

A coding scheme for (dis)approvalrelevant events involving the direct social sanctioning of problematic behavior in informal social interaction

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Abstract This manual introduces a conversation analytically informed coding scheme for episodes involving the direct social sanctioning of problem behavior in informal social interaction which was developed in the project *Norms, Rules, and Morality across Languages* (*NoRM-aL*) at the *Leibniz-Institute for the German Language*. It outlines the background for its development, delimits the phenomena to which the coding scheme can be applied and provides instructions for its use.

The scheme asks for basic information about the recording and the participants involved in the episode, before taking stock of different features of the sanctioning episode as a whole. This is followed by sets of specific coding questions about the sanctioning move itself (such as its timing and composition) and the reaction it engenders. The coding enables researchers to get a bird's eye view on recurrent features of such episodes in larger quantities of data and allows for comparisons across different languages and informal settings.

Keywords Social sanctioning, coding, normativity, norms and rules, accountability, conversation analysis, interactional linguistics, social interaction

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1. Introduction

The present coding scheme was developed and first applied within the project *Norms*, *Rules*, *and Morality across Languages* (*NoRM-aL*), funded by the Leibniz Association¹ and conducted at the *Leibniz-Institute for the German Language* between 2020 and 2024. Drawing on the methodological framework of Conversation Analysis (CA) (see *inter alia* Heritage 1984a; Schegloff 1996a; Heritage 2010; Sidnell 2013; Clift 2016; Hoey/Kendrick 2017), the project aimed at studying different orders of normativity as they are made relevant by participants in a range of everyday settings and activities. At the same time, the project also sought to combine and complement CA's methods with methods of quantification (Stivers 2015).

While norms and norm violations clearly belong to the 'big' topics in the human and social sciences, and the enforcement of norms has been extensively studied by behavioral scientists using experimental methods, there is a remarkable lack of observational research directly studying norms, their possible violation, and their enforcement 'in the wild'. Instead, research that examines occurrences of 'misconduct' typically relies on indirect methods, drawing on post-hoc reports of norm violations or role-played interactions (e.g., Molho et al. 2020; Newell/Stutman 1988, 1989) as well as presumed-to-be-prototypical vignettes of pertinent interactional episodes as data (e.g., Goffman 1971). The NoRM-aL project, by contrast, set out to investigate episodes of possible norm violations as they play out in real time in (video recordings of) actual and naturally occurring interactions. To do this, we focused on moments in which normative problems momentarily become the business of interaction, because one or more participants orient to someone else's or their own conduct as (potentially) problematic in terms of its (socio-normative) acceptability (Schegloff 2005; see also Emerson/Messinger 1977). These moments are thus anchored in, and constituted by, participants' own orientations toward some bit of conduct as potentially "bad, wrong, inept, unwelcome, or in some other of the numerous possible ways untoward" (Austin 1957, p. 2). They can be conceived of as (dis)approval-relevant events ((D)AREs) in interaction, as moments of heightened social and moral accountability in which the normative acceptability of social conduct is being negotiated, as a practical concern, by the participants themselves (Küttner/Zinken forthc.). Participants have a plethora of methods available for managing such situations, some of which are prospectively oriented, while others are more retrospectively oriented (ibid.). One key set of methods consists in various forms of direct social sanctioning of another's engagement in problematic behavior. And the present coding scheme targets such episodes as one kind of sequential arena in which normative problems become the primary business of interaction: it focuses on episodes in which one person's behavior is sanctioned in situ by another person as in some sense not normatively acceptable.

There is a rich vocabulary in our everyday language to describe the nature of such problem behavior (cheating, being mean, acting carelessly, ...), the quality of sanctioning acts (to confront, reprimand, scold, admonish, correct, reproach, ... somebody), or the backgrounds against which such problematic conduct may be sanctioned (rules, norms, values, principles, arrangements, ...). This points to the multifacetedness and complexity of phenomena related to norm enforcement and social sanctioning as matters of human concern. The present coding scheme enables us to systematically code larger quantities of interactional data and to get a bird's eye view on various features of interactional sanctioning episodes. It allows us to systematize them in terms of their timings, different aspects of the multimodal

¹ Leibniz Cooperative Excellence Grant (grant #K232/2019), awarded to Jörg Zinken.



composition and design of sanctioning moves, as well as aspects of the transgressor's response. It can therefore serve as a tool to better understand a fundamental and complex dimension of human sociality: How we monitor and, where deemed necessary, enforce 'proper' conduct.

The coding scheme has been developed over a period of about two years. This process began with an intensive period of doing CA-style single case analyses of relevant interactional episodes (Schegloff 1987). These then formed the basis for a bottom-up development of the coding scheme itself, the associated sampling and coding guidelines, as well as a corresponding larger conceptual framework (Küttner/Zinken forthc.). In this developmental phase, the coding scheme has been repeatedly tested, revised, and refined through an iterative process of alternating between the qualitative analysis of individual interactional episodes involving the direct social sanctioning of problem behavior, and applying the coding scheme to larger collections of cases (Stivers 2015; see also Schegloff 1993, 2009).²

For the development and testing of the coding scheme, we drew on data from the Parallel European Corpus of Informal Interaction (PECII). PECII was compiled as part of the NoRM-aL project and consists of video recordings of informal interactions during board games, family mealtimes, and joint car rides in different European languages (Kornfeld/Küttner/ Zinken 2023; Küttner et al. in press). These types of interactions can be considered "perspicuous settings" (Button/Lynch/Sharrock 2023, pp. 70-74) for the study of different forms of mundane participant engagement with socio-normatively problematic conduct, i.e., for the study of normativity 'in the wild'. Whether in the form of behavior modification attempts and the doing of parental socialization work at the breakfast table (e.g., Goodwin/Cekaite 2018; Hepburn 2020; Potter/Hepburn 2020; Küttner/Vatanen/Zinken 2022), rule policings during board games (e.g., Liberman 2013, ch. 3; Zinken et al. 2021; Kornfeld/Rossi 2023), or complaint stories about mundane transgressions during joint car rides (e.g., Drew 1998; Günthner 1999), participants routinely engage with departures from rules and normative expectations in these settings. The coding scheme has not only been conceptualized in such a way as to be applicable to data from these different settings, it also accommodates data from different (European) languages. This allows for the cross-linguistic and cross-situational comparison of specific features of sanctioning episodes in informal interaction (Küttner et al. in press).

In the following, we set out some basic preliminaries for the coding, such as the sampling procedure and some general coding principles, before sharing a commented version of our coding manual. We are confident that our coding scheme offers a useful foundation for future cross-linguistic research on episodes of social sanctioning in interaction and hope that it sparks such investigations in other languages. We also believe that the coding scheme can stand as an illustrative example of how coding procedures can be fruitfully integrated into conversation analytic investigations of larger social phenomena as they play out in everyday social interaction (Stivers 2015; Schegloff 1993).

2. Preliminaries

This coding scheme aims to provide the basis for a systematic and quantifiable overview of (dis)approval-relevant events ((D)AREs) involving the direct social sanctioning of problematic behavior (DSSPB) in interaction. These are moments in which one person engages in some

An important milestone in the coding scheme's development was a one-week workshop held in Annweiler (Trifels) in the summer of 2022, where we benefited from additional input by Emma Betz and Giovanni Rossi.



particular behavior, and another person takes issue with, and/or measures against, this particular behavior in, and as part of, the currently ongoing interaction, thereby treating it as problematic in terms of its socio-normative acceptability. The coding seeks to result in an overview of how such direct sanctionings are constructed and how the episodes they initiate run off across languages.

The following general principles and procedures build on earlier coding projects conducted as part of Nick Enfield's "Human Sociality and Systems of Language Use" (HSSLU) project at the *Max-Planck-Institute for Psycholinguistics*, specifically the Recruitments project (for a description of the coding work in that project, see Rossi/Floyd/Enfield 2020; Floyd/Rossi/Enfield 2020).

2.1 Sampling

We use the software ELAN (2022) for the annotation of relevant episodes in our data. Create three tiers: (1) direct sanctioning (DS), (2) direct sanctioning sample (DS_sample) and (3) a tier for other kinds of participant engagement with problematic behavior (other DARE). Annotate episodes involving direct sanctionings for problem behavior on the DS tier ('event-sampling'). As a matter of principle, collect cases liberally. We would rather err on the side of inclusion and exclude boundary cases in a justifiable way later on (Schegloff 1996a) than miss relevant cases and have to re-sample data at a later stage. The sampling should begin at a random point in the early portion of the recording, when the majority of participants are co-present (i.e., skip passages in which no interaction takes place, as may happen for example, when a parent lays the table for a family breakfast and the children are only summoned to the table later on). From there, systematically collect all (direct) sanctioning attempts (see section 2.2) until you have gathered 15 instances and move on to the next recording (compare Floyd/Rossi/Enfield 2020, pp. 29-30). If a recording contains less than 15 instances, annotate the entire recording for however many cases you can find. Mark the beginning and the end point of the sampling period on the DS sample tier, such that it contains one (long) annotation that spans across the entire sampling period. This annotation should be used to fill in the "DS Sampling" sheet in the Excel file. After filling in columns A-C, simply copy the timestamps at the beginning and end of the DS sample annotation (ELAN > Edit > Copy current media time) into the corresponding columns (columns D-E) in the "DS Sampling" sheet and Excel will automatically calculate the duration of the sampling period in both milliseconds (column F) and the hh:mm:ss format (column G) for you. Then note down how many cases you found in the sampling period in the "number of cases" column (column H) (typically 15). If, after going through the entire recording, you end up with less than 15 instances, write "full recording" into the "notes" field of the sampling sheet (column I).

