Reported Thought in Writing Center Talk: A Resource for Doing Support and Socialization

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ABSTRACT

Drawing on conversation analysis (CA), this study examines reported thought (e.g., "you're like 'do I really have to do that?'") and its function in writing center talk. Previous related studies, which are informed by Goffman's (1981) notion of *footing*, have demonstrated how reported thought (RT) is a resource for modeling undesirable reactions and conveying criticisms in instructional interaction (Park, 2018; Sandlund, 2014). Extending this previous research on RT, I show how tutorial participants also produce RT to accomplish two kinds of *supportive* action: (1) praising drafts and (2) affiliating with interlocutors' stances. With RT, tutors can "depersonalize" (Waring, 2017, p. 26) their positive assessments of writers' drafts and demonstrate sympathetic understanding of writers' complaints. In line with recent research (Baffy, 2018; Brown, 2010), this analysis offers additional evidence that RT is integral for *socialization*, or conveying and reinforcing key practices, processes, and values in academic writing and reading. To conclude, I consider how future work on RT in writing center talk, specifically on its utility for representing and constructing audiences, might inform teaching pedagogy and future research.

INTRODUCTION

In interaction, participants do not always speak *as* themselves. Reported speech (RS) and reported thought (RT) are two resources, or practices, that make this reality possible in everyday and pedagogical interactions. The following example from a linguistic analysis of writing center talk (Blau, Hall, & Strauss, 1998) shows how the tutor produces RS ("I would say, 'What board of education?'"), which is attributed to the teacher in the last line of dialogue.

(1)

Tutor: You could write around it. You could say, "A national study
            involving four hundred and thirty schools nationwide showed…"
            but only if you want to. It's your choice (laughs). If I was a
            teacher, though, I would say, "What board of education?" (p. 25)

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In this example, RS supports the advice and conveys a potential negative reaction—a reaction that might be expected if the writer does not address the problem identified by the tutor. Contemporary understandings of RS, and its analog RT, in interaction can be traced back to the concept of *footing*—a prominent theme in sociologist Erving Goffman's (1981) work. Footing is often described as follows: In interactions, participants can assume many "entities" (Goodwin, 2007, p. 17) including (1) *animator*, or the person whose vocal chords are producing the speech, (2) *author*, or the person who the phrase is attributed to, and (3) *principal*, or the authority of the words (Goffman, 1981 p. 144). Despite critiques of Goffman's footing as oversimplified (Schegloff, 1988), social interaction researchers have drawn extensively on Goffman's work to examine how RS is used by interlocutors in conversation to complain, tell stories, and give advice (Holt, 1996, 2000; Holt & Clift, 2006; Mayes, 1990).

As demonstrated in the example above, and in more recent studies of writing center interaction by Brown (2010) and Park (2018), embedding someone else's speech or thought is a way for tutors to model readers' potential questions and impart criticism on readers' drafts without being excessively harsh. This article builds on those findings and further explicates the versatility of RT in writing center interaction. Beyond imparting criticism, tutors shift footing via RT to accomplish two "transparently supportive" (Pillet-Shore, 2012, p. 181) kinds of action, which promote solidarity. That is the focus of this article, which concludes with some implications for writing center pedagogy and directions for future research.

Action here is used in line with conversation analytic (CA) conceptions of the term: The work participants do in their talk like asking, telling, requesting, and complaining (Sidnell, 2012). As Levinson (2012) notes, action refers to the "'main job' that the turn" (or sequence of turns) at talk "is performing" and the type of response that said turn makes relevant (p. 145). When a writer performs the action of *asking* via a question, it makes relevant an answer from the tutor. Often, actions are built through multiple turns, which form sequences of talk. In this study, tutors produce reported thought to accomplish two actions: (1) *praising*, or producing "positively valenced" assessments and stances towards a writer's draft (Pillet-Shore, 2012) (e.g., "it's a beautiful sequencing of ideas") and (2) *affiliating*, or conveying support for and endorsement of a writer's stance (Stivers, 2008). These two actions satisfy writers' positive "face wants," or desire to be approved of and related to positively (Pillet-Shore, 2012). As sociologists (Goffman, 1981), linguistic anthropologists (Brown & Levinson, 1987), conversation analysts (Pomerantz, 1978), and writing center scholars have pointed out, participants in interaction work to "meet the face needs (i.e., the self-image) of their interlocutors" (Mackiewicz & Thompson, 2013, p. 39).

