is saying the telephone number. Recruiters speak the company telephone number at a slower rate and with a greater frequency of pausing than the rest of the message. I believe that this is the case because the telephone number is the most important part of the message since it is the only thing that is truly necessary for the nurse to call back. An example is message 20 from GT:

8 20. . . . We are located
9 right outside of Philadelphia in Newtown Square and right now we have a lot of opportunities
10 available (.) *in* Philadelphia and New Jersey and Delaware in case you're *not* interested in
11 traveling, (.) so if you think you might like some more information please give me a call? (.) Again
12 my name's G I'm calling from ((company name)), (.) An:d you can reach me at (.) one eight
13 hundred (.) ((three digits)) (.) nine nine nine two (.) extension two one five, (.)

GT uses fewer words per pause when she reaches the reiteration section, in which she says her name, the company name, and the telephone number, the essential parts of this message. Theories about pausing seem to have contradictory implications for the answering machine messages of my data. Recruiters can simultaneous take lengthy pauses and minimize pauses. A thorough study on the differences between pausing in answering machine messages and, for instance, naturally occurring telephone speech is beyond my scope here. What is important to note is that pausing relates to turn-taking procedures and to the context of the interaction.

"[P]eople construct their interaction turn by turn, [and] they do so in part through their orientations to their relevant biographies and identities, as well as to what the present occasion is about and its connections to prior occasions and prospective future ones." (Wilson 1991:24) How are turns themselves constructed? Turn taking has received a great deal of scholarly attention.

People like Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson have devised a system that explains how a speaker smoothly becomes a hearer and vice versa in a normal interaction (see for instance 1974). Jaffe and Feldstein describe turn taking in the following way: "The speaker who utters the first unilateral sound both initiates the conversation and gains possession of the floor . . . [and] maintains it until the first unilateral sound by another speaker at which time the later gains possession of the floor." (quoted by Goodwin 1981:17) In some contexts, turns are pre-allocated; certain participants get to speak at certain times. In other contexts, turns are locally negotiated. If telephone conversations provide the structure for answering machine messages, to understand how the turn-taking system operates in them, I have to consider how turn-taking proceeds in telephone conversations.

Studying recordings of telephone conversations has provided insight into the concept of *cluelessness*. Rutter coined the term to refer to the lack of visual information available to the participants in a telephone conversation (Hopper 1992:10). He explored the effect of cluelessness on conversations. According to Goodwin, for instance, speakers organize their talk based on the engagement or disengagement of the hearer's posture (1981:56). If this is the case, how can clueless participants organize their talk? Turn taking is one way in which participants organize their conversation. Although logically, it seems that cluelessness would be a hindrance to the turn taking process, apparently it is not a problem (Hopper 1992:10). Turn taking proceeds in telephone conversations as it does in face to face encounters, therefore it is not dependent on visual cues. Backchannel and minimal responses seem to play a key role in the organization of turn taking and talk, particularly in telephone conversations. In answering machine messages, however, the speaker lacks both visual information and verbal feedback from the hearer. Does this make a difference, given that the turns in answering machines are pre-allocated?

What exactly, however is a turn? Goffman says that a turn at talk is an opportunity to hold the floor (1976:271), which Carole Edelsky defines as "the acknowledged what's going on within a psychological time and space." (1981:405). Any stream of speech, a turn, a sentence, or otherwise produce by a single speaker in an interaction is referred to as an utterance (Goodwin 1981:7). A turn is on record speaking, then, "behind which lies an intention to convey a message that is both referential and functional." (Edelsky 1981:403) Turns may consist of a single or several of what Schegloff calls Turn Constructional Units (TCUs). A TCU can be lexical, phrasal, clausal, or even sentential, and is not necessarily a grammatically correct sentence (Schegloff 1996:63). When a speaker completes a TCU, the transition to the next speaker becomes relevant, a polite possibility (ibid:55). In the case of an answering machine, we can treat the outgoing recording as one turn of several TCUs and the message that the caller leaves as another turn, again with several TCUs. To provide a context for answering machine messages, I need to focus on multi-TCU turns.

In a non-pre-allocated system, a turn usually consists of a single TCU and it is only with effort that a speaker can use more than one TCU in a turn (Schegloff, Ochs, and Thompson 1996:61). Multi-turn TCUs require the hearer to suspend his or her right to begin talking at transition relevance points (Goodwin 1981:22). To make a bid for another TCU within a single turn at talk, the speaker can minimize the opportunity for the hearer to speak. Some activity types and some contexts, however, restrict the hearer's rights to speak. Answering machine messages are a pre-allocated system in which such a bid is unnecessary. There is, for instance, no way for the caller to interrupt the outgoing message, or for a hearer to interrupt the caller without first becoming an answerer by picking up the telephone. If an answerer does pick up the telephone

while the caller is leaving his or her message, then the activity type ceases to be an answering machine message and becomes a telephone conversation. This change in context implies a change in turn-taking. In a multi-unit turn, TCUs relate to previous TCUs in a variety of ways, within the turn or in the conversation. They can either project future turns or relate to a previous one. According to Schegloff, Ochs, and Thompson, a normal multi-unit turn follows this pattern: the first TCU links to preceding talk and then subsequent TCUs shift the talk in steps to the goal topic of the speaker (1996:67).

In many ways, answering machine messages represent normal multi-TCU turns. These messages are closely modelled on telephone conversations. Telephone conversations proceed according to normal turn-taking procedures through the opening, the body, and the closing. When a caller goes through all of the elements of a normal telephone opening while leaving an answering machine message, it is as if all of the turns that he or she would normally take are condensed into one longer turn. Adjacency pairs like "How are you?" are mostly eliminated, because there is no chance of a response. The last element of the opening, or the first element of the body of the message, usually is a tying reference, linked to preceding talk. This corresponds to the multi-unit turn that Schegloff, Ochs, and Thompson specified above. Following the tying reference, the speaker is free to make his or her request and to use persuasion to try to solicit a return call. One TCU in this part of the message probably will project a future interaction. Finally, the closing, like the opening, follows the routine for closings from normal telephone conversations. "In turns that contain more than a single turn constructional component, the distribution of components within the turn is frequently organized by the properties of the turn-taking system." (ibid) The turn taking system of the telephone conversation organizes the multi-unit turn of the answering machine

message.

One way that this is demonstrated by answering machine messages is the transition boundaries of the TCUs of these messages. There are a number of ways that the speaker in a conversation can indicate that he or she is at the end of a turn, from grammatical completion to prosodic cues to gesturing (Duncan 1974:175-175). If an answering machine message is a multi-unit turn then there are transition boundaries in the message; speakers would probably not mark them with gestures (any more than they would in a telephone conversation), but they might use other ways to do so. Coupland found that in institutional, sequential contexts, transition boundaries sometimes are explicitly marked ("Now, next question . . .") or can be less explicitly marked with a filled pause ("Well . . .") (1983:467). One place in the answering machine messages of my data that is clearly a boundary is that transition from the main body of the message to the closing, usually marked as I said above, with reiteration. Reiteration often is explicitly introduced with "again" or "once again." WR, however, uses a less explicit filled pause to mark the transition from body to closing in his messages. For example, message 13:

- 5 13. . . . we can uh: (0.5)
6 get a file all established for you and keep you posted with anything that be in the- either in the
7 Carolinas or Florida (.) or any other place you might like to live in. (.)
8 Uh: (0.5) give a call if you have questions otherwise I'll look forward to receiving your file back
9 here in the mail. (.)
10 Have a good night. (.) Bye bye.

WR's use of "uh" in line 9 is a filled pause.

According to Alexander McHoul, silent time outs are rare even at transition boundaries unless the turn taking system is pre-allocated (1978:196). A message like 56 from EG shows that grammatical completion followed by a pause is a type of transition boundary possible in answering machine messages, which after all are a pre-allocated system.

5 56. I was calling today to see if you have an interest in some of our travel nursing assignments? (.)
6 We are currently staffing different hospitals and facilities throughout the country, (.) and we have
7 some excellent *local* opportunities in Philadelphia (.) as well as New Jersey. (.) If you're interested
8 in a travel nursing position that offers a very competitive hourly pay rate (.) as well as a
9 comprehensive benefits package please give me a call . . .
15 Thank you very much Tess again this is E calling from ((company name)) travel nursing agency.
16 (.) Bye now.

As multi-turn TCUs, the messages of my data show the recruiters' various ways of marking transition boundaries. The differences between them may result from personal stylistic differences, or from the recruiters' different conceptions of what is appropriate in leaving an answering machine message in a job situation.

The participants' awareness of the context and their own roles affects the "shape, form, trajectory, content, or character of the interaction." (Drew and Heritage 1992:24) Ordinary conversations are not shaped, but often institutional interactions have an overall structural organization. 911 calls, for instance, are geared to the earliest completion of the task, based on a single adjacency pair: a request for help and a response (ibid:43). The patterns are the result of direction by professional interactants who have "standard practices for managing the tasks of their routine encounters" (ibid). Drew and Heritage suggest that the institutional context affects talk most in the area of sequence organization (ibid:37). "The sequence structure is the instrument through which the activity is accomplished on any given occasion." (ibid:40) The example they use is the question-answer-evaluation sequence used by teachers. I have already shown how the answering machine message is modelled on telephone conversations. Might the answering machine messages of my data, from recruiters in an institutional context, show an orientation to the institutional context in their structure?