Note that each recording has been given a unique identifier (PECII_XX_YY_ZZZZ), where "XX" stands for the language sampled from (DE, EN, IT, PL), "YY" stands for the setting (Breakfast, Car, Game), and "ZZZZ" represents the date of the recording (e.g., PECII_DE_Car_20160924). Make sure to use these identifiers consistently when entering data into the Excel sheet (column A00 in the "DS coding" sheet, column A in the "DS sampling" sheet).

2.2 (Direct) sanctionings

(Direct) Sanctionings are interactional episodes in which one or more participants orient to someone else's conduct in the ongoing interaction as (potentially) problematic in terms of its (socio-normative) acceptability and take issue with or measures against it. Note that



we do not include *indirect* forms of social sanctioning, such as third-party complaints or gossiping about non-present wrongdoers, as well as sanctionings for (mis)conduct that took place outside of the speech-event in which the problematic behavior is addressed (i.e., problem behavior produced on past interactional occasions).

Throughout the coding scheme, the participant who has engaged or is engaging in what is treated as the problematic behavior (the 'transgressor' or 'offender') is referred to as **A**. The participant who raises the issue and attempts to sanction the problematic behavior (the 'sanctioner') is referred to as **B**. Sequentially speaking, moves that attempt to do social sanctioning are retro-sequential objects: they retroactively and reflexively constitute whatever prior conduct is being targeted as problem behavior (and as the source of their production), while also making some kind of reaction that somehow engages with the sanctioning move relevant and expectable next (Schegloff 2007, ch. 11 on retro-sequences; see also Sterponi 2003; Küttner 2021). A basic, abstract sequential pattern of sanctioning attempts therefore looks like the following:

```
reflexively constitutes
as problem behavior
makes relevant and
expectable next
A engaging in some form of conduct
B launching a sanctioning attempt,
taking issue with, and/or measures
against, A's conduct
A some reaction to B's sanctioning move
```

Fig. 1: A basic sequential pattern of sanctioning attempts

Extract (1) shows an example of a sanctioning attempt from a German board game interaction in which four participants are playing *Catan*.

```
(1)
     PECII DE Game 20151113: 2529171 (simplified)<sup>3</sup>
     ((GAB = Gabriel, GER = Gerald, KAT = Katharina))
01
                          +(2.5)
                                          +(0.2)
           +(1.0)
           +draws card +reads card +raises eyebrows +
     gab
02
     GAB: AH-
            oh
03
            +(1.0)
                         +looks at card again+
04
           ah+ ich darf
                              +kOstenlos zwei STRAß+en [bauen;]
            oh I'm allowed build two roads for free
              +lays card down-+
                                                      +reaches for pieces+
```

The transcript follows the GAT 2 conventions for German (Selting et al. 2009). Embodied conduct is transcribed according to Mondada's (2019) conventions for multimodal transcription.

For readers who wish to try out the coding scheme themselves, we recommend downloading the corresponding Excel sheet from the IDSopen website and to code this example alongside, while going through the manual. Exemplary codings for the example are provided in row 04 of the Excel sheet (which should be hidden from view prior to coding). Unfortunately, it is not possible to share the video recording at this point. For the time being, other coders will therefore have to rely exclusively on the transcript and cannot adequately code questions concerning visible or audible features of the episode. The same holds true for some of the socio-demographic data asked for in section B of the coding scheme. Once the PECII corpus is published for scientific re-use in the Archive for Spoken German (AGD), readers will be able to access the corresponding recording and the relevant metadata there.



```
05 ->GER:
                                                      [ÄH-
                                                             ]=
                                                       uh
06 ->
          =moMENT mo+mEnt;=
           hold on hold on
                     +puts hand back on card-->
     gab
07 ->
          =+das kannste +ERST nä+chste runde + (.) +Ausspielen.=
            you can only play that in the next round
     gab
            +moves card---+
                                   +drops pieces+
                                                        +picks card-->
08
     GAB: =achSO;
            oh I see
            -->back up+
09
           (0.2)
10
     KAT: JA?
          yes
11
          (0.2)
     GER: JA.
12
          yes
13
          (0.6)
14 ->GER: wenn du ne KARte ha:st-=
          if you have a card
15 ->
          =darfst du die erst (.) NÄCHSte runde (0.2) ausspielen.
            you may only play it in the next round
```

Here, Gabriel (A) draws a development card and announces that it grants him the action of building two roads for free (lines 01–04). As he moves his hand to a road piece, Gerald (B) launches a complex turn that treats Gabriel's action as unacceptable and reflexively constitutes it as problem behavior (lines 05–07). Gabriel reacts to Gerald's intervening move with immediate and straightforward compliance. He puts the road piece he had just picked up back down again and utters a news-receipting *achso* (lines 06–08). After another news-marking response from a third party (Katharina) in line 10, Gerald expands his turn with a general rule formulation (lines 14–15; see Zinken et al. 2021).

For the purposes of the coding, we treat Gerald's entire turn, including the expansion, as a single sanctioning attempt, because there is a relevant (compliant/rectifying) reaction from the transgressor (Gabriel). Gerald's rule formulation is therefore not hearable as a further/next attempt, but as an elaboration of his initial sanctioning move (albeit a prompted and thus contingently produced one). In the A-section of the coding scheme, such contingent continuations of a sanctioning attempt after a first reaction would be indicated by (...) at the place where the reaction(s) occur(s) (i.e., äh moment moment das kannste erst nächste runde ausspielen (...) wenn du ne karte hast darfst du die erst nächste runde ausspielen).

Note that sanctioning episodes do not necessarily have to be confrontative, hostile or antagonistic in character. They can be a fairly low-key affair. Accordingly, episodes in which sanctioning moves are being done in a designedly playful/non-serious manner should also be included. Similarly, participants may employ the methods of (social) sanctioning for benevolent ends (e.g., when B treats A's conduct as unacceptable and problematic because it would be detrimental to A or their success). Because we are interested in the generic processes involved in social sanctioning, we also include such instances. The coding scheme contains questions designed to capture these features.



2.3 General coding practices

The sequencing of the coding questions is not arbitrary. Some questions may not be applicable and will be grayed out depending on answers to earlier questions (i.e., they are conditional on your answer to the earlier question). Conditions for answering/not answering a question are also stated in the coding manual. Therefore, when coding, make sure to answer all questions *in the order they are being asked*, without skipping any. This also serves to minimize certain coding biases.

Do not answer questions if the respective cell in the Excel sheet has turned gray.

Most questions operate with pre-defined options (categorial/nominal variables) offered in the form of drop-down menus. As a general policy, try to tie your answers to observable exponents (especially with more interpretive categories/questions). Some questions allow the selection of a 'can't tell' option. However, you should *only* choose this option if it is impossible to answer the question because the data don't allow you to, and no one could possibly answer it (e.g., because the person whose gaze direction you would have to code is off camera). Do *not* use 'can't tell' if you are unsure which of the options to choose (e.g., if you are unsure whether B looks at A or at the plant next to A). In cases of sustained doubt or uncertainty, select the less presumptive option.

If a case in your sample emerges as a **boundary case**, and you are no longer sure it should be included in the sample, fill in the basic data (A00–A09), but do not do any other coding. Bring the case to a meeting/coding session for a joint screening and decision-making.

Since coding inevitably leads to a reduction of the complexity of the data, you can make use of the **Notes** field (F02) to enter additional comments that qualify or account for coding decisions. Do so assertively, rather than discursively: say *why* you coded the way you coded, rather than discussing multiple possibilities. The point of the notes should be to make coding decisions transparent, not to survey options.



3. The Coding Manual

A. Basic data

Section A serves the description of the case. Remember to include all relevant information here, but also keep in mind that providing this information is not part of the coding yet. The actual coding takes place in sections B–E of the coding sheet.

A00 ID

Recording identifier

Each recording has been given a unique identifier. Copy-and-paste this identifier here. Together with the timestamp (A01), this allows for the retrieval of any coded case.

```
e.g.: PECII_DE_Game_20151113
```

A01 time

Timestamp

Individual cases have been annotated in ELAN. Copy-and-paste the time stamp at the beginning of the episode here, using ELAN's "Edit > Copy current media time" function. Together with the recording identifier (A00), this allows for the retrieval of any coded case.

```
ELAN Export (e.g.: 4206552)
```

A02 language

Choose language

Select the language spoken in the recorded interaction from the drop-down menu.

English

German

Italian

Polish

A03 setting

Choose setting

Select the setting in which the recorded interaction takes place from the drop-down menu.

Breakfast (Brkfst)

Car

Game

A04 sanctioner

Who is the (primary) sanctioner (B)?

To be able to locate and (if need be) rule out any participant-based effects (eg., idiosyncratic variability), each of the main participants involved in the sanctioning episode is given a unique identifier. In this column, note down the pseudonym for the sanctioner (B) as



devised by the recording researcher. If multiple sanctioners are involved in an episode, note down the pseudonym of the participant who initiates the first sanctioning attempt. If the same pseudonym has been assigned to more than one participant, start numbering them consecutively from the second participant onward.

Example: Frank, Frank2, Frank3 ...

free text

A05 ds

Verbal sanctioning transcript

Provide a transcript of B's entire talk over the course of a single sanctioning attempt. Note that this may include talk that follows a first (verbal) reaction from A (or somebody else). Mark such continuations post a first reaction by adding (...) at the moment at which somebody other than B comes in with a reaction.

