

Sequence Initiation with Routinized Questions by an Adolescent with Autism Spectrum Disorder

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要旨

本稿では自閉症スペクトラム障がいを持つ青年が慣例化された質問を用いてどのように会話の連鎖を開始し、維持するのかを会話分析の手法を用いて探求した。本研究で使用したデータは17歳の自閉症を持つ青年と療育者の会話、合計約250分である。

療育者との相互行為の中で、自閉症を持つ青年は会話が一旦中断された後、慣例化された質問を使用し再び連鎖を開始することがわかった。また、療育者からの質問に応答せず切れ目が生じた際にも慣例化された質問を用いて会話を再開、維持していた。さらに、療育者からの疑問詞質問に返答が困難である場合も慣例化された質問を使って会話を維持していた。一見すると単に同じことを繰り返すオウム返しのように見える発話には当該青年の巧みな相互行為能力が見られた。本研究では自閉症スペクトラム障がいを持つ人の発話を詳細にわたって検証することにより、その人の持つ相互行為能力を明らかにすることができることを示した。

Abstract

This conversation analytic paper explores how an adolescent diagnosed with Autism Spectrum Disorder (ASD) initiates and maintains a sequence by using routinized questions. The data for this study come from approximately 250 minutes of video-recorded naturally occurring interactions between a mother and her 17-year-old son with ASD. Analysis revealed that the adolescent with ASD initiated a new sequence after lapses by using routinized questions. Moreover, when silence occurred after the mother's question, he restarted and maintained the conversation. In addition, he kept the conversation going by deploying routinized questions when he had difficulty in answering Wh-questions. What appear to be echolalic utterances at first sight, upon deeper analysis dis-

played his interactional competence. It is only through a fine-grained analysis of utterances that the interactional competence of those diagnosed with ASD can be revealed.

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1. Introduction

Autism Spectrum Disorder (ASD) is one of the developmental disorders that begin in childhood and persist throughout adulthood, appearing in approximately one out of every 110 children. According to the DSM-V (American Psychiatric Association, 2013), people with ASD have problems and difficulties with social interaction, such as a lack of understanding and awareness of others' emotions and feelings, and they also have impaired use of language and communication skills, such as delayed language development and an inability to initiate and maintain conversations. This paper focuses on the latter, their competence to use language and maintain conversations. In addition, these children have been reported to have unusual patterns of thought and physical behavior, which includes making repetitive physical movements, for example, hand tapping and twisting. Moreover, they set routines of behavior, which, when broken, make them upset.

Recently, a significant amount of research has focused on communication difficulties in social contexts, one of the most noticeable features of

ASD. For example, Local and Wootton (1995) examined echolalia, uncontrollable repetition of vocalizations made by another person or the same person, in the speech of children with ASD. Through the observation of this phenomenon, they made evident that such practices are not meaningless but perform a number of important actions in interaction. Maynard (2005) emphasized the need to consider responses by people who interact with those with ASD when investigating questions directed to them and their next turn responses. Moreover, Geils and Knoetze (2008) closely examined the communicative behavior and interactive style of a child with ASD and his co-participants. Although a number of studies have explored the distinctive communicative behaviors of people with ASD by using Conversation Analysis (CA) as a research approach, most of these have analyzed interaction in English. To my knowledge, few conversation analytic studies have investigated interactional behaviors of ASD in Japanese. Before presenting the analysis, this paper briefly introduces the concepts of CA.

2. Conversation Analysis (CA)

2.1. Background

Conversation Analysis (CA) was inspired by Erving Goffman's approach to interaction (Goffman, 1963, 1964, 1967) and Harold Garfinkel's ethnomethodology (Garfinkel, 1967). It was developed in the late 1960s through the collaboration of Harvey Sacks, Emanuel Schegloff, and Gail Jefferson. CA is an approach to the study of social interaction and talk-in-interaction, and the methodology focuses on revealing participants' orien-

tation to making sense of interaction, an orientation that is embodied in the detail of their talk and other conduct. Previous CA studies have provided accounts of basic organizations underlying everyday interaction, including turn-taking, sequence organization, silence, and repair. Among them, the following section briefly describes sequence organization as it is most relevant to this study.