Beyond its role in satisfying face needs, RT can be integral for promoting socialization to academic writing and reading. By *socialization*, I mean "the process by which skills, knowledge, values, and habits prevalent in a particular social group are conveyed to newcomers" of the group (Nagel & Ganzeboom, 2015, p. 7). Indeed, prior research has argued that writing centers are key sites for socialization to academic writing (Waring, 2007), as tutors offer advice and explanations to convey important knowledge, skills, and values that help writers—as "newcomers" to varying degrees—succeed in a writing task or situation. The production of RT, as one kind of footing shift, can be important for socialization, or conveying valued practices and processes in academic writing. In this study, RT's role in socialization is especially salient in two tutorial moments that concern a grant proposal for research funding.

Next, I describe the body of scholarship that informs my analyses. After providing this background, I proceed to turn-by-turn analysis of tutorial talk. But before proceeding, it is important to distinguish between what constitutes RS and RT, as both can be constructed in

similar ways and are produced for similar purposes. Both tend to (1) include a quotative (e.g., "I thought," "I said") and response particles (e.g., "oh," "well," "yeah"), (2) reproduce the tense that the speech and thought had at the time, and (3) exhibit marked shifts in pitch, tone, or volume (Barnes & Moss, 2007). Like RS, RT is produced to provide evidence and supporting details for speakers' assessments (Couper-Kuhlen, 2007; Kim, 2014; Haakana, 2007), as reflected in my data. The examples in this study are interpreted as RT, as opposed to RS, either (1) because the quotatives include verbs like *think, realize,* and *wonder,* which reflect cognitive processes or (2) because the RT is often produced during or immediately after *reading*—an activity or experience that more often involves *thinking* instead of *speaking*.

