

A CONVERSATION ANALYSIS OF THE DISCOURSE OF
GROUP SUPERVISION

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a conversation analytic study of how people talk in clinical group supervision sessions. The study sought to describe and elucidate patterns of discourse by which group supervision members talk the institution of supervision 'into being' (Heritage, 1984:290).

The data comprise a core of 21 audio recorded sessions. The recordings were made in a British University's Practice-Based Counselling and Psychotherapy Research Clinic. All recordings are of one supervision group comprising of an experienced supervisor and three counsellors. The counsellors also all worked as clinicians in the clinic's counselling agency. The recordings cover fortnightly supervision sessions over the course of one year.

The thesis presents a detailed analysis of communications amongst the participants. In particular the thesis will show how they begin the business of supervision, with an 'business-opening' activity phase, which functions as an interim stage between small talk and getting down to business and orients the interactional activity to 'feelings talk'. It shows how participants co-ordinate the presentation of case studies in a sequentially managed way. The thesis will also show how the use of 'modelling talk enactments' by the supervisor is responded to as advice-giving and shows how the interactants negotiate and align to the enactment with reference to an inference regarding 'who knows what' and 'who knows most'. And finally, the thesis demonstrates how interactants organise laughter for negotiating the 'tricky' aspects of professional consideration, such as 'liminal' ethical aspects; appointing or accepting 'responsibility' for institutional problems and for negotiating where delicate matters between group members may be incipient.

The study contributes to conversation analytic knowledge regarding CA literature on institutional interaction, particularly on therapeutic discourse and opens up directions for further CA research. The study also offers the findings to supervision research comprising a rare study into the 'real-life' interactions in group supervision.

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She started me thinking...

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Chapter One: Introduction

This thesis is a conversation analytic (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 1998) study of how people talk in group supervision. As a study of interaction it is an exploration of the use of language and interactional procedures used in a specific setting and context. The setting of clinical supervision is regarded in this study as an institutional setting, where professionals gather together to talk about their work, or more specifically, in this particular context, it is where a group of practicing counsellors meet regularly to talk about their clients.

The aim of this study is then, broadly speaking, an analysis and description of the core interactional processes used in group supervision sessions. The data analysed in this study is an archive of audio recordings of group supervision made by a Practice-Based Counselling and Psychotherapy Research Clinic of a British University. The recordings cover a year of sessions and comprise 21 sessions of one and a half hour meetings held fortnightly.

The inspiration for this study came about out of a curiosity about supervision from my own professional life as an integrative psychotherapist. I completed a supervision training in 2009. The training in integrative clinical supervision introduced me to the concepts of 'supervision theory' and gave me an introduction to the varying 'models' offered as ways of understanding 'what goes on' in supervision. For each theory and text I read, I became increasingly aware of a persistent question to the authors: 'Is this supervision?' I critiqued the methods the writers had used to make their points. All the concepts I read about supervision seemed to be 'applied', like a stitched-on applique, covering the real fabric of the supervision experience. The principles of supervision in the core texts were offered like contours to structure my experience and I felt compromised, wrestling with my own recollection of supervisory experiences to fit them to the supervision shapes offered.

As part of my portfolio for the award I was expected to give a presentation to the other members of the group. I chose to explore what I was curious about: how was 'laughter' experienced in supervision sessions. I undertook a very minor research project, which involved a simple questionnaire for practitioners, and presented the findings to the group, as a critique of a current and very popular model. I considered I had the basis of a quite interesting article for a professional magazine. Although I felt that my 'presentation' research didn't go directly to the real-life experience of supervisory practice either. I realised that the practitioners I approached were giving me their recollections of experience. I wondered how could I get closer to the actuality of that experience. I was also concerned that my questions were 'framing' the answers. Part of me still questioned: 'what is supervision?'. This thesis is an attempt to answer that simple question with an empirical investigation.

Access to the Counselling and Psychotherapy Research Clinic audio data made this thesis possible. The CA methodology for the study gave my thesis a sharp focus and a thoroughly rigorous approach to the analysis of the data. Chapter Three, Conversation Analysis: An Overview of Methodology below, clarifies the rationale for the methodology used. The coming together of the data, the method and the academic supervisory support allowed me to approach that important question with precision, detail and confidence.

Initial chapters will situate the study in the review of current literature of supervision and explain the clinical relevance of the research undertaken. In Chapter Two, the Literature Review gives an overview of the current thinking around the supervision of counsellors and psychotherapists. This gives the reader an overview of the current 'models' of supervision offered and draws attention to the deficits, as I see them, in the supervision literature. The chapter also explores in more detail some of the current think around groups and group behaviour. This chapter reprises the current research thinking about group supervision and highlights the confusion surrounding the topics, treatment and outcomes of recent studies. Finally the chapter situates the study in the CA literature on Institutional talk and psychotherapy. In essence in

this chapter I offer a summary of the current academic thinking about supervision and position this study as a central, necessary and much needed analysis of the real-life interactions, the 'black box', of supervision.

Chapter Three offers a focussed exploration of the study's research CA methodology and provides a rationale for the sampling of participants and the methodological process of analysis with a description of the method for selection of extracts.

Four further chapters comprise the empirical findings of the analysis. Chapter Four examines a common type of 'business-opening activity', the 'check-in' process, which occurs in the opening stages of the group supervision meeting. This 'check-in' process is described and revealed to be a highly structured set of linguistic sequences, which orient the participants to a key interactional feature of the supervision of counselling, which is the orientation to 'feelings talk' (Hutchby, 2007).

Chapter Five presents how group supervision discourse is constructed as a series of 'topical' co-ordinated conversations about supervisees' previous counselling sessions: a succession of professional conversations about previous professional conversations. The consecutive method of the interactants presenting their individual presentations, and the sequential placing of the series of supervisees 'case studies' is shown to be fully co-ordinated interactionally and systematically attended to. The presentation of cases in group supervision discourse works with a methodical interactive sequence of turns, which is explicated in this chapter. This system is shown to provide the interactants with a systematic and organised routine procedure for progressing from one case to the next.

The Sixth chapter explores a distinctive interactional feature, the supervisor's offering of 'modelling of talk enactments'. The analysis examines the subsequent interactional turns and responses to this discourse feature and how the ensuing turns at talk create an interactional and institutionally bound accomplishment

whereby the participants negotiate and recalibrate their positions regarding 'who knows what' and 'who knows most'.

The final empirical chapter examines how members of the group supervision organise their laughter. The orderly use of laughter is shown to be an interactional and institutional achievement for the negotiating of the 'tricky business' of professional matters such as ethical dimensions of content and context and for the appointing of responsibility for institutional 'problems', or where delicate matters between interactants may be incipient.

In a final Conclusion and Discussion chapter I draw together the salient features of the study, with particular attention to the institutional aspects of the discourse. I offer a rationale for the use of the CA method in supervision research and begin to clarify some of the ways the findings of this thesis may be 'applied' and disseminated. Finally, in this chapter I give a small glimpse of some personal ideas into what may be possibly the future of further applied CA study in the interaction of clinical supervision.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

2. 1. Literature Review of The Theory and Practice of Counselling Supervision

This review summarises the current literature on the supervision of counsellors and psychotherapists from research papers and significant texts, highlighting the lack of attention that has been paid to the dialogical processes and methods of supervision. It concludes that there is a need for further research for both supervisees and supervisors to understand the activity of supervision and to be more aware of the systems and procedures in the actual practice of it.

2.1.1 Overview and introduction

In the UK the supervision of counselling and psychotherapy is considered an essential ethical requirement of practice. It is closely associated with continuing professional development and is at the heart of ethical professional practice. The British Association for Counselling and Psychotherapy Ethical Framework (BACP 2010) states 'there is a general obligation for all counsellors, psychotherapists, supervisors and trainers to receive supervision /consultative support independently of any managerial relationships.' (2010: 7) The significance of this is that all practicing members are required to participate in supervision throughout their career. Other organizations in the UK, for instance the United Kingdom Council for Psychotherapy (UKCP), do not formally require members to have supervision; however evidence of supervision is a requirement of many UKCP Membership Organisations for the annual renewal of membership.

In other countries requirements for supervision of practising therapists is different (Wheeler and Richards, 2007). Most countries expect supervision only for training therapists and it is not a requirement throughout a therapist's career. In the USA, where currently most supervision research is conducted, this training feature is

highlighted as holding a crucial role in the 'preparation' of professionals. Supervision is seen to contribute to the primary self-regulation of admission into mental health professions. It plays a crucial role in maintaining the standards. In the USA supervision usually has an assessment and evaluation role and the conduct and practice between supervisor and trainee therapist is influenced by this fundamental distinction. This assessment function occurs with trainee therapists but is not usually the case for experienced practitioners in the UK and therefore does not feature so noticeably in British literature about supervision.

2.1.2. Definition of supervision

Definitions of supervision proliferate. The word 'supervision' is derived from the Latin: *super* meaning above or over and *visio* meaning sight (Collins, 1986). A recent online dictionary definition is: "to direct or oversee the performance or operation of" and "to watch over, so as to maintain order, etc." (Collinsdictionary.com) This definition suggests taking an overview; an activity which has a 'super', or a higher view, that may also have an assessment or evaluative function. Used in this way the term can be seen to emphasise the managerial function and diminish the supportive function (Kadushin, 1992). Joyce Scaife writes, "However (supervision) is defined, it may be regarded as one way of getting help with your work" (2009: 2). There is an inherent paradox in both these definitions which strikes at a tension in the supervisory relationship. Supervision can be understood both as an activity of surveillance for training and monitoring the profession of counselling and psychotherapy and yet also a facilitative activity which seeks to draw out and make relevant what is not being 'seen' by the practitioner in order to support effectiveness.

The many descriptions and definitions of supervision also reflect the variety of uses and practices in different professions and countries. One of the most significant differences lies in the North American conceptualization, which typically places supervision in a training context, where the supervisor is more experienced, seen as

an 'expert', and the European view which emphasises supervision for the benefit of practitioners throughout their entire careers.

Bernard and Goodyear (2009), define supervision in the American tradition as:

'...an intervention provided by a more senior member of a profession to a more junior member or members of that same profession. This relationship is evaluative and hierarchical, it extends over time, and has the simultaneous purposes of enhancing the professional functioning of the more junior person(s), monitoring the quality of professional services offered to the clients, that she, he, or they see; and serving as a gatekeeper for those who are to enter the particular profession' (Bernard and Goodyear (2009: 7)).

The emphasis on being 'evaluative and hierarchical' is in keeping with the training element of supervision in the USA. This definition does not satisfactorily define supervision practice in the UK.

Milne (2007) addressed this definitional problem by conducting a two-stage critical review of the definition of supervision. By applying specific established criteria to Bernard and Goodyear's definition a resulting working definition is arrived at and then tested against empirical research. As a result, Milne has derived an empirical definition of clinical supervision.

'The formal provision, by approved supervisors, of a relationship-based education and training that is work-focused and which manages, supports, develops and evaluates the work of colleagues. The main methods that supervisors use are corrective feedback on the supervisee's performance, teaching, and collaborative goal-setting. It therefore differs from related activities, such as mentoring and coaching, by incorporating an evaluative component. (...) Supervision's objectives are "normative" (e.g. quality control), "restorative" (e.g. encourage emotional processing) and "formative" (e.g. maintaining and facilitating supervisees' competence, capability and

general effectiveness). These objectives could be measured by current instruments' (Milne, 2007: 439).

This well-known and frequently cited definition supports previous reviews of the empirical literature (Falender & Shefranske, 2004; Watkins, 1997) and earlier consensus statements (Falender, Cornish, Goodyear, Hatcher, Kaslow, Leventhal, Shafranske, Sigmon, Stoltenberg, and Grus, 2004). Significantly, for the lens of this thesis, Milne notes that this definition includes 'any supervision format (e.g. group supervision), profession or therapeutic orientation, and it covers pre- and post-qualification supervisions'.

In comparison, European definitions emphasise the formal arrangement of supervision and stress it is an activity which operates regularly in the framework of a working relationship which is relevant to both experienced and novice practitioners. Other European definitions emphasise this working relationship and are "less specific about the relative seniority of the participants" (Scaife, 2009: 4).

Inskipp and Proctor in their influential work (1988) outline the required 'skills' they see as necessary to supervise and be supervised, and later on emphasise the relationship and define supervision as:

'a working alliance between a supervisor and counsellor in which the counsellor can offer an account or recording of her work; reflect on it; receive feedback and, where appropriate, guidance. The object of this alliance is to enable the counsellor to gain in ethical competence, confidence, compassion and creativity in order to give her best possible service to the client' (2001: 1).

The process of developing a good 'working alliance' (Bordin, 1979, 1983) in supervision is recommended. Inskipp and Proctor (1995) prioritise the importance of negotiating and contracting a supervisory relationship initially. The expectation is that that this contractual activity makes the responsibilities of both parties very

clear, and the participants can vary the stress of certain aspects of this contract according to the needs of the clients, or the agencies the counsellors and the supervisor work in; or take on board the requirements of the training institution settings, such as assessment reviews, and, if required the supervision can facilitate learning, growth and support for the counsellor in the particular counselling models these institution or practitioners may follow. In summary, supervision, is seen, by Inskipp and Proctor (2001) to be required not only to be a supportive and developing relational process; it is also regarded as essential for the assessment and evaluation of a trainee counsellor's work . Supervision supports the counsellor to be more effective in their work with clients.

2.1.3. Models of supervision

A review of the literature of supervision clearly shows that most authorities in the field have produced concise ways to view supervision by the creation of delineated models. A review of supervision models suggests that they all aim to offer a structure for understanding the nature of supervision. The models, in general, make use of the roles and relationships in supervision; they describe or explain the responsibilities of participants, both supervisees and supervisors, which are often highlighted, and significantly, processes, deemed by the creators to be central to the practice of supervision are placed in frameworks which underline their function and uses. . The striking aspect for the purposes of this thesis , and its use of the conversation analytic method, is that no models of supervision claim to have been created using an empirical observation method.

Many models of supervision have been developed; part of an inevitable process of practising supervision researchers, trainers and writers trying to understand and subsequently describe their work for others. The detailed organisational framework Bernard and Goodyear offer (2014: 22) identifies three general categories of supervision models; models grounded in therapeutic theory, developmental models and social role models Here, below, some of the more important aspects of the most popular models are summarised.

2.1.4. Models grounded in theory

Many supervisors have applied their theoretical understanding of therapy to the task of explaining supervision. Bernard and Goodyear argue that the initial training of a therapist will “almost inevitably” influence their work as a supervisor as this training carries their fundamental beliefs, values and judgments. In supervision models grounded in theory; “Supervisors use psychotherapy theory as a lens through which to view supervision”, (Bernard and Goodyear, 2009: 80 citing Guest & Beutler, 1988).

Bordin (1983) identifies the main aim of supervision as being ‘to teach’. However, this is seen in relational terms. Frawley-O’Dea and Sarnat (2001) describe the supervisor less as an expert on theory and more as the ‘uninvolved expert’ or an ‘embedded participant’. The authority of the supervisor resides in a relational process and the focus of supervision is regarded as both the therapeutic and the supervisory dyad.

Following the psychodynamic theoretical tradition the supervisor is encouraged to consider their ‘mode’ of participation in the relationship. The possible modes identified for the supervisor range from instructive teacher to Socratic questioner, as well as a possible ‘container’ of supervisee affects. As Driver makes explicit; ‘in a healthy supervisory alliance, there will be containment, holding, non-persecutory appraisal, emotional processing and cognitive development’ (Driver, 2005: 82).

The issue of establishing a boundary between therapy and supervision and between the didactic and developmental aspects of supervision has never been resolved in the psychoanalytic tradition. As Darian Leader writes,

‘Today, the unanalysed graduate or young psychiatrist dispatched to the therapeutic front is likely to turn to supervision for what only the experience of an analysis or psychotherapy can really provide. The demands placed on the supervisor are now double: to supply knowledge and to alleviate the symptoms of the supervisee’ (Leader, 2010: 240).

It is very much in keeping with the theoretical underpinning of psychoanalysis to view it as an activity which cannot be taught through academic knowledge alone, but that it is a personal skill which requires attention to the whole personality of the therapist and specifically necessitates changes to it (Allphin, 2005). One of the main aims of psychodynamic supervision is to have an impact on the supervisees' ways of being with a client and to pay attention to the both the supervisory and the therapeutic relationship as a way of supporting this growth in a therapist's personal attributes (Wharton, 2003). This theoretically minded approach does not identify the practical method to accomplish the 'tasks' expected of the supervisor, nor does the literature identify any observable 'changes' which could demonstrate evidence for the supervisees or therapist's 'growth'.

The person-centred model has included supervision at the heart of training and learning for trainee therapists. In keeping with the model; the facilitative 'conditions' of empathy, congruence and acceptance are seen as necessary for both clients and supervisees optimum 'self-actualisation'. Tudor and Worrell (2007) provide a conceptual outline of person-centred supervision and promote a 'tentative structure'; wanting to facilitate the 'reflective practitioner', one who is critical and independent. They 'lay the foundations of a person-centred approach to Supervision'. The person-centred model emphasises the outcomes of supervision as 'convenient markers of process, particular pauses, points or plateaux to which we give a name and by which we can distinguish the present from the past' (Tudor and Worrall, 2004: 23). Again, it is not made clear where this is to be found and how it is to be observed.

Cognitive behavioural models of supervision have proliferated in the past 30 years, (Woods & Ellis, 1996; Rosenbaum & Ronen, 1998; Safran and Muran, 2001) particularly with the increased popularity of CBT therapy. In keeping with the main tenets of their theoretical orientation these models prioritise the assessment and monitoring of supervisees and highlight the need for agreed agendas, Socratic

questioning techniques and CBT interventions are routinely used. The supervisors' focus is in maintaining a strong educational element to supervision where the therapist's competence is rigorously examined. 'The use of tape recorded sessions, with the client's permission, together with standardised measures of clinical competence (i.e. Cognitive Therapy Rating Scale; Blackburn, James, Milne, Baker, Standart, Garland, & Reichelt,, 2001). will also characterise IAPT supervision' (IAPT Supervision Guidance, Turpin, G. and Wheeler, S., 2011:8). Although this theoretical style of supervision pays more concrete focus on the 'hows' of supervision together with the evaluation of a therapist's competence, these expected tasks and assessments are the product of the research on the CBT model *with clients* and then latterly transferred into a supervision model. For the conversation analytic approach adopted in this thesis, the aim is rather to 'discover' the techniques of supervision in the recorded data, and subsequently refine these into analytical models of clinical competence in supervision.

2.1.5. Developmental models

Developmental models of supervision have been used since the 1950's and 1960's. (Fleming, 1953; Hogan, 1964). The popularity of these models has meant many more have followed. Originally these models of supervision relied on an idea of a developmental framework. The focus was on explaining the changing 'understanding' and growth of trainees. This view was in keeping with the idea of the professional maturing process that supervisees go through. The developmental framework established a standard for training supervision. (Worthington, 1987; Stoltenberg and Delworth, 1987) Reflecting this popularity, the developmental framework was referred to as the "zeitgeist" of supervision models by Holloway (1987:209).

Developmental models use stages in the process of learning and gaining experience as an overarching metaphor for the progression of supervisee understanding and learning. The supervisee is considered to be in a process of change and this is viewed conceptually; often organised in stages as they acquire skills, knowledge and

confidence in their clinical practice. All of the developmental models of supervision offer supervisors descriptions of ways of being with supervisees, however, as we will see, none of these models offers the kind of comprehensive and rigorous review of the advised methods in actual practice, nor of the interactional procedures from which they are comprised, that can be derived using conversation analytic techniques.

The Integrated Developmental Model (IDM) is the most well researched and used developmental model (Stoltenberg, McNeil & Delworth, 1998). This framework demonstrates that counsellors grow within and across specific arenas of professional practice at different paces. The framework provides supervisors with a conceptualisation which takes this into account and supervisors are expected to be aware of the potential for different stages to be attained over time. Supervision goals and tasks are expected to differ according to the needs of the supervisee and the particular domain addressed within individual supervision sessions (Stoltenberg et al., 1998). The model describes and stresses the needs supervisees have according to their stage of development. In this model, trainees supervisees are assumed to need more support and guidance than more experienced therapists. Stoltenberg and colleagues identify four stages of supervisee development with three overriding structures across specific domains. These are defined as 'self and awareness', 'motivation' and 'autonomy'. The stages are: stage 1, the dependency stage; stage 2, characterised by dependency – autonomy conflicts; stage 3, conditional dependency and finally; stage 4 referred to as 'master professional'. Stoltenberg (2005) points to the development or 'elaboration' of the model over time and he also makes clear 'it has yet to be adequately empirically tested' (2005:862)

The attention to developmental models has influenced the approach to supervision interventions which the supervisor may employ. Whiting, Bradley and Planny (2001) suggest that supervisors should work with early trainees in a controlled and instructive manner and work with advanced trainees in an empowering and open-ended way. Although the framework has been employed to describe supervisory

interventions, 'there has so far been no research to examine its use' (Bernard and Goodyear, 2009: 92)

Ladany (2004) contests this developmental approach to supervision arguing that the general designs regarding how to behave differentially toward experienced trainees are minimally accurate. Based on qualitative research studies that focus on trainee self-reported perceptions, Ladany suggests that the optimal approach is a mix of supervisor styles and roles that can be categorised as teacher, counsellor and colleague. He maintains that the differences in how a supervisee will react to supervision is more likely to do with supervisee and supervisor factors such as supervisee tolerance for ambiguity, supervisor personality and past supervision experience rather than the supervisee stage of development. The use of self-reported perceptions thins the rigor of the examination of the application of this approach in actual use. There is a substantial need for a more rigorous analysis of supervisors' real practice. For instance, in a detailed examination of the supervisory dialogue with a view to understanding the supervisor interactions which facilitate the supervisory dialogue.

Other arguments against the developmental model's usefulness includes the risk of supervisors using the model too dogmatically. The model cannot be taken as a prescription for every supervisee at each individual stage. Hawkins and Shohet, summarised critiques of the model (2012: 81-82). Criticisms are that the model promotes advice about how supervisees should be treated, without sufficient reference to the individual needs of the supervisee. The style of the supervisor has also to be taken into account and that the uniqueness of the supervisor-supervisee relationship should not be reduced merely to prescriptive suggestions. Hess (1987) noted that supervisors too have stages in their own professional development (as a supervisor) and the interaction of both parties' developmental stages is important and should be taken and considered together (Hess (1987).

Process Models of supervision (Loganbill, Hardy and Delworth, 1982; Ladany, Friedlander, and Nelson, 2005) identify and work with discreet processes that occur in supervision. The reflective development models (Dewey, 1933; Schön, 1987) emphasise the use of reflection to improve practice. Significant episodic experiences in the therapy which disturb the supervisee, referred to as 'trigger events', begin a reflective process in the supervisee which the supervisor facilitates. (Schön, 1983; 1987). The trigger event is one 'recalled' by the supervisee and relies on the counsellor's affective memory of sessions. There is no empirical audio data recording of the session and the supervisee's subsequent subjective experience is prioritised in the process of recall and review. In this model it is accepted that all supervisors should encourage reflective practices, and this skill becomes an important part of self-monitoring and is intrinsically linked to the level of the supervisees' competence, theoretical orientation and externally validated understandings of good practice. (Bernard & Goodyear, 2009: 93).

Other 'process models' of supervision include a circular view of development, (Loganbill, Hardy & Delworth, 1982), and an Events Based Supervision model (Ladany, Friedlander & Nelson, 2005) which roots itself in the research based premise that most supervision focuses on the 'smaller' events in the supervisee's work. The Events Based Supervision model prescribes a 'task environment' for supervision with a descriptive identification of 'multiple interaction sequences'. The study by Ladany et al. (2005) produces transcripts of isolated supervision 'events' which are used to explore the dilemmas presented.

Despite the opportunities possible for analysis in the audio data used and the transcripts produced from them in this study, the discourse practices used in the transcripts are not examined. This is a lost opportunity for a detailed and thorough analysis of the real life practices used and the subsequent exploration of the ways in which supervision is co-created through the supervisory dialogue.

2.1.6. Social Role Models

Some models emphasise the role or roles that a supervisor will adopt in order to be effective in supervision. The most familiar and frequent ones are: teacher, counsellor and consultant. Holloway (1992) categorised these roles as Social Role Models.

In 1989 Hawkins and Shohet published a ground breaking supervision text, *Supervision in the Helping Professions*. Although they call their model the 'process model', it is differentiated by Bernard and Goodyear (2009) from other process models. It does not prioritise a developmental approach to the supervisee and it provides a complete overview of supervision describing a 'seven-eyed model' for ways of seeing the dynamic of supervision (Inskipp and Proctor, 1995). The emphasis is on the focus of the supervisory relationship and the topics possible in the supervisory dialogue. They identify the phenomena the supervisory dyad may address at any given moment and have constructed a 'map', the double matrix, to help supervisors to identify this focus.

The seven-eyed model makes a clear case for the identified levels of communication operating at all times and at any time in supervision. With a double focus, both on 'what happened then' in the counselling sessions, together with a 'what is happening here and now' in supervision session, the model eventually provides with seven 'modes' of supervision on which to focus. These seven modes are: focus on the client; exploration of the strategies used by the supervisee; exploration of the relationship between the client and the supervisee; focus on the supervisee; focus on the supervisory relationship; the supervisor focussing on their own process and focus on the wider contexts in which the work happens. (Hawkins and Shohet, 2006)

Hawkins and Shohet (2006) argue that the model provides supervisors with a way to be clear about their own style, and gives supervisors an insight into any particular aspects of supervision which they may be avoiding 'out of habit, lack of familiarity and practice' (2006:84). They stress that the model can serve supervisees well, by offering them a 'language within which to negotiate changes in supervisory styles' (2006:84). Rather than offering direct examples of real life dialogic interactions, this

model, I believe, does not offer a 'language' to supervisors or supervisees. The model does, however, provide multiple perspectives on the supervision process and it is this offer of a 'way of viewing' supervision that can help facilitate an exploration of differing subjectivities in the supervision session.

Carroll's (1996) linear model of supervision is derived from his doctoral research into supervision. It is anchored in both developmental and social role models of supervision (Bernard, 1979; Litrell, Lee, Borden & Lornez, 1979). These models are combined with research into supervisors' beliefs about the tasks of supervision and how these tasks are implemented creating a framework that systemises the actual practice of supervision.

Carroll (1996) emphasises that the supervisor should ensure that clients are receiving a competent professional service from the supervisee. He describes how the functions and purposes of supervision are implemented by seven tasks, which underscore all supervision approaches. He emphasises that the theoretical orientation and philosophy of the supervisor will influence the selection and usage of particular tasks. The seven tasks of supervision which he identifies are: 1, creating the learning relationship; 2, teaching; 3, counselling; 4, evaluating; 5, consulting; 6, monitoring administrative aspects and 7, monitoring professional ethical issues. Carroll coded supervision tapes from six supervisory dyads over a whole year. Using the seven tasks of supervision as a basis for coding he found that:

'Supervisors take responsibility for the relationship, the teaching and the evolution tasks of supervision and 'supervisees take responsibility for fulfilling the consultation and counselling tasks. The other two tasks; monitoring and professional/ethical issues and the administrative task, are shared' (Carroll, 1996: 50).

It is interesting to note that in the method of listening to the tapes, Carroll listened with an ear open for the seven tasks he had identified himself from his previous reading, the monitoring of his own experience and from talking to trainee

supervisees. He hoped he would 'view the tasks from "inside" the supervision' (Carroll, 1994:13). It is therefore not surprising to read that in summary, 'the data indicates that there is considerable overlap between tasks and that the practice of supervision does not include the use of all seven tasks'. (ibid. 1994:9) The audio data was not analysed in any other way. From a conversation analytic perspective, by imposing the notion of what could be 'observable' in the supervision sessions, Carroll, missed an opportunity to capture and analyse the phenomena as it happens. This particular stance on observation has yet to be undertaken in a supervision project and subsequently, there is a substantial gap in understanding about the phenomena of supervision. This is where the present study aims to provide some answers.

Bernard's Discrimination Model (1979, 1997) is another model which identifies three supervisor roles –they are: teacher, therapist, consultant, and it delineates three basic foci for supervision; these are: intervention skills; personalisation skills and conceptualisation skills. As a result, in Bernard's view, the supervisor might respond to a supervisee in any one of nine ways. It is a 'discrimination model', which is 'situation specific' and the varying roles will be adopted moment by moment and several times within one session. Bernard argues that the effective supervisor will employ all roles and all foci for a supervisee at any developmental level.

Bernard's Discrimination Model is taken and expanded in Holloway's (1995) Systems Approach to Supervision Model (SAS). In a somewhat complex combination of seven components, her main supervision model is presented in a 5 x 5 matrix of functions and tasks. The 5 tasks identified are these: helping the supervisee with counselling skill, case conceptualisation, professional role, emotional awareness and self-evaluation. The 5 supervision functions are regarded to be: monitoring/evaluating, advising/instructing, modelling, consulting, and supporting/sharing.

These functions and tasks are only two of seven components. Additionally, Holloway conceptualizes the supervisory relationship as the third 'core' component which

includes the contract, the phase of the working relationship, and the structure of the relationship. The other four elements which she identifies are what she calls the 'contextual factors'. These are the three agents in the supervisory relationship, namely; the supervisor; the supervisee, and the client; she also looks at the institution setting in which the supervision happens. Holloway self-confesses to creating the model out of her 19 years' experience as a supervisor and trainer, she also uses reflective dialogues with other practitioners to create her model. Again, the use of real life recordings of actual supervisory sessions are not used to support the points or the creation of the model.

Page and Wosket's cyclical model of supervision, (1994, 2001) is another model created from reflection and recounted understandings of sessions. This model addresses and focuses on the structure of the supervision session. It identifies a number of stages through which each supervision session proceeds, and provides an outline of choices for what to do in supervision to 'stay on track', and to ensure progression to desired goals. The model is presented as a cycle of five stages proceeding from contract to focus, space, bridge and review.

Ellis and Ladany (1997) assert that supervision is more complex than depicted in the current models. In an empirical review of the literature on supervision Milne, Aylott, Fitzpatrick & Ellis (2008) outlined 32 contextual variables, 26 supervisor interventions and 28 outcomes or mechanisms of change. From these is created a complex and integrated model of supervision. This study reiterates that supervision is 'embedded in complex social networks' (Falander et al. 2004: 779) and there is an agreement with Ellis and Ladany (1997).

The models offered to supervisors and supervisees in an attempt to categorise and understand their enterprise are numerous and varied and can be, as we have seen, inherently intricate and complex. Regardless of the models created and promoted, Ladany, Ellis, & Friedlander (1999) suggest that what is important is that regardless of professional and theoretical background, supervisors employ very similar

supervisory practices. With a detailed and comprehensive analysis of examples of actual supervisory dialogue it would be easier to find ways to explore this suggestion, and ultimately to see whether it is accurate or not.

2.1.7. Supervision research topics

As we have seen, research in clinical supervision leading to the creation of supervisory models has largely concentrated on the functions and roles of supervision and supervisors. Further studies in supervision have included the exploration of the nature and function of the supervisory relationship, (Borders et al., 1996; Falender et al., 2004), the experiences of supervisees in various settings (Osborn, 2004) and with specific client groups, and the effect of particular supervisory styles, (Friedlander et al., 1984; Ladany and Muse-Burke, 2001). Gender and cross cultural issues are important in some research, (Bradshaw, 1982; Ladany et al, 2005) and the supervisory characteristics, such as behaviour and qualities, are focussed in others, (Nelson and Friedlander, 2001; Ladany, Lehrman-Waterman, D. E., Molinaro, M., & Wolgast, B., 1999).

Supervisee satisfaction with supervision is recorded in some studies but there is noticeably scant attention paid to the effect supervision has on therapeutic client outcome. Those studies which have attempted to link directly client outcome with supervisory input are beset with methodological difficulties. (Wheeler and Richard, 2007)

2.1.8. The challenge for supervision research

Improved client welfare, through more effective counselling or therapy is considered by many theorists and practitioners to be an important focus of supervision, however, even studies researching the perceived value of supervision make very little empirical reference to the impact of supervision on clients. Mostly the focus is on supervision providing counsellor support and development and how this is perceived by supervisees or supervisors. Ellis and Ladany refer to client outcome as

the 'acid test' of good supervision (1997: 485). There have been decades of concern that research of clinical supervision had so rarely examined the impact of supervision on client outcome, (Hansen, Pound, & Petro, 1976; Lambert, 1980, Wheeler & Richards, 2007).

In the *Systematic Review on the Impact of clinical supervision and their therapists, their practice and their clients'*, (Wheeler, 2007), twenty-five empirical studies were deemed relevant to the research question; 'what is the impact of clinical supervision on counsellors, therapists, and their practice and their clients?' The 2007 Systematic Review identifies five overarching categories of outcome or impacts: self-awareness; skill development; self-efficacy; transfer of understanding from supervision to therapy and client outcome. Four of the categories identified look at the effect of supervision on the supervisees, and this has been the recent trend in other studies too. Hill and Knox (2011) make clear the lack of specific attention to research on client outcome. Hill and Knox identify supervision outcome research as falling into two categories; those studies that focus on the effect of supervision on supervisees and those that focus on the effect on clients. In their recent review of the literature they found 'very few studies on client outcome' and stated, 'we cannot confidently assert causal effect', (Hill & Knox, 2011).

Only one study, the RCT conducted by Bambling, King, Raue, Schweitzer and Lambert (2006) provided 'the best evidence yet, that supervision has a beneficial effect on the supervisor, the client and the outcome of therapy', (Wheeler and Richards, 2007: 34). The study however, has identified methodology limitations including a possibility of Type II errors and researcher involvement.

The findings in many of the studies on supervision remain unclear in terms of applicability for practitioners. The method of enquiry in the studies is a contributing factor to the probing question of the usefulness of them. The actual conduct of supervisors and supervisees in terms of empirical data is largely left unexplored. Subsequently, meagre attention has been paid to 'real life' practices and most of the

studies cited have relied on practitioners' subjective recollections and assessments of what happens, often collated together with the researchers' own interpretations of what happens, or should, happen in supervision.

