Book review: Barbara Fox / Lorenza Mondada / Marja-Leena Sorjonen (eds.): Encounters at the counter. The organization of shop interactions. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2023

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The collected volume Encounters at the counter: The organization of shop interactions, edited by Barbara Fox, Lorenza Mondada, and Marja-Leena Sorjonen, sheds light on a mundane, recurrent, often brief, but highly organized kind of institutional interaction: face-to-face sales interactions in shops. The goal of the volume is to "understand better the constitutive actions that build a shop *encounter*, such as requesting, asking questions, choosing, tasting, and paying for products" (3). Although each study draws on data from different kinds of shops (kiosks, shoe repair shops, produce stand at a farmer's market), the studies' shared approach, both in terms of theoretical framework - ethnomethodological conversation analysis (EMCA) – and kind of data – video recordings of sellers and customers standing on opposite sides of shop *counters* (e.g., in a kiosk, in a shoe repair shop) – in tandem with the highly systematic interactional orderliness of shop encounters make the individual contributions highly comparable; the result is a diverse but cohesive volume that paints a holistic picture of the interactional achievement of shop encounters in western countries. Each of the 7 empirical studies zoom in on a 'moment' of shop encounters (e.g., customers' inquiries about products, sellers packing purchased products), analyzing the actions, practices, or sequence of practices that constitute that moment. The editors order the studies according to the chronology of shop encounters, with the first study analyzing the customers' interactions before they approach the counter, and the final study analyzing payment sequences. Reading the volume cover to cover takes the reader through shop encounters as they unfold.

In their introduction to the volume, the editors Lorenza Mondada, Marja-Leena Sorjonen, and Barbara Fox frame the collected volume within a larger, multidisciplinary body of research on sales encounters, before firmly situating the volume and its contributions within EMCA. The editors distinguish the encounters that the volume investigates – sales encounters concerning physical objects (as opposed to, e.g., information or a service) in shops where sellers and customers stand on opposite sides of a counter – from other kinds of sales encounters (e.g., hairdressers, markets). Mondada et al. underscore the central importance of materiality (i.e., the role of the physical purchasable products in the interactional organization) and the spatiality (e.g., whether customers can select purchases themselves or if they request them from the seller) to these shop encounters; in doing so, the introduction both highlights and foreshadows the questions that its contributions will address.

Although the introduction makes clear the analytical and theoretical issues that motivate the volume's publication, and the review of the body of research on commercial encounters is extensive, it is at points unclear from the introduction how the volume fits into this larger discourse. For example, Mondada et al. discuss at length prior research on politeness and cross-cultural issues in shop encounters, without making explicit how this prior research informs the investigations undertaken in the volume; while there are potential relevancies for EMCA research on



shop encounters (e.g., politeness research's investigations of the grammatical format for requests in different speech communities), Mondada et al. do not make these relevancies explicit for the reader in their literature review. Nevertheless, the introduction effectively frames the upcoming empirical studies, both in terms of the theoretical and methodological framework the studies all employ as well as the goals and organization of the entire volume.

In the volume's first empirical chapter, "Approaching the counter: Decision-making and the accomplishment of couplehood", Elwys De Stefani investigates the interactive decision-making in which couples shopping together engage *before* requesting products at the counter. De Stefani compares video-recorded supermarket trips of two 'couples', one visibly 'committed' couple making joint purchases, and another couple of 'just friends' shopping for their respective households. He demonstrates that, although product requests the couples make *at* the counter are generally quite compact, these requests result from the couples' respective interactional histories as they navigate the physical environment of the supermarket.

De Stefani structures his analysis into three sections, each dealing with a 'phase' of the couples' negotiations of purchase decisions. He first examines how couples, as they are interacting while moving through the supermarket, initially introduce products (e.g., cheese) as available for purchase; these introductions generally occur before the couple decides to move towards the corresponding counter or section. De Stefani then focusses on how couples subsequently reintroduce a purchasable product (category) while navigating towards the respective counter. And finally, De Stefani shows the couples refining, challenging, and modifying their purchasing decisions while approaching and waiting for service at the counter. In addition to revealing the interplay between the physical environment of the supermarket and purchasing decisions (e.g., remembering that one needs cheese after seeing the cheese counter), De Stefani demonstrates that the couples achieve their respective kind of 'couplehood' through their decision-making processes: whereas the 'committed' couple actively plans joint meals and thereby treats the purchases as being for the benefit of the 'couple', the members of the 'just friends' couple (shopping for their respective households) treat purchases as individual decisions with individual benefits.