BACKGROUND

While conversation-analytic and discourse-analytic work on writing center interaction has provided important insights into the organization of tutorial talk, especially the structural preference for "tutee-generated solutions"[3] (Waring, 2012, p. 114) as well as the actions of advice-giving, questioning, praising, and account-giving (Koshik, 2005; Mackiewicz & Thompson, 2013; Waring, 2007), this scholarship has largely backgrounded issues of footing and the ways tutors embed RT or RS as actions unfold. A few studies (Baffy, 2018; Park, 2018; Sandlund, 2014) are particularly pertinent to my inquiry and have illuminated some, *but not all*, of what RT does in pedagogical interaction. Sandlund (2014) examined modeling talk enactments, or MTEs, in university classroom teaching. These MTEs are akin to RT, and the example below shows a moment from a graduate seminar in a social sciences department, in which students are providing each other with verbal feedback on field diary papers. One student, Lisa, has been receiving mostly negative feedback on her paper. The professor (PRO) produces an enactment or RT that is prefaced with "so we don't have to go" at line 03, and the enactment is "presented as a possible thought of audience members when listening to the feedback Lisa has been receiving" (Sandlund, 2014, p. 654). The turn advises that other students avoid negative judgments about Lisa's work.

```
(2)
  01 PRO:    Now remember, (.) .hh this is a:ll our first attempts
  02         so we're a:ll le:arning from each other about this
  03         so >we: don't have to go< (h) (.)° ↑↑g(hh)o:d ↓ Li:sa
             ((eyes widen, sing-song prosody))
  04         Li:sa really screwed°↑↑UP [here
  05 ( )                              [(hh) hhEH HEH=
  06 ( )                       =hhhh[HHHu:::HHH
  07 (all):  [((onset multi-party laughter))
  08 PRO:    [It's no:t (.) <like that at a:ll>
  09         >It's-< it's all about us le:arning and that's why:
  10         we're do:ing what we're do:ing here. (.) so(hh)
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[3] Tutors' initial turns in an advising sequence often identify a problem in the draft, which gives writers or tutees space to provide their own solution to the tutor's proposed problem (Waring, 2007).

Citing Holt (2007), Sandlund (2014) explains that this MTE turn "models undesired thought and pre-empts premature conclusions" about the classmate's work and its quality, making it a key part of "doing teaching" (p. 655). In addition to her focus on undesired thought, Sandlund briefly examines the enactment of *desired* talk and thought and how its production maintains a "positive context for learning" (pp. 660–661). Sandlund's analysis is isolated to the action of requesting and does not highlight praising, as I do here.

More recent studies by Park (2018) and Baffy (2018) have focused exclusively on RT in writing instruction. Park's work on interaction in one-to-one university writing conferences and tutorials aligns with Sandlund's (2014) work on MTEs and their modeling of undesired thoughts or reader reactions. Park found that instructors use RT ("I was like well why that one?") to illustrate readers' potential negative reactions to a draft and to "convey a critical response, either pointing to an existing issue in student writing, or specifying a potential issue to be avoided" (p. 4). RT is typically produced in this format:

quotative (e.g., *be like*) + response particle (e.g., *oh; well; man*) + clause (e.g., *why that one?*)

As shown below, the advice (across lines 01–12) is followed with RT (line 14), which provides evidence and grounding for the advice (Park, 2018, p. 5).

(3)
```
 01 TA:    U::m rather than just saying like, I just picked a few scenes
 02        that I liked, [say like these were- these instances were
 03 S:                   [((nods))
 04 TA:    noted the mo:st (.) u::m (0.5) important ones, [or the ones
 05 S:                                                    [Okay,
 06 TA:    that best typify the patte::rn, [something like that,
 07 S:                                     [((nods)) Okay,
 08 TA:    showing that I watched the whole thing, I analyzed everything,
 09        I found definite patterns
 10 S:     Mm-hmm,
 11 TA:    And so these examples a:re (.) exactly that. Examples of
 12        the pattern, not just like random. [Cuz I kinda-
 13 S:                                         [((nods))
 14 TA:-> I was like, ↓We:ll why that one?
 15 S:     ((nods)) .hh U:m and then also like u:m co:ding-wise, should
 16        I- [should I-
 17 TA:       [Mm-hmm, this is part of the coding,
 18        ((discussion on coding continues))
```

In Park's (2018) data, instructors produce RT to convey a reader's undesirable response (e.g., "Oh well there's this image here and I don't know what it means") and to "exclusively" articulate criticism (p. 10). RT can thus work as an "instructional tool" (Park, 2018, p. 11) for articulating criticism without being too harsh when giving advice.

Finally, Baffy's (2018) study, though focused on classroom talk rather than tutorials, is relevant to analyses here. She examines how a course professor in an English for Academic Purposes class[4] produces constructed dialogue or CD (Tannen, 1989), which encompasses

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[4]This class was for international students completing a graduate law degree in the United States.

reported speech and reported thought. Informed by van Dijk's (1982) discourse analytic approach for cataloguing episodes of CD, Baffy explores how the teacher produces the speech of writers and readers to "help promote students' socialization to the practices and conventions of U.S. academic writing" (p. 36). The study elucidates how the instructor produces CD to "voice" writer and reader dialogue and illustrate key activities involved in academic writing and reading: (1) thinking about what to write, (2) communicating via written text, and (3) reacting to what has been read (Baffy, 2018, p. 34, p. 37). For example, after a lesson on revision, the professor "enacts the inner speech" she hopes students will produce while revising (Baffy, 2018, p. 38).

(4)
```
  01 Prof. S:    There are many different places you can revise,
  02             and if you get to the end,
  03             and it's- you haven't quite followed your
  04             thesis,
  05          -> well then as a writer,
  06          -> you have to think to yourself,
  07          -> "well,
  08             is this really what I want to say,
  09             if it is, then I'm gonna go back and redo my thesis."
  10          -> OR::,
  11             have you kind of veered off on a tangent,
  12             and you need to maybe:,
  13             cut a paragraph or two,
  14             and go back and follow your thesis.
  15             Okay?
```

That enactment of inner speech (i.e., "is this really what I want to say") underscores two takeaways: (1) that self-talk is a common way for writers to reflect while revising their texts and (2) that writers need to support and advance their thesis throughout a text. Baffy (2018) asserts that the professor's use of CD allows her to reiterate ideas about the "socio-cognitive nature of writing" which she explicates in her lectures (p. 40). Explicitly teaching key ideas about writing and dramatizing those ideas (with CD), socializes students to academic writing and its practices.

This paper, in part, addresses one of the future research directions for CDs mentioned by Baffy (2018)—that is, "uncovering whether other writing instructors use similar devices to underscore the intellectual and social process involved in academic writing" (p. 40). I highlight how instructors' RT can reinforce values and practices for a certain genre (e.g., a research statement for a grant application). For the forthcoming examples, RT is a resource for socialization as well as supportive acts, which build solidarity (Mackiewicz, 2006, p. 12). Having laid out the relatively limited scholarship on RT and footing in pedagogical talk, I now move to analyses of the important role RT plays, in the current data, in formulating (1) praise, or "positively valenced" assessments (Pillet-Shore, 2012; Pomerantz, 1978) and (2) affiliation, or support of another interlocutor's stance (Stivers, 2008). Both satisfy participants' face needs, or desire to be liked and related to. To conclude, I consider how future research may provide useful nuance and a clearer understanding of RT's versatility—research that might inform instructor education on genre and audience.

DATA AND METHOD

