# REVISITING PARTICIPATION

Language and Bodies in Interaction 24-27 June 2015, University of Basel, Switzerland

## **BOOK OF ABSTRACTS**





#### **WELCOME**

Our organizing committee at the University of Basel is proud to welcome scholars in Conversation Analysis and Ethnomethodology from all around the world for this conference on *Revisiting Participation: Language and Bodies in Interaction*. We are specially honoured to host 5 internationally acclaimed scholars as keynote speakers: Charles Goodwin, Marjorie H. Goodwin and Christian Heath who have marked in a pioneering way the history and evolution of the notion of participation within original approaches of social interaction as an embodied situated phenomenon; Galina Bolden who has explored the notion of other vs. self in an innovative way though fine grained sequential analyses of multiparty interactions; Ray Wilkinson who has initiated ground-breaking analytical and clinical work on aphasia by showing the importance of patients' participation in everyday and institutional interactions. The program presented here – resulting from a careful reviewing process that has mobilized major academic figures in Conversation Analysis and Ethnomethodology, kindly accepting to participate in our scientific committee – demonstrates the vivacity of the field and its international impact. The 75 papers to be presented at the conference, as well as the 5 panels, demonstrate the wide importance of the notion of participation within the organization of a variety of sequential trajectories of action and within a diversity of contexts.

We are most grateful for the invaluable support our sponsors have granted us and we particularly thank the FAG/Freiwilige Akademische Gesellschaft, the Max Geldner Stieftung, the SAGW/ASSH (Swiss Academy of Human Sciences), the University of Basel (both the Faculty of the Humanities and the Department of Linguistics and Literature), the VALS/ASLA (Swiss Association for Applied Linguistics) and the journal Novitas ROYAL (Research on Youth and Language). We are also happy to organize this conference in partnership with the ISCA (International Society for Conversation Analysis).

Welcome to Basel for an inspiring, creative and intense moment of scientific exchange.

Lorenza Mondada, conference chair on behalf of the organizing committee

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#### PRESENTATION OF THE CONFERENCE

The notion of participation has been largely used through several disciplines inspired by the concept of *participation framework* proposed by Erving Goffman (1981). Within Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis, the issue of participation has been discussed early on (see for example Drew & Wootton, 1988). More recently, it has been revisited within an embodied perspective (see Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004), revealing its dynamic, changing and complex organization, as well as the importance for its organization of multimodal resources, specific formats, and changing configurations. The notion of participation concerns phenomena related to the organization of turn-taking in multi-party interactions, raising issues of how recipient-design and orientation to the co-participants are organized and change moment by moment along the sequentiality of talk and action. It also concerns phenomena related to sequence organization and action formatting in relation to formats that enable, craft, and afford – but also constraint and reduce - specific forms of participation in various activities and settings. Finally, it is also crucially related to the emergence of participation in particular contexts of activity, shaping and being shaped by a reflexive orientation towards specific contexts and locally relevant membership categorization devices. Recognizing the analytical and theoretical potentials of the notion, considering also that "participation" is increasingly used as a member's category in various socio-political settings and that it might be interestingly re-specified within their endogenous perspective, the conference aims at revisiting the notion of participation, inviting scholars in conversation analysis and ethnomethodology to further discuss, conceptualize, and analyse issues of participation, taking into account the full complexity of language and bodies in social interaction.

Conference Website : http://www.participation2015.unibas.ch

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Conference Hashtag : #rp2015basel

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# **KEYNOTE LECTURES**



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(Rutgers University)

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CHARLES GOODWIN

(UCLA)

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(UCLA)

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The Embodied Interactive Constitution of Intimacy through Touch

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RAY WILKINSON

(University of Sheffield)

**Known-Response Elicitation Sequences and Participation** 

### Patrolling Territories of Knowledge in Other-Initiated Repair

#### **GALINA BOLDEN**

#### **Rutgers University**

Conversational repair – practices for dealing with problems of hearing, speaking, and understanding – is organized by reference to two local identities: the speaker of the problematic talk and its recipient (Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977). However, when additional interlocutors are present, they can – and, on occasion, do – participate in repair sequences by, for example, self-selecting to respond to a repair initiation that was not addressed to them (Bolden, 2011, 2012, 2013). This talk examines a particular kind of participation in other-initiated repair sequences: whereby multiple interlocutors disconfirm, reject, or resist the premise of a repair initiation.

What do such interventions into a repair sequence accomplish? My analysis shows that the action carried out by multiple rejecting repair solutions is shaped by the epistemic status of the intervening speaker – specifically, by whether s/he has epistemic authority over the repairable (Heritage, 2013). First, interlocutors with first-hand knowledge of (and, thus, epistemic authority over) the repairable may intervene to disconfirm or reject the repair initiation so as to align with the trouble source speaker or endorse his/her position (Lerner, 1992, 1993). Second, interlocutors with no epistemic rights to the repairable may also intervene to reject the repair initiation. These rejections may enact "aggravated correction" (Goodwin, 1983) in that they hold the repair initiator accountable for "not knowing" or "not paying attention." Commonly produced by a relational intimate of the repair initiator, these rejections may be upgraded via prosody ("No:::") and aspects of turn design that characterize the repair initiation as inapposite, misguided, or ridiculous (e.g., "That's crazy!"). Overall, the presentation describes a mechanism for enforcing proper interactional citizenship and advances our understanding of the role of social epistemics in the organization of participation, repair, and action formation.

#### Inhabiting Each Others' Actions: Co-Operative Action as a Matrix for Participation in Distinctively Human Sociality

#### **CHARLES GOODWIN**

#### **UCLA**

This talk will situate participation within the more general frameworks for the constitution of human sociality and knowledge created through the co-operative organization of action. Human beings can build new action by de-composing and re-using with transformation materials created by others. Through this process actors inhabit each others actions, while participating, from unique perspectives, in public architectures for perception and action inherited from others. This creates a distinct form of sociality, and indeed co-operative action provides the participatory infrastructure that makes Peircian symbols, and thus human language possible. These processes encompass not only language, but also the distinctive combinatorial organization of human tools, and operate on scales ranging from the co-operative construction of individual noun phrases, to the accumulative, historical development of cultures, settings, and societies.

#### Haptic Sociality: The Embodied Interactive Constitution of Intimacy through Touch

#### MARJORIE H. GOODWIN

#### **UCLA**

In this presentation I investigate how intimate, affiliative, co-operative haptic human sociality is accomplished through the intertwining of interacting bodies, frequently with language embedded within such frameworks. My focus is on forms of tactile intercorporeality that serve prosocial purposes. I am concerned with how participants in a basic social institution, the family, make use of culturally appropriate tactile communication (including the hug, the kiss, and other intertwinings of the body) during moments of affectively rich supportive interchanges (Goffman 1971). Materials for this study are drawn from video recordings of naturally occurring interaction in 32 Los Angeles families who were part of UCLA's Center on Everyday Lives of Families (CELF). By looking closely at embodied forms of experience in the world and the emergence of talk in interaction within them, we can begin to articulate the participation frameworks through which affectively rich intimate social relationships are established, maintained, and negotiated.

# Passing Moments: Micro-Ecologies and the Exchange of Instruments during Surgical Procedures

#### **CHRISTIAN HEATH**

#### King's College London

'Participation' has long provided the resources with which to explore and reflect upon a range of interactional phenomena in particular perhaps with regard to the production of embodied action. Two aspects of participation are of particular significance in this regard: - the recognition that a seemingly single action is a collaborative interactional accomplishment and secondly, a growing interest in delineating the structures of co-participation that arise in and sustain institutional activities. In this paper, we would like to draw these concerns together and consider a form of participation that has long been of interest to the social sciences, that is, the contribution of the assistant or caddy to the concerted production of complex procedures in the workplace. We consider the exchange of implements during surgical procedures and how various tools and instruments are made available to the surgeon in a timely and appropriate manner. We focus in particular on the delicacy of exchange, prehension and apprehension, and the ways in which the hands momentarily come together to enable the assured and stable transfer of objects. In turn, the materials at hand raise questions concerning agency, practice and participation and the analysis of specialized forms of organizational activities.

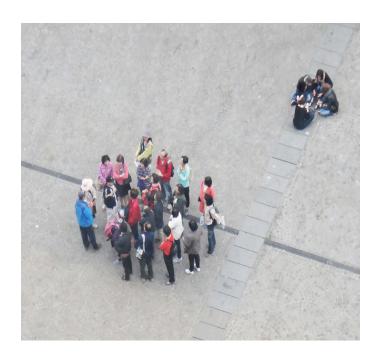
### **Known-Response Elicitation Sequences** and Participation

#### **RAY WILKINSON**

#### **University of Sheffield**

Much of the conversation analytic work on the organization of sequences has focused on sequences consisting of two turns, in the form of the adjacency pair. In this talk I examine a three-turn course of action - the known-response elicitation sequence. In this type of three turn sequence participant A first elicits a response from participant B that is essentially already known to participant A, and then following that response accepts or rejects it. While the first two turns of such sequences can take the form of known-answer (or 'test-') questions and answers, in the data I examine there are also other forms of elicitation and response. In addition, while such sequences have been examined in institutional settings such as classroom interaction and clinical or educational testing interaction, here I also discuss the production of known-response elicitation sequences within conversation. The data primarily consists of institutional and conversational interactions involving a person with aphasia (a language disorder acquired following brain damage). I will discuss the sequential organization of this type of three-turn sequence, the actions that constitute it, and the distinctive forms of interactional participation to which it gives shape.

### **PANELS**



#### AESTHETICS IN INTERACTION: ANALYZING FORMS OF PARTICIPATION IN ARTISTIC AND AESTHETIC ACTIVITIES

convened by Saul Albert & Yaël Kreplak

#### LEARNING PARTICIPATION IN TRAFFIC

convened by Mathias Broth & Arnulf Deppermann

#### MORE THAN MEETS THE EYE: PERCEPTION AND PARTICIPATION

convened by Kristian Mortensen & Spencer Hazel

#### THE EMERGENCE OF PARTICIPATION: A DEVELOPMENTAL PERSPECTIVE

convened by Iris Nomikou & Carolin Demuth

#### PARTICIPATION IN TRANSITIONS

convened by Mirka Rauniomaa, Joonas Råman & Maarit Siromaa

#### **DESCRIPTION OF THE PANEL**

### Aesthetics in Interaction: Analyzing Forms of Participation in Artistic and Aesthetic Activities

#### SAUL ALBERT<sup>1</sup> & YAËL KREPLAK<sup>2</sup>

#### <sup>1</sup>Queen Mary University of London; <sup>2</sup> EHESS

Participation has become a major issue for the arts. At a structural level, funders' requirements for greater public engagement have been informed by a long tradition of macrosociological studies of arts consumption (Bourdieu 1984). On an artistic/cultural level, the recent emergence of 'participatory art' as a genre (Bishop 2012) marks the ongoing development of a politicised thematic focus on questions of authorship, cultural authority and social relations in artistic movements (Bourriaud 2002; Corris 2006). However, beyond studies of participation in art as a symbolic/political activity, the range of practices involved in its production and consumption have rarely been described as an interrelated set of situated social processes.

Bringing together scholars working on a variety of fields (partner dance, choreography, visual art, music, TV production), this panel offers a range of empirical studies of various forms of participation in aesthetic activities and contexts, and proposes new opportunities for the study of artistic and aesthetic activities from an EM/CA perspective.

As the program of 'practical aesthetics' (Heath&vom Lehn 2004) has demonstrated, participation is a key notion for understanding how aesthetic experience emerges in and through interaction and, reflexively, what kind of interaction it generates. Seminal studies of visitors' conduct in museums (Heath&vom Lehn 2001) have revealed how the dynamics of visitors' co-presence is central to their mutually attentive experience of exhibits. This empirical work of observing and describing the finely tuned procedures of embodied coordination in socio-aesthetic contexts has enabled a detailed re-examination of Goffman's (1981) 'participation framework', with implications for its broad influence in sociology, linguistics, anthropology and related fields.

The studies gathered here extend this program in different ways. Firstly, they investigate settings involving multi-party interactions (music rehearsals, dance lessons, broadcast production, curatorial practices) in which members (professionals or amateurs) do not only experience an ostensibly 'aesthetic' object/event, but are 'officially' engaged in its production and its simultaneous evaluation. The core issue for aesthetics at the micro-sociological level, then, is to understand how participants do what they do together – and what they actually participate in.

Secondly, they draw attention to a range of interactional phenomena that suggest critical perspectives on the question of participation in art: can the bodily coordination of dance partners, the collaborative work of musicians and trainers, and the cooperative production of cultural artefacts be drawn together as empirically related forms of socio-aesthetic participation?

Finally, the papers track how participants develop, orient to and display normative expectations of aesthetic objects/events in their different domains of practice, while also constituting a group of competent aesthetic evaluators and relevant methods and parameters for co-assessment.

By analyzing participation as a vocal, temporal, spatial, bodily, material accomplishment, these papers contribute to illuminating the relevance of such detailed analysis for the understanding of art and aesthetics. Moreover, this panel should offer the first opportunity to gather researchers who share an interest in interactional accounts of aesthetics that are emerging from context-centred studies in galleries, exhibitions, performances, concerts, as well as in more generalised studies of social action and the epistemics of taste.

#### **Dancing through Time and Space**

#### SAUL ALBERT

#### **Queen Mary University of London**

There is currently a considerable interest in dance, both in public and academic discourse. Televised dance competitions, YouTube channels devoted to particular styles, a revival of dance halls and a range of events all over the UK and elsewhere bear testimony to people's engagement in dance. Aside from anthropological studies of cultural tradition, the social and cognitive sciences have shown relatively little interest in dance. Recently, however, dance has become an increasingly important phenomenon through which researchers can access the social, cognitive and material resources through which people are able to coordinate joint actions. Studies of dance have allowed researchers to revisit themes and issues including materiality, the body and embodiment, coordination and collaboration that over the past few decades have moved from the periphery to the centre of cognitive science (Kirsh 2011; Kirsh et al. 2011) and sociology (Broth & Keevallik 2014; Bassetti 2014; Kleiner 2009).

Through detailed examination of improvisation by professional dancers we will explore how partner dancers manage time and space as intertwined interactional accomplishments. This focus proposes a fresh approach to these key phenomena that have either become peripheral to sociology - such as theories of of time and space preoccupied with the "structuration" of society (Giddens 1979) – or have approached "time" (Flaherty 2010) and "space" (Loew 2008) separately as distinct phenomena.

Partner dance provides us with a domain where we can investigate the social and interactional production of time and space through the detailed organization of participants' vocal and bodily, multimodal, actions. Our analysis examines how participants produce and orient to temporal and spatial relationships in the course of a dance performance.

#### Synchronizing the Bodies in a Dance Class

#### LEELO KEEVALLIK

#### Linköping University

Based on video-recorded dance classes in different languages, this paper focuses on how participation in actual dance is shaped by the teachers' use of non-linguistic voice effects (such as daa-dah zi-ki-dah), clapping and stomping. It presents an analysis of the moment-by-moment opportunities for the students to be "on time", or else fail to participate, and shows how the quality of student performance is constantly monitored through these very same embodied sounding practices.

Dance classes are commonly organized as interchanging segments of instruction and practice. In order to coordinate the transition from instruction to practice the teachers produce a prosodically and lexically conventionalized (numerical) count-in. The count-in provides the students with a public rhythm and a projectable time-frame for taking the very first dance step. While variations in student preparation occur, inability to be on time for the first beat of the dance constitutes a failure to normatively participate in the exercise. After the count-in the teachers continue to sing, clap, stomp, speak rhythmically, or vocalize in order to synchronize the bodies until the exercise ends. Sounding practices thereby constitute the temporal backbone of dance teaching and crucially craft student participation.

In the vocalizations the teachers make use of sound symbolism and indexical voice modulations to convey the recommendable aesthetic qualities of the dance. Loudness and pitch peaks mark bodily accents in the step sequences, vowel length indexes the duration of a move, and stops are used for sharpness. Extreme prosody is deployed in order to elicit distinct physical efforts from the students at specific moments in time. Typically for the activity, instruction through the sounding practices and the embodied responses to them are simultaneous. Sounding is thus a teachers' device of synchronizing and controlling other bodies in real time.

#### The Aesthetics of the Performing Body

#### **DARREN REED**

#### **University of York**

In teaching others to play a classical piece, the musical masterclass tutor makes claims about the quality and qualities of a performance. They do this in the presence of others, typically an audience of peers. While framed as having superior epistemic access, these claims are nevertheless a matter of interaction and negotiation. At the same time, the classical performance is essentially embodied. This is most obvious and prominent in voice training, with the body taking the place of the musical instrument, but is also seen in discussion of the embodied character of all performance.

The data in this study is taken from a multi-master interaction. The three masters (a singer, an instrumentalist, and an Alexander technique therapist) each bring different perspectives to bear on the instructional interaction. We centre the analysis on the Alexander Technique training which priorities the "natural" and untarnished body as the ideal foundation for optimum aesthetic performance in terms of biomechanical functioning and expressive capacity and control.

The natural original body is manifested in the instructional interaction between the Alexander Technique master and the student. We will focus on those moments of 'proof' in which the verbal and physical interventions are made relevant to the activity of performance. Such interactions pursue a phenomenology of experience that simultaneously contextualises and quantifies the value of the intervention through a complex negotiation of individual embodied experience and its public acknowledgement.

Optimum physical performance is only one part of the ascription and negotiation of value to the intervention; it must be accompanied by collective judgment of sentiment and taste on the part of those present if it is to be judged an aesthetic advantage. As we will see this requires the elaboration of sensory-emotional value in line with a collective appreciation of taste in those moments when the student re-performs the piece.

# Artworks as Collaborative Accomplishments: Assessing and Instructing Action during the Setting-Up of an Installation

#### YAËL KREPLAK

#### **EHESS**

In a seminal paper (1974), Becker proposed to describe "art as collective action", which led him to define artworks as products of the cooperation of various people (artists, museum staff members, critics, visitors...) involved in their production, circulation, exhibition etc. The legacy of the art worlds' theory is still vivid, and numerous studies keep investigating the distribution of work within different artistic contexts. But how do these people actually, in their ordinary activities, cooperate? What do they do together and how? Drawing on EM/CA insights to investigate artistic practices as collaborative activities, I propose a change of focus: from the description of forms of cooperation within large-scale activities to the fine-grained analysis of the organization of participation within situated interactions.

For this presentation I will provide a single-case analysis of a data fragment from a video-ethnography conducted in a contemporary art center during an exhibition's preparation. In this data, the artist and 4 staff members are collaboratively working on the setting-up of an installation, each of them being focused on a specific task (cleaning something, hanging drawings on a wall, disposing objects).

Inspired by the WPS approach, I shall describe the space of the artwork at that particular moment as a workplace, in order to investigate members' situated procedures for coordinating their different courses of action and monitoring the ongoing arrangement of the artwork. In this context, assessing what has been done and giving/asking for instruction as to what comes next is a crucial organizational resource. Sequences of instruction and assessment therefore offer a perspicuous locus to analyze different intertwined phenomena related to issues of participation:

- how participants shift from copresence to active collaboration;
- how they orient to relevant membership categorization devices by displaying different forms of involvement;
- how they actually participate in the artwork's continuous elaboration.

### **Showing but Unnoticed: Accomplishing the Invisibility of Camera-Work in TV Production**

#### **M**ATHIAS BROTH

#### **Linköping University**

This presentation explores, using EMCA methodology, the situated practices through which a French TV-crew make camera-work unnoticeable to viewers. Camera operators constitute a defining category of any TV production, without whom there would be no footage to broadcast. Although camera operators' participation is therefore crucial to the mediatisation of all sorts of interactional events, they ordinarily pass remarkably unnoticed by TV viewers. Analysis deals with how this unnoticability is accomplished, through an on-going aesthetic orientation to operator invisibility. The study is based on recordings of the French monthly debate show Rideau Rouge, broadcast live on TV5 International. Five different productions were video recorded in 2003-2004, using three cameras placed in the control room, and yielding 3 x 7.5 hours of video documented TV production work.

Broadly speaking, two aspects of camera shots may attract attention to camera operators: camera operators or recording equipment that become visible in another camera operator's shot, and hasty, unfocused or otherwise "unfinished" shots. The director of the show, who ongoingly monitors operator shots as they appear in the bank of screens in the control room, very much avoids putting such shots on the air. When the team is live, the five camera operators also maximise the time when their shots are stable and carefully avoid "shooting and being shot by their colleagues".

For operators to understand how to "safely" reposition their cameras and from where to shoot their assigned studio guests requires them to ongoingly perform sophisticated analyses of the broadcast studio debate. To know which camera operator's line of shooting is to be avoided at what point in time, operators need to attend both to the studio debate's current participation framework, including current and projectable discourse identities, local turn-taking rules, and also to spatial relations between operators and debate participants in the studio.

#### **DESCRIPTION OF THE PANEL**

#### **Learning Participation in Traffic**

#### MATHIAS BROTH & ARNULF DEPPERMANN<sup>2</sup>

#### <sup>1</sup>Linköping University; <sup>2</sup>University of Mannheim

In driving school interaction, there are two participation frameworks in play: the interaction between instructor and student and the interaction between them and other traffic participants. A major part of learning how to drive consists in learning how to coordinate one's actions as a driver with the actions of other road users. Participation in traffic involves being able to react to and anticipate others' actions as well as displaying to third parties what oneself is up to, enabling others' anticipation of own actions. The particulars of turn-construction and of the sequential organization of orienting to third parties in driving school interaction are crucially informed by the fact that adaptive reactions are usually immediately relevant, need to be enacted by competent bodily action which determines the car's behavior and have to respond to multiple simultaneously relevant properties of a spatial configuration which is continuously in flux and which is reflexively changed by the driver's own actions. In learning situations, considered in all contributions, required skills and ways of seeing the world so as to competently participate in traffic are systematically made public, and available for study.

