SHIFTING EMBODIED PARTICIPATION

IN

MULTIPARTY UNIVERSITY STUDENT MEETINGS

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Abstract

Student group work has been used in higher education as an effective means to cultivate students' work-related skills and cooperative learning. These encounters of small groups are the sites where, through talk and other resources, university students get their educational tasks done as well as acquire essential workplace skills such as problem-solving, team working, decision-making and leadership. However, settings of educational talk-as-work, such as student group meetings, remain under-researched (Stokoe, Benwell, & Attenborough, 2013). The present study therefore attempts to bridge this gap by investigating the professional and academic abilities of university students to participate in multiparty group meetings, drawing upon a dataset of video- and audio-recorded meetings from the Newcastle University Corpus of Academic English (NUCASE). The dataset consists of ten hours of meetings in which a group of naval architecture undergraduate students work cooperatively on their final year project – to design and build a wind turbine.

The study applies the methodological approach of conversation analysis (CA) with a multimodal perspective. It presents a fine-detailed, sequential multimodal analysis of a collection of cases of speaker transitions, and reveals how meeting participants display speakership and recipiency with their verbal/vocal and bodily-visual coordination. In this respect, the present study is the first to offer a systematic collection, as well as a thorough investigation, of speaker transition and turn-taking practices from a multimodal perspective, especially with the scope of analysis beyond pre-turn and turn-beginning positions. It shows how speaker transitions through 'current speaker selects next' and 'next speaker self-selects' are joint-undertakings not only between the self-selecting/current speaker, and the target recipient/addressed next speaker, but also among other co-present participants. Especially, by mobilising the whole set of multimodal resources, participants are able to display their multiple orientations toward their co-participants, project, pursue and accomplish multiple courses of action in concurrence, and intricately coordinate their mutual orientation toward the shifting and emerging participation framework during the transition, establishment and maintenance of the speakership and recipiency. By presenting the data and analysis, this study extends

boundaries of existing understandings on the temporality, sequentiality and systematicity of multimodal resources in talk-and-bodies-in-interaction.

The thesis also contributes to interaction research in the particular context of student group work in higher education contexts, by providing a 'screenshot' of students' academic lives as it unfolds 'in flight'. Particularly, it reveals how students competently participate in multiparty group meetings (e.g., taking and allocating turns), co-construct the unfolding meeting procedures (e.g., roundtable update discussion), and jointly achieve the local interactional goals (e.g., sharing work progress, reaching an agreement). Acquiring such skills is, as it argues above, not only crucial for accomplishing the educational tasks, but also necessary for preparing university students to fulfill their future workplace expectations. The study therefore further informs the practices of university students and professional practitioners in multiparty meetings, and also draws on methodological implications for multimodal CA research.

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Psalm 119: 105 Your word is a lamp to my feet and a light to my path.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to investigate university students' professional and academic competences to participate in multiparty group meetings, based on fine-detailed multimodal sequential analysis of speaker transitions during a particular phase of the meeting interaction, namely, *roundtable update discussion*. The thesis therefore is set out to contribute to the under-explored field of conversation analysis (henceforth CA) research on student interaction in higher education settings. Further, by explicating participants' mobilisation of multimodal resources in relation to the local seating arrangements, the study sheds new lights on multimodal CA studies on speaker transition and embodied participation in multiparty conversations. This chapter firstly introduces the motivation and background of the study, including the argument for the significance of this research (Section 1.2); this is followed with an outline of the purpose and scope of the research, the research questions (Section 1.3) and the organisation of the thesis (Section 1.4).

1.2 Background of the study

The research carried out in this thesis forms a part of the research project of Newcastle University Corpus of Academic Spoken English (NUCASE) (Walsh, 2014). This corpus comprises one million words of spoken data collected in Newcastle University across three faculties (i.e., Humanities and Social Sciences, Medical Sciences, and Science, Agriculture and Engineering), and one English language centre (i.e., INTO Newcastle) which offers the pre- and in-sessional English language classes. The corpus dataset also covers a variety of higher education teaching and learning contexts, including tutor-led small group seminars, tutorials, student group discussions and meetings. Involving a total number of seven researchers, which includes one post-doctoral researcher and five PhD students, the project of NUCASE is motivated to explicate the complex relationship between language, interaction and learning by looking at how tutors and/or students construct meanings and reach mutual understandings through talk in various higher education settings. The aim of the project,

therefore, is to "describe, characterise and operationalize interactional competence in a higher education setting" (Walsh, 2014), especially in the aforementioned settings where small group teaching and learning is used as a pedagogical tool (for a discussion on interactional competence see Section 2.6).

In fact, the concept of interactional competence has been examined increasingly within the framework of CA (e.g., Kasper, 2009), especially beyond the boundaries of second/foreign language settings in the last decade (e.g., Hall, 2011; H. T. Nguyen, 2006; Okada, 2013; Young, 2003). This extending body of research on interactional competence has started to overlap with the growing body of research on multimodal L1 interaction (e.g., C. E. Ford & Stickle, 2012; C. Goodwin, 2007c; Mondada, 2009), with a common interest on how multimodal resources are configured by participants to adequately co-participate in the process of accomplishing social actions (cf. Okada, 2013). This therefore forms the primary motivation of the current study: located at this intersection, it attempts to provide both fields with empirical findings from an under-explored educational and institutional setting, that is, university student group meetings. The following two sub-sections will briefly introduce the background of two fields closely related with the current study, namely, student group work and embodied participation.

1.2.1   *Student group work*

Nowadays, team- or group-based learning has been widely used at all levels of education and training under a number of interchangeable terms, such as collaborative learning, small group work, group-based activities. They can be loosely defined as "the grouping and pairing of students for the purpose of achieving an academic goal, …(through which) students are responsible for one another's learning as well as their own" (Gokhale, 1995, p. 22). Also, it is supported by the sociocultural perspective of learning, which believes that "learning is a process by which a newcomer is integrated into a community of practice" (Forman, 1994, p. 5), that is, a social process.

Because of such characteristics of sharing goals and responsibilities in a social process of

learning, student group activities have been greatly valued especially on the tertiary level of education. It has been reported by recent surveys and investigations (e.g., Gokhale, 1995; Hubbard & Gregory, 2011; Huxham & Land, 2000; Livingstone & Lynch, 2000; Payne, Monk-Turner, Smith, & Sumter, 2006; Postholm, 2008) that by using various forms of student group activities (e.g., group-work project, seminar group discussions), it greatly increases the complexity of learning experiences; it also brings opportunities for potential development of a wide range of transferable skills such as critical thinking, problem-solving, teamwork in multi-disciplinary teams, decision-making, conflict resolution, leadership, etc.. Such skills are seen as 'softer' or 'intangible' workplace skills that are highly rated by employers, besides the disciplinary-specific knowledge and capabilities of graduates; it therefore grows the interest amongst educational practitioners as well as researchers in building and incorporating the development of such professional attributes into higher education curricula, to increase graduates' employability and enhance the quality of higher education teaching and learning (Daniels, Cajander, Pears, & Clear, 2010; Gold et al., 1991; Gregory & Thorley, 2013).

However attractive, university teachers and students often attest to the difficulties of effectively using group-based activities for learning. Recent survey studies on student experiences of university group work have revealed a few problems, including lack of participation and the emergence of 'passengers' (poor contributors), lack of group enthusiasm over longer-term group project, unbalanced group member allocations, unsatisfactory assessment criteria and techniques and lack of support from teachers/lecturers (e.g., Bennett, Howe, & Truswell, 2002; Bourner, Hughes, & Bourner, 2001; Huxham & Land, 2000; e.g., Livingstone & Lynch, 2000; Mills, 2003). Facing such difficulties and concerns over the use of group-based learning, scholars also suggested ways to improve its effective delivery and decrease negative behaviours during the group learning process, e.g., to adopt formative and non-competitive assessment criteria, to provide students step-wise guidance and facilitate more equal participation, to train students with group working skills such as how to manage conflicts, and to provide role models of effective group learning especially for different roles in a group (e.g., group leader, meeting chair) (see also Bourner et al., 2001; Brown & McIlroy, 2011). Nevertheless, the established literature on strategies and techniques for group-based

teaching and learning (e.g., Dennick & Exley, 2004; Gregory & Thorley, 2013; Lakey, 2010; Michaelsen, Sweet, & Parmelee, 2008) often provide practitioners exercise and advice based on invented talk and simulations of hypothetical scenarios, rather than empirical examples showing how group interaction was conducted *in situ*. It therefore points to the need for more empirically based studies on 'real-time' encounters of group-based learning activities.

Arguably, CA studies, through description of, for instance, how a conflict can be resolved in group discussion, how students in a group meeting interact in accordance with their assigned roles, have the potential to lead to informed actions and practices (Richards & Seedhouse, 2005, p. 5). It means that for students to be better equipped for their group-based learning as well as future workplace performance, it is crucial as the first step to help them understand their 'racetrack' in conducting group-based interaction, such as the particular interactional projects[1] (e.g., opening, closing, raising enquires, making decisions) they will need to invest in, and the 'landscape' of how the interaction unfolds in general (e.g., overall structural organisations of a group discussion). This point of view was put forward by Elizabeth Stokoe (2013, 2014) who has made one of the recent attempts to explore such potentials of CA studies, through her Conversation Analytic Role-play Method (CARM) for workplace professional training purposes. Such a standpoint of applying CA for "description leading to informed actions" (Richards & Seedhouse, 2005, p. 5) is shared by the present study, particularly in terms of the identified needs to develop university students' interactional competences to participate in group-based learning activities and enhance the quality of their learning experiences.

In fact, within the field of research on educational interaction, the corpus of studies conducted in higher education settings are considered relatively small compared with primary and secondary schooling or language education (e.g., Tracy & Baratz, 1993; Tracy & Muller, 1994), not to mention the scarcity on university student group work (e.g., Livingstone &

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[1] What I refer to throughout this thesis as 'interactional project(s)' is based on Levinson's (2013) idea of project(s) as 'plans of actions' that "at least one participant is pursuing, which may at first be opaque to others then retrospectively discernible, and then prospectively projectable" (p. 122). See Section 6.3.1 on a discussion of the findings of this study in regard to interactional projects.

Lynch, 2000; Walsh, Morton, & O'Keeffe, 2011; Walsh & O'Keeffe, 2010). A more detailed discussion of this will be unpacked in the survey of literature in Section 2.2, whereas here the necessity and significance of conducting the current research is explicated; that is, to bridge the contextual gaps in the research on interaction in higher education settings.

In addition, there is a two-fold feature entailed by the specific setting under investigation in this study. Firstly, by its nature, student group meeting is a type of educational interaction. For each of the meetings, there is a pre-scribed pedagogical goal, that is, in this case, for the students to accomplish the group project and by the end of it, to produce an assessed piece of academic work (i.e., a group project written report). Therefore, such a pedagogical goal-orientation can be observed in the talk-in-interaction in these meetings. Secondly, as discussed earlier, one of the aims of student group meetings as a pedagogical tool is to simulate scenarios of workplace meetings, so as to give opportunities for students to practice their workplace communication skills. As a result, the talk-in-interaction in such meetings resembles features of workplace interactions as well. This two-fold feature of interaction in this chosen setting therefore necessitates the need to review both fields of study, that of educational interaction and workplace interaction[2]. It also foregrounds the significance of looking into this setting, as it is of great value for both academic and professional practitioners[3].

1.2.2 *Embodied participation and CA*

In discussing the reported issues of group-based learning, it seems most concerns surround one key word, 'participation'. That is, both teachers and students expect equal, effective and constructive participation amongst group members to share responsibilities and co-contribute to their learning tasks. As much as the degree of participation is currently assessed through self-report, peer assessment, or students' written work (e.g., group project) and oral performance (e.g., presentations), it cannot be told that how students actually participate in real-time interactions during group discussions or meetings. That is to say, to have an

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[2] A detailed survey of literature of these two fields of study is carried out in Section 2.2 and 2.3.

[3] Implications on this based on the findings of this study can be found in Section 6.4.

understanding of how students in a group interact with each other requires a close-up, detailed look at the empirical data, which is exactly what the methodology of CA offers: to study, describe and explicate "the competences that ordinary speakers use and rely on in participating in intelligible, socially organized interaction" (J. M. Atkinson & Heritage, 1984, p. 1). The application of CA as the methodology for conducting the current study of students' participation in group meetings is as such justified.

Indeed, when people engage in conversations, they are spontaneously constructing and maintaining shared attention and mutual understanding with one another, through talk and other modalities of communication (e.g., gesture, facial expression, manipulation of physical objects), termed as a 'communion of mutual engagement' by Goffman (1957). Yet this engagement or involvement, far more complex from being a binary, one-to-one contact between two individuals, is pervasively contingent and collaboratively achieved on a moment-by-moment basis in the social 'talk-in-interaction' (Sidnell, 2009). This is particularly true when people are involved in multiparty conversations, such as the case of the current study. Further, based on the Goffmanian concepts of 'participation' and the ample evidence on gestures, eye-gaze and body-orientations being crucial and irreducible parts in social interactions (e.g., C. Goodwin, 1980; Kendon, 1990), the more recent interest amongst CA researchers is increasingly driven by an embodied perspective (e.g., C. E. Ford & Stickle, 2012; Mondada, 2007b; Mortensen, 2009; Nevile, 2015). This body of research not only contributes to the domain of Conversation Analysis by looking at talk-in-interaction as a social organisation on its own right, but also extends and challenges our understandings on 'participation' as "embodied situated actions of participants, involving dynamic (re-)negotiation and reconfiguration of spatial, attentional, epistemic and affective alignments of (multiple) participants" (Deppermann, 2013a, p. 1). This perspective of embodied participation therefore sets a theoretical starting point for the present study, and will be further unpacked in Section 2.5.

1.3 Objectives and relevance of the study

Situated within the methodological framework of CA, the primary aim of this study is

therefore to describe and explicate the competencies university students use and rely on in participating in multiparty group meetings. Such competences, as discussed earlier, are not limited to talk, but involves "the resources of the language, the body, the environment of the interaction, and position in the interaction", and most importantly, how they are "fashioned into conformations designed to be, and to be recognized by recipients as, particular actions" (Schegloff, 2007, p. xiv) – which is a   process termed by Mondada (2014b) as the assembly of the 'multimodal complex Gestalts'.

The present study makes a number of original contributions to existing research literature: (1) it bridge the contextual gap by accounting for the roundtable update discussion in university student multiparty meetings; (2) it made the first attempt within the field to build and account for a comprehensive, systematic, multimodal collection of speaker transitions in multiparty meetings; although previous multimodal CA studies have examined turn-taking and participation in workplace meetings, no studies had a collection including cases of both self-selection and other-selection, and made comparisons between cases initiated by chair and non-chair participants; (3) to the researcher's knowledge, this study is also the first to look at difference in seating arrangements and the influence on action formation of speaker transition.

As such, the findings of the current study may be of interest to researchers in the fields of multimodal CA and embodied participation, as well as interaction of student group meetings and workplace meetings within institutional talk-in-interaction. It further extends its implications for academic and professional practice, such as giving suggestions to use empirically based findings to inform university students on how to develop skills for group-based learning activities and for future workplaces; it also provides insights into organisational meeting management in respect of the influence of physical surroundings (i.e., seating) on effective delivery of meeting discussions.

Specifically, a recurring meeting activity was observed during the initial stage of CA analysis, which I call '*roundtable update discussion*' – a phase often used by participants at the beginning of a meeting; it is managed by the meeting chair who appoints each participant

(including the chair himself) to make an update report on their recent progress and future plans. Through close observation, it can be told that the goal of the roundtable update discussion is for meeting participants to keep track of one another's work, clarify uncertainties and co-jointly decide on next steps; the discussion process is thus organised by speaker transitions amongst the chair, the primary speaker, and other co-present participants. Although as ordinary as it sounds, such turn-taking and speaker transition practices has never been accounted for in existing CA literature; it therefore constitutes the contextual originality of the current study. The study aims to reveal how speaker transitions happen during each update sequence of the *roundtable update discussion*, by looking at how co-participants shift the on-going participation framework in the meeting discussion. The following research questions are addressed:

1. How is speaker transition accomplished through 'next speaker self-selects' during the roundtable update discussion?

   a. How does a non-chair, non-primary speaker select him/herself to be the next speaker, and obtain/manage displayed recipiency from his/her target recipient?

   b. How does a meeting chair self-select to be the next speaker, and obtain/manage displayed recipiency from his/her target recipient?