If the sanctioning attempt is fully embodied and does not involve the use of talk, note down "[none]" (in square brackets to distinguish it from English *none* as a verbal contribution).

If the sanctioning attempt is fully embodied and is accompanied by talk from B that deals with something else, note down "[not relevant]".

If sanctioning-relevant talk is surrounded by other verbal material that does not serve to sanction A's conduct (e.g., an initial substantive engagement with what went on before, see the Polish example provided in D02 below), use gray font color for the non-sanctioning-relevant talk.

```
free text
[none]
[not relevant]
```

Don't fill in A06, if A05 is "[none]" or "[not relevant]"

A06 ds_translation

Verbal sanctioning translation

For cases from languages other than English, provide an English translation here.

free text

A07 ds_visible_component

Sanctioning attempt visible component

If an attempt at social sanctioning consists of, or includes, relevant visible behavior, provide a short, preferably non-interpretive description of it here. If it is hard or impossible to see, write "[not visible]". If there is visible behavior, but it is not recognizable as a relevant part of the sanctioning attempt, note down "[not relevant]".

```
free text
[none]
[not relevant]
[not visible]
```



A08 transgressor

Who is the sanctioned participant (A)?

In analogy to A04 above, note down the pseudonym for the person whose conduct is being sanctioned, as devised by the recording researcher. If the same pseudonym has been assigned to more than one participant, start numbering them consecutively from the second participant onward.

Example: Anna, Anna2, Anna3 ...

If more than one participant responds to B's sanctioning attempt and the sanctioning attempt is not clearly occasioned by, and/or addressed to, one particular co-participant (e.g., via forms of address, gaze, etc.), then code the first responder's reaction. Otherwise, consider the participant whose conduct occasioned the sanctioning attempt (or to whom it is addressed) as A and treat potential verbal reactions from others (e.g., vicarious accounts) as third-party involvements (coding them in E11 and E12).

free text

A09 vr

Verbal response to the sanctioning attempt transcript

Provide a transcript of A's verbal response to the sanctioning attempt (if any). If there is no verbal response, note down "[none]" (in square brackets to distinguish it from English *none* as a verbal contribution). If the reaction to the sanctioning attempt is fully embodied and is accompanied by talk that deals with something else, note down "[not relevant]". Note that this may include (sanction-relevant) talk that follows verbal contributions from B or other participants. Mark such continuations post other contributions by adding (...) at the moment at which the interjacent contribution is produced.

free text
[none]
[not relevant]

Don't fill in A10, if A09 is "[none]" or "[not relevant]"

A10 vr_translation

Verbal response translation

For cases from languages other than English, provide an English translation here.

free text

A11 vr_visible_component

Reaction visible component

If a reaction to a sanctioning attempt consists of, or includes, relevant visible behavior, provide a short, preferably non-interpretive description of it here. If it is hard or impossible to see, write "[not visible]". If there is visible behavior, but it is not recognizable as a relevant part of the sanctioning episode, note down "[not relevant]".



```
free text
[none]
[not relevant]
[not visible]
```

B. Sociodemographic data

Section B serves to capture basic socio-demographic information of the participants involved in the sanctioning episode. We do not necessarily assume these to be interactionally consequential, but we keep track of them to be able to respond to inquiries about the potential (ir)relevance of elements of social structure (as far as the collected metadata allow us to do this).

```
B01 gender_B
```

What is the gender identity of the sanctioner (B)?

Note down the gender identity of the sanctioning participant as provided by them in the metadata form.

```
female
male
non-binary
```

B02 age_B

What is the sanctioner's age?

Keywords As provided in the metadata form. Use only integers.

free-text

B03 gender_A

What is the gender identity of the sanctioned participant (A)?

Note down the gender identity of the sanctioned participant as provided by them in the metadata form.

```
female
male
non-binary
```

B04 age_A

What is the sanctioned participant's age?

As provided in the metadata form. Use only integers.

free-text



B05 child

Is A and/or B a child?

For the purposes of the coding, any underage participant (<18 years) counts as a child.

```
yes
no
```

Only answer B06, if B05 is "yes"

B06 directionality

Who sanctions whom?

This question serves to keep track of different participant constellations in case of the involvement of a child in the sanctioning episode. Select one of the following options from the drop-down menu.

```
child → adult
adult → child
child → child
```

Only answer B07, if B05 is "no"

B07 relationship

Do A and B have a romantic relationship?

Indicate if A and B are in a romantic relationship (e.g., a married couple, partners).

yes no

B08 authority

Does B have a higher deontic or epistemic status relative to A?

This question is supposed to provide a rough and very loose indication of potentially relevant 'power/knowledge asymmetries'. For the purposes of the coding, epistemic and deontic status are conceived of as rather stable, invariant features that are tied to certain (interactional) roles. The following generic principles apply: In the family breakfasts, systematically code "yes" when adults sanction the behavior of children, but "no" for all other constellations. In the board game data, there may be relatively transparent expert/novice asymmetries in play. If the sanctioning attempt concerns a game action and B is demonstrably more knowledgeable of/experienced with the game than A, code "yes". However, do not code "yes" for social sanctionings taking place during board game interactions that do not concern game actions but other worldly affairs (e.g., someone getting sanctioned during a board game for proposing to gift somebody else a banana cake for their birthday).

yes no



C. Episode

In this section, we code for basic features and characteristics of the episode that may shape how the episode (or parts of it) unfold(s). From this point forward, there won't be free-text-options anymore. Please choose from the options listed in the drop-down menus and remember that 'can't tell' is only an option if the data make it impossible to tell.

C01 ds_first_time

Is this the first time A is being sanctioned for this particular behavior?

Sanctioning attempts may be "positionally sensitive" (Schegloff 1996b), i.e., they may play out or be designed in different ways, depending on whether they constitute a *first* engagement with A's behavior as problematic, or a next attempt in a series of social sanctionings for the same problematic behavior (see also Button 1991).

If this is the first time this specific A is being confronted for this particular problem behavior, choose one of the two "yes, ..." options, depending on whether this is the first and only time, or the first in a series of multiple attempts (note that this requires a full screening and annotation of the entire recording leading up to the sampled period prior to coding).

If the same problem behavior has previously been sanctioned, choose one of the "no, …" options, depending on whether it is a *next* in a series of social sanctionings (*n*-th of multiple), with further sanctioning attempts following the present one, or the last one (in the selected sample). Note that "series of social sanctionings", as understood here, require the involvement of the same A (who is thereby cast as a repeat/persistent "offender") but not necessarily the same B (who may be a different person than in a previous attempt). Cases should therefore only be coded as a new "first" attempt, when behavior that has previously been sanctioned in other constellations happens to be done again by a different A and occasions another sanctioning attempt.

yes, first and only yes, first of multiple no, *n*-th of multiple no, last of multiple

Only answer C02, if C01 is "no, ..."

C02 ds_non_initial

What type of non-initial sanctioning is this?

Within the domain of non-initial social sanctionings, we further distinguish between *pursuits* of an initial attempt and *subsequent* sanctioning attempts. This distinction roughly corresponds to a type/token distinction. *Subsequent* sanctioning attempts deal with the *re*-initiation/recurrence of the same *type* of problem behavior for another (*n*-th) time within the same speech event (i.e., when a next "installment" of the same type of problem behavior is produced at some later point in the interaction). *Pursuits*, by contrast, deal with the same *token* of problem behavior after the "transgressor" (A) has failed to produce an aligning (e.g., compliant/rectifying) reaction to an initial sanctioning move from B, responded with resistance, or produced no uptake at all (Pomerantz 1984). Pursuits thus primarily deal with a local persistence of the problem, rather than its recurrence. Note that this does not necessarily require that the problem behavior is still in-progress at the time the pursuit is being produced. Participant A may, for instance, stop the problem behavior



in response to an initial sanctioning move while still justifying its production with a defensive account. B may find this inadequate and pursue a response that displays contrition or a more apologetic stance.

If the turn design of the sanctioning attempt suggests that this is not the first time B confronts A for this particular behavior, but the first time is not happening in your sampling period choose [can't tell].

Pursuits receive the **same** timestamp as the first/initial attempt to which they are a pursuit in A01 with added lower case indices (a/b/c/...) being added at the end to mark their status as part of the same sequence (e.g., if the timestamp of the initial sanctioning attempt is 123456 and there turns out to be a pursuit, the timestamp for the initial attempt would be expanded to 123456_a, while the pursuit would receive the timestamp 123456_b).

pursuit subsequent [can't tell]

CO3 ds_rule

Does the sanctioner (B) treat the problem behavior as violating/having violated a codified rule?