This panel deals with how instructors and students orient to the requirements of adapting driving to the presence and activity of other traffic participants. Issues to be dealt with may relate to one or more of the following topics:

Categorization of third parties and their action-relevance: How are other traffic participants categorized? Which rationales of action-relevance inform their categorization (e.g. being dangerous, vulnerable, unpredictable)? And how is other-categorization used to inform driving options?

Self-categorization and projecting own actions publicly for other participants: How does a student learn to communicate his upcoming actions to other traffic participants (by means of e.g. indicators and position on the road)?

Anticipation of and reaction to others' actions: How do instructors support students in identifying relevant properties and in anticipating upcoming possible or probable actions of other road users?

Turn-construction concerning the invocation of relevant third parties: How do teachers draw students' attention to other participants in the face of visible availability and time constraints? How do they index relevant features and requirements for driver's action?

Sequential organization of action adapting to the presence of third parties: When and how do students display their understanding of situated relevancies of orienting to third parties verbally and/or by embodied driving reactions? How are negotiations concerning the meaning or the situated, action-related relevance of properties of other traffic participants organized?

Direct negotiation with third parties: In which occasions do driver and teacher enter into negotiation of action coordination with third parties? How are such negotiations performed multimodally? How are they related to processes of dealing with coordination requirements which are rather rule-governed?

The relevance of spatial and mobile environments for driving: How do they constrain teaching and learning participation and how are they used as a resource?

The panel thus aims to extend current interaction theory on participation to the mobile interaction.

#### Showing where you're going: Self-Categorisation and Participation in Live Traffic

#### LENA LEVIN<sup>1</sup>, MATHIAS BROTH<sup>2</sup> & JAKOB CROMDAL<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Swedish National Road and Transport Institute; <sup>2</sup>Linköping University

This study is about how student drivers are taught and learn how to participate, competently, in live traffic. It focuses on practices of "selfcategorisation", whereby the car is made accountable to other road users. The latter are thereby given the possibility to understand just how the car should be treated and how to coordinate themselves with it. The study takes an EMCA multimodal interaction analysis approach, and is based on video recordings of four complete series of driving lessons in a driving school in Sweden (120 hours in total). One of the self-categorisation activities most frequently taught, monitored, reminded about and repaired by instructors concerns the relevance of activating the indicator following an instruction to make a turn. The instructional work aimed at having the driver student eventually activate the indicator autonomously - so as to allow others to categorise their publicly available "shell" as an upcoming starting, turning or lane-changing vehicle – takes several forms. These forms are different in different steps of the learning process. Early on, student drivers are taught how to operate the indicator and that the indicator is an important means of communication with surrounding traffic. During later stages instructors may point out the relevant absence of activating the indicator by stating that the indicator should be activated, repeating the instruction to turn, or asking open questions about what should be done. These verbal moves are responsive to relevant but missing steps in emergent driving procedures performed by the student driver. On occasion, the reason for activating the indicator is made explicit by the instructor; the indicator should be activated "so that others know where you're going". Such explications re-establish the most often implicit link between the routinely expected activation of the indicator inside the cabin and the car as a social object in traffic.

# Accomplishing Intersubjectivity in a Fragile Ecology: Negotiating Coordination of Actions in Traffic

#### **ARNULF DEPPERMANN**

#### **University of Mannheim**

Goffman (1971) considered the flow of pedestrians on a sidewalk as a most basic site of the constitution of social order: It requires the mutual coordination of body movements in order not to collide. The same task has to be continuously dealt with by drivers and other road participants. However, conditions for establishing intersubjective coordination are aggravated in this case because of the fast change of spatial conditions and increased danger arising from the velocity of cars, multiple possible relevancies for action and foci of attention which multiple traffic participants may orient to at the same time, thus failing to establish joint attention, and reduced possibilities for mutual monitoring because of limited sight, long distances between participants, short time frames for mutual monitoring, etc.

Drawing on a corpus of 70 hours of video-recordings from driving school lessons in German, this paper discusses tasks, problems and practices of intersubjective coordination among traffic participants. Driving school interactions are a perspicuous setting for participants' dealing with these tasks, because learning how to coordinate one's own driving with the actions of other participants is a prime objective of learning. It becomes explicitly topicalized by instructors and is practically dealt with in the lessons, offering situated model solutions to be transferred to future coordination tasks. The paper specifically deals with the issue of anticipating others' actions and using these anticipations for the design of one's own driving actions. In order to deal with this issue, instructors and learners can either rely on rule-based and probability-based practices (like expecting others to respect traffic regulations) or to (try to) enter into situated negotiation with other traffic participants about action coordination. The paper presents how both strategies (and, at times, their relationship) are formulated in driving instructions, and it discusses parameters which inform the choice between them.

# Who's the Driver? Managing Diverging Action Projections in Driving Lessons

#### Anne-Danièle Gazin<sup>1</sup> & Elwys De Stefani<sup>2</sup>

#### <sup>1</sup>Universität Bern; <sup>2</sup>KU Leuven

Driving lessons provide a propitious setting for observing how participation in different, though interconnected courses of action is managed. Interaction between student drivers and instructors (De Stefani & Gazin 2014) is consequential for how the "car" interacts, as an accountable participant, with other road users. In this presentation we focus on situations in which student drivers and instructors respond in diverging ways to other traffic participants' actions. Diverging orientations towards the next action (e.g. stopping before a pedestrian crossing vs. driving on) are crucial moments in which instructors and student drivers negotiate the responsibility of what becomes visible to other road users as the "car's" action. Student drivers may align with or circumvent instructors' action projections, and they can be held accountable for disaligning. However, with regard to other traffic participants, instructors systematically display full responsibility of the "car's" traffic behaviour: This can be seen in short exchanges (e.g. mutual thank-you gestures) regularly occurring between instructors and other road users. Based on a corpus of 7 video-recorded driving lessons (Italian), our analyses allow us to identify three interrelated participation frameworks: a) interaction between instructors and student drivers, b) interaction between the "car" and other road users, c) interaction between responsible "drivers". Furthermore, we show that being an "instructor" not only entails displaying epistemic superiority (Heritage 2012) with respect to "student drivers"; with respect to other road users, "instructors" behave as "drivers" by exhibiting accountability for the "car's" actions.

### Participation in the Flow: Instructing Velocity for Older Drivers

#### MIRKA RAUNIOMAA

#### **University of Oulu**

The flow of traffic in urban environments is dependent on road users coordinating their movement with others. Car drivers, for instance, are expected not only to follow general traffic rules, but also to interpret the current traffic situation and take into account what other drivers, cyclists as well as pedestrians are doing at that moment and what they are projecting to do next. One interesting context for such coordination are different kinds of junctions, e.g. circular junctions and motorway entries, where drivers have to adjust the velocity of the vehicle to that of others' and make available to others the intended trajectory of the vehicle in appropriate ways. This paper examines how, inside an instrumented car during a driving lesson, the instructor and/or the trainee driver orient to and establish the relevance of velocity. The focus of the paper is on the vocal and embodied actions of the participants, and on the sequential and temporal organization of those actions. Orientation to velocity may involve, among other things, the instructor pointing out to the driver how one is to adjust one's speed and drawing the driver's attention both to available resources and potential constraints, or the trainee driver displaying that certain aspects of ajdusting the velocity of the vehicle may be problematic or challenging. In exploring co-ordination in traffic through orientation to velocity, the paper considers participation in terms of how the instructor guides the driver to enter and keep up with the flow of traffic in ways that are appropriate for the situation. The paper draws on video recordings of voluntary post-licence training for older drivers (about 10 hours; in Finnish); that is, the training involves participants who have a valid driving licence but who have not driven a car for a long time and have little driving experience overall.

#### **DESCRIPTION OF THE PANEL**

### More Than Meets The Eye: Perception and Participation

#### KRISTIAN MORTENSEN & SPENCER HAZEL

#### **University of Southern Denmark**

Goffman observed how relative distance in a spatial environment impacts on how people experience "with the naked senses" (Goffman, 1963) different social configurations – copresence, gatherings, situations and social occasions. Extending this work, Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis have investigated how participation frameworks (Goffman, 1981) are brought into being, from prospective participants' initial perceiving of one another onwards (Mondada, 2009; Mortensen & Hazel, 2014). Here, then, the notion of copresence forms a perceptual common ground around which sustained social encounters are formed, maintained and coordinated.

That people remain alert to others – and their actions - in their wider perceptual field builds on research in social visual interaction, which demonstrates that people perceive more than what is in their foveal vision. On a broader phenomenological level, all of our senses are in constant engagement with sounds, smells and so on 'being there' (Merleau-Ponty, 1962/2004) as ubiquitous sensory objects for perceiving bodies (Gibson, 1979), and resources for action formation.

This does, however, present a challenge to researchers working within the CA paradigm, especially with regard to one of its most basic methodological tenets – the emic perspective. Here, to support analytic claims that some auditory, visual or haptic action has been perceived by other participants, the participant must demonstratively and explicitly display that the prior action has been perceived. So where researchers seek to describe a participant's attentional field, they rely on said participants to demonstrate through observable indices how their orientational fields are distributed. Yet interactional practices pertaining to the maintenance of focused encounters (e.g., Goodwin, 1981; Kendon, 1990), or attentional demands relating to the undertaking of particular concerted activities may constrain the availability of sequentially local observable displays that evidence a person's perceptual or attentional range at any given moment.

This panel brings a number of papers together that explore socially distributed perception from a praxeological approach. The papers feature data from a range of settings, with each focusing on the intersectoral environments between copresence, peripheral- and mutually-oriented participation, and the practical concerns members face in navigating these stretches. The panel seeks to draw the methodological conundrum in from its own periphery in interaction analytic research, in order to discuss how one is able to square the circle. This is especially relevant for research on participation formats that are organized as concerted action within a shared space, where co-present and co-participant members are required to organize their attention and their bodies in concert with others.

The panel hopes to discuss such questions as those relating to:

- The sequential environment of orientation displays: how can we account for a co-participant 'orienting to' another's action, but not in next position?
- Multimodal crossing: how do we account for orientation displays that are produced with resources that diverge from the initial stimulus, for example a gaze shift, a grunt or a suspension of activity in response to another's movement in space?
- How are we able to account for co-present activities being either 'coincidental' or systematic, for example when observing members working concurrently within one another's periphery?

# Individual Writing in a Social Environment: Perceiving Actions of 'Other' in the Peripheral Vision

#### KRISTIAN MORTENSEN & CATHERINE E. BROUWER

#### **University of Southern Denmark**

A methodological principle in CA is that participants build action together by incorporating, building on, modifying and so on co-participants' actions in the previous sequential environment (e.g., Goodwin, 2013). An analytic key notion here is to show how participants themselves orient to others' actions and the situated resources used to perform them, that is how they make publically available that and how they understood the previous action(s).

This presentation departs in the observation that during design activities in which participants make individual notes while watching a video together, they frequently write at the same time; and frequently do not write at the same time. However, participants' explicit visual orientation to one another is quite rare and more often than not the co-occurrence of writing emerges, is maintained and abandoned without such public and visual displays towards the co-participants and their ongoing actions.

Assuming that 'there is order at all points' we investigate participants' practices for managing the co-occurrence of writing and non-writing rather than to submerse such activities as mere coincidence. That is, we explore to what extent 'individual' writing can be seen as a sequential, and thus cooperative endeavor rather than as a purely individual task. We argue that participants are perceptually aware of one another and the actions that they are performing through their perceptual field of vision despite having their primary focus of attention directed elsewhere (e.g., the video on the screen). The paper adds to a discussion of how action formation is accomplished by drawing on various materials in participants' perceptual environment.

### The Embodied Work of Fostering Participation in Workshops

#### MIE FEMØ NIELSEN<sup>1</sup> & SPENCER HAZEL<sup>2</sup>

#### <sup>1</sup>Copenhagen University; <sup>2</sup> University of Southern Denmark

Many institutional processes are designed to involve stakeholders in strategic development. This serves, for example, to afford members 'ownership' of a strategy, to gain support for an initiative, or to ensure that people engage in developing something that would be of strategic interest for the organization. Workshops have come to play a larger role in attempting to facilitate this, based on an understanding of the benefits of getting members to 'participate', to be participants in a process of sorts.

Participation is an object that can be studied on many levels. Workshop attendance is one kind of participation, being willing to contribute to a conversation is another. With the workshop being occasioned as a shared forum for members to contribute their own perspectives, it is incumbent on those present to negotiate the fine balance between participants' different levels of engagement over the course of the event.

The management of such changing configurations, where parties to this participatory project coordinate fluctuating frames of engagement, ranging from the liminal positions of the attendant overhearer and potential next speaker to fully ratified floor-holder, is a practical problem for the attendant members. It involves an ongoing mutual monitoring between participants, in order to achieve the grounds for the shifts in interactional space necessary to enable contributions from all members. Professional facilitators use the concept 'drawing participants out' to describe the work they do in order to help persons respond to the talk of co-participants and suggest things themselves.

We zoom in on this embodied process of 'drawing people out'. We explore the resources that facilitators use (objects, gaze, body posture, facial expression) to show participants that it would be welcome and relevant for them to contribute with talk, thereby occasioning reconfigurations of the participation framework that serve the overall participatory democratic aims of the workshops.

#### **Perceiving Gesture, Sensing Action**

#### JÜRGEN STREECK

#### The University of Texas at Austin

In my paper I will explore an analytic conundrum that gestures (and other body motions) present: they are visual phenomena for others, but kinesthetic (proprioceptive) phenomena for self. This poses a conundrum because, given the well-taken insistence by conversation analysts that only publicly accessible phenomena be taken into account, as only they are available to others. Yet, motion always has a kinesthetic dimension; motor control is impossible without kinesthesia. Gesture is under the control of the 'haptic system' (Gibson).

Examining a number of cases from a variety of contexts and language communities, I show how this 'duality of perception' of gestures works to the participants' advantage. Of central importance is that gestures are actions that produce feelings of action: they provide speakers with enactive schemata, i.e., schemata that are often (usually 'bleached') versions of familiar actions in the material world. They offer the 'significances' of these felt actions (their 'grasp' of a part of the world) up for the sense-making of both parties, because they are abstracted from shared experiential grounds.

The cases all instantiate a common 'placement' feature of gestures: they are made prior to (or into the beginning of) the units of talk to which they appear to be linked. I will thus explore how the dual perception of gestures might work in this kind of context, i.e., where gestures are 'pre-s', specifically where gestures prefigure aspects of subsequent action. Gestures enable the co-anticipation of action. This gives them particular importance in the management of interactional participation and the distribution of agency.

### **Audible Practices of 'Seeing'** in Image-Interpretation Intensive Work

#### **ERYN WHITWORTH**

#### The University of Texas at Austin

During a Minimally Invasive Cardiac Surgery a doctor and nurse face the problem of carrying out highly interdependent work using a combination of computing technologies and surgical instruments while having little access to one another. They can each view a common set of medical images displayed in two rooms. The tip of each other's technology is visible in these images, but they cannot see one another. They can speak to one another using mic'd headsets. I conceptualize this access as disjointed "worlds-at-hand" and "worlds-in-sight" (Streeck, 2009, p. 51-84).

Under these conditions the pair negotiates the following image interpretation intensive process (IIIP): (a) identify a problem in the electrocardiograms (ECGs), (b) find and test candidate sources of problems, (c) "burn" confirmed sources destroying heart tissue as treatment, and (d) verify treatment success. Each stage of IIIP requires the pair's coordination, achieved by mutual orientation via few access channels.

Interestingly the pairs' work negotiating IIIP is accomplished with minimal activity. Each participant fixes his gaze on the medical images, and their engagement is primarily silent. A participant's talk and/or gaze shifts may indicate orientation to, or index of: phenomena viewable in medical images, or actions he or his partner takes.

I describe the praxeology of 'seeing' (Goodwin, 1994; 2000; Goodwin & Goodwin, 1998; Coulter & Parsons, 1990) as a multimodal display of epistemic stance in IIIP. The first and last stages of IIIP, (a) and (d), are the least and most epistemically determinate; these organize my analysis of what might be going on in between. Within stages (b) and (c) I note practices of hedging, qualifying, and naming interpretations to one's own assertion, coincident with use of prosodic contours, syllable elongation, and clipped turn-terminal speech-rate.

### Forklift Flow: Concerted Action in a Warehouse

#### **DENNIS DAY & JOHANNES WAGNER**

#### **University of Southern Denmark**

This contribution reports research into the ethnomethods of forklift drivers undergoing certification as they carry out tasks in a warehouse at a forklift training centre. Our data consists of video recordings from 15 training days, using 4-5 cameras with 3 of them mounted within the forklift cabins. We show how forklift drivers, to cite Livingston (1987: 84) from his work on car driving, 'produce and maintain the witnessable details of their local driving circumstances'. Unlike participating in talk-in-interaction, forklift driving with others is comprised of multiple concurrent activities where the only common goal is to avoid collision with or to otherwise hinder other drivers. While similar to driving a car, driving a forklift is different - there are no lane markings, there are no turn signals, drivers are always alone in their cabins, etc. There are thus limited resources with which to compose action formats for making details witnessable as accountable-reportable and thereby for making next actions appear predictable. We look at two situations, one where forklift traffic flows smoothly and one where it does not. We report on how the two scenes became so recognisable to us and, we claim, to the drivers themselves. Specifically we describe the detailed ways drivers individually move their machines such that they produce concerted activity, making note of such things as the number of discreet movements, their direction, tempo, fluidity and consequentiality for some next movement. In this way they, to quote Garfinkel (1996:10), 'treat the organizational thing as of their doing, as of their own doing, but not of their very own, singular, distinctive authorship'.

#### **DESCRIPTION OF THE PANEL**

### The Emergence of Participation: A Developmental Perspective

#### IRIS NOMIKOU<sup>1</sup> & CAROLIN DEMUTH<sup>2</sup>

#### <sup>1</sup>Bielefeld University; <sup>2</sup>Aalborg University

The panel addresses the question of how infants become participants of culturally organized social interaction.

Starting from birth, infants participate in interactions. In their interactions with caregivers and peers, socialization practices enable or constrain participation, and foster culturally appropriate ways of participation according to socialization goals. This is evident in the way in which activities are organized.

The focus of this panel is to shed light on the ways in which early interactions are organized moment to accommodate the behavior of the infant or young child. For this purpose, it includes studies from a variety of socio-cultural communities. Special focus is laid on the multimodal resources (especially, resources other than speech) used by interacting partners, which enable, craft, foster, or constrain participation.

Furthermore, focus is laid on the development of participation over time. How does the history of interaction between participants shape the culturally distinctive pattern of interactions?

The contributions included in this panel share the common focus of addressing very early interactions involving infants and toddlers and their development as participants. At the same time it is composed of contributions originating from different cultural communities, thus illuminating the processes from various perspectives.

From the variety of cultural perspectives represented in the symposium we hope to contribute to a deeper understanding of the complex and dynamic nature of participation and the developmental aspects involved.

### **Turn-taking in Protoconversations between Mothers and 3-to 4-Month-Old Infants**

### MAYA GRATIER<sup>1</sup>, BAHIA GUELLAI<sup>1</sup> & EMMANUEL DEVOUCHE<sup>2</sup>

#### <sup>1</sup>Université Paris Ouest Nanterre; <sup>2</sup>Université Paris Descartes

Infants are known to engage in conversation-like exchanges from the end of the second month after birth. These 'protoconversations' involve both turntaking and overlapping vocalization. Previous research has shown that the timing of adult-infant turn-taking sequences is close to that of adult verbal conversation. The gap between turns in protoconversational exchange seldom exceeds 500ms. It has also been shown that young infants adjust the quality of their vocalization in response to the quality and timing of adult vocalization. Furthermore, turn-taking exchanges often involve mutual imitation of sounds, pitches and melodic contours. We present new evidence of the temporal organization and prosodic caracteristics of turn-taking interaction between mothers and 2-to 4-month-olds, recorded in naturalistic contexts, based on a corpus of recordings from 80 dyads. Turn-taking sequences were found to occur in bouts ranging from 6 to 12 seconds. The gap between turns was longer when infants responded to mothers than when mothers responded to infants. The quality and duration of infant vocalizations differed according to whether or not they were produced within a turn-taking sequence, and whether they initiated and concluded a protoconversational sequence. Finally, longer turn-taking sequences contained proportionately more vocal imitation of sound, pitch and melodic contour. Furthemore, a comparison of turn-taking sequences at 2 and 4 months yielded a number of developmental findings. Older infants initiated turn-taking sequences more often than younger infants. Turn-taking sequences were longer on averge with older than with younger infants and we found proportionately less overlapping vocalization in older than in younger infants. These findings suggest that infants are active participants in social interaction from the first weeks of life and that adults intuitively recognise their ability to initiate interaction and to respond to them in a coordinated and coherent manner. Developmental change in the forms of parent-infant vocal engagement might reflect a process of socialization of the infant into cultural communicative norms and habits

#### Becoming a Participant: Shaping Infants' Dialogical Actions in Repeated Interactions

### IRIS NOMIKOU<sup>1</sup>, KATHARINA ROHLFING<sup>1</sup> & JOANNA RĄCZASZEK-LEONARDI<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Bielefeld University; <sup>2</sup>University of Warsaw

How do infants become participants of culturally organized social interactions? This paper will suggest that it is through the participation in interactions in which they are treated as participants (Zukow-Goldring, 1996; Trevarthen, 1979, De Leon, 2000). It will be argued that in everyday interactions infants' behavior is gradually and age-dependently shaped to fit interactive episodes in which it acquires systemic (dialogical) meaning.

The paper draws from a longitudinal video corpus of 17 German mother-infant dyads which were filmed on a monthly basis starting when the infants were three months old and until they became eight months old.