2. How is speaker transition accomplished through 'current speaker self-selects' during the roundtable update discussion?

   a. How does a current primary speaker select a co-participant to be the next speaker?

   b. How does a current non-primary speaker select a co-participant to be the next speaker?

Guided by the above research questions, the multimodal sequential analysis of this study was carried out by focusing on participants' verbal/vocal turn-taking and turn-construction practices over longer, expanded sequences, as well as their bodily-visual practices (e.g., gaze, head movement, body-positioning, hand gesture) as part of their display of speakership, recipiency, mutual monitoring and orientation. These practices as constructs of CA will be introduced in Chapter 2 and 3 respectively. Further, special attention was paid on (1) participants' orientation to their institutional roles – whether pre-decided (e.g., meeting chair), locally assigned (e.g., primary speaker), or emerging contingently (e.g., non-chair

non-primary next speaker); (2) how local seating arrangements of current and next speakers exert an influence on their mobilisation of multimodal resources, and the sequential unfolding of actions.

1.4 Outline of thesis

In this chapter, the background and purpose of the thesis have been given, together with the significance of conducting this research and the contributions it makes to relevant fields of social interaction research. In this final section, I will provide an outline of the organisation of the rest of this thesis.

Chapter 2 is a survey of research literature in the field of educational interaction (Section 2.2), workplace meeting interaction (Section 2.3), multimodal interaction (Section 2.4), participation (Section 2.5) and interactional competence (Section 2.6). The present study is situated in university group meetings, which is a setting within higher educational institutions, however the interaction conducted also reflects characteristics of workplace meetings. Therefore I review both fields of research to provide understandings on the background of this study, as well as on similar interactional features that data in this study may reveal. Further, as the present study is set out to investigate embodied participation and participants' mobilisation of multimodal resources and reveal the competences used and relied on by participants, by reviewing the rest three fields of research, namely, multimodal interaction, participation and interactional competence, it provides readers with a solid theoretical foundation for the present study.

Chapter 3 will present the methodology of this thesis, that is, ethnomethodological CA, and justify its appropriateness for the current study. It begins by introducing the theoretical underpinnings and the basic analytical assumptions of CA (Section 3.2). It then presents a series of interactional organisations of relevance to this study (except for turn-taking, which was reviewed in Chapter 2): sequence organisation (Section 3.3.1), turn-design, recipient design and preference organisation (Section 3.3.2). The second part of this chapter considers the standpoint of CA on institutional talk, its analytical foci (Section 3.4), as well as on

multimodality and related methodological issues (Section 3.5). The last section then provides a discussion of reliability, validity and generalisability of CA.

Chapter 4 outlines the research design of this thesis. It firstly introduces the data source and the context of this study (Section 4.2), followed with an overview of the research process of data transcription and analysis (Section 4.4), including a brief explanation of how the focal phenomenon of the current study was chosen, and its interactional features (Section 4.4.3, 4.4.4). The chapter ends by revisiting the focus of this study and the research questions (Section 4.5).

Chapter 5 is a representation of the data analysis of this study, tackling each research questions and sub-questions in separate sections. In Section 5.3.1, 5.3.2, 5.3.3 and 5.3.4, cases of speaker transition through 'next speaker self-selects' initiated by non-chair non-primary speakers and by meeting chairs are presented. In Section 5.3.5, I analyse cases of speaker transition through 'current speaker selects next' by primary speakers; and Section 5.3.6 explicates for the deviant case in which a non-chair non-primary speaker selects a next speaker, treated by the meeting chair as a digression.

Chapter 6 draws together all the findings in the previous chapter. The discussion firstly unfolds by providing general overviews of the findings in each section and making cross-case analysis and discussion in relation to relevant research literature (Section 6.2), in this way answering the research questions and sub-questions one by one. Then, the overall findings of the study are considered in Section 6.3 in relation to particular bodies of research, including embodied participation and the notion of interactional project (Section 6.3.1), the construction of interactional space (Section 6.3.2) and the institutional roles and context (Section 6.3.3). The following two sections then discuss practical implications of this study on academic and professional practitioners (Section 6.4), and methodological implications for multimodal CA research (Section 6.5). This chapter ends by drawing upon the methodological concerns and pointing out suggested areas of future research (Section 6.6).

The thesis therefore concludes with Chapter 7, which draws all arguments and findings together and shows that the aims the study was set out for have been achieved, contributing to the body of research on high education student interaction and workplace meeting studies, and more generally to various fields of social interaction research, including multimodal CA and embodied participation.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

Talk is socially organized, not merely in terms of who speaks to whom in what language, but as a little system of mutually ratified and ritually governed face-to-face action, a social encounter. (Goffman, 1964, p. 136)

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the survey of literature will be conducted in four main fields of research, namely, educational interaction, workplace meetings, multimodality, and participation, which are directly relevant to the present study. Particularly, in Section 2.2, from a historical perspective, I discuss how studies on educational interaction developed into different strands, that is, sociocultural/sociocognitive, discursive Vygotskian socilculturalism and ethnomethodological CA, and point out that within the last strand, which only started to develop since the 1990s, higher education contexts are severely under-represented (Section 2.2.2). In Section 2.3, I also briefly review the historical development of studies on workplace meeting interactions, followed with a detailed discussion on the characteristics of meeting interaction uncovered by existing studies within the field of interaction studies (including CA). Especially, I pay attention to the recent analytical interest on multimodal practices in meeting interaction, which are more directly relevant to the present study (Section 2.3.5). Then, in Section 2.4, interaction studies that focus more generally on multimodal and embodied conduct are presented, in accordance with studies of gaze direction (Section 2.4.2), body positioning (Section 2.4.3) and the more recent collection of studies that includes multiple modalities into analytical attention (Section 2.4.4). Further, in Section 2.5, I review the notion of participation (framework) (Section 2.5.1, 2.5.2, 2.5.3) and the turn-taking system (Section 2.5.4), and discuss how the rule-set of turn-taking operates in multiparty conversations and shapes participation from a CA perspective (Section 2.5.5). By the end of this chapter, in Section 2.6, the notion of 'interactional competence' will be revisited and briefly discussed in relation to the focus of this study.

2.2 Educational interaction

Within the discipline of social sciences, there is a long history of studies on social interaction in

educational contexts, built upon the central assumption that language is the mediator for higher mental processing and therefore social interaction contributes to learning processes (Piaget, 1970; e.g., Vygotsky & Cole, 1978). Over the last three decades, numerous studies within two different intellectual frameworks, namely the sociocultural/sociocognitive framework, and ethnomethodological conversation analysis (EMCA), have been undertaken with attempts to uncover and explicate the exact contribution of 'the interactional dimension to learning' (Mondada & Pekarek Doehler, 2004, p. 501). This section therefore firstly provides a historical overview within the two aforementioned frameworks, illustrating theoretical understandings as well as empirical findings of studies on educational interaction hitherto (Section 2.2.1). The second part of the section reviews exclusively studies on interaction in higher education settings, which is directly relevant to the present study (Section 2.2.2).

2.2.1   *Approaches to study educational interaction*

Within the sociocultural/sociocognitive framework, there are two different theoretical standpoints by which existing studies approach educational interaction, although both place heavy emphasis on the educational role of social interaction (see also Benwell & Stokoe, 2002; Stokoe, 2000). The first one is the cognitive psychological approach originated from the Piagetian cognitivism (e.g., Ginsburg & Opper, 1988). It argues that children develop their cognitive understandings through communication with adults, and language during this process is merely one of the symbol systems children developed to carry the knowledge and information they acquired. From this perspective, talk can be seen as a medium for conveying information with varying levels of effectiveness, and learning thereby a process of transmitting knowledge from a speaker to a listener (Graddol, Maybin, & Stierer, 1994; Maybin, 2005). Studies under this strand are mainly interested in the cognitive changes that occur among learners who are tested before and after some kind of experiments or interventions (e.g., Hicks, 1996). Such studies investigate the effects of talk in learning, yet at the expense of considering the talk *per se*; for this reason, they have been criticised for rendering the actual educational interaction as an analytic 'black box' (D. Barnes, 1992; Mercer, 2000).

The second strand is the discursive approach, rooted in the Vygotskian socioculturalism

(Vygotsky & Cole, 1978), which argues that 'all cognitive development… arises as a result of the interaction that occurs between individuals engaged in concrete social interaction' (Donato, 1994, p. 35). In other words, learning is seen as a social process during which the 'expert' adult teacher/parent actively use language to 'scaffold' the developing mentality of the learner/child (Mercer, 1997, pp. 182–183). In this sense, not all educational talk are seen as equally effective in facilitating learning, especially in early studies on pupil-teacher classroom in the compulsory education sector (i.e., primary and secondary schools in most countries worldwide) (for an early review see Mercer, 1997). For example, it was reported that some teachers' use of question-answer sequence, such as the use of closed questions, can constrain pupils' learning (D. Barnes, Britton, & Rosen, 1969; Edwards & Mercer, 1987); also, different cultural backgrounds of the teacher and pupils that favours different conversational styles can impede learning (Philips, 1972, see Section 2.5.1). In comparison, evidence has shown that teachers' strategic language use, such as open-ended questions, prompts and silence, can effectively maximise students' learning (Edwards, 1992; Edwards & Mercer, 1987). Studies have also looked at the pedagogic effects of 'on-task' and 'off-task' talk, and how the teacher can exert control over the two for more effective teaching (Fisher, 1996; Punch & Moriarty, 1997). Although developed much slower, the body of evaluative studies on interactions amongst learners (i.e., without the supervision of a teacher) have also attempted to identify characteristics that are thought to promote learning, such as 'talk-for-learning' in collaborative group work of pupils in British secondary classrooms (D. Barnes & Todd, 1977), and the more recent 'exploratory talk' (Mercer, 1995, 1997) that pupils use for reasoning, critical thinking and idea co-construction.

However, by evaluating and classifying whether specific types of educational talk are 'effective' for teaching and learning, such studies do not stay unchallenged. As Mercer (1997, p. 185) points out, they do not "deal satisfactorily with the fact that in all talk, meanings depend on the continual regeneration of a context of shared understanding amongst speakers". In other words, the aforementioned methods all bring to and impose upon the data a set of 'educator's categories' of what characteristics of talk contribute to learning, and hence lose sight of how participants in the data make sense of the talk and accomplish the teaching and learning activities *in situ* (Benwell & Stokoe, 2002; Stokoe, 2000). Therefore, another intellectual

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framework in studying educational interaction, namely, ethnomethodological conversation analysis (henceforth EMCA), gained research interest to compensate for this loss.

Drawing primarily on Garfinkel's ethnomethodological studies (e.g., Garfinkel, 1967) and Sacks' lectures on conversation analysis (e.g., Sacks, 1992), EMCA studies of talk in educational settings are concerned to show, from the participants' perspective, "how members in these settings use talk and other resources to accomplish the phenomena and objects (Carolyn Baker, 1997, p. 43)". Hence the CA approach is not driven by any prescriptive aim to inform practice, nor is it based on any educational or communication theories; rather, it attempts to question the "taken-for-grantedness, the essentialisms, and the naturalisations that are deeply embedded in educational theories and practices (Carolyn Baker, 1997, p. 50)". Since the 1970s, this large and growing body of methodological work has mainly looked at various settings throughout primary and secondary schooling (for an early review see Carolyn Baker, 1997). A wide range of educational topics have been studied since then, ranging from what count as formal classroom talk (Mchoul, 1978), how classroom knowledge and skills are accomplished and topic are formulated (Heap, 1985, 1991; Heyman, 1986), to student competence in participating in teacher-led classroom talk (Mehan, 1979), and teacher authority and power over classroom order and relationships (Carolyn Baker & Perrott, 1988; Macbeth, 1990).

2.2.2 Interaction in higher education settings

As discussed above, up till the 1990s, most of the studies of educational talk within either the sociocultural/socio-cognitive framework or EMCA are carried out in settings of primary and secondary schooling, whereas little attention has been paid on settings such as lectures, seminars, reading groups that are essential to academic lives in higher education. This scarcity of scholarly attention has been noted by Karen Tracy and her colleagues (Tracy & Baratz, 1993; Tracy & Carjuzaa, 1993; Tracy & Muller, 1994), who have conducted observations and surveys in regard to the significance of what they termed 'intellectual discussion in the academy'. Since then, there is a small but growing corpus of research answering this call, which follows the sociocultural tradition in examining and categorizing the characteristics and patterns of various

types of talk in university settings, and identifying the conversational strategies of teachers' and students' in contributing to effective educational talk (e.g., Benwell, 1999; Berrill, 1991; de Klerk, 1995a, 1995b; Fisher, 1996).

In comparison, ethnomethodological CA as an approach to the research of higher education talk is of more recent origin, not beginning until this millennium. By looking into how various academic practices are locally co-constructed amongst participants (e.g., students, tutors, lecturers) in conversations under different settings, this new line of research is set out to explicate how institutions of higher education are 'talked into being' (Heritage, 1984, p. 283). For instance, by examining the interaction between student and tutor during office hour consultations, Young (2003) and Limberg (2007, 2010) have shown how knowledge is co-constructed in a discipline-specific way in the dyadic conversation between the student and the tutor, and how this creates a more student-centred and private setting that helps students to become socialised into the academic community. They therefore call for a reconsideration of the academic significance of office hour consultation. Seminars and group discussions have also attracted growing research attention recently, especially on how academic tasks are accomplished with or without tutors' supervision. Topics that have been studied include how students participate in the talk according to the local task and their roles (Hauser, 2009) and how this involves the use of physical cues (e.g., gaze, pauses) (Viechnicki, 1997), how topics are developed (Gibson, Hall, & Callery, 2006; Stokoe, 2000), how tasks are formulated and negotiated (Benwell & Stokoe, 2002), how student report their group work (Frazier, 2007), so on and so forth. Nevertheless, the dynamic learning and teaching environments afforded by contemporary higher education remain under-represented within the body of CA research, and we still have little knowledge about how university students' academic lives unfold 'in-flight' (Stokoe et al., 2013).

2.3 Workplace meeting interaction

The discussion in the previous section has focused on the approaches taken to study educational talk within the sociocultural/sociocognitive and EMCA frameworks, and the body of research literature especially on talk in higher education settings. As it is the purpose of the present study

to investigate how university students participate in multiparty meeting interaction, one should have an understanding of the characteristics of meeting interaction in general before going into the specific setting of a university student meeting. Therefore, the discussion will now turn to another associated body of research, that is, workplace meeting interaction.

Meetings, as 'the very stuff of work' for white-collar workers, as well as the interactional sites where goals and plans are made for the blue-collar industrial workforce (Holmes & Stubbe, 2003, p. 56), plays a central role in the workplace of corporations and institutions. As such, meetings have been the objects of workplace communication research expanding in a wide range of fields due to their pervasiveness in workplaces. This section therefore firstly gives a brief summary on how research in workplace meetings develops over the last decades. Then after a sketch on what actually constitute meetings, a selective review of the literature is conducted on meeting studies with a specific micro-analytic or ethnomethodological orientation, which are considered closely related with the present study.

2.3.1 Why study meetings?

In the domain of organisation and management studies, researchers traditionally carry out interviews and surveys to look at professional skills and strategies that contribute to efficient business operation (e.g. Tropman, 1995, 2003). However, there has been a growing interest in discourse analysis as an alternative way to understand the processes and practices constituting organisations (e.g. Fairhurst, 2007; Grant, Hardy, Oswick, & Putnam, 2004; Putnam & Cooren, 2004). This was seen as a shift from the 'interpretive turn' of the 1980s, through the 'discursive turn' of the 1990s to the recent 'interactional turn' that looks at workplace interaction itself that reveals "what actually happens in organizations" (Cooren, 2007, p. xii).