Although both the introduction and his concluding discussion highlight the importance of the interactional histories leading up to each couple's product request, the structure of the analysis section makes it challenging for the reader to track each couple's interactional histories. As De Stefani structures the analysis according to three 'phases' of decision-making process, it regularly jumps between the couples, fragmenting interactional histories leading to the ultimate requests; the reader is left leafing back and forth between analyses to keep track of each couple's interactional histories. Structuring the analysis to highlight a micro-longitudinal perspective, e.g., by first tracking entire purchase decisions by each couple and then comparing those decisions across couples, would more clearly forefront interactional histories in the analysis while maintaining the clear comparison in these couples' achievement of couplehood. Although the analysis' structure complicates following the interactional histories, De Stefani successfully demonstrates how the couples' purchase decisions progressively emerge from the spatial environment of the supermarket.

De Stefani concludes the chapter with a larger, thought-provoking analytical question: "at what point should the analysis start?" (69). He reminds the reader that data collection, particularly in institutional interactions, is perspectival: A stationary camera at a counter captures the perspective of the seller as they serve customers, whereas shadowing customers before they approach the counter captures the (interactional) history that precedes the encounters 'at the counter'. De Stefani's analysis reveals that the decision-making in which customers engage prior to interacting with a vendor are part and parcel of the ensuing sales interactions.

In Chapter 3, "Customers' inquiries about products: Establishing grounds for the decision to buy", Katariina Harjunpää, Lorenza Mondada, and Kimmo Svinhufvud also investigate how customers reach purchase decisions, but now in a later stage of the sales encounter: in customers' interactions with the seller at the counter. Specifically, Harjunpää et al. investigate how customers inquire (i.e. request information) about available products before making their final purchase decisions.

The authors build their collection from a multilingual video corpus of sales interactions in bakeries in Finland, France, Germany, and Switzerland; in all bakeries, the products (e.g., buns, loaves of bread) are located behind the counter, meaning customers do not have direct access to the products available for purchase. The authors identify two general kinds of product inquiries from customers: inquiries about either the type of product or a product's properties (e.g., ingredients). Invariably, customers accompany all inquiries with pointing at the product. The authors further sub-divide these two collections according to three question formats inquiries take, each of which display a different level of knowledge on the customer's part regarding the product: plain WH-questions (e.g., What is that? What is in that one?), which display the least amount of knowledge; WH-questions that include some information about the product in question (e.g., What are those longish breads? What is in this yellow one?) and thereby display some knowledge about the product in question; and finally polar questions that offer some information for confirmation (e.g., Are those rolls sort of multigrain?) and thereby display the most knowledge about the product in question.

In their analyses of the inquiries about product *type*, the authors highlight the reference work sellers perform in their responses. If a product's name is *transparent* – i.e., if the name reveals a quality of the product (e.g., *Feigenbrot* 'fig bread') – both customers and sellers generally treat the name as sufficient information for a decision to (not) buy. If a product's name is *opaque* – i.e., if the name reveals no information about its composition (e.g., 'Hilde bread', with 'Hilde' being a proper noun) – the seller immediately provides additional information about the product (e.g., its ingredients).

In the case of inquiries about product *properties*, sellers' answers to both formats of WH-questions (generally regarding a product's ingredient or taste) are regularly treated as sufficient by both customer and seller. And the polar questions about both product *type* and *property*, rather than being 'innocent' requests for confirmation, reveal the product types and properties that are relevant to customers in their purchase decisions (e.g., due to a food allergy or intolerance). The sellers' practices for referring to and informing about products are thus not only contingent on the sequential environment and the customers' displayed epistemic stance, but also on the customers' interactional goal – deciding which products to buy – and the branding strategies of the bakery vis-à-vis transparent and opaque product names.

Given the authors' systematic approach to building and comparing their collections, the chapter would be well supplemented by quantitative data on the absolute frequency of inquiry types and formats. In addition to informing the reader as to how many instances the authors analyzed, it would also give an idea of how often customers request which kind of information when making purchase decisions. Such quantitative data would add to the clear picture Harjunpää et al.'s qualitative sequential analyses paint of the interplay between epistemics and reference in sales interactions and their role in customers' purchase decisions.