By looking at the sequential organization of verbal and non-verbal resources used in routine activities, the analysis will focus on the ways in which the infants' behavior is sequentially embedded to form part of the ongoing activity. Furthermore, by following interactions over time, it will be shown how the shaping of behaviors takes place through repetitive interactions.

More specifically, it will be shown how caregivers:

- create slots for particular behaviors
- treat the infant as being intentional
- grant the infant an active role in the unfolding event

This way the infant experiences his or her behavior as being meaningful, as it is embedded in goal directed activities in which it has a function.

With these practices, it will be argued that, the infant learns:

- to act a part in a dialogical system,
- how own actions constrain others' actions and become interactional affordances

#### Grounding Participation: Exploring the Interactional Organisation of Postpartum Depressed Mothers and Infants

### VALENTINA FANTASIA<sup>1</sup>, LAURA GALBUSERA<sup>2</sup> & ALESSANDRA FASULO<sup>1</sup>

#### <sup>1</sup>University of Portsmouth; <sup>2</sup>University of Heidelberg

To date, studies in postpartum depression (PPD) have mainly focused on early intersubjective failures in mother-infant interactions, often attributed to specific behaviours by the mother. This view is unidirectional and does not consider the dynamical and reciprocal nature of interactions. The aim of the present study was to explore how depressed and non-depressed motherinfant dyads coordinate aspects of timing and sequential organisation in face to face interactions, in terms actions, vocalisations, posture, affect display and gaze; and how this interactional organisation support or reduce the infant's participation. To do so, we selected five fragments from a corpus of videorecordings of PPD and non-PPD mothers and their 3-month-old infants interacting in the lab. Sequences of behaviour as they dynamically occur have been analysed through detailed qualitative microanalysis. Results showed that PPD mothers had difficulties in organising narrative-like formats of action, with clear marking of boundaries (e.g. opening and closing), pauses as space for transitions and alternation of turns. Their behaviour was often persistent, showing difficulties in the temporal and affective alignment and a restricted use of multimodal resources. As a result, the infants had little space for action (e.g. initiate a new activity). On the contrary, non-depressed mothers marked interactional boundaries very clearly, organising action sequences into turn formats with pauses in between, which allowed participants to monitor each other's affect and negotiate meanings and turns. Furthermore, these mothers created recipient designed configurations of action using sound, gesture, facial expressions (e.g. with peaks of excitement, prosody modulation and so on). To conclude, our microanalysis suggests a strong connection between the maternal capacity to read and align with the infant's behaviour and the interactional design, which in turns shapes the possibilities for the infant's participation, especially in the case of PPD.

#### Ways with Words, Songs, Body and Voice: Cultural Forms of Crafting Infant Participation through Proto-Musical Communication

#### **CAROLIN DEMUTH**

#### **Aalborg University**

The study investigates culturally organized forms of participation that emerge in interactions with preverbal infants. In particular it explores how 'proto-musical' communication and rhythmic engagement between mother and infant enable, craft, foster, or constrain the infants participation. Musicality is a general feature of proto-conversation and a form of meaningful engagement that contributes to intersubjective experience. There exist, however, also large cultural varieties of how these vocal and embodied interactions are structured.

The study draws on a comparative design of mother-infant free play interactions among the Nso in the Village Kikaikelaki in Northwestern Cameroon and families in the German city of Münster. We will present examples from a larger data corpus of a total of 40 video recordings of mothers and their three-months old infants interacting in their home environment. The study takes a Conversation Analysis approach taking into account the joint co-construction of the sequential organization of turn-taking through a variety of verbal, vocal as well as embodied resources such as body movements, gaze, gesture, and facial expressions. The analytical focus is on sequences of singing and musical communication.

The findings reveal culturally distinct forms of participation in 'proto-musical' communication: The Münster interactions were structured in ways that enable the child's participation in reciprocal turn-taking through mirroring movements, gentle touching and mutual gaze. Singing was overall not very predominant. The Nso interactions were characterized by choral vocalization, highly rhythmic singing and chiming enabling the child's participation in joint vocal chorusing and full-bodied movement.

The different forms of crafting the child's participation can be conceived as distinct ways of building rapport and (inter)subjectivity that will ultimately lead to qualitatively different kinds of jointness across dyads and groups. Overall, the findings suggest that already in early infancy, participation is characterized by a dynamic and complex culture-specific organization of multi-modal resources.

### Socialization of Toddlers through Participating in Singing and Dancing Activities

#### AKIRA TAKADA

#### **Kyoto University**

Previous studies have shown that Jul'hoan (a subgroup of the San) children were not weaned until they were four years of age. After this long period of nursing, children would then shift their strong attachment to a multi-aged child group. These characteristics are considered intrinsic to a nomadic lifestyle that requires a long period of socialization. For reconsidering these characteristics, I conducted research in North-Central Namibia among the !Xun, who have been closely associated with Bantu agro-pastoralists and are the neighbor of the Jul'hoan, to examine their child-group interactions. Weaning of !Xun children today occurs during the second year after birth. After weaning, these children became involved in multi-aged child group, Their activities play a considerable role in childcare. !Xun child groups usually operate outside of adult supervision. The singing of, and dancing to, songs, most of which originated in agro-pastoral societies, are major activities for girls' groups. !Xun children actively incorporate these new aspects into their play. In this presentation, I analyze how young children start engaging in such multiparty embodied activities of singing and dancing. The examples show that various participation frameworks wherein a 2-year-old child was involved in singing and dancing activities. The participation frameworks of these examples were different with regard to (1) the configuration of the direction and extent of the participants' attention, (2) the complexity of the activity and the skills required to engage in it, and (3) the semiotic resources used to establish the multiple boundaries of the activity. The examples also have some implications for studies of socialization. Although child groups facilitate rapid changes in San society, they also enable social re-integration. The active imitation observed in their activities contributes importantly to regenerating their social organization.

#### **DESCRIPTION OF THE PANEL**

#### **Participation in Transitions**

#### MIRKA RAUNIOMAA, JOONAS RAMAN & MAARIT SIROMAA

#### **University of Oulu**

This panel focuses on changes in participation, moments of transition in interaction and shifts in social activities. Papers in the panel explore turning points where the interactional roles of participants can be seen to alter in one way or another. Through their vocal and bodily conduct as well as the timing, sequential position and overall design of their actions, participants constantly display varying degrees of orientation and alignment with one another. Furthermore, contributions to the panel discuss how participants co-construct, maintain and modify their social and institutional roles.

The papers recognise that transitions, changes and shifts are accomplished through a range of verbal, bodily and other multimodal, material resources: participants have been shown to draw on, for example, various vocal means, gaze, gesture, bodily orientation and spatial position (e.g. Deppermann, Mondada & Schmitt 2010; Mondada 2012; Schegloff 1998) as well as to orient to, touch and manipulate relevant objects in the setting (e.g. Heath & Luff 2010; Goodwin 2000; Nevile 2007). In line with prior research, the papers shed light on the complexity of ordinary interaction and the relationship of embodied practices to the sequential organization of interaction, turn-taking, turn design and action production, and thus consider language and embodied practices as intricately connected.

The papers address all three thematic areas of the conference, exploring to varying degrees different turn formats, sequential environments and contexts of action. More specifically, they examine processes of transition from one (phase of an) activity to another, such as departures from the staff breakroom, count offs to a song in music performances or shifts from multiactivity to single activities. The papers also show how participation changes as participants adopt different interactional, social and institutional roles, for instance, through turn-holding gestures, through an instructor adopting the position of a novice or through parents socialising their children into nature-related activities.

### One-two vs. One-two-one-two-three-four: Counting off a Song in Live Music

#### SAMU PEHKONEN

#### **University of Tampere**

A count off is a verbal, instrumental or visual cue used in musical performances to ensure a uniform entrance to the music-making by the musicians. The paper examines the multimodal ways in which performers in a live concert achieve this joint orientation to start a song in synchrony. Following the model suggested by Deppermann, Mondada & Schmitt (2010) on how even the most routine transitions in action have to be accomplished by local interactional work of the participants, the paper focuses on achieving joint orientation in a setting where participants have only a limited linguistic means to manage their participation. Rather, they use their bodies (position, posture, direction, gaze, gesture) as well as the socio-spatial resources of the stage (e.g. instruments and other technical equipment) to negotiate the relevance of their projected actions. The paper shows some of the ways the counting off is organized within the transition phase to the next song. It also examines whether the interactional setting affects the form the counting off takes (1-2 or 1-2-1-2-3-4 or replacing some the numbers with hand gestures) or determining which one of the participants initiates the counting off. Finally, a case of an unsuccessful start with a subsequent restart with an alternative count off is analyzed, pointing at some of the other functions count offs may perform especially in the performer-audience interaction. The longitudinal data set analyzed in the paper consists of video recordings of a pop music duo, performing the same song with various guest musicians. The paper addresses especially the thematic area (iii) of the conference, exploring the emergence of participation roles in the context of transition.

### Participation and Mobile Practices in Family Interaction Outdoors

### TIINA KEISANEN, MIRKA RAUNIOMAA & PAULIINA SIITONEN

#### **University of Oulu**

The paper discusses participation by examining mobile practices and processes among families in various nature-related activities (e.g. foraging, hiking or fishing). Building on work that has focused mainly on mobility in built environments, the paper considers how participants move outdoors where their mobility is enabled and constrained by the natural environment. How people position themselves and move around in relation to their surroundings and relevant others is an integral part of how they establish, maintain and disassemble participation dynamically (e.g. LeBaron & Jones 2002; Mondada 2009). The coordination of movement, in conjunction with participants' vocal and bodily conduct, is particularly relevant for accomplishing mobility socially: for instance, participants constantly have to work to maintain their 'togetherness' (McIlvenny 2014). The paper also explores how parents socialize their children into naturerelated activities and make visible the social order of such activities. We can see changes in participation displayed, among other things, as less-experienced participants find out and try out the proper temporal and sequential order of activities. These two aspects of participation - the dynamic adaptation of the interaction space, and becoming a member of a community - are joined together via focus on moments of transition between different phases of activities. The paper draws on video data where families are involved in outdoor activities and discusses how different mobile and manual practices are employed.

### Switching Participatory Roles in Judo Practice

#### JOONAS RAMAN

#### **University of Oulu**

In the context of judo practice embodied means are often the primary method of teaching. It may simply be easier to demonstrate a technique rather than explain it verbally. In judo, majority of the practice happens in pairs: participant is either the tori, the one performing the technique, or uke, the one receiving it. For practice to be efficient, both uke and tori need to work together. They form a participation framework (Goodwin 2007) in which movement is jointly coordinated and communication is primarily done through embodied means. For a novice judoka, timing and choosing the correct response to the partner's movement is often challenging.

This paper will examine the ways judo teachers may adopt the role of either uke or tori in these novice participation frameworks. In these cases the novice participant is replaced by an expert for the purpose of demonstrating the correct way to move and interact as a couple (Broth & Keevallik 2014). This paper examines how the participatory roles and interactional spaces (Mondada 2009) change when the teacher enters the projected physical position and role of a student, and the student transitions to a role of an observer. In addition, this paper will examine how this transition of participatory roles is sequentially achieved through a range of embodied and verbal resources, such as talk, gaze, and body movement (Modaff 2003).

The data for this research comprises of video recordings from Finnish beginner judo classes. Conversation analysis is used as the primary research method in order to highlight the sequential nature of these role transitions. This paper relates to the themes of the conference by examining how changes in physical location, interactional roles, and membership categorization shape the participation.

### **Stopping and Preventing Turn Entry: Gestures as a Tool for Holding on to a Turn**

#### **ANTTI KAMUNEN**

#### University of Oulu

This paper is a part of the panel Participation in transitions. It shows that gestures in talk-in-interaction are used by a current speaker for either stopping or preventing a co-participant from taking a new turn at talk. In this way current speakers can regulate participation (strengthen their own and restrict others') in order to maintain their right to hold the floor. The paper builds upon and complements previous research on the importance of embodied resources in the organisation of turn-taking, especially in group conversations and institutional settings. This research uses the conversation analytic method, and the data used in this paper consists of approximately 6 hours of videoed, naturally occurring conversations, including both native and non-native speakers of English. The findings of this research indicate that speakers actively regulate their interlocutors' participation by using gestures for stopping an already initiated interruptive turn entry in its early stage and gestures applied before a turn entry by a current non-speaker in order to hold on to his/her speakership after having reached turn completion. Furthermore, one separate case suggests that a turnholding gesture can also function as a non-verbal suspension turn, which temporarily halts an on-going course of action when it intersects with another, more urgent action or activity.

# Changing Participation and Accomplishing Transitions between Activities at the Workplace

#### MAARIT SIROMAA & ELISE KÄRKKÄINEN

#### **University of Oulu**

Our paper, a contribution to the panel *Participation in transitions*, addresses theme iii of the conference, or how participation emerges in particular contexts of activity. We examine how participants collectively accomplish transitions at the workplace, either organizing themselves for a new activity or exiting from an ongoing one. Such shifts involve changes in the existing participation frameworks, thus influencing the institutional roles and identities of the participants. We focus on the kind of multimodal resources that are used to accomplish such transitions: what verbal and bodily cues are used to implement them and how the surrounding objects and the arrangement of the room may influence them.

More specifically, we will examine how the technical crew of an American theatre group accomplishes an institutional routine by making a transition from the on-stage rehearsal to a subsequent technical meeting. A routine way to start the meeting largely (even though not exclusively) relies on the participation framework between two central participants, the technical manager and the director, who reflexively orient to the beginning of the meeting, first through bodily actions and then through talk. Another example in our data shows a more implicit way of starting the meeting: a more private conversation between the director and two technicians is extended, and they collaboratively re-orient their bodies to form a new constellation for participation that includes the entire technical staff.

Secondly, we will show how participants accomplish another institutional routine by organizing their departure from a staff break room. Staff members in a Finnish university manage their exit by a double orientation, first, to the activities involved in the exiting (i.e. collecting their belongings, tidying up, getting up and walking towards the exit and out) and second, to the ongoing interaction. "Extracting" oneself from the participation framework(s) of the break room thus involves a rather complex series of intertwined embodied and verbal activities.

### INDIVIDUAL PRESENTATIONS



### **Bodies and Mirrors: Participation Frameworks** in the Dance Practice Room

#### CHIARA BASSETTI

#### **University of Trento**

The paper considers the ways in which different participation frameworks emerge in the dance practice room, considering both classes and rehearsals, and both students (at diverse levels of advancement) and professionals. The focus rests, in particular, on the sequential organization of actions and the range of verbal and non-verbal resources participants collaboratively exploit in order to frame the local activities and enact one or the other participation framework.

The contribution is based on the ethnographic research on the world of theatrical dance that I conducted in Italy for almost 3 years (2006-2009), mainly with two dance schools and two companies. Data include in-depth interviews, field-notes and video-recordings (70 h.).

I discuss, first, the different participation frameworks that mark different activities within the context of dance classes/rehearsals: e.g., learning a new sequence of movements, repeating a part of it after a correction by the teacher/choreographer, rehearsing a choreography in "non-stop mode" under the evaluative gaze of the former.

Having described the general context of activity, I then consider the interactional resources used by participants to locally frame situated activities and, therefore, to mutually coordinate. These range from talk - with names of "academic steps" and of conventionally-identified parts of the room (e.g., "the centre") holding great relevance - to proxemics and "formations" (cf. Kendon 1990, 1992), to bodily posture - particularly relevant as for the teacher/choreographer more than the group of students/dancers, an asymmetry that the analysis takes into consideration. These resources, moreover, are sequentially organized in recurrent formats.

Finally, I focus on the role of the mirror in the dance room, and, more specifically, as an artifactual resource for the ongoing interactional organization of participation frameworks within the considered context of activities

#### The Co-construction of Participatory Collaborative Contexts for Portuguese-as-an-Additional-Language Group Work Learning

#### GABRIELA S. BULLA & PEDRO M. GARCEZ

#### Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul

This paper takes a conversation analytic and an interactional sociolinguistic perspective to analyze how learners participate in collaborative pedagogical activities in a Portuguese-as-an additional-language (PAL) classroom at a public university in Brazil. We describe the co-construction of participatory collaborative contexts for language use in pedagogical activities during which the class was engaged in the development of a computer-supported educational project: creating an online newspaper about foreigners living in Porto Alegre. Seven hours of interaction among PAL learners during classroom sessions were video-recorded and segmented for selective multimodal transcription. We analyze four segments of talk-in-interaction featuring two pairs of students working together at their computers. In the first two segments, participants engaged in sequences in which expressions of doubt about language forms led to disagreements, with very different outcomes as far as their collaborative activities were concerned. The first pair coconstructed an extended, aggravated sequence of disagreement, ending up in silence and rupture; the second successfully developed the activity as a group to completion. In the last two excerpts, we analyze how participants helped each other through problem-solving by means of multimodal embodied actions that jointly constituted spaces for participatory language learning. The analyses highlight that developing collaborative activities requires the co-construction of participatory collaborative contexts, in which everyone's voice is heard at various collective problem-solving and decision-making opportunities. Given that the PAL course was designed for the students to achieve an A2 proficiency level, their linguistic resources to interact in the additional language were limited, but the participants were able to participate in pedagogical activities by strongly relying on the intertwining of technologies, objects, and a diversity of linguistic and embodied resources

#### Listening and Repeating in Remote Participation Frameworks: The Tacit Use of Commentators' Talk in Live Sport TV Production of Replays

#### **LAURENT CAMUS**

#### **EHESS**

The presentation will show the intertwining of remote and copresent participation frameworks as an essential element of the sequential organization of replay selection in live editing soccer broadcast. The aim of this paper is to contribute to the study of the organization of talk in professional settings (Drew & Heritage, 1992). It provides a supplementary perspective on the dynamic of language in the coordination through and with screens (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1996; Heath & Luff, 2000) and its role in the production of visual images in real time, be it for professional purpose (Mondada, 2003) or for the television (Broth, 2008). The paper will show in particular how commentators' descriptions made during the game from the stadium tacitly project organized activities of selection and production in live of replays' sequences in the control-room.

Based on a corpus consisting of 50 hours of video-recordings of a TV control-room during the live production of French football Ligue 1 matches (28 cameras in live; 12 replays), this study will describe the multimodal resources and practices of the TV crew members for selecting an event of the game to show on replay.

The paper will show how this tacit coordination between commentators on air and members of the control-room backstage is a way of producing replays in the shortest time. Therefore, this paper will focus in particular on the director activities of listening and repeating the commentators' talk as a preferential way of requesting replays in the control-room. The director of the program could finally be considered as a same time as a TV-viewer, watching the game and listening its description, and as a producer of live content, making request for the continuation of the ongoing broadcast.

# Haptic Organization of Attentiveness: Sustained Control Touch in Adult-Child Interactions

#### **ASTA CEKAITE**

#### **Linköping University**

The present study approaches the multimodal features of participation (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004) by examining the use of control touch in adult-child interactions. Thus far, where is little detailed and systematic interactionally-based knowledge about the 'when' and 'why' touch is used in social encounters. This presentation explores interactional organization of recurrent type of control touch found in adult-child encounters in Swedish primary school, and in family settings. The concepts of participation frameworks (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004) and interactional space (Mondada, 2009) are deployed as analytical tools for examining adult-child embodied participation.

The presentation focus on temporally extended and sustained forms of adult-touch such holding one's hand on the recipient's hand, elbow or shoulder, or enveloping the recipient child in a C-formation (Cekaite, 2010). This form of touch limits the child's motility and 'fixates' or 'freeze' the child's orientational display, setting the evolving embodied limits to the child's movements and postural orientation. Sustained touch is clearly interactionally organized and is used to arrange, and actively maintain embodied participation frameworks, soliciting a shared orientational perspective towards adult-initiated talk activity. Touch is deployed to accompany the adult's attempts at realigning the "operative framework of mutual attention" (Goodwin, 2014). Retrospectively, it orients to the child recipient's inattentiveness and inappropriate participation (i.e., 'reduced situational copresence', Goffman, 1963: 198). Prospectively, it solicits the child's coordinated and attentive participation in activities that constitute a state of talk. Control touch is finely tuned with the mobilization of linguistic resources, thus reflexively contributing to the organization of participation frameworks. Although temporally extended control touches are not tied to a specific content of verbal utterances, they are coordinated with the larger talk-based activities in that they have a prospective orientation: they are deployed and sustained concurrently with so called interactionally 'big packages' (Sacks, 1992), such as teacher's extended disciplining, reproaches, instructions.

### Participation in University Small Group Teaching Talk: A CA/CL Approach

#### QI CHEN

#### **Newcastle University**

Despite a large existing body of research on school and language classroom interactions, much more is yet to be discovered on how university students interact with each other and participate in learning in higher education contexts (Benwell & Stokoe 2002). To gain a fuller picture of how participation is organised by tutors and students in university small group teaching (SGT) talk and unfold the reflexive relationship between the on-going talk and the organisation of multi-party collaborative participation frameworks (Goodwin 2007), the present study analyses video/audio recordings of peer-group and tutor-led SGT sessions across disciplines in the 1,000,000-word (approx. 120 hours) corpus named NUCASE (Newcastle University Corpus of Academic Spoken English). The study argues for and explores the combination of conversation analysis (CA) and corpus linguistics (CL) as two complementary methodological tools, as the former reveals the micro-details of interactional features (i.e., verbal, non-verbal and embodied) in the moment-bymoment interaction and the latter offers a bird's-eye view on the use of linguistic resources in general (Walsh & O'Keeffe 2011). The study extends our understandings on how participants in SGT classrooms engage in multi-party conversations to structure, negotiate and manage participation, and adds to the research collection on educational talk especially with its methodological exploration of a CA/CL approach to the two-layered analysis.