Sanctioning attempts can run off very differently when the problem behavior is recognized as violating/having violated (a) codified rule(s), because the relevant rules may then be brought to bear on the situation as an interactional resource (e.g., getting cited, formulated, pointed to). This is especially relevant for board game interactions (Liberman 2013, ch. 3; Kew 1992; Zinken et al. 2021). Be mindful, however, that, just like in non-game contexts, behavior may also be sanctioned for other reasons in the board game data (see C04; see also Hofstetter/Robles 2019). In case of doubt, consult the rule book for the game being played. Moreover, the following three principles should be followed when coding this question:

- 1. Code "yes" for violations of basic, rule-like game mechanics (e.g., rolling the dice again after having rolled a double in Monopoly), even if they are not spelt out in so many words in the rule book. For participants, they regularly have the status of *quasi*-rules, as is evident in sanctioning moves like the following from the Italian data: *devi ritirare stronzetto* 'you have to roll again little prick' after a player had rolled a double.
- 2. Code "no" if there *is* a codified rule, but the sanctioner treats the targeted behavior as problematic for other reasons (e.g., being impractical). For example, in the English data, there is a case in which one player (B) turns around another player's (A's) card to face the other players rather than A himself. And although this is mandated by the rules in the rule book of the game, B makes this intervention accountable by reference to practical considerations (*if you do it like this, we can all see 'em*), rather than treating A's placement of the card as violating/having violated a rule.
- 3. Similarly, code "no" for sanctionings that revolve around general game playing practices (e.g., placing cards in a certain place on the table, counting a tilted dice) and strategic preferences (e.g., A making an undesirable game move).

yes no

Only answer C04, if C03 is "no"



C04 ds_accountability

The problem with A's behavior is that it is ...

If the sanctioner does not treat the problem behavior as violating/having violated (a) codified rule(s), what else do they treat as problematic about A's behavior? Focus on how the sanctioning is made accountable.⁴

irrational/abnormal
inappropriate/improper
impractical/inefficient
undesirable/disturbing
disobedient/insubordinate
uncooperative/unreliable
insufficient
ill-timed
useless/irrelevant
something else

C05 pb_channel

How is the problem behavior produced?

Problem behavior may be sanctionable in different ways, depending on how it is produced. "Vocally" refers to non-verbal 'sounding' conduct, such as burping, eating noisily, blowing raspberries, or whistling, even if they do not result from 'vocal' actions in the narrow sense of the word.

Note that "fully embodied" problem behavior may be produced alongside talk that concerns other matters. Do **not** code such instances as "multimodally". Reserve the "multimodally" code for problem behavior that is produced as a combination of both embodied *and* verbal resources.

verbally vocally multimodally fully embodied

C06 pb_omission

Is the problem (behavior) one of commission or one of omission?

This question aims to get at the difference between actually doing something wrong/overstepping a boundary vs. a failure to do something or to meet relevant expectations. This is sometimes a matter of perspective with different interpretations being possible, depending

The options listed here emerged as recurrent ways of making social sanctioning attempts accountable in initial analytic screenings of the data. However, they should not be read as an exhaustive list, and perhaps not even as mutually exclusive options. Note further that we often list two near-synonymous items together. This is supposed to provide some leeway for the coding. On some occasions, the two terms in a pair may appear to be equally apt, and thus interchangeable, descriptions of the problematic character of A's behavior. On other occasions, however, one of the two terms may appear somewhat inadequate to describe the nature of the problem, while the other member of the pair is still more adequate than any of the other options. These interpretive nuances cannot be exhaustively represented in fixed, mutually exclusive codes. The offered categories are therefore best understood as loose glosses for different ways in which conduct may be unacceptable and untoward – as different, though arguably partially intersecting, domains of unacceptability and untowardness.



on how one looks at (the source of) the problem. For the coding, we prioritize the sanctioner's (B's) perspective and their way of making the sanctioning move accountable (i.e., what they treat as the problem).

A particular difficulty arises when the problem consists in A doing something other than what they should be doing as part of an orderly sequence of events (e.g., when A gets ahead of themselves in a board game and starts to perform a game action that would only be permissible after having rolled the dice, which B may then address accordingly with *du musst erst würfeln* 'you have to roll the dice first'). The issue, then, is one of neglect (technically, an 'omission', often made accountable in terms of forgetfulness), but it becomes recognizable as such only through A's engagement in a different action than the one that would have been due. In such cases, we choose 'commission', because it is the 'wrongdoing' (the action A initially engages in) that makes it identifiable for B that A is neglecting the other action ('rolling the dice' in the example).

commission omission

C07 pb_playfulness

Does A's problem behavior contain an element of playfulness, teasing, ludic drive or provocation?

The way in which A produces the problem behavior may convey that they are doing it provocatively (to tease B), playfully, or in other ways non-seriously (i.e., the problem behavior appears to be somewhat deliberately and purposefully produced). Some possible indications of such 'staged productions' are smiling, grinning, smirking, or sustained gaze at B during the production of the problematic behavior. But remember that "playful" behavior need not be designedly mischievous.

yes no

C08 sa_playfulness

Does B's sanctioning attempt contain an element of playfulness or teasing?

Irrespective of whether A's problem behavior was produced in a playful way, B may elect to design the sanctioning in ways that convey its non-serious or playful character (Holt 2013). Possible indicators of such playfulness are laughing or smiling (Jefferson 1979; Potter/Hepburn 2010; Haakana 2010).

yes no

C09 pb_fixing

Can the problem behavior be rectified?

Some kinds of problem behavior can be fixed practically, by undoing or revoking it and/or re-doing it in an appropriate or improved way, while other kinds of problem behavior cannot be rectified in the same way, so that all A can do about it is to apologize for it or to display some form of contrition. In cases of doubt, it can be useful to ask yourself: Is the problem reversible to a *status quo ante* or can A only 'own up to it'?



Note that also sequence-initiating actions (e.g., a father calling the children to the breakfast table) can be treated as problematic (e.g., premature) and get sanctioned accordingly. While these may not be fixed practically in the aforementioned sense, their sequential implications can still be canceled (e.g., the father could revoke his summoning action) and the problem could thereby be rectified. In such instances, we would code "yes".

In this connection, pay close attention to what B treats as the problem (behavior) in and as part of their attempt at social sanctioning. Sometimes, participants sanction reversible or rectifiable *doings* in terms of irreversible or relatively stable *features* of the situation (e.g., character traits of the 'transgressor', as in *jetzt biste aber kleinkariert* 'now you're being petty'). Such cases should be coded as "no".

Finally, note that we are interested here in the rectifiability of the problem (behavior), i.e. the *possibility* of reversing/rectifying/undoing it. As such, whether or not the misbehavior is actually rectified in the end is irrelevant for the coding decision.

yes no

D. The sanctioning attempt

This section zooms in on the sanctioning attempt, especially with regard to its position(ing) in the interaction (relative to the problem behavior it targets) and features of its composition (Schegloff 1995, 1996a; Clift/Drew/Local 2013).

D01 sa_timing

At the moment of the initiation of the sanctioning attempt, the problem behavior is ...

The timing and placement of attempts at social sanctioning in relation to the problem behavior they target matters for the way in which they can be understood to engage with the targeted conduct. Some sanctioning attempts are launched rather early, prior to A's actual execution of the problematic behavior. Such sanctioning attempts trade on the projectability of the problem behavior and typically seek to avert its actual production. Other sanctionings are launched while the problem behavior is already "in progress" but prior to its possible (or actual) completion. They interfere with and typically seek to stop the ongoing production of the problem behavior (or more of the same). Yet other sanctioning attempts are launched upon the possible completion of a bout of problem behavior or after the damage has been done.

Note that, as far as the board game interactions are concerned, another order of temporality may be relevant for the coding of this question than in the other settings. Some game actions are not, or cannot be, treated as complete until the player has recognizably ended/finished their current turn in the game and would have to be coded accordingly as "in progress", even if their physical implementation has already ended.

Another complication may arise with behavior that is problematic because A has *not* done something they should have or have been expected to (a problem of 'omission' in C06). One way of looking at this is that 'omissions' are only sanctionable once they have been recognized *as* 'omissions' and an argument could therefore be made for viewing the corresponding problem behavior as (possibly) complete (i.e., from B's point of view, a tolerable temporal threshold for A to do it on their own accord has been reached). On the other



hand, the omission may be recognizable precisely because it is ongoing and B may launch the sanctioning attempt as a way of taking action against it (e.g., a parent prompting their child to eat their food, a player prompting another to perform a game action on their turn). As a rule of thumb, we adopt the latter view and only code problems of omission as 'complete', when the 'omission' has happened/was due at an earlier point in the interaction (e.g., a child having made a request without saying *please*, a player not having done a relevant game action on their prior turn).

projectable in progress complete

Only answer D02 if D01 is "complete"

D02 sa_detailed_timing

What is the detailed timing of the sanctioning attempt relative to the problem behavior?

Within the group of sanctioning attempts that are initiated after the possible or actual completion of a bout of problem behavior, further differences in timing/sequential placement may prove to be consequential for aspects of the design of the sanctioning move(s) and/or the framework of accountability established with it. Code this, using the following three-way distinction:

- Choose directly adjacent if the sanctioning attempt is 'next positioned' and comes
 more or less directly after the possible completion of a bout of problem behavior
 (allowing for some tenths of a second to pass).
- Ochoose after a short moment if the initiation of the sanctioning attempt is recognizably delayed, either by an inter-turn gap (of > 1 second), a turn at talk from another participant, or a turn-constructional unit (TCU; Sacks/Schegloff/ Jefferson 1974) from the sanctioner (B) that engages with the prior talk substantively (even if pro forma). In a case from our Polish data, for instance, a husband voices doubts about his wife's family holiday plans (ale ten [place name] to nie jest taki aquapark taki wiesz, 'but this [place name] is not such an aqua park like, you know'). His wife first responds to the matter-at-hand by rejecting the relevance of her partner's doubts (no dobrze ale na pewno są (.) takie miejsca (.) gdzieś jeszcze, 'alright, but surely there are (.) such places (.) someplace else), before then expanding her turn with a move that takes issue with his 'moaning' (widzisz ja bym powiedziała że jest fajnie a ty juz kręcisz nosem, 'see, I would say it's cool and you are already turning up your nose at it') Because of her initial substantive engagement with her partner's doubts, we code her subsequent sanctioning move as coming after a short moment.
- Choose *later in the interaction* if the sanctioner (B) has to hark back to an earlier, sequentially more remote moment in the interaction to sanction A's problem behavior.

directly adjacent after a short moment later in the interaction



D03 sa_interruption

Does B self-interrupt or interrupt somebody other than A to launch the attempt at social sanctioning?