In the field of sociolinguistics and business communication studies, linguists have conducted discourse analyses, and more recently micro-analytic studies that are more in line with CA, on corporate meetings, with diverse foci such as power relations (Holmes & Stubbe, 2003), leadership styles (Asmuß, 2008; Clifton, 2006; Holmes, Schnurr, & Marra, 2007), identity construction (Angouri & Marra, 2012), gender relations (Holmes, 2005), and ethnicity and

interculturality (Bargiela-Chiappini & Nickerson, 2003; Holmes, Marra, & Vine, 2011).

Meeting studies within the CA domain are largely inspired by early conversation analyses on institutional interactions, especially studies on expert-lay talk or talk between institutional representatives and users (e.g. Paul Drew & Heritage, 1992). A primary focus within this field is how organisations are 'talked into being' by members' daily practices. For instance, an early work by Atkinson et al. (1978) looks at conversational features displayed by the chairman when starting a meeting, and shows how members co-orient to the interactional accomplishments of commencing and sustaining meeting talk. Further down this line, Boden (1994) in her seminal work *The Business of Talk: Organisations in Action* on business and faculty meetings shows the importance of talk, by introducing how participants use talk to regulate the local accomplishments of meeting tasks, and through the way they act and interact, the organisational order is shaped. Since then, there has been a growing body of CA studies on workplace meetings (e.g. Firth, 1995; C. E. Ford, 2008); some of them are discussed in detail as follows.

A definition of 'meeting' was given by the anthropologist Helen Schwartzman (1989, p. 7), who has conducted early extensive ethnographic study on meetings:

> …a meeting is defined as a communicative event involving three or more people who agree to assemble for a purpose ostensibly related to the functioning of an organization or a group, for example, to exchange ideas or opinions, to solve a problem, to make a decision or negotiate an agreement, to develop policy and procedures, to formulate recommendations, and so forth. A meeting is characterized by multiparty talk that is episodic in nature, and participants either develop or use specific conventions…for regulating this talk.

In comparison, Boden (1994, p. 84) gives the following definition:

> I define a "meeting" as a planned gathering, whether internal or external to an organization, in which the participants have some perceived (if not guaranteed) role, have some forewarning (either longstanding or quite improvisational) of the event, which has itself some purpose or "reason," a time, place, and, in some general sense, an organizational function…which involve similar structured turn-taking due to the multiparty setting.

Taking the two definitions as a starting point, a list of aspects characterising workplace meetings can be identified as follows (see also Asmuß & Svennevig, 2009, p. 10; Svennevig,

2012a). Firstly, meetings are pre-planned according to certain organisational purposes, that is, they are usually held at a specific time and place, with a certain group of people invited and gathered, following a certain plan, or 'agenda' – these can be called '*situational characteristics*' of meetings. Secondly, meetings are the interactional sites of 'management-in-action' (Boden, 1994, p. 81), where the roles and relations that represent the functioning of companies and institutions are produced and reproduced – thereby they can be called '*institutional characteristics*' of meetings. Lastly, meeting interaction features multi-party talk with a structured turn-taking organisation, which is, to some extent, governed and regulated by specific organisational conventions, that is, characteristics of the '*organisation of talk*'. The following survey of the literature thus unfolds according to the three aspects of meetings discussed earlier.

2.3.2 *Situational characteristics of meeting interaction*

Meetings are always associated with physical space and objects; one such manifestation is the 'meeting room' where typical meetings are held, usually with a centre table around which participants can all sit face-to-face with each other. Such seating arrangements, although not always the case, have certain impact on the ways participants interact with each other, as they are allowed visual contact with each other but restrained from certain physical contact due to the separated, static seating positions (Schwartzman, 1989).

Other physical objects that are often related with meetings include participants' notes, laptops and meeting documents such as meeting agendas and minutes, and office furniture and technological artefacts such as flipcharts, whiteboards and projectors. Such physical correlates of meetings did not receive much analytical attention in CA studies until recently; during the last decade, there has been a growth in multimodal analysis on workplace interactions, especially the embodied conduct and manipulation of physical artifacts (e.g. Mondada, 2006; Svennevig, 2012b). These recent developments will be illustrated further in Section 2.3.5.

2.3.3 *Institutional characteristics of meeting interaction*

Before going into the details of meeting talk, it is worthwhile to bring in the concept of

formality of meetings (J. M. Atkinson, 1982; Boden, 1994). Formal meetings tend to be officially pre-planned, with a designated chair and a pre-published, fixed agenda and usually held regularly, whereas informal meetings can be more exigent or contingent (Boden, 1994).

The role of the chair

The presence of a chairperson, who has the rights and obligations over the content and format of interactions, is seen as the most distinguishing feature of meeting talk. The chair acts like a 'central switching station' as s/he monitors and controls turn transition, allocation and even duration, and administers the actual topic content to ensure the proceeding of the agenda (Boden, 1994, p. 99; Holmes & Stubbe, 2003; Svennevig, 2012b). For example, Barnes (2007) shows how the formulation of gist/upshot can be used by chairpersons to re-engage participants, display shared understanding, facilitate the decision-making process and close the business-at-hand.

In meetings with different levels of formality, the ways of chairing also differ in terms of the manifestation of power and authority (Holmes & Stubbe, 2003). Holmes et al.'s study (2007) compares the facilitative and authoritative roles two different managers take in chairing team meetings in a company. It shows how the former contributes to encouraging participants' spontaneous discussion and building up interpersonal relations by small talk and humour; while the latter reinforce institutional authority and personal accountability through a tightly controlled turn allocation. Likewise, the same chairperson's chairing style can also differ as s/he constructs and enacts his/her identity as a chair differently according to the contingencies in local context, the ways other meeting participants co-orient to the chair and his/her actual institutional authority (Angouri & Marra, 2012; Holmes et al., 2007). Further down the line, Potter & Hepburn (2010) explore the delicate ways of chairing as employed by the chair of a school board meeting; such ways include display of hesitancy and/or use of disclaimers to resist or distance himself from the authoritative actions he performs. It shows that the authoritative role of the chair is not always oriented to by co-participants as 'legitimate', hence extra conversational work needs to be done.

Affiliation and alignment

Another area of research interest related with the role of the chair is that of (dis)affiliation and (dis)alignment as forms of (un)cooperative actions; although there are much more research on this in mundane and various types of institutional talk (for a brief review see Steensig, 2014) than particularly in workplace meetings. The latest work to distinguish the two in general terms of CA is in Mondada et al. (2011), which says:

> we conceptualize alignment as the structural level of cooperation and affiliation as the affective level of cooperation (Stivers 2008). Thus, aligning responses cooperate by facilitating the proposed activity or sequence; accepting the presuppositions and terms of the proposed action or activity; and matching the formal design preference of the turn. By contrast, affiliative responses cooperate at the level of action and affective stance. Thus, affiliative responses are maximally pro-social when they match the prior speaker's evaluative stance, display empathy and/or cooperate with the preference of the prior action. Whereas we can speak about alignment for any responsive action, affiliation is not necessarily always relevant (2011, pp. 20–21).

In multiparty conversations such as meetings, aligning responses are not always given by every participant, and alliances can be formed when two or more meeting participants teaming-up in opposition to the others (Kangasharju, 1996, 2002). Such kind of environments are often associated with disagreements in the form of conflict talk, defined by Nguyen (2011) as containing at least three elements: (1.) ongoing talk that contains an 'arguable move', (2.) initial opposition, and (3.) counter opposition (see also Maynard, 1985). When conflict talk arises in meeting interaction, the chairperson is the one who usually plays a crucial role with interventions "whenever the verbal fight of the participants seems to transgress the limits of a goal-oriented institutional activity" and therefore "make visible the norms and limits of the institutional setting" (Kangasharju, 2002, p. 1468).

Other topics related to the role of the chair in meeting talk are the study of leadership styles and practices (Clifton, 2006; Nielsen, 2009; Svennevig, 2008), decision-making process (Huisman, 2001), agreements and disagreements (R. Barnes, 2007; Middleton, 1998; Osvaldsson, 2004), which are beyond the scope of the present study.

Boundaries and transitions

All meetings are interactionally bounded and self-contained; they have marked interactional practices that orients to the normative interaction order of meetings and distinguishes a meeting from the talk surrounding it; such as opening and closing sequences, transition talks that shift into and out of occasional time-outs (Boden, 1994, p. 87). Such recurrent phases of activity, as can be found in meetings as well as in other types of institutional talk or ordinary conversations[4], are usually driven by the institution-specific tasks, with each phase involves the pursuit of a particular goal that can be seen in the collaborative interaction amongst the co-participants. Heritage (2004) describes this 'gross shape' of talk-in-interaction as 'overall structural organisation' (OSO)[5].

Before the meeting proper is initiated and the scene is changed into a focused gathering, i.e., with a single point of attention (Goffman, 1981), there is usually pre-meeting talk with various foci. According to Mirivel & Tracy (2005), there are four types of pre-meeting talk, and they may co-occur with one another in parallel, separate conversations called 'schisming' (Egbert, 1997): *small talk*, that is, social intercourse that is not work-related (e.g., family issues, holiday plans) and serves to establish and maintain social relationships so that 'work relationships can function smoothly'; *work talk*, that is, talk that deals with organisational work (e.g., exchanging information or documents) and builds up solidarity; *meeting preparatory talk*, the type of talk that links pre-meeting talk directly with the meeting proper, usually accompanies or initiates readying work for the meeting, such as distributing the agenda, doing head-counts or chairperson's explicit calls for participants' attention prefaced by discourse markers (e.g., 'so', 'okay', 'why don't we start the meeting'); *shop talk*, the discussions about people or events within shared workplace, usually with a gossipy function that builds up political savvy (cf. M. A. Atkinson et al., 1978; Boden, 1994; C. E. Ford, 2008; Nielsen, 2012a). Such opening talk therefore step by step 'bracket out the busy workday while bracketing in the local meeting membership – into the interaction order and the organisational tasks at hand' (Boden, 1994, p. 90).

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[4] In ordinary conversations, such overall structural organisations can also be found (e.g., openings and closings of a phone call), although tend to be less recurrent and structured.

[5] See Section 3.4 and 4.4.2 for further discussion on OSO in relation to the present study.

Likewise, before the meeting adjourns and goes into post-meeting talk, there are identifiable pre-closing and closing sequences. For example, the chair may close the last topic by referring to agenda items, producing concluding remarks, inviting last 'mentionables' and producing formal declaration to adjourn the meeting; other participants may display their readiness to close by passing the turn around, tidying up and moving into post-meeting, informal talk (e.g., Boden, 1994; Holmes & Stubbe, 2003; Nielsen, 2012a). Further, during a meeting, there may be occasional intermissions such as change of presenters, coffee breaks, where participants' interactional work, vocal or visual, emerges for transitions to be smoothly accomplished (Deppermann, Schmitt, & Mondada, 2010).

All of these practices, whether chairing, opening, closing or resuming a meeting, are joint-undertakings that can only be locally accomplished by the collaborative interactional work of all meeting participants; the fact that such practices recur also indicates the extent to which meeting participants' joint orientation towards the OSO of the meeting they are commonly engaged in (Paul Drew & Heritage, 1992). Therefore, to investigate the boundaries and transitions in-between phases of activities involved in the OSOs of an institutional context, in this case, workplace meetings, is of great value to undersatnd how professionals manage their business at hand and how institutional roles and relations are constructed and realised through talk-in-interaction.

2.3.4 *Sequence organisation of meeting interaction*

Participants' local management of turns in mundane conversations based on the turn-taking system[6] (e.g., Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974) is commonly seen as a point of departure when looking at institutional interactions (e.g., Paul Drew & Heritage, 1992). As in institutional settings, including meetings, participants orient to the procedural possibilities that shape and constrain turn-taking procedures, and 'mark their departures with care' (Boden, 1994, p. 100). Such procedural possibilities, as Heritage (2005) describes, are manifested in two main ways: *turn-type pre-allocation*, which refers to the restrictions placed on conversational participants in terms of what can be said (e.g., question and answer patterns); and *management of*

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[6] For more discussion on the turn-taking system see Section 2.5.4.

turn-allocation, which means that certain participants hold the rights and obligations to administer the operation of speaker change, i.e., who speaks when. With these in mind, the following discussion will focus on how meeting talk features in particular turn-taking and topic progression.

Turn-taking

Usually it is the chair of the meeting who monitors and mediates turn-taking and participation in meeting talk, by indicating the order of speakers, allocating next turns, interrupting a turn underway when it goes beyond expected duration or topical content, so on and so forth (Liddicoat, 2011; Svennevig, 2012a). The higher the level of formality, the less self-selection by participants and lower tolerance for local contingencies; also the chair exerts more control the on the interaction. All of which turn the talk into a single sequence, with the meeting chair being the addresser and the whole group of participants being the addressee (Boden, 1994; Liddicoat, 2011). In more formal, large meetings, to make themselves accountable for their actions, self-selecting speakers need to signal their wish to speak by making a bid to the chair and request for speakership, e.g., by raising a hand, gazing at the chair, leaning forward or making a verbal request; whereas in less formal meetings, there is more implicit negotiation on the extent to which the chair executes his/her role and others orient to him/her as such (Boden, 1994; C. E. Ford, 2008; Liddicoat, 2011; Svennevig, 2012a).

Schegloff (1995) refers to this asymmetric interactional order of meetings as organized in 'two parties'; it is similarly described by Ford (2008, p. 57) as a 'leader-plus-others formation'. More importantly, this bipartition is interactionally constructed and shifted on a moment-by-moment basis, with meeting participants' enactment of a strategic way to participate. Based on a conversation analysis of meetings in an academic organisation, Ford (2008) illustrates the subtle ways speaker change is achieved in meetings: speakers may simply make extensions of a previous speaker's turn in order to affiliate/align with him/her; turns may also be taken up at a transition relevant place (TRP); a potential next speaker may preface his/her self-selection with non-vocal, bodily display of incipient speakership (e.g., attentive gaze, nodding) toward the current speaker during the undergoing turn. More recently, Ford and Stickle (2012) makes a distinction between a 'primary speaker' (either the chair or the current selected speaker) who

leads all other recipients, and a 'non-primary speaker' (a self-selecting, potential next speaker among the other recipients). They further argue that when a non-chair, non-primary incipient speaker self-selects to initiate a turn, special interactional work needs to be done in order to secure the displayed recipiency from others; such work includes bodily-visual actions and phonetic/lexico-grammar practices (e.g., body orientations, cut-offs and restarts) at both pre-turn and turn-initial places. Such multimodal accounts therefore push forward explorations on turn-taking beyond traditional sound/word-based analysis, which is exactly the direction this present study is set out to go for[7].

Topic progression

Similar to turn-taking, the way topics are managed and developed in meeting interactions is on one hand governed by the chair, and on the other locally and jointly negotiated by participants, according to the level of formality (Holmes & Stubbe, 2003). As in most meetings, the agenda usually pre-specifies the purpose of meeting and topics to be introduced and discussed, early studies started to look at how agendas appear to be 'matters of agreement and disagreement, consensus and conflict' and how participants move through these matters in meetings (Boden, 1995, p. 94; Linde, 1991). Ford (2008) also focuses on the agenda in relation to how it exerts turn pre-allocation in meeting talk. For instance, participants produce prefaces for their coming contribution by addressing topical relevance with certain agenda items or linking it to a previous speaker's contribution.