Alan Firth has devoted considerable scholarly attention to the study of telenegotiating, "a

socially and institutionally-sanctioned mechanism which provides for the situationally efficient exchange of resources." (1995a:151) This is commodity trading on the international level, conducted by way of the telephone. Firth notes that telenegotiating often consists of an interrelated series of distinct encounters (ibid). "Latching" is the process that displays the place of a specific encounter in the series (ibid:154). A participant might open the business of a telephone call by saying "I received your fax, and . . ." or "I got your message, and . . ." Participants are oriented to the sequential configuration of actions. The first topic positioning after an exchange of pleasantries in institutional interactions is the reason for the call (ibid). Mentioning a fax or message provides a work agenda for the call, and requesting to have an offer in writing initiates either a topic change or the end of the call (ibid). Here, the activity is work achieved across a sequence (an adjacency pair) or series of sequences; sequences can encompass many activities, or activities may have multiple sequences (Heritage and Sorjonen 1994:4).

As I mentioned above, it is difficult to consider an isolated answering machine message as communication. It is only when the answering machine is part of a sequence of exchanges that it becomes successful communication. If this is true, latching should be present in my data. I have found this to be the case. The "tying references" that I referred to in my discussion of openings are latching devices. One example of a tying reference is message 5 from RM:

- 2 5. Listen I've received your message last week in regard to you not being able to: (.) uh accept the
3 contract in Wyoming? That's unfortunate (.) and I'm not really that angry? I would like to speak
4 with you however. (.5) Uh if you could please return my call . . .

Line 2 refers to a message that the nurse left for RM. When RM mentions that message, he provides both a working agenda for the message and a context for the message in a series of encounters between this nurse and RM. The nurse's message presents a problem that RM needs to

discuss with him or her, and it becomes a way for him to solicit a return call.

Even in cases where the recruiter has never spoken to the nurse, there is a tying reference.

For instance, in message 10, BN mentions where he received the nurse's name:

3 10. I have never actually had a chance to speak to you although I did receive your name from a
4 colleague of mine (.) from the A.O.R.N. convention? (0.5) Quite a while back. (0.5) And I was
5 just following up . . .

The recruiter attempts to legitimize the invasive nature of a cold call by mentioning where he or she received the nurse's name and number. A mention of a colleague, convention, magazine, or state board of licensure indicates that the recruiter is not just a telemarketer working with an automatic dialer. Latching is further present in my data in the projections that many recruiters include in their closings. Stating "I do look forward to speaking with you" or "I look forward to receiving your application back in the mail" projects to a hypothetical future contact. The presence of tying references in the beginning of a message and projections at the end clearly shows that these messages are supposed to be part of a sequence. If the nurse never calls back, then the sequence ends with this message. When the recruiter is leaving the message, however, he or she intends it to be part of a sequence. Latching is present in either case.

Latching relates to the idea of tying. Tying is the use of markers to signal the beginning or ending of an utterance (Rosaldo 1973:215). Utterances are tied by verbal means to other utterances throughout an interaction; TCUs are tied to other TCUs in the turn or in the conversation. Francis defines topical coherence as utterance by utterance referential tying (1986:56). He believes that speakers prefer to use local tying, but that some utterances are returns, preceded by previous topical items rather than the local sequential environment (ibid). In other words, an utterance that does not follow logically from the course of utterances may be tied

to previous utterances maybe in previous interactions. Local tying, in which utterances relate to utterances within the current interaction, may not be that common in answering machine messages, since they are necessarily short. One example of local tying that I have found is the use of "again" or "once again" to open the reiteration of a message. "Again" indicates that what follows has come before, so this is local tying. The reiteration normally includes another mention of the recruiter's name and the company name. For instance message 23 from TL:

12 23. Once again Samantha TL from ((company name)) eight hundred ((three digits)) (.) nine nine
13 nine two. Give me a call.
14 Bye.

Reiteration of those names usually does not occur without the presence of an again-utterance. "Again" simultaneously signals tying to the beginning of the message, and also an ending to the main business of the call. Tying within the message, however, generally is not necessary, as I stated before, because these messages are short and do not contain much important content. Latching is more important, since the recruiters wants this message to be part of a series of encounters.

Organization of an interaction is dependent on the context in which it occurs and the roles of the interactants. If the context is institutional and at least one interactant occupies a work role, then this will have certain implications for the characteristics of the interaction. Answering machine messages are modelled on telephone conversations; institutional answering machine messages are modelled on institutional telephone conversations. We can discuss the answering machine message as part of a peculiar turn-taking system. Since context affects turn-taking (particularly the allocation of turns), the institutional context will influence the structure of answering machine messages. The institutional context in this case also means that an answering

machine message is tied to an intended series of encounters.

Conclusion:

Gray and van Oosting identify four principles to understand the performative features of talk. The first is that language is related to the world in which it is performed. Second, words always have an effect, whether it is the predicted one or not. Third, making sense of language requires background knowledge. Finally, talking falls into types, genres that have different forms (1996:13-14). These ideas can be applied to answering machine messages. Context affects answering machine messages as any other form of talk. Answering machine messages count as an attempt to do something with words, generally to solicit a return call, which means the words must have an effect. Answering machine messages are modelled on telephone conversations, and to understand the answering machine we must understand telephone conversations. This requires societal background knowledge. Answering machine messages are a specific type and form of talk, somewhere between monologue and dialogue but certainly part of communication.

These are the specific qualities of answering machine messages I found.

1. They are a form of communication, despite the time lag between the sending and receiving of the message and the occasional lack of response from the hearer. Errors and corrections occurring in answering machine messages show how they resemble other forms of solo talk, but have their own unique set of challenges for the speaker, such as an unknown time limit.

2. The answering machine messages of my data are a case of salesmanship, which implies a certain type of speech. Routines associated with the openings and closings of these messages show how answering machine messages are based on telephone conversations.

3. Despite the fact that there is no hearer immediately present, these messages show that the speaker uses polite forms of directives and politeness formula. Like in conversation, speech is

dependent on the perceived roles and statuses of both the speaker and hearer.

4. An answering machine message is a specific activity type, organized by principles of turn taking even though there is only one speaker. The structure and specific elements of these messages are influenced by the context, in my data the institutional one. Specific elements of the messages show the caller's orientation to the place of a message in an intended series of interactions.

When I began this project I thought that I would study the recruiters' answering machine messages in terms of how much of the messages were idiosyncratic, how much was culturally determined, and how much the recruiters influenced each other. I did not realize at the time that there was very little information about answering machines in most of the conversation analysis literature. Since I could not pursue the specific goal I wanted to, I set out to see how far answering machine messages as a type of talk could be integrated into the existing body of literature. I found that I could apply formulae, turn taking, and speech acts to them, although technically answering machine messages have only one participant. Given that the answering machine and voice mail have become a frequently used device in both institutional and social interactions, it is important that scholars not neglect this technology in communications studies.

Hopper describes the telephone conversations as the poem of North American interaction. "Transcription looks like literary verse in its short lines that alternate dialogic voices and its rhythmic repetition of words and phrase." (Hopper 1992:xi) Perhaps the transcription of the answering machine is not as poetic or verse-like as that of a telephone conversation. In the drama of communication, however, a monologue has become an important supplement to dialogue.

Appendix: Complete Transcription

Notes on transcription:

All names have been changed for privacy.

The system of notation is based on the work of Gail Jefferson, described by Schenkein (1978:xi-xvi). These are the relevant symbols:

(0.5) 1/2 second pause

(.) short pause

wor:d pronlongation of prior sound

word stressed relative to surroundings

< word > fast relative to surroundings

> word < slow speed relative to surroundings

word- cut off

hh breath

(word) dubious transcription

((word)) transcriber's description

. falling tone

, continuing intonation

? rising inflection

! animated tone

Message #: Recruiter Length # of words Speed

Message 1: B C 30.83 seconds 121 words 3.9 w/s

- 1 Yes hello this message is for Sarah (.) Hi Sarah this is B C calling from ((company name))
- 2 Nursing, (0.5) I'd received your name from the New Jersey board of licensing, and
- 3 I was calling to see if you had any interest in some of our nursing opportunities. (0.5) Uh we do
- 4 currently have positions throughout New Jersey and the Philadelphia area, (.) as well as travel
- 5 positions throughout the country (0.5) so if you could give me a call back at eight hundred, (.)
- 6 ((three digits)), (.) nine nine nine two (.) at extension two one two, (.) I'd be more than happy to
- 7 tell you about some of those opportunities that we currently have available. (.)
- 8 Thank you very much Sarah bye bye.

Message 2: B C 31.94 seconds 106 words 3.3 w/s

- 1 . . . This is B C calling from ((company name)) Travel Nursing, (0.5) I'd received your name from
- 2 the New Jersey Board of Licensing? (.)
- 3 And I was calling in reference to some nursing opportunities that we currently have? (0.5) Uh we
- 4 do have positions throughout New Jersey and the Philadelphia area, (.) as well as travel positions
- 5 throughout the country. (.) so if you could give me a call back at eight hundred, (.) ((three digits)),
- 6 (.) nine nine nine two at extension two one two (.) I'd be more than happy (.) to tell you about

7 some of those opportunities that we current have. (0.5)
8 Thank you very much Trina bye bye.

Message 3: B C 36.22 seconds 119 words 3.2 w/s

1 Rachel this is B calling (.) from ((company name)).
2 Uh just wanted to touch base and hh see what's going on, (.) Ahm: (.) tch (.) ye know see if >you:
3 had< (.) you know if yer looking fer: other work or if you found something but uh (.) I just wanted
4 to let *you* know that I spoke with Sam ((another person in the company)) today, (.) and he's gonna
5 be getting in touch with Albuquerque, (.) and we're gonna find out what we have up there? (0.5)
6 Um: but if you could give me a call back and let know if it- that's still something (.) that you wanna
7 pursue. (0.5)
8 Uh number's eight hundred >((three digits))<, nine nine nine two extension, (.) two one two, (0.5)
9 Thanks a lot Rachel (.) have a nice evening.