Whereas the first two empirical chapters investigate *customer*-initiated moves that work towards purchase decisions, chapter 4 "Offering a taste in gourmet food shops: Small gifts in an economy of sale" by Lorenza Mondada, reveals how sellers in cheese shops contribute to the progressivity of purchase decisions by offering customers a tasting sample. Mondada analyzes sales encounters in cheese shops in 15 cities around Europe, demonstrating that sellers and customers do not treat tasting samples simply as 'free gifts', but rather as part and parcel of the activity of selling cheese.

Focussing on sequences in which a seller offers the customer a "personalized tasting" (i.e., one based on the customer's already stated purchasing desires, see 118), Mondada argues that these offers primarily serve to progress the encounters towards the final sale. Although sellers offer samples at multiple points throughout the encounter, the analysis shows that customers only consistently accept these offers in a specific sequential environment: when the tasting offer comes after the customer has claimed insufficient knowledge to be able to choose a specific cheese (e.g., when the customer requests advice or information about a cheese on display or claims not knowing a specific cheese). That is, customers accept offered samples when they know that they want to make a purchase but cannot decide what to purchase. Mondada thereby links tasting offers to the epistemics of sales interactions in cheese shops. That is, while sellers also verbally describe the cheese (in terms of flavour, texture, colour, etc.), offering a sample of the cheese gives the customer independent access to the cheese's taste, thus allowing the customer to make an informed purchase decision.

Mondada compares these accepted offers to sequences in which customers *reject* the offered tasting sample. She finds refusals occur in different environments from acceptances, namely: when the customer displays no intent to make a purchase (e.g., when customers are 'just looking') or *after* the customer has already made their purchase decision. In these cases, fostering progressivity towards a purchase is not possible, either because the customer did not plan to make a purchase, or because the customer reached a purchase decision without requiring additional information. The comparison with rejected offers supports Mondada's argument that, rather than orienting to them as 'gifts', customers in gourmet cheese shops treat offered tasting samples "as bound to the engagement to buy" (139).

As with the previous chapter, Mondada does not include any quantitative information about her collection, despite her highly systematic approach to collection building. Including quantitative information that compares, e.g., the number of accepted and rejected offers, their position within the sales encounter, and if they lead to a final sale, would not only give the reader more direct access to the collection, but may also reveal deviant cases (e.g., offers accepted/rejected in other interac-

tional positions) which could enrich our understanding of the interplay between epistemics and progressivity in these offer sequences. Mondada's qualitative analyses do spark thought provoking questions, in particular concerning preference organization surrounding offers (e.g., is accepting an offer universally preferred over refusing it?); however, the omission of quantitative findings leaves the reader with an incomplete picture of what is at issue when sellers offer customers tasting samples.

The next chapter moves past customers' purchase decisions to the purchase proper, more specifically to the transformational moment where a shop's wares enter the customer's ownership. Chapter 5, "Embodied trajectories of actions in shop encounters. Giving or placing products on or over the counter" by Lorenza Mondada and Marja-Leena Sorjonen, deals with how customers transfer selected products to sellers so that the seller may prepare them for sale (e.g., by scanning the barcode). Analyzing several video corpora of sales encounters from convenience stores (or 'kiosks') in France, Finland, and Switzerland (over 1000 encounters in total, or approx. 20 hours), the authors identify two alternative types of product transfer from customer to seller, each consisting of paired actions from the interactant: either the customer *places* the product on the counter, which the seller then *grasps* and processes for sale (*placing/grasping* sequences); or the customer *gives* the product directly into the hands of the seller, who then *takes* the product (*giving/taking* sequences). To the authors, these product transfers are "embod[iments] and materializ[ations of] economic transactions" (144).

Mondada and Sorjonen structure their analysis into four sections, which progressively add to the complexity of both types of product transfers. The authors begin by describing the simplest organization of both *placing/grasping* and *giving/taking* before moving to the contingencies (e.g., presence of the seller) that favour one transfer type over the other. Mondada and Sorjonen then analyze the local contingencies that can lead customers to adjust their transfers, and end with an analysis of how co-interactants can be misaligned in terms of the choice between the two transfer alternatives (and how the interactants orient to that misalignment). Although the analysis structure is logical for the *giving/taking* transfers, as these cases all seem to share fundamental features, the excerpts of *placing/grasping* are highly heterogeneous, making it difficult for the reader to identify the common thread between the excerpts.