Recent common interest includes how a topic is closed, how a new topic is introduced and how the transitions in-between are done in meeting talk. Holmes and Stubbe (2003, pp. 71–77) note that it is the chair who is usually found to set and state the agenda (especially at the beginning of the meeting), summarise ongoing progress (e.g., using formulations to confirm understanding), keep the discussion on track by signaling a digression (e.g., using discourse markers such as 'right', 'anyway') and ratify a decision in order to move on (e.g., 'okay so we've dealt with that') (see also C. E. Ford, 2008). Such strategies are further looked into by Barnes (2007) from a more micro-analytic perspective, who then calls them 'candidate pre-closing formulations'

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[7] For more discussion on multimodal practices in meeting interaction see Section 2.3.5; for a discussion on multimodal interaction see Section 2.4.

that display a characterization of prior talk, for either confirmation or disconfirmation; he then observes how these formulations were responded to by other participants in meetings with silence, and how they facilitate common understanding and the progress to a new topic (see also Clifton, 2006).

2.3.5 *Multimodal practices in meeting interaction*

Although consideration on the importance of bodily-visual cues (e.g., gaze, gestures, body positioning) dates back to 1980s (C. Goodwin, 1979; M. H. Goodwin, 1980), it was not until recently that full access to examine all semiotic resources in human face-to-face interaction was made available with the development of recording and storage devices. In fact, early classic CA work (e.g., Sacks et al., 1974) was mostly conducted based on *audio* recordings of conversations; the building blocks of conversation in CA terms, such as TCU and TRP, are therefore conceptualised primarily with close reference to syntax, later on prosody and pragmatics (e.g., C. E. Ford, Fox, & Thompson, 2002) (see Section 2.5.4). Consequently, CA studies in recent years have been increasingly driven by a multimodal perspective, that is, to include other modes of communication other than talk, into description, such as text, images, technological equipment and most importantly, embodied conduct (e.g., Hazel, Mortensen, & Rasmussen, 2014; Mortensen, 2012). The present study is directly related to this recent body of research, particularly on embodied participation and turn-taking in multiparty meeting interaction (e.g., C. E. Ford & Stickle, 2012; Markaki & Mondada, 2012; Mondada, 2007b, 2012c).

Including the previously reviewed study by Ford and Stickle (2012), there is a small number of conversation analysts who have started to look at multimodal aspects of talk-in-interaction in meetings, especially how changes in these aspects are made locally relevant to the establishment of speakership and recipiency around turn transition places. Mondada (2007b) shows how pointing gesture is used to predict possible turn completion and project an upcoming turn at turn beginnings and pre-beginnings in meeting talk; later on, two of her studies (Markaki & Mondada, 2012; Mondada, 2012c) further reveal the dynamics of embodied participation (e.g., gaze directions, body orientations) and how they are mobilized to

address each other, to make linguistic choice and to make national identities as relevant categories in international business meetings. The present study is greatly inspired by this small but rapidly expanding corpus of research, with the purpose to extend boundaries of existing understandings on both the sequentiality and systematicity of different multimodal resources as they are dynamically deployed in meeting interactions, with implications for other types of institutional talk. Discussions regarding a CA perspective on multimodality in general will be expanded in Section 2.4, whereas the relevant methodological issues will be looked into in Section 3.5.

Other topics of recently conducted meeting studies with a focus on multimodal practices include bodily-visual displays of boundaries and transitions (Deppermann et al., 2010), affiliation and alignment (Asmuß & Oshima, 2012; Djordjilovic, 2012; Markaki, Merlino, Mondada, & Oloff, 2010) and manipulation of typical meeting-associated artifacts such as slide presentations, whiteboards, meeting documents (Asmuß & Oshima, 2012; Hazel & Mortensen, 2014; Mondada, 2006; Nielsen, 2012b; Svennevig, 2012b).

2.4 Multimodality and embodied actions

The present study shares the view that human interaction is fundamentally multimodal (e.g., Groeber & Pochon-Berger, 2014; Hazel et al., 2014; Mondada, 2014b), thus the object of the study of CA, talk-in-interaction, or in another increasingly used term, 'talk-and-bodies-in-interaction' (Mortensen, 2012; Mortensen & Wagner, 2012), is also multimodal by its nature. The term 'multimodality' here refers to all modalities of communication including verbal, vocal, bodily-visual and other environmental aspects, whereas 'embodied action' refers to actions accomplished by all types of resources the human body affords the participant to make use of. It should be noted that in the present study, 'multimodality' is not to be seen as separate channels of communication that a participant can choose from, that is, a participant's category. Rather, it represents a researcher's analytic category of the whole set of semiotic resources, meaning that instead of giving priority of analysis to any pre-assumed single modality over others, analysts should have "their relevance empirically and situatedly defined within the context of the activity and its ecology" (Mondada,

2014b, p. 139) (cf. Deppermann, 2013a; Hazel et al., 2014; Mortensen, 2012). This standpoint is highly in tune with that of 'participation as an embodied activity' (C. Goodwin, 1996, 2000a; M. H. Goodwin, 2007) which the present study is set out for; both pays attention to how participants in social interaction locally make relevant one or more modalities of resources to construct meaning and accomplish action. Therefore, in this section, I review representative studies on aspects of modalities primarily from the CA research field, based on a historical view on how multimodality developed into the focus of contemporary CA research[8].

The inclusion of bodily-visual aspects in the analysis of face-to-face human interaction dates back to the 1960s. Especially since Goffman (e.g., 1963, 1964) called for an analytical attention to the speech, the human body as well as the environmental context in the study of face-to-face human interaction. Although Goffman's later work of 'footing' and model of participation (e.g., 1981) still privileges speech over other modalities of communication in analysing involvement, attention and participation[9], his call was responded by researchers from various backgrounds, including Kendon (1970) and Scheflen (1972) in their methodology of 'Context Analysis'. Context analysis was developed at the same time as ethnomethodological conversation analysis (CA), but aims "to provide an account of the recurrent behavioral forms that are employed in interaction and the rules that govern how they are employed" (Kendon, 1990, pp. 15, 35), and therefore tends to focus *a priori* on bodily-visual aspects of interaction (e.g., gaze). In comparison, in most contemporary CA/multimodal research, verbal talk still has its "productional fundamentality" (Schegloff, 1984, p. 295), meaning its linear temporality makes it a baseline for analysing 'talk-and-bodies-in-interaction'. However, Kendon's (e.g., 1967b, 1970, 1990) findings on spatial positioning and orientation regarding the organisation of attention and participation is still influential in today's CA research field, which will be revisited in the following discussion.

After the inception of CA in the 1960s, a substantial amount of 'classic' CA research has been done to examine how social practices are carried out in talk-in-interaction through a range of

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[8] The methodological challenges and tensions between the CA and multimodality, and the standpoint of the present study will be further elaborated on in Chapter 3.

[9] For a review of Goffman's work see Section 2.5.2.

vocal modalities (e.g., lexis, syntax, intonation, prosody), such as the organisation of turn-taking, sequence, and repair (e.g., C. E. Ford, Fox, & Thompson, 1996; Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff, 1987b), and further, through which social actions are accomplished, such as the action of assessment, (dis)alignment and (dis)agreement (e.g., R. Barnes, 2007; Kangasharju, 1996; Osvaldsson, 2004) (for a detailed review see Stivers & Sidnell, 2005). However, with the widespread access to video cameras and mass storage devices in recent years, these studies have been increasingly accused for having a bias against other modalities in talk-in-interaction and a privileged position for vocal production. In response, the number of studies focusing on bodily-visual modalities of talk-in-interaction has been on the rise since the 1980s, and experienced a dramatic increase in the last decade, referred to as an 'embodied turn' (Nevile, 2015). The following three sub-sections will therefore outline and discuss selective CA-inspired studies on gaze direction, body positioning and gesture production respectively, and the fourth and final sub-section will focus on the latest development of this body of literature, that is, the inclusion of multiple modalities in the focus of CA analysis, where the present study directly contributes to.

2.4.1   *Gaze direction*

As a primary means for humans to conduct mutual monitoring and display shared attention in face-to-face social encounters (e.g., C. Goodwin, 1979, 1980), the study of gaze direction has been a research interest before CA's origin. The role of gaze has firstly been investigated by Kendon (1967a, 1990) in his pioneering study of dyadic conversation: he reports that a speaker usually looks away in the middle of a longer stretch of talk, and gazes back at the hearer by the end of the talk; also, the hearer gazes at the speaker more than the speaker gazes back at the hearer.

Such insights into the coordination between visual-attention distribution and utterance production is taken up by Charles Goodwin (1979, 1980, 1981) in his studies within the CA research paradigm, by examining video recordings of naturally occurring conversations in various settings. Particularly, Goodwin (1981) demonstrates the systematic procedures oriented to by participants to organize their states of gaze in concert with the on-going turns-at-talk. He

puts forward two principal rules on distribution of rights of gaze direction between speaker and recipient:

1. Speaker should only gaze at a gazing recipient but does not have to gaze at him/her continuously during a turn-at-talk;
2. A recipient can gaze either at a gazing or a non-gazing speaker, but should be gazing at the speaker whenever s/he is being gazed at by the speaker (C. Goodwin, 1981, p. 75).

Violations to the rules are thus dealt with through various interactional means. For instance, a speaker may consider an on-going turn as impaired when encountering a non-gazing recipient and modifies the talk during its delivery (e.g., restarts, pauses, hesitations) to obtain the recipient's attention. Gaze is therefore also used by recipients to display his/her co-participation at the moment; likewise, withdrawal of gaze by recipients shows their projections of the upcoming completion of the current speaker's turn, and are frequently associated with diminished participation in the on-going activity, or a bidding for closure of the current topic and mutual orientation (e.g., C. Goodwin, 1981, 1984). That is to say, especially in a multiparty conversation, it is crucial for the speaker to secure displayed recipiency in gaze from a target recipient in the course of his/her verbal turn so as to gain and consolidate speakership for an extended period of time.

More recent studies of gaze direction have attempted to reveal how a shift in gaze direction at its particular sequential position serves to initiate relevant actions, and to elaborate or contextualise the on-going talk. Based on sequential analysis of conversation in medical consultations, Heath (1984) reports how a shift of gaze direction (usually accompanies a change of orientation in body posture) toward a co-participant before the actual talk starts is elicitive in nature, meaning that it not only serves to (re)engage co-presence (i.e., mutual involvement) with the co-interactant for their upcoming interaction, but also acts as a first move to elicit talk from the co-interactant. Further research has also shown that at the absence of a verbal address term in talk directed to a specific co-participant, the speaker's gaze direction is key for co-participants to recognise the addressed target recipient – in some cases the selected next speaker (e.g., Lerner, 1996a, 2003). Especially, in multi-party conversations, during a turn-at-talk, the speaker's gaze shifts may become a resource to designate the talk to specific

target recipient(s); hence the need for co-participants to closely observe the speaker's gaze direction in order to respond to the on-going talk accordingly. Therefore, the role of gaze is crucial in speaker transitions and selections, both in the case of 'the current speaker selects next' and 'next speaker self-selects'[10], and thus plays an integral part in establishing or maintaining an emerging participation framework (e.g., Sacks et al., 1974).

The most recent work conducted by Rossano (e.g., Rossano, 2012a, 2012b; Stivers & Rossano, 2010), using both qualitative sequential analysis and quantifications of CA, also contribute to this line of research. Particularly, he studies the systematics of gaze in various types of conversational activities, some of which re-contextualise the previous findings (cf. C. Goodwin, 1981). For instance, in an extended telling, the speaker expects the recipient to display gaze within the first TCU as recognition of the projected telling, and keep that orientation during the telling; whereas in question-and-answer sequences, the answerer's gaze is not normatively required to arrive within the first TCU. Rossano's work uncovers that gaze not only can be mobilised in relation to the normative turn-taking practices, but also can be deployed for the development of courses of actions and sequences.

Other studies have investigated the role of gaze in manipulations of artifacts as different visual semiotic fields, for example, the speaker's shifts of gaze toward a workbook, then back to the recipient (usually accompanied with a pointing gesture and/or a change in body posture) indicates a solicit of shared attention to the workbook (C. Goodwin, 2007c; cf. Hazel & Mortensen, 2014).

2.4.2 Body positioning

The human body contains different parts, which can be mobilised on various levels to facilitate a common focus of attention when people engage in face-to-face social interaction. The most influential work to this aspect is Kendon's (1990) notion of *transactional segment*, which lays the foundation of a majority of CA research on body positioning and orientation in talk-in-interaction. This notion refers to three hierarchically organised body parts: the head

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[10] For an explanation of how the turn-taking system works see Section 2.5.4.

(including eyes), the torso and the lower body. By twisting different parts around the same vertical axis of the body, a participant can display various levels of involvement in what Goffman (1963) termed as 'multifocused gatherings': whilst the head and the torso are more flexible and thus allow the participant to turn around more frequently toward the focus of attention on a dynamic basis, the lower body is relatively more static and thus tells a more stable position of involvement in the on-going activity (Kendon, 1970, 1990). For example, in a restaurant, one would turn to a 'torqued' body posture (Schegloff, 1998) to greet a passing acquaintance as a temporary focus, and then resume the forward-facing position of his/her head and upper torso and re-engage in the main focus on the dining table. The brief greeting is therefore a fleeting and unstable activity requiring a side, subordinate involvement, in comparison to the ongoing dining-while-conversing activities that require the speaker's main, dominant involvement[11].

Based on this idea, Sacks and Schegloff (1975/2002) describe their observation of the *home position* (or 'rest position', cf. Kendon, 1975), which is a formal organizational device of body movement (e.g., gesture, body posture), be it a single move or a series of moves, that is completed by returning to the original position where it departed. This device has also been examined in studies of gesture-in-talk[12]. In a more recent paper, Schegloff (1998) continues to explicate how conversational organisations, such as sequence organisation and sequence expansion, can be coordinated and manipulated by a 'body torque' and a release from body torque to home position.

Since then, a growing number of studies conducted in various settings are dedicated to discovering how various types of conversational practices, such as turn-taking, turn-construction, repair, relates to the sequential places of changes in body positioning. For instance, Mortensen (2008a, 2009) has reported in his study of second language classroom interaction that a student can project his/her incipient speakership toward the teacher at a possible completion point[13] of the teacher's ongoing turn, with a change in the body position

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[11] For a discussion on Goffman (1963)'s study on types of human involvement in social encounters see Section 2.5.3.

[12] For a discussion on 'home position' in relation to gesture see Section 2.4.3.

[13] For a discussion of the possible completion point in the turn-taking system see Section 2.5.4.

(i.e., leaning back of the torso) and an eye gaze. Ford (C. E. Ford, 2008; C. E. Ford & Stickle, 2012) also observes the use of body posture to project willingness to talk by a possible next speaker in workplace meetings. For instance, a forward inclination of the upper torso (usually accompanying head movements) can be deployed by a possible next speaker to prepare for his/her upcoming self-selection. An inclination of the upper torso can work to create an 'unobstructed line of vision' between his/herself and the current speaker during the on-going talk, and thereby establishing a focus of attention with the current speaker (cf. Fasel Lauzon & Pochon-Berger, 2015).

Other more macro-scoped CA research has also explicated how body positioning can be mobilized as a resource in embodied participation in social interactions. For instance, by studying openings of everyday conversation between strangers, such asking for directions on the streets, Mondada (2009) explored the idea of 'shared/common interactional space' in multimodal CA approach, and suggested that the spatial disposition and arrangement of the participants' bodies and gaze to create a shared interactional space and thus a mutual focus of attention is the "pre-conditions for social interaction". The idea of the constitution of shared interactional space has since then been further explored in other settings, including institutional service encounters (Mortensen & Hazel, 2014), multiparty workplace meetings (Mondada, 2012c, 2013) and other non-talk-reference activities such as car driving (Mondada, 2012a).

2.4.3 *Gesture production*

The study of gesture in relation to speech has been extensively studied in the field of psychology and psycholinguistics (see Kendon, 2004 for a detailed review), especially on the semantic, pragmatic and referential relationships between language production and certain types of gesture (e.g., David McNeill, 2005). For example, it has been evidenced that iconic gestures is typically pre-positioned with their lexical affiliates (e.g., Schegloff, 1984), therefore suggesting a semantic relation of mutual elaboration (or emphasis) between the two (Stivers & Sidnell, 2005).