2. 2. Sequence organization

The actions that builds up conversations are conducted through turns at talk. Turns at talk are purposefully organized and this orderly gathering of turns is referred to as sequence organization. In conversation, we recognize that many turns at talk occur as pairs. According to Schegloff and Sacks (1973), a range of sequences in talk-in-interaction seems to be produced in pairs of actions. For example, a greeting is followed by another greeting, a question is followed by an answer, offer is responded to with an acceptance or refusal and so on. These types of pairs are called adjacency pairs: They are the basic units on which sequences in conversation are built (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). As Schegloff and Sacks (1973) define it, the adjacency pair is characterized by the following five features. They are: (a) composed of two turns, (b) produced by different speakers, and (c) adjacently placed, that is one after the other; (d) relatively ordered as a first-pair part (FPP) preceding a second-pair part (SPP), and (e) the two turns are type-related, so that a FPP requires a particular SPP. Here are two examples of adjacency pairs.

(1) [Schegloff, 2007, p. 22]

01 Bee: hHi: ,
 02 Ava: Hi: ?

In Extract (1), Bee's greeting at line 01 is what initiates the greeting exchange, the return greeting at line 02 is its second-pair part, SPP. Similarly, the following is an example of a question-answer adjacency pair. In the following extract, the boy's information-seeking question (FPP) makes relevant an answer, which is provided at line 02 (SPP).

(2)[Stivers & Robinson, 2006, p. 370]
 01 Boy: What kind of fish is (it)/(this).
 02 Mom: . h Halibut,

The discussion above suggests that the relationship between two actions in two turns is a normative one where FPP makes a SPP conditionally relevant next. If SPP is not timely produced and silence occurs, this is noticeable and accountable under the conditional relevance (Heritage, 1948). Here is one example.

(3)[Nofsinger, 1991, cited in Liddicoat, 2011, p. 161]
 01 C: Anne
 02 ((silence))
 03 C: Anne
 04 A: What

In the interaction above, as C calls A's name, "Anne." A has an obligation

to respond to the summons under conditional relevance, but silence occurs at line 02. The lack of A's response may either be a hearing problem or a deliberate withholding of a response. However, C treats it as a hearing problem and calls A's name again.

As for silence, silence can be divided into three types: pauses, gaps, and lapses. A pause refers to intervals within a speaker's turn.

(4)[Liddicoat, 2011, p. 274]

01 Jeff: Hello,

02 Hana: Jeff?

03 Jeff: Yeah,

04→Hana: It's Hana. (0.3) u-kay's friend,

05 Jeff: oh hi,

The silence in the above example is a pause because it occurs within Hana's turn and belongs to Hana. Next, gap refers to a period of silence between turns.

(5)[Stivers, 2012, p. 194]

01 Gio: Dja know what I'm thinkin',

02→ (0.8)

03 Lan: No.

04 Gio: Chee: se;

There is a silence at line 02, which is a gap because it occurs between two turns. Finally, a lapse refers to a period of silence when no sequence

is in progress. The current speaker stops talking and does not select a next speaker, and nobody self selects.

(6)[Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974, p. 714]

01 J: Oh I could drive if you want me to.

02 C: well no I'll drive (I don't m/in?)

03 J: hhh

04 (1.0)

05 J: I meant to offah.

06→ (16.0)

07 J: Those shoes look nice when you keep on putting
stuff on 'em.

08 C: Yeah I've to get another can cuz it ran out.

The silence seen at line 06 is a lapse. It is not attributable to any particular speaker and no sequence is in progress. Out of these different types of silence, in this paper, I focus on gaps and lapses.

3. ASD Interaction

As noted earlier, people diagnosed with ASD have problems communicating with others. Previous studies reported that people with ASD have difficulty in initiating conversations as one of the most prominent features of their talk.

Dobbinson, Perkins, and Bourcher (1998), in a case study of a woman with ASD, highlighted her impairments in conversation, especially her

ability to initiate and sustain conversations with other people. In addition, Hale and Tager-Flusberg (2005), investigating the developmental trajectory of discourse skills and theory of mind in 57 children with ASD, also pointed out the children's problems with initiating and sustaining conversations. Similarly, Battaglia and McDonald (2016) noted that children with ASD rarely initiate conversation, and they advocate for the benefits of employing scripts and semantic mapping to facilitate conversation. Thus, these studies conclude that initiating and maintaining interaction with others is a major problem of people with ASD, both children and adults, encounter.