The data for this study come from a larger ongoing project funded by grants from the Midwest Writing Centers Association (MWCA) and International Writing Centers Association (IWCA).[5] I video-recorded 10 tutorials, ranging in duration from 30 to 60 minutes, at a large public university and a private university in the Midwestern United States. Five tutors and five writers participated in the study. Each session typically begins with the instructor and writer collaboratively setting an agenda or identifying a few issues about the draft that they want to discuss during their time together. They proceed to reading the draft aloud. In some cases, they stop intermittently to discuss problems with the draft and potential revisions, and continue reading. Other times, the writer reads the entire draft aloud without stopping, and they only begin discussing the contents of the paper after reading aloud has been completed.

RT occurred in six of the collected sessions. Five sessions were selected for analysis because the RT occurrences in one session were conveying criticism in the ways that Park (2018) has already elucidated. The tutors in this data are two doctoral students, one post-doctoral student, and two undergraduate students. Writers are two graduate students and three undergraduate students. Across these five sessions examined, there were 12 sequences with at least one occurrence of RT. Half of those sequences are featured in this paper as exemplars for my central argument. A modified transcription key (see Appendix) from Schegloff (2007) is used for the transcript excerpts.

Because this inquiry is informed primarily by conversation analytic (CA) literature, my interpretations of the data are grounded as much as possible in CA methods. This approach focuses on how "participants manage turn-taking, repair, and other systemic dimensions of interaction" (Heritage, 2004, p. 104). CA researchers begin by observing patterns in audio and video recorded interactions and then move on to examine those patterns more rigorously through close transcription and recursive viewing of interactional moments (Sidnell, 2012). Conversation analysts ground their claims about the interactional data in "participants' orientations" to turns at talk (Sidnell, 2012, p. 123). Analysts are attuned to how interactional participants respond to one another's turns, as those "next-turn" (Sidnell, 2012, p. 123) responses show how participants understand and interpret one another's actions.

ANALYSIS

As mentioned earlier, RT in writing instructional talk does more than convey criticism and account for negative assessment, as documented in prior research (Park, 2018). RT is also integral to how tutors accomplish actions of praising and affiliating. This analysis starts by highlighting the role of RT in conveying *praise*, or positively valenced assessments, of current and future drafts. I then move to instances of RT in *affiliation*, or conveying support for interlocutors' stances. In a few of the examples, I highlight how RT plays a role in socializing a student to the practices and processes involved in writing a grant application. I explain facial and bodily gestures where relevant. For those particular examples, I present frame grabs in grayscale with a blurred effect to disguise participants' identifying features.

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[5] Tutors received a $10 gift card for providing me access to their video-recorded sessions.

Praising Current and Future Drafts

Writing center tutors produce RT to support their initial positive assessments of drafts and to account for their praise of current and future drafts. More specifically, tutors *depersonalize* their praise, or present it as something that some general reader(s) would think, which we can see in the next extract. Below, the writer (W) asks about the "flow" of her literary analysis paper. The graduate student tutor (T) positively assesses the flow at line 07 and elaborates with talk hearable as praise ("really amazing"). T supports her talk with RT (lines 12–13 and 16).

(5)
```
01 W:    other than that is it okay like
02       with. ((hand moving up to down)) [flow
03 T:                                      [in terms of flow?
04 W:    ye[ah
05 T:      [yeah no no [no
06 W:                  [okay
07 T:    um I think it's a beautiful sequencing [of ideas,
08 W:                                            [okay
09 T:    and it was actually really amazing=
10 W:    mmhm
11 T:    =to hear you rea:d, because in my head ((puts hand to head))
12    -> I was kind of thinking, ↑oh I wonder like
13    -> I think we're gonna go to this= ((smiling))
14 W:    yeah yeah
15 T: -> =question next. I ho:pe she brings up
16 W:    [yeah
17 T: -> [family and kinship and like
18 W:    yeah
19 T:    you did,
20 W:    okay cool
21 T:    u::m so. so that just sho:ws um how you've organized
22       this in a way tha:t kind of structures um
23 W:    mmhm
24 T: -> the readers experience,
25 W:    yeah
```

At the start of the sequence, W's question references something else in the draft that was not okay ("other than that") and implies that the "flow" might be flawed (lines 01–02). After T checks her understanding of W's question (line 03) and W confirms that understanding (line 04), T affirms that the "flow" is good and produces the strong denial ("no no no") at line 05. As Stivers (2004) shows, speakers use multiple sayings like "no no no" to "communicate their stance that the prior speaker has persisted unnecessarily in the prior course of action and should properly halt course of action" (p. 260). At lines 07 and 09, T produces positive assessments about the draft RT while smiling. By offering a strong denial and positive assessments of the draft, T understands W's turns as both a question and criticism of her own draft.

T then introduces an RT with "I was kind of thinking" and produces the thought itself, including the response particle *oh* (lines 12–13). With the subject "we're," the tutor seems to

attribute the RT to herself (as indicated by "I"), or some general reader, and the writer. The RT initially concerns some expectation or desire ("I hope she brings up…family and kinship") that T attributes to herself as a listener. Immediately thereafter T goes on to confirm that her expectation or desire—conveyed in the RT—was successfully met by W (line 19). By referencing "the readers," (line 24), T may be retroactively contextualizing the earlier "we're" (line 13) as indeed a reference to some general collection of readers. It is possible that she is merely referring to her own thinking while listening to W read the draft. In that case, the "we" would refer to the tutor and writer rather than some general readership. Regardless, T's RT helps deliver praise. When summing up, or conveying the upshot[6] of her praise at lines 21–22 and 24, T references the more generalized "reader's experience" and how W structured it in an apparently effective way.

The next extract begins just after the undergraduate writer (W) has accepted some advice from the doctoral student tutor (T) about revising her personal statement for a medical school application. It starts with the tutor explaining that the revision "still keeps as much" of the writer's "original words as possible" (lines 01–02). This talk is followed by T's recurrent positive assessments of W's original ideas (lines 04–11), and that praise is supported with RT (lines 12–14).

(6)
```
  01 T:    so that still ties in your ideas, and it still
  02       keeps as much of your uh original words as possible
  03       .hh because one of the things I was going tell you
  04       that I really enjoy about this. is that you don't
  05       like directly come out and say like.
  06       (1.0)
  07 T:    it's GREAt to be a doctor that's fluent in three
  08       languages look at all the things I can do.
  09 W:    mmhm yep
  10 T:    I mean you do, but it is so it's so tactfully worded
  11       and it's not like boastful or anything, but it makes
  12    -> anyone reading this realize like, ↓man she'd be an
  13    -> asset to have because she could communicate with
  14    -> a bunch of different types of patients. so I think
  15       that's a really hu:ge
  16 W:    yeah I [had=
  17 T:           [note to make.
  18 W:    =a hard time
  19 T:    yeah
  20 W:    not sounding too passive but also not sounding too:
  21       [like.
  22 T:    [I think you hi:t just the right note yea:h
  23 W:    okay
  24 T:    you're not bragging but you're not being passive
  25       about it either,
  26 W:    mmhm
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[6] See Raymond (2004) for discussion of discourse marker "so" and how speakers use it to introduce or deliver upshots of prior talk.