In these terms the studies and theories reviewed so far have little bearing to the current study beyond signalling and highlighting the need for a study with exploratory power and depth of empirical attention. Studies exploring or analysing supervisee or supervisor communications or discourse are largely absent. One significant text, 'Fundamentals of Clinical Supervision', now in its fifth edition (Bernard et al, 2014), provides simple 'cleaned up' transcripts of two extracts from supervision dialogues to support points made about the capacity of different supervisors to assess and evaluate the skills of supervisees, under a promising sub-heading, 'Communicating Summative Evaluations' (2014: 238-241). In essence, there is very little attention paid to the communicating discourse beyond sweeping statements like: "it is not difficult to see there are several communication problems in this example'. Assumptions are made about the supervisor's state of mind, such as 'the supervisor appears to be uncomfortable with the responsibility of evaluation', and 'the supervisor appears insensitive and glib' (2014;239). The analysis of the other case extract which is presented as an alternative, and a 'better working relationship', begins by affirming, 'Apparently, this has been a positive experience for both the supervisee and the counsellor'. (2014:241). Researcher assumptions are again made. This is especially so in interpretive jumps from the unexplored transcript to the nature of the preceding supervisory relationship, including an assessment, without indicating any detailed evidence to the transcript presented; "it is obvious, that both challenge and support... have been part of the supervision *over the semester*" (2014:241) (my italics). It is my belief that a detailed and systematic investigation of supervisory discourse is long overdue.

2.2. Situating the study in current literature of Group Supervision

2.2.1. Overview and Definition

Although individual supervision is practised more often than group supervision (Hawkins and Shohet, 2012: 177), much clinical supervision is conducted in a group format. Group supervision happens when:

‘Three or more people form a fixed membership group and have planned, regular meetings in which each person gets the chance for in-depth reflection on their own practice and on the part they play as individuals in the complexities and quality of that practice, facilitated in that reflection by the other group members’ (Bond and Holland, 1998:173)

The definition of supervision provided in the Supervision Literature Review (Milne, 2007) also broadly applies to group supervision, as Milne goes on to state, this definition includes ‘any supervision format (e.g. group supervision), profession or therapeutic orientation, and it covers pre- and post-qualification supervisions’ (2007: 439).

Bernard and Goodyear give group format a more specific definition:

‘Group supervision is the regular meeting of a group of supervisees a) with a designated supervisor or supervisors, b) to monitor the quality of their work and c) to further their understanding of themselves as clinicians, of the clients with whom they work, and of service delivery in general. These supervisees are aided in achieving these goals by their supervisor(s) and by the feedback from and interactions with each other.’ (2014: 181)

This American definition accentuates the educative and monitoring use of supervision in the training of counsellors. The group format is seen fundamentally as an important factor to facilitate supervision. The description states that ‘feedback from and interactions’ with peers are ‘aids’ in achieving supervisory goals, which are for supervisees to monitor their work and to understand their clients and themselves.

A visual description of group supervision; 'The red of supervision and the yellow of group bring about the orange of group supervision', (McMahon, 2002 cited in Bernard & Goodyear 2014: 181) captures the challenge of group supervision where the goals may be similar to individual supervision, but, the experience of being in a group for supervision influences and ultimately produces something uniquely different. Group dynamics and group process add to the complexity of the supervisory task. There are differences in the way that groups are composed, the techniques prized and used by the supervisor and the model and structure that the supervision follows. (Riva & Cornish, 2008).

Most practising counsellors have at some time in their career experienced group supervision (Bernard & Goodyear, 2014). Training programs use group supervision to facilitate and extend clinical awareness and learning for inexperienced trainee counsellors. Group supervision is often offered in an organisational context. Ögren and Sundin note that: 'from the 1970s and onwards, group supervision has been used to an increasingly greater extent' (2009: 130) and hence, more research is needed to understand the different applications of the group as a format for supervision and teaching (Proctor & Inskipp, 2001; Wheeler & Richards, 2007)

2.2.2. Group Research

What research shows about the human behaviours and the processes involved in being in a group is crucial to understanding the complexities and nuances of group supervision. Recent literature on group research gives a picture which is 'conceptually fragmented' (Wheelen 2005: 20) There are many theoretical perspectives on group dynamics and group behaviour, including: psychoanalytic, social identity, communications, functional, developmental and systems, non-linear dynamics, socio-evolutionary, power-conflict and feminist perspectives. 'Each perspective has its disciplinary niche' as Berdhal & Henry (2005) point out in their call for an integrative theory which they argue 'would greatly enrich our

understanding of groups and our ability to maximise group interactions and interventions' (2005: 35).

2.2.3. Group Process and the Developmental Perspective

Belonging to and working in a group has complex dynamics and the processes at work and the underlying developmental forces involved when humans gather together to form groups will have an impact on group supervision. Although the core description of any group is fixed, i.e. one determined by the size, membership and purpose of the group; groups also 'have a dynamic quality to them'. (Bradley and Ladany, 2001:192) There is a process inherent in the development and maintenance of a group (Tuckman, 1965; Yalom, 1995; Wheelen, 1994) and although each group is distinctive, there is a uniformity in the process that groups experience over time from initial contact to termination.

Toseland and Rivas (2012) review a ten-year span of literature on group work and identify similarities in the descriptions of core developmental processes. Although there are differences in the naming and counting of stages there are commonalities identified which include the developmental tasks of groups and the similarities in the processes of beginnings, middles and endings. 'The literature on group development shows a consensus opinion'. (Magen & Mangiardi, 2005: 357)

Many writers (Bales, 1950; Tuckman, 1965; Klein, 1972; Trecker, 1972; Sarri & Galinsky, 1985; Henry, 1992; Wheelen, 1994; Schiller, 1995) agree that there are stages of group development. Tuckman's model (1965) of group processes, one of the earliest presented, (later modified by Tuckman & Jensen, 1977) was influential over the other studies in offering an overarching concept of groups having phases or stages of development. Their research involved intense case study observations of groups over a period and resulted in an influential theory of chronological developments of groups that is still widely used to explain group process in psychotherapy and counselling.

2.2.4. The Key approaches to group supervision research

Research into group supervision like individual supervision research has been varied and wide. Some of the main approaches have been to look at the following: the process of group supervision; supervisor style in group supervision; models of group supervision; and comparative studies of individual and group supervision.

Studies of the process of group supervision, includes projects observing patterns of both interactions and process; (Boëthius, Ögren, Sjøvold, & Sundin, 2004; Linton, 2003, Linton & Hedstrom, 2006) and the observation of 'events' which either hinder or support the process of group supervision (Enyedy, Arcinue, Puri, Carter, Goodyear & Getzelman 2003; Fleming, Glass, Fujisaki, & Toner, 2010). These studies have inherently basic assumptions which shape the findings. Enyedy et al's study (2003) uses responses to a questionnaire to classify the 'hindering phenomena' that hamper supervisee learning in group supervision. The categories are pre-determined and as such, the responses are shaped by the structure.

Boëthius et al, (2004) examined supervisees *perceptions* of their group roles over time, and the study shows that group members will adopt different roles and functions over time. The 'process' of group supervision is perceived as one in which 'supervisees and supervisors tended to become slightly more satisfied with their informal roles and the group culture over time' (2004:117). The data collected comprised of a series of subjective responses to 'wishes' for supervision from supervisees before the session and subjective 'actual' perceptions of the supervision after the session. As an 'empirical study' it does not use real life recordings to illuminate any of the comments made by supervisees in response to the questions of role.

Proctor and Inskipp (2001) see the role of the supervisor in group supervision and their subsequent management of the group is crucial to the study of group supervision. They identify three supervisory styles in group supervision. The different styles are: authoritative supervision, participatory supervision and cooperative

supervision. These categories are identified from their own recollected experiences as supervisors.

Ögren and Sundin (2007) examined supervisee and supervisor experiences of desired and actual group format of supervision along the lines of Proctor and Inskipp's definitions. A self-described 'limited' study using trainee therapists and self-reported evaluations of the group format, the results, had little to report on supervisory style, but nevertheless, found that both supervisees and supervisors, from CBT and Psychodynamic orientations, desired using more group process as a teaching tool.

As with one-to-one or individual supervision, there are a range of theoretical models or frameworks which inform the organization of group supervision. Proctor (2000) describes three models, The Supervision Alliance Model (Inskipp and Proctor 1993, 1995,) their defined approach, the SAS (Systems Approach Supervision) Model (Holloway, 1995) and the Cyclical Model (Page and Wosket, 1994). In a move to further distinguish the concept of models, Proctor describes the specific 'mini-models' in each model. She describes these as a 'framework of tasks'. The frameworks identified also include Houston's (1995) model; Carroll's (1996) Integrative Generic Model and the Process Model of Supervision (Hawkins and Shohet, 1989). Bernard's Discrimination Model (1979) does not specifically delineate 'tasks' as others do, but makes use of three foci: supervisee skills and strategies; supervisee personhood issues and conceptualization, and a focus on group processes. As with individual supervision all these models have been created by the authors without analysis and study of the actual real life practice of supervision. The frameworks are superimposed as suggested practice and each model offer ways of thinking about supervision rather than giving methodologically sound 'findings' of what supervision is in practice

Two important studies have compared individual supervision to group supervision with a focus on training outcomes, (Lanning, 1971; Ray & Altekrose, 2000). It is of significance that none of the studies show either one as superior to the other.

Lanning explores the differences between individual counselling supervision and group supervision by measuring the counselling student's view of the supervisory relationship and the client's perception of the relationship with the counsellor. He concludes: The findings were particularly thin. 'The results yielded little evidence that the two methods of supervision were significantly different' (1971: 405).

Ray and Altekruze (2000) assess and compare group supervisees with supervisees who have individual and group supervision, they conclude that both formats are 'equally effective in increasing counsellor effectiveness' and 'Counsellors seemed to appreciate all of their supervision experiences yet obviously showed a preference for individual attention'. (2000: 28) This is a flawed and inconsistent study which does not give results for supervisees who have individual supervision only. The method used cannot lead clearly to the conclusions made.

It is important to add here, that a further complexity facing the researchers pursuing the comparison between modes of supervision is the perplexing question of the definition of 'effectiveness' or 'accomplishment' in supervision. To date, there has not been a delineated definition of what constitutes 'success' in supervision. In consequence an individual study is hamstrung by the necessity to assume a definition of their own, the studies have as a result, focussed on individually chosen topics, the resulting findings therefore cannot compare for effectiveness of supervision as an activity.

2.2.5. Conceptual difficulties in group supervision studies

As has been made clear by the above accounts, current studies of group supervision are beleaguered by conceptual difficulties. Individual supervision is regarded as a 'highly complex and dynamically interactive situation', (Boalt Boëthius et al., 2004: 103) and supervision in a group creates an activity with even greater complexity. It appears that there is so much to consider in group supervision, the studies identified in this review have recognised: goals, group format, group dynamics, supervisor style, group models, experiences of being in a group, group development, group

member interactions, group events, perceptions of supervisor, supervisee experiences and perceptions, interactional patterns and comparative studies.

Research studies have subsequently 'dipped' in and out of multiple designated areas, with a smattering of studies resulting in a broad but thin body of empirical study. Studies have addressed topics as diverse as 'group climate and perceived attained skill', (Ogren and Jonsson, 2003) to role conflict and ambiguity (Nelson and Friedlander, 2001). Very few studies have attempted to compare group to individual supervision and the ones presenting findings have been at a loss to define identifying features of 'effectiveness'. The complexity of group supervision research is compounded by the inherent multitude of perspectives the research can adopt. With regard to the main participants of group supervision, most is known about the supervisee's perception of the group format but very little about the supervisor's experience of working in the group format (Reichelt, S., Skjerve, J., Nielsen, G., Grova, B., & Torgersen, A-M., (2015) .

The difficulties in defining research areas also lie with the framing of overarching questions and focusses. Conceptual models for group supervision have been addressed, (Bradley & Ladany, 2001; Feasey, 2002; Gladding, 1996) but never followed up. The productive work by Ögren and Sundrin (2005, 2007, 2008, 2009) has greatly enriched the study of group supervision, however, their topics too have been varied and their findings are frequently hedged with self-reported limitations of insufficient depth of exploration, or small sample sizes. Their studies frequently end with a call for further research and one pithily states 'these findings should be seen as pilot results, which should be replicated in further studies' (2008: 81). As they write earlier on in this paper, 'Due to the scant amount of research in this field, our understanding of group supervision is still limited, and thus, Holloway and Johnston's (1985) remark that group supervision remains "a weak link in the training process" (p. 339) still holds' (2008:71). This appears to still be the case.

As can be seen, the review of group supervision research above has paid attention to the methodological and conceptual limitations of previous studies. The aim of this study will be to overcome these identified limitations by using conversation analysis to examine the actual, naturally occurring practice of group supervision. The next section places the study in the CA literature on Institutional talk and more specifically psychotherapy talk.

2.3. Situating the study in CA literature on and Institutional Talk psychotherapy

2.3.1. Overview

As stated above, this study brings to bear the methods of conversation analysis on the forms of supervision outlined in the preceding sections. As described in more detail in Chapter 3, conversation analysis is a method that has as its basic starting point the methodical and orderly analysis of everyday talk produced in common situations, often referred to as 'talk-in-interaction'. The four fundamental features of the CA method are crucial. These are: the empirical grounding of analysis; the structural organization of talk; the sequential organization of talk; and an approach to analysis which is free from prior theoretical assumptions. These core principles are going to be applied to the analysis of group supervision, which is understood, in CA terms, as a form of 'institutional interaction'.

As already acknowledged, CA is applied both to 'ordinary' conversation and to interaction in 'specialised' settings. Although Harvey Sacks, the originator and foremost pioneer of CA, identified that there is "order at all points" in talk, (Sacks, 1992a : 484), generally speaking, he also discovered there is no *predetermined* action or order to what we say in conversations. In other words, there are rules which are identifiable, however, they do not have to be followed. Institutional talk analysis on the other hand has revealed that some institutional talk involves restrictions and the fixed use of specific practices in interactions, for example, the order of service in a wedding ceremony or the ritual of the order of a court

proceeding (Drew and Heritage, 1992). An overview of the evolution of CA of institutional talk, and some of the 'specific practices' in institutional interactions (Drew and Heritage, 1992) are explored below, with an outline of the development and progress of the institutional talk field.

2.3.2. CA literature on Institutional Talk

In the late 1970's Atkinson and Drew's (1979) seminal work in courtroom interactions presaged the beginning of CA approaches to looking at institutional interaction. The data revealed this discourse as having distinguishing and distinctive features from general conversation; and so, from here on, the separate investigation and analysis of institutional talk as distinct from more common or mundane discourse was launched, albeit keeping to the same analytical principles.

The study of 'talk in institutions' from the outset continued with the same basic assumptions that spurred the investigation of talk in general, namely that rather than holding a 'bucket' theory of context which would consider that pre-existing institutional conditions frame the interaction (Heritage, 1987), the view is held that 'context' is 'both a project and a product of the participants' actions' (Heritage, 1998: 4). The core orientation of CA analysis to this assumption means making it an empirical priority to show how participants create the context of their talk in and through their talk, or, another way of saying this, to use the common phrase in CA circles, is to show how institutions are 'talked into being' (Heritage, 1984).

Nevertheless, albeit keeping with the same theoretical CA traditions, Drew and Heritage (1992) also drew attention to the differences expected in institutional interaction: 'Explicit within this perspective is the view that other "institutional" forms of interaction will show systematic variations and restrictions on activities and their design relative to ordinary conversation' (1992:19).

Most of the first landmark CA work in institutional settings is carried out in contexts where the dialogue is composed of interactions between lay people and

representatives of professional bodies, for instance, beyond Atkinson and Drew's study (1979) of law courts, studies looked at educational settings, (McHoul, 1978; Mehan, 1985) and medical services (Heath, 1981, 1986, West, 1984). Keeping the salient differences in the positions of the interactants in mind, the subsequent interactional order described by these studies has been shown to be influenced by the 'speaker roles' available to participants and the subsequent negotiation of types of turns to be used, i.e. 'turn-type preallocation' as coined by Atkinson and Drew (1979), namely, as in this example, one participant is limited to asking questions and the other, a lay person, is limited to responding to those questions. The differences of rights of members; for instance the right to express personal opinions or not and the rights to close the discourses have also been explored as axes of difference from non-institutional discourse.

Further studies concentrated on additional 'institutional' areas such as, news interviews, (Clayman and Whalen, 1988; Clayman, 1992); doctor-patient interaction (Heritage and Maynard, 2006); and Talk Radio, (Hutchby, 1996). John Heritage (1997: 226) has identified that these initial studies focussed on 'formal' settings where, 'special turn-taking organizations tend to be present', that is, there are a large number of potential participants and so interaction contributions need to be 'rationed' and also, talk is designed to be 'overheard', by an audience of 'others'. Other studies followed to draw attention to the differences discovered and some in less 'formal' situations, such as psychotherapy, (Peräkylä, 1995) and mediation, (Garcia, 1991). These studies have gone on to make explicit special turn-taking systems which implement organisationally sanctioned processes. The years following have produced studies on data from a variety of institutional settings; among the more challenging and distinctive contexts have been surgeons' discourse during theatre surgery, (Hindmarsh and Plinick, 2002) , the London Underground Control Team at work, (Heath and Luff, 1992) and the pilots' discourse in an aircraft cockpit, (Neville, 2004).

To summarise the main findings of these studies, it has been argued (Drew and Heritage, 1992; Boden & Zimmerman, 1991) that institutional interactions are distinctive and contrast to ordinary conversation in three ways; 1, they involve participants orienting to specific institutional 'goals', 2, they have been shown to exert constraints on what is an allowable contribution, and 3, they make reference to inferential frameworks connected to specific institutional context. Although Schegloff (1999) subsequently pointed out that these distinctions are very broad and the difference between ordinary conversation and institutional talk are very difficult to specify, Heritage and Greatbach, (1991) believe these special features adumbrate a unique 'fingerprint' for each kind of institutional interaction. They clarify, 'the 'fingerprint' being comprised of a set of interactional practices differentiating each form both from other institutional forms and from the baseline of mundane conversational interaction itself' (1991: 95-6).

2.3.3. CA literature on psychotherapy

In CA research the concept of institutional interaction has highlighted many functions and related practices of the specific task of psychotherapy talk. CA studies have focussed on the institutional interactions in medical settings. As the process of medical consultation is arguably similar to psychotherapy the identification of an overall structural organization (Heritage & Maynard 2006) has allowed conversation analysts to show how client and clinician together take actions which allow the distinct phases of the process to occur. Likewise, in psychotherapy research, understanding the overall structural organization has illuminated the role of each participant and shown how each orientates towards an accomplishment of the 'task' of therapy. The influence of the institutional setting of counselling is emphasised in a significant set of studies analysing the process of HIV counselling (Peräkylä, 1995; Silverman, 1997).

Recognising the setting of psychotherapy as a 'professional' arena of interaction has created an understanding that practitioners bring to their conversations with clients a specific set of ideas about their 'task'. These 'set ideas' impact on the way the talk

interactions are organized between participants within specific institutional settings. Silverman, in his study further elucidates; 'Institutional discourses are complex and varied configurations that include both distinctive and shared elements. Further, the organisation and practical implications of troubles talk in institutional discourses and settings are quite different from those of troubles talk in ordinary conversations' (1997:209).

2.3.3.i. Professional Stocks of Interactional Knowledge

One way the set of ideas and theories professionals have of their work are conceptualised is as 'professional stocks of interactional knowledge'; known as SIKs (Peräkylä and Vehviläinen, 2003). SIKs consist of organised and codified knowledge that concern social interaction between professionals and clients. They can be found from professional texts, training materials and codes of conduct. With this development, CA neatly combines the possibility of looking at a specifically identified task of therapy; which is possibly institutionally orientated, with the particular intricate processes of interaction which bring it about. Explicit attention has been drawn to the interaction process and the influence of SIKS on the unfolding dialogue.

Recent findings conversely show an analysis where the SIK has not been recognised by the practitioner. The importance of this is to see that CA can show that the actual practices and tasks of the institutional talk in focus are quite different from those described by the SIK. CA can point to the actual interactional tasks created by the participants, rather than the ones prescribed by the theories of the institution (Antaki, 2008; Rae, 2008). For instance, in Rae (2008) the study examined a single session of psychotherapy and reported on turns that the therapist produced, which offered alternative words to the ones the client used, and thereby re-describing the client's utterances. The analysis showed how the interaction was used to "re-describe affect in a more explicit way". Although this was an unexpected feature of a person-centred approach claimed by the therapist, it was seen as facilitating the client's expression of her feelings, and therefore aligned to a therapeutic purpose or

task. This is one area where CA can help practitioners to understand and see their actual practice in dialogue rather than their assumed practice intention.

2.3.3.ii Formulation

The process of the 'task' in counselling and psychotherapy has been central in understanding interactions in many other ways in psychotherapy research and has led to the identification of a series of specific features. The first and subsequently most central research concern has been with the way therapists 'formulate' client's talk (Davis 1986). Antaki describes formulation as a 'practice of proposing a version of events which (apparently) follows directly from the other person's own account, but which introduces a transformation' (Peräkylä et al, 2008: 26).

The analysis of formulation practices in CA has shown how therapists 'convert' client's talk into what is considered appropriate material for 'psychological' intervention. Another core feature identified is 'talk elicitation', which has identified the way therapists in dialogue draw out clients into talk about the issues they think are of relevant importance, such as, family related or feelings related matters (Hutchby, 2007). Other highlighted features of specifically psychotherapeutic 'talk-in-interaction' has been the exploration of methods of enquiry and furthermore, the process of elaboration and the concept of participant agreement. These features are seen to be both systematic and yet also open to creative development between participants. The emphasis on psychotherapy research currently is showing the co-creative and intersubjective nature of the dialogue.

Only one study to date, Lawless, Gale & Bacigalupe (2001), uses CA to analyse therapy supervision. This study attempts to show how the talk of race, ethnicity and culture (REC) is 'accomplished' in family therapy supervision. It offers limited results, possibly because of lack of rigorous application of the CA method and also it is impacted by researcher involvement. The supervisor recorded in the audio tapes is the third author of the paper; in the study he infers meanings from his 'memories' of the sessions and adds these to the 'results'. The study emphasises that the data did

not evidence the existing ideas in theoretical literature on the discussion of REC in supervision. “It was the subtle introduction of REC that sparked the extended dialogues and this is in contrast to the use of the formal dialogue of REC highlighted in the clinical supervision literature. Porter (1994) stated that the discourse of REC should be direct and structured” (2001: 193).

The CA analysis of the presented extracts is very limited in Lawless, Gale & Bacigalupe (2001), for instance, there is no attention paid to the sequentiality of the talk, nor to the turns which produced the extended discussions. The significance of the paper, as the only study CA study of therapy supervision is the critique of descriptions of REC dialogues made in the clinical literature and the noting of the difference from this in the audio data. As a first paper of its kind, this study makes a note of how theoretical supervision texts make assumptions for discussions which are shown not to be present in real life practice.

2.3.4. Conclusion

This chapter has outlined numerous research approaches to supervision and group supervision currently undertaken. It has presented their immense variety and also highlighted their methodological and conceptual limitations. It has highlighted especially the lack of observationally based, empirical research.

In the final section we saw how CA could be used to provide a different perspective on the nature of group supervision as institutional interaction. This study aims to analyse group supervision audio data of ‘real life’ supervision sessions and contribute more explicitly to the growing body of CA studies of counselling with special attention to group supervision of counselling as intuitional talk. In the following chapter a more detailed exploration and overview of CA’s methods is provided.

Chapter Three:

3.1 Conversation Analysis: An Overview of Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This study uses the methodological approach known as Conversation Analysis (CA) to investigate the nature of group supervision talk considered as a form of 'institutional discourse'. In this chapter I will describe the methodological approach, the study's design and the underlying methods. This chapter particularly sets out to make explorations about the validity of CA and its application to therapeutic research, touches briefly on the methodological issues of the relevance of such research; discusses in a selective way the application of CA to therapeutic dialogues in practice and aims to explain why this approach can overcome the inadequacies of the other research methods that have been applied to supervision and group supervision. The chapter concludes by exploring very briefly some of the possibilities for future research using this method of analysis.

Conversation analysis is fundamentally the study of talk. More specifically, it is the methodical and orderly analysis of everyday talk produced in common situations of human communication, often referred to as 'talk-in-interaction'. This definition covers a broader range of practices than the term 'conversation' would imply. Methodologically CA is research based on the audio recordings of actual talk. The recordings are made from talk activities which are recorded in 'naturally occurring' interactions. Researchers transcribe these activities and present analyses of their studies of the transcriptions and tapes. 'Overall, CA is the study of recorded, naturally occurring talk-in-interaction', with the objective 'to uncover the tacit reasoning procedures and sociolinguistic competencies underlying the production and interpretation of talk in organized sequences of interaction'. (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008: 14)

3.2. How can conversation analysis be applied to psychotherapy supervision research?

CA is increasingly used as a methodology for research into psychotherapy processes. From its earliest origins conversation analysis has made use of therapeutic dialogues to provide accounts for the way conversation is structured and for the analysis of interactions in general (Sacks, 1992). It is in more recent years that conversation analysis has turned to the therapeutic dialogue specifically in order to understand and explicate the way the therapeutic dialogue and interactional processes contribute to the business of psychotherapy in particular. CA can make worthwhile and valuable contributions to the study of therapeutic dialogues. (Peräkylä, Antaki, Vehviläinen, & Leudar, 2008),

3.3. Ethnomethodological relevance

Previous research into group supervision has been undertaken with assumptions about communication and experiences in the supervision. These fall under two broad categories: firstly, that communication in supervision is influenced by 'external variables', such as experience, training, gender or role adoption, and internal elements beliefs thoughts and cognitions that are assumed to be prevalent and ubiquitous. And then secondly, research has been conducted under the selection and description of identified activities by the researcher, who imposes a 'template' or a lens, from which to view the interactions.

Ethnomethodology and ,in particular, CA offer a particularly apposite and relevant approach to studying interactions in general discourse, and in psychotherapy in particular. Ethnomethodology, an approach created and described by Harold Garfinkel (1967), understands and explains social actions, by investigating, "the elementary properties of practical reasoning and practical actions" especially how we "recognize, produce and reproduce social actions and structures" (Heritage, 1987, 225-6). The core of the approach deals with the explanation and the detailed understanding of how people behave in social situations and how the mutual shared understandings of our conduct and actions are co-maintained and understood in a

shared intelligibility. Central to this shared understanding is a concept of intersubjectivity and the 'normative accountability of action', situated in a local context (Heritage, 1987). Rather than treating social actions as 'automatically' or 'blindly' responding to social situations, the judgemental 'dopes' as Garfinkel succinctly describes, ethnomethodology's approach suspends an evaluation by an external benchmark, and substitutes an exploration of social action where the researcher looks for 'logic' and 'good sense' oriented to by the social participants. In other words, Garfinkel laid out the premise to social researchers to observe social action as a product of actions in particular situations and to which all participants orient.

In the light of this empirical view of social action, David Silverman (1997) comments on the methodological issues in the central debate of using CA as a method of analysing how counselling and psychotherapy can be best evaluated. He distinguishes between psychotherapy research that attempts to locate studies in the realm of 'how' therapists and clients think and feel against studies which empirically look at 'what' they do. He uses the terms 'Explanatory Orthodoxy' and 'Divine Orthodoxy' to illustrate his points. With 'Explanatory Orthodoxy' he is describing how some social research sees participants as 'puppets of social structures' (1997: 23), in other words believing that 'society' defines and creates individuals' behaviour and actions. The term 'Divine Orthodoxy' he uses to suggest that some measures of participant behaviour are construed with some idealised normative standards in mind. The "social scientist is the philosopher 'king (or queen) who can see through people's claims and know better than they do". Again, this means that "people are 'dopes'" (1997: 23)

Silverman's main argument, and one which has immediate impact for CA research, is that in the 'Divine Orthodoxy' camp, 'the phenomenon escapes' (1997: 24). Because social researchers in this camp rush to go about explaining social phenomena, they don't spend enough time understanding how the phenomena work. He argues for the value of applying CA to therapeutic dialogue by saying that using pre-defined

measures to focus on actual counselling practices runs the risk of losing the 'phenomenon' of sessions. The beauty of CA is the undiluted preservation of the 'phenomena' of therapeutic interactions and the lack of pre-determined categories of analysis. Looking at 'what' therapists and clients actually 'do' in conversation together can provide 'a central resource out of which analysis may develop' (Heritage 1984: 243).

CA research then, is driven by 'real life' audio data, captured in 'normal', naturally occurring, interactions; it is a deeply empirical tradition. The data in CA is actual, mechanically recorded, instances of talk-in-interaction, it is 'real-world data' (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998: 21). As Sacks notes, the use of actual recordings can open up a whole range of phenomena that no-one would have ever suspected existed. '...From close up looking at the world we can find things that we could not, by imagination, assert were there' (1984: 25). So CA moves away from speculation about orientation and motivation of participants and firmly locates the analysis within the data. As Schegloff states (Sacks, 1992) in his introduction to Sacks collected 'Lectures on Conversation', Sacks' 'distinctive and utterly critical recognition' was, the 'talk itself was the action, and previously unsuspected details were critical resources in what was getting done in and by the talk; and all this in naturally occurring events, in no way manipulated to allow the study of them' (1992: xviii). So, the 'phenomena' that is lost or overlooked in Silverman's critique remains, and it is in fact the finer detail of the talk events, which constitute the location for methodical accounts of action .

In defending CA, Sacks writes: 'the detailed study of small phenomena may give an enormous understanding of the way humans do things and the kind of objects they use to construct and order their affairs' (Sacks, 1995: 26). The detail in talk-in-interaction can be examined and moreover returned to as a kind of 'public record'. As Sacks put it; 'If you can't deal with the actual detail of actual events then you can't have a science of social life' (1992, Vol. 2: 26). This also means that if we can't

deal with the actual detail of supervision sessions then we can't have science of psychotherapy supervision.

3.4. Some applications of CA to therapeutic dialogue

Early studies looking at actual speech data and analysing talk interactions used the transcription of therapeutic dialogues as a basis for data (Pittenger, Hockett, & Danehy, 1960; Sacks, Fall 1965 in (1992); Labov and Fanshel, 1977). Sacks makes direct reference to the choice of his data from group therapy sessions saying, 'I just happened to have it. Furthermore, it's not that I attack it by virtue of some problem I bring to it' (Sacks, 1992: 292).

Sacks intention was to find the "order at all points" in the human behaviour of talk (Sacks 1984: 22). In other words, Sacks' principal concern with talk-in-interaction was not to be specific about the institutions or settings his data came from. Other initial studies focussed on single, short episodes of therapeutic dialogue; in Pittenger et al (1960) a series of the first five minutes of therapy sessions and in the Labov and Fanshel study (1977) , a single segment of 15 minutes. Applications to the more detailed and explicit procedures of psychotherapy were not made in these early studies; they offered more general conclusions about the nature and theory of talk interactions.

In a study by Ferrara (1994) a sustained and specific application to the process of psychotherapy is carried out, although one of the first of its kind, the study is composed of numerous approaches and does not use CA solely. The focus is to understand the 'discourse strategies' of therapists. This study aimed to show how 'the ethnography of communication, discourse analysis and conversation analysis, interactional sociolinguistics, and frame analysis, can be successfully synthesized' (1994: 12).

Other studies concerning psychotherapy also emerged; this new line of enquiry has become known as psychotherapy process research, notably the studies by Stiles

(1992; 1999; 2002). In trying to describe and understand the psychotherapeutic process these studies drew their observations into specific frameworks in an attempt to conceptualise the process; the Verbal Response Modes and the 'assimilation model' are Stiles' ways of describing the change processes involved in psychotherapy. One value of these global characterizations is the contribution they make to prizing the sensitivity CA has to the 'process' through which therapy is created between therapist and client in a moment by moment dialogue. The limitations are highlighted and elucidated by Stiles himself who makes clear the omission of the studies; 'Empirically, outcome was not reliably correlated with the theoretically important process components, at least not with in-session behaviours that can be classified and counted' (Stiles, 1999: 6).

However, in other ways, these studies carry importance for the attention they draw to the complexity of the audio data used. They also established the beginnings of a dialogue with practitioners in showing them 'what' they do, with an attempt at clarifying 'how' therapy processes emerge from the central feature and action of talk. Engagement with the material in this way can make it possible for researchers to point out to therapists previously unnoticed skills and an emerging development of more accurate efficiency can be made possible. One way this can proceed is from the development of the use of CA of therapeutic dialogues to not only describe therapeutic processes but also begin to draw explanations and explore with more detailed understanding how therapeutic dialogue supports and fosters change in clients. Although broadly speaking, CA studies have not been concerned with the 'outcome' of therapy, studies have been concerned with typical sequences or usually constructed patterns of therapeutic discourse, oriented to by the therapist. They 'elucidate the ways in which the therapists actions in these particular contexts produce an effect in the patient' (Peräkylä et al, 2008: 24).

Concern for detail is a crucial aspect of CA and it is this feature of analysing patterns and sequence which contributes the most value for psychotherapy research; of particular significance are the identification and analysis of specific interactions and

the exploration of specific types of talk in institutions, or 'talk at work'. As Hutchby and Wooffitt make clear, 'even this applied work takes the essential CA starting point that talk-in-interaction is to be seen as its own social process, governed by its own regularities' (1998:21).

3.5. Fundamental features of CA Methodology

Four fundamental features of method are key in CA. These are: one, the empirical grounding of analysis; two, the structural organization of talk; three; the sequential organization of talk and four; an approach to analysis which is free from prior theoretical assumptions. The significance of these features for psychotherapy research is wide-ranging. Before the nature of this significance for psychotherapy research is explored, I want to discuss in more detail a description of the main foundations of conversation analysis. Since Sacks' early work CA has built over time an impressive collection of the structures of interactions. There is now a core understanding of the underlying structural organization of talk.

The most basic and underlying feature of CA is concern with turn at talk or the nature of turn-taking. A key feature is the understanding that turns at talk are not just serially ordered but that they are sequentially ordered. This is crucial; the relationship between turns reveals the located participation of participants and the action the turn has been designed to do. In other words, CA is concerned with 'how turn taking is accomplished, (and) also with what participants take it they are actually doing in their talk' (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008: 39).