This paper expands on the research outlined above by using the framework of CA to explicate how an adolescent diagnosed with ASD initiates turns in interaction with his mother. Moreover it furthers our understanding of ASD interaction by incorporating data from a comparatively less studied language.

4. Data

The data for this study come from approximately 250 minutes of naturally occurring interaction between a mother and her 17-year-old adolescent son, whose pseudonym here is Ten. Ten was diagnosed with Autism Spectrum Disorder (ASD) at the age of five. The interaction shown here was video-recorded by the mother during their daily life. The video- and audio-recorded data were transcribed using the transcription conventions commonly employed in CA research (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984). Prior to the recording, the mother agreed to the family's

participation by signing an informed consent form that explained the purpose of the study and ethical use of the data. The interaction between the mother and the son was for the most part recorded in their living room and kitchen.

5. Analysis

The analysis revealed that Ten deployed routinized questions in two kinds of contexts. The routinized questions are “*otousan nanji ni kaette kuru?*” (What time does dad come home?), and its variations, which ask about his father’s returning home. The first context in which this question occurred was when Ten attempted to initiate a sequence after silence, either after lapses or gaps. Another context was when Ten had publicly displayed difficulties in responding to the mother’s Wh-questions.

5.1 Lapse

As mentioned above, People diagnosed with ASD have been found to have an impairment in initiating conversation (Dobbinson, Perkins, & Bourcher, 1998; Hale & Tager-Flusberg, 2005). In Extract (7) below, Ten initiates conversation after a lapse.

(7)[Cat park 6:04]

01 Mum: ou::no a, (.)Ten-chan kyou jyouho no jikan
 Hmmm Name-TL today information GEN time
 02 ni:(3.0)koreꞤ nani o shirabete kureta no::
 at this what Acc search receive PST Q

"Ten-chan, what did you search at information class today?"

03 Ten: jyouho yatta::=
information do:PST
"I did information."

04 Mum: u::n(1.0)kyushoku no::(.)reshipi o yomu::ζ
Hmmm lunch GEN recipe Acc read
05 kensaku [shita no]
search for do:PST Q

"Did you read the lunch recipe introduction?"

06 Ten: [ganbatta]=
work hard: PST
"I worked hard."

07 Mum: =fu::n (.)<a::oishiso::>
Hmmm looks dlicious
"It looks delicious."

08 (17.0)((MUM is making dinner at the kitchen))

09→ Ten: otousan mousugu::
dad coming home soon
"Is Dad coming home soon?"

10 (.)

11 Mum: un,otousan wa::(1.0)shichi ji gurai ka na::
yeah dad TOP seven time about Q IP
"Yeah, Dad is coming home at about 7:00."

The mother's turn opens with a question asking Ten what he searched

in his information study class. In response, in line 03, Ten produces “*Jyoho yatta::* (I did jyoho.)”. The mother accepts his answer with “*u:: n* (yeah.)”. After accepting the answer, she redesigns the question in line 04 to 05, but Ten just responds with his routinized response “*ganbatta* (I worked hard.)”. The mother then accepts the answer and completes the sequence with an evaluation “*oishiso::* (It looks delicious.)”. After that, there is a long silence during which the mother continues preparing dinner in the kitchen. After a 17.0-second lapse, Ten initiates a sequence with a routinized question “*otousan mousugu::* (Is Dad coming home soon?)”. Then the mother responds to him with “*un. otousan wa::* (1.0) *shichi ji gurai ka na::* (yeah, Dad is coming home at about 7:00.)”.

Similar to the above extract, in the following excerpt, Ten begins interaction with his mother by utilizing a routinized question after a lapse.

(8) [Cat park 9:44]

01 Mum: gyoza suki de sho,
 dumpling like COP:TAG

“You like dumplings, don’t you?”

02 Ten: dai suki.
 very.much like

“I like them very much.”

03 Mum: oneo
 IP

“Right?”

04 (62.0)

((TEN is playing with tablet while watching TV.))

((MUM is making dumplings in the kitchen.))

- 05→ Ten: otousan mousugu;
 dad soon
 "Is Dad coming home soon?"
- 06 MUM: ↑nn
 huh
 "Huh?"
- 07 Ten: otousan mousugu;
 dad soon
 "Is Dad coming home soon?"
- 08 Mum: =un.
 yeah
 "Yeah."