Self- or other-interruption can be a way of indicating urgency by 'prioritizing' the initiation of a sanctioning attempt over (the continuation of) other business (compare Vatanen/ Haddington 2023). Treat self-/other-interruption narrowly as involving the breaking off of an in-progress TCU. Do not code "yes" if, for example, a story-telling is halted or momentarily suspended at the possible end of a TCU (and perhaps resumed later) (e.g., Helisten 2017). In cases of simultaneous starts (e.g., B launches the sanctioning move just as somebody else self-selects for a next turn), code "no", even if the other participant aborts the turn they had launched and drops out from the resultant overlap (Schegloff 2000).

Since some of the interactions we use as data involve more than 3 participants, interactional schisming is an ever-present possibility (Egbert 1997). If the interaction has (already) schism-ed into multiple simultaneous conversations prior to the initiation of the sanctioning attempt and a possible sanctioning turn therefore ends up being produced in overlap, code "no". If, however, the sanctioning attempt is launched while others are talking and *leads to* schisming (e.g., because the others continue talking/their own business), code "yes". The reason for this is that such schism-producing initiations of social sanctionings constitute a departure from the local order of turn-taking which may equally index urgency and/or prioritization.

yes no

Only answer D04 if D01 is "incipient" or "in progress"

D04 sa_assisting

Is B's intervention to A's advantage?

Behavior may also be oriented to as untoward and problematic if it is considered detrimental for a co-participant or their success. Interferences with such conduct can be made accountable as being done out of consideration for A, and stopping/changing it as being to their advantage or in their interest (e.g., a father directing his daughter to cut up a meatball so as to be able to prong it with her fork). In general, 'advantage' should be understood narrowly. Interventions targeting rule violations in board games, for example, are not generally advantageous to A (even if A may thereby learn/be instructed about the rule). Their main purpose is typically to enforce compliance and rule-accordant game play.

There is a fine line between sanctioning interventions that are advantageous to A, and the recruitment of assistance engendered by A experiencing a problem in the practical realization of a course of action (Kendrick/Drew 2016; Floyd/Rossi/Enfield (eds.) 2020). Recall that we only consider cases for coding in which A's behavior is problematic from a socio-normative point of view, where it is treated as 'misbehavior'. Thus, a father taking issue with his son not holding his honey bread straight, by pointing out that the honey is about to drip on the table, would be a case of an intervention targeting untoward behavior that is (also) advantageous to A (by working to avoid dribbling); but a person coming in with assistance when a friend can't find a particular key on a keyboard would not be a relevant case for us and would have to be excluded from the sample/collection.

yes no



D05 sa_turn_initial

Does the sanctioning attempt contain (a) turn-initial element(s)?

On the verbal level, social sanctionings may include turn-initial elements that are primarily dedicated to launching/initiating the sanctioning attempt (Küttner et al. in press; see also Schegloff 1992, 1996b; Heritage 2013; Heritage/Sorjonen (eds.) 2018). Where present, these may draw attention to (the nature of) the problem or frame the sanctioning attempt in specific ways. Note that our use of 'turn-initial' really only means 'temporal-sequentially first' element and that continuation past this initial element can be entirely contingent, so that B may end up producing only the initial element and nothing else (e.g., if compliance is immediately forthcoming) (see also D07). Prosodic (non)integration with subsequent talk is therefore not considered criterial.

yes no

Only answer D06 if D05 is "yes"

D06 sa_initial_element

Which turn-initial element(s) does the sanctioning attempt contain?

If the sanctioning attempt contains a turn-initial element, code for its linguistic type.

Code "interjection" for both lexical (hey!) and non-lexical (whoa!) items of this category. "Multiple/several" refers to combinations of different linguistic types (e.g., interjection + address term as in Ey Lucy!), not to multiple sayings of the same token (e.g., Hey=hey=hey=hey or moment moment!). Multiple sayings of the same token are coded only for the corresponding linguistic type. If two or more items from the same category/type are combined (e.g., Boah ey!), code for the respective type (i.e. "interjection") and add a note in the Notes field (F02). Change-of-state tokens (oh, achso; Heritage 1984b; Golato 2010) as well as clicks (Wright 2011; Ogden 2013, 2020) should be coded as "other". If the element doesn't belong to any of the listed categories choose "other" as well. Note that we generally do not treat conjunctions as turn-initial elements, unless they are used as discourse marking devices (e.g., some non-conjunctional/non-adversative uses of Italian ma 'but/well' \rightarrow code as "interjection").

```
interjection ("hey", "ähm", "e")
address term
response particle ("nee", "no")
progressivity-halting interjection ("stop", "moment")
apology-item ("sorry", "excuse me!")
multiple/several
other
```



D07 sa_tcu

How many TCU(s) does the sanctioning attempt consist of?

Attempts at social sanctioning can differ in complexity. We code for their structural complexity in terms of TCUs, excluding turn-initial elements (if any). The main distinction is between structurally simple sanctionings that consist of one TCU and structurally more complex ones that consist of more than one TCU. Because we code for turn-initial elements separately in D05/D06, we do not count them as TCUs here. So a verbal sanctioning move like *hey, put that down!*, for example, would be coded as consisting of one TCU, irrespective of a possible silence where the comma is (recall that prosodic integration of turn-initial elements is not considered criterial). If the sanctioning attempt consists only of (a) turn-initial element(s), code "none, initial element only". If it is carried out without talk, code "none, embodied only". To avoid speculation and guesswork in later questions (specifically D08, D09, and D12), we ignore TCUs that are cut-off and abandoned or repaired (Schegloff 2013; Jasperson 2002). However, we do count TCUs that are not brought to completion because of an early reaction and may end in trail-offs (Local/Kelly 1986; Walker 2012).

none, embodied only none, initial element only one TCU more than one TCU

Don't answer D08-D19 if D07 is "none, ..."

D08 sa_grammar

How is the first core TCU of the sanctioning attempt formatted grammatically?

Here and in the following, "first core TCU" refers to the TCU following the turn-initial element(s), if any. Note that Italian and Polish do not draw on syntactic resources (e.g., subject-auxiliary inversion) to mark interrogativity in polar (*yes/no*) interrogatives. Therefore, we code for grammatical marking and use "interrogative" also for first core TCUs that are done with prosodic contours standardly associated with 'questioning' in those languages. We ignore tags in this question (e.g., adding German *ne?* to a declarative does not turn it into an interrogative; it should still be coded as "declarative").

imperative interrogative declarative infinitive no predicate other

D09 sa_elements

Overall structure of the verbal sanctioning attempt

Differences in structural complexity (see D05-D07) may result from the combination of different elements of conduct and may therefore reflect different *kinds* of structural patterns. Questions D09a-f focus on these possible patterns on the verbal level. They target the overall structure of verbal sanctioning attempts in terms of the *main jobs* of its individual component parts/TCUs (on the notion of 'main job' in relation to TCUs, see Levinson 2013).



The four main jobs listed have emerged as recurrent from initial rounds of qualitative analysis of singular cases (Schegloff 1987, 1993; Stivers 2015).

For the purposes of the coding, each TCU can be assigned only **one** main job. Consequently, for the questions D09a–D09d, the number of "yes" responses is capped to the number of TCUs in the sanctioning turn (i.e., there can maximally be as many "yes" answers as there are TCUs in the verbal sanctioning attempt). So if the sanctioning attempt consists of only one TCU (e.g., *hey put that down*), you can only code "yes" once in questions D09a–d; if you recognize two TCUs, you are maximally allowed to answer "yes" twice and so on.

D09e auto-generates a numeric value for the number of "yes" responses in D09a–D09d (which may serve as a rough index of the structural complexity of any verbal sanctioning attempt). When coding, the following guidelines should be followed:

- For each TCU in the verbal sanctioning attempt, choose the one category from D09a-d that most adequately characterizes its main job (find further descriptions of these jobs below).
- o Initial analyses suggest that the order of these component elements/jobs is not completely arbitrary. There seems to be a canonical ordering which follows a certain interactional logic. The coding questions have been sequenced so as to reflect this canonical ordering as far as possible. Therefore, if, for any particular TCU, you are torn and absolutely cannot decide between two categories, go through D09a-d (again) and select the *first* fitting category.
- However, since all of these jobs are optional/non-obligatory, and some of them may be accomplished by embodied means, do **not** enforce categorization. If none of the four categories adequately characterizes the items in the verbal sanctioning attempt, code 4x "no" and end up with "0" elements in D09e.
- o If there are multiple TCUs that realize the same main job (e.g., repeated directives as in Romek przestań (...) przestań 'Romek, stop it (...) stop it'), just code "yes" for the respective group (here: D09b) and note down in the Notes field (F02) that there were two elements in the same category. (Note: In this case the number of elements in D09e won't reflect the number of TCUs in the sanctioning attempt).

D09a sa_elements_attention

Does the sanctioning attempt include a verbal element drawing attention to the problem (trouble alert)?