Message 4: B C 20.13 seconds 67 words 3.3 w/s

1 Hello Courtney ((tape is distorted)) this is B ((end distortion)) from ((company name))! How ya
2 doin'?
3 I'm calling about some nursing opportunities that we have available and I'd love f-for you to come
4 work with us. (.) My number's eight hundred ((three digits)) nine nine nine two (.) extension two
5 one two. (.) If you give me a call back I'll tell you about *all* the opportunities that we have. (.)
6 Thank you very much Courtney (.) See-ya!

Message 5: R M 26.04 seconds 92 words 3.5 w/s

1 . . . about seven thirty eastern time. (.)
2 Listen I've received your message last week in regard to you not being about to: (.) uh accept the
3 contract in Wyoming, that's unfortunate (.) and I'm not really that angry, I would like to speak with
4 you however. (.5) Uh if you could please return my call at >eight hundred (.) ((three digits)) (.)
5 nine nine (.) nine two< at extension two twenty one, I would really look forward to speaking with
6 you. (.5)
7 Again it's R at ((company name))? Have a great day, (.) and uh hopefully I'll talk to you soon.
8 Bye bye.

Message 6: R M 20.68 seconds 88 words 4.2 w/s

1 Hello: this message is for Katie and Brenda, (.5) hi this is R at ((company name)), (.) It's Monday
2 the twenty fifth around seven thirty eastern time. (.5) If you girls could please give me a call >as
3 soon< as you get a chance I would love to speak with you, (.) It's in regard to the positions in
4 Virginia, (.) Wanna see if you guys are still available AND interested. (.) So uh please do get in
5 touch with me (.)
6 Thanks a bunch and I look forward to speaking with you. (.) Bye now.

Message 7: B N 46.94 seconds 196 words 4.2 w/s

1 Yes hi Robin this is B N with ((company name)) Travel Nursing ah: I've left you a few messages
2 here in th- uh: past couple months
3 I did receive your name (.) from Nursing ninety-seven magazine hh back in June (0.5)
4 and I was just uh following up to see if you did actually have some interest in travel nursing
5 opportunities? Um it is currently (.) >just about seven twenty on Monday August eleventh< uh I
6 will be in the office for >about another (.) forty-five mintues tonight< I would like to speak to you
7 (0.5) and just double check some of the information I have here and see about your eligibility for
8 taking < an up and coming opportunity > (0.5) ah we do staff quite extensively in your area of
9 Maryland (0.5) so I don't know if you want to stay home for an opportunity or if you are interested
10 in traveling hhh but I'm sure we definitely could be of some assistance so if you please return my
11 call it would be greatly appreciated (.)
12 once again my name is B with ((company name)) (0.5) thank you very much and I do look
13 forward to speaking with you Robin. (.) Have a nice day. Bye bye.

Message 8: B N 39.43 seconds 159 words 4.0 w/s

1 Hi Michelle it's B it's about (.) seven twenty-five on Monday August eleventh. I have been leave
2 quite a many (.) uh a lot of messages for you here recently and uh I have not gotten a return call so
3 I just wanted to call and see uh (.) how everything's going with you I hope you're (0.5) all right?
4 Um: (.) obviously uh (0.5) your plans probably have been delayed cause the summer is (.) uh
5 basically over here so (.) I just wanna uh see what plans you may have here for the future. Uh: if
6 you get in I'm here till eight and the rest of the week nine to six I would love to speak to you I
7 haven't had a chance to speak to you in quite a while (0.5) so: if you get a chance to give me a
8 buzz one eight hundred ((three digits)) ninety nine ninety two ex-ension two one seven.
9 B from ((company name)). Okay thanks Michelle. Bye bye.

Message 9: B N 1:08.41 265 words 3.9 w/s

1 Yes hello this message is for Natasha ((unintelligible last name))
2 it's uh B from ((company name)) (.) it is currently >seven thirty five< eastern time hh on Monday
3 August eleventh. (.)
4 I did send you that application to update your old file here at ((company name))? And I have not
5 had a chance to speak to you since I had sent it to you so I hope you have received it (.) if you
6 have not definitely give me a call and we can either do one over the phone (.) or I can say-end you
7 out another one (0.5) but uh (.) you know I would like to get that updated file so that: (.) when
8 you're looking for the opportunities we'll have everything all set and we won't have to (.) go
9 through some of the hassles associated ((laughs)) with getting your file updated (.) cause I know
10 you have been on file with ((company name)) for quite a- (.) long time. I don't know if uh- (.) last
11 time you'd mentioned New Mexico we always have opportunities there so (0.5) it's really up to you
12 when your availability is. (0.5) Uh I'm only going to be in the office for another twenty to twenty
13 five minutes tonight (0.5) but I will be in the office the rest of the week nine till six so if you could

14 return my call it would- (.) be greatly appreciated (0.5) ((talking in the background)) one eight
15 hundred (.) ((three digits)) (.) >ninety nine (.) ninety two< my extension is two one seven (.)
16 it's B from ((company name)) (.) thank you very much Natasha (.) and- uh: I do look forward to
17 speaking with you. (0.5) Hope everything is going well tha:nk you very much (.) bye bye.

Message 10: B N 58.78 seconds 227 words 3.9 w/s

1 Hello this message is for Joanna it's B N with ((company name)) travel nursing. (.) I have never
2 actually had a chance to speak to you although I did receive your name from a colleague of mine
3 (.) from the A.O.R.N. convention? (0.5) Quite a while back. (0.5)
4 And I was just following up to see if you did actually in fact have some of those travel: nursing
5 plans some time here in the future, (0.5) you had listed some as *June* but obviously June has since
6 passed? (0.5) and I've not had a chance to speak to you so obviously I don't know if you have
7 taken an opportunity? (0.5) >or if you've< changed your mind (.) or if ah something has come up
8 in (.) uh altered your plans. (0.5) but I would like to speak to you (.) uh if you are interested great
9 you know wul: (0.5) work on uh that application if not you know I'll either cross your name off the
10 list er (0.5) we'll plan it for some time later in the future. (0.5)
11 Once again my name is B with ((company name)) it is currently twenty to eight on Monday
12 August eleventh. (0.5) I can be reached here one eight hundred ((three digits)) (0.5) ninety nine
13 >ninety two< my extension is two one seven. (0.5)
14 I would love to speak to you and see what uh (.) in fact your plans may be here for the upcoming
15 travel opportunities. (0.5) Thank you Joanna. Bye bye.

Message 11: W R 54.66 seconds 205 words 3.8 w/s

1 Hello Erin this is W (0.5) calling from ((company name)), it's uh Wednesday evening it's about
2 seven fifteen, (0.5)
3 I was just uh: wanted to check in with you an:d check on that application that I sent down to you,
4 (0.5) uh if you have any questions with it give me a call my number here (0.5) again is one eight
5 hundred (.) ((three digits)) (.) ninety nine (.) ninety two. (0.5) My extension is two one four, (0.5)
6 and uh but otherwise I would encourage you to complete uh (0.5) your file and get it back into us
7 as soon as you can that way (0.5) I can keep you posted-uh (0.5) as to any of the positions that we
8 may that are available in the Raleigh-Durham area (.) or possibly even in Nashville or um: (0.5) or
9 in any other part of ah: the country for that matter that you might look uh (.) that you might be
10 interested in targetting. (0.5) So but I do need to have an active file to be able to entitle you to
11 those details¹ so (0.5) I guess that
12 any questions give me a buzz (0.5) otherwise I will look forward to receiving uh your file back
13 here in the mail very soon. (.)
14 Thanks Erin (.) have a good night.

Message 12: W R 1:02.66 208 words 3.3 w/s

1 Hi Patty this is W at ((company name)) calling. It's uh Wednesday night (.) about seven twenty,
2 (0.5) I'll be here till eight, but uh

3 I was just calling to check in with you and on the application that uh you had requested. (0.5) Um::
4 couple of places that I have available right now that might be uh (0.5) ideal for you are- actually I
5 have uh Ashville North Carolina that's open. (0.5) uh so I mean (0.5) basically (.) that's a situation
6 where you can make an awful lot of money because it's got a >high hourly (.) wage< along with uh
7 (0.5) on top of that we would be able to give you a monthly (0.5) housing stipend which would
8 come to you tax free. (.) So but (.75) uh give me a call if you have any questions with the
9 application that I sent down to you (0.5) and uh: (.75) otherwise I would encourage you I- I mean
10 (.) you've got to uh drop that off in the mail for us that way we can get your file created. (0.5) so if
11 you *are* interested in (0.5) pursuing something that might be open (0.5) right in Ashville or (0.5) or
12 some other part of the country, last we spoke you were interested in ah: someplace out in the uh
13 Pacific Northwest (0.5) so- ((was cut off by the answering machine))

Message 13: W R 28.72 seconds 116 words 4.0 w/s

1 Hello Ginny this is W at ((company name)) it's uh Wednesday night about seven thirty. (0.5)
2 I was calling to check in with you and make sure that you're uh (0.5) uh: that the second
3 application that you had requested was on its way back to us (.) that way once it's here (.) we can
4 uh: (0.5) get a file all established for you and keep you posted with anything that be in the- either
5 in the Carolinas or Florida (.) or any other place you might like to live in. (.)
6 Uh: (0.5) give a call if you have questions otherwise I'll look forward to receiving your file back
7 here in the mail. (.)
8 Have a good night. (.) Bye bye.