The mother begins a conversation by asking if Ten likes dumplings, and Ten answers "*daisuki*. (I like them very much.)" in the next line. The mother then closes a sequence at line 04. After that, there is a 62.0-second lapse during which Ten plays with tablet while watching TV and the mother makes dumplings in the kitchen. In line 05, Ten starts a new sequence by employing a routinized question, "*otousan mousugu;* (Is Dad coming home soon?)". Then the mother initiates repair by uttering "*nn* (Huh?)", which appears to display a hearing problem. Ten addresses the problem by asking exactly the same question again in line 07. In line 08, the mother responds to him "*un* (yeah.)".

These two extracts, (7) and (8), illustrate that Ten possesses the interactional competence to initiate a sequence through use of the routin-

ized question. This finding runs contrary to the major features of ASD discussed in previous studies. As shown throughout this paper, “*otousan mousugu* (Is Dad coming home soon?)” and its equivalents are routinized questions Ten deploys to initiate sequences.

5.2. Gaps

The next example, Extract (9), illustrates a case in which Ten initiates a conversation by utilizing a routinized question after a gap.

(9)[A bread roll]

((Ten is hungry and is eating a bread roll before dinner.))

01 Ten: umai.

yummy

“This bread roll is yummy.”

02 Mum: oishi?

delicious

“Is that delicious?”

03 (1.5)

04→ Ten: o[tousan shichi ji]:?

dad seven o'clock

“Is Dad coming home at seven?”

05 Mum: [yokatta ne]

good:PST IP

“That’s good.”

06 Mum: un. shichi ji goro kaette kuru yo.

yeah. seven o'clock about come.home IP

"Yeah, Dad is coming home at about 7:00."

As Ten says, "*umai* (yummy.)" at line 01, the mother asks him "*oishi?* (Is that delicious?)". In line 03, Ten does not answer the question immediately and a silence occurs, which means that the action being undertaken by the question-answer adjacency pair is incomplete. As mentioned in Section 2, it is normative to immediately respond to a question under conditional relevance (Heritage, 1984). However, instead of answering the question from the mother, Ten initiates a new sequence with the routinized question "*otousan shichi ji::?* (Is Dad coming home at 7:00?)." This appears to show that Ten knows that he is responsible for taking a turn after the question addressed to him even though his turn is not a relevant response. In line 05, the mother says "*yokatta ne* (That's good.)" in overlap with Ten's utterance. The mother's utterance seems to be a comment to Ten's utterance at line 01 "*umai*. (yummy.)". The mother then answers to Ten's question "*otousan shichi ji::?* (Is Dad coming home at 7:00?)" by saying, "*un. shichi ji goro kaettekuru yo*. (yeah, Dad is coming home at about 7:00.)". The following example further shows how he manages to start a new sequence instead of answering the mother's question.

(10)[Are you tired?]

01 Mum: Ten-chan tsukareta?

Name-TL tired

"Ten-chan, are you tired?"

02 Ten: tsukarete nai.

- tired NEG
 "I'm not tired."
- 03 Mum: fu::n. daijyoubu?
 I see alright
 "I see. Are you alright?"
- 04 (2.5)
- 05→ Ten: otousan shichi ji?
 dad seven o'clock
 "Is dad coming home at seven?"
- 06 Mum: otousan wa shichi ji sanjyuppun kurai ni kaette kuru.
 dad TOP 7 o'clock thirty about at come.home
 "Dad is coming home at about 7:30."

Prior to this segment, Ten was dozing off while watching TV on the couch. The mother asks if Ten is tired, "*Ten-chan tsukareta?* (Ten-chan, are you tired?)". Ten answers, "*tsukarete nai.* (I'm not tired.)". In line 03, the mother registers receipt of Ten's response, "*fu:: n.* (I see.)", and asks a follow-up question, "*daijyoubu?* (Are you alright?)". After remaining silent for 2.5 seconds without answering the mother's question, Ten initiate a new sequence with the routinized question, "*otousan shichi ji?* (Is Dad coming home at seven?)". Then the mother responds to Ten, "*otousan wa shichiji sanjyuppun kurai ni kaette kuru.* (Dad is coming home at about 7:30.)".

As shown in the two extracts above, Ten does not always answer the mother's questions immediately. It is possible that he does not know the answer or may not want to answer. Although these extracts with

Ten's lack of responsiveness illustrate his interactional difficulties, they also display his interactional competence. Ten has possesses the competence to take turns by using routinized questions to maintain the progress of the interaction.