There is at the heart of our understanding of turn-taking in discourse, the perhaps intuitively evident notion that as people take turns in conversation, that is, they talk one after the other, these 'turns' are sequentially ordered and are shown to be linked together. Not only this, but in the transition points of the turns, interactants display their understanding of the prior turn and its possible completion. In dialogue, and especially through the mobilisation of turns at talk, speakers display the mechanism of their 'making meaning' together. In other words, in 'next speaker'

turns, analysis shows that speakers reveal their understanding of the previous turn and respond according to their situated participation in this meaning.

One particular type of conversational sequence, the 'adjacency pair', as a basic unit of speech, is of interest to analysts (Schegloff and Sacks, 1973). Sacks identified that there are pairs of utterances between speakers which are ordered. Given the first part, the second is expectable, when it does not occur, this then is noticeable. The organization of adjacency pairs then are seen as a 'norm' to which participants hold each other accountable. Non-occurrence of the second pair part is as much an event as their occurrence. For instance, a question projects the next turn will be an answer; an invitation an acceptance. In analysing adjacency pairs, analysts can concentrate on the actions deployed by them, as, of course, when the first turn of an adjacency pair has been 'launched' the next speaker is at liberty to choose how to respond. It may be an 'expected' response, a normative response, or it may not. If it is an unexpected or non-normative response, there will be an indication in the design of the next turn of the non-normative orientation, for instance, research has shown common examples are, the next speaker may construct a turn which is hesitant, or which comes after an extended pause and it might start with the word, 'well...'. As Atkinson and Heritage affirm; 'For conversation analysts, therefore, it is sequence and turns-within-sequences, rather than isolated utterances or sentences, which are the primary units of analysis' (1984:3).

Many studies have taken this feature as a route to analysing the dialogue in psychotherapy. In 'Conversation Analysis and Psychotherapy' (Anssi Peräkylä et al, 2008) MacMartin; Halonen; Antaki; Leudar and Peräkylä all contribute chapters which focus on the use of adjacency pairs in therapy talk. For example, these chapters involve close attention to the use of question and answer sequences; the use of the therapists first –pair parts and the subsequent aligning of the clients in response. In these chapters it is the co-creation of the talk which is examined. The emphasis here is on what client and therapist 'do' in therapeutic dialogue rather than on the words they speak. This calls attention to the therapeutic dialogue as a

co-created action and supports the notion of talk as ‘an orderly accomplishment that is oriented to by the participants themselves’ (Hutchby and Wooffitt; 1998:15). The crucial emphasis in these papers is the locating of the transcribed utterances and adjacency pairs in the context of a therapy setting; this concern with the situated, contexted nature of talk-in-interaction is now a core feature of CA.

Beyond the basic structure of the adjacency pair CA also embraces the analysis of the sequential organization of talk. Schegloff and Sacks emphasised what they called the ‘sequential implicativeness’ of turns at talk (1973). In other words, Schegloff and Sacks uncovered a normative order or logic that underpins the paired actions of utterances. As Anssi Peräkylä explains, this feature of analysis CA can show how, ‘The therapist’s action is intrinsically tied to and oriented to what the patient did in his or her utterance and also projects a delimited range of next utterance as the client’s part’ (2008: 15).

The sequential implicativeness of talk also offers a way of seeing patterns and relationships between several adjacency pairs. Vehviläinen makes use of this feature to present ways in which a therapist paves the way for an interpretive statement, working with the client to create a relevance ‘slot’ in what she calls ‘the interpretive trajectory’ (Vehviläinen, 2003). Analysing the sequential organization of talk over a series of linked interactions is of foremost significance for the study of psychotherapy. Schegloff has described this phenomenon in talk as ‘sequences of sequences’ (Schegloff, 2007: 195 -216). This makes clear the observation that ‘there can be particular ties of relevance between several sequences that serve to extend our sense of the coherence and organizational relatedness of a stretch of talk’ (Schegloff, 2007: 195).

Several studies have made implicit use of this by referring to the ways psychotherapists and clients interact and manage the task of therapy. A chain of linked exchanges may show the way therapists use question and answer sequences (Bercelli et al, in Anssi Peräkylä et al, 2008: 43-61) and also the management of the

therapist's formulations located in the chain of sequences which both prepare for them and make them possible (Antaki, Barnes, and Leudar, 2005). Moreover, an even larger scale of the organization of talk is seen in operation of talk over a series of encounters. Reference to past encounters and previous dialogues are of course, a major factor in the process of therapy which typically consists of a series of conversations in a linked focussed therapeutic process.

The extended connectedness of talk and its examination in CA can highlight the process of observable change in the therapeutic relationship. As Peräkylä states, 'the analysis of sequentiality of action is thus *the* contribution that CA can make in psychotherapy research" subsequently clarifying that "sequential understanding is the microscope through which we observe that process (of change)' (Anssi Peräkylä et al, 2008: 16).

3.6. Psychotherapy as 'institutional talk'

Psychotherapy is a specific kind of interaction; it is particularly designed to accomplish an institutionally prescribed task. CA at its inception started out as a method for studying the structures and properties within any talk-in-interaction. Attention was given to underlying concepts of conversation in general and which were found to be applicable to any conversation. In the years following Sacks' death in 1975 the development of CA has seen analysts involved in trying to understand the specific interactions in institutional settings. Drew and Heritage define this as the task-related talk, where at least one participant in the interaction represents 'a formal organization of some kind' and where 'participants' institutional or professional identities are somehow made relevant to the work activities in which they are engaged' (Drew and Heritage, 1992:3).

The CA perception of talk as 'context related' carries much meaning for the implications of institutional talk. Context in CA terms is twofold. The context of talk shapes and creates the utterances produced in conversation and also, significantly, utterances and talk actions are context renewing, every current utterance produces

the immediate context for the next utterance. In this way, the interactional context is continually created, renewed and developed within talk. The study of institutional interactions is firmly situated within this framework.

3.6.1. Formal and Non-formal institutional talk

CA aims at, and is successful in, revealing the distinctions in interaction in different types of environment and this is especially so in the analysis of institutional talk.

Heritage and Greatbatch (1991) made a distinction between two separate types of institutional talk, identifying them as, 'formal' and 'non-formal' types.

The differences in talk are sequentially derived. In 'formal' institutional talk, such as interaction in courts of law; some kinds of broadcast interviews and ceremonial occasions; studies have found that talk is structured in a normatively constrained way. In other words, participants orient to sequences of interaction which have a strict 'turn-type' allocation. Examples of this being the specified sequences of question-answer structures. In the main, where the institutional figure in the interaction asks the questions and the other responder, such as witness or interviewee is expected to respond with an answer. Other specifications are identified in these formal settings too, such as the constraints imposed on the questioner about the giving of personal opinion, and the careful orchestration of interactions which serve to present the responders answers in a sculpted way, which may construct an image or a highlighted aspect of the responder. This prescribed way of organising talk may also be constructed so as to avoid conflict, maybe, or to present a particular view, or to allow control to be in the hands of the speaker representing the institution (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 2008: 154). All of these specialized turn-taking systems when explored in detail identify the ways the interactants are aligning with the institutional setting and by so doing also bring about the institutional context.

More commonly institutional settings produce less formally structured talk, and these are categorised as 'non-formal' settings. Drew and Heritage (1992) brought attention to how the patterns of interaction in these settings, such as medical

consultations, social-service interactions and business meeting dialogues, exhibit less uniformity than formal institutional settings. They pay attention to the interactions and point out that although there are 'asymmetries' in the patterning of activities, such as in, again, the asking and responding to questions, in non-formal settings 'there is room for considerable negotiation and or stylistic variation as to how they will be managed'. In these settings the turn-taking procedures will not be so heavily prescribed and the discourse may operate more along the lines of ordinary conversations, or be quasi-conversational. The differences from ordinary conversation in these settings is to be found in the systematic organisation of sequences, such as the openings and closings of the institutional encounters, and also in the ways in which routine information is delivered, referred to and received. More reference to institutional talk and the relevance to supervision dialogue will be made later in chapter 5.

It is in this category of non-formal institutional talk that the data for this study are positioned. In subsequent chapters, therefore, I will pay attention to the ordering of sequences which the participants orient to 'get done' some of the business of supervision in a group. For instance, the patterning of activities such as, the routine exchanges which the group accomplish for the ordering of the successive presentation of supervisee 'cases', and in another example, the particular systematic interactional practices, which 'open' the talk of the members into talk oriented to the task of 'supervision'.

3.7. Methodological process in the study

This study is an analysis of 21 audio recordings of group supervision sessions over the course of a year. The supervision group met fortnightly for 90 minutes. The recordings were collected by a British University's Practice-Based counselling and Psychotherapy Research clinic. The research centre was established to support and enhance both research and counsellor training. It provided free counselling, up to 40 sessions, to the general public in return for their participation in research activities.

3.8. Participants and the collection of data

Prospective clients were referred by other agencies, such as the Universities student and staff counselling agency to the clinic. A two-stage screening process then ensued which took time to assess for suitability for the project, screening out, for instance, clients with severe substance abuse, obvious psychotic conditions, severe personality disorder diagnosis and those at risk of harm to themselves or others. The service in total had the potential to offer sessions to 48 clients per week and placements to 12 trainee counsellors and 3 experienced counsellors. The supervisors recruited to the research clinic were those currently employed by the University Counselling agency, however, they were not paid by the clinic and the supervisees paid privately for their supervision sessions at the clinic. They were very experienced practitioners, with a minimum of 10 years' experience as therapists and a minimum of 3 years' experience as supervisors.

The clinic gathered together a large corpus of clinical data including, CORE (Clinical Outcomes in Routine Evaluation) Assessment and End of Therapy forms (Barkham, Margison, Leach, Lucock, Mellor-Clark, Evans, Benson, Connell, Audin, & McGrath, 2001); The Inventory of Interpersonal Problems (IIP) (Horowitz, Rosenberg, Baer, Ureno, & Villaseñor, 1988); Weekly therapy measures such as Agnew Relationship Measure (ARM5) (Agnew-Davies, Stiles, Hardy, Barkham, and Shapiro, 1998); and Working Alliance Inventories (Horvath & Greenberg, 1989). Counsellors and supervisors also agreed to complete Supervision Working alliance inventories and the Oslo Relationship Scale following each supervision session. All therapy and supervision sessions were audio recorded. There was no provision for video recording in the clinic. The data for this study was taken from this collection.

The audio data was recordings from a group composing of one supervisor and three supervisees. The participants are three trainee supervisees in group supervision. Although the membership of the group changes over the course of the time of the data collection and sometimes there are only two supervisees. They are always 'supervised' by an experienced supervisor who has over 20 years' experience post-

qualification as a counsellor. The supervision sessions are part of the students' placement clinical practice and as such counselling hours would count as the necessary clinical hours required to be experienced and collected for their course requirements. One supervisee, the last member to join the group, has, in fact, finished her formal training and so is qualified, however, she is working towards accruing more professional hours towards a professional registration process.

The 21 supervision sessions were transcribed by myself using the Jefferson transcription system. (See Appendix A) The data comprised of recordings of 21 sessions over the course of 12 months. The supervision group met fortnightly except for during the clinic's holidays at Easter, in the summer and at Christmas. The female supervisor remained the same throughout and two supervisees, one male and female. A male supervisee in the group initially left after 6 weeks and then another female supervisee joined the group a few weeks later. In all 21 sessions there was only one session where there was only one supervisee and this session was not transcribed or used in the study as it could have compromised the data as a single one-off one-to-one supervision session.

A couple of recordings of sessions were lost due to technical difficulties. The group had to manage their own process of taping and initially, at least, the 'mechanics' of using a small digital recorder was strange to them. One session was taped over another one, through inexpert use of the recorder and subsequently and disappointingly, the first session disappeared, then towards the end of the complete data set two sessions were found to be only 12-15 minutes long with an abrupt ending of the recording. It is not known why this happened in the available data. It did not appear to be deliberate.

The recordings were stored by the clinic's research assistant onto the encoded system as the storage memory on the recording device was used up. The assistant was unable to tell me what had happened to the short recordings. It may have been that the storage memory was inadequate for the final recordings. The group would

not have known this and the assistant automatically stored anything that was on the recorder when it was handed to her. She did not note how long the sessions were and was not alerted to the fact the sessions were incomplete.

With regard to ethical approval for the study, the clinic had an over view of many ethical considerations, and all participants in the clinic, clients and practitioners signed ethical approval forms for the consent to release and use audio materials. (Please see Appendix B)

The data was stored on encrypted storage system, purposefully built for the research clinic data, by the research assistant. The data was transferred to an encrypted external hard drive for my use. I was not given access to any other data on the system. I agreed to and signed a confidentiality clause. This included assurances that the identities of participants would be protected. All names in this study are pseudonyms and identifying features in the discourse are altered to further protect identities of the supervisees and their clients.

The sampling of participants in the study was automatic and there was no choice made between groups or whether to include more than one group. At the commencement of the study the only recordings available for release were of one supervision group only. The other supervision groups had difficulties with the collection of a complete set of ethical approval forms so the collected data from these groups could not be released for research.

The first stage of the analysis was to undertake a detailed transcription of all 21 supervision sessions. This was first done using a verbatim transcription. This was a lengthy time-consuming process. However, the process proved to be crucial to the understanding of the analysis and during this time I noted in the margins of the transcriptions any unusual or interesting phenomena which struck me as worthy of more detailed analysis.

On further analysis the identified phenomena were collected and categorised under the initial identifying features. These selected extracts were then transcribed using the more detailed Jefferson Transcription system. Just as any recording of an interaction serves as an approximation to a lived through event, so does the transcription approximate to the recordings. The transcriptions become an auxiliary and not a substitution for the actual recordings of the sessions which are the actual data. The majority of the analytical work was undertaken using both transcriptions and recordings.

As is the usual procedure with CA there was no *a priori* selection of pre-determined and identified issues. Analysis was guided by the 'noting' of repetitions or collections of phenomena during the initial transcribing process.

The aim of the study is in summary, to examine, describe and analyse the interactional processes involved in the discourse of group supervision for counsellors using CA methods. In other words, this study sets out to try and establish and begin to delineate for the first time 'what supervision groups do' in their supervision sessions.

3.9. Possibilities for future research using CA

In addressing the future possibilities of CA in psychotherapy research it is important to consider the emerging need for some connection of findings to the outcome of therapy. A crucial question is this: can CA contribute to trying to find out the ways in which therapy is successful? The studies mentioned earlier are already making judgements on the effectiveness of therapists' interventions and the ways of working which promote and structure the process of change. What is known is that somehow talking facilitates change and therapists and clients are acutely embedded in this process. CA is elucidating and making more available a corpus of information which is heightening therapists understanding of what they and their clients 'do', in the institution of therapy and how their dialogues are specifically orientated to 'talk the institution into being' (Heritage, 1984:290).

Recent studies of therapy have used CA in conjunction with other methodologies. Such studies (Strong and Turner, 2008, Strong and Pyle, 2009) make clear the uses of CA to understanding the nuances and how this 'helps to identify what might otherwise slip under therapists' conversational radar' (2008: 186), but the research method is also combined with another qualitative method. Strong and Turner (2008) uses the 'comprehensive process analysis' (Elliott 1989) to invite the 'clients' and therapists, their research participants, back to review their participation in the session at a later date. Very little is made of the supporting retrospective comments other than to suggest that 'talking in the resourceful ways introduced by therapists were welcomed and that benefits were derived from talking this way' (Strong and Turner, 2008: 194). In spite of the limitations of these studies; for instance, only using volunteer clients and only analysing single hour long sessions (Strong and Pyle, 2009); there is scope in future research for the combination of methodologies to interweave and support CA research findings. This could be concomitant with a vision to exploring therapeutic outcome.

In setting out to do this study, I believed a crucially important aspect was to keep this study a single method study. As has been said before, the analysis of the actual real-life interactions in group supervision are scant. There is, I believe the space and a requirement to provide a more detailed analysis of the actual phenomena of group supervision interaction. What do participants actually 'do' , when they talk in group supervision? CA provides the perfect methodology to pursue this enquiry.

Chapter Four:

4. "Let's check-in with our tummies"

Orienting to feelings talk in the opening sequences in group supervision

4.1. Introduction

This chapter explores the interactional procedures the supervision group carry out and collaborate with as the supervision meeting begins. The chapter identifies the opening sequence designed to orient the meeting towards the business of beginning 'supervision'. There has been scant research attention paid to the initiating sequences of group supervision meetings. In the investigations of institutionalised meetings there has, however, been clear evidence that the process involved in 'beginning' the activity the group has agreed to meet for involves an orchestrated and collective activity for the business to 'start'. Goffman (1963) describes how an interactional 'occasion' may begin with 'muttering and milling, move on to the formal official proceedings' and exhibit a 'standard type of involvement contour' (1963:210). Turner (1972) describes 'preliminary talk' before business and Atkinson, Lee and Cuff (1978) point out the ongoing group chatter before a 'call to summons', describing it as 'background noise' and different from the recognisably engaged and collaborative talk of all parties to 'talk in a meeting'.

Atkinson, Cuff and Lee (1978) use one example of a meeting of a radio show team to describe how participants assume roles; with a participant who is the designated 'starter to a meeting', calling attention to the group with a 'right-er' utterance. This chapter explains how the group orientate to this as a meeting 'starter' with subsequent talk. Demonstrating how the additional turns maintain this utterance as a summons to and an orientation to the 'business' of the gathering. With interest to the evidence in the data in this study, explained in more detail below, the paper also describes, briefly, the interactional meeting phenomena of 'going around the table'.

This is a process whereby each member of the group has an opportunity to raise any issue or issues which may be troubling them. This is depicted as occurring in a 'natural passage' from one speaker to the next in a left to right automatic selection. This structured talk is 'managed' by the Chairperson who will assume the next speaker role after each participant's 'turn'. Sometimes the Chairman's turn is designed to enquire that the last holder of the turn has finished, but then also to call up the next speaker by saying their name. It is not stated where this is found in the meeting data, it seems that the extract used is after a 'coffee break', so whether this activity is part of the beginning process is not made clear. The device is described as the 'chairman giving each member of the group, their 'rightful say' in a democratic manner, and that members of the group contribute to the episode as 'an organised and commonly orientated –to event'.

4.2. Opening Sequences in meetings

A significant finding of this research describes how the participants in a meeting orientate to the business of the meeting and it outlines the 'episodic' organization of the meeting business talk. This is not shown in clearly outlined data transcriptions, but is 'suggested' as an analysis feature. The paper is significant because it shows how for members of a meeting group, the 'summons to a meeting –device' 'enables them to co-orientate to the production of some form of scheduling and control of business' (1978: 151).

Bargiela-Chiappini and Harris (1997) identify and outline the 'transitional moves' between what they categorize as the 'opening', 'debating' and 'closing' meeting phases. Their work emphasises the authority of the role of the chairman, who initiates the exchanges and is particularly dominant during the opening phase. In formal British meetings, they identify the compliance moves of the group's talk; emphasising that the group discourse is confined to a responding role only during the opening phase. In informal meetings, they recognise the roles and 'rules' for talk are far less rigid and the initiation of the meeting is shared between group members. The division of roles is less clear and in the opening phase here, the chair can

respond to initiations for information or background topics from the rest of the group. Furthermore, group talk will be multi-focussed initially and then move towards collective single topic moving on back to multi-focussed once the meeting business has been formally closed (Turner 1972; Atkinson, Cuff and Lee 1978; Atkinson and Drew 1979).

In all the studies these talk actions are described as collaborative and analysis shows how they involve the attention and agreement of all the group participants. Atkinson and Drew, (1979) pay attention to the opening sequences into business meeting talk explaining how this will often be led by one participant who cues the opening and is recognised by all the other participants; who orientate and co-ordinate their responses to facilitate this beginning. A clear example is the start of court proceedings initiated by an usher announcing, 'Be upstanding in court for her Majesty's coroner' (Atkinson and Drew, 1979).

The opening into 'business' talk has been shown to be sensitive to the meeting context and on occasion may not involve a pronouncement by a designated 'starter'. Turner's early study of group therapy talk (1972) identifies how 'pre-therapy talk' is sometimes closed with an extended silence and what is constituted by the group as therapy talk is unaccompanied by an announcement or a 'calling together'. In the silence the group orientates to the single focus of the meeting. The silence is constituted by the participants as the as the 'boundary' of the opening into the matter at hand.

Research on the openings and beginnings of institutional meetings by Boden (1994) describes openings as structured sequences embodying 'a variety of critical organizational issues. Openings bracket out the busy workday while bracketing *in* the local meeting membership' (1994:90). Furthermore, the institutional characteristics of the group will influence the operation and the structure of the opening sequences and this will inherently carry the task and charge of the group business.

Walker (1994) describes how the opening sequences of industrial relations 'negotiation meetings' initiate the transition to business and how subsequently 'category bound' activities and participant role membership become relevant from this point on and how these roles then have 'omni-relevance' throughout the subsequent negotiating activity.

Nielson (2013) gives a sequential analysis of openings and closings of institutional talk based on the data of department meetings. He identifies the 'mirroring' of the sequence as 'stepping stones' both leading into and in reverse order leading out of the meeting talk. He identifies the opening sequence comprises of initiating summonses, pauses, explicit signals and transitional markers. The pauses in the sequence he identifies as the collaborative passing of the 'opportunity' to take the floor by all participants. In this way, he also identifies the structuring of the opening (and closing) sequences as co-ordinated group achievements.

This chapter will show, in the light of the studies outlined above, that group supervision sessions are recognisable and have similarities to institutionalised work or business meetings. There is an identifiable sequence, a 'lead' or chair role assumed by the supervisor and the group participants orientate towards the opening of the supervision meeting in structured and collaborative ways. Four main turns are identified: the invitation, a pause or gap, often accompanied by a pursuit of the invitation; the individual member's response and the supervisor reply to the group member's response. This sequence is repeated until all members of the group have responded. Occasionally the sequence will include an additional element and this is the supervisor explaining to the group the reasons behind her request.

Examination of the data will also reveal some differences which will emphasise the contextual institutionalised nature of the work at hand in supervision and will further show how the group interactional sequencing prefigures the nature of the anticipated exchanges to come.

4.3. Opening sequences in group supervision

The data shows that in group supervision the opening moments of the supervision produces, almost without fail, opening sequences which involve an invitation from the supervisor to the members in the group to respond to a request for a procedural 'check-in'; this is hearable as a request to the group members to focus on one topic and more particularly to participate in the routine enterprise of sharing with each other their current state of being (Edwards & Heshmati, 2003). The invitation is always made by the supervisor and this corresponds to earlier studies which indicate that the person who gets to initiate the opening sequences of meetings is always a person of authority or 'legitimately' ascribed by the group with the power to start the transition procedure, they have the role as 'authorized starter' (Turner 1972, Atkinson, Cuff and Lee 1978).

Each member of the group in turn subsequently takes the floor to tell the rest of the group how they are. The use of self-selection turn transition procedure occurs routinely in the data after the initial invitation and is a crucial component of the activity. This has implications for and influences the design of the sequence. The 'check-in' process is a regular activity which happens in every group supervision meeting in the data except the very first meeting and one where there is only one supervisee.

This structured routine activity has an ambiguous role in the stated 'business' of doing supervision. This lack of clarity about the 'status' of the check-in is embedded in the concluding phase of the activity as the transition to talking about clients occurs, with members saying after all members have 'checked-in', 'who's going to start?'. Also at times the introducing of the 'check-in' is called 'before we begin'; but it is also acknowledged in the data as 'how we usually start'. This is further confused when prior talk has also occurred, namely the organisation of bureaucratic matters, such as dates for subsequent meetings, the payment process to the supervisor or the arranging of a response to the request for agency forms to be filled in. However, the occurrence of the 'check-in' as a regular and ubiquitous talk event imbues it with

a quality which lends itself to being considered of primary importance to the 'business' of supervision. It always precedes the talk about clients and as such is identifiable as an opening 'phase' in supervision meetings.

The features of the sequence and organization of the 'check-in' phase will be described in detail below, however the initial opening turn in this sequence by the supervisor as 'authorized starter', will be looked at in detail initially.

4.4. The invitation

As stated earlier the initial utterance or phrase to begin the check-in, is always initiated by the supervisor. As such it is the summons to an activity which negotiates a way to orientate the group towards the business of beginning 'supervision'. This differs from the 'preliminaries' identified in earlier studies as the group are gathered together with one focus for a check-in and they are called together into the activity by the supervisor.

The first component of the sequence, the invitation, when studied closely reveals salient points about the opening sequences. The invitations are a ritualised 'how are you' request, and hearable in the context of the supervision of therapy work the group is embarking on. So, the invitation can be identified as a solicitation to begin feelings talk in group supervision, or in other words, a specified form of a 'how are you request', which orients the participants into the 'meeting' as a place and an occasion where moods and feelings are important and paying attention to well-being of the participants is significant and prioritised.

The first extract is an example of how the invitation is made unambiguously.

Extract 1

[URC260111]

01. S: so let's just have a brief run down about how
02. you're all feeling today

04. (6.0)
 05. S: no particular order
 06. A: a bit rushed hh

In Extract 1, the invitation to feelings talk is explicitly made using the phrase, '*how you're all feeling today*'. The precursor, '*let's just have*' is a modified form of invitation which softens the command and poses the request as a collaborative enterprise for the whole group. Although the supervisor makes the request, the design of the request is structured to avoid the invitation being a personal call or wish. It serves to make the invitation a jointly created and wanted requirement. The phrase '*brief run down*' implies the descriptive element is procedural and routine. The addition of the focus of time; '*today*', brings the request as identifiably important to the present task at hand.

In subsequent examples, the label of the specific term '*check-in*' to identify the opening moments, identifies it further as a rarefied process, codified with its own rubric which firmly expects a response to the context of the group meeting and the work at hand. Extract 2 below, another example of an invitation, illustrates the requirements expected of the responder to the request by laying down a suggested suitable response as well as re-phrasing the invitation to make it clear that feelings responses are expected.

Extract 2
[URC070910]

01. S: uh .hh lets sort of have a check-in as to where
 02. we are sort of °I'm not feeling well° or how are
 03. you both↑(0.5)one word will do↑ more if you want↑
 04. (10.0)
 05. O: I think I feel a bit apprehensive today

In this extract, the invitation to have a 'check-in' is made in unconfident language, with '*let's sort of*' have one. Again, the request is designed to be heard as a unifying

request. The *'let's'* includes the whole group membership in the request for the called for activity and separates the supervisor from the desire for the called for action even though she is the initiator. The design of the phrase *'have a check-in'*, is designed to make the 'check-in' a do-able thing. It is an activity which the group can *'have'* or do together. The design also includes the typical kind of response which it might prompt, line 2, and this leads into another design of the invitation, or *'how are you both'*. Both the inclusion of the *'I'm not feeling well'* response example and the second design of the invitation *'how are you both'*, make it clear that the invitation is to begin a dialogue of feelings talk. As a prompt, the suggestion, *'I'm not feeling well'*, also indicates that it is permissible to talk about discomfort. There is a proposal that the group can describe uncomfortable or unpleasant states of being too or that they can be congruent about their feelings if they do not feel good. If the second design, of the invitation in this extract, *'how are you both'*, identifies what the request is, it is interesting that this is not the first design of the invitation, even though it seems to be the more easily identifiable request. The habitual term *'check-in'* is used initially, even though the supervisor provides the next design to make it clear to the recipients of the request of what is expected from them. The nature of the response expected is further outlined with line 3, *'one word will do more if you want'*. The phrase *'one word will do'* lays down a warrant which emphasises that something is expected, and even the barest minimal dialogic response is acceptable.

The following extract 3 provides an example of another illuminating design of the invitation which carries an essential indication to the type of response wanted.

Extract 3

[URC140111]

01. S: Shall we just check-in with sort of where our
02. tummies are
03. (3.0)
04. S: No particular order
05. O: I'm feeling quite anxious actually

Typically, the term '*check-in*' is used, which as we have seen is the shorthand term of reference for the activity and sequence initiated. The addition of the phrase, '*with sort of where our tummies are*', makes explicit again the request is for feelings responses. The striking feature of this design of the invitation is the use of the infantilised phrase, '*where our tummies are*'. The stomach is frequently stated in counselling and psychotherapy literature to be the site where our deepest instinctual human feelings are to be found (Reich 1961, Van de Kolk 2015). In this way, the expression can be heard not only as an invitation to the group members to re-connect with their feeling state, but it also subscribes the activity to a particular environment, namely the 'counselling' one, where feelings talk and understanding are prioritised. The use of the infantilised word, '*tummies*' is curious, it could possibly make the 'feelings' work expected less formal. In the data, the phrasing of this invitation with the word 'tummies' or 'tummy' is common.

The following extracts are a few examples of the invitation which serve to further clarify the design of the supervisor's invitation. If we look in detail at the invitations, we can see the design of the supervisor's turn is such as to create a particular response appropriate. For instance, in Extract 4 below, line 1 is an invitation for the supervisees to begin to talk.

Extract 4

[URC230211]

01. S: Can I just hear from you all ↑first of all >well I
02. normally start with how your tummy is don't I
03. < right .h let's do that how your tummy is
04. and then who you want to bring today
05. (3.0)

The invitation is initially designed with '*can I just hear from you all first of all*', which is modified and then made to be more specifically to be one which invites the feelings talk, lines 2 and 3, '*well I normally start with how your tummy is don't I right*

let's do that'. This evidences that the check-in process is intended to be for personal embodied feelings talk and is not an invitation to talk about clients, for instance. It is cued to be responded to as an elicitation of feelings talk. This is further underlined by the subsequent phrase; *'and then who you want to bring today'*, in this way the client discussion work, it is made clear, must be after the *'tummy'* talk, this is shown by the *'and then'* which denotes a procedural outline for the topics to be discussed. *'Bringing a client'* is a commonly designed utterance to mean *'talking about a client'* in the data.

It is interesting to note that in this extract the design of the invitation emphasises the supervisor as the one who is calling for the activity. *'Can I just hear from you all'*, this is hearable as a personal request and then the invitation to specifically do *'tummy talk'* is made subsequently and almost as an afterthought. The construction of the phrase *'Well I normally start with how your tummy is don't I'* is hearable as a self-initiated repair for the starter, almost as if in the first summons to talk, the *'feelings'* aspect was forgotten about. It also categorises the opening feelings sequence as a) usual and b) a discreet activity. It is identifiable as a *'thing'* which happens and is identifiable by what is expected of the participants. In line 3 the supervisor emphasises the call to start which this extended invitation brings by using a *'right (preface)'* utterance (Walker, 1994) *'right, lets do that how your tummy is'*, *Right (preface)* utterances occur when the authorized starter calls the group or team to embark on the business of the meeting and when the start of this is less negotiable.

The following extracts 5 and 6 are further examples of the supervisor's invitation to supervisees to *'check-in'* by locating their feeling state in their tummies, *'Where are your tummies'* (Extract 5, line 5) and *'let's check-in with our tummies'*, (Extract 6 line 1)

Extract 5
[URC090211]

01. S: okay now I'm totally unprepared cos I've come out
02. straight out of that meeting (clears throat)
03. just (rustle of papers) tell me a bit about
04. where ya where you are coming in to the today
05. yeah where are your tummies as I call it
06. another way of saying little Graham or little
07. Olivia or Esther, where are they
08. (3.0)

Extract 6

URC130411

01. S: O:kay so: let's check-in with our tummies
02. (1.0)where are we now now I realise the last
03. few times I've said that I haven't checked in
04. with mine at least if I have I haven't told you
05. .hh so. how um how is everybody
06. (12.0)

Other examples are also similar such as; '*O:kay so:: let's do that how your tummy is today*' and '*how's everyone's tummy at the moment*'. It is noticeable that the invitations stress the responses requested are to be immediate current states of feeling by the routine use of 'today', 'at the moment' and more definitely, 'now'.

4.5. The sequential characteristics of opening phase transactional procedure

Including the invitation feature as described above the 'check-in' sequence is routinely organised with five features and all the turns are designed to orient the discourse towards the feelings talk of therapeutic supervision. This chapter intends to show how the structural design of the sequence lays the ground and prepares the group for the context and milieu of their subsequent therapy supervision task.

The five elements identified are as follows:

- a) the invitation
- b) a pause or gap

- c) pursuit of invitation by supervisor.
- d) the individual supervisee's response
- e) the supervisor reply, often a formulation of the previous response

The elements d) and e) are repeated until all members of the group have spoken. This may, but does not always, include the supervisor's own response to her initial invitation at the outset. Occasionally the sequence will include a sixth element and this is the supervisor explaining to the group the reasons behind her request. This is often to be found after all the members have responded, but is also found in a pursuit response when the group is relatively new to each other and by implication, the sequence.

Extract 7, below, is a relatively brief example of a whole sequence which evidences all the core elements as identified above. Each element of the sequence, that is, the invitation, the pauses, the pursuit, the individual member's responses and the supervisor formulations, are indicated by an arrow and a corresponding letter to the left. So, the indicated lines, correspond to the lettered sequence outline above.

Extract 7.

[URC301110]

- 01. S: We've got. .hh December the 14th
- 02. a→ S: So just a quick check-in with how everyone's feeling to
- 03. start with
- 04. b→ (8.0)
- 05. c→ S: No particular order
- 06. (4.0)
- 07. d→ A: Well I've just left my counselling bag under my
- 08. desk at work so I'm feeling a bit lost .hh
- 09. e→ S: °Lost° .hh and annoyed with yourself probably
- 10. A: Yes it's kind of been the bane of the day
- 11. e→ S: Oh dear
- 12. A: Leaving things where I shouldn't have left them .hh
- 13. S: Okay.
- 14. b→ (7.0)
- 15. d→ G: h Mm Just feeling a bit tired I've just saying my

16. eyes feel tireder than I do

17. S: Right.

18. G: So I'm too long at the screen today

19.e→ S: Tired eyes

20.b→ (3.0)

21.d→ O: I'm feeling very: ru:shed just feeling like I'm

22. fitting things into pockets of time all the

23. time I just >rushing from one thing to the

24. next< jst uhmm .hhh yeh

25.e→ S: Something familiar about that or is it ↑just today

26. O: Umm: mm that's >prbly quite familiar actually< I

27. think i need ta. try and find some spa:ce. somewhere

28. S: Mmm

29.b→ (2.0)

30.d→ S: ↑Okay↓ (2.0) well I'm feeling quite relieved because I'm

31. I have all my nervousness thinking I wasn't going to get

32. here so .hh

33. (2.0)

34. S: Okay um can I just double check with you all who's seeing

35. who

As delineated earlier, the request at a) "*so just a quick check-in with how everyone's feeling to start with*" is designed to be responded to as a 'feeling' request. The term 'check-in' is used as an indication that each member is expected to 'check-in' or report to the rest of the group with their unique subjective response. As with the examples shown above, the rest of the request is formulated with a qualifier, '*with how everyone's feeling to start with*'. This makes it unavoidable to understand the request as anything other than an invitation to respond with feelings talk. It is interesting to note the end of the request "*to start with*", (line 03) because as indicated by line 1 although the invitation a) begins the opening sequence identified, it is not necessarily the first speech act of the meeting. There has been some other group 'business' confirming future dates of the next meeting; "*we've got December the 14th*". So although the invitation or 'how are you request' is stated to be the 'start' of supervision it comes embedded in previous dialogue. It could therefore be hearable as the formal and orderly 'start' of a 'preliminary to supervision business',

and that the group are in this sequence collaborating with an alignment to the understanding that what we do here, in this group, is feelings talk.