Message 14: W R 49.03 seconds 189 words 3.9 w/s

1 Hi Virginia this is W at ((company name)) calling it's uh: about seven thirty Wednesday night (.)
2 be here for another half hour or so but (0.5)
3 I just wanted to uh:m (0.5) check in with >you and see< if you had any questions with the
4 application that you had requested last month. (0.5) Uh: if so- uh by all means give me a call my
5 number here is eight hundred (.) ((three digits)) (.) ninety nine (.) ninety two (.) my extension's two
6 one four. (.) Otherwise uh (.) if you would I would encourage you to complete uh: complete the
7 paperwork and drop it back in the mail for us. (0.5) That way I can keep you posted with anything
8 that might even be (0.5) uh: close to where you live in Trenton South Carolina. (0.5) Uh: or any
9 other part of the coutry you might like to check into. (.) But either way I *do* need to have an active
10 file to be able to fill you in on those details. (0.5)
11 So (.) I'll look forward to receiving it back here in the bail- (.) mail (.) Virginia? (.) And I'll give
12 you a call when I do.
13 Talk to you later, bye bye.

Message 15: W R 31.16 seconds 109 words 3.5 w/s

1 . . . Joan this is W at ((company name)) calling it's about seven thirty on Wednesday night, (.)
2 I wanted to: uh: (.) check in with you and uh see if you have any questions with the application
3 that you had requested. (.) Uhm: if so (.) definitely give me a call my number here is eight hundred

4 (.) ((three digits)) (.) ninety nine (.) ninety two (.) my extension's two one four, (.) and otherwise I
5 would encourage you to complete the file and drop it back in the mail for us as soon as you can,
6 (.) that way once we have it (.) I can keep you posted with uh anything that might be available in
7 Northern- ((was cut off by the answering machine))

Message 16: W R 46.06 seconds 185 words 4 w/s

1 . . . this is W at ((company name)) calling it's about seven thirty on Wednesday night, (.)
2 I wanted to uh check in with you: (0.5) and follow up on the application that you had requested uh
3 from us, (0.5) any questions with it, give me a call my number here is eight hundred (.) ((three
4 digits)) (.) ninety nine ninety two (.) my extension is two one four, (.) and otherwise I would like to
5 uh (.) encourage you to complete it and drop it in the mail for us as soon as you can, (0.5) that
6 way once I have you on file (0.5) you can um: (0.5) uh I can keep you posted as to any of the
7 positions that are available (.) whether it be Whiteman Illinois or any other part of the country that
8 you think you might like to uh: get to. (0.5) Uh but I *do* need to have an active file to be able to
9 uh:: you know give you that kind of info. (0.5)
10 So (.) any questions give a ring otherwise I'll just look forward to just receiving it back here in the
11 mail. (0.5)
12 Have a good day. (.) Bye bye.

Message 17: W R 35.71 seconds 129 words 3.6 w/s

1 Hi Barbara this is W at ((company name)) calling. Uh: it's Wednesday August thirteenth?
2 Um:(.) tch I just wanted to see how everything is going for you? what was happening with >the:
3 uh:< with that contract that you worked out for yourself uh (.) last I heard uh (.) you were uh
4 going until around the end of September or so. (.) But give me a call (.) uh when you get a chance
5 I wanted to check in with yeh (.) uh see if there's anything we can do for you this winter time uh
6 (.) even right there at um: (.) uh the Indian Hospital in Santa Fe. (.) But give me a ring (.) eight
7 hundred (.) ((three digits)) (.) ninety nine ninety two (.) extension two one four, (.)
8 hope everything is well I'll talk to you soon. Bye bye.

Message 18: W R 32.82 seconds 119 words 3.6 w/s

1 Hi Eileen this is W at ((company name)).
2 Uh: wanted to check in with yeh I've got a bunch of stuff that's available >right in *Memphis*< (.) so
3 uh (.) give me a call when you get in uh (.) cause basically these (.) jobs considering you live uh in
4 Memphis as well (.) uh would be able to (.) pay you probably around uh: nineteen bucks an hour
5 (.) and then on top of that we'd give you six hundred dollars a month which would be tax free,
6 um (.) but give me a ring eight hundred (.) ((three digits)) (.) ninety nine ninety two (.) at extension
7 two one four I'll fill you in on the details of how everything works
8 talk to you soon bye bye.

Message 19: G T 28.40 seconds 90 words 3.2 w/s

1 ... cause we're kind of playing phone tag here um (.) it is about quarter after seven on Thursday
2 I'm gonna be here till eight I thought I might be able to get in touch with you this evening, (.) um I
3 don't really (.) wanna call yeh at work that's why I've been waiting to call ye at home so (.) when
4 you get a chance, (.) gimme a call back, (.) uh you can reach me at eight hundred (.) ((three
5 digits)) (.) nine nine nine two extension two one five, (.) again (.) it is (.) Thursday August
6 fourteenth at about (.) quarter after seven. Thanks (.) bye bye.

Message 20: G T 42.79 seconds 155 words 3.6 w/s

1 ... This message is for Charlene, (.) My name's G and I'm calling from ((company name)), (.) I
2 received your name and your phone number from the New Jersey State board of licensing, (.)
3 And I'm just calling to see if you might be interesting in some nursing opportunities? (.) We're a
4 travel nurse company and we staff nurses all over the country, (.) ((sound of two of the other
5 recruiters dialing on speaker phone- very loud, sounds of dialing and ringing continue through the
6 rest of the message)) We are located right outside of Philadelphia in Newtown Square and right
7 now we have a lot of opportunities available (.) in Philadelphia and New Jersey and Delaware in
8 case you're *not* interested in traveling, (.) so if you think you might like some more information
9 please give me a call? (.) Again my name's G I'm calling from ((company name)), (.) And you
10 can reach me at (.) one eight hundred (.) ((three digits)) (.) nine nine nine two (.) extension two
11 one five, (.)
12 today is Thursday August fourteenth and it's about twenty after seven. (.) Thank you (.) have a
13 good evening bye bye.

Message 21: G T 45.72 seconds 163 words 3.6 w/s

1 ... My name's G, this message is fer Susan?
2 I'm calling from ((company name)) I received your name from the New Jersey state (.) board of
3 licensing, (.) and ((sound of one of the recruiters talking on the phone in the background,
4 continues through the rest of the message)) I'm just calling for see if you might be interested in any
5 nursing opportunities that we have available? (.) We're a travel nurse company and we staff nurses
6 all over the country, (.) we are located right outside of Philadelphia in Newtown Square, (.) um (.)
7 right now we have a lot of positions in (.) Philadelphia New Jersey and Delaware in case you're
8 *not* interested in traveling, (.) so: if you think you might like some more information or maybe you
9 know of someone else who might like some please give me a call, (.)
10 Again my name's G and I'm calling from ((company name)), (.) and you can reach me at one
11 eight hundred, (.) ((three digits)), (.) ninety nine ninety two extension two one five, (.) today is
12 Thursday August fourteenth and it's about seven *thirty*.
13 Thank you and have a good evening (.) bye bye.

Message 22: G T 48.10 seconds 179 words 3.7 w/s

1 ((One of the other recruiters talks on the phone through this message)) Hello this message is for
2 Caitlin? (.) My name's G, I'm calling from ((company name)), (.)
3 I received your name and your phone number from the New Jersey state board of licensing, (.)

4 and I'm just calling to see if you might be interested in some nursing opportunities? (.) that we have
5 available? (.) We're a travel nurse company and we staff nurses all over th' country, (.) we're
6 located right outside Philadelphia in Newtown Square (.) and right now we have a lot of
7 opportunities available (.) *in* your area um: Philadelphia New Jersey Delaware in case you're not
8 interested in traveling, (.) um: (.) and (.) if you think you might want some more information or
9 maybe you know someone else who might like some please give me a call, (.)
10 again my name's G and I'm calling from ((company name)), (.) and you can reach me at (.) one
11 eight hundred, (.) ((three digits)), (.) nine nine nine two, (.) extension two one five, (.) Today is
12 Thursday August fourteenth and it's about seven thirty. (.)
13 Thank you and have a good night. (.) Bye bye.

Message 23: T L 34.79 seconds 160 words 4.6 w/s

1 Hey Judith this is T L from ((company name)) I talked to you back on the twenty third of July, (.)
2 a:t that point I think you said you were going to go ahead and fill out that application sent to you,
3 (.) uh've yet to receive it so maybe you haven't filled it out or just dropped it in the mail. (.) Um if
4 you have any questions concerns please call me eight hundred ((three digits)) >nine nine nine two<
5 (.) extension two one three. (.) Or just go ahead and drop the application in the mail when you get
6 it I'll look it over 'n give you a call and (.) tell you what jobs I have uh (.)for O air- O.R. Techs
7 about four and five hour radius from uh (.) from Atlanta. (.)
8 Once again Judith T L from ((company name)) eight hundred ((three digits)) (.) nine nine nine
9 two.
10 Give me a call. Bye.

Message 24: T L 46.87 seconds 186 words 4.0 w/s

1 Hey Rebecca this is T L from ((company name)) I talked to you a little over three weeks ago. (.)
2 ((sound of typing)) Uh: twenty third I think it was. (.)
3 And at that point you said you were going to go ahead and fill out that application I sent and get it
4 back to me. (.) Um: y'get a cha-ance either go ahead and fill out the application it *is* the second
5 one I sent to you so I think you should at least (.) fill it *ba::ack*. (.) Uh: if you have any questions
6 or concerns call me eight hundred ((three digits)) (.) >nine nine nine two< extension two one
7 three, (.) um: you're still in Kansas City I presume. (.) And *right now* nothing is showing up but
8 you never know I could get a tele job in Kansas City tomorrow. (.) So it is probably to your
9 advantage to have that application in might cover you just in case something that fortunate would
10 uh (.) would happen. (.)
11 Once again this is T L from ((company name)) ((rising intonation and speed for the rest of the
12 message)) eight hundred ((three digits)) <nine nine nine two extension two one three> (.)
13 enjoy the rest of the evening, (.) g'bye.