Yet within the domain of CA, it is the interactional aspect of gesture production that attracts

growing research interest. According to Goodwin (1986), the human bodies, including hands, are able to provide a great deal of nonvocal information about the talk-in-progress, as well as a variety of needs for body cares (e.g., breathing, drinking, relieving itches) that falls outside the scope of the talk-in-progress. It provides participants access each other's bodies as carriers of information about their talk, and poses an interactional task which requires participants to identify talk-relevant behaviours and place visual attention upon them, and those that are not with disattention accordingly (C. Goodwin, 1986). The analysis of this classification process from a participant's perspective is what the CA methodology can afford, by looking at the sequential context of a participant's action and the visible consequences of this action among other co-participants. Gesture production, being one of the foci of this line of research, has been studied from different angles.

To start with, Schegloff (1984) describes gesture as more of a 'speaker's phenomenon' (1984, p. 271). He notices that although the core of the gesture, that is, the thrust or acme, usually appears prior to its affiliating lexical items somewhere within the verbal turn, the earliest evidence of 'the gesture' appears far earlier: it can be initiated anywhere between the last word or syllable of the prior turn (sometimes the last few words if produced by another speaker) and the start of the upcoming turn. It therefore avails a 'projection space' in which the upcoming affiliating speech is 'in play' as depicted by the pre-positioned gesture. Following this line, Hayashi (2003, 2005) shows that a pre-positioned gesture in the midst of an on-going turn can be taken up by a co-participant, producing a turn that linguistically interprets the information contained in the gesture. In other words, the projection space can be utilized by a co-participant to collaboratively construct a turn or action, based on the projectability of next-item-due provided by the bodily conduct.

Apart from pre-positioning of a gesture, gesturing at the turn-beginning position as a site for turn transition and speaker selection has been studied in a wide range of settings. Particularly, in multiparty interactions where self-selection becomes a more competitive task, a speaker can display a gesture at the onset of the verbal turn to solicit co-participants' visual attention and recipiency display (C. Goodwin, 1986). Streeck and Hartge (1992) examine the deployment of a facial gesture and a manual gesture (i.e., [a]-face and palm up) at transition places in Ilokano

conversations. The study suggests that such use of gestures have advantages over speech as it facilitates the display of incipient speakership without the risk of overlapping talk, and also provides the recipients a preview of the upcoming unit of talk of the possible next speaker so that they are able to select the appropriate emerging participation framework. Further, Mondada' (2007b) examines the interaction of workplace meetings conducted over a work table in French and shows how pointing gestures are initiated at pre-beginning and turn-beginning positions in a systematic way for predicting possible turn completion and projecting the upcoming talk of an incipient speaker. It is shown that such uses of pointing gesture as claims for speakership, although not overlapping with verbal talk, can even 'interrupt' an on-going verbal talk, therefore can be seen as a concurrent practice of turn-taking by the current speaker (cf. Streeck & Hartge, 1992). Her study also extends the analytic focus to show how pointing gestures are ended at various positions through sequences, therefore explicating the speaker's orientation over the turns-at-talk and the sequential implicativeness among co-participants.

Other studies have also focused on how gestures are coordinated with verbal turns-at-talk and the implications for action formation and construction. Particularly, the beginning, continuation and completion of a turn or sequence is proceeded in tune with that of a gesture, therefore providing visual projectability of vocal actions (C. Goodwin, 2000a, 2002). In this respect, the phenomenon of gesture hold or suspension, which are usually taken for granted as disattended transitional movements that are of little significance and lesser looked at, has been recently noticed to play a role in talk-in-interaction. Based on Kendon's (e.g., 2004; see also David McNeill, 2005) use of gesture phases (i.e., preparation, stroke, hold, retraction), the recent study of Cibulka (2014) looks at the organisation of gestural phase of non-movements and transitional movements between the gestural stroke and *home position* (see Sacks & Schegloff, 2002) (i.e., preparation and retraction) in daily conversations in Japanese. Cibulka's analysis showed that these publicly visible bodily-displays can be exploited by the gesturer, as well as by co-participants, as indication of a pursued trajectory of action in varying forms of claim of speakership and levels of co-participation.

2.4.4   *Multiple modalities and future directions*

Up until now, I have selectively reviewed studies in the CA research field on how gaze direction, body positioning and gesture production have been examined in conversations across languages, in various settings and at various sequential environments. Such studies add to our existing knowledge of: (1) how various modalities of resources can be used at particular sequential contexts to play discrete interactional functions; (2) how verbal talk and bodily-visual practices can mutually contextualise and elaborate on each other temporally and sequentially. Among all the studies, gaze direction and gesture production have been mostly studied, particularly in relation to turn-taking and turn construction at verbal turn-beginning positions and wider transition spaces, with a common focus on the establishment and maintenance of speakership and recipiency (C. Goodwin, 1980, 1986; Lerner, 2003; Mondada, 2007b; Streeck & Hartge, 1992). In comparison, changes of body posture and body position, and the organisation of gestural phases, have been looked at beyond single verbal turns and across wider sequences, in relation to various forms of participation and involvement (e.g., Cibulka, 2014; Schegloff, 1998). It is therefore unquestionable that huge insights can be gained through examining turns-at-talk for where they are situated, not only vocally, but also bodily-visually. Most importantly, it demonstrates that different modalities cannot and should not be seen as less or more important by an analyst's choice, as such co-occurrence of multiple modalities in the process of sense-making and action-building is what constitutes the sui generis characteristics of human social interaction, or in other words, talk-and-bodies-in-interaction (cf. C. E. Ford, Thompson, & Drake, 2012).

Nevertheless, the question remains that we still know little about "how the different modalities play together to perform what is essentially the scientific aim of CA: to describe recognizable social practices" (Mortensen, 2012, p. 6). Or in other words, "how participants in social interaction mobilise a set of resources for the locally situated, intersubjective and methodic organization of action" (Mondada, 2014b, p. 139). According to Mondada (2014b), there are mainly two different ways by which CA analysts approach multimodality: (1) by focusing exclusively on a selected type of mode, or resource (e.g., a type of gesture, gaze direction), in a given sequential context (e.g., turn-beginnings, transition space), which is the category where

most aforementioned studies falls into; (2) by focusing on how a focal action is formatted through mobilizing the whole set of resources, which is termed by Mondada as a '*complex multimodal Gestalt*' (2014b, p. 139). The latter, considering the nature of its complexity, tend to be a relatively new and smaller corpus of studies albeit rapidly growing in the last decade. Based on various settings including workplace interactions, language classrooms, medical encounters and daily conversations, this body of research has so far examined focal phenomenon ranging from bodily-visual practices in turn-construction, resolution of overlapping talks, repair, word searches (see, amongst others, C. E. Ford et al., 2012; Hayashi, 2003; Oloff, 2012, 2013; Rasmussen, 2014), to transitions in-between activities, manipulation of artifacts, addressing a colleague or securing a recipient in multiparty meetings, student participation in classroom interaction and child participation in family talk (see, amongst others, Butler & Wilkinson, 2013; Deppermann et al., 2010; C. E. Ford & Stickle, 2012; Hauser, 2009; Markaki & Mondada, 2012; Mondada, 2006, 2012c, 2013; Mortensen, 2008a; Robinson & Stivers, 2001).

The present study adopts an expanded vision and seeks to illustrate the bigger picture: how an action is recognisably and noticeably projected, initiated, accomplished and responded to, not only through multiple modalities of resources by co-participants at a particular sequential position, but across a span of a wider sequential environment (e.g., pre-turn, turn-beginning, first TCU, multiple TCU/turns/sequences). The study is therefore set out to contribute to the latter line of research, by focusing on a so-far underexplored setting, that is, university student interactions (for a few studies in this context, see Benwell & Stokoe, 2002; Hauser, 2009; Stokoe, 2000; Young, 2003). It is to shed new lights of CA studies on student interaction in educational settings, as well as to bring methodological contribution on establishing systematic collections of the '*complex multimodal Gestalts*', based on a multimodal sequential analysis of a collection of cases in which students verbally and bodily-visually participate in multiparty group meetings.

Indeed, to take into consideration the whole set of modalities in the analysis of systematic organisation of social practices, it poses methodological and practical challenges and questions, to name but a few: (1) how the selective attention to specific modes regardless of others can be

accounted for (Deppermann, 2013a; Mortensen, 2012); (2) how the basic speech-oriented notions of CA (e.g., turn-taking, adjacency pair, TCU) can be adapted into a multimodal perspective on the material world and embodied actions (e.g., embodied turn-taking, embodied adjacency pairs) (Ivarsson & Greiffenhagen, 2015; Keevallik, 2014; Mondada, 2014b); (3) how can the visual richness of video-recordings be represented on a CA-style transcript while maintaining the readability for analysis purposes (Deppermann, 2013a; Laurier, 2014; Mondada, 2007a, 2012b). The discussion of these concerns will be unfolded in Chapter 3, while the following section will turn back to the notion of 'participation' and what it means for the present study.

2.5 Participation

The practice of participation is an endeavor that is relevant at every passing moment for every participant, whether engaging or disengaging, during the interactions in any social encounters that they are mutually involved in. It is crucial for participants in interaction to display to one another their own actions, their expectation and interpretation of others' actions on a moment-by-moment basis; and to do this they draw upon a multitude of resources, including talk, gesture, gaze, body positioning and the evolving structures of the physical environment. In other words, it involves 'all manner of communication' (Goffman, 1964, p. 135). Taking this perspective as a basis upon which the present study is situated, I selectively review influential works that hold contrastive views toward the notion of 'participation', firstly Philip's (1972) 'participant structures' (Section 2.5.1), then Goffman's (1981) model of 'participation framework' and theory of 'footing' (Section 2.5.2), and finally the more recent studies of C. Goodwin and M.H. Goodwin (2004) on participation (Section 2.5.3).

Them, in the two sub-sections that follow, I present notions closely associated with the analysis of participation as embodied actions, especially in a multiparty conversation as it is the case with the present study. I start with a brief introduction to the system of turn-taking[14] (Section 2.5.4), which is relevant here because, as Lerner (1993) points out, opportunities for different

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[14] Here I focus on the description of the system and its implications for the present study, whereas a methodological view on the turn-taking system within the CA-framework is discussed in Chapter 3.

forms of participation are created by the use of turn-taking practices that selects next speakers. Then I discuss how speaker selection becomes an issue for participation in multiparty conversations, and how participants deal with this issue by means of their use of language and their bodies, focusing particularly on the actions of address and recipiency (Section 2.5.5).

2.5.1 *Participation as structure*

Since the 1970s, studies in linguistic anthropology were conducted to analyse and categorise different types of participation structures in different speech events, especially on how student participate in various educational settings, in order to develop a better understanding on the relation between participation and learning (e.g., Au, 1980; Erickson, 1982; Philips, 1972; Schultz, Florio, & Erickson, 1982).

Being one of them, Philips' (1972) study investigates and compares structures of participation of American Indian children in classrooms and in their own Indian communities. Four types of 'participant structures' were identified within teacher-controlled classroom interaction: (1) the teacher interacting with the whole class, (2) the teacher interacting with a group of students in the class, (3) all students work individually and independently on a task, where the teacher is available for help, through student-initiated interaction, and (4) students interact within small groups. By observing and comparing performances of Indian children with those of non-Indian children, Philips finds that Indian children failed to participate in type (1) and (2) and she explains that such poor performance can be attributed to the social norms for participation Indian children are used to at home, which are different to those in school classrooms.

Following her work, Philips' successors applied participant structure as a typological concept to look at the relationship between patterns of interactions in classrooms and the on-going learning activities. For instance, Au (1980) studies the classroom interaction of Hawaiian minority-culture children and discovers nine different kinds of participation structures which fall on a continuum from those more closely controlled by the teacher, to those more freely organised structures that resembles 'story talk', a typical speech event in Hawaiian culture. It was then found that children have higher academic achievement in the latter, freely organised

talk; therefore it can be seen as a pedagogy that is more culturally appropriate. Further, Erickson (1982) distinguishes 'academic task structure' from 'social participation structure' in school classroom interaction, and discusses the pedagogical implications they have on teaching and learning (see also Seedhouse, 2004; Sfard, 1998).

2.5.2   *Participation as typology*

From a traditional linguistic point of view, the study of human interaction focuses *a priori* on language or speech and assumes a binary interchange between the speaker and the hearer with an on-off function (for a brief review, see Sidnell, 2009). Regarding this, the sociologist Erving Goffman (1964, e.g., 1981) is one of the pioneers to propose an alternative view, who criticised the "traditional analysis of saying" for being too simplistic that "two and only two individuals are engaged together in it…(when)…sound alone is at issue…(and)…all their doings being imperceivable by others" (Goffman, 1981, p. 11).

In his early paper '*The Neglected Situation*' (1964), Goffman argues that the study of the nature of participation should be situated in the much neglected '*social situations*', which, in his words, "constitute a reality *sui generis*…and therefore need and warrant analysis in their own right (p. 134)", since

> … a student interested in the properties of speech may find himself having to look at the physical setting in which the speaker performs his gestures, simply because you cannot describe a gesture fully without reference to the extra-bodily environment in which it occurs. And someone interested in the linguistic correlates of social structure may find that he must attend to the social occasion when someone of given social attributes makes his appearance before others (p. 134).

Goffman goes on and defines '*social situation*' as:

> an environment of mutual monitoring possibilities, anywhere within which an individual will find himself accessible to the naked senses of all others who are "present," and similarly find them accessible to him (1964, p. 135).

It is exactly those 'mutual monitoring possibilities' that are of particular interest in the study of participation, regarding how they are generated in the environments of talk and taken up by the participants. In fact, in Goffman's earlier work (e.g., 1957, 1963), he has already conducted

extensive discussions about such 'mutual monitoring possibilities', in terms of '*involvement*'[15] and '*gathering*'[16]. Pointing out that human beings are capable of dividing their attention into multiple involvements, he then compares the distinction between a *main* and a *side involvement*, and that of a *dominant* and a *subordinate involvement*: where as a side involvement can happen simultaneously with the main involvement, requiring only abstracted attention that does not intervene with that of the main activity (e.g., knitting while listening), a subordinate involvement is one that is muted, modulated or intermittent, at the time when the degree of attention that is not obliged by the dominant activity (e.g., reading a magazine while waiting to see an official) (Goffman, 1963). Further, Goffman differentiates *unfocused gatherings* (e.g., a group of people at a railway station waiting room) with *focused gatherings,* the latter was also termed as '*encounters*' or '*face engagements*', which are "ventures in joint orientation" when two or more participants are involved in a social situation to "jointly ratify one another as authorized co-sustainers of a single, albeit moving, focus of visual and cognitive attention" (Goffman, 1964, p. 135). The introduction of these concepts is particularly helpful when looking at interaction between multi-parties of participants, as is the case for the present study; it also paves the way for more discussion on the study of participation as follows.

Driven by his earlier studies, Goffman's most influential work, the model of participation in '*footing*' was put forward in 1979 in a short paper (Goffman, 1979), which was then republished in his book '*Forms of Talk*' (Goffman, 1981). 'Footing' refers to:

> …the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance (1981, p. 128).

Changes in footing constantly happen amongst various parties involved in a conversation, and to fully and thoroughly account for the dynamics of such changes, Goffman calls for a re-examination of the primitive notions of 'speaker' and 'hearer', which is summarised as follows.

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[15] *Involvement* refers to 'the capacity of an individual to give, or withhold from giving, his concerted attention to some activity at hand—a solitary task, a conversation, a collaborative work effort' and that 'involvement in an activity is taken to express the purpose or aim of the actor' (Goffman, 1963, p. 43).

[16] *Gathering* refers to 'any set of two or more individuals whose members include all and only those who are at the moment in one another's immediate presence' (Goffman, 1963, p. 18).