#### Participating in Delicate Interactions: Situations of Distress Involving Individuals Diagnosed with Severe Autism

#### RACHEL CHEN & KANG KWONG KAPATHY LUKE

#### **Nanyang Technological University**

Studies have found that high levels of anxiety are common across the Autism Spectrum (Attwood, 1998; Tantam, 2000; Green et al., 2000; Kim et al., 2000). As a manifestation of extreme anxiety, autistic individuals may even exhibit maladaptive behaviours. In situations of distress, both the autistic individual and his interlocutors must progress the interaction to cease the arousal of further anxiety, and to continue the task at hand. For individuals with minimal to no verbal ability, multimodal resources are especially essential in progressing such sequences.

This paper examines interactions of high distress involving individuals diagnosed with severe autism. Video recordings (35 hours) of naturally-occurring interactions within an autism centre, therapy sessions and classes were obtained and transcribed following Conversation Analysis (CA) conventions, an analytical framework that allows for a more nuanced understanding of such encounters.

The study found that preceding situations of high distress, autistic individuals were made to engage in tasks that were unfavourable. Distress was displayed only after their continued resistance (through vocalisations and minimal linguistic resources) towards the activity was unmet, or when their preferences were not understood. These displays often occurred at the end of the prior turn, and in fine coordination with their interlocutors' social actions. Instances of repetitive behaviour fell within the turn-taking structure of interaction, and differed in intensity in accordance with the displayed distress. Selective body positioning and disengagement in eye gaze were used when the individuals sought to cease participation.

In the turns that followed displays of distress, interlocutors often gave commands in two main forms. (1) When no harm was being caused, an invitation to jointly undertake the activity was proposed. (2) When harm was being caused, interlocutors produced short commands, and intervened physically to stop any violence.

Both the autistic individual and their interlocutors used resources of various modalities in progressing their delicate interactions. Our findings highlight the importance of understanding how participation in such interactions can facilitate the management of distress.

# 'Are you recording?': The Impact of Video-Based Research on Members' Local Practices

# VASILIKI CHRYSIKOU<sup>1</sup>, FIONA STEVENSON<sup>1</sup>, WILL GIBSON<sup>2</sup>, CAROLINE PELLETIER<sup>2</sup> & SOPHIE PARK<sup>1</sup>

### <sup>1</sup>University College London; <sup>2</sup>Institute of Education

Naturalistic research using audio and video recordings allows researchers to capture subtle interactions and claims to represent participants' routine and actual practices. Based on a piece of research that we conducted in an Accident and Emergency department we are focusing on how members' of staff and patients' participation in the research encounter seems to have partly influenced these local practices that the research attempted to uncover. Our data consists of a number of video recordings of interactions between junior doctors and other members of staff in an accident and emergency department in Britain, supplemented by audio and video recordings of junior doctors as they move around in the department. We identify a number of aspects of the research process which we argue seem to have impacted on members' interactions with each other, on the collected data and by implication on the analytic claims that can be made on the basis of the recordings. In particular, based on our recorded interactions we will demonstrate how the recording process, the ethics procedures (either standardised ones or the researchers' own ethical considerations) as well as the impact of marrying ethnography with recording have partly produced material which cannot be totally detached from the research encounter. We will be raising the question regarding the extent that such observations can be generalised more broadly to other pieces of naturalistic research. We will be arguing that treating data as 'natural' risks neglecting that these are at least to some extent products of the research encounter and that there is an element of construction even of video recorded stretches of interaction.

# Moving in and out of Speakership: The Case of Self-Touching

### Paul Cibulka<sup>1</sup> & Mats Andrén<sup>2</sup>

### <sup>1</sup>Gothenburg University; <sup>2</sup>Lund University

Participants in interaction are often involved in self-touching behaviour, such as touching or scratching the face, the head or other parts of the body. This has often been interpreted as being related to personal inner states, such as nervousness (Ekman & Friesen 1969; Freedman et al. 1972), and research on gesture generally exclude self-touching from the scope of the enquiry (e.g., Kendon 2004; McNeill 2005), as it is not regarded to be part of what speakers try to convey.

Our study considers the possibility that self-touching behaviour may in fact be considered situated practices in focused interaction (cf. Goodwin 1986). That is, they to not merely happen, but are in many ways orderly phenomena with regard to the organization of interaction.

In analysing video data of conversation held in German, Japanese and Swedish, we found a number of recurrent sequential contexts where participants exhibit self-touching behaviour. We restrict ourselves to those contexts of use in which self-touching behaviour most prominently comes to be seen as a display of participant's degree of involvement, i.e. instances of self-touchings that are related to the suspension (e.g., in initiating repair) of an action-so-far (while projecting resumption) and to withdrawal of an action-so-far.

Goffman (1974:214) accurately predicted that, in applying video analysis, one will more and more find that apparently incidental side involvements regulate, and are regulated by, other participants' actions. We suggest that this is true for self-touching behaviour. Furthermore, the very fact that self-touching is often construed, by participants and analysts alike, as primarily self-directed and thus "not communicative" or "not part of the utterance", may be exactly what makes it a well-suited vehicle for participants to smoothly suspend or abandon an action-so-far without obligation of further justification.

# Participation Frameworks and Multimodal Strategies in Early Child Language

## MARÍA ÁNGELES COBELAS & GABRIELA PREGO VÁZQUEZ

#### Universidad de Santiago de Compostela

From early childhood on, children are involved in a range of social activities in which they have to organize their turns and use multimodal resources to configure different participation frameworks in dyadic and multiparty conversational exchanges (De León 2012; Goodwin & Goodwin 2004; Keating & Mirus 2000; Ochs & Taylor 1995).

This paper aims to analyze how children take advantage of their multimodal resources -grammatical, discursive and kinesic ones- in order to negotiate different conversational roles and participation frameworks by co-narrating stories with peers and adults in spontaneous conversations. Our qualitative analysis is based on face-to-face multiparty interactions recorded in 5 Galician nursery schools. Following a Conversation Analysis approach, we have examined 46 transcripts for this research in which have participated 5 adults and 45 Spanish-speaking and Galician-speaking children aged from 2;10 to 4;05 years old, retrieved from Koiné corpus -CHILDES system (MacWhinney 2000)-.

Our results indicate that we could establish three ongoing stages in the development of socio-discursive competence at early childhood: 1) stage of interactive narrations, 2) stage of monologic narrations and 3) stage of polyphonic narrations. We have observed that the development of discursive competence is characterized by (a) a progressive increase in the diversity of the participation frameworks represented by children, as well as in the complexity of multimodal resources used by them, and (b) a rise in the grammatical repertory linked with an improvement of (meta) pragmatic skills.

To conclude, we consider that the way in which participants build action together in collaborative activities –e.g. in conversational co-narratives- is essential for the social and linguistic development of children for several reasons. Firstly, they learn how to manage the turn-taking system by using verbal and non-verbal strategies. And, secondly, children start mastering how to negotiate diverse participation frameworks by adopting different conversational roles during interactions.

# Is the Avatar Considered as a Participant by the Players? A Conversational Analysis of Multi-Players Videogames Interactions

## ISABEL COLON DE CARVAJAL & HEIKE BALDAUF-QUILLIATRE

#### ICAR Lab, Université Lyon 2

Videogame interactions show a rather complex participation framework: players interact with present or absent players in and out of the game, directly or by avatars. The avatar, as fictional character which a player embodies in the videogame, has a central position: it's only through him and his actions that the player can act in the game. We therefore propose to question in detail and by an interactional and multimodal analysis the place which the players of videogames give to the avatars. In this paper, we will focus particularly on the organization of turn-taking in a complex and dynamic activity (Mondada, 2013), in which the participants constantly address their co-players as well as the different avatars in the game which are played by the present co-players - space itself constantly changing. Our study is based on a collection of extracts from four French videogame interactions: 1) eight players playing on eight different screens, 2) four players playing on the same screen and 4) two spectators and two players playing on the same screen.

The analysis revealed a particular form of turn-taking in videogame interactions (Colón de Carvajal, 2011; Marsh & Tainio, 2009), where the switch of turns of speech is highly dependent on the actions in the virtual world of the videogame. At the same time, the relation between a player and its avatar is rather complex: The avatar is strongly related to the player but not (or at least not always) identically with him. There are, for instance, specific nominal forms of address (Kerbrat-Orecchioni, 2010) or specific actions that raise the question about the place and the role given to the avatar in the participation framework (Keating & Sunakawa, 2010).

Thus, we have identified four forms of exchange as if a turn or action (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004) is addressed to: a) a player, b) an avatar, c) a player and his avatar together, and d) a inexplicit / unclear referent (player or avatar). In the following "oh:/no:\roro:\roro:\you could have let me kill you anyway\", we note for instance that the turn is explicitly addressed to Romain (i.e. "roro"), whereas at the end of his statement, the player refers to Romain's avatar "kill you".

## **Engaging the Body in Navigating the Competing Demands of Educational Contexts**

## SARAH CREIDER, CATHERINE BOX & HANSUN WARING

#### **Teachers College, Columbia University**

Student participation has long been associated with both agency and learning (Van Lier, 2008; Waring, 2009). At the same time, several generations of researchers have documented the institutional constraints that prevent teachers and students from moving out of established, teacher-centered, patterns of talk (Boyd, 2013; Mehan 1979). Using conversation analysis, and focusing on multi-modal resources in interaction, this paper shows how teachers in a variety of settings encourage participation while also attending to other institutional agendas. We understand participation as a constantly shifting phenomenon which may be revealed, constrained, and developed by both verbal and non-verbal conduct (Goffman, 1981; van Lier, 2002). Our videotaped data come from three contexts—adult ESL classrooms, post observation sessions for teachers-in-training, and tutoring sessions with children.

In the classroom environment, we show how an ESL teacher deftly engages a range of semiotic resources (Goodwin, 2013) as he attends to both the selected and the unselected next speaker in ways that maintain order without undermining participation. In post-observation conferences, we see how a mentor deploys voice, body, and objects in the environment as resources for encouraging participation within an evaluative frame (Goffman, 1964; van Lier 2002). Finally, in tutoring sessions with children, we demonstrate how a math tutor's recycling (Goodwin, 2013) of her students' verbal and non-verbal actions allows her to simultaneously follow a lesson plan and encourage student agency and participation. In each case, the drive to promote participation competes with other institutional demands such as the necessity of order, the mandate to evaluate, or the very essential goal of ensuring learning, and in each case, the participant solution to such a tension is a multi-modal one.

### Categorisation Practices in Meetings of CFS-Suffers: Reorganising Participation on the Basis of Conflicting Disease- and Sufferer-Categories

### **ELWYS DE STEFANI**

#### **KU** Leuven

Within conversation analysis, there is a common understanding of participation as a "situated, multi-party accomplishment" (Goodwin & Goodwin 2004: 231). However, with few exceptions (e.g. Mondada 2002), there has been little investigation on how practices of categorisation relate to participants' rights and obligations. Based on a video-recorded corpus of 7 meetings (ca. 4 hours each) of a Flemish CFS self-help group, this contribution looks at how practices of categorisation - of both the disease and the members - are consequential for members' engagement in interaction. The paper focuses on sequences of disagreement emerging from diverging categorisations of the disease (e.g. 'CFS as a specific disease', 'CFS as masking Lyme disease'). Such disease-categories are systematically associated with member-categories (e.g. 'CFS contester', 'CFS believer') and with claims of specific epistemic access in terms of 'medical knowledge' or 'personal body experience' (Heritage 2012). On the one hand, participants strongly orient to these categories when negotiating speakership; on the other hand, minimising a participant's right to speak contributes to fostering interactionally achieved member-categories and may eventually lead to physically excluding someone from the meeting.

Note: Chronic Fatigue Syndrome (CFS) is a debilitating disease diagnosed *per exclusionem*, for which no biomarkers have been identified. Many sufferers contest the disease and/or its naming.

## Displays of Selective Attention in Adult Classrooms

### JÖRG DINKELAKER

#### **University of Frankfurt**

Different types of classroom situations (e.g. recitation, seat work, group work, discussion etc.) go along with different expectations regarding the participants' allocation of selective attention within the ongoing event (Erickson/Shultz 1981). The presented paper reports of a video based study scrutinizing how appropriate (and disappropriate) perceptional orientations are displayed by participants during classroom events.

Of course, gaze plays a critical role, but also gestures and talk may be used as indications of what participants are focussing on. Furthermore, specific features of the material environment and also activities of other persons (e.g. pointing or calling up by co-attendants, either students or teachers) are relevant constituents of these displays of attention (Goodwin 2003, Goodwin 2009).

Within each of the classroom situations scrutinized in the study, a specific repertoire of indicators of attention is established. Comparing two cases (a lecture in marketing for master craftsmen and a sewing class for amateurs), I show how students' perception is collectively monitored as a criticial feature of the classroom situation based on the contextual specified systems of displaying the perceptional orientations of the attendants.

## I'm Talking to Glass -How is Google Glass Interfering with the Turn-Taking System?

### **BRIAN DUE**

#### University of Copenhagen

Google Glass allows the user to se all kinds of images projected in front of him. Just like using a smartphone Google Glass can take pictures, record videos, check emails, search the Internet, etc.

The paper presents video recordings of participants using Google Glass in multiparty interaction from institutional and mundane settings, which has not yet been investigated (Due, 2014). The research is grounded within CA and multimodality studies (e.g. Streeck, Goodwin, & LeBaron, 2011).

Participation, recipient design and the reflection on who the next relevant speaker is – regarding turn allocation and turn formatting – is affected by the Glass-use, because it is voice and gesture controlled. Consequently, Glass-operations occupy a slot in the unfolding of turns in different semiotic fields. This is accountable in at least two ways:

- Participants seem to orient towards Glass as an actant. That is: (almost) a participant in interaction. Hence, Glass-use shape participation, e.g. enabling and respectively constraining it in different ways.
- Participants seem to use different compensation strategies in order to maintain "normal interaction"; for instance accounting for delays, gaze, repairs, etc. and moving around in order to get eye contact. Thus, participants seem to orient towards different semiotic markers, which may display what the next relevant thing is. Hence, the notion of *why that now* (Heritage, 1984), becomes even more urgent when interacting with Glass.

The paper will present analysis of how Glass constrains, crafts or affords specific forms of participation in various activities and settings.

# How Semiotic Resources are Used in Multi-Party Co-Construction of Resistance and Evasion in a Preschool Classroom

### ANDREA EILEEN DURKIS

#### **Teachers College, Columbia University**

This conversation analytic study reports on how preschoolers build participation in a morning meeting through the mutual elaboration of semiotic resources with classmates. Through the co-lamination of semiotic fields of prosody, non-verbal conduct, and lexical structure, the preschoolers use public substrates and coconstruct resistance and evasion to teachers' questioning. The use of public substrates as organizational resources enables participants to dynamically build new social action through operating on and transforming resources (Goodwin, 2013). It was found that the preschool-aged participants used lexical structures to redirect the interaction, laminating these actions through use of semiotic fields of prosody and embodied movement building affiliation with classmate co-participants. The demonstrative relevance of the interview-style organization of the preschool meeting was oriented to by both the teachers and the students, creating opportunities for both speaker and hearer during local moments of interaction to operate on public substrates and activate locally relevant membership categorization devices to maintain progressivity or resist questioning. This study furthers our understanding of how participation emerges in an early childhood classroom. It informs us on how unfolding sequential interaction is collaboratively designed and co-shaped through the use of multiple semiotic resources within an institutional setting.

### The Categorial and Sequential Flow of Embodied Participation in Basketball Coaching

### BRYN EVANS<sup>1</sup> & RICHARD FITZGERALD<sup>2</sup>

### <sup>1</sup>Auckland University of Technology; <sup>2</sup>University of Macau

Within ethnomethodological/conversation analytic research until recently there has been a tendency for studies to focus on either sequential or categorial orders of action. While this may have been a result of the differentiated developments of analytical sophistication, an ethnomethodological study of social action necessarily draws these approaches together in attending to the multiple organizational domains, including but not limited to category and sequence made relevant in the achievement of the on-going flow of coordinated participant actions. Recent efforts have been made to accomplish this by analytically engaging with social action as a multi-layered categorial and sequential flow in which multiple "layers" of categorization become relevant as action unfolds (e.g., Evans 2013; Fitzgerald & Housley 2002; Fitzgerald, Housley & Butler 2009; Stokoe 2012; and Fitzgerald and Rintel 2013). While such studies have primarily focused on talk, in this paper we extend the analysis of categorial and sequential work to incorporate the flow of embodied participation as part of the material structure of the environment and flow of action sequences in basketball coaching. Through our discussion of the multilayered physical and verbal action sequence we suggest one way in which sequential, categorial and visible orders of ordinary action may be integrated into analysis via the examination of what we term "embodied mapping". In this way we aim to extend the focus of the analysis of categorial and sequential flow into embodied action and contribute to the broader ethnomethodologically-inspired work on multi-modality (Mondada 2009).

### Being in the Right Place: The Participation of the Patient's Companion to 'First Time' Oncological Visits

## MARILENA FATIGANTE, CRISTINA ZUCCHERMAGLIO & FRANCESCA ALBY

### Sapienza University of Rome

Bringing a companion (a relative, partner, friend) to the first visits with the oncologist is a common practice among cancer patients, even explicitly recommended by health institutions. Studies that focused on the companion's participation in this kind of encounter mostly regarded the companion's participation as the extent to which s/he "supports" or "inhibits/interferes" with the doctor-patient interaction (cf. Street and Gordon 2008).

Our paper aims at reconsidering these findings and analysing how the companion participation is shaped and supported by the local configuration of actions to which all interacting parties orient, contributing in different ways to the unfolding of the visit.

We collected a corpus of overall 34 videorecordings of first oncological visits. Visits were conducted in two different hospitals, one of which is a University hospital, and by different oncologists, including both senior professionals and (in the second setting) medical students in oncology. Visits were fully transcribed according to the jeffersonian conventions (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974). Analyses focused on a) the activities sequentially unfolding in the consultation; b) the embodied, multimodal doctor-patient-companion participation in such activities. Results suggest that companions and other participants orient differently to the multiparty framework of the event accordingly to: a) the timing and the type of activities performed (e.g. history taking, doctor's provision of explanations, decision-making), b) the participants' different degrees of access and entitlement to knowledge (e.g. knowledge about patient's habits and personal and medical matters).

The results solicit to consider the first oncological visit as an encounter in which the multiparty framework, although under-examined, is complex and essential in the accomplishment of the activities of medical care.

# Floristry Knowing Seen Through Funeral Design: A Question of Collaborative Organization of Material and Interaction

### CAMILLA GAFVELS

### Stockholm University

Flowers are used as symbols that form part of ceremonial activities, literally spinning from the cradle to the grave. Yet, flowers are also working material connected with certain knowing in the field of floristry at Swedish adult education /upper secondary vocational education.

This paper examines student and teacher interaction when assessing floral design for funeral purpose in a classroom setting. At floristry courses, flowers are part of the embodied interaction, between teacher and students that contributes to forming the direction of the specific content of knowing. Making and teaching – are complex activities that encompass multimodal resources and concepts of tradition entailing ceremonial and teaching practice. More specifically, teaching traditions express a rationality of how to put flowers in a certain order through verbalizing coding schemes (e.g. Goodwin, 1994).

The empirical material is a video recording episode showing interaction of "one-to-one" character, taken from a bigger corpus of data (50h) from a floristry school. Drawing on a conversation-analytical approach, the paper highlights assessment in a school context as a way to frame teachers' professional vision (Goodwin, 1994) *in situ* when a teacher and student, moment by moment, communicate traditions including flowers' materiality as an important aspect. The paper argues that material and tradition are intertwined as constitutive features that that need to be taken into account as an aspect of teachers' assessment actions in school-based vocational education. Findings show that communication about materiality is constituted through shared perception embedded in local practice. The contribution is a discussion of how assessment actions (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1992) include tactile knowing expressed in interactional order through flowers. The theme of the conference is reflected in the notion of seeing flowers as (i) a communicative material in a specific context of activity, and (ii) how interactional order frame students' vision of flowers for specific purposes and contexts.

### Gaze Patterns in the Production of Food Assessments in Chilean Spanish Interaction

### VERÓNICA GONZÁLEZ TEMER

#### **University of York**

In the context of a food-tasting session, there are many productions of assessments and the competing activity of eating. In relation to the organisation of gaze in interaction, the research questions are:

- 1. Are there recognisable gaze organisation patterns in the production of assessments?
- 2. Is there any relation between the display of gaze and competing activities such as eating?
- 3. How does gaze fit in the sequential organisation of talk?

The literature on assessments in interaction began with the work of Pomerantz (1975, 1978, 1984). Charles Goodwin and Marjorie Harness Goodwin (Goodwin, 1984, 1986; Goodwin & Goodwin, 1987, 1992a, 1992b) were pioneers in the analysis of multimodal resources in the production of assessments including facial expressions and gaze. Recent studies (Rossano, 2012, 2013; Stivers & Rossano, 2010) have provided new findings about the role of gaze in interaction.

The data was obtained through an innovative experiment where six pairs of Chilean participants were audio and video recorded for twenty minutes as they sampled British foods unknown to them. Conversation Analysis (CA) was used to identify assessments in their sequential location and positioning within the larger evaluative practice. Transcriptions to capture the detail of talk-in-interaction were made using the GAT2 (Selting et al., 2011) transcription system.

I was able to identify two patterns of organisation where gaze (not accompanied with speech) worked as a way of requesting an assessment. The main difference in these patterns is that if one of the participants had not tasted the food, he would gaze at the other to see their facial expression. When both participants had tasted the food, one of them gazes at the other and mobilises a first assessment.

The findings of this research improve our understanding of language as multimodal, what participants orient to is moulded by resources from multiple channels (verbal, non-verbal, sequential, contextual) and there is systematicity in terms of the resources the interactants use to communicate.