Message 25: T L 49.22 seconds 196 words 4.0 w/s

1 Hi Angela this is T L from ((company name)). I: last talked to you I think uh around the first of
2 July. (.)

3 Uh: (.) at that point you were possible looking for uh (.) Tennessee first and after that you were
4 pretty much open to possible uh (.) R.N. assignments across the country, (.) uh y'also stated >that
5 you were< possibly looking for November (.) of ninety seven or sooner, (.) I do have ICU jobs in
6 Memphis >right at this time< paying pretty well. (.) So uh give me a call eight hundred ((three
7 digits)) nine nine nine two (.) you let me know if you're still interested. (.) Or go ahead n'fill out the
8 application get it back to me you're not obligated or committed to work for my company by doing
9 that. (.) All it does actually is <put me to work> for you and I can keep you aware of all (.) ICU
10 even possibly Psych positions I have across the country (.) of course looking at Tennessee first. (.)
11 O:nce again Angela this is T L from ((company name))^l eight hundred ((three digits)) (.) >nine
12 nine nine two< ((rising intonation for the rest of the message)) extension two one three, (.)
13 enjoy the rest of the night, (.) bye.

Message 26: T L 38.94 seconds 102 words 2.6 w/s

1 Hey Vicky this is T L ((sound of paper rustling as he flips through hi legal pad)) from ((company
2 name)). (.) I'm not (.) sure- I: might have talked to you recently about the uh- the application I
3 sent out to you I if I *did* I'm sorry I don't mean to badger you. (.) >But I do have< um immediate
4 openings in Maryland uh forget when you're moving out there (.) uh I thought it was sometime in
5 the near future (.) An:d I have yet to receive yer: uh (.) application (.) please get it ba:ck, (.) Eight
6 hundred ((three digits)) >nine nine nine two<, now that I'm looking at my pad I *did* talk to you
7 recently so I apologize ((gets progressively quieter)) for uh (.) like I said badgering you it's not
8 intentional. ((resumes normal volume))
9 But anyways if any *questions* or concerns call me eight hundred ((maintains a higher speed for the
10 remainder of the message)) ((three digits)) (.) nine nine nine two extension two one three? (.) And
11 I'll just look for that application in the mail. (.)
12 Have a good evening (.) bye.

Message 27: T L 55.41 seconds 235 words 4.2 w/s

1 Yes: this is a message for Lisa. Lisa this is T L from ((company name))? I think the last time I
2 talked to you was *almost* about a year ago 'bout shy probably about three months (.) back in
3 Novemember ninety-six
4 at that time (.) you were possibly looking ((a phone rings nearby)) at traveling for a year later an:d
5 like I said that year us coming up pretty shortly and I do have ER assignments (.) *down* there in the
6 Carolinas North Carolina South Carol- as long as the rest of the eastern sea board (.) as well as the
7 rest of the country. (.) Uh if you're still interested Polly please give me a call eight hundred ((three
8 digits)) >nine nine nine two< (.) extension two one three, (.) and uh (.) let me know a little bit
9 about what you want to do where you want to go (.) um what kind of uh possibles you're looking
10 for (.) and I can probably help you out, (.) *or* go ahead and fill out the application get it back to
11 me, (.) you're not obligated or committed to work for me by doing that all that does is actually is
12 put me to work for you (.) and I'll keep you aware of all E.R. assignments I have across the
13 country. (.)
14 O:nce again this is T L from ((company name))^l eight hundred ((three digits)) (.) nine nine nine
15 two,

16 enjoy the rest of the evening. ((talking from two of the other recruiters in the background)) Bye.

Message 28: T L 45.06 seconds 171 words 3.8 w/s

1 Hello Julie this is T L from Medstaff, >I have left you:: o:h< about (.) two messages since I set
2 you out your *second* application that's right I sent you two of 'em. (.) When you get a chance give
3 me a call Wendy eight hundred ((three digits)) >nine nine nine two< (.) and let me know if you're
4 still interested in uh (.) traveling I got some E.R. stuff up in uh up in Ohio (.) which is pretty close
5 to Erie and I also got stuff: in uh Rochester New York (.) which is not that far as well, (.) give me
6 a call please eight hundred ((three digits)) >nine nine nine two< 'n let me know if you're still
7 interested or just go ahead and fill out the application you're not obligated or committed to work
8 for me by doing that, (.) all that does actually is put me to work for you: an::d (.) yeah I- just lost
9 my train of thought.
10 Anyways Julie (.) give me a call. Have a good night. Bye.

Message 29: T L 1:00.68 seconds 250 words 4.1 w/s

1 Hey Carly this is T L from ((company name)) last time we talked >was back< i-uh: March the end
2 of March I think and uh (.)
3 you:: expressed to me that your license was under probation (.) um: we didn't get into it that much
4 I'm just wondering if that probation is up and you're still interested in any O.R. assignments I have
5 available, (.) give me a call Patricia eight hundred ((three digits)) nine nine nine two (.) let me
6 know if you're still interested in uh possibly some O.R. jobs. I have some O.R. jobs right now
7 right there in Louisiana (.) Mississippi and uh (.) eastern Texas if you're interested. Um: if not (.)
8 you know give me a call say so because I will be (.) you know (.) calling you every two or three
9 weeks until I get affirmative answer (.) or a negative answer just a (.) solid answer would do. (.)
10 Uh: or go ahead and fill out the application and get it back to me, (.) uh you're not (.) obligated or
11 committed to work for me by doing that (.) all that does is actually put me to work for *you* (.) and
12 I'll let you know of *all* the O.R. jobs I have across the country I've got a- (.) probably like half inch
13 *thick* (.) book full of jobs just in O.R. so (.) give me call I've got a lot of stuff out there. (.)
14 Once again Carly T L from ((company name)). (.) Have a good night! Bye.

Message 30: T L 29.47 seconds 104 words 3.5 w/s

1 Hi Leslie this is T L from ((company name)). (.) Uh: I sent you out an application for possibly
2 travel nursing out to the west (.) back ohn:: February twenty seventh (.) I think it was: and I
3 haven't talked to you since
4 you *did* (.) express to me at that time that you were possibly looking around October (.) >for an<
5 target date to head out West I do have a uh: neo natal intensive care jobs available out there (.)
6 Southern California San Diego Arizona Nevada (.) all up and down you know Washing- Oregon
7 (.) uh: so let me know, (.) give me a call ((was cut off by the answering machine))

Message 31: X S 36.40 seconds 130 words 3.6 w/s

1 Good afternoon this message >is for< Michael Holmes. Michael it's X over at ((company name))
2 (0.5) haven't talked to you in some time? Today is (1.0) July thirty-first Tue:sday- Thursday (0.5)
3 just about seven oh nine p.m. (.) eastern time
4 just trying to give a call (0.5) touch base with you:: with regards to travel. (0.5) Uh again I have
5 haven't talked with you in a little while (.) but I do have some assignments out there? (0.5) Think
6 you: have the interest (0.5) give a call eight hundred (.) >((three digits))< (.) ninety nine ninety two
7 extension two twent() two I can give you the full run down (0 5) and answer any questions that
8 you might have. (0.5)
9 Again Michael X over at ((company name)) eight hundred (0.5) >((three digits))< (.) ninety nine
10 ninety two thank you.

Message 32: X S 28.78 seconds 106 words 3.6 w/s

1 Yes hi Laura's place this is X over at ((company name)). It's been a *l*ittle time since I've talked to
2 you last. (0.5)
3 Just wondering if you still have the interest in travel nursing. (0.5) Didn't know if you were
4 looking to get hu closer to New Brunswick, (0.5) but um (0.5) thought I'd give a call say hello see
5 how you're doing in California. (0.5) Definitely give a call if you get a chance (.) just to chat and
6 say hello (0.5) eight hundred (.) >((three digits))< (0.5) ninety nine ninety two extension two
7 twenty two, (0.5)
8 **hope** the weather out in California Laura *is* to your liking. Thank you very much have a great
9 day!

Message 33: X S 32.70 seconds 128 words 3.9 w/s

1 Good evening this message >is for John<. Hi John this is X over at ((company name)), (0.5)
2 haven't talked to you in the last couple months
3 just uh (0.5) tryin to touch base with you with regards to travel nursing. (0.5) I may have
4 something right up yer alley in terms of med surge (0.5) position out there in mid (0.5) um to
5 Western end of California if you could give a call back (0.5) I would love to give you more
6 information of course get'cha updated, (0.5) number of course eight hundred (.) ((three digits)) (.)
7 nine nine ninety two extension two twenty two. (1.0) It's somewhere around (untelligible name)
8 (0.5) that whole Fresno area (0.5) but uh
9 again if you could give a call I would love to hear from yeh
10 *thank you.*

Message 34: X S 30.57 seconds 112 words 3.7 w/s

1 Good afternoon this message >is for Heather.< Hi Heather, it's X over at ((company name)), (.)
2 just wanted to give a call again and touch base regarding travel nursing, (.) Uh did not know what
3 your travel plans were? (.) Uh think last time we talked you were (.) uh still in school, (.) that may
4 have since uh expired. (.) Please give me a call let me know what you're up to we'd love to hear
5 from yeh, (.) I do ha:ve (.) *several* travel nursing assignments out that way, (.) and I'm very
6 interested in talking with you.