Firstly, the notion of 'hearer (recipient, listener)' can be deconstructed into ratified participants as opposed to unratified participants. The former refers to those who are officially participating in the encounter, including addressed and unaddressed recipients; whereas the latter refers to the unofficial listeners and followers of the talk, including 'bystanders (over-hearers)' and 'eavesdroppers' (Goffman, 1981, p. 131 and passim). Such relations between a single participant and the on-going utterance, are termed 'participation status' and therefore the 'total configuration of such statuses' (A Duranti, 1997, p. 297) forms a 'participation framework' (1981, p. 137). Goffman further exploits this typology of different types of participation and distinguishes the constructions of types of talk between dominating communication and subordinate communication: whereas dominating communication happens among ratified participants, subordinate communication takes various forms, such as 'by-play' (talk among a sub-group of ratified participants) (see M. H. Goodwin, 1997), 'cross-play' (talk between ratified participants and bystanders) and 'side-play' (talk among bystanders) (Goffman, 1981, p. 134). Secondly, the notion of 'speaker' can also be decomposed into different roles, that describe the relations between the speaker and his/her utterance: an animator (the 'sounding box' whose voice is used to produce the utterance), an author (who constructed the utterance), a principle (who is socially responsible for the action he/she performed by the original utterance) and a figure (a character described in the utterance). The collection of this typology from the speaker's point of view is therefore termed the 'production format' (Goffman, 1981, p. 145)[17].

Goffman's model of participation in 'footing' marks a milestone in the study of participation, and has inspired abundant future studies in a wide range of fields including conversation analysis, linguistic anthropology, interactional sociolinguistics and pragmatics (Sidnell, 2009). It offers a powerful analytical framework that enables systematic analysis of "the complex theater of different kinds of entities that can co-exist" within a single strip of talk, and especially the typological deconstruction of the speaker greatly contributes to our understanding of "the cognitive complexity of speakers, who are creating a richly inhabited and textured world

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[17] Levinson (1988) expanded the Goffman's model of participation, and substitutes 'production roles' for 'production format' and 'reception roles' for 'participation framework'. Later on, Hanks (1990) and Irvine (1996) also made elaborations on this model, which will not be discussed here.

through their talk" (C. Goodwin, 2007b, p. 6). However, the typology for hearers in Goffman's model has been criticised for depicting 'no comparable semiotic life' as compared to the counterpart with speakers (C. Goodwin, 2007b, p. 7), and thus leading to serious consequential limitations summarised as follows: (1) 'speakers' and 'hearers' are seen as inhabiting separate worlds in the model; (2) the typology offered by the model is static in a way that allows no space for further investigation on how participation is organized interactively; (3) the model creates an asymmetry between 'speakers' and 'hearers' that privileges the former with much more cognitive and linguistic complexity and leaving the latter a poorer and simplistic depiction; (4) speech is given priority over other forms of embodied practices using the model. Therefore, using 'footing' and the framework alone to analyse participation of human interaction does not fully do justice to what Goffman has argued in his previous work, that a social gathering involves 'all manner of communication' (Goffman, 1964, p. 135).

2.5.3   Participation as embodied action

Whilst Phillips and Goffman approach participation by putting different types of interaction or participant roles into structural or typological frameworks, there is a body of research that holds a different perspective on the study of participation, mainly pioneered by the Goodwins, which holds that

> …participation can be 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' (C. Goodwin, 2007b, p. 12)

Taking this perspective, participants in a social interaction are treated as fully embodied, reflexive actors, by each other (i.e., their co-participants) as well as by analysts; and not only speech but also a wide range of simultaneously invoked semiotic resources (e.g., gaze, gesture, the material environment) are taken into account in the process of moment-by-moment action-building and action-projecting (e.g., C. Goodwin, 2007b, 2007c). Thus, it complements the missing pieces of 'mutual reflexivity' and 'embodied actions' in Goffman's model of participation, as discussed in the previous section.

The Goodwins have made a major contribution to this body of research on participation starting from the 1970s. Although not explicitly studying the notion of 'participation', their early work (C. Goodwin, 1979, 1980, 1981; M. H. Goodwin, 1980) has revealed how participants' mutual monitoring and orientation is realised through the organisation of gaze (e.g., the arrival of recipient's gaze) and the structuring of speech (e.g., the speaker's turn-initial restart) in face-to-face social interactions, which greatly adds to the understanding of turn-taking in talk-in-interaction within the CA-framework[18].

With a more explicit attempt in support of their viewpoint on 'participation as embodied situated action', more recent work of the Goodwins (C. Goodwin, 2000a, 2000b, 2003, 2007c, 2007a; M. H. Goodwin, 2007) further explores how, through talk, the joint-construction of action is accomplished in a semiotically-rich material environment, and particularly, how the human body (e.g., pointing gesture) is made the site for "structurally different kinds of displays implicated in the constitution of the actions of the moment" (C. Goodwin, 2000a, p. 1490). For instance, Goodwin and Goodwin's (2004; see also 2000) study looks at how a man with limited access to vocabulary and syntax due to severe aphasia can capably participate in daily conversations with the use of eye-gaze shift, gesture and other semiotic resources; they also show that this man not only is a competent participant, but also demonstrates his understanding of the on-going talk by engaging in building actions collaboratively with his multi-party participants. In another study (C. Goodwin, 2007c), through a sequential analysis of a family conversation between a father and a daughter on her homework, Goodwin also demonstrates how participants in face-to-face interaction organise their bodies in concert with each other so that their joint-attention is reached. The study further reveals how, in a dispute between the father and daughter, participation framework is visibly structured, negotiated and contested through relevant structure of the material environment and the participants' on-going actions, and what does the changing and evolving cognitive and affective (dis)alignment tell about participants' epistemic, moral and affective stances.

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[18] For a discussion on the turn-taking system, see Section 2.5.4; on the role of gaze in talk, see Section 2.4.1.

This perspective on participation, which is adopted in conducting the current study, not only better accommodates verbal talk and bodily conduct in studying human interaction, but is also more in line with the mind-set of the CA approach, the methodological approach adopted for the current study (see Chapter 3). The discussion will now turn to a brief introduction to a notion that is closely related with the study of participation, which is also one of the most evident features of talk-in-interaction in CA: the turn-taking system.

2.5.4   Turn-taking system and participation

It is usually taken for granted that in a conversation, people take turns to talk in certain ways that make the conversation flow fluidly; yet little effort had been done to uncover the process that people achieve all these seemingly effortless speaker changes, until the ground-breaking study by of Harvey Sacks and his colleagues' ground-breaking study. In the seminal paper '*A Simplest Systematics for the Organization of Turn-Taking for Conversation*' by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974), two basic features of conversation are observed: (1) at least, and no more than, one party speaks at a time at a single conversation; (2) speaker change recurs (see also Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). Sacks et al. (1974) found that interactants in mundane conversations orient to, and work to achieve the occurrence of these two features, and especially their co-occurrence, as they interact with each other. To further explicate how conversationalists achieve these features, they introduced the use of a 'machinery' (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973, p. 293) that underpins the organisation of social interaction, that is, the system of turn-taking. This system contains two components, namely, a turn-constructional component and a turn-allocational component, which tackle two issues in conversation respectively (see also Garcia, 2013): (1) How do participants in conversation know when to begin a turn? (2) How do participants in conversation know who (if more than two) will speak next? Together with a set of rules that combines the two, they represent the systematics of turns at talk.

The turn constructional component

The first component helps us understand what turns at talk look like, by segmenting them into the most basic building blocks, termed as turn constructional units (TCUs thereafter) by Sacks et al. (1974). TCUs are coherent and self-contained constructions that are recognizably possibly

complete at 'sentential, clausal, phrasal and lexical' levels (Sacks et al., 1974, p. 702). The notion of 'possibly complete' means is that the construction of a TCU is entirely context-dependent and context-sensitive; unlike grammatical structures of language, where a TCU begins and where it ends are only determined locally at the conversational context and jointly by the conversational parties, as Ford et al. (1996, p. 428) describes, "it was seen a unit which is contingent and interactionally achieved, by its very nature always negotiable". Therefore, the way people negotiate where the boundary of a TCU lies is by reference to a point called the transition-relevance place (TRP hereafter): when a speaker initiates a turn at talk, s/he is entitled to have one TCU; and at the first possible completion point of the first TCU, called the initial TRP, speaker transition becomes a relevant and legitimate possible next action (Sacks et al., 1974, p. 703). That is to say, a speaker and his/her co-participants can project, or predict the coming of each possible completion point of an on-going TCU, be it syntactically, pragmatically, prosodically or bodily-visually complete; and it is at such TRPs a new turn from a next speaker can - but not always and does not necessarily - begin.

Subsequent research has expanded the existing knowledge on the projectability of TCU and its possible completion in relation to a multitude of language properties, including lexis and syntax (Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff, 1996b), intonation and pragmatics (i.e., action) (C. E. Ford & Thompson, 1996), prosody (C. E. Ford et al., 1996; Selting, 1998), as well as bodily-visual practices such as gaze (C. Goodwin, 1981, 1996), gesture (Schegloff, 1984; Streeck & Hartge, 1992) and body posture (Kendon, 1990; Sacks & Schegloff, 2002; Schegloff, 1998), to name but a few.

The turn allocational component

This second component introduces two different ways in which the participants determine who speaks next; it is either (1) the current speaker selects the next speaker, or (2) a next speaker self-selects (Sacks et al., 1974). And there is a basic set of rules that links the two components together, by governing how turns are constructed and coordinating how turns are allocated between conversational parties:

(1) For any turn, at the initial transition-relevance place of an initial turn- constructional unit:

(a) If the turn-so-far is so constructed as to involve the use of a "current speaker selects next" technique, then the party so selected has the right and is obliged to take next turn to speak; no others have such rights or obligations, and transfer occurs at that place.

(b) If the turn-so-far is so constructed as not to involve the use of a "current speaker selects next" technique, then self-selection for next speakership may, but need not, be instituted; first starter acquires rights to a turn, and transfer occurs at that place.

(c) If the turn-so-far is so constructed as not to involve the use of a "current speaker selects next" technique, then current speaker may, but need not continue, unless another self-selects.

(2) If, at the initial transition-relevance place of an initial turn- constructional unit, neither 1a nor 1b has operated, and, following the provision of 1c, current speaker has continued, then the rule-set a-c re-applies at the next transition-relevance place, and recursively at each next transition-relevance place, until transfer is effected (Sacks et al., 1974, p. 704).

Based on this rule-set, there is a group of techniques that a current speaker can design his/her talk so as to select the next speaker (rule 1a), such as by building a sequence-initiating action (a first pair-part) (e.g., a question, a request) into the on-going talk that makes relevant a particular type of next, responsive action (a second pair-part) from another conversational party (e.g., an answer, a response) (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). Lerner (1996a, 2003) has looked into the specifics of how such sequence-initiating actions are done through the use of address terms and accompanying shifts of eye-gaze direction. Likewise, there are techniques for a speaker to self-select as the next speaker (rule 1b), the most basic being 'starting first' (Sacks et al., 1974, p. 718) so as to compete for the speakership at TCU boundaries, such as a pre-placed appositional (e.g., well, but) (Schegloff, 1987b). Recent studies have also examined how gesture (e.g., pointing) and other bodily-visual resources are used to self-select (e.g., Mondada, 2007b)[19].

It is necessary here to point out several features of the turn-taking system: (1) it works not as pre-allocated or externally imposed rules, but as exhibitions of participants' normative orientations to the orderly distribution of turns and speaker transfers as observed in mundane, unscripted conversations[20] (Hayashi, 2013, p. 167; Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998, p. 50); (2) the

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[19] For a discussion on how different multimodal resources are used for turn-taking and turn allocation, see Section 2.4.

[20] The turn-taking system in Sacks et al. (1974) does not reflect the systematics of interactions other than mundane, unscripted conversations, such as meetings and courtroom interactions. These have been studied under 'institutional talk'

working of the system is locally organised and 'party-administered' (Sacks et al., 1974, p. 726), meaning that the participants apply again and again the rule-set to each next bit of talk as it unfolds (P ten Have, 2007, p. 128); (3) the system is also interactively managed, meaning that it is a jointly-accomplished interactional endeavor that involves all the parties in a conversation (Sacks et al., 1974; P ten Have, 2007). Consequential to such features of the turn-taking system, its operation allows for local variations of all kinds, be it a failure, a violation, or an exception of the 'normative' (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973), for which I will give several illustrations below and in the next section.

A case in point is departures from the 'one-at-a-time' principle, when, for example, several people speaking simultaneously during leave-taking at a social gathering, or responding to an announcement of good news (Hayashi, 2013). Whilst overlapping talk at such occasions are treated as the norm, in other occasions, its occurrence is seen as exceptions of the 'one-at-a-time' principle, which is sometimes problematic and needs to be resolved. For example, around the possible completion point (i.e., TRP) of an on-going TCU, driven by the 'starting first' technique, co-participants might initiate turn-terminal overlaps or turn-initial simultaneous starts. Such cases are usually resolved quickly by one of the speakers dropping-out of his/her turn, as an orientation to the 'one-at-a-time' principle (Schegloff, 2000). A second case in point of departures from 'one-at-a-time' is the variations of turn size, constituting multi-TCU turns or multi-turn TCUs that are sometimes co-constructed by co-participants (e.g., Hayashi, 2005; Lerner, 1996b). Particularly, cases of what Lerner (1996b) termed 'semi-permeable point'[21], that is, a point within a TCU that 'invites' a co-participant to co-construct an unfolding verbal turn, have been found in the collection of the present study.

(Paul Drew & Heritage, 1992) which is a large body of research in CA based on adaptations of the turn-taking system (for a discussion on one type of such institutional talk: meeting interaction see Section 2.5).

[21] Lerner (1996b, 2002) speaks of the cases where there are two parts of a compound TCU, that is, a preliminary turn component that is verbally constructed by the current speaker, and a final turn component (e.g., the second part of a two-part comparison, a dependent grammatical structure) that is already made relevant by the former. Therefore, the completion point of the preliminary component is what he calls the 'semi-permeable point', meaning it is where the verbal turn is permeable for contribution from a co-participant.

2.5.5 *Multiparty interaction and participation*

Another major source of variation to the working of turn-taking machinery is closely related to the number of parties in a conversation, since the changes of which affect the way the turn-taking system governs turn size and turn allocation. Therefore, in this section, I firstly discuss how the turn-taking model operates in talk-in-interaction involving more than two parties; then I review recent findings from CA studies on multiparty interaction with a special focus on the organisation of participation.

In a dyadic conversation, the characteristic pattern for turn allocation is an alteration of 'ABABAB'; but for three, it is not 'ABCABC', and "nor does there appear to be any determinate or formulaic pattern for three or more", as Schegloff (1995, p. 32) noted. In fact, more complex rules need to apply for a conversation that involves three or more parties, in which 'who is to speak next' is perpetually relevant (Hakulinen, 2009). According to Sacks et al. (1974), the design of the turn-taking model favours smaller numbers of parties in a conversation. Central to this is called the 'turn-order bias', which, to put simply, refers to only two speakers (i.e., current and next) and its operation that chooses the 'prior to current' speaker to be the next. As a result, in a two-party conversation, the next turn is always guaranteed to the current non-speaker. However, within three or more parties, a current non-speaker who intends to speak is under the constraint to self-select at the first TRP and, if not successfully, at each coming TRP; likewise, a current speaker who intends to select a next is under the constraint to do so before the first TRP, lest another party self-selects. Therefore, in both cases, participants are under pressure for the minimisation of gaps and turn sizes, and additional motivation of 'starting first' due to heightened competition for speakership (C. E. Ford, 2013; Sacks et al., 1974).