# The Crucial Role of Text in Formulating Action in a Small Group Meeting

### JOAN KELLY HALL<sup>1</sup> & EMILY BUTLER<sup>2</sup>

### <sup>1</sup>Penn State University; <sup>2</sup>University of Florida

Small group project work is a common instructor-assigned activity in university courses. Such work often requires that groups of students hold informal meetings outside of class to complete the assignment. It is essential that these meetings be successful as the final products resulting from the group's collaborations typically figure into students' grades and thus are consequential to their academic standing. Achieving success can be a challenge since, unlike in more formal meetings, student group members have equal status; there is no designated leader such as a chair or person with higher status to forward the progress of the meeting and facilitate the reaching of agreement about what they will do and the role each will play in the project's accomplishment. However, how such work is done has, to date, gone unexamined.

In the study reported here, we address this fairly large gap by providing a single-case analysis of an out-of-class meeting involving five university-level international students. We focus on what occurs when the group faces an impasse in reaching consensus and accomplishing the agenda that is laid out by one of the students at the beginning of the meeting. Using conversation analytic methods, we show the crucial role that a written document, constructed during the meeting, plays in helping the group to overcome the impasse. More specifically, we show how the participants change the participation framework of the meeting by imbuing the text with the authority needed to advance the agenda, thus propel the meeting to a successful conclusion. The findings add much needed empirical data on how informal meetings without a designated leader are accomplished. Additionally, they reveal the authoritative role that written text plays in formulating plans and making decisions in the absence of an official chair or person with higher status to perform them.

# **Enabling Participation through Translation: The Importance of Turn-Initial Position**

### KATARIINA HARJUNPÄÄ

#### **University of Helsinki**

In this paper, I investigate the management of participation in multilingual everyday interaction. In particular, I examine instances of *mediating*, in which a speaker *translates* prior talk for the benefit of a co-participant (Müller 1989, Bolden 2012).

The data for the study consist of video recordings of multilingual everyday interactions among speakers of Finnish and Brazilian Portuguese. Only some of the participants are bilingual. Since both languages are used, at times a monolingual participant may not be able to follow the conversation. In mediatory sequences a speaker promotes the active participation of that person by providing him/her a translation of prior talk. The paper examines how the interactional process of integrating a new participant through translation is reflected in/shaped by the formatting of the translatory turns.

The paper shows that much of the interactional work related to recipient design and action formation/ascription happens right in the beginning of the translatory turn. I show examples of turns in which a speaker produces a detached, turn-initial noun phrase that relays some key element from the prior talk to launch the translation. This turn design works, firstly, to display the turn as a second saying by making it dependent on the other-language talk as its source (Harjunpää frth). Secondly, the initial element makes space for the translation by projecting continuation through syntactic-semantic incompleteness and prosodic design. Thirdly, via the "keyword" the speaker provides recipient-designed points of access to the matter talked about, and further, invites displays of active recipiency, such as go-aheads. After the completion of the translation, recipients may further enact their recipiency by commenting on the matter talked about. The paper sketches out a specific sequential environment for enabling participation that shapes the way the recipient of the translation may join the conversation.

# Hands and Changing Participation in a Game of Rock-Paper-Scissors

### **ERIC HAUSER**

#### **University of Electro-Communications**

The game of janken (rock-paper-scissors) is a common means in Japan of deciding such things as order of participation in an activity. Hands are obviously important in this game, as it is through the use of different emblematic manual gestures that winners and losers are determined. This presentation, though, looks at a less obvious use of the hands within this game, namely, how they are used as a resource to construct and reconstruct the participation structure.

The data are drawn from a video recording of a group of four students in an English class at a Japanese university. They have been assigned a textbook activity to collaborate on and use janken to decide who will go first. The game goes through three rounds before the person who will go first—the eventual sole loser—is determined.

Multimodal analysis shows the participants use their hands, possibly in conjunction with other resources, to: 1) propose and second the proposal to use janken to make a decision; 2) show their willingness to participate in the game; 3) construct a participation framework of four and then two participants; 4) coordinate participation among the participants; 5) change the participation structure and temporarily suspend the forward progress of the game to ask a question about how the decision will be made; 6) show understanding that the progress of the game has been suspended and readiness to resume; 7) legitimately withdraw from participation in the game; 8) close the game and return to the textbook activity.

Though the rules of the game entail changes in participation based on participants' choice of gesture, actually changing the participation structure is a joint accomplishment for which hands are shown to be a major resource.

# An Economy of Turns? Avoiding the Turn Space through Self-Deselection

### **ELLIOTT HOEY**

#### **Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics**

Sacks observed that while there's a lot of talk going on in conversation, there's also a lot of silence going on (1992:672). Non-speaking participants, in other words, are not inert parties to talk, but are actively 'being silent' in their attendance to and co-construction of an unfolding course of action (Goodwin and Goodwin, 2004). This talk focuses on these non-speaking roles, and the methods that participants have for seizing and retaining them. It is proposed that, insofar as there are devices for claiming incipient/continued speakership (e.g., Mondada, 2007), so are there similar devices for claiming recipiency. These methods for *self-deselection* allow participants to avoid the turn-space.

Self-deselection is clearly observable during lapses—silences that develop when no participant self-selects at possible sequence completion (Sacks et al., 1974:714-715). Lapses rupture what should be an unbroken flow of turn-by-turn talk, so once they emerge, participants are faced with isolating a next speaker from the set of possible next speakers. One (partial) solution to this problem in arranging speakership is to self-deselect: remove yourself from the set of possible next speakers, thereby bringing into relief the remaining occupants of that set. These practices range from the subtle (gaze withdrawal [Rossano, 2012] and auto-involvements [Goffman, 1963]) to the more conspicuous (schisming [Egbert, 1997] and unilateral departure [Goodwin, 1987]). Through assembling vocal and embodied resources, participants may dampen their degree of involvement in an interaction, and display a diminished capacity to assume the role of next speaker.

By drawing together issues of turn-allocation, recipiency, and multimodality, this research situates self-deselection as a core process in the dynamic configuration of participation, and explicates another way that opportunities to participate may be "valued, sought, and avoided" (Sacks et al. 1974:701). The data come from a collection of 300+ lapses occurring in video-recordings of natural interactions in English.

# The Organization of Participation in Hair Salons: The Client, the Hairdresser and the Apprentice

### **ANNE-SYLVIE HORLACHER**

#### **University of Basel**

Hairdressing service encounters are not limited to dyadic exchanges between the professional and the client. An apprentice can regularly be seen to be waiting behind the hairdresser, either 1) to be given instructions about how to pursue her/his own task or 2) to assist her/his boss by passing objects such as the mirror or a product. In the former case, the apprentice suspends the conversational talk between the hairdresser and the client; s/he introduces a new sequence and a new action, thereby a shift in the participation framework. In the latter case, the apprentice does not suspend the ongoing chat between the hairdresser and the client nor does s/he participate in the talk; s/he shows her/his involvement in an embodied way, by assisting the hairdresser; s/he is not fully recognized as a third party but rather treated as an 'extension' of the experienced hairdresser. This paper investigates the ways in which the apprentice becomes or not an additional party in client-professional encounters, being ratified or not by the senior staff.

I present an analysis of a collection of such episodes drawing on Conversation Analysis and multimodal analysis. The data has been video recorded in a hair salon located in the French speaking part of Switzerland (18 sessions involving 18 clients, 3 hairdressers and 3 apprentices, 20 hours in total). So far, social interactions in hair salons have scarcely been studied in CA (but see LeBaron & Jones 2002; Oshima 2009, 2014 and Greer 2013a, 2013b).

The detailed description and analysis of these moments will lead to a better understanding of what it means to work as a team in this setting. It will shed light on the complex organizational structure of hair salons and the kind of rights and obligations salon assistants experience within this internal structure.

## Multiparty Participation and Turn Allocations in Interaction with an Avatar Robot

## KEIKO IKEDA<sup>1</sup>, KEIICHI YAMAZAKI<sup>2</sup>, AKIKO YAMAZAKI<sup>3</sup>, MICHITA IMAI<sup>4</sup> & TETSUO ONO<sup>5</sup>

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With recent rapid development of high-speed communication technologies, a video and audio communication system such as Skype now enables increasing mobility for connected users regardless of physical distance. The research project employs a wearable robotic avatar TEROOS, which is mounted on a person's shoulder and moves side-by-side with the person wearing it, and provides a mobile communication environment. We have tried out various social contexts to investigate the dynamism of interaction between the people using TEROOS and others at the remote site, for example, the elderlies at a senior house doing a virtual shopping, or first generation Japanese Americans in Hawaii remotely "visiting back" their old hometown in Japan.

In each case, TEROOS generates the feeling that the individuals at the remote site and the local site are sharing the same viewpoint and location, since it allows them to perform natural bodily behavior similarly to when they were present in the same place together. TEROOS also affords people encompassing the actual wearer of it get involved in the on-going interaction. We observe multiparty participation is enabled through multimodal methods such as pointing gestures, head turning and directing one's gaze.

The project team has also investigated the allocations of turns in the conversation between the local and remote sites through TEROOS. Projectability is an important resource in organizing turn allocation among multiple participants in co-ordination with one another (Goodwin, 2000). The analysis of this study illustrates the details of projectability established through "dual ecology" (Luff, et.al., 2003; Kuzuoka, et.al., 2004) through TEROOS.

## The Organization of Embodied Participation Frameworks among Deafblind People Using a Tactile Mode of Australian Sign Language

## SHIMAKO IWASAKI, HOWARD MANNS & MEREDITH BARTLETT

### **Monash Univerity**

This study investigates how Deafblind people with a dual sensory loss (hearing and vision) establish and sustain coordinated interaction. Considering that to a large extent human interaction is managed by multimodal and multi-sensory resources including visual displays such as gestures, facial expressions, and gaze directions as well as hearable resources, how do Deafblind interactants who have no access to such auditive and visual resources manage to organize participation frameworks, initiating, sustaining, and terminating social encounters? Detailed observations show that, despite the limited range of modalities available, participants orient to the turn-taking mechanism proposed by conversation analytic frameworks for spoken and visual interaction. Evidence of the coordination of talk and mutuality emerges in our collection of approximately five hours of video-recorded ordinary conversations between Deafblind people and interpreter-mediated conversations.

The primary modes and resources that Deafblind interactants employ for communication are a tactile form of Australian sign language (Auslan) and haptic sensations that they experience and generate. This paper specifically focuses on how haptic information and tactile sensations are utilized and shared by Deafblind interactants to establish the participation frameworks and maintain focused engagements, with special attention to how they arrange their bodies and hand positions for turn-taking, the precision timing for speaker changes, and simultaneous actions. Building on what researchers of spoken languages have described as the organization of turn-taking and participation framework, the paper illuminates that Deafblind interactants display detailed understanding of talk in progress, which cannot be heard and seen, by performing relevant participation displays at appropriate places. The findings show that, even if confined to a limited range of modalities, an intricately coordinated interactional choreography is achieved by multiple participants through touching talk. Ultimately, this study will increase understanding of the sensory resources and bodily actions that constitute the intersubjective worlds of the Deafblind and embodied participation.

# Experiences, Appearances, and Professional Conduct: The Use of Video for Instruction and Reflection in Post-Simulation Debriefings

### ELIN JOHANSSON, OSKAR LINDWALL & HANS RYSTEDT

#### **University of Gothenburg**

To conversation analysis and cognate fields, the use of tape- and, more recently, video recordings, has been essential. It is through such recordings that the details of actual events are examined and explicated. As illustrated in a growing literature on video practices, it is not only researchers that have an interest in the details of ordinary events and use recordings in order to access these details. In the training of teachers, dentists and surgeons, for instance, the benefits of using video are somewhat parallel to those in research – video recordings are used to demonstrate the moment-to-moment unfolding of events and they provide visual access to the fine details of professional conduct. This study investigates how video recordings are used for instructional purposes in the context of simulation-based team training in healthcare education. In the debriefings that followed the simulation scenarios, short video recorded sequences of "key events" that took place during the scenarios were used as ground for feedback, reflection, and instruction. After having viewed the video clips, the students were asked by the facilitators to comment on what they saw in the video, what went well, and so on. The study is based on forty recorded debriefing sessions and examines how the video clips are consequential for the ways in which the students refer to their own conduct and to the actions of their peers. More specifically, the study focuses on distinctions that are made between what the students experienced and what they then saw in the video clip. Sometimes, these distinctions are implied in facilitators' questions: "do you have the same feeling after you have seen this?" At other times, it is the students who introduce a contrast between the first person perspective of having been "nervous" with the third person perspective of "looking calm".

# Doing Being Moderator: Participants' Talk Organization in Multi-Party Focus Group Interaction

### HANBYUL JUNG

#### University of Hawaii at Manoa

An underused research method in applied linguistics, focus group interviews lend a wide range of interactional participatory resources specific to multi-party interviews. Despite such interactional affluence, a typical analysis of focus group data, so far, has been summarization of the topical content rather than examination of how the 'content' is produced through the interaction (Puchta & Potter, 2004). Using conversation analysis (CA), this presentation aims to (a) highlight an unique turn-taking organization specific to the multi-party data as well as (b) examine how such organization configure opportunities for different participation shapes.

The focus groups were conducted within a program evaluation context with eight groups of Korean teachers of English participating in a study-abroad teacher development program in the U.S. All groups, each consisting of 4-6 teachers and conducted in Korean, addressed (a) the recruitment process, (b) the teachers' needs, goals, and expectations prior to the program, (c) how these were met, and (d) the teachers' suggestions for change. Analysis revealed that despite the common belief that it is usually the organizer (i.e., moderator) who take main responsibility of asking protocol-relevant questions as well as take lead of organizing turn-taking sequences (i.e., getting the discussion started, bringing stray discussion back to the topic), quite frequently in this data, participants were noticed to be the ones to uptake the role of managing the talk. Data to be presented in this presentation display participants taking diverse actions of doing being the moderator by: (a) allocating turns to co-participants, (b) organizing the discussion shape, and (c) providing feedback to a co-participant's response to the moderator.

The analytic results illuminate the contingent, moment-to-moment unfolding of the interaction, thus contributing to the understanding of participation in focus group interaction as a dynamic and complex organization. Revealing the responsibility of managing the talk to not be solely attributed to the moderator, but rather distributed through all participants, the implications caution against misconceptions of the organizational shape of focus group interviews.

# Response Queueing in Multiperson Interaction

### KOBIN H. KENDRICK & JUDITH HOLLER

### **Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics**

The organization of turn-taking both constrains and enables participation in interaction. Although participation by other than current speaker can occur within a turn (see, e.g., Iwasaki, 2009), the possible completion of a turn is a special site for participation as it constitutes an opportunity for a transition between speakers. A current turn can be constructed through multimodal practices to constrain the opportunity to participate in next turn to a single participant, using resources of language (e.g., address terms, pronouns) and the body (e.g., gaze-direction, gestures). But so too can a current turn be constructed to enable participation by multiple participants in next turn(s). Building on previous research (Sacks et al., 1974; Lerner, 1993; Lerner, 2003; Mondada, 2007), we present an analysis of a method of turn allocation in which current speaker uses gaze alternation to address a question to multiple participants and thereby establish the relevance of multiple responses. The investigation draws on a novel corpus of interactions involving three ratified participants (Goffman, 1979), each wearing eye-tracking glasses providing direct measures of eye-movements on the visual scene observed by each participant. The interactions were also recorded by three high-definition video cameras and three individual microphones, allowing for detailed analysis of both verbal and bodily behavior. 281 question-response sequences were identified across seven interactions between English-speaking friends. The core collection consists of the 30 sequences in which first speakers directed their gaze to multiple participants, as well as parallel data from more naturalistic settings. The results show that gaze alternation during questions selects multiple next speakers: at the completion of the first response, a second response is conditionally relevant, thus establishing a response queue, as it were. Evidence for this comes from redirections of gaze to next next-speakers after first responses and from verbal pursuits in the absence of second responses.

# **Shaping Participation in the 'en masse' Routines of Student Sports Fans**

### **ADRIAN KERRISON & CATRIN RHYS**

### **University of Ulster**

At intercollegiate sporting events in the United States, much of the boisterous atmosphere comes from the presence of "Student Sections" in the audience. In contrast to the tradition sociological focus on the self-identification of sports fans or their general affiliation with a team or organizational culture, this paper focuses on the behaviours of such student sections as actively performed co-participation and the idea of "doing being supporters" as a co-produced accomplishment of situated interaction.

Data was collected of the Student Sections at intercollegiate men's ice hockey contests via audio-visual recordings and participant observation in order to consider their en masse cheers and chants from an EM/CA perspective as achieved sequences of interaction rather than rote traditions. This approach includes how the overall sequence of the sporting event provides opportunities for meaningful participation and how the sequences that fulfil those opportunities are structured to facilitate maximal participation and success of performance. This fine-grained analysis reveals how multiple overlapping participation frameworks are accomplished and oriented to by the student section through a variety of linguistic and embodied resources.

Focusing on the en masse routines of the student section, the analysis clearly demonstrates that underlying the apparent wildness of the student section is a strict and intricate system of response relevance, turn-construction, and projectability that enables hundreds to thousands of co-participants to crisply perform their own university's traditional brand of "untamed madness."

Understanding how these Student Section performances begin and progress has obvious implications for the encouragement and management of stadium atmosphere, but also has much to add to our general understanding of participation in group expression as the interactions within a sporting event differ significantly from previously investigated large-scale interactions such as political speeches and theatre performances.

# PGC: A Multimodal Floor-Capturing Mechanism in Multi-Party Social Interactions

### **ALLISON KING & CAROLYN DUNN**

#### **Teachers College, Columbia University**

Informal multi-party social interaction comprises a significant part of human interaction. In this type of interaction, turn-taking is influenced by the potentially competitive environment, and may include speaker overlap and schismed conversations. However, to date, this area of conversation analysis is still relatively under-researched.

This study analyzes the phenomenon of speaker self-selection and successful obtainment of the floor in one competitive multi-party environment. A conversation analytic approach is used to examine an informal dinner party with ten participants filmed in 2014 in the United States. It was discovered that speakers employed a multimodal form of self-selection comprising of a restart, a pause, and a gesture to successfully obtain the floor, which will be called the Perturbation Gesture Combination (PGC). In this presentation, the PGC will be illustrated through three instances of its use in slightly varied degrees of competition within the interaction. The PGC multimodal mechanism was observed to be an effective method of self-selection and obtaining the floor, and to be more effective than the use of individual components as solitary mechanisms.

These findings suggest that a multimodal form of self-selection is a superior method in floor obtainment in a multi-party context, and that a more complex turn-taking model than that proposed in prior literature may be needed to reflect self-selection in a competitive multi-party social interaction.

This paper relates quite closely with the conference theme, specifically to the thematic area centerig around the organization of turn-taking in multi-party interaction and how participants configure opportunities to participate within this context.

# Learning to Participate while Shifting Location in a Hospital Ward

### MALENE KJÆR

#### **Aalborg University**

The study presented is based on an analysis of video recordings of naturally occurring data from a Danish hospital ward, capturing the situated practice and interaction between student nurses, clinical supervisors and patients when the students are trainees at the hospital as part of their education.

Student nurses develop their professional vision (Goodwin, 1994) and their professional identity through interaction and participation in clinical practice. Shifting embodied participation frameworks (Goodwin, 2000b) and the use of contextual configurations (Goodwin, 2000a) are crucial parts of the development of a professional identity for the students as they learn to become competent practitioners or members (Sacks, 1989; Schegloff, 2007) in the field of nursing. The present study shows how students and their clinical supervisors move through different locations when students are introduced to new practices and interactions with patients: Instruction before interaction with patient takes place in the guardroom, the interaction with the patient takes place in the patient's room and the assessment of the performed task takes place in the guard room again. Thus different kinds of routinized participation and interaction emerge that are connected to the different locations.



Participation is thus understood in two ways: 1) Learning to participate as a competent practitioner with a patient is learned not just in situ by the patient's side but also by 2) participating in interaction with the clinical supervisor alone, receiving instructions and assessments about the participation with the patient. Thus the study shows how the development of a professional vision and the process of learning to become a member of a community of practice (Hindmarsh, 2010; Lave & Wenger, 1991) is an on-going practice that takes into account the different types of participating and interacting in different locations in the ward, thus training the student to see the 'right things' when participating in interaction with the patient.

# Linguistic and Embodied Tokens of Understanding: Where do They Come?

### Tom Koole<sup>1</sup>, Marloes Herijgers<sup>2</sup> & Ellen Schep<sup>1</sup>

### <sup>1</sup>University of Groningen; <sup>2</sup>Utrecht University

In order to establish and secure intersubjectivity, participants in interaction use different ways of displaying their understanding. One way is the next-turn-procedure by which each turn displays an understanding of the immediately preceding turn (Heritage 1984). Another way consists of a set of tokens more of less specialized in doing understanding. These include linguistic tokens such as 'mh', 'yes', 'oh' and embodied tokens such a head nods and particular practices of gazing (e.g. Schegloff 1981, Jefferson 1984, Stivers 2008, Mondada 2011). In this paper we will present an analysis of the placement of these specialized tokens. We will use Dutch video data from mundane dinner table talk, mundane

talk between friends and family members, and institutional data from financial communication. We will look at different levels of interaction organization such as turn design, sequential organization, and the organization of extended activities to establish where these tokens are placed relative to these organizational features.

The analysis of the placement of the tokens is a necessary step towards establishing the particular contributions of these different tokens in the work of establishing intersubjectivity.

# The Participation of a Scrub Nurse in Instrument Passing: Multimodal Resources in the Organisation of Repair

### TERHI KORKIAKANGAS

#### Institute of Education, University of London

Surgical operations involve a close collaboration between clinicians (i.e. surgeons, nurses, anaesthetists), each participating in distinct activities within the operating theatre. Some studies drawing on the Conversation Analytic (CA) framework have examined the collaborative work of surgeons (e.g., Koschmann et al., 2011; Mondada, 2014), yet less is known about how scrub nurses participate in surgical operations.