The gap at b) shows that the next speaker self-selection order is problematic in this context. The design may also confirm that what is going to be heard and responded to here, takes some time to orient to. It is interesting to note that even when all in the group have responded, except one, and so the 'self-selection' is not problematic then the gap is still in evidence. Taking this into account, the gap can be heard as a marker of 'discreteness' between each response too. The supervisor in this extract, ends the initial 8 second silence with a turn which acts as a pursuit of a response (Pomerantz, 1984) '*no particular order*' (line 5) instructing and reminding the group members that there is no 'routine' order to the responses. The turn reminds the group that anyone can speak now. This could be seen to be designed to 'speed up' the sequence as discussed further below. There is another, briefer gap of 4 seconds before the first group member responds.

Each of the individual response turns is a second pair part to the original invitation, (shown in the extract as d). Each has a similar design; they are spoken in the first person and use the verb 'to feel'. This extract underlines that the expected, and usual way to respond to the a) request is to offer up an individual 'feeling' response. The supervisor's turns after each d) response in this extract offers an interesting set of the differing ways the responses are subsequently replied to. The e) responses are always the turn of the supervisor and are designed in several ways, they are often formulations of the supervisees response and as such, they seek to show an understanding of the response and, at times, to make a new version of it. The supervisor responses can work to either: extend the response; as in line 9, '*lost and annoyed, probably*'; or to briefly summarise, line 19; '*tired eyes*' or to ask for further information to deepen understanding as in line 25, '*something familiar about that or is it just today*'. The differing designs of e) replies and the proposed actions of the formulations will be outlined in more detail below.

In this extract, we have an example of the supervisor also offering a d) response. Again, with the specific design of first-person feeling statement. However, in this extract as in all others in the data, the supervisor is not responded to with a e) reply from any other member. Her turn is the last and subsequently ends the ongoing check-in sequence, and after a pause the dialogue transitions to the next topic which is selected by the supervisor. Lines 34 & 35; *'okay um can I just double check with you all who's seeing who'*.

The ritualistic, 'institutionalised' element of the sequence is highlighted in this example extract by the rapidity of the responses and the brevity of the e) element of the sequence. From the outset, the sequence is set out to be 'quick' and although the whole of the core sequence is there, it only takes 1:46 minutes. The supervisor sets the pace, initially requesting a *'quick check-in'* and the turn *'no particular order'* can be heard as a pursuit response, a 'hurry up' suggestion after the 8 second silence. The supervisor's e) replies in this extract are short and at times curt, as in line 18, *'right'*. After all the group members have responded, the supervisor's turn at line 34, *'okay, well I'm feeling quite relieved because I'm I have all my nervousness thinking I wasn't going to get here so,'* may give an indication of the origin of the pace set by the supervisor.

I will now look at each component part of the sequence, following the invitation, in detail.

4.6. Silence and pursuits in the sequence

Silences in conversations have been called many things and there is a range of terms used for them in conversational analysis studies. From the outset, Sacks et al (1974) identified three types of silences, namely: pauses, gaps and lapses: pauses are silences within turns from the same speaker; gaps are shorter silences in-between speakers at transitional relevant points (TRPs) and lapses are longer or extended silences at TRPs. The definition of what is an *extended* silence to 'convert' a gap to a pause is a debateable point and because in this data there is evidence of 'pauses'

taking a longer time than 'gaps', this chapter will refer to all silences between speakers as 'gaps'. In their ground-breaking paper outlining the mechanism of turn-taking in conversations, (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974) identified the 'vast majority of transitions' in conversation occur with no gap, or with a slight gap.

Subsequent work identifies the gaps to be roughly the space of time of one syllable (Jefferson, 1983, Schegloff, 2000). When a gap occurs there is a sign that something of 'note' is happening in the distribution of the turn. Although the characterisation of a nominal gap has led to the idea that speakers are involved in the processes of being able to 'project' the timing of the next turn, there have also been studies considering the factors influencing the times of the gaps. Shorter transitions with gaps are associated with speaker stress in embarrassing situations (Jaffe & Feldstein, 1970) and tasks with competitive edges, and those with cognitive expectations are seen to increase the gaps (Trimboli & Walker, 1984).

Taking Schegloff's (2000) premise into account that, 'something of note' happens when a gap occurs, the ubiquity of the gap in the identified sequence of this data evidences that the silence is fulfilling a function for the group supervision talk. The supervisor will often interrupt the silence with a pursuit. Where the supervisor talks again she represents the invitation or embellishes the initial invitation with further premise for the request (Davidson, 1984). Extract 8 is a good example of such a pursuit response.

Extract 8

[URC230211]

01. S: Can I just hear from you all ↑first of all >well I
02 normally start with how your tummy is don't I< right
04. let's do that how your tummy is and then who you want to
05 bring today
06. (3.0)
07. You take your time to come here you've been sitting here
08 for a long time we ought to know how we are .hh
09. (7.0)

10. O: I'm generally feeling quite good this week

Lines 07-08 are an example of three listed reasons. '*You take your time to come here*'; '*you've been sitting here for a long time*', which is interesting as the group has only just met; and then finally '*we ought to know how we are*' (lines 08). The uptake from O (line 10) then takes a further 7 second gap.

In extract 9 (below) the silence is created by a series of gaps but the total silence is again long:

Extract 9

[URC211210]

01. S: Let's just have a ((tapping noise)) you okay.
02. O: Yeah
03. S: Where are we
04. (3.0)
05. What's it like to be here
06. 5.0)
07. A: Heh
08. (4.0)
09. G: I've got this odd sensation its more than two
10. weeks since the last one

Line 5 is another example of the supervisor, after a silence, reframing the invitation, which has been compromised by noise initially. So, here we hear an invitation, a silence, pursuit invitation and another long gap. The utterance at line 7 could be heard as an aborted uptake, a simple sound which might be an initially 'taking the floor' turn, although the following uptake after a 4 second gap is by another group member. This may show that the initial invitation to offer a 'how are you response' is a troubling one to the recipients, as described by Davidson (1984). 'An inviter or offeror, on hearing a silence after an invitation or offer, may then examine the invitation or offer for what was possibly inadequate, troublesome, or problematic about it' (1984: 104). The pursuits are 'clarifying' pursuits (Pomeranz, 1984) Which would suggest the supervisor acknowledges some recipient misunderstanding.

However, the data here shows the silences are much longer than in the data used by both Davidson (1984) and Pomerantz (1984).

In the following extract 10, we can see the invitation presented again in three forms, the differing invitations are delivered as in a roll. Subsequently, after a fleeting, compared to other examples, 0.5 sec pause the supervisor does not clarify the request but she suggests ways in which the response could be given.

Extract 10

[URC070910]

01. S: uh .hh Let's sort of have a check-in as to where
02. we are sort of 'I'm not feeling well' or how are
03. you both↑(0.5)one word will do↑ more if you want↑
04. (10.0)
05. O: I think I feel a bit apprehensive today

The subsequent gap before uptake is a lengthy 10 seconds. The gap is crucial to the sequence and it is tolerated and created by all participants. The function of it may be to prepare the group for a 'boundary' between the talk before and the talk subsequently; like the silences noted in the data analysed of therapeutic group meetings in Turner (1972), the silence may indicate a herald to talk different to everyday talk. It may also serve as an indication that the group consider that what is being requested or offered here is a 'space to think' as well as a 'space to feel'. Indeed, it makes that opportunity possible.

Another possible reading of the silence / gap is an expression of the difficulty of the request together with the difficult choice of 'who goes next'. In the request, there is no next speaker selection by the supervisor. This subsequently requires next speaker self-selection on the part of the other group members and the uptake is therefore not automatic. In this multi-party talk all members are therefore eligible to have the next turn. The members need to negotiate who speaks next and together with the incipient nature of the request for a 'how are you' response, the next turn requires a

degree of care and the space for thought and the time for the group members to connect with a 'felt sense' is necessary before a response. However, when the self-selection dilemma is not in operation, that is, when all members have spoken and the next person to speak is automatic there is still a gap. In a formulaic way, the responses for each person in the group are given 'space' by the gaps, which possibly hold the meaning and significance of the subsequent turn. Each response has a discreet held 'space' before the next person speaks. The gap signals that this is been achieved by the members.

4.7. The individual member's response to the invitation as next speaker

Routinely, the response to the invitation after the silence, i.e. the 'entering into the next speaker' turn is accompanied by linguistic indicators of how the group members manage this dilemma of who goes next and what to say and the responses display how the invitation is taken to be a request for a 'feelings' response. Each individual response is a feeling report.

Here are some examples:

- 11) "I'm not feeling too good today I've >had some bad news<"
- 12) "I'm generally feeling quite good this week (2.0) yeah"
- 13) "um I'm feeling a little bit flat"
- 14) "I think I feel a bit apprehensive today"
- 15) "I've got this odd sensation its more than two weeks since the last one"
- 16) "I'm not really sure trying to I'm not really sure how I feel"

The data shows the members' responses are routinely designed to include the verb 'to feel', such as, 'I'm feeling', or 'I feel'. If the verb 'to feel' is not included the design includes a reference to a physical sensation or a mood or an awareness of sensation, such as extract 15 '*I've got this odd sensation*', and '*I've got sort of an odd sense of being physically tired*'. At times the response misses out the personal ownership of

the response and the turn is designed like a detached abstracted description, as in extract 17 below:

Extract 17

[URC230211]

01. G: um (2.0) Sort of mixed. like almost like there's
02. a unsettlement I'm not sure whether that's there's
03. something that somethings just easing or
04. something just sort of rising at the moment

Which can be read as a 'shorthand' design for an individual feeling response. As many of the other responses are 'owned' responses, it is as if the turn is designed to omit the 'I feel' phrase because everyone in the group knows it would be there. It is taken for 'read' the response is personal. It may also indicate the difficulty on the speaker's part to 'own' their personal response.

4.8. Response and formulation

The supervisor's response is often, initially, a brief acknowledgement of the response. The supervisor says either 'right' or 'okay' as a receipt token regularly. Sometimes both are said. It is always the supervisor who accepts the responses. Frequently, in addition, the next turn will be composed of one of three moves which continue the group members' response. Either a) the current respondent to the invitation will continue their response and say more to elaborate on their feeling state, or b) the supervisor will pursue the respondent for more elaboration of their turn or c) the supervisor will provide a formulation of the response and this will then set up a turn with further detail from the respondent, or the formulation will be accepted and the next respondent will take their turn. So, in summary a response can either be a receipt, a receipt together with a repetition or a formulation. All three types of responses can also be found in one 'receipt turn' sequence.

Extract 18 can illustrate the supervisor's receipt turns and the group members corresponding continuation with the feelings talk. The following example will also illustrate the procedural nature of the supervisees 'turns' at responding. But first we see an example of the supervisor's response and formulation. The salient features are indicated by arrows with letters to represent the 'type' of response offered. Here is a key: r = receipt; r&r = receipt and repetition; for = formulation.

Extract 18

[URC090211]

01. S: Okay now I'm totally unprepared cos I've come
02. out straight out of that meeting ((clears throat)) just a
03 ((rustle of papers)) tell me a bit about where ya where
04 you are coming in to the today yeah >where are your
05 tummies< as I call it hh. another way of saying is little
07. Graham or little Olivia or Esther where are they
08. (3.0)
09. O: I think I said this last time but feeling a bit jittery
10 again
11. r→ S: °Right°
12. O: I felt really restless this week agitated and I found
13 myself kicking my foot on what I do that. but I'm just a
14 bit which is i don't know if it's my client my new
15 client but
16.r&r→S: Right jittery agitated
17. O: .hh Yeah
18.for→S: Unsettled
19. O: Unsettled yeh
20. S: And not just (.) coming in (.) ↓here
21. O: No
22. S: All week↑ (1.0) or
23. O: Mmm
24. S: It's been around you
25. O: hmm Yeah beginning of this week yeah
26. S: And you could link it to which client
27. O: My new client Abby
28. r→ S. °Right°. okay↑

29. (4.0)

In line 11 we see the supervisor's initial minimal receipt token, the group member then continues with her response (line 12 – 15), this is an example of the first identified response combination. The continuation without further prompt. The supervisor in this extract, then offers another receipt token (line 16) and repeats the respondent's key feeling words, which are accepted by the respondent and with a minimal receipt (line 17). Then in line 18 the supervisor reformulates the response, with the word '*unsettled*', which is also accepted by the supervisee. This is an example of the third identified response. The subsequent turns by the supervisor are an extended form of summary of the supervisee's earlier main points. The two receipt tokens of the supervisor in line 28, 'right' and 'okay' are taken by the supervisee to end the response. There is then another gap before the next supervisee offers a response to the initial invitation.

The extract follows on below and illustrates the second, the 'pursuing' type of supervisor receipt turn. In this section, the data shows the supervisor 'chasing' the supervisee (line 34) for more clarification of the initial response turn, '*what you mean in a funny way*', again after a minimal receipt token, '*okay*'.

Extract 19

[URC090211] (continued)

30. G: Um
30. (1.0)
31. S: Don't use your head use your tummy
32. G: Yeh I am I guess I'm ↑something quite unsettled in a funny
33. way
34.r&p→S: O:kay (2.0) what you mean in a funny way
35. (3.0)
36. G: I suppose my head wants to find a reason why I'm unsettled
37 but I can't so
38. S: Ye::a::h
39. G: So that's why it's a funny way

40. S: Yeah
41. G: Or it's I think a can
42. p→ S: Is it familiar unsettled or
43. G: Er
44. S: Not familiar unsettled
45. (2.0)
46. G: It's not a regularly familiar unsettled
47. (2.0)
48. for→S: Right so you still trying to work it out
49. G: Mm

At the turn of line 42 (interrupted, but then finished in line 44) the supervisor pursues again for more clarification, again repeating the supervisee's own response word- in this extract '*unsettled*'- and offering an alternative two choice response of '*familiar*' or '*not familiar*', and the supervisee attempts to pin down the feeling with a negatively ascribed additional adverb, '*its not a regularly familiar unsettled*', (line 46). The supervisor's full response 'turn' ends with the supervisor's reformulation of the supervisees response, '*right so you still trying to work it out*', (line 48).

This extract illustrates the way the supervisor's responses are designed to clarify further the supervisees' responses and refine the replies with pursuits for greater detail and subsequently provide an attempt to make some meaningful connections either with the work at hand, the supervision of client work, or the supervisees' current or recent experiences of 'feeling'.

4.9. The supervisor response to her invitation

At times the supervisor provides her own feeling response to the 'check-in' invitation. She is always the last of the group to respond and the rest of the group give no or minimal token receipts of her turn. In extract 20, a typical example, one supervisee gives a minimal response 'mm', (line 08) and this may be in response to the 'joke' about Easter eggs. In other responses the supervisees will give an affiliated response of 'chuckles', to the supervisor's often humorous turn. The significance of the 'humorous' turns by the supervisor, together with the evidence that often the

supervisor does not provide a feeling response may indicate a disparity between member roles in the group.

Extract 20

[URC090311]

01. S: °okay°
02. (3.0)
03. S: I think I'm a bit like you I don't know how I
04. am this week erm ah talking about Easter I
05. think gave me a bit of a ↑oh there's >gonna be
06. a break< or fun or something >maybe it's
07. Easter eggs< or I'm not sure
08. O: mm
09. S: I felt felt good but ah ↑no I think I I think
10. I I'm I'm pretty engaged but eh (1.0) I it's a
11. bit celebratory with your the work that you've
12. finished and >both completed< and I feel good
13. about ↓that >not that I've had any role in
14. that↓< but .hh it's the course training and
15. the end of your two years I guess .hh which
16. um Uhm so ↑happy to be here but maybe thinking of Easter
17. (2.5)
18. S: O:kay uhm it's your turn
19. G: (cough) ↑my turn
20. S: To kick off I mean
21. G: Mmm uhm well last Wednesday was Violet's last
22. session

The 'ok:ay' on line 18, could be read as the supervisor's receipt token of her own reply, it is perhaps also the divisional marker for a new turn, accompanied with an 'uhm' filler and then a direct request to a chosen supervisee to talk. The supervisor's invitation to take a turn after her feelings response is apparently mistaken by the chosen supervisee for an invitation to give a feelings response, and the repair turn 'to kick off I mean' (line 21) demonstrates how the check-in phase, now all completed, is sometimes seen as a pre-cursor to the business of supervision, which is only started, 'kicked off' when the 'round' is complete. The status of the

'check-in' as the 'start' to group supervision is hedged in this data evidence. The check-in could be identified as pre-supervision talk with all the qualifying elements identified in this chapter seen as design features of the procedure which drive the sequences to be producing 'feelings oriented' talk as a necessary preparation for supervision talk.

4.10. The supervisor explaining to the group the reasons behind her request

The supervisor sometimes offers some explanations to the group for the rationale of the check-in. As the member of the group with authority in 'supervision', borne by her role and carried by her greater experience she also is the 'manager', 'prompter' and 'leader' of the check-in process, as such, the supervisor adopts the epistemological 'right' to make the statement about the reasons.

Extract 21

[URC211210]

01. S: .hh I mean my my purpose ostensibly in my own mind or
02. just saying that is bringing you into the room
03. O: Hmm
04. S: And bringing you in touch with your own self
05. .hh and uhm maybe linking it to what you
06. working with but .hh° doesn't always seem to be
07. much use° .hh and of course this is a time for
08. it to be say if there's anything 'urgent' or
09. you've got to leave early or 'whatever'

In the data, as shown in extract 21 and extract 22 below, the supervisor's explanations are accepted with minimal response tokens from the other members and the group do not quibble or question her statement of the goals or purposes of the check-in invitation and response. In extract 22 the supervisor offers an explanation for the way to think about the check-in process, she says, '*bear it in mind*' and '*match*' the check-in responses with the client work at hand.

Extract 22

[URC161110]

01. S: Right. what I like to do if if eh if we can
02. bear it in mind is just uhm ma:tch what were
03. carrying and how things are with >obviously
04. with your own personal stuff which you bring
05. wi you or you don't bring is entirely up to
06. you< but. how the work is this is something
07. that you carrying something from from your
08. client work .hh are you going to take
09. something back in to your client work
10. G: Hmm
11. S: Just to because we are our instrument.
12. O: Hmm
13. S: Y'no we use ourselves. and so er I think how
14. we're feeling is important

The supervisor stresses the connections between the feeling responses delivered and the client work to be talked about. The receipt tokens here from the supervisees are minimal and there is no indication if their turns evidence acceptance or agreement of the view or not. Extract 23 is another example of the supervisor giving *'the reason'* for the 'check-in'.

Extract 23
[URC240810]

01. S: The reason the reason I I I like to do that
02. is just that it takes us out of our heads er
03. because I mean to some degree you've got to be
04. in your head when you're in supervision .h but
05. → just to sort of contact with what's going on
06. here as well .hh so. that's I'd just like to
07. know what's going on in here for everybody .hh.
08. One ↑word will do
09. (2.0)
10. And ↓don't ↑know will do as well °if you
11. don't know° .hh

The meaning of the supervisor's phrase 'in here' (line 07) can be heard ambiguously without video evidence of any paralinguistic features, it either means 'here and now' in the present moment and in the room, or she is pointing to the 'tummy' and repeating the importance of knowing about their own feeling states to the supervisees, which may be more than likely as a counter-balance to the 'being in your head' and as another invitation to *'take us out of our heads'* expressed initially (line 02).

4.11. Conclusion

The role of the check-in episode has a curious ambiguity for the supervision group. The check-in sequence, as identified in this chapter, is a highly structured and systematic phase which all members orient in an arranged and orderly way. But the orientation is displayed neither as the 'standard business' of supervision, which is namely the subsequent discussion of client cases and the counsellor's ongoing work with clients, nor does the phase conform to the standard pre-business' types of talk identified in other studies. However, in its ubiquity, this sequence underscores an importance to the 'business' of supervision and also, as discussed, there is evidence that the group does orient to the task of the check-in as a 'preliminary' (Atkinson and Drew 1979) to the business of supervision talk, albeit in idiosyncratic ways, which differ from previously studied groups.

Rather than 'preliminary' talk, the sequence of talk may be conceived as 'transitional' talk. This sequence functioning as a transition phase into the 'proper' business of the supervision meeting is indicated by the orientation of the participants to the opaquely stated function of the check-in, routinely indicated by the phrase, *'let's check-in with our tummies'*, and furthermore, the reason for the talk is customarily described as "to bring you into the room", and to 'see where you are'. The function for the check-in is also described as an opportunity for 'bringing you in touch with your own self' and where possible for 'maybe linking it to what you're working with'. This is further underlined by the metaphor *'because we are our instrument'*, which as a supervisor statement posits the function of the check-in with

a priority focus on the supervisee's feeling body as a repository for personal material which can be accessible and is expected to be talked about. Furthermore, all of these variant phrases not only focus the on the unifying idea that supervisees are 'feeling bodies'. Moreover, we see a spotlight falling on the idea that what the supervisees personally feel in the 'here and now', in the immediacy of the current supervisory session and environment can (and should) be accessed and given full awareness, in order to support the subsequent clinical business of supervision.

One pivotal notion to take into account with regards to the management of this phase, is the concept of 'omni-relevant' devices initially proposed by Sacks (1992: 312-319, 515-519, 590-596). Sacks argues and clearly demonstrates, in his discussion of group therapy sessions with teenagers, that some membership categories and their subsequent 'devices', (the actions which demonstrate their mobilisation), are omni-relevant. That is, in some settings, although the devices, or practices, of the membership categories are not called on all the time, they are available and readily poised for use, at all times. Moreover, when they are called into 'being', these devices will take priority in the turn and have significance for the subsequent meaning of the action. Applied to the check-in phenomena under discussion in this data, it is observable that there are two omni-relevant categorization collections for all participants; firstly, that of 'supervisor/supervisee' and secondly, that of 'counsellor'.

If we look at the supervisee/supervisor category initially, we can see that although not every turn or every exchange in the data shows participants orienting to either role, there are observable certain actions in the data, whereby the effectiveness or efficiency of the action is indeed reliant on the participants' orientation to either role of those categories. The check-in data, as we have seen, is an activity, the function of which is not explicitly 'announced'; but the conditional relevance and the undertaken meanings exhibited rely on the membership categorisations of the supervisor, when making the invitation to 'check-in' and the supervisees' responses to this invitation: the brief but sharply focussed accounts of their well-being, or

emotional status.

Orienting to 'feelings-talk' has been shown to be itself an omni-relevant activity for counsellors (Silverman, 1996, Hutchby, 2005, 2007; Peräkylä et al, 2008). Counsellors have been shown to display a pursuit of this activity, even in the demonstration of client resistance (Hutchby, 2002). All the participants in group supervision are also counsellors, and therefore, this may also account for the supervisees' responses, and also the way the supervisor in the second half of the sequence, will pursue the supervisees' 'check-in' responses, at times to further clarify and elicit feelings-talk.

In summary, the seemingly strange and obscure, '*let's check-in with our tummies*' turn, produces a significantly sequential and ordered phase into being in group supervision. This phase, or sequence, not only gives members the opportunity to display the core features of categorical identification, but also, sets off a transition into the production of institutionally bound and setting-relevant talk among the supervision group members.

Chapter Five:

5. The Organisation of the Sequence of Supervisees Accounts in Group Supervision

5.1. Management of Institutional Talk

All talk in group supervision can be categorised as talk in institution: the group meets routinely in a specified location at a specific time; the purpose of the group is to discuss the supervisees clinical progress with their clients; it is a professional meeting. And so it is through the lens of institutional talk that the following analysis of group supervision interactions is offered. Although early CA studies were carried out on dialogue that was 'institutional' in character, such as Sacks' analysis of telephone calls to a suicide centre and interactions in group therapy sessions, later labelled 'GTS', Sacks used his analysis as evidence of general 'conversation', and was successful, and exceptional, in finding core conversational patterns and systematic designs in the audio data he explored.

The main thrust of this chapter will be an analysis of a sequential organisation of the group supervision discourse, but before this is outlined and explored, a brief examination of the context of the group supervision as 'meeting' interaction will be undertaken to place the investigation in a more focussed position within institutional talk analysis and to identify the specific interaction devices which will be shown to be displayed.

5.2. Interaction in Workplace meetings

Although there have been numerous studies of institutional interaction, as mentioned earlier, much of the focus has been on interactions in institutions involving interactions between professionals and lay persons. There has been little attention paid to the interactional collaboration between colleagues in designated workplace settings where work associates meet to carry out the specific tasks of their professional businesses (Svennevig, 2012). Business meetings have become

progressively the focus of CA studies after Boden's (1994) important analysis and her book *'The Business of Talk: Organizations in Action'*. In her book, Boden presents new insights into the accomplishments of 'meetings' and reiterates the ways in which, by them, business organisations are also 'talked into being'. As Boden writes of them, meetings are; 'that very social action through which institutions produce and repeat themselves' (1994: 81). She also places an emphasis on the discourse of managers, which she call 'management-in-action' and she identifies the interactional processes of those in leadership roles in communications with other workers.

A group supervision meeting is similar to an organisational meeting, the group members are all known to each other through a work context, and the goals and tasks of the group are to focus on the process of their work, that is the counselling of others in a counselling clinic. Institutionally the agency is both the clinic where they all work, but also the institution of 'counselling' as a work activity, with a specific set of skill and an orientation to an underlying theoretical grounding.

In the management and organisation of group supervision sessions the participants have several activities they need to negotiate in order to accomplish the particular supervision 'business at hand'. In most cases this primarily involves the transition or sequencing of member participant discussions of individual cases. This management of sequence and 'topic' in supervision meetings is accomplished without the use of prescribed written agendas, unlike most business meetings where the given topical management is undertaken before the meeting begins and to which the participants refer in order to progress through the 'tasks' (Button and Casey, 1988/1989; Asmuß and Svennevig, 2009; Boden, 1994, Svennevig, 2012).

The definition of 'topic' in conversation, is therefore important to explore in this respect. It has been shown by CA research that; 'topical talk is produced as speakers initiate, maintain and move between 'potential mentionables' (West & Garcia, 1988) and therefore it is conceivable to view topic as 'something that is achieved by

participants, turn-by-turn in their talk, rather than as something which is defined externally by the analyst' (Stokoe, 2000:187).

In group supervision meetings, the co-ordination by the interactants of the sequencing of a series of participant supervisee 'allocated slots', reveals the interactants' definition of 'topic' to be demonstrated as the discussion of the individual client cases the supervisees bring to discuss. The turn by turn sequential action which brings about the change in the group's focus is of interest. The management of these 'transition points' is arguably one way of identifying shifts in topic. In even larger definitions of supervision as a 'talk in action' phenomenon, it may be argued that discussing clients and case study presentation itself may be what is 'done' to 'have' the business of supervision accomplished. Although the identification of 'topic-relevant' talk appears to be easier in institutionalised talk, the data presented here in this chapter, supports the idea that 'topic' is defined by the group, and one of the ways this is shown is through the co-ordinated way the supervision group members collaborate to manage transition between case study discussions.

In this data, some supervision sessions have the order or sequence of client presentations already decided, albeit tacitly, from previous supervision sessions where this was discussed and is subsequently recalled and followed. This 'held in mind' order of presentation can then be invoked or attended to by the participants and reference can be made by the group members to the initial agreement or not. In these examples the next case speaker can be 'other-initiated', and this is always by the supervisor or the uptake of a new speaker is neither explicitly referred to, nor invoked but appears to be 'self-initiated'. The unchallenged taking up of the floor by a new speaker who holds the focus of topic, i.e. a new case to discuss, allows the transition of talk into a new narrative sequence. In other cases, the order of speaker is not explicit, nor implicit, and without the use of an agenda the group has to negotiate the topical narrative sequence of a session through agreement and collaborative discursive manoeuvres. The conversational practice for organising and

sequencing supervisee accounts whether ‘held in mind’ or not follows is the focus of analysis in this commentary.

As previously described, the data comes from a body of audiotaped group supervision sessions and were collected as part of a British University’s Counselling & Psychotherapy Research Clinic corpus. There are regularly three supervisee participants in the group supervision although this changes due to absenteeism and at times when the membership changes. In essence, all the supervisee members of the group could potentially have, at the most, three clients to discuss in the session. In practice, most of the sessions make it clear that the supervisees have two clients each; although there is a stretch of time when one supervisee has no client and is waiting for allocation of a client from the administrative members of the clinic. In the data, the overarching management of the supervision meeting is orderly and systematic, in that in each meeting, each supervisee has a ‘turn’ at discussing their clients. The total number of clients who could be discussed at the maximum could be six.

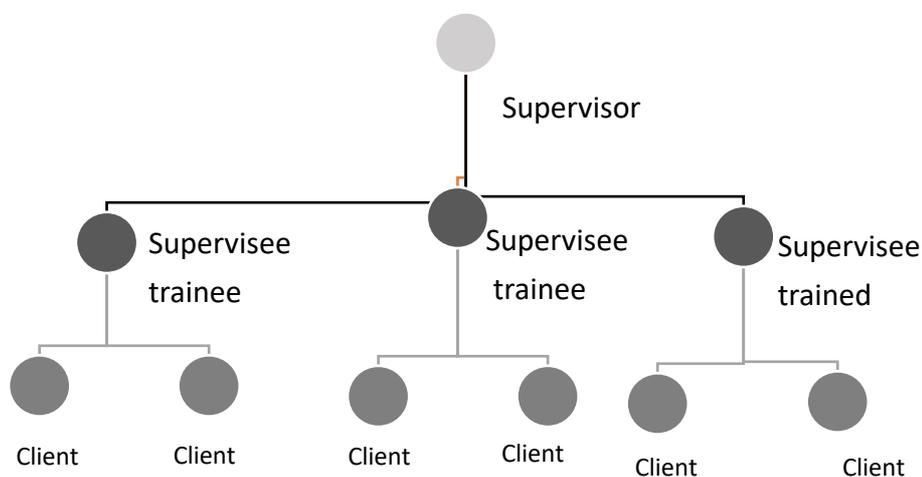


Diagram 1. Representation of Group members and Case Loads

The group’s task therefore is to manage the participation of members, for instance, which supervisee speaks first, which client do they discuss, who follows and so on. The sharing of allocated time and the subsequent ‘talk space’ needs to be

sequentially ordered to do this with a minimum of chaos and confusion. This requires a management of several topic transition points in each session. The transition points are not only in the transition between supervisees 'turns' at speaking, but also in the transition at some points from the same counsellor to a different client. The data gives evidence that the group orient to this task in their interactions in an orderly and systematic way.

5.3. Management of transition points

The analysis of the data shows a sequence of turns at talk which accomplish moves away from one case study into another case study focus. There could be a total of six transition points in any supervision session as the diagram 2 below shows.

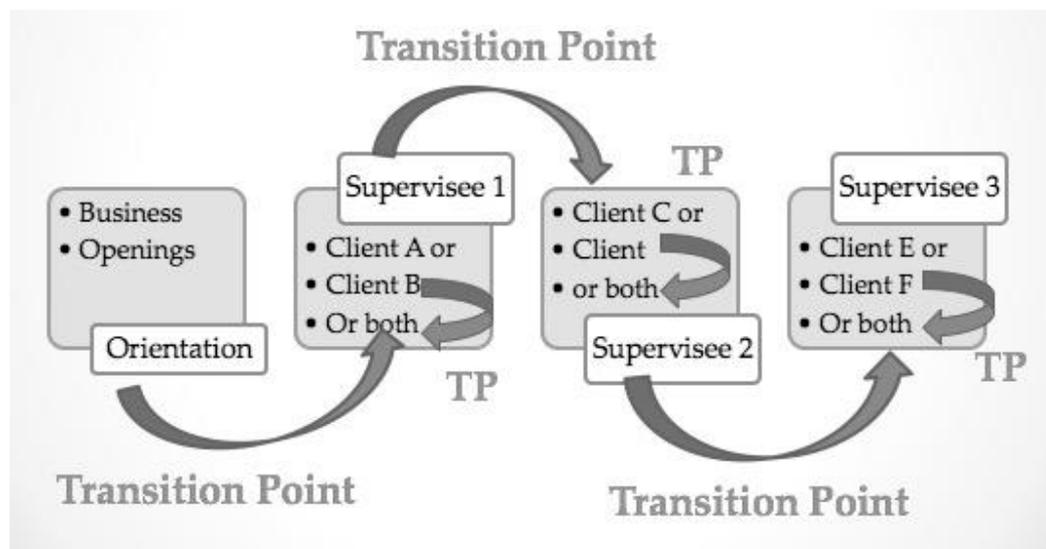


Diagram 2: Potential Transitional Points available in any one supervision session

The sequence of supervisee accounts is managed by the following-through of a fairly standard set of four dialogical structures which requires collaboration and co-ordinated action by the participants to accomplish a transition in the next supervision narrative sequence.