Given such features of the turn-taking practice in multiparty interaction, they lead to a number of practical issues for the organisation of participation. As such, for participants in multiparty interaction to initiate an action and gain recipiency and/or response from whom the action is targeted, extra interactional work may be required, such as closely monitoring co-participants' concurrent engagement and physical movements, identifying and claiming the next available slot (e.g., TRP or completion of action) (Butler & Wilkinson, 2013). Goodwin (C. Goodwin,

1980, 1981, 1987; cf. Schegloff, 1987b) shows that such special interactional work can be found at turn-beginnings, where a current speaker uses eye-gaze, turn design, or restarts and pauses to secure mutual gaze from one or more target recipients. Other researchers later found that such interactional work is may not be restricted to verbal turn beginnings and can occur as displays of incipient speakership at pre-beginning positions, aiming to raise attention from targeted recipients, project the upcoming self-selection and gain the floor from current speakers. These usually appear as audible in-breaths, changes in body positioning (e.g., leaning backward or forward when seated, moving around when standing), facial expressions and gestures (Butler & Wilkinson, 2013; Mondada, 2007b; Schegloff, 1996b; Streeck & Hartge, 1992, among others). Further, according to Sacks (1992, p. 683), there is a difference of 'having the floor' when others are attending to the talk and 'having the floor' when others are attending to other business. It means that a participant may design his/her self-selecting turn in a way that implicitly or explicitly claims a right to be attended and responded to, being it verbal or bodily-visual response, from the target recipient(s). Rossano (e.g., Stivers & Rossano, 2010) calls these designs 'response-mobilising features', and has conducted a series of studies to identify such features, including speaker gaze, interrogative morphosyntax, rising intonation, and recipient epistemic expertise. He has also found that whereas actions such as request and offer are considered high in response relevance, assessments, announcements and noticings tend to be low; however, how such actions are sequentially positioned are also relevant (Rossano, 2012a, 2012b; Stivers & Rossano, 2010).

Regarding body positioning in a multiparty conversation, a notion relevant here is 'body torque' described by Schegloff (1998), which refers to the turning of the upper torso or head to a third co-present participant during a temporary involvement, when the first, main involvement between two co-participants, who previously involved in a dyad conversation, is suspended. When the interaction driven by the temporary, second focus ceases, the first conversation continues and the torqued body may return to its original 'home position' (Sacks & Schegloff, 2002)[22].

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[22] See Section 2.4.2 for an elaborated discussion on 'body torque' and 'home position'.

In all aforementioned cases, the action of mutual monitoring and establishment of mutual orientation is key to a smooth transition of speakership, whereas in other cases, the failure of reaching a joint attention among more than two parties can lead to separation of the operating turn-taking systems into two or more parallel ones, that is, *schisming* (Egbert, 1997; Sacks et al., 1974). Further, in some kinds of talk-in-interaction involving multiple participants, the number of parties does not necessarily equals the number of participants, as a speaker can speak as a member of a collective party (e.g., as a couple), or talk to a group of recipients as 'one party' (e.g., a teacher talking to a class of students, a story teller with his/her audiences, a meeting chair talking to all meeting participants) (C. Goodwin, 1984; Lerner, 1993; Schegloff, 1995). In such cases, the turn-taking system does not therefore operate equally among each single participant, but follows more locally constructed and interactionally negotiated rights and responsibilities that apply to each conversational participant differently[23].

2.6 Interactional Competence

This final sub-section introduces a concept, namely, interactional competence (henceforth IC), and its relevance to the significance of the present study. The discussion of IC here will focus on the theoretical underpinnings to a multimodal, micro, sequential analysis of multiparty conversations, as well as the research context – university student meetings.

The concept of IC has its origin in second language acquisition (henceforth SLA) studies with a focus on 'the contextual and interactional dimension of language use', especially from 'an emic perspective (i.e., participant-relevant)' within the framework of CA (Firth & Wagner, 1997, 2007, p. 801). Traditionally, SLA studies use 'communicative competence' (Hymes, 1972) to describe a learner's competence in a second or foreign language (Canale, 1983; Canale & Swain, 1980). This notion has been targeted by mounting criticism for its exclusive attention on a single learner's contribution to communication (e.g., Young & Miller, 2004). In comparison, what CA afford researchers in SLA is to approach the concept of IC from the following three slightly different angles (cf. Kasper, 2006, 2009; Okada, 2013).

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[23] It has been explicated in cases of meeting interactions in Section 2.3.

Solely relying on the CA methodology, the first perspective sees how second language (henceforth L2) learners bring their already developed IC to participate adequately and effectively in a range of activities and settings, such as English used as a lingua franca in non-classroom workplaces (Firth, 2009), language classrooms of English and other languages with native teachers and non-native learners (Lee, 2006; Mori, 2002, 2004). The second perspective, also using CA as the sole theoretical framework, looks at the development of L2 learners' IC over time (Ishida, 2009; Pekarek Doehler & Pochon-Berger, 2015). The group of researchers adopting this perspective believe that CA has sufficient theoretical and methodological resources to afford both learners and analysts evidence of how learning is socially distributed and grounded in the talk-in-interaction (Markee, 2000; Seedhouse, 2004). Studies with the former perspective focuses primarily on the "procedural infrastructure of interaction or the architecture of *intersubjectivity* as they are *co-produced* by participants" (Kasper, 2006, p. 85, *italics* added), whereas studies with the latter perspective can be located within the tradition of CA research of institutional interactions (Paul Drew & Heritage, 1992), which examines "how participants…reconfigure their interactional resources in accordance with the institutional business at hand" (Kasper, 2006, p. 85), in this case, the learning of L2. Ten Have (2007) therefore refers to the two as 'pure' and 'applied' CA (see also Richards & Seedhouse, 2005 for a collection of 'applied' CA studies). Further, there is a third perspective held by researchers using CA to study IC, which is to attach with CA one or more exogenous theories of learning, such as situated leaning theory (Brouwer & Wagner, 2004; Hellermann, 2007; Hellermann & Cole, 2008; H. T. Nguyen, 2008; Young & Miller, 2004), Vygotskyan sociocultural theory (Mondada & Pekarek Doehler, 2004), language socialisation (He & Brook, 2004).

In fact, the study of SLA in L2 classrooms is not the only research context for IC. Studies beyond the focus of L2 IC have been carried out to look at how IC enables participants to participate in various social encounters, including teacher training courses (Hall, 2011), university office hour consultations (Young, 2003) and seminars (Walsh & O'Keeffe, 2010), pharmacist-patient interaction (H. T. Nguyen, 2008) and boxing practice (Okada, 2013). Regarding this, Young and Miller have suggested a more general view on how IC is context-specific and co-constructed:

developing expertise in a new practice is a task that faces adults throughout a lifetime of learning, and it is particularly pertinent to those who enter a new community where practices differ from those they know (2004, p. 520).

That is to say, people participating in all types of social encounters, be it a classroom or a non-classroom context, are being socialised into being members of that local social community; during this process of socialisation, participants bring to the particular type of talk-in-interaction their IC that can only be developed in and afforded by this local context, not as an individual's work but as a locally and jointly constructed enterprise. For instance, in the case of the present study, from the very first meeting to the very last, the students are being socialised into being members of every single meeting, and of the group as a social community of their own, during which they develop and share their IC so as to accomplish the local interactional goals of each meeting.

This way of conceptualising IC is in fact rooted in the origins of ethnomethodological CA, the notion of 'member's methods', that is, the methods to produce orderliness in social interaction, the systematic procedures used by members of a social community to organise their social conduct based on mutual understanding and accountability (Pekarek Doehler & Pochon-Berger, 2015; P ten Have, 2004). Starting from this notion, especially for studies from the above-mentioned second perspective, the development of IC therefore can be viewed as

> a change… across time, in participants' methods for accomplishing (L2) talk-in-interaction…(with) increased local efficacy of participants' conduct…(and) increased complexity and accuracy of their interactional repertoires" (Pekarek Doehler & Pochon-Berger, 2015, p. 235).

That is to say, started as a learning concept, IC has been set a step away from its origin, the social conceptualisation of member's methods, and has developed a particular focus on the local configuration of interactional resources in talk-in-interaction.

Further, compared with 'communicative competence', the focus of 'competence' in IC has been shifted from one's knowledge about a language (e.g., linguistic structure, vocabulary), or one's knowledge about the sociocultural conventions in a community (e.g., pragmatic competence); rather, IC is the abilities of all participants when they work together to co-jointly achieve the

local interactional goal, that is, the interactional resources they mobilised, the procedures and sequences they co-constructed and the actions they jointly accomplished (cf. Pekarek Doehler & Pochon-Berger, 2015; Seedhouse, 2004; Young & Miller, 2004).

Interestingly, this extending boundary of research on IC has started to overlap with the aforementioned two fields of studies: on participation as embodied actions in L1 interaction (e.g., C. Goodwin, 2000a, 2007c), and on multimodal L1 interaction in workplaces (e.g., C. E. Ford & Stickle, 2012; Mondada, 2012c). The common interests between the three are: first, how participants draw upon their language resources, together with other vocal, bodily-visual resources, to participate adequately in the interaction; second, how, through mutual monitoring and orientation, intersubjectivity is achieved and social action is jointly accomplished (cf. Okada, 2013). The present study is therefore located exactly at this intersection, and provides significant illustrations for all three bodies of research with empirical data from a severely under-explored context, that is, university student meetings. I thereby define IC as 'the ability to mobilise the whole set of multimodal resources for the join construction of a social action through talk-and-bodies-in-interaction'. Starting from this definition of IC, the case of the present study is thus an illustration of university students' professional and academic abilities to participate in multi-party group meetings, which is of great significance in understanding "how educational institutions are put together routinely, commonsensically, locally in specific sites of educational talk-as-work, (therefore) can we find places where that work might be done differently" (Carolyn Baker, 1997, p. 50).

However, for the present study, the development of IC lies outside its scope, and the analytical focus is therefore to reveal the resources, the procedures, the sequences rather than the changes of those across time. However, as will be discussed by the end of this thesis, development of IC in the setting of this study is suggested as one of the future study directions.

2.7 Summary

In this chapter, I have reviewed several fields of research literature that are directly relevant to this thesis. The first and second areas represent the context in which the current study is

conducted, that is, university student group meetings. The third, fourth and fifth fields of research provide theoretical underpinnings as well as comparable empirical evidence to the current study.

Chapter 3. Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The current study presents a multimodal, micro-analytic sequential analysis, following the fundamental principles of conversation analysis as its overall methodological standpoint. Being a study of 'the interaction order' (Goffman, 1983), CA research is primarily driven by the recognition of the fundamental role played by social interaction in human society, as Goodwin and Heritage (1990) describes,

> Social interaction is the primordial means through which the business of the social world is transacted, the identities of its participants are affirmed or denied, and its cultures are transmitted, renewed and modified. Through processes of social interaction, shared meaning, mutual understanding, and the coordination of human conduct are achieved (p. 283).

The central claim of this domain of inquiry is that speakers rely on some underlying procedures, rules and conventions of social interaction to produce their own as well as to make sense of each other's. Having said this, CA's interest on social interaction is placed primarily on what the participants DO – "how they structure and coordinate their actions to produce a coherent interaction", over what they SAY – "the construction of language *per se*" (Garcia, 2013, pp. 5–6). At this point, it can be argued that CA is particularly relevant to the focus of the present study, that is, to understand participation as embodied social actions, as described in Chapter 1 and 2. In this chapter, I will further discuss and justify CA as the appropriate methodological approach to carried out this study.

This chapter opens by briefly introducing the research paradigm of CA. This is followed with Section 3.2 by describing the Ethnomethodological origins of CA, and some core assumptions that CA research is built upon. Section 3.3 then briefly explain the key interactional structures of CA research that are considered most important for the analysis of the present study, including turn-taking, sequence organisation and turn design. Section 3.4 and 3.5 discusses CA within the setting of the current study, that is, institutional talk and multimodal interaction, by focusing on its methodological concerns and challenges. Finally, section 3.5 considers

issues of reliability, validity and generalisability, and discusses critiques of CA.

3.2 Introduction to Conversation Analysis

Rooted in the 'natural observational science' of ethnomethodology pioneered by Harold Garfinkel (1967) and started to develop into a field of study of its own, CA treats talk, or more precisely, *talk-and-bodies-in-interaction*, as the object of inquiry. The research aim of CA is to explicate for "the underlying social organization…through which the orderly and intelligible *social interaction* is made possible" (C. Goodwin & Heritage, 1990, p. 283). Began in the 1960s, CA first took shape in the work of the late sociologist Harvey Sacks, who was then in collaboration with Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson and also under the influence of Irving Goffman's work. The following section will briefly unpack the 'intellectual roots' of CA.

3.2.1   Ethnomethodological origins of CA

Garfinkel was the first sociologist who brought together language, context, meaning and action as the analytical focus of social interaction. As the founder of ethnomethodology, he was interested in the social structures of everyday lived experience, and sought to understand "how the structures of everyday activities are ordinarily and routinely produced and maintained" (Garfinkel, 1967, pp. 35–36). Before Garfinkel, the mainstream paradigm to sociological research was Parsonian functionalism (Parsons, 1937, 1951), which holds the view that social norms and values are constructs pre-existed and passed-on over generations by institutions and individuals through a process of internalisation – once internalised, they become the 'causal drivers' (C. Goodwin & Heritage, 1990, p. 284) of people's behaviour, meaning that their compliance is out of the "fear that others will punish them for not acting appropriately" (Heritage, 1984, p. 17). From this top-down perspective, shared knowledge of language and symbol systems unproblematically results in mutual understandings amongst people, and their coordination of action is merely a product of compliance with their shared social norms (C. Goodwin & Heritage, 1990). Garfinkel criticised this approach for seeing individual social actors as "judgemental dopes" (Garfinkel, 1967, p. 68) whose own understanding and reasoning of the social world were somehow inferior to those of social scientists (Seedhouse,

2004). It is exactly the societal members' understanding and their practical reasoning procedures that Garfinkel gave primacy to investigate, which, as he argues, enable members to recognise and act upon their social circumstances and understand that of others to achieve mutual understanding; in this way, social order is constantly established and re-defined (Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970; Heritage, 1984).

As such, located in a phenomenological paradigm (Schegloff, Ochs, & Thompson, 1996, p. 1), ethonomethodology can be seen as an inquiry of the members' methods to engage in, and make sense of, their social life through social interaction. It thus requires the analyst to adopt an 'emic' perspective during analysis, as opposed to an 'etic' perspective:

> the etic viewpoint studies behavior from outside of a particular system, and as an essential initial approach to an alien system. The emic viewpoint results from studying behaviors as from inside the system (Pike, 1967, p. 37).

Following an 'emic' perspective, the analyst investigates the object without any presumptions, so as to understand members' own orientations to one another's practices and methods, as shown in the ways they display to one another in observable actions in the social interaction being investigated (Schegloff, 1992). The commitment to this emic perspective to the study talk-in-interaction is central to the framework of CA; this will be discussed at various points within the present and the next chapter.

As graduate students of sociology under Irving Goffman at the 1960s, Sacks and Schegloff were at the meantime in contact with Garfinkel, whose bottom-up perspective to social interaction and social order, and method to describe 'human's methods' (hence *ethno* and *methodology)* to social activity therefore provided a major force for the emergence of CA. Another impetus to the birth of CA is therefore the work of Goffman (1963, 1964, 1967, 1979, 1981) on studying actual instances of face-to-face, social interaction, which, as Goffman argued, deserve analysis 'in their own right' (1964, p. 134)[24]. CA as a research paradigm was taken shape when Sacks started to study conversation and found it an ideal data source for ethnomethodological research, as it can be recorded, transcribed and repeatedly looked at

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[24] For a more detailed discussion of Goffman's work, see Section 2.5.2.

(Sacks, 1984, p. 26). Based on his study on a collection of tape recordings of phone calls to a suicide prevention centre, Sacks delivered a series of lectures on the study of conversation at the University of California from the early 1960s, which was later transcribed and edited by Jefferson and published as *Lectures on Conversation (Volume 1 & 2)* (Sacks, 1992). In the late 1960s and early 1970s, Sacks published the mostly-quoted 'classic' works on CA, in collaboration with his colleagues Schegloff and Jefferson (e.g., Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973).