Scrub nurses are responsible for the surgical instruments used during an operation. An instrument request by a surgeon makes it relevant for a scrub nurse to pass the requested instrument to the surgeon. The present paper considers participation in this specific collaborative task, using multimodally informed CA. The phenomena under investigation are the difficulties, which emerge sequentially in response to instrument requests, and how multimodal resources (e.g., gesture, movement, handling of objects) are used to deal with these difficulties during repair sequences. When the scrub misunderstands or is not familiar with the instrument being requested, it halts the instrument transfer on the side of the nurse. Thus, the paper examines (1) how scrub nurses initiate repair multimodally, as they seek clarification; (2) how the different ways of undertaking repair by surgeons or other team members enable or hinder scrub nurses' participation in instrument passing. The paper discusses a multimodal account of repair and how it shapes collaborative work in the operating theatre. The data are drawn from a corpus (68h) of video-

work in the operating theatre. The data are drawn from a corpus (68h) of videorecorded surgical operations in a major UK teaching hospital between 2012-2013. The examples involve a range of surgical instruments used during routine and complex procedures.

### Participating Technologies? Nonhuman Others and Socio-Material Assemblages

### ANTONIA KRUMMHEUER

### **Aalborg University**

This talk takes up the conversation analytical understanding of participation and combines it with the idea of technical agency developed in actor-network theory (Latour 2005). Rather than depicting nonhumans as objects of human actions, actor-network theory understands actions as socio-material assemblages of humans and nonhumans that form actions. Thus nonhumans become participants of social actions. But, actor-network theory misses the moment-by-moment development of practices, which, for example, can be seen in workplace studies (Luff, Hindmarsh, & Heath 2001) and does not distinguish different participation statuses within the assemblage.

According to Goodwin & Goodwin (2004, p. 222) the paper understands participation as "actions demonstrating forms of involvement performed by parties within evolving structures of talk." This perspective directs the focus towards practices and the accounts and interpretations evolving within these practices. The present talk focuses on the participation status of technologies that evolves within the structure of certain practices. How can technologies interactionally be constructed as participants and can we different kinds of participation statuses of technologies?

The discussion will be based on the analysis of video-recordings from two data-sets that show different ways of how technologies take part in interactions. The focus is set on the participation framework of the situation and the construction of a participation status of the technology. The first example shows an interchange between a human and a human-like software programme. The analysis shows how (episodically) the technology can becomes a conversation partner. The other example derives from a try-out period in which people with acquired brain injury were introduced to a new walking help. The analysis shows how the practice of walking can only be establish by the close interplay of a hybrid assemblage consisting of the material affordances of the technology, the bodily affordances of the user and the scaffolding by the accompanying helpers.

### Participating without Speaking the Language of the Encounter: On Multimodal Action Formation for Participation

### SATOMI KUROSHIMA<sup>1</sup> & LORENZA MONDADA<sup>2</sup>

### <sup>1</sup>Chiba University; <sup>2</sup>University of Basel

How is participation organized when a speaker addresses a group of recipients in which one does neither speak nor understand the language of the interaction? This paper aims at describing verbal and embodied practices concerning both turn formatting and action formation through which the participation of a ratified participant who does not speak the language of the interaction is secured.

Based on video recordings of shop encounters in Tokyo, the paper elucidates the ways in which shop keepers and customers interact with one another in commercial encounters, although having different linguistic backgrounds. More particularly the data feature a group of Japanese shopping with a European friend; the analysis focuses on how shop keepers interact with the foreigner participant, talking to her and managing to include her in the participation framework. Participation is constantly achieved through the multimodal organization of the encounter, including a) recipient designed turn formation, addressed through verbal resources, gaze and bodily orientations; b) specifically tailored action formation – for example in the design of offers - exhibiting its accountability through the recruitment and manipulation of objects such as goods and products. Through these specifically recipient designed turns and actions, orienting to the addressee as not speaking the language of the encounter, participation is actively and efficiently built.

This specific cases at hand aim at demonstrating how participation can be achieved by the participants in absence of a common linguistic ground. This casts some light both on the issues of participations and the practices fostering it and on the issues of intercultural interaction as they are locally and contingently managed. Both issues are observable in the methods for achieving a dynamically emerging, context-shaped and context-renewing participation framework.

### **Uncooperative Co-Tellership**

### NI-ENG LIM<sup>1</sup> & HIDEKA WADA<sup>2</sup>

### <sup>1</sup>Nanyang Technological University; <sup>2</sup>Waseda University

How participation status matters in storytelling in multiparty conversation is a welldocumented phenomenon; from how turns are designed differently for knowing and unknowing recipients (Goodwin 1979), how principal characters of stories organize themselves at certain points in the story (Goodwin 1984), to how audiences contribute actively to the character of the story (Goodwin 1986). However, in most of these studies, co-tellers of stories are not only seen to be collaborating, but also corroborating with each other. While co-tellers may compete for the floor, for the most part, they are analyzed as doing complementary work in their co-telling (Mandelbaum 1987; Lerner 1992). Though Lerner (1992) has pointed out how other-repairs may be injected quite abruptly by story consociates (the second knowing participant), these repairs of troubles are nonetheless in service to the general progression of the story and do not differ with the tone of the main storyteller. In contrast, we seek to explore how shared knowledge of the source events for the story also provide opportunities for story consociates to insert alternative understandings or connotations that are in opposition to the principal storyteller.

Based on a video-recorded conversation in Singapore colloquial English between four university orientation camp organizers (who are also seniors in the university), it is argued that repairs and collaborative completions are also practices used by story consociates to impose their version of the event. In effect, the presence of a knowing participant during story-telling may also work against the storyteller, as story consociates are also seen as being imbued with the epistemic authority to usurp the proposed trajectory of the principal storyteller.

# "Talking to Yourself Again?" Being Self-Directed and Other-Oriented: Multiparty Conversation and Dementia

### CAMILLA LINDHOLM

#### University of Helsinki

This paper investigates the issue of conversational participation in multiparty conversation involving persons with dementia. The approach of conversation analysis is used to analyze videotaped data from a Swedish-language care facility for persons with dementia in Finland.

That persons with dementia have difficulties in following and participating in multiparty conversation has been addressed in previous studies of dementia and communication (e.g., Bayles & Tomoeda 2007). Not only do persons with dementia have impaired language skills but they also often have hearing impairment or attention deficits. This adds to their communication challenges in a care home environment involving multiple simultaneous stimuli and leads to isolation and withdrawal from communication situations. Studies of how persons with dementia can be active in and benefit from a group setting are, however, more limited (cf. Lindholm 2013). This is a case study of how a person with dementia, who at first sight is isolated and involved in producing monologues, actually reacts to and includes elements from her environment and others' contributions in her selfdirected speech. Through an in-depth analysis of language and non-verbal behavior like gesture and gaze, I thus show how a person with dementia participates in interaction through an intricate interplay between self-directedness and otherorientation. In conclusion, I argue that persons with dementia are not only passive impaired individuals but interactive human beings capable of reacting to and impacting their environment.

# Possibilities for Participation in Group Counseling

# AIJA LOGREN<sup>1</sup>, JAANA LAITINEN<sup>2</sup> & JOHANNA RUUSUVUORI<sup>1</sup>

### <sup>1</sup>University of Tampere; <sup>2</sup>Finnish Institute of Occupational Health

Group counseling is widely used to induce behavioral change in the target group. Research-based knowledge about interaction processes in group counseling sessions is scarce. This presentation describes how participation is organized in two types of group counseling situations: health education lessons in secondary school and sessions of lifestyle counseling for adults with a high risk of type 2 diabetes.

Both contexts share an institutional task where the supervisor coaches group members towards a common goal of lifestyle change through actions such as giving information and advice, and prompting the group members to reflect their current situation with regard to healthy lifestyle. Among the dyadic discussions between the supervisor and one group member, controlled by the supervisor, there are patterns of interaction, where discussions broaden to include other members of the group and provide them more control over interaction.

This presentation focuses on analyzing shifts in participation framework, how they are located within the ongoing sequence, and the different participant statuses available for group members in each framework. The results of the analysis are discussed with regard to the ways in which different participation frameworks may enable or constrain talk that serves the institutional goal at hand.

The data consist of audiovisual recordings of 6 hours of health education lessons in secondary school and 18 hours of sessions of lifestyle counseling for adults with a high risk of type 2 diabetes.

## Negotiating Participation across Multiple Audiences: Examples of Vocational Guidance Practices among Early Childhood Educators

STEFANO A. LOSA

### **University of Geneva**

According to the revisited perspective recently proposed by Goodwin and Goodwin (2004), the notion of participation allows to finely investigate interactive encounters in which participants contribute to an ongoing activity by verbally and bodily signaling each other their involvement and actions. Because of their empirical frequency as well as their high complexity, multi-party interactions have become a privileged phenomenon to study participation as a sequential process of embodied practices. In such complex encounters, concerns about how participants do orient themselves to co-participants have been largely addressed (i.e. Goodwin, 1979, Egbert, 1997; Bolden, 2011). In particular, multi-party interactions raise issues of recipient-design organization which is defined as the way participants "display an orientation and sensitivity to the particular other(s) who are the coparticipants" (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974, p. 42) and, above all, recipientdesign appropriateness. In relation to this, Goodwin (1979) within conversation analysis and Bell (1984) within sociolinguistics have been showing how participation (language and embodied actions) emerges from the speaker's sequentially constant adaptations and adjustments towards an audience. But what happens when multiple distinct audiences have to be simultaneously addressed? How do speakers adapt and adjust their participation? How appropriateness is constructed? How verbal and multimodal resources are mobilized to simultaneously select multiple audiences? How do audiences cooperate to the ongoing recipientdesign organization? To analyze such a specific case of participation, I draw on audio-video data coming from a research program recently conducted at the University of Geneva and sponsored by the Swiss National Science Foundation, which investigates the construction of professional competences in the field of Vocational and Educational Training of early childhood educators. Findings illustrate particular participation practices through which expert early childhood educators in kindergarten simultaneously achieve to exert both a tutoring function towards early childhood students educators in the workplace and an educative action towards children.

# Understanding L2 Teaching as a Professional Encounter in the Face of Student Participation and Pre-Established Institutional Demands

### TAIANE MALABARBA<sup>1</sup> & JOAN KELLY HALL<sup>2</sup>

### <sup>1</sup>UNISINOS University; <sup>2</sup>Pennsylvania State University

Classroom teaching is a professional encounter in the sense that teachers are hired to perform a type of work whose successful accomplishment is evaluated according to certain institutional requirements. In many Brazilian English as a foreign language (EFL) schools, institutional norms require that a specific teaching method be employed, that English be spoken at all times and that student participation be promoted (Malabarba, 2010). Adopting a conversation analytic perspective we examine how a teacher accomplishes her work in contempt of these demands. More specifically we describe the complex organization of dealing with the mandated instructional sequence of interaction and the local contingencies arising from student participation. The data analyzed consist of eight hours of video-recordings of a first-semester EFL class. The analysis reveals that despite the prevalence of the three-action instructional sequence initiation-response-feedback (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975), which is part of the method that the teachers are expected to employ, students manage to initiate turns spontaneously through questioning and commenting. The teacher orients to both kinds of initiations in similar ways so as to promote student participation while adhering to the institutional mandates. She interrupts the main interactional sequence to take up the student initiative and incorporates it into subsequent turns at talk; she then returns to the main sequence by using very similar wording and gesturing. In the case, for instance, of student questions, which are performed in the L1, the teacher, after a long sequence in English, employs the L1 and a variety of practices that include prosodic and embodied features as well as lengthy pauses that indicate that the use of her and the student's L1 to answer the question is an institutionally dispreferred practice. Such findings help achieve a broader understanding of how L2 teaching is enacted in the face of both institutional and local demands and how the teacher orientation to them is crucial in shaping student participation.

### Design Digital Epistemic Games: A Longitudinal Multimodal Analysis of Participation

## Vassiliki Markaki Lothe<sup>1</sup>, Kristine Lund<sup>2</sup> & Eric Sanchez<sup>1</sup>

### <sup>1</sup>French Institute for Education; <sup>2</sup>University of Lyon

Digital epistemic games are used as a means for training both professionals and students in coping with complex situations (Sanchez, 2013).

The design of simulation, augmented reality, mobile and collaborative epistemic games, meaning the identification of relevant ludic and educational game elements as well as their implementation, is intrinsic to how designers imagine the player playing the game (Rockwell & Kee, 2011). Assess players participation seems therefore to be a crucial issue for game designers. By considering both the resources mobilized by designers in order to achieve participation within exploratory design meetings and the precise collaborative ways of imagining and assessing players participation, we examine the final outcome and players' actual participation. More particularly, we are interested in how interactional accountability for participants is achieved within the setting of the game and how designers' implemented sequential patterns shape players' participation.

Our study draws upon applied conversation analysis (Sacks, 1995; Antaki, 2011) and multimodal analysis (Goodwin et al. 2002; Mondada, 2009) and discusses Murphy's work on transmodality, i.e. " a series of semiotic modulations in which certain core qualities persist, but others are noticeably transformed in the transition from one mode to another. " viewed from the perspective of participation (Murphy, 2012).

This study is part of a larger project called "JEN.lab - Learning with digital epistemic games" aiming at exploring and highlighting key moments in epistemic games design. Empirical research, funded by the French national research foundation (ANR, 2014-2017), is focused on fine grained descriptions of multimodal practices in play-based learning interactions, working on a corpus of video recordings at various stages of the design process of a new epistemic game.

# Opening up Participation Opportunities in Speech Therapy Sessions: The Case of the Aphasic Speaker's Initiatives

### SARA MERLINO

### **University of Basel**

In this contribution I analyse the way aphasic speakers (that is speakers suffering a language disorder due to a brain damage) initiate actions within the speech therapy sessions and open up 'alternative' participation opportunities and formats. Research on speech therapy has highlighted that this form of institutional interaction, whose main objective is the patient's linguistic recovery, is highly structured and driven by the speech therapist and characterised by an asymmetric distribution of participants' contributions (Silvast 1991; Simmons-Mackie & Damico 1999; Horton & Byng 2000; Cortazzi & Jin 2004; Ferguson & Armstrong 2004; Wilkinson 2004; Horton 2006). The session is mainly organized around the therapy tasks which are made up of triadic sequences: the speech therapist's known-answer questions or requests, the patient's response and the speech therapist's third turn evaluations (see for aphasia naming testing Wilkinson 2013). In this paper I focus on expansions initiated by the aphasic speaker either once the triadic sequence is completed (and before moving to the next sequence within the task) or as an alternative to the response evoked by the therapist, and thus as a strategy to bypass difficulties in producing the correct answer. Through these initiatives the patient exploits the interactional resources at his/her disposal (Goodwin 1995, 2003) and performs different types of actions such as assessments and topic initiations. These initiatives favour the development of conversational sequences and give raise to participation formats that are alternative to the ones implied in the tasks and activities proposed by the speech therapist. The study is based on a large corpus of audio and video recordings of speech therapies taking place in different settings (hospital, rehabilitation clinics and private surgeries) in a French-speaking region of Switzerland and in France. The analyses are based of fine-grained transcriptions of participants' audible and visible conduct.

# **Doing Participation in Participatory Democracy Meetings**

### LORENZA MONDADA

#### **University of Basel**

This paper aims at respecifying (Garfinkel, 1991) the notion of 'participation' as a member's concept and as a locally situated accomplishment in and through social interaction. The paper discusses possible connections and divergences between the notion of 'participation framework' originated in Goffman's work (Goffman, 1979) and then largely discussed within the conversation analytic literature (see Drew & Wootton, 1988; Goodwin & Goodwin 2004), and the members' praxeological conception of what 'participation' is within a specific setting and activity – a "participatory" democracy project. I have documented this setting by collecting a large video recorded corpus of meetings in collaborative urban planning, in which local citizens were invited to contribute to the transformation of a military site into a public park. Using these materials as empirical basis, the paper focuses on particular instances within these meetings where citizens, political representatives and facilitators orient to the management of social interaction as raising issues of participation. For instance, by adopting specific practices for managing turn-taking, by considering the pre-selection of a large number of possible speakers, by observably orienting to the public visibility and audibility of the citizen's contributions (Mondada, 2013), the facilitator shapes not only participation as it is locally implemented but also its public and political accountability. On the basis of a collection of instances, the paper aims at showing how "participation" becomes a members' concern, how this is interactively implemented in specific ways, and how it it becomes publicly intelligible.

# "Participation" in Interspecies Interaction: What Kind of Participants are Animals?

### CHLOÉ MONDÉMÉ

#### Université Paris-Sorbonne (Paris IV)

In this communication, we aim to explore the issue of how to is created (or disloqued) a participation framework involving individuals who belong to different species, and who, as we might suppose, do not share embodied cultural resources to rely on. The presupposition investigated here is that resources used both to craft and insure a common interactional space and to sequentially organize participation are socially constructed, and maybe culturally dependent.

This communication will therefore be about macaques, dogs, and humans. It will focus on interspecific interactions in which embodied resources are used to create, maintain but also disrupt a common interactional space. Drawing on video analysis of naturally occurring interactions between rhesus monkey and human passerbys in Morocco, and between dogs and their owners in domestic settings, we would like to see how 'participation', even in these interspecific contexts, is a matter of socially constructed bodily adjustement and action sequencing (Mondada, 2006).

In a Conversation Analytic perspective, several ways in which animals establish a participation framework have already been documented (Rossano, 2013; McMartin & al. 2014), but we propose to focus specifically on the way participation is sequentially organized and distributed in human-animal interaction, through different formats relying upon various bodily, tactile and visual resources. We would also like to analyze practices of visible disengagement (Goodwin, 1981), that happen to be quite common in those interactions. Focusing on resources used to disengage from the participation framework (gaze withdrawal, bodily reorientation) and observing carefully its sequential organization might be a way to propose a post-hoc specification of it.

Eventually, we hope that this detour to the organization of participation in interspecific interaction might help to shed some new lights on the roots of sociality embedded in face-to-face interaction.

### The Give and Take of Handing Papers: Client Participation in Multiparty Social Work Service Encounters

### **DAVID MONTEIRO**

### **University of Basel**

Institutional encounters usually involve two parties: the client and the professional. In social work encounters (organized around the presentation of a case needing institutional support) where there are two clients, they might be treated by the professional as two participants, but also as one single party -- one client being treated as the main responsible for the case, and the other as providing support in the presentation of the case.

This paper addresses the issue of how, within multiparty social work service encounters, clients manage their participation in responding to requests for documents or for information contained in documents (produced by the professional for the fulfillment of a bureaucratic procedure). More specifically, it focuses on how, within a party composed of two clients, objects are used as a resource for participating actively by clients who are not treated to as the 'main responsible' for the case.

Based on a corpus of video recordings of social work encounters taking place in social solidarity institutions in Portugal, this study seeks to explore the diversity of 'embodied participation frameworks' (Goodwin 2007) involved in clients' joint production of responses to professionals' requests. In order to comply with the request, clients collaborate in producing the emergence of an object (which may involve its transformation from an initial 'compact' form to a final form as an information-containing 'text'), demonstrably orienting to the distribution of material objects in the environment, as well as of knowledge and of rights and obligations between the two clients, as relevant for organizing joint action.

For citizens participating in service encounters, presenting documents to the professional becomes a way of participating actively, contributing to a smooth progression of the encounter, as well as a way of displaying their compliance with the institutional routines conditioning the provision of institutional support.

### Multimodality of Turn-Taking: Auspicious Junctures for the Co-Coordination of Self-Selection and the Initiation of Actions

### CHIARA M. MONZONI, RITVA LAURY & ILKKA ARMINEN

#### University of Helsinki

Previous research on the resources employed to manage the turn-taking system and, specifically, self-selection has shown that participants rely on verbal resources (intonational and syntactic), sequential cues and also bodily visual resources. For instance, bodily-visual resources are oriented to by participants to: manage potential incipient speakership; check for opportunities to implement a projected activity; isolate potential prospective recipients before self-selection; achieve mutual engagement with (addressed) recipient(s) at turn-beginnings and during turn-delivery.

Basing our analysis on video-recorded Italian and Finnish family interactions, and using a conversation analytic approach, we will show how in a multi-activity context participants orient to each other's bodily-visual actions and resources to self-select and initiate new (sometimes concurrent) interactional projects. We will show how participants' bodily-visual activities are exploited by incipient speakers as auspicious junctures to self-select. As the incipient speaker's "self-selection" is based on the establishment of the mutually recognized auspicious junctures for initiating action, the self-selection, in these cases, is co-constructed.

We will also show how some of the bodily activities in which participants are engaged (such as taking some object) constitute an interactional environment which can be exploited by others to intervene and self-select at specific places which constitute junctures in the flow of embodied activities. More specifically, prospective recipients' embodied activities display a clear structure which is oriented to by incipient speakers and which constitutes the framework on which self-selection by incipient speakers operates. For instance, incipient speakers may initiate turns after close monitoring of the recipients' activities and self-select at the very end of those activities. Similarly, the projectability of the end of the embodied actions by prospective recipients can be exploited to self-select before the end of those activities, in order to alter the way they are performed.

## Participation by Paralyzed Body in Hospital Care: ALS Patient's Methods for Making Instructions in Place of Bodily Interaction

### KAZUHIKO NAKAYAMA

### **Kobe University**

The paper analyses how an ALS patient in long-term hospitalization achieves participation in the everyday nursing for her body through giving the nurse the written instructions in advance. Studies in ethnomethodology and anthropology have shown the troubles faced by the patients with paralysed body in everyday and medical settings and how the problems are coped with by them (e.g. Murphy 1987, Robillard 1999). The paper tries to elaborate the phenomenon in another everyday and medical setting of long-term hopitalization in a case of a Japanese ALS female patient.

