These rules operate within a context of linguistic interaction. The words spoken may or may not be an important part of the whole display. When we deferentially compliment someone, we speak in strict accordance with the rules, whereas our verbal insults gain emphasis when violating the rules of dialogue. We accompany our speech with appropriate gestures, perhaps glaring for dominance or smiling for deference. This full array of actions – words, gestures, and rules – constitutes the status display.

A natural model of conversation must go beyond the interactive alignment of word strings. P&G have briskly stepped onto the road of dialogue. I hope they soon take another step forward.

Correspondences between the interactive alignment account and Skinner's in *Verbal Behavior*

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Abstract: Pickering & Garrod's (P&G's) interactive alignment account corresponds directly with the account Skinner (1957) gave in his book *Verbal Behavior*. This correspondence becomes evident when "properties of verbal stimuli" substitutes for "channels of alignment." Skinner's account appears to have the dual advantages of requiring fewer basic terms and integrating the field of verbal behavior with the whole field of human behavior.

There are strong correspondences between Pickering & Garrod's (P&G's) interactive alignment (IA) account and Skinner's (1957) verbal behavior (VB) account. Similar to P&G's assumption that dialogue is the basic form of language processing, Skinner took the interaction between speaker and listener as fundamental (see Skinner 1957, Figures 1–6, pp. 38, 39, 57, 84, 85). I explain further correspondences with reference to Table 1 below, which is based on Table 2 in the target article.

Regarding row 1, the situation models in the IA account correspond in the VB account with variables controlling each interlocutor's behavior, some of which may be private (Skinner 1957, pp. 130–46; also see Skinner 1953, Ch. 17). The alignment channels in the IA account correspond with properties of verbal stimuli. Because of reinforcement of many different instances of echoic behavior, which is the direct imitation of the properties of verbal stimuli, echoic behavior generalizes widely (Skinner 1957, pp. 55–56), just as the tendency to align generalizes across alignment channels in the IA account.

Regarding row 2, sustained dialogue occurs only if the interlocutors have implicit common ground in the IA account or emit similar verbal behavior in the VB account. In the VB account, effective verbal interaction occurs between the extremes of identical and completely dissimilar verbal behavior (Skinner 1957, pp. 271–72). In the IA account, there is a repair mechanism for preventing dialogue from breaking down or for restoring it if it does. In the VB account there are several reinforced response-strengthening techniques that maintain dialogue, such as prompts and probes (Skinner 1957, Ch. 10, pp. 253–92; see also p. 58 for examples of clarification and expansion requests involving echoic behavior).

What in the IA account is called full common ground – a complex model shared by both interlocutors – is not common in ordinary dialogue according to either account. Both accounts maintain that constructing and using these models are derived (e.g., learned) abilities or behaviors.

Both accounts also agree that we obtain a distorted view of grammar by looking at it only in monologue. In the VB account, grammar is the expression of responses called autoclitics that modify the effect on the listener of responses that Skinner (1957, p. 312) called "the raw material out of which sustained verbal behavior is manufactured." When listeners cannot frequently or immediately prompt or probe the speaker's verbal behavior, there is

Table 1 (Pear). *Correspondences between the interactive alignment account of language processing in dialogue and the verbal behavior account*

Interactive alignment account (IA)	Verbal behavior account (VB)
1. *Linkage between interlocutors* Links across multiple levels of representation via "alignment channels." Sound comes to encode words, linguistic information, and aspects of situational models.	1. *Linkage between interlocutors* Control across multiple properties of verbal stimuli. Sound comes to bring the listener's behavior under the control of variables controlling the speaker's behavior.
2. *Inference* Externalized in the interaction between interlocutors via a basic interactive repair mechanism.	2. *Inference* Externalized in the interaction between interlocutors via reinforced techniques of strengthening verbal behavior.
3. *Routines* Arise out of the application of the interactive alignment in specific situations. A high proportion of dialogue contains these units, which facilitate both production and comprehension.	3. *Routines* Functional verbal units that are conditioned or strengthened process. A high proportion of dialogue uses routines, which simplify both production and comprehension.
4. *Self-monitoring* Monitoring occurs at any level of representation that is subject to alignment as a consequence of the account.	4. *Self-monitoring* Occurs for all aspects of verbal behavior because speakers typically are also listeners.
5. *Repair mechanisms* The same basic repair mechanism for self-repair and other-repair.	5. *Repair mechanisms* The same basic principles apply for strengthening one's own verbal behavior and strengthening that of others in specific situations.
6. *Linguistic representations* Needed to deal with linked utterances in dialogue, including nonsentential "fragment."	6. *Linguistic representations* Not needed because the contextual stimuli suffice to produce linkages in dialogue.

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often pressure on speakers to incorporate a high density of autoclitics according to constraints embodied in formal rules of grammar. When these pressures are weak, as in much of dialogue as well as certain literary styles (Skinner 1957, p. 356), verbal behavior is more fluid. Skinner likely would have endorsed the call in the last sentence of the target article for "a more flexible account of grammar capable of capturing linguistic constraints on linked sentence fragments."

Regarding row 3, a routine in the IA account appears to be, in the VB account, a functional verbal unit (Skinner 1957, pp. 21, 116) that has been conditioned or strengthened in a specific situation. In the IA account, repetition of "the previous speaker's utterance" appears to be important in this process (sect. 5.1 of target article). According to Skinner, "a verbal response of a given form sometimes seems to pass easily from one type of operant to another" (Skinner 1957, p. 188). Hence, a response emitted as an instance of echoic behavior may simultaneously or subsequently appear in other categories of verbal behavior (for examples, see Skinner 1957, pp. 188–89, 360–62).