5. 3. Wh-question

Thus far, how he initiates a sequence after silence by utilizing routinized question has been discussed. This next section describes the way he avoids responding to Wh-questions but maintains interaction with his mother. Consider Extract (11) below.

(11)[taijyuu sokutei]

- 01 Mum: Ten-chan kyou taijyuu hakatta no::
 Name-TL today weight measure:PST Q
 "Ten-chan, did you check your weight?"
- 02 Ten: taijyuu(.)hakatta:
 weight measure:PST
 "I checked my weight."
- 03 MUM: nan kiro datta ka oboeteru:? =
 what kilogram COP:PST Q remember
 "Do you remember how much your weight was?"
- 04 Ten: =oboeteru.
 remember
 "I remember."
- 05 Mum: nan kiro?
 what kilogram

- "How much did you weigh?"
- 06 (2.0)
- 07 Mum: nan kiro datta?
what kilogram COP:PST
"How much did you weigh?"
- 08 Ten: (.)
- 09 Mum: nan kiro datta?
what kilogram COP:PST
"How much did you weigh?"
- 10 Ten: a-a-a-u=
- 11 Mum: o↑no nan kiro dat[ta?]
huh what kilogram COP:PST
"How much did you weigh?"
- 12 Ten: [taijyuu]hakatta=
weight measure:PST
"I weighed myself."
- 13 Mum: =>taijyuu hakatta< nan kiro datta ka oboeteru?
weight measure: PST what kilogram COP: PST Q remember
"Do you remember how much you weighed?"
- 14→ Ten: otousan kaette kuru?
dad come.home
"Is Dad coming home?"
- 15 Mum: wasurechatta?
forget: PST
"Have you forgotten?"
- 16 Ten: wasurechatta.

- forget : PST
 "I forget."
- 17 Mum: so [kka,]
 that Q
 "I see."
- 18 Ten: [a-a-]a otousan kaette kuru? =
 dad come.home
 "Is Dad coming home?"
- 19 Mum: =otousan kaette kuru yo.
 dad come.home IP
 "Dad is coming home."
- 20 Ten: (.)
- 21 Mum: wasurechatta ka:::
 forget:PST Q
 "You forgot."

The Mother's turn opens with a question asking Ten if he weighed himself on that day. "*Ten-chan kyou taijyuu hakatta no::* (Ten-chan, did you check your weight today?)." Ten responds with repetition of the mother's utterance "*taijyuu hakatta::* (I checked my weight.)" in line 02. Although his answer is a partial repetition, Ten does not use the question marker "*no*". Then, the mother asks Ten's exact weight. "*nankiro dattaka oboeteru::?* (Do you remember how much your weight was?)." In line 04, latching with his mother's production, Ten answers with repetition of the final predicate component "*oboeteru*. (I remember.)." while changing the upward intonation to final intonation. The Mother pursues

Ten's response in line 05 "nankiro (How much did you weigh?). As seen in the silence in line 06, as mentioned above, Ten has difficulties answering Wh-questions. A considerable number of studies have reported that children with ASD struggle to respond to Wh-questions (e. g., Daar, Negrelli, & Dixon, 2015; Goodwin, Fein, & Naigles, 2015; Secan, Egel, & Tilley, 1989). The mother again asks his weight "*nankiro datta?* (How much did you weigh?).". In line 08, Ten appears to attempt a response, but it is inaudible. She continues to ask Ten "*nankiro datta?* (How much did you weigh?)." in line 09, and Ten again endeavors to respond to her question but fails to answer. The mother yet again asks him in line 11 "*nankiro datta?* (How much did you weigh?). In line 12, in overlap with the final part of the mother's utterance, Ten repeats his own answer from line 02. Latching with Ten's production, the mother repeats his answer and inquires as to whether he remembers his weight. Therefore, in the next turn, Ten's answer regarding his weight is held to be conditionally relevant. However, instead of answering his mother's question, Ten produces "*otousan kaette kuru?* (Is Dad coming home?).". The official absence and replacement with this routinized question can be considered to be his avoidance strategy. Having failed repeatedly to induce an answer from Ten, the mother provides an account for the absence of response, "*wasurechatta?* (Did you forget?)" (line 15). In the next line, Ten repeats the mother "*wasurechatta.* (I forget.)" and she then accepts his response. In line 18, Ten again asks the mother "*otousan kaette kuru?* (Is Dad coming home?).". This time, the mother responds to Ten "*otousan kaette kuru yo.* (Dad is coming home.).". In line 21, after this routinized question, the mother goes back to original sequence "*wasurechatta ka.:* (You have for-

gotten.)”.