The present study draws on a long-term observation and interview with the patient with ALS who has been in hospitals for 15 years and tries to show how the troubles are coped witth, partially and in advance, through the patient's act of giving a normative set of written instructions about the everyday care for her mouth ("oral health care") to the nurses. The set of instructions were enacted by the patient (through the interactional help of a nurse) as additions and partial modification of the formal oral-care procedures, and has been posted on the wall of her room in the ward. The paper focuses on the "manifest" features of the instructions as written texts as well as on the "background" features of everyday life of the hospital as the mutually achieved use of the instruction, as devices for recognition, interpretation, and assessment of the oral-health care practice of the nurse. The paper tries to show that the written instructions embedded in the situated medical action are constitutive not only for providing additional rules for the professional conduct of the nurse but also for changing and constructing a system of meaning that helps to provide the patient with an institutional identity of a "conscious person/ patient with immobile body."

# Participation Frameworks in Interviews with Couples Living with Dementia: Touching as a Resource for Constructing We-ness

### ELIN NILSSON, ANNA EKSTRÖM & ALI REZA MAJLESI

### Linköping University

This study investigates touching as a resource for creating co-speakership in response sequences in interviews with couples living with dementia. Using video recordings of life story interviews with couples where one partner is diagnosed with dementia, this study demonstrates how momentary social constellations of 'weness' (Hydén & Nilsson, forthcoming) are created in the co-construction of a joint story. Detailed sequential analyses (Sacks, 1992; Schegloff, 2007) of the interviews show that couples use touching, among other resources, to modify participation framework, and to position themselves as a we-constellation in the storytelling. Previous studies show the significance of collaboration in the accomplishment of joint activities, including storytelling, with people with dementia (Hydén, 2011, 2014). It has also been shown how people with communicative impairment may exploit, or build on, their co-participants' on-going actions to co-construct their own action (Goodwin, 2003). In the current study, we, too, underscore how people with dementia and their partners cooperatively produce relevant actions and how the actions of both partners constitute important resources for the other partner to participate in activities. The results show that by using touch in the design of joint actions, couples not only show affect and stance in interaction, but they also manage changes in the participation framework. That is, in co-engaging partners in talk, touching is timely used in the design of an ongoing action, to offer or seek co-speakership in telling a story. Through the creation of a we-constellation, the partners recurrently display co-speakership by creating a framework for participation where the couple is jointly addressing the interviewer – even though only one of them is speaking. Touching appears to be a notable resource as part of a multimodal interactional unit either to heighten the display of involvement in cospeakership and co-recipiency or to mitigate the temporary suspension of a weconstellation

### **Participation in Theatre Rehearsals**

### STEFAN NORRTHON

### Stockholm University

In my talk, I will present parts of a pilot study, carried out as part of work on my forthcoming dissertation on the theatre's rehearsal work. With authentic examples, I want to highlight and discuss participation (e.g. Goodwin & Goodwin 2004) based on how the actors during rehearsals going in and out of the "present" (rehearsal practice) and the "past" (play dialogue) and what resources they use to signal this change of footing. The material consists of video recordings from rehearsals at the Stockholm City Theatre, working with Henrik Ibsen's play An Enemy of the People [ An Enemy of the People ] (1882), in the processing of the director. The video material has been analyzed with multimodal interaction analysis (Goodwin 2000, Heath et al 2010) and recordings from the beginning and the final stage of the process have been compared with each other and with the written text. In the material, "authentic" interaction between professionals is mixed with "fictional" dialogue between fictional characters, and the material invites to an analysis of participation on several levels.

The thesis includes both a conversation analytic and a sociosemiotic approach, and the material is studied from two related perspectives. The first perspective, which is the subject of my presentation, involves the rehearsal seen as a communicative situation, and the focus is on the actors' interaction in shaping the play's roles. The second perspective involves the rehearsal seen as a process of sign production, where participants try, evaluate, and put together different semiotic resources into a whole. The perspectives are linked by the fact that the interaction is designed to produce signs, at the same time as characters (text, gesture, scenography etc.) constitutes and affects the interaction.

# Complex Constellations: Organizing Multiple Forms of Participation in Classroom Interactions

### SÖREN OHLHUS

### **Bielefeld University**

In classroom interaction the organization of multiple forms of participation is an ongoing issue. My paper addresses a specific form of participation framework that can be characterized as a kind of didactic enactment: Teachers discuss certain aspects of a topic in a dyad with one student while at the same time opening up this dyad to the public of the classroom so that "everybody" can participate in the learning process.

In a case study of a first grade mathematics lesson on spatial perception I want to reconstruct some organizational problems and interactive solutions that originate in this specific constellation. Subject matter of the lesson is a building of cubes. Due to perspective, not all components can be seen from everywhere – which is a problem when trying to count the cubes. The lesson is especially interesting for the question of how participation is organized because of the different semiotic resources that play a crucial role in it: material objects, bodily postures, pointing gestures, and language all have to be coordinated to construct the visible and invisible properties of the cube building interactively – and make these properties noticeable and relevant both for the teacher and student in front of the class and the observers in the classroom.

Using the concept of participation frameworks (e.g. elaborated in Goodwin 2007) I want to show, which specific difficulties emerge from this constellation and how these difficulties are addressed and overcome in interaction.

## Address a Party and Select the Next Speaker: The Case of a Call to Witness in a Singing Therapeutic Workshop

### IRINA OLARIU

#### **EHESS**

Through an empirical study, based on video recordings of 13 singing therapeutic workshops, we observe how participants address a party while constituting another one as a target. If "addressing a party per se will not necessarily select him as next speaker" (Sacks, Schegloff, Jefferson, 1978:29) it is interesting to explore how participants link the "current speaker selects next" technique to the implementation of an action, a humorous call to witness, which makes relevant the contribution of another party (which is not the addressed one) in the next position.

Our objective is to explore how different "semiotic fields" (Goodwin, 2000) -spoken language, gestures and posture- mutually elaborate each other to construct a humorous call to witness as a social action. This commitment to complexity which becomes visible in the "field" thinking has the advantage to lacking clear causal mechanisms (Streeck & Jordan 2009) and allows us to explore several questions. How do participants use different resources to collaboratively create meaning through a humorous call to witness? Does their embodied participation show that they orient to a distinction between recipient and addressee (Levinson, 1988)?

### More than a Recipient: Co-Constructing Co-Participation

### FLORENCE OLOFF

#### **University of Zurich**

Since Sacks' (1992) initial description of "collaboratively built sentences", the practice consisting in completing (i.e., co-constructing) another participant's utterance has been investigated in a series of studies within the domains of Conversation Analysis and Interactional Linguistics. While some researchers underline the social aspects of co-construction, i.e., how (group) identity is managed and displayed (Coates 1994; Müller & Klaeger 2010; Sacks 1992), most interactional research has focused on co-construction as a grammatical practice, investigating its syntactic (e.g. Lerner 1991, 1996, 2004) and / or prosodic features (e.g. Local 2005; Szczepek 2000).

Despite the important amount of work on co-constructional sequences, very few studies explicitly connect co-construction with the notion of participation (Antaki et al. 1996). Participation issues that are directly related to co-construction have been mainly addressed within specific sequence types, such as storytellings (Goodwin & Goodwin 1986, Lerner 1992), explaining sequences (Lerner & Takagi 1999), or various forms of "collective descriptions" (Mondada 1999). Although detailed investigations of different lexico-syntactic formats of pre-emptive completions exist (Brenning 2014), up to now there have been few attempts to clearly tackle the link between completion formats and participation (see Hayashi 2014).

This paper thus looks at the degree of recipiency that co-participants display through different formats of pre-emptive completions. Put differently, to what extent is the co-completing participant still a recipient or already a (co-)speaker, and to what extent can the first speaker then become a recipient (cf. C. Goodwin 1986, M. H. Goodwin 1990, 1997)? Based on videotaped ordinary multi-party conversations in French and German, I will analyse the precise audible and visible formatting of the proffered completions and how they are responded to by the first speaker. The analyses will show how participants can display and negotiate different degrees of recipiency in collaborative turn sequences by making use of specific lexical (e.g. response tokens) or embodied (e.g. head movements, gaze, laughter particles) resources.

## It Takes Two to Tango: Collaboratively Achieving Reenactment in Storytelling

### XIN PENG & WEI ZHANG

#### City University of Hong Kong

To account for the fact that co-present conversation is by nature multimodal, studies in conversation analysis and interactional linguistics have examined multiple semiotic resources through which participants coordinate their talk in interaction (C. Goodwin 1984; M. Goodwin 2006a, 2006b; M. Goodwin C. Goodwin & Yaeger-Dror 2002; Heath & Luff 2013; Mondada 2009a, 2009b; Stivers 2008, etc.). A frequent activity in conversation is storytelling, and very often story teller reenacts embodied actions of characters in the story being told (Sidnell 2006).

This study reports on a case study of reenactment in storytelling in Chinese conversation, in particular, how story recipient takes part in reenactment initiated by storyteller. Our analysis focuses on reenactment as a joint achievement by storyteller and recipient. The instances we examine are extracted from a video-recorded conversation that took place during a reunion of three friends in their winter holiday. We will show (1) how storyteller enlists recipient to participate as the affected party in the reenactment that involved two parties in the story being told, and (2) how the enlisted recipient displays alignment by making expected matching facial expressions. We will discuss this joint reenactment in light of the notion of participation understood as how participants build actions in interaction "by participating in structured ways in the events that constitute a state of talk" (Goodwin & Goodwin 2004: 225). Co-participants negotiate and adjust their identities in conversation on a moment-by-moment basis as participation issues emerge (Goodwin 1979). In our case, by aligning with the invitation to the reenactment initiated by storyteller, the enlisted recipient takes on a new participation role as a character in the event being recounted in addition to his role as story recipient.

## **Doing Inquiries through Unfinished Utterances** in French Talk-in-Interaction

### RASMUS PERSSON

#### **University of York & Lund University**

This paper, reporting research in progress, explores unfinished (syntactically incomplete) utterances constituting first parts in adjacency pairs:

(B is calling about applying to a particular master year two at the faculty where A works)

- A: Et actuellement vous êtes en maîtrise de::¿

  And at the moment you're doing a master year one in
- B: Droit des alffaires\_
  Business law

Designed to be completed by the addressee, A's turn functions as a question: it solicits a particular type of responsive contribution from the more knowledgeable B.

Based on a collection of such sequences drawn from various corpora of French talk-in-interaction in different mundane and institutional settings, the paper relates to the theme of how specific sequential environments both enable and constrain participation. These unfinished utterances allow addressed participants one specific form of involvement within (and in) emerging syntactic structure. Importantly, unlike in *collaborative completions* (Lerner 1991, 1996), the co-participant's completion here is not merely fitted – it can be noticeably absent. If not forthcoming, it is subsequently pursued by the first participant using e.g. interrogative pronouns or candidate completions.

This systematic phenomenon shows that participants dynamically analyse interactional activities in progress, and not merely their outcome (complete linguistic units/sub-units). It also suggests that a speaker–hearer dichotomy of participants does not adequately represent how participants attend (and contribute) to emerging syntactic structures, monitoring talk for how it makes relevant shifts in participatory roles *within* such syntactic structures. Rather than orienting to linguistic units, and keeping to current speaker–hearer roles until some unit is completed, interactants orient to activities. Instead of seeing question/answer as two independent linguistic "building blocks", this study conceptualises the tasks of inquiring and answering as connected in one coherent process.

### Il faut pas le dire, ils le savent pas, les anglais: When Participation Frameworks and Affiliation Practices are Linked to Language (In)Expertise

### Vanessa Piccoli<sup>1</sup> & Rosa Pugliese<sup>2</sup>

### <sup>1</sup>ICAR Lab, Université Lyon 2; <sup>2</sup>University of Bologna

To account for the fact that co-present conversation is by nature multimodal, studies grounded in a conversation analytic approach, this contribution explores shifts in participation that are bound up with the speakers' language (in)expertise. We refer to participation as the set of embodied actions demonstrating the parties' involvement within the evolving interaction (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004) and, more specifically, as a "multi-party, interactively sustained, embodied field within which utterances are collaboratively shaped as meaningful, locally relevant action" (Goodwin 2007: 38).

Data are drawn from a larger video corpus collected for a research on Romance Intercomprehension practices and composed by naturally occurring interactions between Romance speakers at three international trade fairs in Italy and France. International trade fairs represent a peculiar interactional microcosm characterized by a multilingual/intercultural environment and by the lack of a designated vehicular language. Usually, participants negotiate the language of the interaction at the beginning, thus orienting to their knowledge in second languages and also assessing it; using English as lingua franca is a common practice, as it is using the language of one of the participants. Nevertheless, our data show that fully unilingual interactions are rare: participants often happen to rely on code-switching practices (Auer, 2000) and multilingual communication.

We will focus on several cases where participation issues emerge in a significant interplay of actions: an explicit thematization of the language proficiency of one or more participants, leading to a switch of code and a simultaneous shift in the participation framework, which, in turn, entails exclusion/inclusion dynamics (Lüdi & al., 2012). Related to this last aspect are the speakers' affiliation/disaffiliation practices accomplished by using the mother tongue of the other speaker(s) as a strategy for establishing a good relationship with prospective professional partners (Clark & al., 2003) or by jointly making their shared poor proficiency in English relevant as a topic, thus challenging the idea that English is the preferred language for business (Bothorel-Witz & Tsamadou-Jacoberger, 2009).

# Crafting Participation as and for a Cognitively Impaired Person: Doing Grocery Shopping

### KAROLA PITSCH

### **University of Duisburg-Essen**

Research on communication in which participants dispose of asymmetrical resources and thus have different access to the communicational business at hand has often focused on institutional and foreign language situations. More recently, a growing body of interest emerges on talk-in-interaction involving people with communicative impairment (Goodwin; Wilkinson). Yet, little attention has been given to situations in which so-called 'cognitively impaired people' attempt to participate in daily communicative and practical tasks.

In this paper, we investigate situations in which cognitively impaired people undertake their weekly grocery shopping in the local supermarket being assisted by a care-taker. Video-recordings of such routine activities shows that they carry out all tasks typically involved in 'doing shopping' by themselves: name the objects required, choose and pick them up from the shelves, put them in the trolley and push it through the supermarket, place the items on the conveyer belt and pay for them. Sequential micro-analysis of the interaction between the person and her care-take reveals the detailed communicative and embodied practices through which the care-taker manages to place the cognitively impaired person in a position to skillfully bring to bear her competences of carrying out these tasks.

We will focus on situations of naming an item, choosing and picking it up from the shelf (cf. de Stefani) and investigate the ways in which the interactional system 'impaired person & care-taker' manages to fulfill these tasks. How do both participants shape and transform step-by-step the naming of an item into a manageable and practical course of actions? How does the care-taker organize the sequential environment around the person's actions? Analysis will reveal how embodied actions, such as turning in a particular way, help to reduce the set of possible relevant next actions and thereby help to format the ongoing course of action in a particular way.

### **Enacting Speakership in Classroom Interactions**

### **EVELYNE POCHON-BERGER**

### University of Neuchâtel

Goodwin's work on 'embodied participation' has evidenced the multiplicity of semiotic resources to which participants orient in order to organize social interaction. Participants make sense of their mutual actions insofar as they are situated in a particular physical environment. In research on the classroom context, increased attention has been paid recently to non-verbal dimensions of students' participation. Studies interested in turn-allocation procedures have shown how students display their 'willingness' to be *other-selected* through precisely timed embodied resources: conventional means such as raising the hand (see Sahlström, 2002) or more subtle means such as establishing eye contact (see Mortensen, 2008). By deploying these conducts in a particular context (i.e. at a TRP after the teacher's initiating action), the students signal their availability for taking the next turn.

This paper focuses on the embodied resources students' draw on to *self-select* for a turn in a competitive environment. The study is based on a corpus of French as a foreign language classroom interactions (whole-class activities and group-works). It explores how students enact 'willingness' to take, maintain and close the turn-attalk. The analyses focus in particular on torso movements and hand gestures by means of which participants draw co-participants' attention and project incipient speakership. In turn, the relinquishment of that body positioning or hand gesture indicates the termination of speakership, while the freezing of those displays the ongoingness of the turn-at-talk. Insofar as these embodied conducts may occur right before a turn onset or after a turn completion, it questions *when* exactly does the turn-at-talk start or end: does it include these prior or subsequent conducts? It also further questions the very notion of 'turn-at-talk' as a relevant unit of analysis for understanding participation in the classroom.

## Dynamics of Participation in Institutional Text Production

### PAOLA POLSELLI

#### **Independent Researcher**

With the enhanced possibilities of social communication, health institutions are facing the increased importance of text production as a socially decisive form of language use. The need to reduce social barriers and construct an image of accountability towards the public forces them to pursue communication policies meant to reduce the asymmetries in information exchange practices. The main aim of the professional groups involved in text production is to find the most appropriate form and content to make this sort of task a significant (and socially useful) professional practice and to make health-related written communication decisive for social participation especially when it relates to unwelcome matters, as in "debt collection letters".

Considering text production in an Italian local health unit, we will observe how decisions about forms and degrees of participation allow us to 'identify the "traces" that are generated by the links that arise between documents and institutions, documents and people, documents and concepts, and documents with each other' (Prior, 2008: 830). This ethnographic research adopts a participatory and interventionist epistemological stance as its aim is to improve local health unit written communication to citizens and to enhance educational practices for inservice training. The data collected consist of field notes, group discussions, questionnaires and texts locally produced.

The research enabled us to get a closer insight into operators' views about citizens' or experts' participation in their professional tasks. The dynamics of participation are investigated especially as regards the importance of institutional inter-textual chains and key discursive aspects of requests for social participation in the evaluation of institutional text production. Results indicate that participation can play a key role in the improvement of institutional communication, provided that a process analysis of cycles of revision phases is related to material and social structures of the specific socio-cultural context.

# Starting to Play in a Serious Game Installation: Framing Participation through the Discovery and Use of a Material Device

### MARC RELIEU<sup>1</sup> & ALAIN BOVET<sup>2</sup>

### <sup>1</sup>Télécom Paristech; <sup>2</sup>ETH Zurich

Originally introduced by Goffman (1981) as a typology of recipiency statuses of both ratified and unratified co-present members and designed to deconstruct the dual pair of hearer and speaker, the study of "participation framework" has been refined by Goodwin (1986, 1987, 1988, 2000, 2002, 2007; Goodwin & Goodwin 1987, 1992, 2004) in several studies based on the close analysis of the embodied conduct. Goodwin (2007: 24) presents an alternate perspective on participation, in which it is "analyzed as a temporally unfolding process through which separate parties demonstrate to each other their ongoing understanding of the events they are engaged in by building actions that contribute to the further progression of these very same events".

In line with this approach, we want to focus on participation as a practical achievement locally produced through a configurational work in which body orientations, gaze orientation to objects and tasks merge with the management of talk. This focus will be examined through the close study of a video fragment in which members progressively get involved into Biotope, a serious game device installed in an immersive dome (Bovet & Relieu 2014).

Biotope requires lay visitors to manipulate a tactile screen in order to enter urban planning options, with consequences on environmental sustainability. In this paper, we will use video data recorded by multiple cameras in order to examine how visitors progressively engage into the game under the guidance of a facilitator. This process can be described as an organization of participation both into the very activity of manipulating the interface and into the making of urban planning decisions. Beginnings of sessions appear then as perspicuous settings for the examination of participatory issues, in that they exhibit how visitors orient to and exploit various aspects of the situation both in order to claim, ascribe or reject a variety of participatory statuses, and for the practical discovery of the material embeddedness of the game through its manipulations.

# On the Interaction between Epistemic Stance and Participation Status: The Case of Northern Irish 'Sure'

CATRIN S. RHYS

### **Ulster University**

A relationship between the epistemic properties of talk and the ongoing participation framework of the interaction has previously been noted in relation to overt displays of knowledge or forgetfulness (e.g. Goodwin 1987, Kidwell, 1997). This paper examines this relationship in the context of the epistemic stance marker 'sure' in Northern Irish English (NIE). NIE 'sure' occurs turn-initially, turn-finally and as a complete TCU in its own right. This paper focuses on the interaction between turn design, epistemic stance and participation status in the turn-initial instances of 'sure' in a corpus of mundane conversations. In particular, I show a relationship between the epistemic properties of turn initial 'sure', orientation to joint action and sequence closure.

Heritage (2013) notes a growing body of research into turn-initial objects and observes, for such objects, a clustering around "expectation cancelling functions", the exact nature of which depends inter alia on sequential positioning. This paper shows that participants primarily orient to 'sure' as an epistemic stance marker that marks a shared [K+] status for speaker and hearer. In other words, the content of the turn is oriented to as shared information rather than new information. This has interesting consequences for the actional import of the turn at talk, revealing orientation to joint action by the participants. In addition, when sequential positioning is taken into account, the analysis reveals an interaction between orientation to joint action and sequence closure. This is in keeping with Heritage's observations about the "expectation cancelling functions" of turn-initial occupants since 'sure' is frequently oriented to as cancelling the response relevance of certain actions.

The epistemic stance displayed by 'sure' thus seems to simultaneously increase the participation status of the recipient through the displayed orientation to joint action whilst also reducing participation opportunities through the orientation to sequence closure.

# The Development of Participation in Cultural Practices Involving Everyday Objects during the First Year of Life

# NICOLE ROSSMANITH<sup>1</sup>, ALAN COSTALL<sup>2</sup>, ANDREAS REICHELT<sup>2</sup>, BEATRIZ LÓPEZ<sup>1</sup> & VASUDEVI REDDY<sup>1</sup>

### <sup>1</sup>University of Portsmouth; <sup>2</sup>Queens University

How do we arrive at a shared world which we can communicate about, jointly act in, transform and co-create through our actions? How do infants grow in and into culture and become competent participants in cultural practices and complex networks of meaning-making involving people and artifacts? This talk challenges the assumption - widely held in developmental psychology - that cultural learning and a 'sharing of the object world' only begins at the end of the first year with the sudden emergence of triadic interactions when infants are first credited with the ability to co-ordinate engagement between people and objects.