7 Again Heather number eight hundred (.) ((three digits)) (.) ninety nine ninety two extension two
8 twenty two.
9 Thank you.

Message 35: X S 34.20 seconds 114 words 3.3 w/s

1 Yes hi Kristen it's X over at ((company name)) long time no talk. (0.5)
2 Just uh: giving a call touching base regarding travel nursing, (0.5) >I do have some< (.) *excellent*
3 opportunities out there (.) in that L.A. area (.) working with quite a few of the Kaisers, (0.5) very
4 interested in talking with you (.) give a call eight hundred (0.5) ((three digits)) (0.5) ninety nine
5 ninety two extension two twenty two, (.) just wanted to update your file and uh run a couple of
6 this options by yeh, (0.5) an:d see it it's something (0.5) that you might have interest in. (0.5)
7 Again Kristen it's X over at ((company name)) (.) eight hundred (.) ((three digits)) (0.5) ninety
8 nine ninety two
9 thank you!

Message 36: X S 34.69 seconds 136 words 3.9 w/s

1 ((The sound of typing continues off and on for this entire message)) Yes good evening this
2 message >is for< Chrissy, hi Chrissy it's X over at ((company name)). (0.5) haven't talked to you
3 in a *little* while (.) didn't know if you were still looking >for a< nursing assignment. (1.0) Think
4 actually you've been out there in uh Washington for a while now. (0.5) >didn't think yeh< had the
5 interest but
6 thought I'd give a call and say hello anyway. (0.5) Hope things are treating you well? (0.5) give
7 me a call back if you *do* (.) looking for something um around that uh (0.5) Wisconsin area which
8 is where I know you've been before, (0.5) have some things out in Madison right now, (0.5) or:
9 even something out in Washington. (0.5)
10 Number of course eight hundred (0.5) ((three digits)) (0.5) ninety nine ninety two extension two
11 twenty two:
12 thanks a lot Chrissy y'have a great day.

Message 37: X S 33.94 seconds 114 words 3.5 w/s

1 Good afternoon this message >is for< Juan Ricar:do. (0.5)
2 Juan it's X over at ((company name)) haven't talked to yeh in a (0.5) *little* while here, (.)
3 just wondering if you may still have the interest in travel nursing. (0.5) Actually I've left a couple
4 of messages for yeh (0.5) dating way back (1.0) to March of last year? (0.5) uh *again* just not sure
5 if you have the interest but I *definitely* have some *gr:eat* opportunities out there (0.5) California
6 Illinois Texas (0.5) to name a few which is where you have those licenser. (0.5) Give me a call
7 fy'get a chance eight hundred (.) ((three digits)) (0.5) ninety nine ninety two extension two twenty
8 two:, (0.5)
9 Thanks a lot Juan you have a great day out in California.

Message 38: X S 25.82 seconds 99 words 3.8 w/s

1 Yes good afternoon Jane it's X is over at ((company name)). (0.5)
2 Uh I have yet to talk to you with regards to travel nursing, (0.5) may have left uh (.) several
3 messages (0.5) again just haven't heard from you in about a year or so (0.5) didn't know if you
4 were still looking >to travel<? But I do have (.) quite a few opportunities out there ICU wise,
5 (1.0) again give me a call if you get a chance eight hundred (0.5) ((three digits)) (0.5) ninety nine
6 ninty two extension two twenty two, (0.5)
7 and again Jane it's X over at ((company name)) thank you

Message 39: X S (voice mail recording)

1 Thank you for calling this is X at extension two twenty two. I'm currently on my other line or
2 away from my desk if you can leave your name number and a brief message I will get back to you
3 as soon a possible. If this is an emergency please hit zero and ask uh Barb our operator to page
4 me. Thank you.

Message 40: W (voice mail recording)

1 Good morning this is W. It is Wednesday August thirteenth I am in the office uh today but I am
2 either on the phone or away from my desk. Please leave a message or press zero for the operator.
3 Thank you.

Message 41: B N (voice mail recording)

1 This is B I'm either on the phone or away from my desk so if you please keave your name,
2 number, time, and reason that you called I would appreciate it. I will return your call as soon as uh
3 I get back to my desk. Thank you very much. Bye bye.

Message 42: D A 33.13 seconds 138 words 4.2 w/s

1 Hello this message was for Donna this is D calling from ((company name)).
2 Donna I was trying to get in touch with you last time we had talked (.) you had said you were
3 looking for a (.) job almost immediately we have a bunch of positions out there in the Dallas area.
4 We also have a f-few things up in the Michigan area. So if you can give me a call back I am at
5 one eight hundred >((three digits)) (.) nine nine nine two (.) extension two two zero< (.) I just
6 want to find out the status of the application I sent out to you if it's en route (0.5) or maybe if you
7 have any questions *or* (.) need another copy of it. Please give me a call back
8 again it's D from ((company name))
9 do have a great day.

Message 43: D A 37.40 words 151 words 4.0 w/s

1 Hello this is D A calling from ((company name))? I was trying to leave a message for Lois? (0.5)
2 Lois I had sent out some information to you a while back and have left a couple messages?
3 I was trying to keep in touch to see if you had an interest in up and coming positions with our

4 company. We do have a lot of opportunity out there >in the< labor delivery OB/GYN field (.) so
5 if you can give me a call back I'm at one eight hundred (.) >((three digits)) (.) nine nine nine two
6 extension two two zero < I can go over any questions you might have on the application *or* maybe
7 answer anything about up and coming positions we have available. (.)
8 Again it's D from ((company name)), look forward to hearing from you Lois hope you have a
9 great day. Bye now.

Message 44: D A 33.85 words 134 words 4.0 w/s

1 ((answering machine beep)) Hello Paul this is D A calling from ((company name)). I received
2 your name from the Health Care Travel Professionals magazine? I have left one message for you
3 in the past (.)
4 I was wondering if you could get back to me. I am at one eight hundred >((three digits)) (.) nine
5 nine nine two (.) extension two two zero<. I'd like to go over some opportunities for travel
6 positions (.) within the United State and get your information back on file with our company. If
7 you can give me a call back it would be greatly appreciated and I'll go over any openings we m- we
8 might have at the time (.) maybe an-answer any questions you might have.
9 Again it's D from ((company name)) and I do hope you have a great day.

Message 45: D A 41.99 seconds 146 words 3.5 w/s

1 Hello this message was for Elizabeth this is D calling from ((company name)). Elizabeth, we're a
2 nursing agency who received your name from the Health Care Travel Professionals Magazine?
3 And we were wondering if you (.) *or* even if any of you associates would have an interest (.) in
4 doing some staffing work with our company. We currently have assignments throughout the
5 United States in the acute care hospital setting (.) and we're trying to find out if you would have an
6 interest. If you give me a call I'm at one eight hundred (.) ((three digits)) (.) nine nine (.) nine two
7 (.) extension two two zero, I can go over positions we currently have available (.) and maybe
8 answer any questions you might *have* (.) on traveling or about the positions we have available.
9 Again it's D from ((company name)) I look forward to hearing from you Elizabeth have a great
10 day.

Message 46: D A 44.20 seconds 152 words 3.4 w/s

1 Hi this message was for Amy this is D calling from ((company name)). Amy, we're a nursing
2 agency who received your name from the Health Care Travel Professionals Magazine?
3 'n we were wondering if you would have an interest in doing some staffing work with our
4 company (.) in the acute care hospital setting throughout the United States. I wanted to send y'out
5 some information but (.) on the card you filled out I didn't have (.) your specialties marked down.
6 So if you can give me a quick call at one eight hundred >((three digits))< (.) nine nine nine two (.)
7 extension two two zero (.) *and* provide me with that information maybe at that point I can also
8 answer some questions about our company I'll get some information going out to you as fast as
9 possible.
10 Again this is D ((he clears his throat)) excuse me from ((company name)) I look forward to

11 hearing from you. Have a great day, bye now.

Message 47: D A 52.84 seconds 199 words 3.8 w/s

1 Hello this is D A calling from ((company name)) I was trying to leave a message for Dara. Dara
2 we're a nursing agency who received your name from the Health Care Travel Professionals
3 Magazine?
4 We were wondering if you or maybe any of your associates would have an interest in doing some
5 staffing work (.) with our company throughout the United States, (.) if you could please give me a
6 call back I'm at one eight hundred (.) >((three digits)) (.) nine nine (.) nine two< extension two two
7 zero. I'll be sending out some information to you at (.) >two eight zero one Avery Drive
8 apartment two twenty four (.) in Palm Springs nine two two six four<. If this is the incorrect
9 address, please give me a call right away. If it is the correct address maybe you can wait until you
10 get the information then give me a call (.) and we'll go over what we have available and maybe
11 answer any questions you might have (.) ON traveling as an as an RN.
12 Again it's D from ((company name)) I look forward to hearing from you Dara and I do hope you
13 have a great day. Bye now.

Message 48: D A 40.50 seconds 155 words 3.8 w/s

1 Hello this is D A calling from ((company name))? I was trying to meet- LEAVE a message from
2 Chris? (.) Chris we're a nursing agency who received your name from the Health Care Travel
3 Professionals Magazine? (.)
4 and we were wondering if you would have an interest in doing some staffing work with our
5 company? If you can give me a call back at one eight hundred ((three digits)) (.) nine nine *nine*
6 two (.) extension two two zero (.) I'd like to go over some opportunities we might have available
7 that you would be interested in (.) *or* answer any questions you might have about our company. I
8 also would want to send some information out to you so if you could give me a call I'd like to
9 check your address (.) before doing that, (.) it would be greatly appreciated.
10 Again this is D from ((company name)) (.) do look forward to hearing from you Chris and have a
11 great day.