5.4. Four core features

The core organising sequence involves four moves which include, a) precursor action and leave-taking, b) transitional marker, c) next speaker position, and d) next topic position. In the following excerpt the uptake of the next presentation is 'self-

initiated' and the standard set of actions involved in the transition are managed in the following way:

Extract 1

[URC021110]

01. S: Not so much ((clears throat)) well its it is a it's just
02 cos you need to know where you are with that
03. (1.0)
04. G: Mmm
05. S: As well
06. (1.0)
07. a→ Which we haven't got time to go into now
08. (3.0)
09. S: Perhaps we can(.) put him up(.)front next time
10. G: Mmm
11. (3.0)
12. S: Is it Ok [to leave it there=
13. G: [Mmm
14. S: =yeh
15. (2.0)
16. b→G: °OK°
17. S: °OK°
18. (2.0)
19. c→O: .hhh >OK< hh um Chantel missed last week's
20..d→ session but I have seen her once since we last met

Extract 1 demonstrates the full 4-point dialogical sequence identified above and shows the participants' orientation to the change of case study focus to be, what I will argue, is normative and routine. In a) precursor and leave taking move (lines 09–12) citing the pressure of time; the supervisor signals the ending of the current case discussion, "*perhaps we can put him up front next time*" and, "*is it Ok to leave it there*"; reinforcing her 'request' with 'yeh' (line 14). The two-second silence, following, displays that this is not automatically desired by the supervisee, however,

with a faint agreement, 'OK' turn by the supervisee is hearable as the b) transitional marker (line 17) which is a turn repeated by the supervisor, (line 17) after another 2 second gap the c) next speaker position turn (lines 19 & 20) "OK um Chantel missed last week's session", is taken by the next supervisee, in a self-initiated next speaker turn. This turn also shows the d) next topic position. In a more detailed look, below, the individual salient features of the organising will be explored and the sequence can be more clearly seen and defined.

5.4.i. Precursor action and 'leave-taking' move

The precursor action in the sequence, in most cases, involves the paying of attention to the amount of time available to the group and signals an incipient 'leave-taking' of the current topic. As shown in the examples below:

Extract 2 [URC200710]

S: hhh Is that Ok to leave hhh Jack now

Extract 3 [URC140111]

S: Perhaps we should move on

Extract 4 [URC301110]

S: Is that. .hh okay for now (1.0)

Extract 5 [URC240810]

S: We have to leave it there

Extract 6 [URC191010]

S: o:kay we must move on

Extract 7 [URC021110]

S: Is it ok to leave it there

Extract 8 [URC140111]

S: Shall we move to. (.5) °we've got five minutes°

This is a move always facilitated by the supervisor. This aspect of the supervisor's role in managing the transition of case study sequence will be explored in more detail below.

In extract (1) above in line 07, '*Which we haven't got time to go into now*' the precursor action move is accomplished by a reference to the limits of the time available to the group. Together with a reference to the 'running out of time', the precursor to leave-taking move is also frequently joined with an invitation to consider how to spend future 'times', available in the next case study opportunity especially with a highlighted reference to the case at hand, in this instance the case is referred to as the client, with the third person pronoun, 'him'. And in this extract this reference to future talk is demonstrated in next move; "*perhaps we can put him up front next time*" (line 09) the supervisor makes this turn after there is no uptake from anyone else after the precursor move. This move accomplishes the action of giving more preparation for the leaving-taking of the case discussion with a suggestion to prioritise this case study, that is a suggestion to "*put him up front*", in the next meeting, "*next time*". Arguably this could be seen as a move designed to encourage the presenting supervisee to display an agreement turn to move into the next case.

It is interesting to note also, that the supervisor uses the pronoun '*we*', in a turn constructed to flatten the supervisor request in the action and this lexical choice also serves to emphasise the joint ownership of the statement (Silverman, 1987) and therefore the action is aligned with a group rather than personal request. This turn design also facilitates the collaborative tacit agreement of the need to 'move on' in topic. This pronoun is also used in the following suggestion, "*perhaps we can put him up front next time*" (line 09). This again orients to the 'joint activity' of case presentation, but may again be used as a 'softening' of the request to end as a direct instruction from the supervisor. The turns in reply to the supervisor "*hmm*", (lines 10 and 13) are not preferred acceptance of the hedged request, and the emphasis on

the need for an agreement is underlined by the supervisor's 'yeh' (line 14); which, after a 2 second gap is responded to with a soft agreement; "OK".

In Extract 1 the precursor to leave-taking turn ; "*is it ok to leave it there*" (line 12), refers to the case study with the pronoun 'it'. There is not a reference to the 'personhood' of the client. This move is designed to align the focus of the task at hand away from the client, specifically. The 'it' pronoun, makes use of a feature which refers as if to the *process* of presenting a case study; as though it is the action of presenting which is left, rather than the client, or the supervisee.

Often the precursor to leave-taking turn is also constructed to emphasise the collaborative action of the organisation of sequencing supervisee accounts. The turn is designed as an invitation to the presenting supervisee to accept an agreement to move on. This is in the form of a question or sometimes a statement from the supervisor. In this extract; "*is it ok to leave it there*"(line 12). It is also possible to observe that the final part of the precursor to leave taking action can be marked by the use of an encapsulated summary of the past discussions using the client's first names. Such as the turn, "*But. OK So we've met Jack and Verity*", which forms the final part of the precursor to leave-taking move in the next extract below. (Extract 9: line 13 below). Here the concept of the 'leave-taking' is exhibited by the lexical choice of the word 'met', to describe what has happened in the previous interactions, as a way to sum up the process of the case study presentation discussions and to indicate that this particular client presentation is finished or 'over' now. The turn has been designed to state that the clients have been, in an oblique way, in the room and attended the session too, and more specifically, that they are no longer present.

5.4.ii. Transitional marker

The transitional marker often takes the form of an agreement to the precursor to leave-taking invitation. In Extract 1 the action of agreement takes four turns to be confirmed. (lines 14 - 19) The softened 'mmm' of line 13 is followed by a more explicit 'yeh' from the supervisor, which is responded to by a softly spoken

agreement turn by the supervisee. "OK". This turn is then repeated by the supervisor as if to underscore the agreement has been reached albeit not easily. The supervisor and supervisee observably work together with these turns to make the agreement confirmed.

The transitional marker is also an optional 'cue' for bringing the new topic into current relevance. It alerts the group members that incipient matters are being initiated, and can be spoken by three categories of group members, namely, the supervisee leaving the case study, the supervisor or the new supervisee picking up the case presentation. It takes such forms as, "So", "OK", "Right" and "hmm". An identified accompanying feature of the transitional marker turn is often a following silence of between 2.0 to 4.0 seconds before the next speaker position turn by another supervisee. This delay in turn after the transitional marker is curious; it has been shown that gaps are carefully managed in designs of turn, especially if they are in the turn after a first-pair part, and frequently in this position they make clear deviation from the preferred alternate action (Levinson, 2013:108). However, in this sequence, they are not in that position and so something else is going on. What is observable in this sequencing pattern is that in examples where the presented client case is changed but not the case study presenter or supervisee, the silence is frequently much shorter, usually 0.6 - 0.8 seconds. (Please see extract 4 below) So, it appears that this silence signals by its duration the members are orienting to the appropriateness for the change of 'speaker'. It is hearable that the next turn speaker is making sure that the turn relevance point is not mistaken and ensuring that there are not two supervisees who believe that they have the floor for case discussions.

5.4.iii. Next speaker position

The c) next speaker position turn in this extract, 'OK, um Chantel missed last week's session but I have seen her once since we last met' (line 19 & 20) is self-initiated and not evoked by the supervisor or another supervisee. The turn is designed to unequivocally adopt the speaker next place; the next utterance is heralded by an audible and extended in-breath and the first word is a repetition of the transitional

marker “OK”. This action at the beginning of the next speaker position turn denotes the speaker takes the right to the floor and the movement of focus onto her case study. As Drew has stated, “speakers design their turns to show that, and how, their current turn is connected to its immediately prior turn – the principle of contiguity or ‘nextness’,- or alternatively to indicate that what they are about to say will not be connected, (topically or otherwise) with what came before.

In this case we can see how the turns designed in this position of the sequence have an ambiguity which needs to be addressed and resolved in some way. The ambiguity is this: the turns in this next speaker position are procedurally following the design of the identified sequence, and so this does signify ‘contiguity’, with the overall plan of the whole supervision session: that is the group members all work towards bringing about the collaborative ‘action’ of delivering a series of case studies to be discussed. However, in the minutiae of turn-taking and sequential ordering of the interaction, the next speaker position marks the entry into a ‘new topic’ and so the turn is also designed to show something new is going to be discussed too. This turn has to mark the ‘out with the old case study and in with the new’ procedure *and* also align with the ‘this is what we do here’ order. The dilemma of the next speaker position is, I would argue, supported by the next turn, which is by the next speaker or ‘case study presenter’ and which firmly locates the next topic position.

5.4.iv. Next topic position

It is observable that the next topic position turn in the sequence is established by the next speaker in extract 1 by a turn which is designed to make reference to the new case study, specifically by referencing the client’s name ‘*Chantel*’ and by the talk orientation to a temporal reference with regards to the case (line 20) ‘*seen her once since we last met*’. All in all, this closer analysis of extract 1 shows some marked features of the core moves.

The same four processes of leave taking, transition marker, next speaker position and topic position are also observable in extract 8 and these will be further detailed below.

Extract 9

[URC200710]

01. S: .hh Well if if we can help in any way
02. O: Thank you
03. S: Bring it in
04. G: Mm
05. O: Mm
06. S: And let's just feel our way with it
07. O: Mm
08. a→ S: .hhh Is that Ok to leave hhh Jack now >well it
09. will have to be<
10. S: Cos [times up
11. G: [yes huhuhuh
12. N: huhaha↑
13. a&b→ S: But. OK So we've met Jack and Verity
14. G: Mm
15. (2.0)
16. S: Handover
17. c&d→ O: I might do the same actually and talk about both to
18. start with Umm
19. (1.0) Sally I'll talk about first I think she's
20. (1.0) it'll be her tenth session tomorrow

In extract 9 above the precursor and leave-taking turn takes the form of both a question and then an assertion (line 08) '*Is that Ok to leave hhh Jack now, well it will have to be*'. The laughter which follows this is shared by two supervisees and may hint at the recognition of the dropping of the required 'collaborative' moves at 'moving on', which the sequencing suggests are needed. (Please see chapter 6 for further exploration of the laughter in group supervision interaction.) This may also be heard as an uncomfortable recognition that there was not an equal time left for the next case study. This can be seen as an indicator of the termination of the topic

(Holt, 2010). The supervisor begins the next move with a 'but', and then shifts, into what we can see here as the transitional marker, 'OK'. Bringing the turn to an end together with a summary of what has preceded in the case presentation being left, *“so we’ve met Jack and Verity”*, which makes the precursor or leave taking an extended movement and signifies the necessity for the change. The supervisee currently presenting the cases mentioned by name ‘Jack and Verity’, murmurs assent (line 14).

The striking feature of this example is the ‘other initiated’ next position turn of the supervisor, emphasising the next speaker position turn is the next one to take, after a two second gap, by stating, (line 16) *‘Handover’*. We could see this as ‘pursuit’ of the next turn (Pomerantz, 1984). Indeed, the next turn is designed to enter straight into the next speaker position by the next supervisee with no hesitation or delay. We can only assume the ‘next to go’ role was previously assigned, or indicated by non-verbal features as the dialogue does not show how the supervisee ‘knew’ to adopt the next speaker position and there is no hesitancy in the swift uptake. The next topic position turn (lines 17-20) is established after a brief pause and without interruption; as in the previous example, the client is initially referred to by name and also again, before any other salient feature of the case is discussed; we see the temporal reference is established as an entry point into presenting the client. This is made with specific reference to the time taken or the number of sessions already undertaken with this client. *“it’ll be her tenth session tomorrow” (line 20)*

Extract 10 below also shows the identifying features of the organisation of sequencing in group supervision.

Extract 10

[URC240810]

01. a→ S: Can we leave it like that today
02. N: Yehuhuh
03. (2.0)

04. b→ S: Ok °Olivia°
 05. (4.0)
 06. O: Umm
 07. (3.0)
 08. c&d→ >If I've got time I'll talk about both<
 09. but I'll start with Eileen
 10. S: OK
 11. (2.0)
 12. O: Umm
 13. (3.0)
 14. I: didn't feel very good after the last session with her

The 'leave-taking' turn in extract 10 takes the form of a question, (line 01), from the supervisor requesting, "*can we leave it like that today*", the turn is designed, like the other turns in this position, to create a sense of an understanding or collaboration, using the pronoun 'we', for the group members and the pronoun 'it', for what is being 'left', i.e. the case study or the topic. In this example, the supervisor, had, in previous turns (not shown), made an extended summary of the case and expanded on the idea that in counselling and in counselling supervision, supervisees are very often left in a state of 'not knowing'. Natalie's reply to the leave-taking request, (line 02) co-joins an affirmative reply with a laugh.

This turn does not produce further laughter from the other members, so it may indicate something like the laughter in a troubles telling, (Jefferson, 1984). In other words, it could be hearable as a turn with an 'ironic' indication of acceptance, demonstrating that the supervisee is left in some sort of 'trouble'. Demonstrating some construed ambivalent meaning along the lines that although the supervisee does not want to end or 'leave it there', she does not decline the orderly offer, or precursor to leave move. This turn, also demonstrates, because the sequence under analysis is 'coming in to action', that there is a degree of resigned 'inevitability' for the supervisee about her having to stop talking about her client, and that she is, indeed, left with some of the 'unknowing' spoken about before the sequence was set off. Certainly, it is an isolated laugh in the turn and there is no shared laughter response from any other member.

This semi-laugh turn is followed by the transitional marker move which is designed together with a defined indication of who should talk next, by the supervisor naming the next speaker, albeit in a soft quiet way. (line 04), ' *Ok, Olivia*'. The seven second silence, broken by a midway ' *umm*' (line 05), turn from Olivia, comes before her uptake position move and her subsequent topic position situates her talk to the particular issue she wishes to discuss about the client and again, this is made with a temporal reference; both to how long she may have to discuss her clients, ' *If I've got time I'll talk about both*', and also to how long ago the session to be discussed was. (line 14) ' *I: didn't feel very good after the **last session** with her*'.

The silence accompanying the uptake position by Olivia, is another turn design curiosity in this sequence. The supervisee knows she is to speak next, if we look at the design features of her next turn, it may be possible to see the action her turn is designed to make. She begins her turn making reference to both of her clients. Her turn beginning is designed with a quicker pace of speech than the previous talk and makes the conditional statement ' *if I've got time I'll talk about both*' (line 08). This could be hearable as a turn designed to make a polite request, or certainly a 'noting' for a desirable. This suggests that making such a request may not be interactionally germane at this point in the sequence. Certainly, the turn is not responded to as a request, by the other members, nor by the supervisor, which suggest the prevarication design is contiguous with the idea that this is not the interactional place to make requests for more talk time. Indeed, the rest of the turn design makes the utterance of a second pair part to a request unassailable, as the turn is designed to continue with no transition relevant place available but moves directly and seamlessly into ' *but I'll start with Eileen*' (line 09).

It could be argued that the preliminary silence before the uptake position heralded the warning that the uptake would not be as smooth as would be expected, but that the supervisee had another matter to bring to the attention of the members, even though the drawing of attention to this 'matter', was troubling when situated in this

point, at this time, in the context of the sequence organising apparatus of the current discourse. The final turn of the extract, “*I didn’t feel very good after the last session with her*”, could also indicate another use of the hesitant ‘gaps’, as the supervisee in this turn finally makes reference to a ‘difficulty’ with the client, which on reflection has left the supervisee with ‘not good’ feelings. There may be indications that bringing to the supervision group dialogue matters of ‘discomfort’ or unsettled feelings require the supervisees to manage the introduction of such matters, with delicacy. There is evidence that this could be a rich seam for further analytic exploration and research study.

5.5. Organisation of the sequence of accounts with same speaker

In circumstances where the ‘change over’ from dialogue of one case to the dialogue of the next happens with the supervisee speaker remaining the same, the same four identified moves are observed, but there is a marked degree of swiftness to the coordinated action. This suggests that the order of leave-taking is known, orientated to and routine. Extract 11 shows this clearly.

Extract 11

[URC200710]

01. a→ S: <O:K> Just so that you’ve eh your other
02. a→ person has an equal >amount of time< is
03. it alright to leave
04. b→ O: Yep
05. S: Sylvia there
06. c&d→ O: Yep (0.6) .hh umm Eileen is my new client

The supervisee Olivia, remains the speaker for the next case, and it is interesting to observe the sequence followed but very quickly. For instance, the pre-cursor / leave-taking turn, constructed as a reminder of time constraints and a question requesting agreement to move along as has been established already as a situated ‘norm’ in the sequence, is very quickly agreed to in mid flow of the question (line 04). The next speaker position, “yup”, inhalation of breath, discourse marker “umm”

and the next topic position are all routinely adhered to, but swiftly established and operated in one turn. (line 06) This turn also incorporates the action of starting the new case which is heralded by a statement announcing the client's name and the length of time the two had been in a therapeutic relationship. (lines 06) "*Eileen is my new client*". It is perhaps, salient that this turn also, therefore, keeps to the established routine orientation to the 'time' or temporal considerations of the therapeutic relationship. This 'noting' appears to situate and 'position' the client with a quantifiable measurable identity, so then further exploration or case description can begin.

The following extract is also an example of a change over where the speaker remains the same, but the case is changed. In this example the sequence is compressed and it is interesting to note that the precursor and leave taking moves do not pay attention to the time as in the other examples.

Extract 12

[URC070910]

01. S. Sort of try to bring it onto the room
 01. (6.0)
 03. S. Is that okay[↑]
 04. G. Yep.
 05. S. Well done (.) So what about George[↑]
 06. (2.0) (rattling noises)
 06. G. George (2.0) °Um°
 07. S. Just [↑]remind me abo:ut George
 08. G. George. (2.0) is (1.0) he's roughly my age

The invitation move in line 3, "Is that okay" is swiftly agreed to, without reference to what is requested. It follows that the request is oriented to as regular and expected. The supervisor shows that she knows which case will be spoken next as she identifies the case by name (line 05). In line 06 the supervisee appears to take a few seconds to orientate to the new case. The supervisor suggests a way to begin the new case by

asking for a 'reminder' of him. In this way the topic position is established and taken up by the supervisee. The uptake refers to the age of the client as a way of orienting to him. Again, the move 'positions' the client with a quantifiable measurable identity.

5.6. Conclusion

In this chapter I hope to have demonstrated through the use of CA analysis, the prominent features of the dialogical sequence used in the management of topic transition in group supervision. The analysis presented may be located within the CA literature of talk in institutions, and within the research on 'topic transition'. Most of the relevant literature focuses on the management of topic transition in institutions other than clinical supervision. Much of the previous research attends to the talk in business meetings. There is a significantly smaller body of literature with which to locate the clinical supervision aspect of this chapter, and no literature, so far, specifically orients to topic transitions in group supervision dialogue.

The extracts presented from the data in this chapter attempt to illustrate the focus of the chapter which is how the group orient to manage the topic transitions of case study talk and how the identified sequence facilitates, with co-ordination, and order, the change of 'topic', which in this data is both the client being presented to the group, that is the 'talk focus' or topic, and also the supervisee who will be talking about their client, that is the 'speaker focus', or who will take up the position of the case presenter.

First, the sequence was outlined and an extract was presented to illustrate the co-ordinated sequence in one example. The complete sequence was identified to be composed of 4 core sections or four moves which include, a) precursor action and leave-taking, b) transitional marker, c) uptake of position, and d) next topic position. Each of these moves or turns was illustrated with examples from extracts from the group supervision data.

Subsequently and lastly, data was presented which evidenced the use of the core features in a rapid and fluid exchange which reveals the routine orientation to the sequence by the members of the supervision group and the understanding afforded to the action acquired by the constructed and collaborated moves.

To conclude, then, although the supervision group, unlike most business meetings, operates without a written or expressly identified listed agenda, the management of topic transition is sequentially managed and the group operates and orients to this sequence without explicit verbal reference to it. The implicit operational features brought to light by this analysis are congruent facets of and evidence of the 'talk is action' stance grounded in the approach of CA.

Chapter Six:

6. Reported speech and Modelling Talk Enactments: A composite interface between knowledge, advice and emotion in group supervision

Undeniably, in group supervision the members participate in a dialogue which brings about the organisation of the action of supervision. This chapter focuses on the interactional procedures involved in group supervision with the use of reported speech and proposed speech acts, or talk enactments and show how the members display their orientations to the three facets of the organisation of action (Heritage and Raymond, 2006, Stevanovic and Peräkylä, 2014) namely, the epistemic facet, the deontic facet, and the emotional facet. The epistemic facet refers to “the knowledge claims that interactants register, assert, and defend in and through turns at talk and sequences of interaction” (Heritage, 2013:555), the deontic facet, refers to the “participants’ entitlements to impose actions on their co-participants”, (Stevanovic and Peräkylä, 2014:186) or the relative rights to influence future courses of action. (Heritage, 2013:570), and the emotional facet, concerns “the emotions that the participants are allowed or expected to express to their co-participants”, (Stevanovic and Peräkylä, 2014:186). All three facets are oriented to by the interactants to negotiate ultimately the institutional business of supervision and display their orientation to the social and moral order of group supervision.

6.1. Direct Reported Speech (Epistemic currency)

As this data shows supervision is frequently constructed as a dialogue about a former counselling or therapeutic dialogue. The participants have unequal levels of knowledge of the counselling conversation under discussion. One member, the supervisee has first-hand experience of the dialogue and is, therefore, the ‘reporter’. The occurrence of the ‘talk’ enactments of the dialogue under discussion is commonly represented as Direct Reported Speech (DRS) from the supervisee to the group.

In previous relevant literature Holt (1996) identifies direct reported speech, (DRS), as the re-enactment of previously held dialogue in conversations. Wooffitt (1992) previously referred to the action of DRS as 'active voicing', highlighting the finding that the words and manner of the reproduction of the words recreated by the speaker are designed to be heard "as if they were said at the time" (1992;161). That is to say, they are designed to be heard as emblematic and representative as the 'kind of things' that have been said. Holt's study elucidated the DRS phenomena and shows how it is used to demonstrate the development of previous conversations and evidence the thought processes involved in them.

The data here demonstrates that clinical group supervision is, on face value, a discourse about former therapeutic conversations. The occurrence of talk enactments of therapeutic dialogue is commonly presented in the data as reported speech, either direct or indirect. These interactions are used in the reporting mode of previously experienced therapeutic dialogue, most commonly in the form of the supervisee presenting the former utterances of the client and their subsequent responses to them. Fragment 1 below is an example of an direct reported speech act, reconstructing a previous counselling narrative:

Extract 1.

[URC210910:1.10.00.]

01. → O: She said um
02. S: Okay
03. (2,0)
04. O: What's the point in having fake
05. relation. fake friendships .h and
06. → then I said I I wonder if when you
07. said it's just fake whether prhaps
08. you're seeing something in the
09. that relationship that reminds you
10. of how you are in relationships
11. with other people

In this extract, the supervisee verbally reports what has already occurred in a previous dialogue with a client. In standard form, the supervisee introduces these episodes as direct reports. This subjectively constructs the 'story' or narrative of the dialogue in the related session (Holt, 1996).

The salient feature of this example of reported speech act in terms of the epistemic currency is that the supervisee 'reporting' the previous speech act or acts, is demonstrating an epistemic 'privilege'. The supervisee/reporter is the only one in the group to know the previous dialogue and in order to be able to discuss the case and the counselling process, they share this knowledge with the other members of the group. As Holt suggests (1996) the DRS is designed here to show the 'development' of the therapeutic dialogue.

There is also something else in action here, with particular interest to the institutionalised nature of the supervisory discourse: the dialogue reported in the extract also demonstrates that the supervisee's account of their reported response is constructed to provoke an alternative view of the client to the client, in other words, it is a DRS also designed to evidence the supervisee's use of the counselling dialogue to reformulate client's problems (Antaki 2008). The DRS of her own previous dialogue, lines 08 – 11 *"you're seeing something in the that relationship that reminds you of how you are in relationships with other people"*, is used as evidence, offered to the group and the supervisor, of the supervisee's ability to reframe the clients experience to promote further self-understanding in the client. As well as reporting on the development of the dialogue, the supervisee is demonstrating their particular 'skill' at 'doing' talking therapy.

In the group supervision data negotiating shifts of epistemic status and stance is evident. The supervisee, as we have seen, has the only knowledge in the group members of the case and the client currently being discussed, and, as above extract shows, the supervisee reports with this knowledge to the group. The DRS of the

previous counselling dialogues of the supervisee is never questioned and always taken and accepted as reported. However, the epistemic status of the supervisee with regard to 'counselling' is unequal to the epistemic status of the more experienced counsellor, who holds the position as the supervisor.

In this dialogue therefore, there is a balance held between the participants concerning the epistemic authority of 'what happened', held by the supervisee, over the epistemic knowledge of how it could be understood therapeutically, held by the more experienced supervisor. The epistemic status of what 'happened' is held by the supervisee in the DRS acts. The epistemic authority of the supervisor of best counselling practice and possible new avenues to explore in subsequent dialogues is displayed and evidenced in talk enactments, as will be presented below, and more specifically 'modelling talk enactments', or MTAs. Furthermore, this epistemic authority over counselling business and process, can shift by an MTA into a deontic stance, whereby the authority of who can give advice, or call the tune with regard to the future action of the supervisee comes into the foreground.

6.2. Talk Enactments and Modelling Talk Enactments (Deontic /Advice giving currency)

Simmons & LeCouter (2011) extend the literature on speech acts within therapy, by focussing on what they call, 'hypothetical active-voicing' in a study which shows how CBT therapists enact hypothetical talk to suggest or propose a course of future dialogue, or a new strategy to disaffected clients who are reluctant and resistant to changing behaviour.

In group supervision, the participants also have unequal degrees of knowledge or experience of counselling. The data shows examples of 'hypothetical active-voicing' are all led by the supervisor with suggested or proposed future dialogue for the supervisee. The data extracts presented in this chapter demonstrate that suggested or proposed dialogues in group supervision dialogue, like Simmons & LeCouter's (2011) findings, are used to suggest or propose appropriate stance or future

conduct, in this data, by the supervisor to the supervisee. As such, the examples studied here focus on the practice of advice -giving and the range of dialogical practices involved in the offering of ideas, subtle or direct, from the supervisor to the supervisee.

Speakers can use many interactional resources for influencing and advice giving or instructing. Crucially, advice giving is shown (Heritage and Lindstrom, 1998; Waring, 2007) to be a delicate procedure where participants tread carefully to avoid the problem of initiating a criticism of the recipient. Advice giving sequences are described as exchanges where one participant 'describes, recommends or otherwise forwards a preferred course of future action' to another (Heritage and Sefi, 1992: 368). The balance of epistemic knowledge is therefore 'tipped' and one participant, the advice giver, is involved in an activity which suggests the recipient's knowledge or insight is insufficient, problematic or lacking for the anticipated future behaviour or action the advice giver believes needed. Indeed, Hutchby states that 'advising is an activity which assumes or establishes an asymmetry between participants' (1995: 221). Vehviläinen says that advice giving 'implies that the adviser has information knowledge or insight that the advisees lacks' (Vehviläinen, 2001: 373). Because of this imbalance and implication, advice giving carries with it the consequence that unless the recipient is an active advice seeker, advice givers are also judging the recipients previous conduct or operations.

6.3. How members of talk-based institutions go about promoting change of particular behaviours

Talk enactments, a term used to emphasise the 'non-reporting' talk about speech, where there is an emphasis on proposed or suggested talk, or which is presented as hypothetical proposed talk, (Holt, 2007; Sandlund, 2014), are shown as an interactional resource for advising co-participants on appropriate communicative conduct in institutional settings. Sandlund's (2014) study examines instances of modelling talk enactments (MTEs) in universities and corporate settings where hypothetical talk acts 'can function as devices in establishing and maintaining a

moral order by simultaneously illustrating and assessing hypothetical conduct' (2014: 662). The examples in the study show the enactments take many forms and features to either elaborate on previous conduct, or with participants taking a situated role other than their own for proposed future dialogue.

Previous study of the use of reported speech in conversation has emphasised the inaccuracies involved in trying to reproduce the exact nature of precise discourse and the new situational context is emphasised as bringing about new and re-created or 'constructed' dialogue (Tannen, 1989; Shuman, 1993). So, there may be some argument that all reported speech whether direct or indirect is 'modelled' and re-created anew. However, 'talk enactments' (Sandlund, 2014) particularly emphasise the non-reporting nature of the talk; the emphasis is on proposed or hypothetical talk. MTEs are presented as demonstrations of 'how members of talk-based institutions go about promoting change of particular behaviours' (Sandlund 2014: 646).

This chapter will discuss the core elements of the MTEs identified in the group supervision data. These are as follows:

- The supervisor uses MTE to suggest proposed therapeutic dialogue to advise supervisees on progression of counselling sessions.
- MTEs are constructed to offer both generalised professional advice and specific advice to the task at hand.
- supervisees typically respond to MTEs with a dis-preferred turn, sometimes further reminding the supervisor of their previous attempts at a similar dialogue, orienting to their own superior knowledge of the specific counselling context.
- The supervisor incorporates disaffiliation to extend and continue with MTEs
- supervisor turns designed to enlist the supervisee to participate in MTEs, especially taking on the role as their client,
- invitations to extend MTEs with role play are resisted

- Supervisor treats emotional order as more salient feature and positions role-play as action to strengthen supervisee's emotional orienting to client.
- the higher epistemic status of supervisee about the previous counselling session with client is brought into the interaction and made evident by supervisee and this appears to outplay the supervisor's knowledge and limits MTE role-play and further MTE
- the supervisor orients to participated MTEs as a way supervision 'can help' supervisees have an increased understanding of their clients, with particular reference to the emotional order.

6.4. Common Supervisor MTEs

The most common delivery form of MTEs found in the data are the supervisor modelling the proposed talk of the supervisee as a counsellor. This corresponds to the identification of MTEs as a form of subtle advice giving or alternative proposals for action. In this data, the supervisor can be seen to be formatting MTEs as proposals or suggestions. Most examples do have a prefatory component, which contributes to highlighting the MTEs as part of the advice-giving proposal.

The 'Supervisor as Counsellor' MTE can be categorized further into two sections: either as a *non-specific form* of suggestion applicable to common counselling scenarios or a *specific form* carrying a pertinent suggestion to the case at hand.

6.4.i. Non-specific forms

Non-specific forms are prefigured by the markers, '*sometimes*', or '*at times*' as in 'I sometimes say' or 'it is sometimes useful to say' and, '*sometimes you just have to say things a little bit more..*'. Which is followed by an example of talk which can be used in a broad situational counselling context.

Extract 2. is extracted from a sequence (which will be explored in more detail below) where the supervisee has expressed a client's concerns about an up-coming break

from sessions for Christmas and how this anxiety prefigures her worry about the subsequent ending of therapy in March.

Extract 2.

[URC301110:0.35.17]

01. → S: >Sometimes↑ you can use a. break y'no to
02. sa:y you'll have a chance to. not >be with mex
03. over Christmas this Christmas is going to be
04. difficult for you (0.2)

The supervisor takes the idea of the break to make a general statement which is applicable in other instances beyond the one currently discussed. The supervisor's turn in the extract below utilizes the stress on '*sometimes*' which conveys the non-specific application of the MTE following. This is further emphasised using '*a break*', rather than 'this break'. The quotative marker '*to say*' marks the following material as an enactment. This marker is hedged with '*y'no*', which implies that what is to follow is already known to the supervisees and therefore modifies the possibility that MTE may be experienced as a judgment on the supervisee as lacking expertise; it subtly shifts the following MTE as a 'reminder'.

The enactment itself (lines 02-04) follows a footing shift from the current speaker's, the supervisor's, voice to the supervisee's talk as a therapist with accompanying personal pronouns 'you' and 'me'. The enactment conveys not only proposed conduct with the client but is framed as a suggestion of a way to allay the client's fears of a break. The use of '*a chance*' formulates the dilemma of the break into an opportunity, the suggestion being that the break itself can pre-figure an experience of absence from therapy or an ending of therapy. The subsequent line 03 not only brings the enactment into a more specific enactment for this particular client but re-focuses the turn onto the emotional material of the difficulties the supervisee has already discussed the client as having. This MTE enacts a return of the talk into empathic attention to the current client's and the supervisee's worry '*this Christmas*

is going to be difficult for you' (lines 03-04). Therefore, the MTE offers a reformulation for both the problem at hand for this client and for others in a more general point.

Extract 3 is taken from the data when one supervisee had presented, just prior to the extract, two new clients who had brought lots of 'material' on their first session and then had not returned. Just prior to this extract the supervisor had suggested that the supervisee 'practice' at helping clients 'pace' the material they bring into the first session and drawn a metaphor of that as a difficult process; that it was like trying to stop someone from 'vomiting'.

Extract 3.

[URC140111:0.34.00]

01. → S: But u:m >so it's not easy< but. at times you can
02. say >sort of thing< like um. gosh you're >telling
03. me a lot of difficult stuff< and we've only
04. just started and I'm just wondering .hhh ↓y'know
05. ↑telling me this you're going to be really
06. feeling it. and we've got a ↑week before we see
07. >each other again< .hh some wa:y of y(huhh)no
08. now you might find you don't get people like
09. that for a ↑while
10. A: [Mmm]
11. S: [But] when you get that sense of r. r. r.
12. ((sound of whiring)) Huhu >hh Um. it's. you need
13. some a bit of something in your tool kit.
14. A: ↓°Yeah°
15. S: But I might be ↑quite wrong it might be one of
16. those synchronicities that it isn't you're not in
17. the mix
18. A: Hmm

The example presented above is marked with the prefatory (line 01) '*at times*' and the modelled talk is hedged with a 'softening' qualifier (line 02) '*sort of thing*' and after the modelling talk again (lines 02-07) with '*some way of*'. and '*y'no*'. The

supervisor laughs (line 07) possibly to enlist a collaborative acceptance of the MTE (Jefferson, 1979; 1984). The laughter is not responded to.

The supervisor's turn (lines 07 & 08) detaches the responsibility of the non-returning client from the supervisee's actions by saying the supervisee might not work with *'people like that'* again. This moves the judgement for the need for an 'educative' MTE for the supervisee away from the supervisee's sole responsibility, implying the clients were of a particular 'type'. This turn softens the judgement of supervisees conduct and the supervisee turn (line 10) *'Mmm'* could be hearable as a soft thoughtful acknowledgement. However, this could also be heard as a non-uptake response and an attempt to close the suggested MTE. In the data this turn is not responded to and the supervisor continues to add that the supervisee needs 'something in your toolkit'. The supervisee says *'yeah'*, and the supervisor closes down the MTE 'episode' with the words, *'but I might be quite wrong'* in assuming the supervisee's actions 'are in the mix' of the trouble discussed.