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27 T:    you really hit the right note there.
```

       T attributes the hypothetical thought to "anyone reading" the statement (line 12). She claims that readers will "realize" W would "be an asset to have" because of the many "different types of patients" that she "could communicate with" (line 13). Immediately after producing the RT, T shifts to a first-person stance and assessment with "I think that's a really huge note to make" (lines 14–15). W responds by expressing some trouble she had "not sounding too passive," which is hearable as affiliative, in the sense that W agrees with T that being "boastful" in her personal statement was difficult to avoid. Ultimately, the tutor ends with a compliment (line 27), which echoes previous assessments (such as "tactfully worded" in line 10) and they transition to a new activity (e.g., deleting repetitious words) ten seconds later. Here, the attribution to the generic "anyone" is a kind of extreme case formulation (Pomerantz, 1986), which depersonalizes the praise.

       Extract 7 comes from a session where a grant proposal is discussed, and similar to the previous extract, it shows the tutor attributing thought to someone else. The graduate student writer (W) and the tutor (T), a post-doctoral student, are discussing a statement of research the writer needs to submit as part of a grant proposal. The statement of research should include applicants' explanation about how W is qualified to do the research and how the research fits into their future career goals. The grant selection committee, according to W, is composed of "half social sciences academics" and "half physicians," who "all do work in family planning" (not shown below). Here, RT conveys positive reader reactions to a revision that T and W have been discussing. The revision would make the statement "skimmable" (line 08), and RT models positive assessments about the future revised and "skimmable" statement. Brown (2010, p. 84), who analyzes how tutors construct audiences for writers, highlights a similar interactional moment (e.g., "the reader will know, 'Oh. Okay. We're talking about philosophy of the medical profession'"). As shown below, T uses RT to illustrate a benefit and positive reaction from making the draft "skimmable."

(7)
```
01 T:    so you want it skimma:ble,
02 W:    mmhm
03 T:    for when they're looking through it the first
04    -> time and then after they're like ↓oh ma:n yea:h
05       ((smiling)) then you want it to: look good on a close
06       read. and what makes=
07 W:    mmhmm
08 T:    =something really skimmable? these beau[tiful
09 W:                                           [stuff
10       like this
11 T:    visual bench marks like
12 W:    mhm
13 T:    numbers.
14 W:    mmhm
15 T:    cuz then they could just kind of skim things cuz
16    -> PhD is gonna pop out (0.5) by itself. they'll be
17    -> like, ↓okay PhD candidate and then they can see one
18       two three and get=
19       ((pointing to draft on laptop))
20 W:    OHhh
21 T:    =all of your big picture without having to
```