Code "yes" if the sanctioning attempt includes a TCU whose main job is to draw attention to the problem (or there being a problem). These can range from fairly specific 'noticings'/ registerings'/ observations' (haven't you just taken pizza?, du hast doch schon gewürfelt 'you already rolled the dice') or informings (you only need one of those for that) to more generic or indirect indications that A's behavior is problematic (das geht nicht 'that's not possible/you can't', and what colour do you think you're building?). Given their 'alerting' character, change-of-state displays (e.g., achso/oh, oops!) or news-marking responses (echt/wirklich 'really') would often constitute well-fitted, or at least plausible, responses to such TCUs.

yes

no



D09b sa_elements_modification

Does the sanctioning attempt include a verbal element aimed at behavior modification?

Code "yes", if the sanctioning attempt includes a TCU whose main job is to bring about a change in A's current behavior. This can be accomplished through different techniques (coded for in D10, if D09b is "yes"). Do **not** code "yes" if the TCU does not aim at behavior modification in regards to A's current, here-and-now behavior, but with regard to a possible future recurrence of the behavior and/or the associated problem (e.g., a father saying *rather you didn't use your teeth* after a child has successfully opened a bottle with her teeth). Such TCUs often have moralizing overtones and should be coded for in D09c. With directives/prohibitives, their detailed timing in relation to the directed/proscribed action appears to be crucial in this regard (Kent/Kendrick 2016) (e.g., a prohibitive like *do not build swastikas when a German guy is filming us* produced after the *corpus delicti* has been disassembled is clearly not aiming at behavior modification in the here-and-now but rather expresses a moralizing stance).

yes no

D09c sa_elements_moralizing

Does the sanctioning attempt include a verbal element that expresses a moralizing stance?

Code "yes" if the sanctioning attempt contains a TCU whose main job is to express a moralizing stance towards A or their doings (e.g., along the lines of 'that was bad' or 'you could have done that better'). For such TCUs, displaying contrition, apologizing or offering accounts and justifications would appear to constitute well-fitted, or at least plausible, response types. Be mindful of the fact that irony or sarcasm can be deployed in the service of expressing a moralizing stance (e.g., wie schön dass du dich heute schon entscheiden konntest 'how nice that you already managed to decide for something today'), but it need not necessarily do so.

yes no

D09d sa_elements_explanation

Does the sanctioning attempt include an explanation?

Code "yes" if the sanctioning attempt contains a TCU whose main job is to deliver an explanation for why B sanctions and/or seeks to bring about a change in A's behavior. Such explanations can have various bases. They may invoke rules or rule-like precepts (Küttner/Vatanen/Zinken 2022), but they may also offer practical considerations (e.g., *if you do it like this, we can all see them*) or personal wants/needs/desires (*I don't want you opening those lids*) as reasons for the sanctioning attempt.

yes no



D09e sa_elements_number

Number of elements

This field is auto generated by Excel and yields a number between 0–4. It counts how often you have answered "yes" in questions D09a–D09d and shows how many component elements have been identified in the verbal sanctioning attempt. It can therefore provide a proxy for its structural complexity (but recall that we do not enforce categorization).

[auto-generated numeric value]

D09f sa_elements_order

Does one of these verbal elements begin after a first reaction (from A) to the current sanctioning attempt?

Sometimes parts of a verbal sanctioning attempt are produced after A has already begun to engage with B's initial sanctioning move(s). Because turn-construction is an interactional accomplishment (Goodwin 1979, 1981), the substance and design of such continuations may be contingent on what that first reaction from A looks like. "Reaction" here means any elements of conduct that engage with the sanctioning attempt, such as compliance, a show of contrition, or resistance, regardless of whether they are done verbally or non-verbally. It does **not** include "freezing", unless B's continuation can be seen to be added as a contingent response to the "freeze".

yes no

Only answer D10 if D09b is "yes"

D10 sa_behavior_modification

Which technique is used to achieve behavior modification (D09b)?

If the sanctioning attempt contains a verbal element that is aimed at achieving behavior modification, code which technique is being used to effectuate it: a directive/prohibitive (Craven/Potter 2010; Sorjonen/Raevaara/Couper-Kuhlen (eds.) 2017), a deontic statement, such as we don't need to open all of them or du musst den versetzen 'you have to move it', a proposal/suggestion (e.g., why don't we.../let's do X, see Thompson/Fox/Raymond 2021) or a threat/incentive (e.g., wenn du jetzt nicht aufhörst yoyo zu spielen, dann isses nich mehr deins 'if you don't stop playing yoyo, then it's no longer yours', sag mal wenn man sich hinsetzt, kann man vielleicht dann heute mittag noch ne nussecke kriegen, wenn man sich jetzt noch ein bisschen benimmt 'say if one sits down, maybe one can still get a nut wedge [German pastry] today, if one behaves well a little bit now') (Hepburn/Potter 2011).

directive/prohibitive deontic statement proposal/suggestion threat/incentive



D11 sa_factual_description

Does the sanctioning attempt contain a factual description?

Stating the obvious and factual can be a way of pointing to the inappropriateness/untowardess of another's doings (compare Schegloff 1988a; see also Rossi 2018). As such, speakers may draw on factual descriptions when confronting others for their conduct. For this question, consider both the grammatical and the substantive level and assure that the description is indeed factual (e.g., du hast ne drei gewürfelt, 'you rolled a three'). It is important that the stated fact is publicly available for/accessible to all participants prior to its assertion, such that they could have determined this themselves. By contrast, something like Ich hab noch nichtmal meine Karten gecheckt ('I haven't even checked my cards yet') presents this fact to the public and should be coded as "no". Similarly, code "no" for utterances that formulate things that *could* have been available to a perfectly attentive observer but have been missed by one or more participants (e.g., Du bist dran! 'It's your turn'). For their recipients, these are very much like informings/prompts (and they may be receipted as such). Also code "no" for utterances that express subjective interpretations of conduct or attributions/valuations (e.g., du bist nur am meckern 'all you do is complain', du bist total unfair 'you're totally unfair'). Note, however, that we do code "yes" for negated factual descriptions like wir sind kein unimog ('we're no unimog'), as long as they meet the aforementioned criteria.

yes no

If D08 is "imperative", don't answer D12

D12 sa_focus

Who is focused in B's first core TCU?

Speakers can perspectivize how they present the problem as part of their verbal sanctioning move(s) (e.g., through agentivizing/de-agentivizing, personalizing/de-personalizing). This may be consequential for such matters as, for example, the attribution of fault or responsibility (Pomerantz 1978) or for invoking some kind of 'victimhood', etc. Here, we are interested in how this is done in the early portions of verbal sanctioning attempts by coding for who is put into focus in the first core TCU. Hence, we ignore potential address terms or gaze for this question.

The following guidelines should be applied when coding:

- Choose "both" only if A *and* B are actually and clearly focused together as a 'unit'. Otherwise, choose A *or* B.
- With clear generic references (e.g., *man darf nicht...* 'one mustn't...'), choose "nobody".
- o If a reference is ambiguously interpretable as either generic or specific in its context (e.g., *you can only pick one*) and you can't make a clear decision, stick to the linguistic *form* (i.e., code "A" in the given example) and capture its potential genericity by way of D14.

A

В



both nobody somebody else

D13 sa_pb

Does B formulate A's problem behavior in terms of a specific action?

As part of the sanctioning attempt, B may formulate A's problem behavior in terms of a specific action (Laforest 2002). Such action descriptions entail categorization, are necessarily selective, and have the capacity to (implicitly) ascribe intent or prior knowledge about the wrongness of the described action (Jayyusi 1993; Sidnell 2017; see also Sacks 1963; Schegloff 1972, 1988b; Pomerantz 1987). Note that the whole predicate can be relevant and not just the verb. Consider, for instance, the sanctioning attempt *why did you say that on record!*, which formulates the problematic behavior as "saying that on record" and not simply as "saying something".

Also, make sure that what is being formulated is A's behavior-as-an-action and not

- o a character trait (jetzt biste aber kleinkariert 'now you're being petty'),
- a mental state that can be inferred from A's behavior (*Papa checkt's immer noch nicht*, 'Dad still doesn't get it'),
- o a current state-of-affairs (compare you're on the wrong side vs. you're holding the cards the wrong way around, **being in** one's chair vs. **going into** one's seat, you can't **have**... vs. you can't **put** two reds next to each other),
- o an ostensible or likely consequence of the problematic action (*you got your Daddy nicked now* after a child has said something racist, *dann lässt du's wieder liegen* 'then you'll forget about it again').

Negative assessments of actions (that was less than helpful) should likewise be coded as "no".

yes no

D14 sa abstraction

Does the sanctioning attempt verbally abstract from the here-and-now problem?

As part of the sanctioning attempt, B may abstract from the here-and-now problem and invoke or point to broader, more general values, norms or rules as being relevant to the specific problem behavior over and above its production in the here-and-now (e.g., Zinken et al. 2021; Küttner/Vatanen/Zinken 2022). Such abstraction should usually be encoded linguistically, though the means for doing so can vary broadly (e.g., indefinite references, habitual aspect, impersonality). So when coding "yes", make sure you can point to some feature of the turn's design to warrant this decision (see D15 for examples).

Code "no" for ascriptions of character traits/character assessments (*jetzt biste aber kleinka-riert*, 'now you're being petty'). While these can be understood to remain stable over longer stretches of time (at least in a folk psychological sense), they do not in and of themselves abstract from the here-and-now problem (note the *jetzt* 'now' in the example). Also make sure that the sanctioning attempt involves some invocation of, or move towards, a higher



level of generality. Mere references to the future and/or some possible future iteration of the problematic behavior need not necessarily involve 'abstraction' in that generalizing sense.

```
yes
no
Only answer D15 if D14 is "yes"
```

sa_how

D15

If yes, what is the locus of the abstraction?