The next example also considers how he strategically avoids answering Wh-question and continues the conversation with his mother.

(12)[iPad]

01 Mum: Ten-chan, (0.5) nani miten no?(.) iPad.

Name-TL what watch Q iPad

“What are you watching on iPad?”

02 (2.0)

03 Mum: oun?o

Hmm

“Hmm?”

04→ Ten: otousan mou chotto¿

dad yet a little

“Is Dad coming home soon?”

05 Mum: un. mouchotto de kaette kuru yo.

yeah a little COP come home IP

“Yeah, Dad is coming home soon.”

In the extract above, the mother is making dinner in the kitchen and Ten is playing with his iPad while watching TV. The mother's turn opens a sequence with a question regarding what he watches on his iPad. In line 02, instead of providing a response, Ten remains silent for 2.0 seconds. Although this silence belongs to Ten, the mother tries to elicit a response from Ten at line 03. In line 04, Ten employs a version of the routinized question “*otousan mouchotto¿* (Is Dad coming home soon?)”,

and avoids answering the mother's question. Then the mother responds to him "*un. mouchotto de kaette kuru yo.* (yeah, Dad is coming home soon.)".

As seen in this section, Ten displays some difficulties in answer Wh-questions. This finding is consistent with the characteristics of people with ASD as pointed out by many researchers (e. g., Daar, Negrelli, & Dixon, 2015; Goodwin, Fein, & Naigles, 2015; Secan, Egel, & Tilley, 1989). However, the current study found that when Ten is confronted by this difficulty of answering Wh-questions, he employs a strategy to solve the problem by utilizing routinized questions.

6. Conclusion

This paper first examined how Ten initiated a sequence after a lapse. Ten initiated a sequence by utilizing a routinized question. Contrary to findings on some prominent features of ASD pointed out in previous studies, Ten displayed his ability to initiate sequences. This paper then discussed how Ten managed interaction with his mother after a gap. Ten's occasional failure to respond to the mother in a timely manner appears to deviate from the normative rule of adjacency pairs. However, by employing routinized questions, Ten was able to take a turn and maintain the conversation. This paper lastly showed how Ten avoided responding to Wh-questions and sustained the interaction with his mother by using routinized questions. As a number of studies have mentioned before, people diagnosed with ASD display difficulties in responding to Wh-questions. Yet, Ten was able to answer questions by strategically

utilizing routinized questions. Therefore, Ten revealed his understanding that he needs to take a turn and that the conversation should not be interrupted.

As shown in this dataset, Ten uses the same questions in three kinds of contexts. By using routinized question, Ten was able to initiate and sustain a conversation. This finding is a little different from previous studies that claimed that people with ASD have difficulties in initiating sequences and maintaining conversations. Although Ten's questions, as examined in this paper, are almost always the same, through these questions, he shows his competence in initiating sequences and maintaining conversations. Repeatedly using the same phrase may often be categorized as delayed echolalia, but this routinized phrase helps him to initiate and keep the interaction going.

This study focuses only on one adolescent with ASD and so may not fully grasp the range of characteristics of people with ASD. In the future studies, it is also necessary to investigate interactions of more people with ASD, possibly from various age groups. By doing so, it will be possible to better comprehend the communicative behaviors of people with ASD.

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Appendix

Transcription conventions

[]	overlapping talk
=	latched utterances
(0.0)	timed pause (in seconds)
(.)	a short pause
:	an extension of a sound or syllable
> <	talk that is faster than surrounding talk
> <	talk that is slower than surrounding talk
° °	a passage of talk that is quieter than surrounding talk
.	fall in intonation
,	continuing intonation
?	rising intonation
¿	rising intonation weaker than a question marker <u>underline</u> emphasis
↑	sharp rise
(())	comment by the transcriber

Abbreviations Used in Interlinear Gloss

IP Interactional particle

P	Other particles
Acc	Accusative
Gen	Genitive
Top	Topic marker
QT	Quotation marker
Q	Question marker
Cop	Copulative verb
N	Nominalizer
Tag	Tag-like expressions
Neg	Marks negation
PST	Past
TL	Title