```
22        (1.0)
23 T:     like digest a really big sentence.
24 W:     yeah ((writing notes on paper))
```

At line 04, the tutor animates future readers' thinking with the quotative *be like* and a notable change in prosody with the onset of the particle *oh*. The thought, in conjunction with her smile, conveys an "affect-laden" (Fox & Robles, 2011, p. 721) positive assessment from readers about a future version of the draft. Participants often produce these "affect-laden" assessments with changes in pitch on the response cry (Fox & Robles, 2011, p. 723), as the tutor noticeably does at line 04. At lines 16–17, the tutor produces a thought or attitude again with "they'll be like," which models readers' reactions to being able to "just kind of skim things" (line 15). This second RT is conveying a positive assessment because it illustrates how readers will be able to quickly see that W is a "PhD candidate" (line 17) when skimming her statement. Together, the RTs enact readers' positive reactions as they would "skim things" (line 15) in the revised statement. T then summarizes some more potential benefits of the revision, which the writer acknowledges in her turns (lines 20 and 24). The hypothetical RTs also work to socialize the writer to this genre by modeling readers' particular ways of interacting with the genre—in this case, skimming the statement.

Contrary to recent work that has demonstrated how RT works as a resource for conveying criticism (Park, 2018, p. 10), the three extracts analyzed above show how writing tutors use RT to praise by depersonalizing it or framing it as something positive that "they" or "anyone" reading a draft would think. I now move to the other supportive action RT performs—affiliation.

Affiliating with Co-Participants' Stances

Tutors as well as writers can produce RT to affiliate with, or convey support for, their co-participant's prior stances. In other words, the RT plays a major role in conveying that one participant is *on the same side,* or *with,* the other. Two of the next three extracts show writers complaining, or displaying "feelings of discontent" (Heinemann & Traverso, 2009, p. 2381) and tutors produce RT to endorse or support those displays (Stivers, 2008). Akin to Extract 7 above, the RTs in Extract 8 underscore some processes and experiences involved in writing a statement for a grant application. Just prior to the start of the extract, the tutor (T) asks the writer (W) how she feels about the draft of her research statement, having just read aloud ("uh how do you feel?"). The writer's response is at line 01 and with that turn, she complains.

(8)
```
01 W:     I felt okay. I I yeah I um
02        (2.0)
03 W:     I don't. I don't love writing this. [so::
04 T:                                         [hehe
05 W:     hehe
06 T:     heh I would like to tell you tha:t it gets ea:sier the
07        more of these that you write but I think
08        (1.0)
09 T:     eventually you just get used to certain phrases that
10  ->    you're like, this is the phrase that I will u:se to
11  ->    describe my research or this is the phrase that I am
```