Abstraction can be done with respect to different features of the situation, such as the person (impersonal or generic statements: erstmal fertich kauen, '(to) finish chewing first', see Deppermann 2007; 'one mustn't...', see Zinken et al. 2021), time (ich nehm mir gelegent-lich selbst, 'I occasionally serve myself' as part of a sanctioning for being offered to be served a beverage), referent (wenn du ne Karte hast, darfst du die erst nächste runde ausspielen, 'when you have a card, you can only play it out next round', Zinken et al., 2021) or combinations thereof ("multiple").⁵

person time referent multiple

D16 sa_modality

Does the sanctioning attempt contain linguistic structures expressing modality?

Being, as they are, methods for the management of deontic moments social sanctionings of problem behavior may contain linguistic structures that express modality (Palmer 2001; Nuyts/Auwera (eds.) 2016). In addition to modal verbs, the phrasing of the question allows for taking some language-specific *quasi*-modal structures (e.g., German *das geht nicht* 'that doesn't work/that's not possible') and grammaticized semi-modals (English *have to*, *need to*, *want to*) into account. Do not, however, include cases in which you have to infer the modality (e.g., *Dingsdings reicht nicht, ich brauch mehr* 'Thingamabob is not enough, I need more [details]' can easily be understood to mean 'you must tell me more', and thus as expressing deontic modality, but this is not given linguistic expression and has to be inferred).

Note that the question asks about the entire sanctioning attempt, not just the first core TCU.

```
yes, ability/possibility
yes, permission/authorization
yes, obligation/necessity
yes, volition
yes, a combination
no
[can't tell]
```

Note that, with its conditional structure, the utterance wenn du ne Karte hast, darfst du die erst nächste runde ausspielen ('if you have a card, you may only play it next round') also abstracts away from the here-and-now problem on the level of time. We have therefore coded this case as involving abstraction on "multiple" levels in the exemplary coding.



D17 sa_modulating

Does the sanctioning attempt include aggravating/escalating devices?

Social sanctionings of problem behavior can be relatively low-key and do not necessarily involve escalated conflict or antagonism (on which, see Dersley/Wootton 2000). However, they can incorporate lexical or prosodic design features which convey aggravation (see Goodwin 1983). Code "yes" only with clear cases of aggravation. Prosodic indicators of aggravation may be screaming or shouting, lexico-syntactic ones may be insults, expletives (Hoey et al. 2020), or extreme-case formulations (on which see D18). More subtle methods of conveying 'annoyance' in a 'passive-aggressive' way (e.g., prosodically or through irony/sarcasm, as in *Darf ich vielleicht trotzdem noch würfeln?* 'May I perhaps still roll the dice') should be coded as "no". Peripheral elements like question-tags should be ignored when coding this question.

yes no

Only answer D18 if D17 is "yes"

D18 sa_ecf

Does the sanctioning attempt include an extreme case formulation?

Extreme case formulations are descriptions that deploy semantically extreme terms such as *always*, *never*, *completely*, *all*, *every*, *none*, *nothing*, etc. (Pomerantz 1986; Edwards 2000). Also code "yes" for vastly exaggerated quantifications that have an idiomatic quality (*Ich bau dir den jetzt nicht 1000 mal zusammen* 'I'm not going to build this for you 1000 times').

yes no

Only answer D19 if D17 is "no"

D19 sa_mitigating

Does the sanctioning attempt include mitigating/softening devices?

Sanctioners can also modulate their sanctioning attempts in the other direction by incorporating lexical or prosodic design features which recognizably work to mitigate or soften them. Prosodic indicators may be whispering or *sotto voce* delivery (see Lerner 2013), while, lexico-syntactically, markers like *please*, terms of endearment, diminutives, epistemic and other hedges as well as subjunctive mood can serve as relevant indicators of mitigation/softening. In some cases, laughter or chuckling may also be used as a softening/mitigation device rather than conveying playfulness or non-seriousness (cf. C08; see Haakana 2001). Peripheral elements like question-tags should be ignored when coding this question.

yes no



D20 sa_touch

Does B touch A as part of the sanctioning attempt?

Social sanctionings of problem behavior may include the use of touch as an embodied resource. Touching someone may be a form of exerting control, as in physical blocking or pushing/shoving (Cekaite 2015, 2016; Goodwin/Cekaite 2018; Kent 2012a, p. 69), but it need not be and can also serve other, more benign/affiliative functions (Cekaite/Holm Kvist 2017; see also Cekaite/Mondada (eds.) 2020).

Only code "yes", when the touch can be seen to have been an intended action. Code "no" when participants accidentally bump into each other.

```
yes
no
[can't tell]
```

D21 sa_object

Does B (try to) take control over something (e.g. an object) that is under A's control?

As part of taking action against A's doings, B may (try to) take control over something that is currently under A's "control". Principally, this concerns the taking away of physical objects (e.g., game pieces, cards, toys, cellphones, food items) (Nevile et al. (eds.) 2014), but it may also concern the physical manipulation of objects that are currently used by A (e.g., a father moving a chair with the daughter sitting on it to rectify her positioning at the table).

In the board game data, also code "yes" when B rejects a game move and *returns* game pieces or cards to the player who played them (A).

```
yes
no
[can't tell]
```

D22 sa_gaze

Up until the end of the first sanctioning action (including first TCU if any) where does B look?

Gaze and gaze aversion have been shown to be important resources in face-to-face interaction (Kidwell 2005; Rossano 2012; Kendrick/Holler 2017). Gaze shifts also play an important role in turn-allocation (Auer 2021), but we are primarily interested in the role of B's gaze behavior as part of these moments of 'heightened accountability'. To reduce the amount of turn-allocational uses of gaze (especially towards the end of multi-unit turns), we focus only on B's gaze direction up until the end of the first sanctioning action (including first TCU if any). We use a basic three-way distinction between whether B looks at A, at the 'problem space', or elsewhere. The 'problem space' can be a messy plate, the place where A wrongly put something, another player's game board with too many pieces on it etc. If A themself is the 'problem space' (e.g., because they said something inappropriate), choose "to A". The 'problem space' can also be the board of a game where a violation *could/would* happen if it weren't for B interfering with a potential or projectable rule violation. So if B looks at the board, even though the violation has not yet manifested on the board, code "to 'problem space'" as well.



If B's gaze shifts over the course of the first sanctioning action, treat these options as *ranked* options (in the rank order: 1. to A—2. to 'problem space'—3. elsewhere) and code the option that ranks highest during the first sanctioning action. For example, if B first looks elsewhere and then shifts his/her gaze to the problem space during the first sanctioning action, code 'to 'problem space''. If B first looks to A and then elsewhere, code 'to A'.

If you are uncertain whether B looks at a higher ranked option, go for the lower ranked but assured one (certainty outweighs ranking). So if you are certain that B looks at the 'problem space' and B might also quickly glance at A, but you cannot be sure (even after a frame-by-frame screening of the video), choose "to 'problem space'" as the assured option.

```
to A
to 'problem space'
elsewhere
[can't tell]
```

D23 r gaze

Does A bring their gaze to B (during the sanctioning attempt by B)?

The sanctioned participant (A) bringing their gaze to the sanctioner (B) can be an early non-type specific reaction to B's launching of a sanctioning attempt. Code whether A brings their gaze to B up until B's sanctioning attempt has reached the first transition-relevance place (TRP) (or up until the boundary of the first sanctioning action in the case of embodied sanctionings), or later than that. Note that we only code for A's gaze behavior *during B's sanctioning attempt*. Do not code "yes, later" if A brings their gaze to B during their response. If A does not bring their gaze to B during the sanctioning attempt, code whether this is because A was already looking at B at the time of the sanctioning's initiation ("gaze is already on B") or whether A does not bring their gaze to B at all while B confronts them for their conduct ("no").

```
yes, immediately (up until first TRP)
yes, later (during B's sanctioning attempt)
gaze is already on B
no
[can't tell]
```

E. Response

This section zooms in on what happens in response to B's sanctioning attempt. Most importantly, it targets whether and how A reacts to it, but it also looks at the potential involvement of others.

E01 reaction

Is there a reaction by A to B's sanctioning attempt?

While sanctioning attempts engage with A's prior or ongoing conduct and retroactively mark it as problematic or untoward, they also make a reaction from A relevant and expectable next, i.e. they are retro-sequential objects (Sterponi 2003; Schegloff 2007; Küttner 2021). Whether or not A reacts to B's sanctioning attempt is a different matter, though (Laforest 2002). Reaction is intended to be understood broadly here, as referring to any



reaction and not just verbal responses. If A reacts, for example, by rolling their eyes, by frowning, by lowering their head, or by picking up a game piece without saying anything, code "yes, but not including a verbal response". Vocalizations, laughter and other sound objects should be treated as verbal responses. Code "no" only if there is no discernible reaction from A whatsoever. Non-reactive behavior may have different bases (e.g., A having 'missed' B's sanctioning attempt, A deliberately ignoring it), but working these out would be participants' business.

```
yes, including a verbal response
yes, but not including a verbal response
no
```

Only answer E02 if E01 is "no"

E02 r occupied

Does A appear to be occupied otherwise?