For the *giving/taking* transfers, the authors highlight throughout the analyses not only how customers and sellers coordinate the transfer proper, but also how the interactants project the upcoming transfer with their embodied actions. For example, not only is the customer's movement towards the counter a strong projector of the transfer to come during the customer's approach to the counter, but either the customer or the seller can project a *giving/taking* transfer – the customer by extending the product towards the seller (projecting an intention to *give*) and the seller by extending their arm out towards the customer (indicating a readiness to *take*). In every analysis of *giving/taking* transfers, the authors show that, by visibly projecting the upcoming transfer (and monitoring the co-interactant), customers and sellers make the upcoming *giving/taking* mutually recognizable, thereby enabling them to smoothly coordinate their embodied actions during the transfer proper.

The excerpts of *placing/grasping* transfers, on the other hand, do not suggest the same consistency. A central argument the authors forward is that *placing* is favoured over *giving* when the seller is absent (e.g., because the seller is performing

another task in the shop), as the customer can unilaterally place their purchase on the counter without needing to coordinate with the seller. However, in the very first excerpt of placing/grasping Mondada and Sorjonen present, the seller is both at the counter and visibly monitoring the customer as he approaches; the customer, however, still places his products on the counter rather than gives them to the seller. There is no discussion of the contingencies that lead the customer in this excerpt to place rather than give. And in a later excerpt, in which the seller is absent from the counter, the customer does not place the product on the counter but rather waits for the seller to return so as to give the seller the purchase. That customers also place products when the seller is present and give products when the seller is initially absent undermines the authors' claim *placing* is the customers' favoured alternative when faced with an unattended counter. As with the previous chapters, some quantitative information (e.g., comparisons of the correlation of placing and giving with the presence/absence of the seller) would not only support the authors' sequential analyses of the contingencies that promote one kind of product transfer over the other but also assist the reader in locating and comparing the individual excerpts and analyses within the larger collection.

The volume continues with Anna Lindström and Barbara Fox's chapter "Unpacking packing", in which the authors analyze how a vendor (here, a farmer) at a produce stand at a Swedish farmer's market packs produce for his customers (generally into paper or plastic bags the farmer provides), and how his customers orient to and monitor the packing. The issues Lindström and Fox seek to address are two-fold. First, the authors describe the interactional organization of packing and the institutional rights the vendor and his customers exercise in packing activities, contributing to our understanding of sales encounters as *institutional* interactions. Second, the authors investigate how customers, despite the established social categories of 'customer' and 'vendor', come to assist the farmer in packing their products; Lindström and Fox thereby situate their chapter within the larger body of work on recruitment (see Kendrick/Drew 2016).

The authors structure the analysis into three parts. In the first, the authors show that packing is normatively organized according to the participants social categories in the encounter (i.e., that of farmer/vendor and of customer) as well as to the product type: When purchasing individual items (e.g., a head of lettuce, a bunch of herbs), the customer *picks out* the specific item, which they then hand to the farmer to *pack*; for items purchased in bulk (e.g., potatoes), the customer only names the quantity (i.e., the weight) they intend to purchase, which the farmer subsequently both *picks out* and *packs*. With a deviant case the authors also demonstrate that the organization of packing according to social category and product type is normative; a request from a customer to pick out and pack her own potatoes (a bulk item) is treated as problematic not only by the farmer, but also by another customer at the stand.

In the second part of the analysis, the authors investigate the contingencies that lead to customers offering the farmer assistance in packing. They find that customers only offer assistance when the farmer is visibly experiencing difficulty packing the product; once the difficulty is no longer present, customers retract their assistance. For example, in one excerpt, in which the farmer is unsuccessful in opening a plastic bag to pack a head of lettuce, the customer offers to open and hold the bag for packing. The farmer accepts the offer, and the customer holds the bag until the

farmer succeeds in packing the lettuce; once the lettuce is packed, the customer releases the bag. That customers make their assistance contingent on visible difficulty demonstrates that assistance is not "universally desirable" (204), as it may suggest the farmer is a less-than-competent service provider.