```
12        most comfortable using that says I am excited about this
13        topic.
14 W:     yeah
15 T:     and then you just get into your habits but it doesn't
16        necessarily get easier cuz you still read it and
17   ->   go, ↓oh god ehh
18        ((T rolls shoulders and tilts head))
19 T:     um
```


IMAGE 1
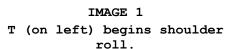**T (on left) begins shoulder roll.**

IMAGE 2
T in mid-shoulder roll.

```
20 W:     mmhm heh
21 T:     but the big thing is that you wrote the entire thing. uh and you
22        now just get to go through and make it pretty.
23 W:     yeah
24 T:     which is really really nice.
25 W:     u::m I fixed this in my in the like personal statement that
26        I have to put in my bio sketch
```

Following the exchanged laughter at lines 04 and 05, T provides an affirmative and optimistic prognosis (Jefferson, 1988) at lines 06–10 and she embeds RT that is prefaced with "you're like." The RT is attributed to the writer's future self (lines 08–10) and models how to think about research statements. That is, writers select phrases that signal their excitement about a topic (as at lines 10–13). After W's acknowledgement at line 14, T takes more turns to describe how this task of writing about one's research "doesn't necessarily get easier" (lines 15–16) and she follows this statement with RT ("oh god ehh," line 17) in conjunction with a shoulder roll and grimace (shown in Images 1 and 2), which conveys a negative affect-laden assessment (Fox & Robles, 2011). This thought (and feeling) directly endorses the stance conveyed by the writer earlier at line 03 ("I don't love writing this"). T's RT can be heard as an exaggerated, laughable upgrade—the writer hears it as such as demonstrated by her laughter (line 20). In the last six lines, T points out a benefit of W's work so far ("you now just get to…make it pretty," lines 21–22), and they move on to a new topic (a sentence about W's methodological commitments).

This case shows how a tutor produces two RTs to convey affiliation with the writer's initial complaint (lines 01 and 03). By expressing (in an exaggerated way) what the writer might think when she writes and re-reads future versions of research statements, the tutor shows she is on the same page with the initial stance and that there is some humor to be found in the "habits" (line 15) and difficult processes of writing research statements. The first RT (line 10) conveys some optimism, modeling the kind of thinking the writer will "eventually" (line 09) engage in

when writing these statements. Even though the second RT itself conveys a negative assessment, it is produced in a sequence where the tutor is clearly doing affiliation with the writer's own negative stance to satisfy the writer's face needs. By affiliating, the tutor displays being on the writer's side about statements of research. Generally, the extract illuminates how the tutor modeled a way of thinking about this high-stakes writing situation over the long term, and the two RTs are central to that modeling and reinforcing, or socializing.

The following extract comes from a session in which an undergraduate tutor (T) and graduate student writer (W) are working on an assignment that requires the writer to analyze a scholarly case study from a Human Resources course textbook. The sequence starts just after W abruptly stops reading his paper aloud and takes a negative stance on the case study as well as the researchers' methodology and clarity of their writing. The tutor's RT (lines 10 and 12) again affiliates with the writer's negative stance and hearable complaint about reading the study.

(9)
```
01 W:       .hh uhhh this thing was so confusing they- they
02          what they did was they mailed out these surveys,
03 T:       mmhm
04 W:       to managers team members and customers.
05          ((15 lines omitted: W describes study))
06 W:       and that's what made this so confusing. I mean I had to keep
07          reading it [over and over,
08 T:                  [heheh
09 W:       to find out you know like what the heck they were talkin' about.
10 T: ->    [get to the bottom of the page and you're like, do I really=
11 W:       [because I I really I really didn't understand
12 T: ->    =have to do that heheh ((T smiles and laughs))
13 W: ->    I was like, what what is tha:t? huh
14 T:       okay,
15 W:       so ((reads from paper for 26 seconds))
```

After describing the methods of the study across several turns (lines omitted), W reiterates his complaint—that the case study was "so confusing" and that he "had to keep reading it over and over" (lines 06–07). Responding with a quotative ("you're like") followed by a clause ("do I really have to do that"), T's talk (lines 10 and 12) overlaps with W's continued complaining ("I really didn't understand," line 11). T's talk enacts what W thought and experienced at the time of reading. With the RT and smile, T enacts a humorous summary of W's experience re-reading the case study repeatedly. She begins with "get to the bottom of the page" (line10)—a reference to the act of reading that W just described a few turns prior. Immediately after T's RT and laughter, W produces his own RT at line 13 ("I was like what is that"), and T acknowledges his RT before W resumes reading aloud. So, like in the prior extract, the tutor's RT conveys support of the writer's complaint, thus affirming the writer's difficult experience with reading this academic case study.

In the final extract, the undergraduate tutor (T) and undergraduate writer (W) have just finished discussing potential revisions (e.g., adding content) to W's "favorite paragraph" in her draft for an Introduction to College Writing course. W was writing about what news organization (CNN or Fox News) did the best job covering an international hostage crisis. About forty seconds before this extract, T explained that she wished she "heard about that in the paragraph," referring to some missing detail in the draft. The RT is produced by the writer in this instance

(lines 11 and 13) and she produces it to account for her endorsement (line 08–09) of T's stance (lines 06–07) towards adding the missing detail.

(10)
```
01 W:      ((nodding))
02 T:      cuz you told me:
03 W:      [right
04 T:      [and I totally agree
05 W:      mmhm
06 T:      and I think that's just like, a really important little thing to
07         have in there.
08 W:      yeah and I think. I think you're right. I think that'll take it,
09         from where it is
10         ((W stretching out right hand and making circular motion))
```


IMAGE 3
**W (on left) doing circular hand
motion.**

```
11 T: ->  to kinda being like, okay I can kinda see tha:t.
           ((W moving each arm up and down with palms up))
```


IMAGE 4
W uttering "I can kinda see that."

```
12 T:      ((nodding)) yeah
13 W: ->   to being like, ↑Ohh
14         ((W bending both arms at elbows and taps table twice with hands))
```

IMAGE 5
W uttering "Ohh."