It may be that A is currently 'busy' with something else when their conduct is getting sanctioned (e.g., A may curse while trying to open a jar which may get sanctioned by another participant, while in the meantime A may have started to search for a jar opener). Being (perceptibly) occupied with something else can serve as a 'natural account' for non-reactive behavior, which doesn't require further explication. Do not code "yes" if A simply continues the problematic behavior. Since mere continuation of the problem behavior may be much more vulnerable to get understood as A defying or disattending/ignoring B's sanctioning move, such cases should be coded as "no".

yes no

If E01 is "no", don't answer E03-E10

E03 r_type

How does A react to the sanctioning attempt?

If A reacts to the sanctioning attempt, code what form of uptake A produces. Given the moralizing or behavior modifying implications of a sanctioning attempt, "straightforward compliance/acceptance" constitutes the aligning (+) reaction (compare Schegloff 2007). Also consider fully embodied behavior for this question (e.g., A picking a wrongly played game piece back up again when this is being/has been sanctioned is an act of "straightforward compliance/acceptance"). Note that "straightforward compliance/acceptance" means 'only that and nothing else'. As soon as A also does something (non-compliant) alongside or in addition to the complying action, code for the respective non-compliant option here and code the move towards compliance/acceptance in E04.

When A dismisses the relevance of changing, accounting for, or showing contrition for their conduct, code "defiance". Note that such dismissals may superficially look like acceptances. Consider the case of player B sanctioning A's insistence that cards cannot be exchanged once they have been played as being petty and A responding with a double saying of *ja* 'yes' (*jaja*) while continuing to collect the trick. Formally, A's response may look like acceptance, but the *jaja* conveys 'so what' and dismisses the sanctioning attempt as lacking a proper basis (see Golato/Fagyal 2008; Barth-Weingarten 2011).



The participant whose conduct is being sanctioned (A) may also protest against the sanctioning and/or offer defensive accounts for their conduct (e.g., justifications, explanations, explications of rationales and reasonings, etc., see Sterponi 2003, 2009; Robinson 2016; see also Scott/Lyman 1968). Denials (e.g., *I didn't do it, It wasn't me*) should also be coded as a form of protest (see Pomerantz 1978; Dersley/Wootton 2000).

Transgressors can also try to turn the tables and counter-sanction or challenge B's sanctioning action(s) (ibid.). Since such counter-sanctionings/challenges essentially reverse the direction of the 'complaint' (see Schegloff 2007 on 'counters'; see also Günthner 2000), they should then also be coded as a next case.

If A reacts with something that sidesteps the relevancies established by the sanctioning attempt (e.g., laughter, continuing/starting another line of talk, newsmarks), code "other". Also code "other" if A initiates repair. If the repair solution then redoes the sanctioning action (e.g., by repeating it) or renews its relevance, code this as a next case (a "pursuit" in C02). The reason being that, instead of redoing the sanctioning action, B could in principle also withdraw it after the repair initiation (e.g., with something like *ah forget it*).

straightforward compliance/acceptance defiance protest/offer defensive account counter-sanction/challenge other

Don't answer E04 if E03 is "straightforward compliance/acceptance"

E04 r_compliance

Does A also show a behavior that moves towards compliance/partial acceptance?

If A reacts with something other than straightforward compliance/acceptance, they may nevertheless do something that moves towards compliance or partial acceptance (Schegloff 1989; Kent 2012b). So A may protest or offer an account for what they did, but still change their behavior or rectify their game move. Note that, for the purposes of the coding, the temporal order of these different forms of responsive behavior is not decisive. So even if A immediately complies (e.g., picks their game pieces back up) and only offers a defensive account afterwards, we would code "protest/offer defensive account" in (E03) and "yes" here. Recall that "straightforward compliance/acceptance" in E03 means 'only that and nothing else'.

However, do *not* code "yes" for verbal responses that offer a defensive account but convey some form of concession as part of the same TCU (e.g., B sanctioning A's game move with *bau doch an deinen eigenen Weg* 'build onto your own path' and A responding to it with *ja hier ist auch mein eigener Weg* 'yes, here is also my own path' is a form of protest, even if the *auch* 'also' can be understood to acknowledge/concede the validity of B's general point) (see Couper-Kuhlen/Thompson 2000; Barth-Weingarten 2003).

yes no



E05 r contrition

Does A show contrition or apologetic behavior?

As part of their reaction, A may register the culpability of their conduct by showing contrition or apologetic behavior (Drew et al. 2016; Heritage/Raymond/Drew 2019; Potter/Hepburn 2020). Treat this narrowly and only code "yes" for clear displays of contrition/apologetic behavior. Do not code "yes" for expressions of disappointment or frustration (on which, see Couper-Kuhlen 2009a).

yes no

E06 r_smile

Is the reaction accompanied by laughter or smiling?

The transgressor (A) may incorporate laughter or smiling into their reaction (e.g., Jefferson 1979; Potter/Hepburn 2010; Haakana 2010). Also code "yes", if A's reaction only consists of laughter (and has been coded as "other" in E03).

yes no [can't tell]

Don't answer E07-E10, if E01 is "yes, but not including a verbal response"

E07 vr_timing

If there is a verbal response from A, how is it timed relative to the most proximate sanctioning action?

The timing of actions and responsive actions is a crucial indicator of their interactional status and an important ingredient for their pragmatic import (Couper-Kuhlen 2009b; Kendrick 2015; Kendrick/Torreira 2015; Pomerantz/Heritage 2012). Here, we are interested in the timing of A's verbal response (if any) relative to the most proximate sanctioning action B produced. However, we only use a crude three-way distinction between "early/in overlap", "on time/next-positioned", and "delayed". Accordingly, it is important to not get too fine-grained with this question. Reserve the "early/in overlap" code for responses that are produced in recognitional overlap (Jefferson 1984) or come clearly before the most proximate sanctioning action is possibly complete. In case of transitional overlap (ibid.) and similar forms of overlap that result from "mis-coordination" at possible TRPs, select "on time/next-positioned" (for A can then be understood to have aimed for such positioning). Select "delayed" when A responds after an inter-turn gap of >0.5 seconds or when other talk is produced in between (e.g., from another participant).

early/in overlap on time/next-positioned delayed



E08 r_news

Does A verbally treat B's turn as (having imparted) news/surprising?

Inasmuch as verbal sanctionings can deliver explanations or, in other ways, point to relevant information or aspects of the situation, A can attend to B's sanctioning turn as having imparted news (e.g., Heritage 1984b; Local 1996; Thompson/Fox/Couper-Kuhlen 2015) or even as surprising (Wilkinson/Kitzinger 2006). However, only code "yes", if there is evidence for such treatment in A's responsive turn (e.g., newsmarks, news receipts, some repeats, etc.). Do not code account solicitations here (see E10).

yes no

E09 r_knowledge

Does A claim recollection or remembering?

Alternatively, A can attend to such information as previously known and momentarily lost out of sight due to forgetfulness or confusion by claiming some kind of recollection or remembering (e.g., Betz/Golato 2008; Heritage 1984b; Koivisto 2013; Küttner 2018; Kornfeld/Rossi 2023).

yes no

E10 r_unintelligible

Does A treat the sanctioning as unintelligible or accountable?

Code "yes" if A initiates repair (Schegloff/Jefferson/Sacks 1977), responds with account solicitations (Robinson/Bolden 2010; Bolden/Robinson 2011) or other practices that indicate A's struggles to understand why their conduct has been sanctioned (e.g., some repeats; see Jefferson 1972; Robinson 2013; Benjamin/Walker 2013; Couper-Kuhlen 2020).

yes no

E11 r_other

Does somebody other than A get verbally involved?

B's sanctioning attempt and/or A's reaction to it may lead one or more co-present others to get involved in the issue. Such involvements may be volunteered or solicited (by A or B). Note that the question only targets verbal involvements. Third-party laughter should be coded as "no".

```
yes, one
yes, more than one
no
```

Only answer E12 if E11 is "yes, ..."



E12 r_support

Who does the other person support?

The aforementioned verbal involvements may provide a window onto the formation of 'social alliances', depending on whether or not those who get involved decide to take a side and how they line up on the matter. Third parties may either support the sanctioner ("B"), the one whose conduct is being/has been sanctioned ("A"), or they may line up differently on the matter, with one supporting A, but another supporting B ("divided"). They may also chime in without supporting either of the two, e.g., when simply proffering a solution or making a joke to defuse the situation ("nobody").

A B nobody divided [can't tell]

F. Third position

Don't answer F01 if E01 is "no"

F01 third_position

Does B further engage with A's reaction/response in a socially redressive manner?

If there has been a reaction/response from A, then B may engage with that reaction/response in a socially redressive manner (Goffman 1971, p. 119), for example, by expressing gratitude for their cooperation (compare Zinken/Rossi/Reddy 2020), by providing absolution after an apology (Drew/Hepburn 2016), or by disclaiming sanctioning intent (i.e., conveying that A *mis*understood B's prior action(s) as a sanctioning attempt) (Schegloff 1992; Drew 2021). Note that we are not interested in just any further engagement with A's reaction/response, but only in socially redressive forms of engagement from B in this position.

yes no

F02 notes

Notes

A space for notes (include a reference to the question(s) to which your notes pertain).

free text



G. Coding information

This section provides relevant meta information about the coding activity itself for the purpose of checking inter-coder reliability.

G01 primary_coder

Who was the primary coder?

Use initials.

free text

G02 secondary_coder

Who was the secondary coder?

Use initials.

free text

G03 consultation

Did you consult with anyone about this case?

yes no

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