Like routines in the IA account, functional verbal units in the VB account may be larger than a single word. Similar to the process of routinization in the IA account (sect. 5.2 of the target article), a process called composition in the VB account generates large verbal patterns that can come to function as units. Skinner (1957, Ch. 14, pp. 344–67) proposed that composition consists primarily of adding autoclitics (including ordering) to the raw verbal material mentioned above. "Formal evidence alone will not show whether sentences [or other large segments of verbal behavior] have been composed" (Skinner 1957, p. 346) as opposed to being emitted as units. Once a composed utterance has been reinforced several times, it may begin to function as a unit. Given the right conditions, however, a unit may break into smaller units (Skinner 1957, pp. 116–17). This seems very close to the dynamics of routines as described in the IA account.

Regarding row 4, in the VB account "[a]n important fact about verbal behavior is that speaker and listener may reside within the same skin" (Skinner 1957, p. 163). As in the IA account, in the VB account speakers monitor their own verbal behavior and edit it after, during, or even before its emission (Skinner 1957, Ch. 15, 16, pp. 369–402). Both accounts agree that there is no difference in principle between self- and other-monitoring. Both accounts also agree that when interacting with oneself, the stimuli need not be in the form of an external medium.

Regarding row 5, the techniques for strengthening one's own weak verbal behavior are in principle the same as those for strengthening another's verbal behavior (Skinner 1957, Ch. 17, pp. 403–17). These include manipulating stimuli and changing the level of editing.

Finally, regarding row 6, by focusing on contextual stimuli, the VB account provides a flexible account of grammar.

Given the correspondences between the two accounts, it may be impossible to distinguish them empirically. However, the VB account appears to require fewer terms, "and the terms created are derived from a few prior technical terms common to the whole field of human behavior" (Skinner 1957, p. 456).

Putting the interaction back into dialogue

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Abstract: I share the authors' stance on the dialogic or interactional character of language. The authors, however, have left actual interaction out of their conception of dialogue. I sketch a number of organizations of practices of talking and understanding that supply the basic arena for talk-in-interaction. It is by reference to these that mechanisms for speech production and understanding need to be understood.

I write as a conversation analyst. I have spent nearly 40 years studying the sorts of events which Pickering & Garrod (P&G) now take to be the fundamental premise of language. I am, of course, predisposed to take the same view. Indeed I have already done so in a number of publications (Schegloff 1979; 1989; 1996a, inter alia). The arguments of the target article aside, in the choice between a fundamentally monologic, "individualist" stance and a dialogic, interactional one, there are compelling reasons for preferring the latter. For now, one line will have to do.

For most humans on the planet since the species developed "language," the overwhelmingly most common ecological niche for its use has been (1) the *turn* at talk, (2) as part of a coherent *sequence of turns,* (3) through which a *course or trajectory of action* is jointly pursued by some or all of the participants (not necessarily cooperatively, but jointly), (4) in an *episode of interaction,* (5) between two or more *persons,* (6) organized into two or more *parties,* (7) the *occasion* of interaction being composed of one or more such episodes. If that is where language as a publicly deployed resource and utility resides, it is plausible to expect that it has been designed and fashioned by its users and uses in a manner adapted to the contingencies of its "environment" – that is, by the contingencies of talk-in-interaction (of which the foregoing are but several aspects) and its virtually omnipresent bodily companions – gesture, posture, gaze deployment, facial expression, and so on. Such an expectation is not merely plausible; detailed and repeated examination of recorded episodes of naturally occurring talk-in-interaction shows it to be so – indeed, at a thoroughly *im*plausible (and yet demonstrable) level of detail. The mechanisms of production and comprehension being addressed by P&G need to be understood in this context. It is this context that is missing from P&G's treatment.

By "context" here I do not mean the ordinary characterizations of settings as domestic or public, intimate or formal, and others drawing on different genres of social and cultural diction (important as these may be). I mean the various organizations of practice that deal with the various generic organizational contingencies of interaction without which it cannot proceed in an orderly way: (1) The "turn-taking" problem: Who should talk next and when should they do so? How does this affect the construction and understanding of the turns themselves? (2) The "sequence-organizational" problem: How are successive turns formed up to be "coherent" with the prior turn (or *some* prior turn), and what is the nature of that coherence? (3) The "trouble" problem: How should one deal with trouble in speaking, hearing, and/or understanding the talk such that the interaction does not freeze in place, that intersubjectivity is maintained or restored, and that the turn and sequence and activity can progress to possible completion? (4) The word selection problem: How do the components that get selected as the elements of a turn get selected, and how does that selection inform and shape the understanding achieved by the turn's recipients? (5) The overall structural organization problem: How does the overall structural organization of an occasion of interaction get structured, what are those structures, and how does placement in the overall structure inform the construction and understanding of the talk as turns, as sequences, and so on?

The organizations of practice addressed to these issues – turn organization (Goodwin 1979; Schegloff 1996a), turn-taking organization (Jefferson 1986; Sacks et al. 1974; Schegloff 1987a; 2000a; 2001), sequence organization (Schegloff 1990; 1995; forthcoming), the organization of repair (Drew 1997; Jefferson 1974; 1987; Schegloff 1979; 1987b; 1991; 1992; 1997a; 1997b; 2000b; Schegloff et al. 1977), the organization of word selection (Sacks 1972a; 1972b; 1992; Sacks & Schegloff 1979; Schegloff 1972; 1996b), overall structural organization (Schegloff 1986; Schegloff & Sacks 1973), and others – constitute, in the options that they shape and the practices made available, a spate of interaction recognizable as "conversation," as "interview," as "meeting," as "lecturing," as "giving a speech," as "interrogation," and so on. These are what we call "speech-exchange systems" (Sacks et al. 1974,

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