Message 49: D A 42.97 seconds 155 words 3.6 w/s

1 Hello: this is D A calling from ((company name)). (.) I's trying to leave a message for Annie? (.)
2 Annie we're a nursing agency who received your name from the Health Care Travel Professionals
3 Magazine? (.)
4 and we were wondering if you would have (.) any interest in doing some staffing work (.) *with* our
5 company. We do have a number of needs throughout the United States currently available but
6 also have some (.) *within your* immediate area, so if you can give me a call back I'm at on eight
7 hundred (.) >((three digits)) (.) nine nine nine two< (.) extension two two zero I'd like to possibly
8 go over locations with you *of* our needs (.) *or* maybe answer some questions about our company
9 and how we exactly staff people (.) throughout the United States.
10 Again it's D from ((company name)) I look forward to hearing from you Annie and I do hope you

11 have a great day. Bye now.

Message 50: D A 9.87 seconds 28 words 2.8 w/s

1 Hello this message was for Maureen this is D calling from ((company name)). Dorreen we're a
2 nursing agency (.) who have some staffing needs throughout the United States (.) hello-? Ahm:
3 this is D call- ((someone picked up the phone))

Message 51: E G 43.44 seconds 144 words 3.3 w/s

1 . . . Grossberg? (.) My name's E and I'm calling from ((company name)) travel nursing agency. (.)
2 Margaret we did receive your name and number from the New Jersey state board of licensing, (.)
3 and
4 I was calling today to see if you have an interest in some of our travel nursing assignments. (.) We
5 are currently staffing throughout the country and we've some excellent positions available locally
6 (.) in Philadelphia and throughout New Jersey. (.) If you're interested in a travel nursing
7 assignment please feel free to give me a call, (.) at one eight hundred, (.) ((three digits)), (.) nine
8 nine nine two, (.) extension two two three. (.) I'd be more than happy to elaborate (.) on some of
9 this information as well as send you off the appropriate material. (.) Thank you very much and
10 have a good day. (.) Again this is E calling >from ((company name))< travel nursing. (.)
11 Bye now.

Message 52: E G 43.79 seconds 149 words 3.4 w/s

1 Hello this message is for Jody Webber, (.) my name's E and I'm calling from ((company name)) (.)
2 travel nursing agency, (.) Hh Leslie we did receive your name and phone number from the New
3 Jersey state board of licensing, (.) and
4 I was calling today to see if you had an interest in some of our travel nursing assignments. (.) We
5 are currently staffing throughout the country and we have some excellent positions available (.) in
6 Philadlphia as well as throughout the state of New Jersey. (.) These positions offer a very
7 competitive pay rate as well as a comprehensive benefits package. (.) If you're interested please
8 give me a call at one eight hundred, (.) ((three digits)), (.) >nine nine nine two<, (.) extension two
9 two three (.) I'd be more than happy to elaborate on this information. (.)
10 Thank you very much Jody have a good evening, (.) and again this is E from ((company name)).
11 (.) Bye now.

Message 53: E G 48.12 seconds 160 words 3.3 w/s

1 Hi this message is for R. Michaels? (.) My name's E and I'm calling from ((company name)) travel
2 nursing agency, (.) We did receive your name and phone number from the New Jersey state
3 board of licensing, (.)
4 and I was calling today to see if you had an interest in some of our travel nursing assignments. (.)
5 We are currently staffing hospitals and facilities throughout the country, (.) and we have some
6 excellent opportunities available (.) locally in Philadelphia, (.) as well as throughout New Jersey. (.)

7 These positions offer a very competitive pay rate as well as a comprehensive benefits package, (.)
8 if you're interested please feel free to give me a call <at one eight hundred ((three digits))> (.)
9 ninety nine ninety two (.) extension two twenty three, (.) I would be more than happy to elaborate
10 on this information, (.) and send you out the appropriate material. (.)
11 Thank you very much and again this is E calling from ((company name)). (.) Have a good
12 evening. (.) Bye now.

Message 54: E G 44.63 seconds 149 words 3.3 w/s

1 Hello this message is for Ethel Mallet, (.) My name's E and I'm calling from ((company name))
2 travel nursing agency, (.) Ethel we received your number and your name from the New Jersey
3 state board of licensing (.) and
4 I was calling today to see if you had an interest in some of our travel nursing assignments. (.) We
5 are currently staffing throughout the country at different hospitals and facilities, (.) and we have
6 some excellent opportunities (.) throughout the city of Philadelphia and in New Jersey. (.) If you
7 are interested in a travel nursing assignment please feel free to call me, (.) at one eight hundred
8 ((three digits)), (.) nine nine nine two, (.) extension two twenty three. (.) I'd be more than happy to
9 elaborate on this information, (.) and send you out the appropriate material. (.)
10 Thank you very much Ethel again this is E calling from ((company name)). (.) Have a good day.

Message 55: E G 46.03 seconds 153 words 3.3 w/s

1 Hello this message is for Sophia Baker? (.) My name's E and I'm calling from ((company name))
2 travel nursing agency, (.) Sophia we received your name and number from the New Jersey state
3 board of licensing. (.) And
4 I was calling this evening to see if you had an interest in some of our travel nursing assignments. (.)
5 Uh we are currently staffing throughout the country and we have some excellent positions
6 available, (.) uh throughout the state of New Jersey as well as in Philadelphia. (.) If you're
7 interested in a travel nursing assignment or per diem work that offers a very competitive payrate (.)
8 as well as a comprehensive benefits package, (.) please feel free to give me a call at one eight
9 hundred ((three digits)), (.) ninety nine ninety two, (.) my extension is two twenty three. (.)
10 Thank you very much Sophia, (.) again my name's E calling from ((company name)) travel nursing
11 agency. (.) Bye now.

Message 56: E G 47.54 seconds 153 words 3.2 w/s

1 Hello this message is for Tess Donovan my name's E and I'm calling from ((company name))
2 travel nursing agency, (.) Tess we did receive your name and number (.) from the New Jersey state
3 board of licensing, (.) and
4 I was calling today to see if you have an interest in some of our travel nursing assignments? (.) We
5 are currently staffing different hospitals and facilities throughout the country, (.) and we have some
6 excellent *local* opportunities in Philadelphia (.) as well as New Jersey. (.) If you're interested in a
7 travel nursing position that offers a very competitive hourly pay rate (.) as well as a comprehensive

8 benefits package please give me a call at one eight hundred, (.) ((three digits)) (.) ninety nine
9 ninety two at extension two twenty three (.) I'd be more than happy to speak with you, (.) and
10 elaborate on this information. (.)
11 Thank you very much Tess again this is E calling from ((company name)) travel nursing agency.
12 (.) Bye now.

Message 57: A B 16.39 seconds 66 words 4.0 w/s

1 Good afternoon this is A B calling you from ((company name)) we're a nursing agency and there's
2 a really >high pitched squeal< on your end of the phone you might wanna check that out. (.)
3 I'm inquiring about a one bedroom apartment, (.) um that you had listed on the internet, if you
4 could give me a call back at eight hundred ((three digits)) (.) ninety nine- ((he was cut off by the
5 answering machine))

Message 58: A B 56.96 seconds 180 words 3.2 w/s

1 Good afternoon my name is A (.) B, (.) and I'm calling from ((company name)) we're a nursing
2 agency. (.)
3 I'm inquiring about the one bedroom apartment, (.) that you had listed on the internet. (.)
4 I wanted to inquire if you had uh an availability for a *nine six* move in? (.) Or thereabouts? (.) Uh
5 we were looking for accessibility (.) to Santa Rosa Memorial Hospital, (.) as the individual that will
6 be living there will be commuting to the hospital and working there. (.) If you could give me a call
7 back, (.) at your earliest convenience at one eight hundred, (.) ((three digits)) (.) ninety nine ninety
8 two, (.) my extension number is two one nine, (.) I'd appreciate it a *lot*? (.) Um: (.) we are actually
9 looking for short term lease initially, (.) but we do a lot of staffing in that area so it very well might
10 mean if you can accomodate us, (.) we would be able to bring you more business. (.) Thank you
11 very much once again my name is A B and I'm calling you from ((company name)). 'preciate a
12 call back. Bye now.

Message 59: A B 50.09 seconds 151 words 3.0 w/s

1 Good evening this message is >for Melodie Bucks.< (.) Melodie this is A B calling from
2 ((company name)) we're a nursing agency. (.) Carla I did receive your name and telephone
3 number from the New Jersey state board of licensing. (.)
4 Our company ((company name)) is placing R.N.s (.) throughout the state of New Jersey in
5 hospital settings, (.) as well as in Philadelphia and we do staff the rest of the United States. (.)
6 Offering our nurses free private housing, (.) and a very comprehensive benefits package. (.)
7 Please give me a call toll free, (.) at one eight hundred, (.) ((three digits)), (.) ninety nine ninety
8 two, (.) my extension number is two one nine, (.) and I would be *more* than happy to discuss the
9 opportunities, (.) that we currently have available.
10 So once again Melodie, (.) it's A B from ((company name)). (.) Thank you very much for your
11 time, (.) I look forward to speaking with you soon. (.) Thank₁ you.