In the final analysis section, the authors argue that customers purchasing bulk items may assist the farmer by holding open the bag (without having verbally offered) in order to inspect the quality of the items (in these excerpts, potatoes) the farmer is packing; as the farmer has primary rights to pick out (i.e., select) and pack bulk items (see above), the authors claim that providing assistance allows the customers to perform a quality control on the items the farmer is packing "without breaching the normative preference that the farmer is the one with the right to pack" (210). It is, however, not clear from the analyses or the data whether the participants orient to the customers' assistance as quality control; neither do the customers verbalize the quality control (e.g., by refusing particular potatoes) while the farmer is packing, and nor does the farmer visibly treat the assistance as anything but assistance. The only evidence the authors present is the customers' conduct before (but not during) the packing (e.g., assessing smaller potatoes as especially tasty and therefore desirable). That the authors do not highlight emic evidence undermines the argument they seek to make in this final analysis.

The lacking evidentiary support in the final analysis section, however, does not detract from Lindström and Fox's core argument. Not only do the authors effectively describe the organization of packing in these encounters at the farmer's market, their analyses reveal how social categories (in this case, the institutional categories farmer/vendor and customer) shape recruitment; that is, by only offering and giving assistance when the farmer is experiencing difficulty, the customers avoid treating the farmer as incompetent, thereby recognizing his primary rights to pack. Lindström and Fox add to our understanding of both the organization of sales encounters and also the interplay between social categories and recruitment.

In the volume's penultimate chapter, "The request-return sequence: What can happen at the interface between picking up a repaired item and paying for it", Barbara Fox and Trine Heinemann consider a commercial context that lies in a middle ground between sales and service: a shoe repair shop. They focus on encounters in which customers enter the shop to pick up a repaired item. The authors demonstrate that these encounters are organized around the request-return sequence, in which a customer requests their repaired item (e.g., shoes, leather bags/purses), which the staff person (or "shoetender", see 215) then retrieves and returns to the customer. In their collection of 105 request-return sequences (pulled from a corpus of 50 hours), approximately half (the authors do not provide an exact number) of such sequences end at the return of the repaired item; in these cases, the parties (customer and shoetender) move directly to payment. In the other half of the 105 cases, customers follow the return by producing acknowledgement of the repair work before payment. Fox and Heinemann seek to describe not only the general organization of request-return sequences, but also the contingencies that lead customers to produce acknowledgements.

Fox and Heinemann begin their analysis with excerpts of request-return sequences in which the customer produces no acknowledgement, i.e., minimal request-return sequences. Their analyses of these minimal sequences demonstrate

that, even when a customer visually inspects the returned item, neither do they regularly acknowledge the repair work nor do the shoetenders orient to an acknowledgement as relevant; both customer and shoetender orient to payment as the next relevant activity. Fox and Heinemann then move to the cases where the customer does acknowledge the repair work, identifying three kinds of acknowledgements: *volunteered* acknowledgements, which customers produce immediately after seeing the repaired item (without a presentation of the repair work from the shoetender); *mobilized* acknowledgements, which come after the shoetender shows (or 'presents') the customer the results of the repair; and *invited* acknowledgements, where the shoetender requests an acknowledgement from the customer (typically when the repair job is potentially unsatisfactory), thereby making an acknowledgement conditionally relevant.

In their concluding discussion, the authors compare their analytical findings with those from a hair salon – in which acknowledgements are a relevant necessary part of the interaction (see Oshima 2009, 2014; Oshima/Streeck 2015) – and their (the authors') own "casual examination" (250) from a bike shop – in which customers never produce acknowledgements when picking up their repaired bike. In combination with the sequential analyses, this comparison of different commercial encounters allows the authors to pinpoint the contingencies that shape how and when customers produce acknowledgements. For example, the authors argue that the relative expertise between customer and service provider contributes to whether customers acknowledge a service rendered: in hair salons, where the customer has primary rights to know what they do and do not like, acknowledgements are oriented to as required by all parties. In bike repair shops, on the other hand, customers are generally not knowledgeable about bike repairs (else they would have performed the repair themselves) and thus produce no acknowledgements upon the return of the bike. The shoe repair shop is a middle ground: the customer has rights to assess whether they like the post-repair appearance of their item, but the shoetender knows "what is possible, how it can be done, what it would cost, and so on" (251). While the authors do not provide or cite empirical evidence (i.e., transcripts) from bike shops, the comparisons they draw between these three commercial encounters are both plausible and illuminating as to the variation they observe in the interactional relevance of acknowledgements in the shoe repair shop. The authors concluding discussion suggests a comparative approach may be particularly fruitful for future research on shop encounters, as such a comparison of encounters in different kinds of shops could reveal the interactional motivations and contingencies underlying these commercial interactions.