```
15 T:      yeah heh [I think it'll be good
16 W: ->            [light bulb,
17 T:      Alright, so just the conclusion then
18 W:      yea:h. alright ((reading aloud))
```

After endorsing (or affiliating with) T's assessment about adding some more detail (lines 08–09), W extends the topic of talk further by producing RT to summarize a benefit of the revision: improving the clarity of the draft for readers ("that'll take it from where it is"). W first enacts a reader's somewhat negative experience of the current draft with "being like okay I can kinda see that" (line 11). The gestures shown in Images 3 and 4, along with her turns (lines 08–09 and line 11), seem to convey a messiness or lack of clarity with the draft. She contrasts this negative experience with a future, presumably better, experience or reaction at line 13 ("to be like ohhh"), which she produces with outstretched arms as if to convey "order" (Image 5). The RT enacts an in-the-moment affective and positive reaction. W's next turn consists of the phrase "light bulb," which reiterates the positive experience for readers. She appears to be claiming that the revision will result in readers having a "light bulb" moment (line 16)—a new realization or understanding. T positively assesses W's talk with "that'll be good" and then both participants transition to working on the conclusion (lines 17 and 18). In this moment, we see how RTs are produced by W to demonstrate her understanding of readers' responses to revision. She agrees with the tutor and understands that the tutor's proposed revision will result in a more desired and positive reader reaction. Across these three extracts in this section, RT is a resource for displaying support for, or affiliating with, an interlocutor's prior stance or assessment (e.g., a complaint).

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Departing from past research on RT in pedagogical talk, this article demonstrates how RTs can do more than convey criticism and model undesired thinking from readers (Park, 2018). In the moments examined, RT is a resource for doing actions that satisfy writers' positive "face wants," or desires to be approved of and related to positively (Pillet-Shore, 2012). RT is produced by tutors to formulate praise that is depersonalized and to demonstrate affiliation with a writer's troubles or complaints. In extracts concerning the grant application, we find RT also implicated in the work of socializing students to academic writing and reading, or conveying and reinforcing practices, processes, values, and attitudes.

In producing RT to praise either current or future versions of the drafts being discussed, tutors support their initial positive assessments. Moreover, the way tutors use RT in these extracts aligns with the notion of depersonalizing advice in post-observation conferences for teacher training (Waring, 2017). Waring (2017) analyzes how teacher mentors give advice to new teachers by framing the advice as something other teachers would do (e.g., *they, we*), as opposed to issuing directives (e.g., "you should do x"). By attributing thoughts to an inclusive *we, they,* or *anyone,* the tutors in my study are presenting their praise as something that any reader would think. This presentation serves to bolster the legitimacy of the praise. Tutors also produced RT to convey a sympathetic understanding and endorsement of writers' complaints about writing and reading tasks. Such affiliation with complaints is a key part of the relationship building valued in writing center pedagogy (Godbee, 2012; Thonus, 2016), as writers sometimes need their troubles to be recognized and validated, even if talk about troubles temporarily delays talk about the draft. Such talk and action promotes solidarity in the tutorial. Finally, writers themselves use RT for endorsing, or affiliating with, a tutor's assessment and for articulating the benefits of a proposed revision (Brown, 2010). In this way, writers show their understanding of readers' experiences and how those experiences should change for the better if revisions are implemented.

Beyond addressing its role in achieving supportive actions, the examples in this study shed light on how instructors use constructed dialogue, like reported thought, "to underscore" academic writing and its social processes (Baffy, 2018, p. 40). This is reflected most starkly in the talk from Extracts 7 and 8, where RT seems to be a resource for socializing the writer to the experience and process of composing the research statement genre and of imagining the ways readers see and engage with that genre (e.g., Extract 7, lines 16–17, "they'll be like"). Going forward, researchers might ask: How do instructors and writers report the thoughts and speech of readers in relation to specific genres, and for what interactional purposes? How does enacting the thinking of another party model and reinforce values, practices, and processes in academic writing and reading?

Such questions could inform current tutor training already commonplace in writing center work. Many centers already require students to videotape, transcribe, and review or re-watch moments from tutorials (Gilewicz & Thonus, 2003; Hall, 2017). Drawing new tutors' attention to their reported thought and their representation of audiences during tutorials might open-up conversations in staff meetings about when and how to represent readers' experiences. Seeing how veteran tutors do this successfully in real-time interaction, and in challenging moments, could help new tutors expand their growing repertoire of teaching strategies. Additionally, being attuned to when and how writers enact readers' thinking or reactions might help tutors better assess when writers really *understand* the reasoning for a proposed revision (as in Extract 10), as opposed to accepting without displaying any understanding (e.g., simply saying "Okay" in response to tutors' assessments and advice). Recognizing how writers understand and represent audiences could help tutors become better at bringing to the surface misguided assumptions that writers may have about intended readers. These issues that are at play in any center tutorial make examining RT a practically useful and potentially illuminating endeavor for those interested in writing pedagogy.

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APPENDIX

CA Transcription Key

Markings	Meaning in Transcript
-> (arrow)	important lines in analysis
(1.0)	pause measured in seconds
word (underlining)	stress or emphasis
WORD	(all caps) loud speech.
((word))	transcriptionist's description of events
(syllable)	uncertain hearing/unintelligible talk
[words] [words]	(aligned brackets) start and end of overlapping speech
= (equal signs)	continuous speech with no break
↓↑ (arrows)	downward and upward pitch changes
heh/.hh	laughter/hearable aspiration
:: (colons)	stretching of prior sound
. (period)	falling intonation
, (comma)	continuing intonation
? (question mark)	rising intonation
- (hyphen)	cut off