Message 60: A B 1:00.22 186 words 3.1 w/s

1 Hello my name is A B and I'm calling you from ((company name)). (.) We're a nursing agency
2 I'm inquiring about your one bedroom apartment (.) and I wanted to see if you had availability for
3 a nine six or thereabouts move in. (.) I'm also- curious to find out how close you are to: (.) uh the
4 memorial hospital in Santa Rosa as (.) uh my client will be working, (.) there and needs >to be
5 um:< (.) and will be on call so they need to be fairly close uh by close I mean about thirty minutes
6 or less. (.) Um: (.) tch if you could give me a call back at one eight hundred ((three digits)), (.)
7 ninety nine ninety two my extension number is two one nine, (.) I will be in the office for about
8 another: (.) fifty minutes it's currently ten after seven on August twenty fifth, (.)
9 once again it is A B calling from ((company name)), (.) I'm inquiring about a one bedroom
10 apartment, (.) and if you could give me a call back as soon as possible I would greatly appreciate
11 it. (.)
12 Thank you very much and >have a good day<

Message 61: C Z 30.01 104 words 3.5 w/s

1 . . . (Yeah) this is C from ((company name)). It's August twenty seventh, I just wanted to call
2 touch based with yeh, see what your travel plans are at this time? Uh we do have numerous
3 assignments currently in Salisbury, in Virginia and DC area? Uh if you can please return my call
4 when you have a chance I'd really look forward to hearing from you? I can be reached at one
5 eight hundred ((three digits)) (0.5) >nine nine (.) nine two< extension two one eight. (0.5)
6 Again this is C calling from ((company name)). (.) Thanks very much and I (1.0) uh (.) will speak
7 with you soon, bye bye.

Message 62: C Z 29.05 97 words 3.3 w/s

1 Hi Louise this is C from ((company name)). It's August twenty seventh
2 just wanted to call and touch base with yeh, see if you had received that application I'd sent out?
3 And uh (.) see if you're still interested we do have plenty of assignments out West out in L.A. (0.5)
4 and uh San Diego? If could please give me a call back (.) I would really appreciate it. My number
5 here is toll free (.) one eight hundred ((three digits)) (0.5) >nine nine (.) nine two< (.) at extension
6 two one eight.
7 Again it's C from ((company name)). *Thank you.*

Message 63: C Z 34.43 seconds 109 words 3.2 w/s

1 Hi Lily this is C from ((company name)) travel nursing? August twenty seventh around seven
2 p.m.?
3 Just trying to get in touch with you about some possible travel nursing opportunities? We are
4 staffing currently right now down in Florida? Um:: if you could please return my call when you
5 have a chance just to give me a little (0.5) uh: updated on your availability I would really
6 appreciate it? My number here is toll free (0.5) one eight hundred ((three digits)) (0.5) nine nine

7 nine two (.) extension two one eight.
8 And it's C (.) Z calling from ((company name)). Thanks again and I'll talk to you soon.

Message 64: C Z 26.50 seconds 92 words 3.5 w/s

1 Hi Rose this is C calling yeh from ((company name)) travel nursing August twenty seventh
2 I just wanted to touch base with yeh see if yer still looking to do any travel nursing in the future (.)
3 if you could please give me a call back let me know what your availability is I'd greatly appreciate
4 it. I can be reached at one eight hundred >((three digits)) nine nine nine two (.) extension two one
5 eight<.
6 Again it's C calling yeh from ((company name)). Thanks a bunch I'll talk to you soon.

Message 65: C Z 36.01 seconds 114 words 3.2 w/s

1 Hi this message is for Larissa this C (.) Z calling from ((company name)) travel nursing? It's
2 August twenty seventh around seven p.m? (0.5) Uh east coast time
3 just wanted to touch base with you see if you're still interested in any travel nursing opportunities.
4 Uh we are staffing currently all over the United States? Uh we do offer free private housing as
5 well as travel expenses. Um (.) if you could please give me a call back either way I'd would really
6 appreciate it? I can be reached at one eight hundred ((three digits)) (.) nine nine nine two (0.5) at
7 extension two one eight,
8 Again this is C calling from ((company name)). Thank you.

Message 66: C Z 27.59 seconds 99 words 3.6 w/s

1 Hi Tracy it's C calling from ((company name)) you're a hard lady to get a hold of I guess you're at
2 work (.) right now? Um (.) if you could please give me a call back >when yeh< get a chance I'll
3 be in the office tomorrow morning nine (0.5) till six and (.) the same on Friday. Um: (.) my
4 number here is toll free¹ one eight hundred ((three digits)) (0.5) nine nine nine two (.) extension
5 two one eight₁ (0.5)
6 And again it's C from ((company name)). Thanks Tracy, I'll talk to you soon. Bye bye.

Message 67: C Z 33.81 seconds 113 words 3.3 w/s

1 Hi Lorraine this is C calling from ((company name)) travel nursing:
2 uh it's August twenty seventh.
3 Just wanted to call touch base with you see if you are still looking to do any travel nursing in the
4 future? We do have uh numerous assignments available down in Florida? Be glad to discuss those
5 opportunities with you. If you could please uh give me a call back when you get a chance? (0.5)
6 Uh I can be reached at one eight hundred ((three digits)) (0.5) >nine nine nine two my extension
7 two one eight< (0.5)
8 Again this is C (.) calling from ((company name)). Thanks Lorraine I look forwad to hearing from
9 yeh in the future.

Message 68: C Z 27.28 seconds 97 words 3.6 w/s

1 Hi Lucinda this is C calling you from ((company name)) travel nursing? It is August twenty
2 seventh?
3 I just wanted to call touch base with yeh see if you did receive that application I sent out to you
4 while back, (0.5) if you could please return my call when you have a chance I'd really appreciate it,
5 (0.5) uh my number is toll free¹ one eight hundred ((three digits)) (0.5) >nine nine nine two and
6 extension two one eight<. (0.5) Again this is C calling from ((company name)). (0.5) Thanks
7 again I'll talk to you soon, bye bye.

Message 69: J B 1:12.56 seconds 279 words 3.8 w/s

1 . . . This message is for Maria. Uh hh Maria how's it goin', this is J calling from ((company
2 name)), um (1.5)
3 just trying to touch base here, *uh* it's about seven thirty five eastern time on uh on Thursday
4 evening here on the twenty eighth of August, um (0.5) just trying to uh figure out here uh you
5 know what what your situation is with regard to taking an up and coming travel nursing position,
6 um but you know that uh (.) that you were looking um you know um a few weeks ago I- ih- at
7 some possibilities. (0.5) And um I was just you know trying to get in touch with yeh and and give
8 yeh at least a couple uh (0.5) couple uh: options um you know before deciding on a travel
9 position. Um you know I certainly uh (.) would love to hear from yeh uh see if yeh've taken a
10 position already if you've taken one that's fine, um you know I'd I would love to touch base though
11 I've left a: few messages over the past couple weeks and I haven't heard from yeh, uh (.) just give
12 me a ring, Maria um I'll- I'll be here for another half hour this evening. Um I'll be in till five
13 o'clock tomorrow (.) um if you want to get in touch with me and you know tell me wha:: you
14 know wha- what your plans are um (.) in the upcoming future here. (0.5)
15 Thanks again Maria. Uh once again it is J at ((company name)) and my number uh to reach me at
16 is one eight hundred (.) >((three digits)) ninety nine ninety two extension two one six.< (0.5)
17 Thanks Maria, uh, talk to you soon, bye bye.

Message 70: J B 1:00.48 seconds 253 words 4.2 w/s

1 . . . for Clara. Uh this is J calling from ((company name)).
2 Um (0.5) just trying to get in touch with you here I- I left a message on your machine uh (.) a few
3 nights ago. (0.5) Um oth- I- I- I'm *looking for a reference* (.) um for- for uh trying to get you
4 going out in California, please give me a ring um you know I- I once I have a reference for yeh um
5 there are plenty of opportunities out there (.) um (.) you know I definitely would like to uh (.) give
6 you some options uh when you're before you make a final decision. (0.5) Just give me a ring and
7 touch base like you know if you've taken a- a position already like that that's fine I you know (.) I'd
8 love to help you out however and uh just give me a ring and and and give me a clue as to where
9 you're at at this point, um (.) you know I I certainly would uh would love to hear from you. (.)
10 Once again Clara my name- (.) er: my number is one eight hundred (.) >((three digits))< (.) ninety
11 nine ninety two extension >two one six< and uh, I'll be in tomorrow uh (.) between nine o'clock
12 and five? so you can give me- hh can give me a call and touch base and uh and you know I can

- 13 see where you're at at that point.
14 Thanks, Clara, ah: look forward to speaking with you uh: tomorrow. Take care now.

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Notes:

1. I am aware of the limitations of my study: I only have institutional calls, I only have messages from one institution, and I only have the answering machine messages that the recruiters left for nurses (not their incoming voice mail messages from the nurses). Perhaps I can only draw limited conclusions, since I do not have a broad body of data. On the other hand, I believe it was beneficial for me to use a limited body of data, since it meant I could focus on the broad similarities and small differences within a specific type of call. A larger body of data may have been unmanageable.

2. Kuiper, in fact, connects today's smooth talkers with oral poets of non-literate societies. He parallels aspects of auctioneering, for instance the training process, with oral poetry. The training process of auctioneers and oral poets, interestingly, matches that of the recruiters. A passive novice stage, in which the trainee observes a master at work, is followed by a journeyman stage, in which the trainee performs only a limited repertoire, and finally the trainee becomes a master (Kuiper 1996:81-4). Recruiters are trained by listening, then performing mostly just cold calls, and after they have earned an audience (their own nurses), they can make all of the other types of telephone calls (e.g., follow up calls).

3. Ronell's *Telephone Book* had the most interesting layout of any book I read for this project. It was made to resemble an actual telephone book, complete with yellow pages for the footnotes and crisis hotlines for the index. The book was too psychologically oriented and too theoretical to do me much good, but I enjoyed paging through it.

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