The volume's final chapter also deals with the final component – and arguably the goal – of shop encounters: payment. In "Moving money: Money as an interactional resource in kiosk encounters in Finland", Mia Halonen and Aino Koivisto demonstrate that, although payment (in terms of the transfer of money from customer to seller) occurs at the *end* of sales encounters, the interactants regularly orient to payment earlier in the interaction. Halonen and Koivisto focus in their analyses on the four-part payment phase, which consists of: 1) the seller asking if the customer will purchase 'anything else', thereby indicating the sellers' preparedness to accept payment; 2) a negative answer from the customer that claims no further purchases, which thereby serves as a 'go ahead' to shift to payment; 3) the seller's announcement of the price; and 4) the transfer of money from customer to seller. In

their collection of 175 encounters from a kiosk in Southern Finland, Halonen and Koivisto identify three variations on payment, all defined according to the timing of when the customer moves money into the seller's space relative to the price announcement: on-time payments, where the customer pays directly following the price announcement; anticipatory payments, where the customer hands over payment *before* the price announcement; and delayed payments, where the payment is delayed in relation to the price announcement. Halonen and Koivisto complement their sequential analysis with quantitative distribution of payment types across their collections; this is the only study in the volume to include such quantitative information. Not only does the distribution give the reader a clearer picture of the collection the authors analyze, it also supports the findings from the sequential analysis; for example, the distribution supports Halonen and Koivisto's claim that ontime payments, which account for approximately two thirds of all their cases, are "the default cases" (259).

Halonen and Koivisto's analyses demonstrate both how payment can be an interactional achievement and how money can be an interactional resource. In their analyses of on-time payments, for example, Halonen and Koivisto find that, although customers will often have money on display well in advance of payment (e.g., holding banknotes in their hands while walking to the counter), they do not hand money to the seller until the seller asks the 'anything else' question; in these payments customers thus align with sellers by withholding payment until the seller displays their readiness to accept it. In anticipatory payments, however, customers use money as a resource to *shape* the trajectory of the interaction; when customers hand over money before the seller has displayed their readiness to accept it, the seller omits the 'anything else' question, thereby truncating the payment sequence. While the corpus may not be absolutely representative of the payment in the present day (the interactions were recorded in 2002 when cash payments were more prevalent, and the authors include no card payments in their analyses), Halonen and Koivisto convincingly demonstrate through their sequential analyses and clear argument structure that, through their handling of money, customers and sellers in kiosks regularly orient to payment well before payment is due.

The collected volume *Encounters at the counter* meets its goal stated by its editors in their introduction: Its chapters – each considering the actions and practices that constitute a moment in shop encounters – adds to our understanding of the organization and interactional issues at play in shop encounters. Additionally, in taking a highly ordered and recurrent type of institutional interaction in which one participant acquires products from another, the volume represents a meaningful contribution to our understanding of the interplay between materiality, sensoriality, spatial organization as well as social categories, projection, and preference organization in institutional interactions. Thanks to their shared theoretical and methodological frameworks and kinds of data sets, the empirical chapters complement each other effectively.

There were, however, some analytical issues shared across contributions. Next to most contributions' omission of quantitative information about their collections of cases, the chapters also all draw their data from shop encounters in exclusively western countries; all but one contribution used data collected in Europe. In their introduction to the volume, the editors argue that "shop encounters make observable the constitution of sociability, economic value, and *culture*" and that "shops and

market stalls are a place where [...] shoppers are socialized in a world of cultural objects that are not just products to sell" (1, emphasis added). Including studies with more linguistically and culturally diverse data sets, or even cross-linguistic and cross-cultural studies, could (potentially) reveal other interactional organizational issues at play in these commercial interactions, and shoppers' and sellers' practices and resources for addressing these issues; in other words, such studies could therefore shed light on the socialization that occurs in shop encounters.

That being said, this collected volume from Fox et al. is an insightful and cohesive volume that significantly enhances our understanding of the intricate interactional dynamics of shop encounters through its detailed ethnomethodological conversation analysis. It will be a go-to resource for researchers and students interested in an EMCA approach to shop encounters and institutional interactions more generally.

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