Presenting examples from a naturalistic longitudinal study visiting 10 infants and caregivers once a month from 3 to 12 months and accompanying them though their everyday life activities we show that cultural activities involving objects (e.g. book sharing) occurred from as early as 3 months and were practiced in a highly coordinated way from the beginning, with infants actively participating and coordinating their engagement between caregiver and object.

Using qualitative video analysis at a micro-level combining methods from developmental psychology, conversation and interaction analysis, we 1) explore how caregivers and infants multi-modally structure shared spaces of meaning and action around objects together, 2) sketch how this develops over the first year and 3) discuss how the hitherto largely overlooked interactions in the early period between 3-6 months may play a crucial role for cultural learning and culture creation: In structuring shared spaces of meaning and action infant and caregiver are weaving the very substrate of culture together through interaction and (together with the object) create a (culturally shaped) "container" in which participation, cooperation and learning can continuously develop.

Looking at these early interactions invites revisiting and discussing the key questions: what is participation and how does it develop in and through interaction?

### One Request - Multiple Responses

### **AXEL SCHMIDT & ARNULF DEPPERMANN**

### **University of Mannheim**

In multi-party interaction, particularly in professional settings, requests are often addressed to more than one participant, but they require compliance from multiple responders (Clark & Carlson 1982). In addition, different kinds of responders belonging to different membership categories relevant for the task at hand may be expected to perform different kinds of responsive actions (Hindmarsh & Pilnick 2002; Schmitt & Deppermann 2007). The kind of response expected depends on the division of labor among participants with respect to an ongoing joint project. In our paper, we deal with one such site of multimodal interaction, in which single requests project a range of different coordinated responding actions, namely theater rehearsals. Directors routinely initiate the transition from discussion phases to play phases and corrections by requests which require responses from the ensemble of actors (starting /correcting their performance), the technicians (e.g. changing the light) and the musicians (starting to play music) participating in the rehearsal. Collective requests are addressed to all ratified participants, but individual requests addressed to single participants may be action-implicative for other participants as well (e.g. requiring to stop or modify their own actions accordingly). A distinctive pattern of sequential organization of responses is the following: first, responders accomplish the required spatial configuration; this phase is the precondition for the eventual coordinated entry into the requested activity. While the first phase is rather loosely structured and not time-critical, the second requires precision-timed interpersonal coordination of body movements. Over the course of this responsive trajectory of fulfilling the conditional relevance of the request (cf. Goodwin & Cekaite 2013), additional instructions and negotiations concerning the precise terms of the request may be going on simultaneously with other activities enabling the complying action. The study rests on a corpus of 33 hours of video-recordings of theater rehearsals in German

# The Co-construction of Participation in Classroom Talk-in-Interaction during Student-Teacher Participatory Assessment Council

### LIA SCHULZ & PEDRO GARCEZ

#### Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul

We describe participation structures observed in classroom talk-in-interaction in a public school in Porto Alegre, Brazil. The concept of participation structure adopted has benefited from theoretical and methodological contributions from Conversation Analysis and Interactional Sociolinguistics. Fieldwork research included generation of ethnographic and microethnographic data, participant observation and audiovisual recordings of classroom interaction during the school's quarterly student-teacher participatory assessment council, during which students, their teachers, and other educators discuss both the learning and the teaching accomplished over the period. It was observed that the pupils' constant participation, fostered during both routine classroom talk-in-interaction and council meetings, is related to the school's history and to recurrent actions taken by teachers and educators to ensure that the school's socially inclusive politicalpedagogical project is put into practice daily. The arena of participation constructed in participatory assessment council meetings, during which anyone could participate and take turns to say what s/he was learning and what difficulties s/he was facing, allowed pupils to be protagonists of their own schooling. For the work reported here, five hours of interactional data recorded during participatory assessment council meetings were analyzed. Detailed analysis of activities during a preparatory assembly for the council meetings proper revealed the emergence of several practices (such as accounts, orchestration of participants' turns, management of the pupils' choices and construction of collective authorship), characterizing the council meeting as an event in which opportunities to participate were available to all and were constantly ratified. We argue that the observed relationship between participation and learning promoted by the actions of teachers and educators revealed that, in order to transform the school into an arena of learning for all, it was crucial that each and every pupil participate, so that the learning resulted from collective commitment, participation and authorship by evervone.

# Managing Epistemic Stances and the Right to Participate in the EFL Classroom

### KLARA SKOGMYR MARIAN & SILVIA KUNITZ

#### Stockholm University

The present conversation analytic study investigates how changes in students' epistemic positioning (Sahlström, 2011) may have an impact on their participation in group activities in the classroom. The dataset consists of ten hours of video-recorded classroom instruction in English as a foreign language that took place over a week at a junior high school in Sweden.

In the whole dataset the participants' stances toward asymmetries in knowledge, often manifested through jokes and mockery, seem to affect the students' participatory roles in group activities. In particular, the analysis will follow the changes in participation of one student, Emma, during a vocabulary quiz based on a picture-naming exercise that was assigned as homework. At first, Emma's participation is peripheral. As the activity progresses, though, Emma starts displaying knowledge of the relevant lexical items: (a) by responding to a coparticipant's question that was not ostensibly directed at her; and then (b) by providing alternative solutions to the answers that had been agreed upon by the other group members. As she accomplishes these actions, Emma also invokes her memorization of the lexical items in the work-sheet as warranting for her increased participation in the vocabulary activity. Through her longitudinal orientation to previous learning experiences (i.e., the homework and the subsequent memorization of the lexical items), then, Emma gains epistemic authority in the group. Emma's change in participation toward a more agentive role, in fact, is accompanied and granted by a change in the coparticipants' stances: at first held accountable for any mistake that might result from the acceptance of the solution she proposes, Emma is then oriented to as a knowledgeable student who can provide accurate answers. Overall, the study demonstrates how the right to active participation is negotiated on a moment-by-moment basis, as the students calibrate their respective epistemic statuses (Heritage, 2013).

### Participating in Discovery: Noticings, Assessments, and Their Role in Constituting Scientific Discoveries

### MICHAEL SMITH & SAUL ALBERT 2

### <sup>1</sup>UCLA; <sup>2</sup>Queen Mary University of London

We describe participation structures observed in classroom talk-in-interaction in a This study reports on the interactional practices of noticing and assessment amongst a group of novice and senior geologists that create, sustain, and transform their participation in scientific fieldwork.

Ethnomethodology's respecification of scientific practice (Button 1991) posits that participation in interactional, socio-cultural practices constitutes "the very internal, epistemic, cognitive or intellectual stuff of science" (Coulter 1989). This programme has refocused the sociology of knowledge on exploring how tools, social settings and embodied practices simultaneously construct scientific knowledge while reflexively constituting a professional scientific community.

The data comes from a video-ethnography of novice and senior geologists conducting fieldwork in the upper mid-west United States. The interactions occur in wilderness settings, and thus are inherently dynamic as participants walk through heterogeneous environments. This milieu provides for both a variability in a) group interaction—with participants being able to move away, towards, or with one another—and b) in their immediate co-present environment as they negotiate uneven terrain.

Focusing on moments where participants move from unfocused to focused spates of mobile talk-in-interaction, our analysis demonstrates that the deployment of noticings during fieldwork provides opportunities for carefully constructing both what and how something becomes situatedly relevant for the participants; while also providing the very means by which novice and senior practitioners constitute *discovery* in scientific practice. We further show that, where noticings occasion spates of continuous talk, subsequent assessments can laminate onto these 'noticables', and act as a tacit and explicit practice for categorizing relevant features of the local environment as discoveries.

Building off our findings, we argue that the systematic work of scientific discovery, interleaved as it is with moments of everyday interaction, illustrates how people deploy fundamental structures of human interaction when participating in discovery as a generalized social practice.

# Claiming, Maintaining and Ascribing Participation Status in Repair and Maintenance Work

### IGNAZ STREBEL & ALAIN BOVET

#### **ETH Zurich**

Concierges routinely accomplish a variety of repair and maintenance tasks in tenants' flats. When present, and especially when the task requires an extended time, the tenant usually does not stay close to the concierge and conducts her/his daily business in the flat. The situation configures a specific participation framework where both parties claim, maintain and ascribe each other a status of ratified participant (Goffman 1981, Goodwin, Goodwin 2004), though with qualified rights and duties which have to do with the discontinuous character of the interaction (Haddington et al. 2014).

The paper will focus on instances of summons through which the concierge or the tenant resumes a focused interaction that had been suspended by the extended repair work (Licoppe, Tuncer 2014). Our analysis will be twofold: firstly, we will show that both parties address and deal with the specificities of their mutual availability. Secondly, we will show how this interactional configuration of the participation framework stands in a constitutive relation with the activity at hand, and more specifically with material conditions of the repair and maintenance task, such as the sonic and visual environment, the action undertaken and the equipment used or needed (Heath et al. 2002).

The paper is based on a large corpus of video ethnography that follows concierges at work in buildings and homes located in three cities in Switzerland. It proposes a multimodal analysis of a collection of summons sequences. Such study contributes to a praxiological understanding of the "living building" through the seen but hardly noticed process of its maintenance and repair (Latour, Yaneva 2008).

## Presenting Complex Information in Installments

### JAN SVENNEVIG

### **University of Oslo**

In conversations between first and second language speakers the parties often have to put in extra effort to assure mutual understanding and active participation. Especially when the L2 speaker has limited proficiency, the interlocutor will have to adjust his or her language and style to that level of proficiency. In this presentation I will present one such adjustment in the speech of L1 speakers, namely the practice of chunking complex information into smaller units, referred to as "installments" (Clark 1996). This practice invites the interlocutor to participate actively in the moment-to-moment coordination of meaning by displaying his or her understanding as the turn under construction unfolds. The data come from video recordings of workplace interactions and the method used is Conversation Analysis.

The current analysis will address the question of how L1 speakers present complex information to second language speakers in cases where understanding may potentially be at risk. The practice of presenting information in installments involves producing a short utterance that is recognizable as pragmatically incomplete and then leaving a pause. The incompleteness is marked by rising intonation and frequently also by gestures being held in a frozen position or being continued beyond the completion point. In the ensuing pause, the speaker monitors the interlocutor visually and aurally. This creates a slot for the interlocutor to provide evidence of hearing and understanding, or, on the contrary, to initiate repair at an early stage in the complex turn under production. The interlocutors display an understanding of this expectation in that they typically produce various acknowledgement tokens, both non-verbal (nods, gaze) and verbal (continuers, such as mhm, okay). More elaborate receipts of information (such as assessments and change-of-state tokens) are withheld until the complex turn is brought to an end. The study thus contributes to a specification of the verbal and non-verbal characteristics of speaking in installments and their function in L1-L2 interaction.

### Operating Repair to Ensure Public Knowledge and Manage Participation in Institutional Multi-Party Interactions

### HANNA SVENSSON

#### **University of Basel**

This paper deals with other-initiated repair as a resource employed to ensure public knowledge and to manage the participation framework in institutional multi-party interactions. While the practice of repair has been abundantly studied as a fundamental device for securing intersubjectivity in ordinary conversation (beginning with Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks, 1977), it remains understudied how repair is operated and used to modulate the participation framework in multi-party institutional interaction (but see Bolden 2011 and Egbert 1997). This study is based on extensive video recordings of a participatory democratic project in urban development regarding the transformation of an old military site into a public park. Citizens are invited to attend information meetings and brainstorming workshops mediated by a moderator who is in charge of the organizational aspects of the meetings, the distribution of information and the expression of ideas and opinions relevant for the project. The participants are continuously concerned with the issue of addressing multiple parties with different degrees of and access to relevant knowledge, which is achieved through a variety of actions (Mondada 2013, Mondada in press) – one of them being other-initiated repair. The collection presented in this paper includes instances where repair sequences retrospectively and prospectively modify the participation framework (as understood by Goodwin & Goodwin 2004). The study shows that orienting to and mediating (presumed) troubles of hearing and/or understanding is an interactional practice, deployed to bring-into-being and modulate a collective understanding among the participants. Moreover, this demonstrates that interactants orient to the local and situated achievement of 'shared' or 'public' knowledge as essential for managing participation in institutional interactions. This observation manifests the understanding of participation framework as a situated interactional accomplishment, and extends the comprehension of by what practices it may be crafted.

# **Configuring Opportunities for Audience Participation in Video Games**

### BURAK S. TEKIN

### **University of Basel**

Video game playing practices, by their very nature, are social, linguistic and embodied activities, providing a vivid example of language in action (Mondada, 2013). Game players specifically organize their talk and bodily orientations to coordinate their movements, to compete with one another, and to display their understandings in two separate but interlocking worlds: the real world and the virtual one (see Keating & Sunakawa, 2011).

The data to be considered for this study is sourced from a video recorded corpus of virtual football game playing activities in which two players compete with each other while another participant, as an audience, watch their matches. Adopting the principles of conversation analysis and taking into account various verbal and embodied resources mobilized by the participants, this paper investigates practices in which either a)- the audience initiates a new sequence, participating to the gaming activity, or b)- the players invite the audience to get involved in the simultaneous activity of gaming and talking. More particularly, I will focus on how transition points, during which the participants switch in and out of the games, enable or constrain audience participation. In this dataset, sequences initiated by the audience appear to be occurring when they are all engaged in the game during which they are bodily oriented towards the game screen without exchanging gazes with each other. On the other hand, sequences initiated by the players inviting the audience to participate turn out to be occurring when they are disengaging from the game, in moments of time out, celebration or evaluation of the game so far, which are characterised by mutual orientations enabling gaze exchanges among them.

# Experiencing Senses: Promoting Participation of Visually Impaired Children during a Garden Visit

### ANNA CLAUDIA TICCA & BIAGIO URSI

#### ICAR Lab, Université Lyon 2

This paper analyzes the interactional organization of the activity of sensorial experiencing of plants during a garden visit. Four visually impaired pupils between seven and ten years old are accompanied by two teachers and a guide. Previous conversation analytic research has shown the importance of multimodality and sequential patterns in the interactional organization of guided tours. For example, sighted participants mobilize multimodal resources and rely on recurrent interactional configurations for reference practices (Mondada 2012a, 2012b) and for spatial reorientation (De Stefani & Mondada 2014). With visually impaired visitors, the tactile experience of artworks is collectively realized and sequentially organized through objects' formulation and palpation (Kreplak & Mondémé 2014).

In our data, the sensory experience of plants is a complex activity, due to the different physical impairments of the visitors: teachers are in charge of guiding the children not only in the spatial environment, but also through their multi-sensorial experience. Teachers face the problem of adapting their action to both the sensorial experience they are about to propose to pupils and to children's specific impairments. One recurrent activity is the individualization of the pupils' experience, as when one pupil is invited to read the plants' names on a Braille sign, or to perceive the scent of a leaf. In such cases, teachers navigate from a multi-party configuration to a more restricted one, reconfiguring the participation framework (Goodwin & Goodwin 2004). In doing so, they mobilize tactile resources, as when they let children come close to a plant by guiding them. In other cases, a teacher can act on the experienceable object by plunging her own hands in a bush and letting children experience the smell through a deep sniff of her hands. Sensory features are therefore rendered available and interactionally exploited in order to discover a multidimensional characterization of plants.

# Facilitating the Interactional Participation of Children with Autism Spectrum Disorders Using Multimodal Resources

# KATJA TUONONEN<sup>1</sup>, TERHI KORKIAKANGAS<sup>2</sup>, AARNO LAITILA<sup>1</sup> & EIJA KÄRNÄ<sup>1</sup>

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Children with autism spectrum disorders (ASD) are characterised as having fundamental impairments in social interaction (American Psychiatric Association, 2013). This involves difficulties in responding to social initiations, such as following the gaze shifts and pointing gestures of other people, which can impact the children's participation in shared activities. Often these issues arise in school environment, whereby the lack of participation may hinder learning and restrain the children's potential for social interactions. This makes the role of adult coparticipants particularly important in managing and facilitating the interactional participation of the children with ASD.

We analyse how adult co-participants design their actions multimodally to facilitate these children's participation in activities during naturally occurring interactions. We use a multimodal approach to Conversation Analysis to examine video recordings collected in "action group" sessions organised at a special needs school in Finland. The data considered includes children with ASD, aged six to 13 years, working together with members of the school staff on technology-enhanced activities. Our focus is on how the adult co-participants use pointing gestures and other multimodal resources simultaneously with or before an initiating action (e.g., a verbal instruction), and how this shapes the responsiveness of these children. We show that, in these sequential positions, some of these resources are more carefully attuned to the children's current focus of attention, which helps the children to reorient their attention and thus, facilitates their participation in the task. However, when the adults do not orient to the attentional focus of the children, this hinders the children's responsiveness to the initiating action and complicates their participation in the task. The study discusses how CA can contribute to a more detailed understanding of the challenges and the competencies of children with ASD participating in social interactions.

### Pursuing Response in Third Position: An Embodied Analysis of the Practices Done by Citizens to Obtain an Answer from Experts

### NYNKE VAN SCHEPEN

#### **University of Basel**

Participation is shaped by the actions participants in interaction do in order to demonstrate involvement and to contribute to the interaction (Goodwin & Goodwin 2004). These actions are made publicly intelligible not only through talk but also through embodied conduct. This paper is interested in these practices, as they are observable in a participatory democracy project in urban planning, in which citizens are invited to contribute to the discussion about the transformation of an old military site into a public park. One type of meetings they participate in is constituted by plenary sessions, in which 50 to 100 citizens receive information from experts and politicians and are offered the opportunity to ask questions, with a mediator managing the turn-taking and allocating turns.

This paper analyses a collection of cases in which citizens contribute, through proposing or questioning, to an issue that might be delicate for the politicians to answer. Politicians answer by either treating these topics as not pertinent now (Mondada, Svensson, van Schepen, (in press)), or by giving evading answers (Clayman, 2001). Citizens, in turn, monitor the answers and pursue a more explicit answer. The analyses focus on the methods citizens adopt to pursue an answer, with a special emphasis on the way in which they claim the right to continue to talk in third position and they project their turn in an embodied way. Through these practices, citizens show that they are not only hearers listening to the answers given to them, but actively contribute, assess and regulate the on-going interaction, thereby shaping their participation in both interactional and political ways.

# "Who can Help Me Translate?" Occasional Oral Translation and Participation in International Musical Settings

### **DANIELA VERONESI**

### Free University of Bozen-Bolzano

Recent studies on non-professional interpreting and translation (cf. Pérez-González, & Susam-Saraeva 2012) have shed light on how, in a variety of multilingual and international settings and in the absence of professional interpreters, one or more participants can act as occasional, ad hoc language mediators in face-to-face interactions. Such phenomenon has been investigated, for instance, in international work meetings and research settings (Müller 1989; De Stefani et al. 2000; Merlino & Mondada 2014), classroom interaction (Müller et al. 2013), health care services (Baraldi & Gavioli 2012; Bührig et al. 2012), church and prison settings (Hokkanen 2012; Martínez-Gómez 2014), and with a focus on child-language brokering (Valdés 2003; Orellana 2009). However, little attention has been so far devoted to the field of performing arts, which, by getting more and more internationalized, configure themselves as settings in which participants may not share linguistic repertoires.

A case in point is interaction among musicians, to which the current paper is devoted. Based on the analysis of audio- and videorecorded ensemble music workshops held in Italy (in English), by an anglophone conductor with music students and professional musicians from Italy and the U.S., the study examines how communication is mediated not only by in situ designated 'translators' (the researcher, as well as further volunteering workshop participants), but also by further self-selecting participants, giving rise to collaborative practices and 'choral translation' episodes.

Particular focus is addressed to how the ways in which the role of "translator", and the tasks connected with it (when, what to translate) are contingently and multimodally negotiated within the group; it is thus discussed how translation activity contributes to shape interaction and to define the participation framework at hand, constituing an opportunity for musicians to fully participate (beyond being mere "animators", Goffman 1981), thereby defining their identities as musicians, group members and language experts.

# Accomplishing Changes in Participation during Multi-Unit Turns: Metapragmatic Action Shifts in Finnish Parliamentary Plenary Sessions

### **EERO VOUTILAINEN**

### University of Helsinki

Interaction in the parliament is notorious for the many institutional norms that constrain the actions by its participants. These include detailed rules of turn-taking (e.g. action pre-allocation, mediated turn allocation; Heritage & Clayman 2010), sequential organization, topic and style. In many parliaments, there are predetermined genres and turn types that have their own institutional goals and formal restrictions, such as time limit (cf. Ilie 2006). All these regulations affect the interaction in the parliament. On the other hand, they have resulted in conversational strategies that enable the MPs to modify their participation in the parliamentary interaction.

In my presentation, I will analyze from conversation analytic perspective the effect of the codified norms of turn-taking on how participation is constructed in the plenary session of the Finnish parliament. The norms regulate the length (in minutes), frequency and order of turns by the MPs, controlled by the chairman of the session. This often leads the MPs to produce extended, multi-unit turns that implement multiple actions and respond to several prior turns. The production of these turns is facilitated verbally by using metapragmatic elements that serve to manage a shift from the on-going action to an initiation of the next to follow. The resources range from single connectors and discourse particles (e.g. *ja* 'and', *no* 'well') to clausal expressions (*sitten edustaja Hirvisaari kysyi vihapuheesta* 'then MP Hirvisaari asked about hate speech'). In this paper, I will discuss the formats of the metapragmatic shift elements, and how they shape the recipient design and participation framework in the on-going turn, as well as orient to the interactional norms of the plenary session (cf. Goffman 1981; Goodwin & Goodwin 2004). My data consist of videotaped plenary sessions in 2011–2014.

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