This example of an MTE in extract 3 is useful as an illustration of the troubled nature of 'advice-giving' in group supervision. The supervisor designs turns which soften the 'critical edge' of advice-giving and as the supervisee orientates to passive acceptance of the MTE the supervisor negates her role of authority to 'advise' by stressing her lack of knowledge of the specific cases in hand.

6.4.ii. Specific MTEs

Examples of more specifically focussed MTE turns in group supervision are more common. These specific MTEs are designed to apply to the case under discussion and in these examples the prefatory markers are usually designed with an introductory framing containing a verb of speaking, such as 'say', sometimes framed alternatively in the forms of be (+ like) or *go*, usually preceded by a modal verb of possibility (*could, may, might*). As in the following examples: *'You could say to her'*; *'I might be saying to him'* and *'maybe you could say'*.

Extract 4 follows on from an episode when the supervisee is talking about a client who has said he has something to say to the therapist but hasn't yet disclosed what this may be about. The supervisee says the client has said it may be too '*shameful to say it*'. The supervisee has expressed a desire not to enter into a situation of '*us chasing each other*' or of him '*demanding to know*' what it is from the client. This has been the topic of discussion in previous supervision sessions and taken up quite a bit of supervision time previously. The supervisee described the client as looking sad in the last session.

Example 4.

[URC191010:0.56.34]

01 G: He acknowledges >quite a bit of frustration<
02. ↑about not being able to say↑ it or↓ (1.0) um
03.→ S: So could you say to him Mark would y would you
04. be sad if↑ when we end at on December 18th
05. >°like this°< .hh
06. G: ↑Mm
07. S: That you hadn't told me um I mean you must have
08 thought about this
09.→ G: well I ↑did I ↑did >make a comment< about the
10. sadness and he he sort of that seemed to sort
11. of s s strike him

In lines 01-02 the supervisee describes the client's frame of experience of not '*being able*' to speak. The end of this turn is designed with the possibility of an alternative with '*or*' which is not ended but left hanging with a pause and 'um'. The supervisor's turn at line 03 is designed to pick up the alternative quickly with a '*so*' signifying this as the supervisee's turn and this alternative is introduced as an MTE with a proposed response using the modal verb of possibility '*could*'.

The MTE proposes the therapist's possible action in a future dialogue. It is designed specifically for this client in this situation and this is denoted as such by the supervisor beginning the MTE with the client's name, '*Mark*'. The talk modelled is to ask the client a question about his feeling state, specifically if he would be '*sad*', if

the 'issue' is not spoken of before the ending of therapy. The therapy is likely to end on the date mentioned as the client will have had his allocated 40 sessions at that point. The supervisor picks up on the supervisees previous noting of the client appearing sad in the session. The supervisee's turn at line 06 '*mm*', is delivered with emphasis and could signify agreement, possibly with appreciation of the recognition of the uptake of the 'sadness' talked of earlier. It is a turn which does not develop the MTE, uptake or extend it.

The supervisor, however, extends the MTE on the next turn emphasising the client's action in not talking and then a further extension to comment on the client's action in the light of possible thought about the ending. The turn is designed with the stronger modal verb of obligation 'must' which is delivered with emphasis and stress.

6.5. Supervisee responses to MTEs

Frequently the epistemic status of the knowledge of counselling with client is made apparent in the design of a next turn and this acts to close the MTE. In the example below extracted from extract 4, the supervisee's response (lines 09-11) appears to make the uptake of this MTE a troubled one.

09.→ G: well I ↑did I ↑did >make a comment< about the
10. sadness and he he sort of that seemed to sort
11. of s s strike him

The supervisee designs his turn to make it clear that the sadness has been spoken of in the previous session, with the double '*I did*' emphasising previous action already taken by him. The rest of the turn is designed to describe the impact this action had on the client; '*that seemed to sort of s s strike him*'. The response is hearable as a defence against the MTE as a suggestion for some action that has been lacking by indicating that the action had in fact been undertaken.

This is a turn designed to orientate towards the supervisee's superior knowledge of the therapeutic dialogue and as such diminishes the influence of the supervisor's

deontic status and adoption of an advice-giving position in designing and offering an MTE. As Stevanovic and Peräkylä state, 'participants' judgments about their relative deontic statuses are critical for their understanding whether an utterance is to be interpreted, for example, as a request for action' (2014:191). It appears that in the offering of MTEs as requests for future action, the supervisee's orientation to a higher epistemic status, with regard to previous sessions and the client, reduces the deontic status of the supervisor.

6.6. Supervisor response to dis-affiliated turns in MTEs.

The following extract, no. 5, continues from the same case discussion and is an example of another MTE from the supervisor for this supervisee and the same client. The supervisee describes the client's concerns about the time left in therapy. The MTE is marked by the modal verb '*might*' and the '*be saying*' present continuous verb form of 'say' modifies the nature of the proposed talk into a turn which is designed to be heard more clearly as a possible course of action (lines 06 & 07). This modification of the verb can be heard as a revised presentation of an MTE by the supervisor after the defensive design of turn following the previous one (lines 09-11 in Extract 4). The prefatory use of a semi-swallowed '*perhaps*', '*prhp*' (line 06) heightens the carefully presented nature of the MTE as a suggestion for future action.

Extract 5.

[URC1910101:0.58.12]

- 1 G: Cos he's been quite conscious about how much
2 time there's .h w worrying wondering about about
3 how >much times there's left< and will there be
4 time left to work through it. .h if he did
5 disclose it. whether °there'd be time to ↑really°
6 → S: .hh That expects more like prhp you >might be
7 saying to him< now look M say we had to e: to
8. Easter or or to next summer °you might still be in
9. this position where° y'know↑ there's some
10. ambivalence about and you ↑mi. you ↑might say to

11. him (1.0) ↑why might it be: >you know< why might it
 12. be difficult without telling me (.) and then you
 13. get sucked into the ↑drama =
 14 G: [Yeah]
 15 O: [Mmm]
 16 S: =Where are you two with ↑this

The MTE following this cautious prefatory marker is more emphatic and decisive. The '*now look*', phrase (line 07) constructed to be the first words of the 'MTE' conveys a mock authority and perhaps some impatience. The turn continues to emphasise the 'waiting' and identifies the client's stance as 'ambivalence', even though this is not directly addressed as belonging to the client by the wrapping it in the words '*some*' and '*about*'. The marker '*you might say to him*' shows the turn to be an extended MTE with a further phrase which is presented as a modelling of a direct question to the client. Could the client talk about 'why it might be difficult' to talk, without actually naming it. This identifies the original source of the difficulty for the client and the supervisee and tips the supervisor to develop the turn into acknowledging the position of the supervisee, "*and then you get sucked into the drama*", (lines 12 & 13). This move re-presents the original dilemma from the point of view of the supervisee in an aligning design which uses emphatic words to describe the experience, such as, '*sucked into*' and problem as a '*drama*'.

As a 'follow up' MTE a few minutes after the previous MTE (in extract 4, lines 03-05 shown below):

03.→ S: So could you say to him Mark would y would you
 04. be sad if↑ when we end at on December 18th
 05. >°like this°< .hh

was resisted, (as discussed above), this example demonstrates how the supervisor has incorporated the supervisee's previous non-uptake and designed the next MTE to be more pertinent, with reference to information supplied by the supervisee's previous turns.

The latched continuous flow into asking the other supervisees for their reflections on the dilemma, *'where are you two with this'*, (line 16) is hearable as a turn designed to avoid the possibility of another lack of uptake from the original supervisee. Although there is at the same time an agreement from him with a softly produced *'yeah'*. (line 14). Having both the MTE and the redesigned move *'and then you get sucked into the drama'*, presented in the same turn makes it unclear which the supervisee is agreeing with. To summarise, this example of an MTE in extract 5 can be identified as a 'follow up' MTE and shows how the supervisor has redesigned the MTE so the turn is still relevant and may be more easily affiliated to by the supervisee.

Unlike Sandlund's (2014) examples there are very few instances of MTEs in the group supervision data with a modal verb of obligation in the prefatory markers. This suggests the action of the MTEs in group supervision is to enlist collaboration and affiliation in their delivery. Although, as the above examples illustrate, the problematic nature of the acceptance is evident through mildly assenting agreements.

In the next following extract (6) the MTE is an example of one marked by an introductory framing which does include an obligatory modal verb, 'have to'. The supervisee has presented a client struggling with returning to spend Christmas with a family that does not accept the client's version of abusive events with the father in the family.

Extract 6.

[URC301110:0.23.15]

01. S: I mean I'm wondering if (1.0) .h sometimes it's
02. → like you sus ave to say things a little. bit. more.
03. (2.0)
04. Make make something real like (.) Umm M. do you
05. think you're here to decide whether you can walk
06. away from this (.) family which (.) is >they're
07. not very good at parenting< o::r do you actually

08. want to go back into it an rescue yu
 09. (1.0)
 10. G: ↑Mm
 11. S: To. just >saying concrete like that< you haven't
 12. talked↑ about. that. that >have you↑<
 13. (1.0)
 14. G: Not as. not like that. no.

The ensuing MTE (lines 01-08) is designed as a direct choice of decision for the client. The turn repeats the client's description of the parents as 'bad' and neglectful, reformulating the complaint of them as '*not very good*'. This is presented in a quicker delivery intimating that this is a 'known' concept, heightening the choice the client faces rather than questioning her estimation of them. The alternative choice summarises the earlier discussion where the supervisee had explored the client's espoused reasons for staying with the family, that is, in order to protect the other siblings from parental abuse.

The use of '*ave*' (line 2) serves as an introduction to the 'directness' of the choice. It acts as a stressor to the stark position of the client. Although the supervisor begins with presenting an exploratory thought, '*I'm wondering*', and also uses the marker '*sometimes*' which as we have seen earlier is introduced in forms where the MTE can be viewed as 'general', this is undercut by the subsequent design of the turn. In terms of negotiating the delicacy of presenting the MTE as a suggestion for future action this marker poses a dilemma. It is posing a course of action for the supervisee, that is, to offer the client her stark choices.

The subsequent turn of the supervisee (line 10) is hearable as a mild quick agreement. The supervisor 's next turn re-emphasises the MTE as '*concrete*'; an echo of the former prefatory phrase '*make something real*'. The subsequent extension of the turn '*you haven't talked about that*' retrospectively presents the MTE as a new course of proposed action. The accompanying tag question '*have you?*' is responded to in an affiliative way but the agreement is modified by the qualifier, '*not like that*', which suggests the MTE is regarded as simply another version of presenting the

dilemma to the client, and not a new development or course of action in the therapy.

Line 14; *"not as not like that no"*, therefore, shows a hedged agreement in which the supervisee 'accepts' the MTE as a 'new' suggestion but is a turn also designed to show that other similar actions have been attempted. This can perhaps be read as a defensive utterance for the supervisee, and may indicate that the supervisee has 'heard' the previous MTE to be more than a helpful suggestion, and responds as if it also has undertones of an undermining comment on his previous sessions with the client.

6.7. Role-Play or Improvised MTEs (Affiliated to Emotional currency)

Another further design of the MTE enactment turn in the group supervision data involves the attempt by the supervisor, in the face of dis-preferred or ambivalently accepted MTE to enlist the supervisee to participate in a talk enactment, more often in the talk role of the supervisee's client. *"You be him; I'll be you"*. Role play is ubiquitously used as a training tool, although its effectiveness as a training tool for handling 'authentic' situations is compromised by the 'role-player' presenting the trainee with interactions they are 'unlikely to encounter' in real situations (Stokoe, 2013:183).

The authenticity of the 'role-playing' task in educational institutions is also shown to have an impact on students' engagement (Waer, 2009). This study of second language learners, shows that the degree of involvement exhibited by interactants in role play tasks was impacted by the perceived goal of the task. As a 'development' on from the ambivalently accepted MTE 'offer', the recruitment 'turn' has little orientation to its 'goal' and the supervisee reluctance to join in makes supervisee participation in this 'task' very limited. The enlistment of supervisees into ad hoc role-playing dialogue has limited success in the group supervision data.

6.7.i. Reluctance to participate in role-play MTEs

In the group supervision data this design turn also has varying degrees of affiliation and recipient participation. The following extract identifies one such attempt at enlistment into a role play and comes after several attempts to produce an affiliated response to an MTE (including extracts 4 & 5 above).

Extract 6.

[URC191010:0.56.34]

09. G: Well I ↑did I ↑did >make a comment< about the
10. sadness and he he sort of that seemed to sort of
11. s s strike him .h and he said that that. felt.
12. (4.0) er
13. (2.0) that struck a a chord fr him that there was
14. sum that he >hadn't been thinking about it< but
15. it did feel sad .hh um °what else° was he ↓saying
16. →S: Wha. >you be him and I be you< Di. Um what was I
17. ↑thinking°< um (2.5) I I'm wondering if if there's
18. if you although th th that your telling me there's
19. something that you you'd like to tell me an you've
20. got >mixed feelings about that< that. it its
21. difficult .h um d'you think youre stuck in that
22. position of of when we are ↑ending just before
23. Christmas .h and um you'd both like to tell me .h
24. and there's some anxiety about. so that's and
25. that's where you are at the moment
26. G: Um
27. S: Does that ↑feel like
28. (2.0)
29. G: ↑Yeh.
30. S: °That's a bummer int ↑it°
31. G: °Mm°
32. S: Bum(h)er(h) for ↓you and a ↑bum(h)mer for ↑him
33. (2.0)
34. G: Cos he's been ↑quite conscious about how much time
35. there is

In line 16 the supervisor attempts to enlist the supervisee to participate in a co-constructed dialogue. *'You be him and I be you'* is a direct instruction to the supervisee to enact being the client he is presenting as the case. The supervisor then goes on, after some voicing of uncertainty about how to proceed, to enact a dialogue as if she were the supervisee as a counsellor. In this example, she summarises the client's position of being stuck. The beginning of a question (line 21) is modified in the execution of it to end as a statement of a position *'so that's where you are at the moment'*. The supervisee does not enter the invited position and does not take up the proffered role in the enactment. The turn *'um'* is designed to detach and does not accept the invited role. The supervisor responds with another question which, although is ambiguously addressed either to the client or to the supervisee, assumes a return to the current present supervisory dialogue as a question designed to reflect on the proceeding MTE, and even though it ends without a qualifying adjective. *'does that feel like'* the supervisee's turn, *'yeh'* (line 29) is designed to accept the vague summary as an ending, as it does not expand or continue but it closes the MTE. The supervisor's following turn, *'that's a bummer int it'*, demonstrates the ending of the MTE is accepted as the supervisor designs a turn to empathise with the therapeutic situation or impasse as the supervisee had outlined previously as the current therapeutic dilemma.

It is interesting to note that the invitation from the supervisor to enter into an MTE role comes in a turn after the supervisee struggles to remember any further therapeutic dialogue. As well as providing a suggestion for a future dialogue about an impasse in therapy the turn is also designed as a way out of an embryonic impasse in the supervisory dialogue. In this way, the turn demonstrates one way the dialogue in supervision 'models' and facilitates the event of a 'parallel process' event (Searles, 1955). Where "processes at work currently in the relationship between patient and therapist are often reflected in the relationship between therapist and supervisor" (1955: 135). This phenomenon is outside the scope of this study, but would warrant further CA investigation.

In extract 7 there is another example of an MTE where the supervisor offers the supervisee a 'role' in the MTE. The supervisee described previously how she has declined to 'move' the session times for her client and she is wondering about the client's response to this, and if she was angry with her about it. The supervisor invites Olivia, the Supervisee, to put herself into the position of the client as a hearer to the MTE, then she enacts the proposed dialogue expecting the supervisee to participate in the role of the client by replying 'as if' she was her.

Extract 7.

[URC210910:0.50.45]

01. S: .hh What what I I I y'know >in my work even
02. now< I I I .hh the timing of of a I mean you
03. understand that an and. hopefully >understood
04. it as she was saying it to you< .hh it its hard
05. to kno:w just when to sort of package that in a
06. .hh um or if to. even er to to give it back to
07. the person wha what's your sense if if you were
08. C and I said to you .hh eh eh it seems C as
09. though y youre saying y y hmm y'know y'did ask
10. if i could accommodate you an an I ↑couldn't
11. and um that's >maybe left you wondering↑< do I
12. ↑really care .h am I putting. y'no am I
13. considering you am I thinking about you .h you
14. but you're also telling me that you do value hmm
15. our regular ↓sessions ↑uhm (2.5) how how if I
16. was to s spell it out like that to you how d
17. you how d'you .hh what do you ↑feel
18 O: I I feel I could say that to her (1.0) uhm
16 (3.0)
17 → S: but if you were he:r
18 O: if I was her
19 S: Yea:h
20 (2.0)

The supervisor offers an extended MTE (lines 01-17) and the supervisee accepts the initial MTE (line 18) in a turn which is also designed to not accept the supervisor's

invitation to respond with Kay's, the client's, presumed feeling response to the MTE. After this turn designed by the supervisee to clarify the invitation but which also defers the action of complying with the request to enact the client's role, '*I feel I could say that to her uhm*', the supervisor makes another invitation for the supervisee to enact or 'be' the client, '*but if you were her*' (line 17), which is again not taken up. In a turn designed to postpone the adoption of the client's 'role' the supervisee repeats the supervisor's invitation, "if I was her". After the supervisor's "yeah", the two second silence heralds another reluctance to adopt the role and continue. Another MTE is then attempted by the supervisor as seen below (lines 21-30).

Extract 7.

[URC210910] (Contd.)

- 21 → S: and I'm ↓saying (1.0) y'know maybe maybe maybe C
 22. you say I. it was disturbing but y ye you don't
 23 y'don. tch you don't want to uhm (.) I'm sus
 24. >thinking on my feet now< .h uhm
 24 maybe if you said that to me uhmm it might
 25. disturb the the the=goodness that we've got=the
 26. routine that we've had=the helpfulness .hh and
 27. and eh maybe >I wonder if that prevents< you
 28. sa:ying ↓actually you're wondering if I
 29. ↑really ↑care if I wont move this >or
 30. ↓something like that↓<
 31. O: uhm
 32. → S: How how d'you feel if I(hh) invite you to
 33. O: I think she would find it hard to uhm (1.5) >be
 34. negative towards me< ↑actually
 35. S: right. so. that's. you have >to get that< you
 36. glean that from .h what she ↓said
 37. O: yep=
 38. S: I think >this is where supervision can help<
 39. O: Yeh
 40. S: y'know we can role play it
 41. O: Yep
 42. S: You you know ↑what it's about but. but she's yet

43. to come to that. so you ju you hold that
44. O: Yep.
45. S: °Yeah°.

The supervisor subsequently provides another MTE (lines 21-30) and the turn at line 31; 'uhm', again defers the required action. The supervisor tries again to enlist a response from the supervisee perhaps in the 'role' of the client, '*How do you feel*' (line 32) although this is ambiguous because the turn design ends with an interrupted repetition of the initial invitation to the supervisee to talk 'as if' the client. This appears to be an unfinished invitation as the supervisee's next quick turn (lines 33 & 34) is to reply in a turn designed to not accept the invitation to be the client but firmly places herself as the speaker of the lines with the use of pronouns (highlighted here) which illustrate this. '*i think she would find it hard to uhm be negative towards me actually*'. The use of the word, 'actually' acts an adverbial intensifier and serves to reinforce the truth of the view expressed (Quirk et al, 1985, Wang et al., 2010).

The supervisor's next turn, '*right so that's you have to get that you glean that from what she said*', (lines 35 & 36) ends the MTE and the invitation, and suggests the supervisee's knowledge of the client's feelings come from the supervisee's hearing of previous dialogue with the client. The transitive verb '*glean*' (line 36) implies that the supervisor thinks that the understanding does not come from direct conversation with the client but is knowledge extracted piecemeal by the counsellor's previous exchanges with her client as well her experience of supervision.

This MTE extends with a penultimate turn from the supervisor suggesting a way of seeing the MTE, '*this is where supervision can help*' (line 38) and a direct reference to the suggested activity which also describes it, '*we can role play it*', even though in the preceding dialogue this clearly did not occur. The supervisee's turns in lines 37, 39 and 41 are aimed to show affiliation however, they are also designed to close down the dialogue about the 'role play'. In lines 42-43, "*you you know what it's about but she's yet to come to that so you ju you hold that*", the supervisor suggests

the supervisee now has increased knowledge and understanding of her client. “*you know what it’s about*”, through the supervisory dialogue, ‘*you hold that*’, as the client has yet to express directly her thoughts and feelings, ‘*she’s yet to come to that*’.

6.7.ii. Ambivalence and partial uptake in role-playing in MTEs

In another example below (extract 8) the supervisor again invites the supervisee to adopt a role of the client and to take part in responding to the MTE. The extract shows a partial uptake of the offer and an ambivalent stance towards the invitation by the supervisee. The extract begins with the supervisee reporting on the client’s difficulties to be silent.

Extract 8.

[URC170511:1.16.00]

01. O: That’s what she says things that have gone wrong
02. will creep in
03. →S: So you be >Helen for the minute<
04. So.h Helen I’m just wondering if(.)you know you
05. know how difficult >weve talked about< how
06. difficult it ↑is for you to have a space
07. that’s sortuv dangerous in a way .h you don’t
08. like that° difficult thoughts might come in that
09. space (1.)0 um makes me wonder i:f how
10. we’re going to manage this work ↑together e are
11. we going to leave a >bit of space< and then you
12. tell me when its unbearable .h or u
13. can tell me what thoughts come in or >shall we
14. just fill it right up to the end< how. what are
15. your ↑thoughts about that
16. → (2.0) just be Helen for the moment >don’t
17. matter what you say<
18. (10.0)
19. O: E:r °I think it°(4.0) I I don’t know how it
20. would feel to do that
21. S: °Right° ↓for us to have a bit of space or to

22. pla:y with a bit of space or
 23. O: Um
 24. (4.0)
 25. I guess (3.0) um what would concern me is >I would
 26. just go into my own space<

The MTE begins at line 03 with a direct invitation for the supervisee to ‘*be*’ the client. The MTE offered models a way for the supervisee to tentatively offer the client a ‘space’. At line 16 the invitation is again repeated or pursued, the offer is revised with the modifier, ‘*just*’ and the addition of the comment; ‘*doesn’t matter what you say*’. This frames the invitation, from the supervisor’s view, to be more concerned with the ‘doing’ of the ‘role’ than with content of the dialogue. The extended gap of 10 seconds shows the offer is troubling to the supervisee. There is no automatic uptake. The eventual supervisee response (line 19) begins with ‘*er*’ and this emphasises the dilemma and extends the uptake. The supervisee continues with ‘*I think it I don’t*’ and the additional and subsequent 4 second gap (line 19) underlines the sense of difficulty the supervisee has to accept and to be engaged in the task.

The following replying phrase, ‘*I don’t know how it would feel to do that*’, is a directly ambiguous statement. It could be heard as both a reply from the supervisee about the task, or the supervisee as-the-client replying *in* the task. It could be both. The supervisor’s response in line 21, “*right for us to have a bit of space or to play with a bit of space or*” uptakes the response as a supervisee *in role* reply, the first word, ‘*right*’, taken as an acknowledgement token, however, the final ‘*or*’, could also be a token nod to the supervisee’s ambiguity. The role play is more securely embedded when the supervisees next response is designed to be more tightly affiliated to the client role, ‘*I would just go into my own space*’ with a repetition of the dialogue she has already reported from the client.

The extract below, as the MTE continues, evidences the longest example of a supervisee’s adoption of a client role, with 4 adjacency pairs. (lines 27-39 are not

shown) The participation ends when the supervisor asks the ‘supervisee–in-client-role’ to ‘go’ into the ‘space’, they are discussing.

Extract 9.

[URC170511] (Contd. 1)

41. Right show me wh what would the space be like(.)if w
42. you an I hada space
43. O: What d’you ↑mean show you
44. S: Be it. you go in that nasty dangerous space
45. >jus fr a minute< so I can see what happens t you
46. (12.0)
47.→ O: She would reach for a tissue
48. S: ↑°A:h°

After a gap of 12 seconds the supervisee drops the role play and responds in her authentic role, (line 47) “*she would reach for a tissue*”; and the turn defines the response the client would give in actions, “*shed reach*”. This turn acts as an end to the role-play discourse. The supervisor responds with a very softly spoken empathic ‘Ah’, denoting a change-of- state token (Heritage, 1984b) This turn also denotes the supervisor’s alignment with the emotional order of the supervisee’s statement. As a stand-alone, ‘ah’ is found to be a ‘troubles receipt’ turn and is often followed by the current troubles teller expanding their talk (Reber, 2012: 180). The supervisor not only orients to the turn, “reaching for the tissue’ as a signifier of the ‘affect state’ of the client, the ‘Ah’ as a change of state token enables the supervisor to move into a post-MTE discourse of ‘understanding the problem’.

Extract 10.

[URC170511] (Contd 2)

50. →O: it’s very ↓sad this space
51. S: ↑°Yeah that’s fantastic° yeah I ↓feel it
52. (2.0)
53. Try doing that
54. (2.0)
55. →O: We did it. in the last session and ↑she: w w

56. there was a space and um I was feeling I I was
57. >a bit lost in it<
58. S: =Hmm
59. O: I said it feels it feels lost she said um(.)
60. she said it was too distressing um(3.0) my minds
61. doing that thing where it won't allow it to
62. concentrate I think it's quite distressing to
63. think about and its sad
64. →S: And it's hard for you to sort of invite her into
65. that place I imagine

6.8. Turns orient supervision discourse to wider emotion display

The supervisee continues the discourse with an orientation to the 'sadness' of the client's possible experience. The supervisee assesses the 'space' the client avoids as 'sad', (ln. 50) expanding the emotional description. The ambiguity of the supervisee's turn is again evident. The use of the present tense and the pronoun 'this' give the statement an immediacy which suggests an ongoing experience. The turn could be hearable as in the client's voice. Although this is not fixed.

The next turn from the supervisor, marks a further move away from the MTE. Her single, free-standing discourse marker, 'Ah' (line 48) as suggested earlier, appears to have positioned her to move into a post-MTE discourse. In this next and altered 'phase' of the dialogue, she treats the emotional order as a more salient feature of the supervision dialogue. The supervisor's subsequent response; "*Yeah that's fantastic yeah I feel it*" (line 51) evaluates the supervisee's previous turn, "*it's very sad this space*", positively. This turn acts as an affiliation with the emotional position the supervisee outlines. The present tense is also used here and the supervisor agrees and encourages with the double use of 'yeah'.

The previous role-play is oriented to as an achievement; a success, underpinning the supervisee's emotional orienting to client, with the evaluative phrase, '*that's fantastic*'. Ambiguously, the turn also concludes with '*I feel it*', which is curious,

because the emotional valence is ascribed to herself, the supervisor, rather than to the supervisee. *'I feel it'*, does not explicitly express the emotional experience as a shared one. It looks like there may be an assumption that the emotional orienting of the supervisor's turn is shared by the supervisee. The supervisee does not respond. However, the supervisor's turn displays the MTE as a 'success' in this instance.

It is interesting to note, in the subsequent turn, the supervisor re-emphasises the advice-giving slant of the MTE with her turn: *Ttry doing that*", which is not couched with the 'possibilities' or 'hedging' qualities of the previous MTE offering in the earlier extract. The supervisor is re-orienting to a higher deontic status in the dialogue. In this turn she again reclaims the deontic right to begin to suggest ways of working with the client. The supervisee responds after 2.0 second delay with a direct, *"We did it in the last session"*, (line 55). This is hearable as the supervisee returning to the previous currency of a higher epistemic status, where her knowledge of what has previously happened in the counselling cannot be challenged. She replies by stating the unassailable knowledge she owns; she is the only one in the room who knows what has happened between her and her client.

The shift into this currency resists the advice and demotes the deontic currency. The 'advice' is not needed: it has already been acted upon. The epistemic order takes precedence, the supervisee reasserts her status, moreover, with this turn, the 'advice' is signalled as not desirable as it is not a fresh idea. Again, the epistemic status of counselling with client is made evident by supervisee and closes down the role-play and further MTE, and reduces the deontic status displayed by the supervisor in preceding the interaction.

As the discourse continues the supervisor aligns with the difficulty of the supervisee's clinical task (line 64) *"And it's hard for you to sort of invite her into that place"*. The supervisee responds by giving herself some self-reflective statements and assessment and ultimately orients to her own advice for future sessions. (See lines 66, 68, 78 and 81)

Extract 10.

[URC170511] (Contd 3)

- 66.→ O: I think I need to consciously do that
67. S: Mm
68.→ O: And I think I get caught up with her
68. S: Hmm just like I did
70. O: With filling up
71. S: Oh you get caught up with her wanting to cry
72. O: No
73. S: Oh
74. O: Filling up as in space
75. S: Yep yeah yeah yeah yeah
76. O: The space feels very sad to me
77. S: Yes
78.→ O: I think I need to leave her there
79. S: Yeah n I think that sometimes you need t' leave
80. her in the space and
81.→ O: Sometimes I rescue her from it

Line 71 *'Oh you get caught up with her wanting to cry'* demonstrates how the supervisor may be more oriented to the emotional experience of the client than the supervisee as she takes the meaning of 'filling up' to be a euphemism for crying. The supervisee repairs her misunderstanding and clarifies it to mean the client wanting to 'fill up the space' she eschews, i.e. the 'business' the client cultivates to avoid the emotions, the named sadness, she finds in silence. The supervisor accepts this 'correction' with five 'yeahs' (line 75) Which suggests this is something she has already known and should not have to be reminded about. The next turn (Line 76), *'the space feels very sad to me'*, demonstrates in a simple statement, the supervisee's emotional alignment with the client experience. It is a more personally acknowledged variant of line 50, *'it's very sad this space'*, which was demonstrated at the ending of the MTE sequence.

it is interesting to see how the supervisee picks up and continues the dialogue with her own advice-giving sequences and self-reflective statements, to herself (See lines 66, 68, 78 and 81). In essence by the end of the extract she has made some clear statements of her intention to act in the future with the client, '*I need to leave her there*', (line 78). This turn is accepted and agreed with and then repeated by the supervisor. This 'echoed' turn hearable as a demonstration of a deontic 'collaboration', leads on to the supervisee's final self-reflective assessment of her previous way of working in collusion with the client, which she know assesses as 'rescuing' the client from the 'sadness' rather than tolerating the silence, giving opportunity for it and therefore allowing opportunity for the client's emotions to be felt and privileged.

The final part of this long extract shows that MTE episodes, although ambiguously accepted and resisted by the supervisee, can lead to the supervisee's display of an increased personal emotional alignment with the client's case, and there is evidence here that the supervisee can be stimulated to self-reflect and make assertive self-advice-giving displays.

6.9. Conclusion

Analysing and exploring the function of reported speech and the MTEs in group supervision makes evident the careful balancing of epistemic, deontic and emotional currency. Group supervision is constructed as an exchange of epistemic currency through which participants negotiate and 'do' supervision. The salient features of the chapter are that the supervisee has more epistemic status through knowledge and experience of the client and the previous counselling session which they orient to when resisting a deontic stance displayed by the supervisor. Supervisee's present their subjective reporting of 'how the counselling is going' through reported speech. The supervisor has more epistemic status through knowledge and experience of the professional task of counselling and designs turns in the group supervision dialogue to suggest future acts and behaviour in subsequent counselling sessions. Commonly, the advice-giving acts are constructed as MTEs , sometimes through an MTE the

supervisor enlists the supervisee into a dialogic role-play; asking supervisees to 'act' as if they are their client.

Advice-giving by the supervisor, in this way is troublesome; frequently resisted by the supervisee and compromised by the epistemic shifts in status and stance, initiated by the supervisee but ultimately required by all participants. By indexing their superior epistemic authority in the domain of the counselling experience under discussion, the supervisees do not pick up, but swerve away from the supervisor's proposed course of action. The supervisees invoke their 'epistemics of experience' as above and over the 'epistemics of expertise' carried by the supervisor's professional authority. This invokes their deontic right to reject the supervisor's suggested course for future action (Heritage 2013, Lindström & Weatherall 2015).

In essence, in an MTE displayed to be 'successful', turns are constructed to 'flatten' the epistemic asymmetries and subsequent turns are formed to orient supervision discourse to wider emotion display with subsequent turns demonstrating an increase in sensitivity to emotional order, and a supervisee displaying self-advice and asserting deontic status over their own professional reflections.

Chapter Seven:

7. The interactional workings of laughter in group supervision

7.1. Introduction

This chapter will focus on the use and production of laughter in the interactions of group supervision. In particular I will examine how laughter is locally produced, who produces it and explore the different contexts in which laughter is constructed and how participants in the group supervision discourse respond or not to it. The chapter examines and aims to show how laughter in group supervision is used systematically to complete different actions. The different contexts of laughter will be seen to influence the methodic accomplishments of laughter in group supervision. More than merely a simple response to humour, or an expression of play and fun, laughter can be seen in group supervision to be a complex interactional occurrence that performs a multitude of actions, from very 'serious' business and the actions necessary for the institutional progress of the work of supervision, to the careful negotiation of affiliation and rapport in the group. Laughter will also be seen to be pivotal in discreet exchanges between the currency of epistemic and deontic status and authority between group participants.

The overarching approach to the data explored in this chapter will be to determine how laughter is an intentional social action in group supervision. In agreement with Glenn (2003) laughter in group supervision will be shown to be 'a guided doing with ascribable, accountable, purposes' and controllable, systematic and precisely placed' in order to achieve those purposes (2003:32).

7.2. Laughter and communication

The occurrence of laughter in interpersonal communications is, at face value, a curious phenomenon for conversation or discourse study for it belies the belief that meaningful communication between humans is only verbal. The occurrence of laughter has long been associated as primal and related with expression of emotion,

and closely paralleled with mood signal. Darwin distinctively made connections with human beings and primates in his theory of evolution and in his third volume he noted the way human beings and primates share the nature and production of guttural sounds, either of 'distress' or 'joy'. He described cries of distress where, 'the expirations are prolonged and continuous, with the inspirations short and interrupted' and stated how it was therefore 'perhaps to be expected' that the sounds of 'joy' in contrast had expirations 'short and broken and inspirations prolonged' (Darwin, 1872: 205). In more recent years neuroscientific studies have established that the 'ancient' or primitive brain regions belonging to all mammals hold the neural circuitry for laughter (Panskepp, 2005, 2000). 'These findings point to smiling and laughter as 'hard-wired' because of their potential as important mechanisms of social communication' (Mireault, Poutre, Sargent-Hier, Dias, Perdue, & Myrick, 2012:339).

Developmentally, our production of laughter is pre-verbal. In human beings, infants regularly smile before speech patterns, such as babbling occur and we can produce laughter sounds in the 'first half of the first year of life' (Mireault, Crockenberg, Sparrow, Cousineau, Pettinato, & Woodard, 2015) and this is frequently at about the fourth month (Sroufe & Wunsch, 1972). Recent research has outlined how infant laughter is socially produced and referenced, with infants picking up clues from parental figures as to whether to laugh or not (Mireault et al, 2012). Laughter is considered to play an essential role in the development and maintenance of social relationships from many and disparate research fields, such as biology, linguistics and the social sciences. Various theories have attempted to explain the production of laughter and to answer the question of why we laugh. These theories are very early on identified as the 'superiority/hostility' theory, posited by Plato and Aristotle, which explains that we laugh when comparing ourselves to others and finding ourselves in a superior position; the classic 'slipping on a banana skin' joke.

There is also an 'incongruity' theory (Kant, 1911; Schopenhauer, 1907; Kierkegaard, 1941) which sees laughter as the outcome of a perception of experiencing

something which is unexpected (which can also explain the banana skin joke). In this theory, laughter is the product of perceiving something as absurd and surprising; a consequence of a rupture of our routine expectations, where there is incongruity between what we believe will happen and what actually occurs. Another social theory of the production of laughter is that it is the product of 'relief' (Freud, 1905; Spencer, 1911). That is, that people produce laughter when what they have previously perceived as, or held to be, a threat is no longer seen or experienced as one. In other words, laughter is the consequence of a release of pent up anxiety and tense energy. Most of these theories hold some truth but they cannot offer a universal answer to the question of why laughter occurs.

7.3. Laughter as an interactional achievement

What is noteworthy is that most recent CA research has shown is that laughter is not to be seen simplistically as purely a response to a humorous stimulus. Laughter is demonstrably produced in numerous ways and for a complex array of reasons. 'There appears to be growing acknowledgement that many factors, internal and external, affect or stimulate laughter. Treating it solely as a response to stimulus produces only incomplete understandings' (Glenn, 2003: 25). The study of laughter, not merely as a 'response', but as an interactional achievement shifts the examination of laughter from a communicative device, to 'how its meaning is constituted jointly by laughers and hearers' (Glenn, 2003: 235).

This exploration has its roots in early conversation analysis research, particularly the work of Jefferson (1985) and Jefferson, Sacks and Schegloff (1987). Jefferson is pivotal in bringing the attention of analysts to the necessity of transcribing laughter with precision and care; how this attention to the detail of the production of laughter in conversation allows us to see the place it holds and the functions it achieves in interaction. Laughter had previously been notably accounted for as being a spontaneous and uncontrollable production of 'bubbling' random noises, or to be heard, as Goffman (1961) described, as 'flooding out' and experienced as 'invading' talk by participants. Jefferson (1985) however, highlights the systematic and precise

placing of laughter in interaction which she argues is organised locally and with an orientation to co-ordinated interaction. She argues that the careful transcription of the sounds of laughter can reveal how they are located precisely and placed with the control of the speaker in interactions. Rather, it is the case, Jefferson argues, that laughter, 'has been put in' (Jefferson, 1985:30). She carefully considers how 'not only the presence of laughter but also its non-presence is methodic' (1985:31). For instance, her paper explores how, for instance, the production of laughter making an utterance difficult to hear may be the actual task set for participants and therefore to 'miss' this, in a less detailed transcript for analysis can, 'obscure the fact that the very task has been set' for the recipients, and the methodic ways in which that has been done. In essence, her seminal work allowed the first CA assumption from Sacks, that there is 'order at all points' (Sacks, 1984:22) to be demonstrated in the exploration of laughter.

7.4. Laughter invitations and common responses

CA studies have further revealed that 'people laugh in systematic, sequentially, and socially organised patterns' (Glenn, 2003: 2). Research continues to reveal that laughter in interaction is systematic, and organised and it accomplishes action, just as verbal, lexical utterances do (Glenn, 1989; 1992; 1995; 2003; Hopper & Glenn, 1994; Haakana, 2001; West, 1984; Holt, 2010, 2012, 2016; Clift, 2012). Although laughter is not seen *only* as a response to some humorous stimulus, analysis has shown that by the way it is placed in discourse, the occurrence of laughter has something to which it refers, a referent, or a 'laughable' (Glenn, 2003).

The 'laughable' is identified by typical placement of laughter either very near or "immediately following the object" (Glenn, 2003: 49). The placement of laughter has been shown to regularly occur in a series of recurring positions in talk. The first laugh in an interaction is regarded as the 'invitation to laugh'. It is either placed through the turn, often threaded through the talk of the first speaker, or it is placed at the end of the turn. It can be responded to in a variety of ways. The next speaker can choose to either respond in the next turn with a laugh, or with silence, or with talk.

The third turn may then be either to pursue the laughter invitation or to follow with more talk (Holt, 2013).

Speaker 1 laugh invitation	Speaker 2 response choices
1a. L within a turn	
1b. L at end of the turn	2a) Accept invitation and L
	2bi) Decline invitation with silence 2bii) Decline invitation with talk 2biii) Decline invitation with overlapping talk
3. (After 2b responses) Pursue L or not	

Table 1. Laughter invitations and common responses

The occurrence of laughter as a response to the laughter invitation is often seen to be an affiliative move by the second speaker. However, it needn't be and studies have shown the meanings of reciprocal laughter demonstrating the disaffiliation with a speaker's stance. Jefferson's study shows how a laughter in response to a first laugh in a 'troubles telling' can demonstrate a resistance on the hearer's part to pick up on the 'troubles' stance of the first speaker's turn, demonstrating a disaffiliated move with the invitation to become a sensitive 'troubles recipient'. (Jefferson, 1984). Drew's paper on teasing, (1987) also shows how going 'along with' a laugh may be a hearer treading a thin line between affiliation and non-affiliation with the first speaker. Laughter can therefore have a uniquely ambiguous quality with regard to its use or action. It is Holt who reminds us to proceed with caution to any identification for the use of laughter: 'laughing is a slippery device' (Holt, 2013a: 1034).

Numerous studies have furthered the exploration of the use of laughter in 'non-humorous' contexts (Haakana, 2002, 2001; Wilkinson, 2007; Potter and Hepburn, 2010). Vöge (2010) explores laughter in complaints and shows how in business meetings participants employ laughter in complaint sequences in order to indicate

hierarchical distinctions. Holt (2010) demonstrates how laughter can be used to close down topics, and how shared laughter regularly mobilises the trajectory of the mutual ending of a topic.

7.5. Laughter and Social context

Studies have also focussed on the use of laughter in varying social contexts.

Adelswärd, (1989) first studied institutional settings, with the analysis of telephone calls from a wide-ranging selection of professional settings including, job interviews, judiciary interviews; high school settings and social welfare departments. She concluded that we 'often laugh alone' but that mutual laughter 'is a sign of consensus and rapport'. Also, crucially, laughter 'has a modifying function, cueing interpretation, similar to that of adverbials and intonation. It is used as a strategy to sustain/create status and to handle face threats' (1989:129).

Haakana (2001) explored medical interactions between doctors and patients and found, like West previously (1984), that patients laugh more than General Practitioners and that the doctors do not pick the laughter up as an invitation to join in. This could also be supporting Jefferson's earlier work on 'troubles-telling' (1984). Kangasharju & Nikko (2009) analysed laughter in work team meetings and in conclusion found their studies supported the findings of previous research (Glenn, 1989; Haakana, 2001), that "shared laughter can be used to reduce the hierarchical asymmetry of the interactants; to release tension in challenging situations. Furthermore, laughing together can increase feelings of closeness and collegiality" (Kangasharju & Nikko, 2009: 114). It is interesting to note that this study also highlighted the function of shared laughter in a work team to 'have remedial capacity in face-threatening or embarrassing situations' (2009: 115). Jacknick's study (2013), showed how laughter in an ESL learning environment was used as an interactional resource to negotiate the participants' epistemic authority. Students used laughter to challenge the teachers' knowledge and authority. This marks a development in recent work of CA studies on the use of laughter in institutional settings; papers demonstrate participants' use of laughter as a resource for

demonstrating and displaying their understanding of their roles and responsibilities in interactions, including a negotiation of epistemic states and status and deontic authority (Zayts and Schnurr, 2011). Osvaldsson's study of multi-party talk (2004) illuminates how laughter is mobilised at times of group disagreement, she writes, 'laughter shapes interaction, providing for the very multiparty nature of oppositional exchanges' (2004:542).

7.6. Contexts of laughter in group supervision

The analysis presented below will examine the uses for laughter in clinical group supervision. The identified contexts for laughter in these gatherings are primarily in interactions of institutional matters, particularly in the arenas where there might be perceived 'problems', such as the clinic's responsibilities; the case load of the supervisees and the allocation of clients. Further analysis identifies the use of laughter in the identification of rights and responsibilities of team members, and I will focus on how the mobilisation of laughter in interaction outlines the norms and expectation of the supervisor's role and responsibilities. A final third section will discuss the use of laughter in the negotiating of 'tricky' business, whether this is raising an ethical concern, or questioning the core of a supervisee's working practice.

7.7. Laughter and institutional difficulties: 'problem assigning' and 'problem charging' laughter

The data reveals the members of group supervision routinely make use of laughter in their interactions concerning institutional matters, especially those elements of institutional routine or decision making which cause, or are seen to cause, institutional problems. Laughter is present in these institutional problem accounts in two ways. Laughter occurs in interactions where a problem is seen to be handed over or 'conferred' to the clinic, or to each other, as will be identified in the first extract below. I call this 'problem assigning' laughter. That is, laughter is produced when the interactants discuss activities which have the potential to be problematic for the clinic, or each other.

The currency of laughter is also seen to have a fundamental role in the interactions where there is an 'allocating' of the cause and responsibility for problems. I call this 'problem charging'. That is, interactions involving accounts in which, for instance, the clinic is organised as the instigator of 'problems' for the supervisees, in other words, interactions in which someone or a body, such as the clinic, is 'charged' with being the instigator of problems.

In both occurrences, 'problem charging' and 'problem assigning', the activity is presented as a 'laughable' with, as we shall see, limited shared laughter as a consequence.

7.7.i. 'Problem assigning' laughter

Laughter is often present in the discussion of the process and distribution of client allocation to counsellors in the data. In the routine practice of the clinic supervisees are allocated clients, who have previously undergone an assessment interview or consultation, by an administrator. This allocation process is commonly discussed as an institutionally produced 'problem' for the supervisees, resulting in unfair client allocations, no client allocation at all, administrative confusion over allocation, and on one occasion a counsellor's 'rejection' of an assigned client. In the allocation process, after an assessment has been completed, supervisees are handed the 'notes' of their newly allocated client to look through before beginning the sessions. At times assessment notes are discussed at the supervision session before the supervisee and the client meet. In a supervision session previous to the one in this extract, Olivia had declined working with an allocated client on ethical grounds, believing she would not be able to work with the client's 'presenting concerns' (Culley & Bond, 2011). The reason for this is explored for a long time: it was a difficult decision to make. In this extract, two weeks later, she is stating her view that she has made the right decision, and for the first time the implication of her decision for the client's subsequent allocation is raised.

Extract 1:

[URC51010:52:55]

01. O: I think it's the right decision ↑so
02. S: Good. °mm°
03. O: And there'll be somebody else to=
04. C: ↑Ri:
05. O: °Pic i. up°
06. G: [↓°Yes°]
07. S: [Mmm]
08.→O: ↑Graem. ↑hahuhuhuha
09. N: ((cough))
10. G: Well yes [yes.]
11.→O: [°hehehehe°]
12. G: It's the clinic's [it not your issue]
13. C: [°That's the rea:lity°]
14→G: It's the clinic's problem and there are:
15. ther(huh)es >two of us< si(huh)ting here
16. O: Ye:ah
17. G: And other people as ↑well

Olivia's laugh occurs when naming Graeme as the counsellor who might '*pick up*' the client (line 08), after her initial rationale, '*there'll be somebody else*' (line 03), is accepted and agreed by three members in the group. It is not clearly indicated how Olivia perceives this as a 'laughable', but one suggestion may be her allocating him as the recipient of her 'problem' or that her shedding of the 'difficult' client now becomes his problem: an example of 'problem assigning'. The other members do not take up her laugh as an invitation to laugh directly. Graeme agrees it might be him and Olivia then pursues the laughter (line 11) after Graeme's initial acceptance.

In a subsequent move, Graeme then notes the trouble of allocating the client is the '*clinic's problem*', neatly circumventing his possible role in the resolving of the dilemma, so he rejects his role as a 'problem-recipient' from Olivia. It is during this turn that he also produces laugh particles (line 15). This laugh may be hearable as a

response to Olivia's laugh, however, it is arguable, as the position of the laugh is close to his own shifting of the 'problem' on to the clinic, *'it's the clinics problem'*, that it is hearable as another 'problem assigning' laugh. This problem assigning laugh is also not responded to by the others in the group. Olivia laughs when allocating the institutional 'problem' to Graeme, and he laughs when allocating the problem back to the clinic. Both have no recipient laughter from the hearers. Graeme further distances himself from being seen as the recipient of the problem by saying, there are *'other people as well'*, who might pick up the 'problem' client (line 17), after Olivia accepts his swerving from the problem allocation with an extended 'yeah' (line 16).

Another example of 'problem assigning' laughter about the clinic does appear to enlist a laughter response. In the following extract, (Extract 2) which comes at the very end of a session, as the supervisees are getting ready to leave the room, the supervisor lists her wishes for the group for the following fortnight. One of her wishes is *'you ask Sally all the questions'* (line 07), that is, when attending a meeting with the clinic's administrator, refer to the various 'grumbles' and confusion the supervisees had previously shared in the supervision session about the lack of clarity in some of the clinics procedures.

Extract 2:

[URC140111:1:32:05]

01. S: .hh Okay↑ [Bravo:=]
02. O: [>Thank you: <]
03. S: Yeh hope people ↑come jus tha. should ↑come an
04. O: Ahhh
05. S: An' that you get your letters written °or whatever° .hhh
06. (1.0)
07. → And you ask Sally all the >questions<
08. O: Hah
09. G: Ye:s yes ((clears throat)) there's quite a few
10. → isn't there #hahahah

11. O: Mmm huhummm
12 (2.5)
13. S: °Good°

The 'problem assigning' laughter (line 10) comes in Graeme's turn as he notes there are '*quite a few*' questions that the supervisees have. In other words, they will be giving the administrator a lot to 'answer' for, which could be construed as a 'problem assigning' issue. In this extract the laughter appears to enlist a very subtle laughter response inserted in-between two soft acknowledgement tokens '*Mmm*' of his turn from Olivia, who will also be taking the questions to the meeting (line 11). I would argue here that this is in effect not an enlisted laughter response to compliment Graeme's laugh; that the two supervisees do not share laughter.

Although it might look as though the laughter from Olivia is in response to Graeme's, in effect, it could be heard that Olivia's turn in line 11, is also a 'problem charging' laughter turn, to which no-one in the group, responds with laughter; as is the apparently systematic and routine way that 'problem assigning' laughter works in group supervision.

As well as accompanying the interactional process of talk about assigning problems for the institution, and each other, laughter production in the data is also seen in the interactional action of acknowledging the problems the institution causes the supervisees.

7.7.ii. 'Problem Charging' laughter

In another similar interactions, laughter is utilised when supervisees address the issue of the clinic causing the supervisees 'problems' over client allocation. In these episodes interactants can be seen to display 'problem charging' laughter. Nathan has had a long wait for another client allocation after his previous client, his second client, left counselling abruptly and in an unplanned manner.

In the following extract, Nathan has an insulated laugh (line 06).

Extract 3

[ULRC210710:47:13]

01. S: Has the (.) clinic let you down they're not.
02. providing you with another client↑
03. (3.0)
04. N: Uhm↑
05. (2.0)
06.→ .hhuhuhffhh .hhh
07. I think the clinic [let me down
08. S: [Just before you answer what what
09. was that(.) smile to Olivia about↑
10. N: The clinic let me down on my first client
11. S: °Oh↓°
12. (3.0)
13. N: And that's very difficult because uhm:m.
14. (3.0)
15. >Yeh< the clinic let me down on my first client

The insulated laugh (line 06) comes after a 3 second gap and an enigmatic '*Uhm*' (line 04) in his next turn after the question, followed by a further 2 seconds gap. It is noteworthy that his laugh at this turn is disconcerting if it is to be seen as a first turn laughter invitation. It appears to be isolated (there is no video record to show possible accompanying paralinguistic interactions) and unlike most laugh invitations it comes at the beginning of the turn rather than during or at the end of the turn. It is a laugh therefore, not clearly integrated into the current transactional exchange between him and the supervisor. The supervisor's response underlines this turn design, as something notable to address and difficult to find meaning for too. She interrupts Nathan's subsequent turn (line 07), with '*just before you answer*' to ask about the interaction, '*what was that*', naming the observable, a '*smile*', (line 09) (although it is possible the laugh was accompanied with a '*grin*' to another supervisee). Nathan then elucidates the point and meaning of his laugh; he has already been 'let down' by the clinic, with his *first* client. He has only had two. It is

not clear if his enlisting Olivia into the 'laughable' worked, certainly there is no record of hearable laughter in response.

The supervisor doesn't laugh when the business is revealed, Nathan laughs alone and no-one else joins in. In this extract it is possible to see that 'problem charging' laughter is utilised by the supervisee as a tacit criticism about the clinic. It is possible to account for this laugh as a 'problem charging' turn on its own, without any accompanying words. Especially as the laugh can be heard to be produced, although delayed, as a 'late' response to the supervisor's question about the clinic 'letting him down'. It is interesting to see that the supervisor invites the laughter to be made explicit, confirming the interactional accomplishment and her understanding of the laughter was to communicate a comment about something.

So the 'accountability' of the clinic as responsible for the supervisee's problem is made known, comes into the open, as it were, as a topic in the interaction. That no-one in the group responds with shared laughter is again another interesting phenomena. It is arguable, therefore that the laughter, designed at the beginning of the turn, is not heard, by the interactants as a laughter invitation. It indicates something is 'afoot', and subsequently, interactionally awkward. The notice of this, by the supervisor permits the complaint to be made more explicit and to be aired in the group supervision dialogue.

The following extract is taken from a session where the supervisee, in an unfathomable dilemma of confusion and chaotic communications by the clinic, has had a number of weeks without being referred a client from the clinic. She has had several weeks of attending supervision sessions without a client to present and without a client to work with in the following weeks. In this session she tells the group that, instead of a being allocated a client, she has been asked to do assessment interviews for the clinic. She has been close to tears prior to this extract, but says she will do the assessment interviews allotted soon after the supervision session, to help out the clinic with its backlog of a waiting list.

The supervisor appears to align with the supervisees troubles in “*it’s not going to be easy*’ (line 01). The laughter later on in the turn, is curious. It comes after a statement that presents the doing of the ‘*assessment interview*’ as ‘*easiest*’ (line 04) in the light of the supervisee’s current ‘*feeling like this*’ (line 06), an indication of her previous distress, presumably.

Extract 4

[ULRC230211:22:20]

01. S: Goo:d for you well. .h it’s not going to be easy to .hhh
02. (1.0)
03. .hhh maybe an assessment. interview is probably
04. → the easiest you could have hu [huhuh]
05. →C: [hahehe]
06. S: After by. feeling like [this=
07. C: [O:ka:y .hhh
08. S: But it’s: >We want you in a nice place<
09. C: °Ye:ahh° .hhh

Clare, responds with shared overlapping laughter (line 05) The interactional achievement of the laughter in this extract is to negotiate and calibrate the upset caused by the institution. By following a seemingly sardonic mention that because of the upset the supervisee is ‘better off’ with only an assessment interview, the laughter on first looking, appears to make light of the dilemma of not having any clients yet again. It is however, on closer viewing, an example of the ‘inversion use’ of laughter, in which, in this data, as we will see later on, laughter can subvert or invert the expected ‘norm’. In this case, by doing so, the laughter highlights the original core problem caused by the clinic.

In other words, the assessment interview problem isn’t the problem, the laugh identifies it as the solution to the distress the main problem provokes. So the laughter, produced by the supervisor ‘problem assigns’ by highlighting the original problem. Clare displays a ‘laugh receptiveness’ on this occasion, as she wants to align as ‘troubles resistant’ (Jefferson, 2004) to the indicated problem of the

assessment interview. This hearably confirms the initial laugh from the supervisor as 'problem charging' the main problem to the clinic. Which is on a more serious scale than making the doing of assessment interviews 'not easy'. To re-iterate, the main 'problem' the clinic is charged with is the non-allocation of clients, which is potentially more seriously problematic for a counsellor, wishing to accrue counselling hours for a qualification and who has no potential agency to get client except through the clinic's allocation. By being troubles resistant to the assessment interview, and being laugh receptive, Clare co-operates with the 'problem charging' laughter produced by the supervisor.

7.8. Laughter in the identification of rights and responsibilities of team members

In the data participants' use of laughter is observable as a resource for demonstrating and displaying their understanding of their roles and responsibilities in interactions. Occasions of laughter are produced in the data when an utterance is made which subverts or disrupts the expectation of an assumed 'norm' in the function and practice of counselling. Whether that be prompted by counsellor, or supervisor, behaviour or role. The use of a laugh invitation or a laugh response facilitates the participants to exhibit an orientation to what is 'expected' and a demonstration that it is not being displayed. Like a 'negative' photographic image, these fairly fleeting episodes can be seen to ensure that the group orient to the 'counselling' expected norms, without displaying them. It is as if the participants are displaying the view along the lines of, 'we know what should be going on here. But we can laugh it off, even though it isn't'.

So, at times, laughter indicates that something out of the usual 'order' of commonly held counselling activity is in evidence here, and the laugh response orients to this 'offence', while at the same time, rejecting the likelihood of this being taken as a real difficulty. Recognisably a similar phenomenon to 'troubles-telling', this is like a 'trouble-noting'. The laughter responses are designed to operate like troubles-resistant turns. The whole encapsulated 'troubles-noting' laugh episodes, when collected and analysed can act as an delineating method to understand the

collectively constructed 'norms' of conduct and expectations of group supervision and the group members' expected customs of behaviour. Particularly, how they are methodically oriented to and systematically produced in the group interactions. A selection taken from the 'troubles noting' of the supervisor's role, responsibilities and behaviour are identified and presented below.

7.9. Supervisor's roles and responsibilities

The supervisor's expected roles and responsibilities are frequently to be located in the dialogue in this way. The incidents are more numerous than in the troubles-noting exchanges of the counsellor's behaviour. This could be explained by considering that as the most experienced member of the group, there is less tolerance of a 'flouting' of the customary standards. In fact, the expectation, demonstrated by these troubles-noting turns, is that the supervisor will carry and uphold particular standards and orient to them as a matter of course and because of her role.

Just before the following extract, in the very first supervision session, the supervisees report to the supervisor that they have already met, having been in a student professional development group where they have had case discussions of their current clients. In the extract below Nick is just finishing telling the supervisor that he 'went into' the history of his client's problem '*then*', (line 01) in the other professional development group and which he now explains justifies Graeme's knowledge of his client's 'story'.

Extract 5

[URC200710:49:17]

01. N: I went into what happened then so Graeme ↑knows the story
02. through that
03. S: °Okay↑° so actually I'm the only one who doesn't know
04. anything
05. .hhh huhu abhuhthuh [>what's huhuh] going on here<
06. O: [hhuhhu]

07. S: .hhh Okay[↑] well thanks for talking about that

The supervisor's statement (line 03) factually states her positioning to her epistemic status about the supervisees' clients, in comparison with everyone else's. She 'laughs off' her lack of knowledge about clients compared to other supervisees. Her statement is designed to use absolute phrases, 'the only one' and 'who doesn't know anything'. The laughter is produced towards the end of her turn, in her speaking, as she finalises her statement with 'about what's going on in here'. Olivia picks up the laughter as an invitation to laugh and shares the laughter briefly with her during the middle of the supervisor's turn, accompanying it. In terms of the subversion idea above, we see the supervisor presents herself as the member of the group with the least knowledge. Her laugh indicates the incongruity of the situation and the use of 'troubles noting' laugh indicating the inverted expected norm, which is that she should be the most experienced and therefore more knowledgeable member of the group. Another way of viewing this is to see that the function of the laughter is to indicate the implicit 'norm', of the situation, which in this example, is that the supervisor is the one who ought to know most.

Another normative expectation of the supervisor's role in group supervision is belied in this extract. At first sight it might not be easily identifiable.

Extract 6

[URC200711:1:12:30]

01. S: And let's. ju:st feel our way with it.
02. O: Uhm
03. S: .hh Is that oka:y to .hh leave huhuh Jack there.
04. (0.5)
05. → S: Well it will >have to be[↑]<
06. S: [Cause time's up.]
07. G: [Yea: .huhuhuh]
08. S: Huhuhuhe
09. N: Huhuhu.hhh
10. S: Bu.= oka:y so:: we've met Sally and Prateek

The supervisor's question in line 03 asks the current supervisee, Olivia, if it is 'okay' to end her talking about her client, 'leave Jack there', (line 03) With a very little gap after her query, (in group supervision terms, 0.5 is fleeting) the supervisor adds the end statement, 'well, it will have to be because time's up'. Graeme (line 07) begins his turn before the supervisor has finished hers, with a yeah and then a ripple of laughter, 'Huhuhuh', this is subsequently picked up with a laughter response by the supervisor, then another one from Nathan. Olivia, who is being asked to finish, is laugh resistant (Jefferson, 2004). At face value this looks like laughter in this instance being used to disalign from the current course of prescribed action. However, on closer examination the 'subverted' role is highlighted here too, in the juxtaposition of the two supervisor turns. At first, the question (line 03) is designed as a negotiated request, with the 'polite' opening phrase, 'is it okay'. It is soon evident that this is not a genuine request for an agreed next course of action. The supervisor's next turn subverts this request and by saying, *Well, it will have to be*, the supervisor is exploding the implicit understanding, however routinely 'polite', of the original request as an opportunity to negotiate what happens.

The 'norm' shown to be upturned is that in supervision, is something along the lines of 'the supervisor will negotiate the time allocated to cases with supervisees and the supervisees' desires are taken into account'. By responding to the second, *'it will have to be'*, statement with laughter, the interactants, indicate the flouting of the norm and so here again laughter indicates what the 'expectation' would be, should all be going according to group supervision's undeclared interactional and institutional systems.

In a similar way the following extract is another example of the supervisor displaying the right to make demands of the supervisee which are shown, by the group members' laughter responses, to upturn the usually expected negotiated deontic status and stance between them. Here the supervisee Graeme is discussing the next

supervision session where, as his client, Jack, will have had his last session by then, he might not choose to talk about him but about his replacement.

Extract 7

[URC140111:1:05:23]

01. G: Or I might be bringing somebody to talk about.
02. to replace him(.)
03. →S: >Yeah and< I might force you to >↑stay with Jack<=
04. O: Huh [.hhuhh]
05. G: [ɛYea:h.↑ɛ]
06. O: Huhuhuhu
07. S: But (.) we'll see (1.0) w.will nego:tiate hhh
08. G: °↓Yeah↓°

The supervisor's turn, (line 03) '*Yeah and I might force you to stay with Jack*', is a direct challenge to Graeme's autonomy and the wish he expresses about which client he wants to talk about. Designed with a prefatory, acknowledgment token, '*Yeah*', the supervisors turn is possibly designed with a nod to, or to mimic, the classic street-brawlers counter-challenge to a request for a fight, 'yeah? You and whose army'.

Albeit, it is a direct display of authority, challenging to Graeme's autonomy, along the lines of 'you will do as I say here'. Olivia's immediate and latched laugh explosive '*Huh*' and subsequent laugh, is joined with Graeme's smiling mock agreement, which Olivia's laugh outlasts. At line 07 the supervisor appears to backtrack on the initial confrontational turn, by reverting to the expected norm, of an intersubjective and oriented to, negotiated choice of client to present, respectful of and including the supervisee's autonomy, '*but we'll see we will negotiate*'. And Graeme softly agrees. This extract, I believe not only exposes the 'expected norm' of the supervisor's role, as we have seen in the earlier extracts, that is, to be a member who allows the choices of others to be listened to, and respected, but also, orients the supervision interaction to an expected norm of concern or topic, which is that usually endings

are taken very seriously and so to not present Jack and discuss the ending with the client, could be seen as a breach of a supervision principle, which is to attend and focus on endings.

The supervisor's responsibility to the well-being of the supervisee, is emphasised in the following extract, (Extract 8) which displays the supervisor attending to her concerns about how she has 'dealt' with a supervisee, during the immediately prior, case study discussion which has to end as the session should already be over.

Extract 8

[URC070910:1:31:35]

01. S: So so:rry↓ [I feel] like I've >sort[of]
02. G: [Hehe] [Hehehe]
03. S: Given you< a shake and I haven't >patted you
04. on the head and put you back again<
05. G: ↑Hu.[huh.hu].ha ha
06. N: [Hehe]
07. S: .hhh And I'm not seeing you again ↑here
08. (1.0)
09. G: °No°

The extract begins with the supervisor's apology, 'So sorry', at the beginning of the turn. This apology is responded to, very quickly, with a slight laugh by Graeme, which he then extends and repeats. His laughter ends and the supervisor continues to describe how she thinks she has behaved with or treated, the supervisee, (lines 01 - 04), although she formulates this description with the verb 'feel'. The supervisor's description, to have 'given you a shake and I haven't patted you on the head and put you back again', elicits more laughter in response from two supervisees. This turn paints an indirect picture of what the supervisor responsibility to the supervisee should be, like in a figure and ground relationship (Rubin, 2015), which is to deal with him more gently and to take more care with the supervisee. Moreover, to ensure that at the end of supervision the supervisee is left, intact, and not in

figurative 'pieces'. Graeme picks up his laugh again and his rolling laugh is shared with Nathan, who acknowledges the description with a simple , *Hehe*, laugh. (lines 05 & 06).

As we have noticed previously, laughter is routinely displayed in supervision interactions as a marker of other serious matters, such as making charges and assigning the accountability for construed institutional 'problems', this section has identified another phenomena in the mobilisation of laughter, identifying it as occurring also in the practice of outlining and highlighting interactants' roles and responsibilities which may be being flouted. This following section focusses on the collection of laughter sequences where professional 'tricky business' is oriented to by the interactants with laughter.

7.10. Laughter as a means of negotiating 'tricky business'

Analysis of laughter in the data also shows that laughter is a central device used to accompany interactions concerning two important 'tricky' areas of business in supervision; namely liminal ethical concerns in the supervisory group and also where the discussion explores potentially delicate matters in the supervision group. Both of these topics would nominally be considered as serious concerns for the supervisees, it is therefore of interest, again, to note how laughter is employed in the exchanges. In the analysis, construing how these concerns are designed and negotiated to be ambiguously both serious and 'playful' (Holt, 2016) can help with an identification and understanding of the interactional mobilisation of laughter within the data.

In careful examination of these extracts we can see a defining sequence:

- a) a first turn designed with playful elements, and usually no laughter by 1st speaker followed by;
- b) a response with an orientation to the 'playfulness' with laughter by next turn speaker followed by;
- c) a turn with a continuation of the playful element by either the first speaker, or the hearer followed by;
- d) a response possibly with shared laughter, or gap and no laughter* until

e) finally, a turn which orients to the stated tricky or delicate matter in a non-playful design.

*c) and d) may be repeated sequentially more than once.

Extract 9 presented below from the data illustrates the sequence clearly.

To contextualise the ‘tricky business’ addressed by the sequence, before an analysis of the extract, ‘dual relationships’ in counselling refers to any situation where there is more than one relationship paradigm between a counsellor and a client. For example, where the client is also known as a friend, or a relative, or an acquaintance in another social group, such as an employee or a business colleague. Cases are understood to be worthy of ethical consideration by the counsellor and expected to be taken to supervision. The Ethical Framework for the Counselling Professions, published by the British Association for Counselling and Psychotherapy (2010) states in point 33 (page 8):

- b. any dual or multiple relationships will be avoided where the risks of harm to the client outweigh any benefits to the client and also*
- d. the impact of any dual or multiple relationships will be periodically reviewed in supervision and discussed with clients when appropriate.*

The supervision group in the data has recently uncovered a possible relationship between two of the supervisee’s clients, who both arrive at the clinic for their session at the same time. This is yet another one in a series of layered relationships the group has discovered between themselves and their clients in this their first supervision session. The supervisor notes the existence of the ‘layered’ if not directly ‘dual’ relationships and calls them ‘parallels’ in the extract.

Extract 9

[URC200710:1:01:29]

- 01. S: Bu. that could be ↑difficult↑ for them
- 02. O: Mmm↑
- 03. (2.0)

04. a→S: °How. many.° ↑parallels. can we ↑get [in]
 05. O: [I know]
 06. a→S: with four fpeople. in. a. ↑ro:om↑ε
 07. b→N: [Huhuhuh]
 08. O: [Hahehe]
 09. c→G: >we're not done yet< .hhh=
 10.d→O: =hehe (.) huhuhuh
 11.e→S: Indeed.
 12. S: .hh Oka:y
 13. (1.0)
 14. S. Jack.
 15. G: Jack.

The extract begins with the supervisor noting the '*difficulties*' the clients could face, presumably this refers to the possibility of them 'bumping' into each other in the waiting room. After a gap the supervisor's turn extends this to noting to a wider implication for the group, that there are a number of relationship 'parallels' between the group members and their clients. This turn is designed by the supervisor with a 'smiling', mock surprised voice at the end (line 06) and with jokey turns of phrase, the exclamation, '*how many ...can we get*', located in the place where supervision is happening, '*in a room*', rather than in the relationships outside of supervision where the 'problem' occurs. This can be identified as the part a) of the sequence; an initial turn designed with playful elements and no accompanying laughter.

The presence of laughter in the immediate responses from two supervisees, Nathan and Olivia, show how the interactants respond to the supervisor's turn, construing it as non-serious and engaging with the playfulness of the turn; identifiable as part b) of the above sequence. The subsequent turn by Graeme, who has not laughed with the others, further highlights the group members positioning of the 'dilemma' in a non-serious playful interaction.

At line 09, Graeme provides the third c) component of the outlined sequence, he continues the 'playful' element of the first speakers turn, by a quick interjection, '*we*

are not done yet', which could be heard as a mock threat, of more difficulties ahead, and is oriented to by Olivia, who responds with a part d) turn, another laugh extended after a small 'beat', between episodes of laugh particles. The supervisor's turns in line 11, *'indeed'*, is designed as a full stop to the 'playful' sequence, supported by the following of a deep in-breath as a holder of the floor and the containing use of *'okay'* as a turn stop. The interactants accept the turn as an end to the playful episode as the following interaction re-orient to talk about case studies. When the supervisor, says the name of the client, this is accepted by Graeme as a cue to continue, and so he repeats his client's name, realigning with the continuation of the talk about the case study at hand.

In the negotiation of 'tricky business' the design of the first turn is of significance. The elements of the first turns in this data like those identified in Holt's study (2016) 'suggest their playfulness, such as exaggeration, overstatement, formal language, aggrandisement and unreal claims' (2016:101). The design of the supervisor's first turn in the above extract is ambiguous, it treats a potentially serious matter in a playful way, with over-exaggeration and designed like a rhetorical question with hyperbolic traces. The subsequent turns from the supervisees that include laughter, indicate the group interactants pick up on the 'playful' elements of the turn and so create an alignment to the non-serious aspect of the turn design. In this way, any seriousness of the ethical platform is underplayed. The achievement of the interaction is therefore to note the ethical landscape, but to treat it lightly. I call the topic of this and the following extract 'liminal ethical' concerns, as they are situations with the potential to be more serious and are considerations on the edges of ethical quandaries. The design of the sequences and the use of laughter in the sequence allow the interactants to express the understanding of a possible ethical quarry and yet, achieve a delicate touch in the affirming of the seriousness of the 'nearly' dilemma.

In the following extract, (Extract 10) the liminal ethical issue of dual relationships, 'who knows who and by how much', is also explored by the group in a similar sequence pattern.

Previously, as stated above, the group has identified a number of possible dual relationships in the group of supervisees with the clients. In this context, the group has identified that some clients know each other, through business and social activities, more significantly, one client is identified as 'known' by another supervisee. This dual role has the potential for more ethical consideration for the supervision group and the context is unclear, for the supervisor, at this point where this extract begins.

Extract 10

[URC070910:01:17:44]

01. S: Jus remind me abou. Mike
02. (5.5)
03. G: Mike (2.0) i:s (1.0) >roughly my ↑a:ge<
04. he (2.0) knows Olivia.
05.a→ S: .hh °Ohh that one° ↑ohh↑
06.b→ G: Huhuhahaha
07.c→ S: .hh ↑Help# >↑↑let me out of here↑↑<#
08.d→ (2.0)
09.e→ S: ↑right. no Kathleen. stay with it. .hhh okay
10. (2.0)
11. G: He:
12. S: He. works. >at the same↓ place< as Olivia.
13. G: No.

The supervisor is reminded of the potential ethical dilemma, one client is known by another supervisee in the group. In the previous extract the initial turn was explored for its playful design and yet, the ambiguous design also packaged the turn as potentially serious. In the extract, the identifiable initial turn in the sequence is the supervisor's turn, line 05.

This initial turn is also designed to treat the potential for any difficulty about this relationship in an ambiguous way. The turn identifies the client as *'that one'*, in other words, a client deserving of remembrance for this particular noteworthy aspect, and also, the playful quiet hushed tone, the supervisor uses to deliver the line, a little like disclosing a secret in a whisper, with an accompanying, repeated and higher pitched *'ohh'*, contributes to framing the turn in a mock 'notorious' way. Graeme's response shows his picking up the initial turn as a matter to respond to with laughter. So, he treats the 'concern' of the supervisor as a laughable, accepting in this way, the playful aspect of her turn and choosing not to respond to the 'serious' concern of the topic.

In her response, the supervisor continues the trajectory of the 'playfulness' handling and continues to make another more directly humorous and playful utterance. She voices a little 'desperate' cry to escape in a comic high voice in response to the first laugh, extending the joke but not sharing laughter. In more detail, after an audible sigh, she utters, *'help'* and then, using the funny creaky high pitched voice, she voices a well-known phrase, for someone in danger and needing to be rescued. *'let me out of here'*. At this point the extension of playfulness is not aligned to by the supervisees, there is a gap.

The supervisor's next turn is also designed in a playful way. She 'mock' emotionally regulates herself, with a turn that has elements of unvoiced thoughts, to remain calm (line 09) and at the end of the turn she takes a deep breath, and says 'okay', signalling the sequence is closing as the next gap, line 10, confirms there is no more uptake of the 'game' and then in line 12, the supervisor restates the ongoing matter of the possible ethical concern in a more straight and serious design, *'he works at the same place as Olivia'*, and the supervisee sets the supervisor straight with a rejection of her summarised understanding.

Again in this extract we see the same systematic use of laughter in the exploration of a liminal ethical concern in the supervision interaction. In this extract one group

member orients to the playful quality of the supervisors turn and although she pursues another non-serious turn twice more, the utterances are not aligned to with more laughter by the hearers. It may be that the supervisees have more direct understanding of the relationships under scrutiny here and so the repeated and projected playful tone of the supervisor's turns, after her first turn, accompanying her also more serious marking of the possibility for an ethical dilemma, is not supported or re-joined by them.

The 'tricky business' of the ethical implications, implied by the supervisor's ambiguous turns is not perceived as such by the interactants. In reading the extract like this, the underlining feature of the utilisation of non-serious alignment by responsive laughter is redundant.

The sequence of the playful turn and responsive laughter is in evidence again in this next extract (Extract 11). Here, the initial turn is delivered by a supervisee. He has been asked, by the supervisor to try to make it possible to come into the clinic an hour earlier, to make possible a smoother running of the clinic's room resources and to reduce the wait of another supervisee. This would require him to ask his boss for an earlier time of release from his day job. Graeme's first turn (line 01) addresses the fact that his boss is influential on the clinic's board of trustees. He designs this turn with a playful irony about the situation.

Extract 11

[URC240810:12:00]

01.a→ G: I mean ee ah um I looked out for >but I mean< it <should>
02. be okay I mean it it's seen as my <managers> on the (.)
03. <°trustees> committee° here
04.b→ O: >Hahaha[haha↑<]
05. G: [>For the clinic<]
06. O: Hehehehe

The next turn laugh response of Olivia, (line 04) show her aligning with the turn as a playful and non-serious. The possibility that Graeme might not be given permission to leave work early is undermined by the relationship the manager has to the success of the clinic and his professional 'stake' in it. The liminal ethical matter hinted at here, but not explicitly expressed is the nature of Graeme's 'sway' and influence over the matter falling into his favour in the light of this relationship having some influence over his bosses decision. Olivia laughs again as he finishes his turn (line 06). The next turn of Graeme as the extract continues below, is hearable as a 'continuation' turn, part c of the outlined sequence (line 07).

Extract 11

[URC240810] (Contd.1)

7. c→ G: So .hhh I'm <hoping> [that would go some (huh) way to. huh]
 8. d→ N: [Heheheh]
 9. d→ O: [Heheheheh]

His stress on the word '*hoping*', considering the situation, might be heard as a redundant expression, and he uses the phrase '*might go some way*', in a mock persuasive turn, for a situation that could be seen to be straight forwardly as non-problematic. The hearers, Olivia and Nathan both laugh before the end of his turn and he subsequently doesn't fully 'finish' the playful phrase, coming to the ending with a hanging particle, '*to*' with no attached infinitive verb, and then closed with the final non-lexical filler, '*huh*', which is also hearable as a semi laugh particle. It could be argued that the phrase is left 'hanging' because the responsive laughter indicates that the 'work' of the playful turn is accomplished. The serious nature of the topic is brought to light in a playful manner and the interactants align with the non-serious turn and with their laughter, underscore the delicate nature of the relationship the supervisee has between the clinic and his boss. The group choose to align with the playfulness of these turns rather than to align with the serious nature implicit in the delicate nature of the topic. The final turns of the sequence are as follows:

Extract 11

[URC240810] (Contd.2)

- 10.e→ G: But. um yea: (.) could have tha. >conversation with him<
11. an (.) >see what he ↑says<
12. (1.0)
13.e→ S: ↓I'd be grateful↓.
14. (2.0)
15. S: So: shall we leave it like ↑that

In the final (e) turn of the sequence, Graeme's agreement that he could '*have that conversation*' with his boss, (line 10) '*and see what he says*', is not responded to with laughter. This turn, like the others that end these 'playful' sequences, summarises neatly and returns to the original nature of the topic. The turn design is less playful, and although it could clearly be responded to as 'playful', the turn is certainly not responded to by the interactants as such. In this extract, that this final turn of the sequence is taken as serious, is also manifestly underlined by the supervisor's deep voiced turn (line 13) '*I'd be grateful*' with no use, nor reference to laughter. She has, in fact, not responded with laughter to any of the turns in the whole sequence. She appears then, in contrast to the other participants, to orient to the serious nature of the turns and by so doing stresses her alignment with the importance and subsequent significance of the changes the group would like to implement by changing their times of starting supervision. It may also be designed to distance herself from the topic of 'power and influence from close acquaintances' to which the interaction alludes, so she is not seen to be endorsing the supervisee's reference to his potential 'sway', in the request she has instigated.

In the data there are also examples of the use of laughter and an orientation to 'playfulness' when the group choose to negotiate other 'tricky' areas, such as in the extract below, when the group members face a situation where one supervisee experiences an inequality in the fairness of client distribution. The turn designs in the group interaction orient to face the delicate nature of the inequities this evokes in

the group and the potential opportunity for feelings of envy among group members. The discourse is constructed and designed to orient to the inequalities of the situation and the subsequent emotional landscape, which, it could be argued, is a delicate moment for the cohesiveness of the group. The extract is hedged by turns designed to be 'playful' and these are oriented to as such by the hearers, the common sequence a-e, as outlined earlier, is also utilised in this exploration of the 'tricky business' between members.

Clare hasn't had clients for a number of weeks and has repeatedly explored this experience in the supervision sessions, saying she is sorely missing the clinical work and she has been previously upset about the matter. As Graeme starts to discuss his cases, Clare confirms with him that the client he is beginning to talk about, who has had two sessions and who had previously not been attending and had looked likely to abruptly end counselling by not returning had indeed returned. On analysis of Extract 12 below, it is demonstrated that the ensuing turns are designed to orient the potentially rupturing disparity in the supervisees experience to the foreground of the discourse.

Extract 12

[URC230211:26:58]

01. S: so there's Hilary <your new person<
02. G: ↓Mmm
03. S: And Mike who's about to finish in two weeks
04. G: Yeh two more sessions
05. S: Two [sessions]
06. G: [sessions] next week
07. (1.0)
08. C: °She came back°
09. G: ↑°Yes° (.) ↓Yea:
10. (3.0)
11.a→S: Snot fair is it
12. Ha[hahahuhuhuhu
13.b→G: [huhuhu[huhu

14.b→O: Lhahel[hehehe
15. C: LYea. .hh=
16.c→ ↓That's go:o.
17. (1.0)
18.c→S: that's very generous of you
19.d→G: Hahaha=
20. O: Huhuhuhu
21.c→S: Been ho:pin that sh: wouldn't↑
22.d→O: Huhuhuhu
23.d→G: Hahahaha
24. S: Huhu huh. .hh
23. (2.0)
24.e→G: .Hhh Yea: so I suppose in tha that sense
25. i. it's >difficult to know< how to divide the time

Clare's softly spoken turn, '*she came back*', (line 08) is responded to by Graeme with an equally soft '*yes*', which he then repeats with a falling intonation possibly signalling a kind of 'polite' realisation of how this upshot may be construed as unequal or unjust. The resulting 3.00 second gap, could indicate an onset of the tricky business between the supervisees. It has become evident in the current interaction that Graeme has a client who has returned and so he has two clients and Clare has none. The disparity between the supervisees experience is then made explicit by the initial turn in the 'tricky business' sequence, when the supervisor designs a turn which explicitly states the disparity (line 11).

The '*snot fair is it*' turn is designed to be a playful representation of the 'unspoken' delicate matter between the supervisees disparity of experience. The child-like 'snot' contraction of 'It's not' designed at the start of the turn, could be heard as the classically 'childlike' observation of the inequalities of life, and make this turn a playful non-serious turn, which however, also indistinctly alludes to the potentially serious discord available between the supervisees. As a first turn in the identified sequence, the design is unusually accompanied with laughter by the speaker,

however, it is also very swiftly responded to with laughter by Graeme, who laughs after the first beat of a laugh that the supervisor produces. The laughter is joined, soon after by Olivia (line 14). There are two beats of laughter particles when three members of the group are laughing together. Clare's response to this is not to laugh. She designs a next turn, which, in keeping with the identified sequence, could possibly continue with a playfully construed turn. She continues the potential 'laughable' by ironically assessing the situation (line 16). Her 'yea.' with an audible in-breath swiftly latched with a *'that's go:ho'* (the final consonant to 'good' isn't sounded) is ambiguously presented, there is no immediate laughter in response, however, in a second's beat, the supervisor utilises a turn to make light of her phrase, picking it up as a playful turn with a 'mock' compliment of her generosity in offering it.

The other members orient to this with laughter responses and the supervisor then delivers a turn which explicitly states a possible version of Clare's thoughts which is unspoken, *"been hoping that she wouldn't"* (line 21). Again, Olivia and Graeme respond to this as a playful laughable, quickly with four beat laugh particles each. The supervisor next designs a turn which appears to wind down the laughter, with a combination of couple of laughter particles and some observable sighing. After a two second silence, Graeme picks up the case study exploration with a continuation of the choice he is faced with; which of his clients is he to 'present' in supervision first. The opening of his turn, *'hhh yea:, so I suppose,'* with the explicit turn beginning audible in-breath and the elongated yea, is designed to perform a 'back to business' indication to the other hearers, to which they align.

7.11. Conclusion

This chapter has explored the interactional workings of laughter in group supervision dialogue. The different contexts where laughter is used have been identified and illustrate the systematic and methodic accomplishments of its production in the supervision interactions. Three main areas, or contexts have been identified: laughter produced in dialogue of institutional topics; in exchanges where the

supervisor role is under question and laughter produced in 'tricky' dialogue dealing with liminal ethical issues and delicate interpersonal dynamics of the group.

Laughter produced in dialogue of institutional topics occur where the group members are involved with the discussion of institutional 'problems' and are either problem-assign or problem-charging. The use of laughter is also seen as the crucial component in exchanges where the supervisor's 'expected' role or behaviour is flouted. In a structured way, the mobilisation of laughter identifies those occasions and highlights for the members the customs which are challenged, without the need to name them or catalogue what is expected. The laughter orients to the expectations and in an inverse way the expected norms are aligned to and 'carried' for the group. Then finally, this chapters explores the systematic and highly structured way that interactions mobilise laughter in the discussion of 'tricky business' that is where ethical parameters are edging towards being 'difficult' or where the group experiences a delicate point in interaction where a supervisee's grievance against another supervisee can be aired and exposed to possibly smooth and facilitate greater group cohesion.

In all the analysis, the initial proposal stated that, 'laughter is a guided doing with ascribable, accountable purposes' (Glenn, 2003) is shown to be held true for the discourse of group supervision. Laughter is undeniably 'precisely placed', in group supervision discourse and achieves the interactants institutional group purposes with intention and refinement.

Chapter Eight:

8. Discussion and Conclusion

The aim of my thesis has been to provide a conversation analytic account of counselling group supervision dialogue; demonstrating how the participants of a counselling supervision group interact and subsequently talk supervision 'into being'. As stated in the introduction, the thesis is of interest to two types of audience. Firstly, it is of interest to clinical professionals, that is either counselling or psychotherapy clinical supervisors, and moreover, counsellors or psychotherapists, as it adds to the corpus of clinical supervision literature. I also suggest it is of interest to CA researchers in two ways as I believe it contributes to the growing body of studies exploring the interactional nature of institutional talk, more especially as a contribution to the growing CA literature on counselling and psychotherapy discourse; it can be situated in the corpus of empirical study of professional interaction and meeting talk. All in all, this thesis is a rare interactional exploration of group supervision using purely CA methods.

This final chapter will be composed of four parts.

- i. I will address succinctly the main findings of the four analytic chapters, in the light of a framework for institutional talk.
- ii. I will draw the strands of the findings together in view of previous theories of supervision; establishing a basis for further CA investigations
- iii. I will conclude by describing some of the intended uses of the analysis.
- iv. I will discuss the implications for future CA research in supervision

8.1. Findings in an institutional framework

My thesis used CA used to describe the interactional dynamics in the supervision group. In particular I explored how participants talk in group supervision. Chapters 4,

5, 6, and 7 explored the communications between group members and demonstrated how the interactants:

- begin the supervision 'business'
- co-ordinate sessions
- use modelling talk enactments and
- organise laughter as an interactional and institutional achievement.

To give this chapter some direction and focus I will address the findings in the light of the framework for institutional talk offered by Drew and Heritage (1992).

They propose that institutional interactions:

- (1) involve *goal orientation* by at least one of the participants to some core goal, task or identity (or set of them) conventionally associated with the institution in question;
- (2) may often involve *special and particular* constraints on what will be treated as allowable contributions to the business at hand;
- (3) may be associated with *inferential frameworks* and procedures that are particular to specific institutional contexts.

From the outset, group supervision is presented as a gathering of professional people meeting to talk about their work with clients. Similar to the findings of other studies of 'meeting interactions', the data for group supervision shows a period of orientation to the 'work' of supervision, along the lines of 'pre-meeting' talk, however, as has been shown, this segment of talk carries unique and specific characteristics. This initial 'phase' consists of a regular and routine 'check-in', where the group address their 'state of being' and attend to their 'here and now', affective state. The orientation period involves members of the group aligning with two omni-relevant categories of membership in the group (Sacks, 1992), namely, counsellor and either supervisee or supervisor. This 'pre-meeting' phase has some of the features of 'therapeutic' work, but it also has an ambiguous, borderline place in the meeting where it is oriented to as the meeting 'starting', and also 'before we start'. In view of Drew and Heritage's proposal, we can see that from the beginning of

‘meeting together’, an orientation to the ‘feelings’ talk of counselling by the group, is corralled and prefigured in this ‘check-in’ phase. In this locally managed interaction the participants share an understanding of the general task and the goals are presented as oriented to and shaped by all the members.

This study also presents how group supervision is constructed as a series of ‘topical’ co-ordinated conversations about the supervisees’ previous counselling sessions, or therapeutic conversations. The consecutive procedure of the interactants presenting their individual presentations, or the sequential placing of the series of supervisees ‘case studies’ is shown to be fully co-ordinated and methodically attended to. The group discourse works with a methodical interactive sequence of turns, which provides the interactants with a systematic and organised routine procedure for progressing from one case to the next. At ‘transition points’, when there is an expected move from one case study to another, the change of ‘topic’ is sequentially ordered and oriented to by all members of the group. The core organising sequence involves four moves and although the supervision group, unlike most business meetings, operates without a written or expressly identified listed agenda, the management of topic transition is sequentially managed and the group operates and orients to this sequence without explicit talk reference to it. All the participants align with this management and although it may be viewed as a ‘constraint’ on the interaction, along the lines of the second point in Drew and Heritage’s framework, namely; “institutional talk may often involve special and particular constraints on what will be treated as allowable contributions to the business at hand”; in the data this ‘topic focus’, is oriented to as a ‘negotiable’ shaping, albeit one over which the supervisor has an overarching function, like a co-ordinator. The members all regulate their interactions to the tacit ‘order of service’ and the group supervision dialogue proceeds along these lines in non-formal character.

The third and final dimension of the above institutional interaction framework, focuses on the distinctive features of the “interactional inferences” of the institution. The chapter exploring the supervisor’s ‘modelling talk enactments’ clarifies and

explores this interaction as a distinctive feature in group supervision dialogue. The fine balance of this feature is illuminated when the 'enactment' turn is responded to as 'advice giving' by the interactants. The subsequent turns show how the interactants negotiate and align to the enactment with reference to an inference regarding 'who knows what' and 'who knows most'. The reference to epistemic status recalibrates the subsequent interaction; at times the orientation to emotional matters takes a more salient position in the interactions and some stability or 'shared meaning' is re-established and oriented to by participants.

The final empirical chapter in my study explores how the members of group supervision organise laughter as an interactional and institutional achievement. Although the examination of the data does not show the departure from the various ways laughter is oriented to in 'normal' conversation, this chapter contributes to the exploration of the institutional character of the supervision dialogue by presenting the interactional achievement of laughter in the data for negotiating the 'tricky' aspects of professional consideration, such as 'liminal' ethical aspects; appointing or accepting 'responsibility' for institutional problems and for negotiating some realms of interaction where delicate matters between group members may be incipient.

In sum, I would argue that these features of institutional interaction are evident in the previous chapters in the exploration of the group supervision dialogue and are presented as "evidencing distinctively institutional orientations in talk at work" (Drew and Heritage, 1992:25).

8.2. A rationale for the use of CA in supervision research.

This conversation analytic study of interactions in group supervision has, I believe, contributed to the knowledge and understanding of the fundamental practices of group supervision. Previously, little was known about the actual 'real life' interactions of supervisors and supervisees. The core theorists of clinical supervision, surveyed in the opening literature chapters in this thesis, base their philosophies and ideas about supervision on their individual experiences and from gathering some

understanding of what happens in supervision on their own and other participants' inferences, reflections and memories. I believe this ethnomethodological study of interactions has demonstrated how a CA study can present rigorous findings about how the participants of group supervision work towards the achievement of the 'task' of supervision and how they 'actually do go about it'.

I believe this study will contribute to an understanding of the 'black box' of supervision and in turn this will not only shed some light on the interactional accomplishments, but also make a clearer and more definitive answer to the question of what is supervision in a group. In essence, the study has offered some delineated and structured descriptions of core interactional exchanges in the supervision dialogue, paying attention to the interactants' orientation to their adopted and inferred 'roles' and 'tasks'.

It is my belief that the detailed and methodic explication of the data above is in keeping with the inspiring injunction given by Schegloff that as researchers we find what is crucial in the work context by discovering "new sorts of things... in the members' worlds, if they are there." (Schegloff in Drew and Heritage, 1992: 128) And also, I suggest, a particular contribution has been made by showing how this orientation to the group supervision members' worlds, or in other words, the institutional context of supervision; 'has consequences for the shape form, trajectory, content or character of the interaction that the parties conduct' (Schegloff, 1992:111). It is my belief that the drawing of attention to these features will also lead to a greater understanding of the creation and maintenance of supervision as an interactional achievement between members.

8.3. Dissemination of results.

I will endeavour to describe some of the intended uses of the analysis. I believe that communicating the results to current counsellor and supervisor practitioners will be useful for the enhancement of the practitioners' understandings of the members' orientations and interactional practices. One of the professional attributes prized by

many practitioners is self-reflexivity and heightened awareness of interpersonal responses and exchanges (McLeod, 2010).

Bringing professional attention to the CA of institutional talk falls under the umbrella term of 'Applied Conversation Analysis'. Antaki (2011) identifies six 'senses' of the term. Amongst them the intention to present findings to counselling practitioners would fall under the category of 'Institutional applied CA' where findings shed light on routine institutional talk. The final category Antaki describes is of 'Interventionist applied CA'. This is whereby CA is applied to solve an interactional problem already identified by the institution and in existence before the study. Notable work has been done in this field by Atkinson (1984, 2004); Stokoe, (2011) and Kitzinger, (2011).

As an empirical study the prevailing question of the applicability of presenting the findings to all practitioners is a moot point. I believe Sacks addresses this 'problem' head on and early on for future researchers.

'I take it that lots of the results I offer, people can see for themselves. And they needn't be afraid to. And they needn't figure that the results are wrong because they can see them. Since beforehand they didn't know it, and now they can see something they didn't even know existed. As if we found a new plant. It may have been a new plant in your garden, but now you see it's different than something else. And you can look at it to see how it's different, and whether it's different in the way that somebody has said' (1992: Part III, 488).

Potentially the presentation of these findings to practitioners will result in a similar response from them, something along the lines that that they can see all this for themselves and that therefore this study is not original and striking. But, in line with Sacks, I believe that in the detailed and methodic exploration of supervision interaction there is something also that is unknown and which has not been described in such detail before. I believe the chapters in this study will enable

counsellors and supervisors to look at the new 'plants' in their garden and see, in the explicated detail, something different.

In the training of supervisors and counsellors, I believe the findings of the chapters may be offered as resources for discussion and further exploration. As I said, I think many practitioners will recognise the features outlined in the thesis, however, the intention to present the findings as something 'unknown' will be avoided. The 'unthought known' (Bollas, 1987) is a concept used by therapeutic practitioners to be clear about the human experience of uncovering and talking about something inherently known and which determines personal action, or expectations, but which is never consciously thought about or understood. I believe this concept will be a useful one to describe the impact the explication of these findings can have on practitioners. This thesis can work with practitioners along a similar trajectory, the findings may be 'known' but they have never been described or delineated before, here they have been 'thought through' in more detailed and co-ordinated way. The 'unthought known' of supervision may be seen here, in close up, as a thought through one.

I believe the analysis in the Modelling Talk Enactments (chapter 6) will be of most practical application by practitioners. As a practising psychotherapist and supervisor the results from this analysis has I believe a rich seam of potential 'learning'. With further investigation and some careful thought it may be possible to provide supervisors with a focused training using the findings and delivering an understanding of what is likely to happen if you attempt to enlist supervisees into 'impromptu' role play. The Communication skills Training and CARM, (Conversation-Analytic Role-Play Method) introduced by Liz Stokoe (2011) has striking and successful features, such as working with 'real-life' examples; presenting trainees with a transcript, line-by-line, synchronised with an audio file and encouraging discussion of the of candidate 'next turns'; which I believe could be transferable to pertinent issues for practicing and trainee counsellors.

I believe the four empirical chapters will be useful as a contribution to the CA literature on institutional interaction and it will be my intent to submit them to peer reviewed journals or to contribute them as chapters to relevant books of the conversational analysis of professional discourses. (See Hutchby and Dart, 2018)

8.4. Future Research ideas.

The study presented here can be viewed as the beginning of the CA study of group supervision interaction and as such it may open up further directions for more research. I believe future CA research in supervision discourse could explore the communication challenges in the management of participants' contributions. For example, as the data has shown, the presentation of case studies is organised in a structured way so that only one supervisee is 'presenting' i.e. talking about one client at a time. The discourse 'contributions' of the other supervisees to this case study discussion, which are in evidence, could be analysed to show how the previous turns of interactions allow for or make possible, the contribution of other supervisees. That is how do the interactional procedures allocate the 'right' to talk about other supervisee's clients. In other words, how do peer group members also know when they have the 'floor' when the case under discussion is not their own.

It might also be possible for further exploration of the epistemic 'engine' of the group supervision interactions, such as uncovering more about the exchanges of 'knowledge' between supervisor and supervisees. How does the group supervision dialogue monitor and keep track of the explicit and the implicit exchanges of the individual levels of expertise between members?

There would also be points of interest in the noting and discussing of supervisees' communication of and exploration of affect in talk about clients. In keeping with the current exploration of the facilitation of the salient features of talk about emotion in therapy discourse (Peräkylä & Sorjonen, 2012), the exploration of how this is facilitated in the group supervision dialogue would present a viable research question.

The role of the supervisor could be explored in more detail and the analysis of the discourse which oriented the group to this role would be of interest.

Another contribution to the future of supervisory practice could be made by reference to some professionally defined and distinct territories such as the concepts of 'transference' or 'counter transference' in the supervisee and supervisor relationship. This would be of interest to practitioners and may support the understanding of the parallel process (Searles, 1955), more fully in interactional process, such as how to spot it and how to work with it.

In keeping with the continuing growing body of CA application to counselling or therapy talk, (Bercelli, 2013; Voutilainen & Peräkylä, 2016; Ekberg & LeCouteur, 2016; Muntigl, Chubak, & Angus, 2017;) I believe there would be a benefit to discussing the co-ordination of supervision discourse as a layer of sequencing talk in and over several sessions. Exploring the talk about one particular client over the whole period of sessions may reveal an ongoing interactional achievement which encourages and promotes the SIKs (Stocks of Interactional Knowledge) of supervision (Peräkylä, 2003) and which was beyond the scope of this initial study.

A study which would be of particular interest to me would be the analysis of both supervision sessions and the previous and then subsequent client sessions. Identifying any links between supervision and counselling discourse would begin in some small way I believe to open up an important arena of supervision research which is to try to see if there is any identifiable influence on therapeutic talk from supervision in the subsequent counselling sessions. As group supervision is, and this study has shown it to be, a discourse concerning, amongst other things, previously held counselling discourses, it would be a fascinating study to see if this supervision discourse has implications for, or any bearing on, the future discourses between supervisees and their clients.

Appendix A: The Jefferson Transcription System

The transcription system uses standard punctuation marks (comma, stop, question mark); however, in the system they mark intonation rather than syntax. The system marks noticeable emphasis, volume shifts, and so on.

[]	Square brackets mark the start and end of overlapping speech. They are aligned to mark the precise position of overlap as in the example below.
↑↓	Vertical arrows precede marked pitch movement, over and above normal rhythms of speech. They are used for notable changes in pitch beyond those represented by stops, commas and question marks.
→	Side arrows are used to draw attention to features of talk that are relevant to the current analysis.
<u>Underlining</u>	indicates emphasis; the extent of underlining within individual words locates emphasis and also indicates how heavy it is.
CAPITALS	mark speech that is hearably louder than surrounding speech. This is beyond the increase in volume that comes as a by product of emphasis.
ˆ↑I know it,°	‘degree’ signs enclose hearably quieter speech.
that’s r*ight.	Asterisks precede a ‘squeaky’ vocal delivery.
(0.4)	Numbers in round brackets measure pauses in seconds (in this case, 4 tenths of a second). If they are not part of a particular speaker’s talk they should be on a new line. If in doubt use a new line.
(.)	A micropause, hearable but too short to measure.
((stoccato))	Additional comments from the transcriber, e.g. about features of context or delivery.
she wa::nted	Colons show degrees of elongation of the prior sound; the more colons, the more elongation.
hhh	Aspiration (out-breaths); proportionally as for colons.
.hhh	Inspiration (in-breaths); proportionally as for colons.
Yeh,	‘Continuation’ marker, speaker has not finished; marked by fall-rise or weak rising intonation, as when delivering a list.
y’know?	Question marks signal stronger, ‘questioning’ intonation, irrespective of grammar.
Yeh.	Full stops mark falling, stopping intonation (‘final contour’), irrespective of grammar, and not necessarily followed by a pause.
bu-u-	hyphens mark a cut-off of the preceding sound.
>he said<	‘greater than’ and ‘lesser than’ signs enclose speeded-up talk. Occasionally they are used the other way round for slower talk.
solid.= =We had	‘Equals’ signs mark the immediate ‘latching’ of successive talk, whether of one or more speakers, with no interval.
heh heh	Voiced laughter. Can have other symbols added, such as underlinings, pitch movement, extra aspiration, etc.
sto(h)p i(h)t	Laughter within speech is signalled by h’s in round brackets.

Appendix B
PRACTICE-BASED PSYCHOTHERAPY RESEARCH
SUPERVISOR CONSENT AGREEMENT (v1; 05.09)

I, _____, have received a full description of the purposes and procedures of this research; specifically:

1. I understand what I will be asked to do, as well as the possible risks and benefits of my taking part.
2. I voluntarily consent to participate on the basis of the description of the study provided above.
3. I realise that, by taking part, I may experience may feel bored or inhibited by the research procedures.
4. I understand that the researchers may discontinue my participation at any time if it is not in my best interests as a supervisor or the interests of the research.
5. I realise that I may withdraw my consent and participation at any time, without giving a reason and without any of my rights being affected, and also that I can ask to have my data withdrawn from the study at any time, during or after my participation.
6. I also understand that I may ask questions about the study at any time before, during, and after it has been conducted.
7. I agree that the questionnaire and any interview data that I provide for the project can be analysed for the purposes of research, and give permission for these records to be stored so that further study of them can be undertaken.
8. I give my permission for my supervision sessions to be recorded for research purposes, and that I will later be able to specify the specific research and training uses I will allow to be made of those recordings.
9. I understand that all the information I give will be treated with the utmost confidentiality and that my anonymity will be respected at all times. I am aware that I can refrain from answering any question about which I feel uncomfortable.

Finally, in signing this agreement, I confirm that

- that I am aware of what my participation involves and any potential risks;
- that all my questions concerning the study have been answered to my satisfaction.

SIGNED _____ DATE _____

NAME

UCPRC CO-ORDINATOR

SIGNED _____ DATE _____

**PRACTICE-BASED PSYCHOTHERAPY RESEARCH
INFORMED THERAPIST CONSENT AGREEMENT (v1; 05.09)**

I, _____, have received a full description of the purposes and procedures of this research; specifically:

10. I understand what I will be asked to do, as well as the possible risks and benefits of my taking part.
11. I voluntarily consent to participate on the basis of the description of the study provided above.
12. I understand that the researchers/UCPRC staff may discontinue my participation at any time if it is not in my best interests or the interests of the research.
13. I realise that I may withdraw my consent and participation at any time, without giving a reason and without any of my rights being affected, and also that I can ask to have my data withdrawn from the study at any time, during or after my participation.
14. I also understand that I may ask questions about the study at any time before, during, and after it has been conducted.
15. I agree that the questionnaire and interview data that I provide for the project can be analysed for the purposes of research, and give permission for these records to be stored so that further study of them can be undertaken.
16. I give my permission for my sessions to be recorded for supervision purposes, and that I will later be able to specify the specific research and training uses I will allow to be made of those recordings.
17. I understand that all the information I give will be treated with the utmost confidentiality and that my anonymity will be respected at all times. I am aware that I can refrain from answering any question about which I feel uncomfortable.

Finally, in signing this agreement, I confirm that

- that I am aware of what my participation involves and any potential risks;
- that all my questions concerning the study have been answered to my satisfaction.

SIGNED _____ DATE _____

NAME

UCPRC CO-ORDINATOR/DIRECTOR _____

SIGNED

_____ DATE _____

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