By then, CA started to emerge as an independent field of study toward understanding talk-in-interaction. Sharing the interest in common-sense reasoning with its ethnomethodological origin, CA therefore developed its distinctive interest in the "various orderly characteristics of talk" and how they are "accountably produced by interectants via procedures which are implemented on a turn by turn basis" (Clayman & Maynard, 1995, p. 4); these will be further unpacked in the next section.

3.2.2 *Basic assumptions of CA*

With talk as an object of enquiry, there are three basic assumptions of CA proposed in Sacks' early work, also discussed in the later work of Sack, Schegloff and Jefferson (e.g., Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). These three theoretical assumptions, 'talk amounts to action' (Schegloff, 1991, p. 46), 'order at all points' (Sacks, 1984, p. 22) and that participants work together to achieve 'intersubjectivity' (Heritage, 1984), which have been confirmed and developed upon by the years of subsequent research in the field, are now seen as core principles for conversation analysts to work with data.

1. *Talk amounts to action, and action is normatively accountable.*

As discussed in the beginning of this chapter, CA is an approach to study social interaction driven by the interest in what the participants DO over what they SAY. It is by no means saying that CA does not care about talk; rather, as Schegloff (1991) points out,

> CA is at a point where linguistics and sociology meet…for the target of its inquiries
> stands where *talk amounts to action*, where action projects consequences in a structure
> and texture of interaction which the talk itself is progressively embodied and realizing,
> and where the particulars of the talk inform what actions are being done and what sort of

social scene is being constituted (p.46, italics added).

That is to say, CA is not primarily interested in studying talk with reference to linguistic rules. Rather, the object of enquiry is the actions that participants do through talk-in-interaction; this involves identifying and describing the particular practices that participants use to accomplish these actions, as well as how co-participants as recipients orients to these actions in response. Also, such co-participants' orientations evident that 'talk amounts to action' is normatively organised, which means, it is regulated against some kind of 'norms'. The term 'norms' in CA does not mean mechanical rules imposed upon ways of interaction; instead, they are rule-guided 'systems' that used by participants as points of reference to interpret one another's action and hold one another accountable (Heritage & Stivers, 2013). When cases of departure from the 'system' occur - for instance, the absence of an answer to a question – they are treated by participants as "noticeable and accountable by reference to the norms" (Seedhouse, 2004, p. 10).

2. There is order at all points, and order is produced, situated and recurrent.

Based on his observation, Sacks (1984, p. 22) noted that in talk there is "order at all points". This is the case because people as members of a shared culture or community are under the same macro-sociological influences on conduct; such influences work their way into social interactions, and are manifested 'in the here and now' that people know how to use certain methods or procedures to construct their actions, and to interpret that of others (Schegloff, 1987a, 1991). That is to say, the orderliness is produced *in situ* in the moment-by-moment unfolding of interaction by participants themselves, whose behaviour orients to the norms and therefore reflects the order; and the patterns of orderliness can be found in the recurrent use of methods and procedures across a group of participants, who have developed shared understanding on how such orders can be achieved (George Psathas, 1995).

This notion of orderliness is in opposition to the Chomskyan view that tends to denigrate everyday talk as a subject of study for being too 'messy' (Chomsky, 1965); it also counters the previously mentioned sociological position on the occlusion of the details of interaction amongst individual social actors, which says that these details are random and disordered and

should be excluded prior to scientific analysis (Heritage & Stivers, 2013).

3. Participants work together to achieve and maintain 'intersubjectivity'.

Finally, CA is concerned with intersubjectivity. It is seen as an endogenous feature of social interaction that interactants constantly work to achieve and maintain mutual understanding, or, 'intersubjectivity' (e.g., Heritage, 1984), through their locally produced activities in the talk. To explicate this process involves a fundamental CA perspective on the issues of context and sequence, which can be explicated in three steps: (1) in constructing their turns-at-talk, participants orient to the preceding talk (most commonly the immediately preceding talk), that sets a 'context' for that on-gong turn - in this sense, talk is *context-shaped*; (2) in constructing their current action through talk, participants "project (empirically) and require (normatively) that some 'next action'…should be done by a subsequent participant", thereby (re-)create a context for the next bit of talk from the next participant – in this sense, talk is *context-renewing*; (3) by producing the 'next action', participants are displaying their understanding of, and acting in response to, the prior action, thereby, locally and temporally, establishing their mutual understanding through this sequential process of "*architecture of intersubjectivity*" (Heritage, 2004, pp. 223–224 cf. Heritage 1984).

Particularly, there are various ways that participants 'display' their understanding, for instance, through producing a second-pair-part of an adjacency pair (e.g., question-answer, greeting-greeting, invitation-acceptance/declination) (see Section 3.3). Whereas such displays form an integral part of a sequentially organised activity and thus the display of understanding is implicit, there are more explicit ways that participants orient to the meaning of the prior turn, e.g., a formulation of the previous utterance in the form of an upshot or gist (e.g., R. Barnes, 2007). Further, at places where there is a mismatch between one's display of understanding toward another's prior utterance/action, the *repair mechanism*[25] will be initiated to deal with the breakdown of intersubjectivity, so that

   …the interaction does not freeze in its place when trouble arises, that intersubjectivity is

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[25] Although it is commonly agreed that repair mechanism is one of the main interactional organisations identified in CA, it is out of the scope of the present study and therefor will not be unpacked in this review of literature due to limited space. For a full account of this construct, refer to Sacks at al. (1977), for more recent studies on repair, refer to the collection edited by Hayashi et al. (2013).

maintained or restored, and that the turn and sequence and activity can progress to possible completion " (Schegloff, 2007, p. xiv).

As such, CA analysts are automatically and simultaneously dealing with action, context and intersubjectivity in explicating how mutual understanding is achieved in talk-in-interaction.

3.2.3   Conversation analytic perspective to actions and practices

Having discussed the underlying principles of CA, it is worth mentioning how a conversation analytic perspective sees 'practices' and 'actions' in talk-in-interaction. According to Sidnell (2010), practices are

> …relatively stable features which recur across a wide range of utterance types and actions (p.61).

Whereas Heritage (2011) defines practice as

> any feature of the design of a turn in a sequence that (i) has a distinctive character, (ii) has specific locations within a turn or sequence, and (iii) is distinctive in its consequences for the nature or the meaning of the action that the turn implements (p.212).

The two descriptions of 'practice', seemingly contradicting one another, in fact reveal both context-independent and context-sensitive properties of practices in interaction. On one hand, there are some practices in human interaction that have "fundamental and obdurate" (Heritage, 2011, p. 218) meanings and significances; that is to say, they operate in a stable way across various social contexts, such as 'hello' as greetings and 'bye' as leave-takings. One of CA's objective is therefore to identify such context-free uses of practices. On the other, practices are tools for implementing actions, and actions are the social outcomes of practices effectively work *in context* (Sidnell & Enfield, 2014). That is to say, the relation between some particular practices and some particular actions is contingent, and there is no one-to-one mapping of the two (Sidnell, 2010). For instance, although 'hello' is overwhelmingly used as greeting and responded to by another action of greeting, it can be use in telephone conversations to check hearings. Therefore, to understand a practice in interaction and the action it implements, one needs to: (1) decide that a practice is distinctive; (2) locate the practice sequentially; (3) determine the distinctive role or meaning of the practice (Heritage, 2011, pp. 213–216). To take the following extract as an example:

XTR1 – Detail, Sidnell (2010, p. 60)

```
12   Janet:    a→   Do you want me to come an' get her?
13   Anne:          Uhm:, it doesn't matte:r, like(hh)
14                  (0.4)
```

The turn on line 12 by Janet can be seen as a question based on its grammar (i.e., 'do' appears before the pronoun 'you', thus a subject-auxiliary inversion) and intonation (e.g., rising intonation contour), the two stable and recurrent features of the English language. However, the next turn on line 13 gives a clue of what Janet is *doing* – an offer, which was declined by Anne in the next turn (for a detailed explanation, see Sidnell, 2010). To put simply, both composition and position play a crucial role in making some kind of communicative behaviour, spoken or otherwise, as implementing some particular action (Schegloff, 1996a; Sidnell, 2012).

3.2.4   Conversation analytic perspective to participation

At this point, the contributions of CA to the study of participation, and to the current study in particular, can be summarised as follows.

In the first instance, through the lenses of a CA approach, participants' positions are analysed in the ways they orient themselves to the temporally unfolding event, through both vocal/verbal and bodily-visual practices. Therefore, it affords analysts a truly interactive and embodied view on participation framework, in that both the speaker and his/her co-participants are seen as actively engaged actors. Moreover, as discussed above, by explicating the sequential process of intersubjectivity, CA exemplifies "how participation in an on-going course of action demonstrates an understanding of what others are engaged in, while helping to share the future course of those same events" (C. Goodwin & Heritage, 1990, pp. 295–296). For this reason, as well as the other discussed in Section 2.2.1, CA is adopted in the present study of participation in a chosen type of educational talk, that is, university student group meetings. The discussion will now turn to some of the key findings that have been uncovered by contemporary CA research, which form the basic units and objectives of analysis, and will also be drawn upon in the analysis of the present study in the next chapter.

3.3 Interactional organisations

The turn-taking system, as one of the core ideas of the CA enterprise, together with its relation to participation in multiparty interactions, has been reviewed in detail in the previous chapter (see Section 2.5.4 and 2.5.5). To put simply, it contains two components, a linguistic one (i.e., the turn constructional component or TCU) and a sociological one (i.e., the turn allocational component, or, 'current speaker selects next' or 'next speaker self-selects'), and a set of rules that governs turn-by-turn sequential order of talk. Further, this system, as discussed above, work not as externally imposed rules but as "an oriented-to set of normative practices" (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998, p. 51), that are locally organised in the unfolding talk-in-interaction. Such that, it can be understood that turns are not independently produced. Rather, "one thing can lead to another" (P ten Have, 2007, p. 130), such that they cluster together in an orderly and meaningful way so as to form a course of action; the clustering of turns are therefore referred to as 'sequence organisation' (Liddicoat, 2007).

3.3.1   Sequence organisation

As discussed before, a current turn-at-talk may project or require some next actions to be done by the next speaker; in displaying the next action in the next turn, the next speaker is demonstrating his/her understanding of the prior action. A significant observation in early CA studies is that there are some actions that routinely make relevant some reciprocal next actions, and they appear adjacent to each other in paired utterances. Such pairs, e.g., question-answer, greeting-greeting, farewell-farewell, are termed 'adjacency pairs' by Sacks and Schegloff (1973), and they form the basic units of conversational sequences which can be described as having the following preliminary features: (1) Two utterance length, (2) in adjacent positioning of two turns at talk, (3) produced by two different speakers, (4) ordered (i.e., one occur before the other), (5) differentiated into pair types (i.e., first pair parts and second pair parts) (Liddicoat, 2007; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973).

Space precludes a full account of adjacency pair, however, there are three essential points worth noticing here. First, the type of a first pair part (FPP) constraints that of the second pair part (SPP), e.g., a question follows an answer, not a greeting. Also, there are FPP that comes

with alternative SPPs, e.g., a request may follow a granting or a refusal. This relationship between FPP and SPP is thus, like the turn-taking system, a normatively oriented-to rule; the absence of a SPP at the first possible opportunity after the completion of a FPP can therefore be held accountable for "remedial efforts or justifiable negative inferences" (C. Goodwin & Heritage, 1990, p. 287). Second, adjacency pairs can be expanded in cases when other talk comes before, between or after the two turns, which are called sequence expansions (i.e., pre-expansion, insert expansion and post expansion). As such, talk can be developed from the elementary framework of an adjacency pair as the 'building blocks', to form complex actions sequences. Third, although adjacency pair itself is a highly structured concept, the underlying reasoning of its formation can be loosened and adapted to a wider range of conversational actions that function in resembling ways, for instance, the 'next-positioning' function of an acknowledgement token (e.g., mhm) or a head-nod that project the continuation of the current speaker's talk (ibid.). This more generic notion, 'next-positioning', is crucial in understanding conversational sequences and activities that will be analysed in the next chapter.

3.3.2 The organisation of turn-design

The organisation of turn-design, unlike that of turn-taking system and sequence, cannot be delimitated within a structured framework. Rather, to look at turn design entails a consideration of the key concepts of CA: turns-at-talk, action construction and intersubjectivity (Paul Drew, 2013). As such, Drew refers to turn-design as

> how a speaker constructs a turn-at-talk – what is selected or what goes into 'building' a turn to do the action it is designed to do, in such a way as to be understood as doing that action (ibid. p. 132).

Such 'design' can be done in the course of a single utterance, in the form of the speaker's self-repair, as the following extracts shows:

(1) NB:II:1:1 (Paul Drew, 2013, p. 133)

```
1    Emm:  Well Bud hadtuh play go:lf uh Thursdee.
2          (.)
3    Emm:  So'e didn'take Sa-uh f- Fridee o:ff . . .
```

(2) Firld SO88(II):1:3:1 (Paul Drew, 2013, p. 133)

```
1   Les:    .hhhh I RANG you up-(.) ah: think it wz la:s' night.
2           But you were- (.) u-were you ou:t? Or: was it the night
3           before perhaps.
```

In Extract (1), Emma halts her on-going turn in producing '*Saturday*', and changes into '*Friday*', correcting a factual error she made. In Extract (2), similarly, Leslie cuts off the progressivity of her unfolding, declaratively formatted turn at '*But you were*', and alters into a question '*were you out?*' – here, not because of a factual incorrectness, but due to a need to convey the meaning in a more apposite fashion to avoid being (mis)understood.

Further, a turn-at-talk can be 'designed' in response to a prior action, as Extract (3) illustrates below a stretch of talk between a health visitor and the parents of a newborn during a visit. In response to the health visitor's remark on the baby chewing on something, the father produces his brief agreement immediately. In contract, the mother, producing her turn latched onto the father's utterance, designed her response rather different: she gives a defensive account that the baby has just been fed, therefore '*not hungry*'; in this way treating the health visitor's previous remark as implying a potential criticism toward the proper care of the baby.

 (3) HV:4A1:1 (Heritage & Clayman, 2011, p. 46)
```
1   HV:         He's enjoying that [isn't he.
2   F:      →                      [°Yes, he certainly is=°
3   M:      → =He's not hungry 'cuz (h)he's ju(h)st (h)had
4               'iz bo:ttle .hhh
5               (0.5)
6   HV:         You're feeding him on (.) Cow and Gate Premium.=
```

It can now be concluded that the organisation of turn design involves two distinctive selections: (1) selecting the action to be performed through talk, and (2) selecting among alternatives ways how the action is to be performed (Paul Drew & Heritage, 1992). Further, three underlying principles are taken into account to shape the selection process, that is, *where* it occurs in a sequence of turns-at-talk, *what* it being done with the turn, and for *whom* the turn is designed (Paul Drew, 2013, p. 134). Whereas the above speak about how a single turn-at-talk is 'designed', the organisation of turn-design is a reflexive process that usually appear in complex and dynamic action sequences at the boundaries of the single turn, "when a speaker's attention to designing talk that takes into account the particularities of its intended listener intersects with an addressee's ability to decline or accept the position of the listener" (C. Goodwin & Heritage,

1990, p. 293). Such complexities, as will be shown in the next chapter, are not limited to verbal talk. A case in point is Lerner's (2003) study of practices of selecting a next speaker, in which he found that when the person reference 'you' is used to address the intended next speaker in the verbal turn, the current speaker's accompanying gaze direction is crucial; it brings an alert to co-participants that someone has been selected and they need to inspect the speaker's gaze direction to find out who that is, thereby establishing mutual orientation.

Recipient design

A closely related concept mentioned in Sacks et al. (1974) is that of 'recipient design', which refers to

> the talk by a party in a conversation is constructed or designed in ways which display an orientation and sensitivity to the particular other(s) who are the co-participants (p.272).

Recipient design can therefore be understood as a substratum of turn design in that the current turn is constructed with an orientation toward the addressed-to recipient(s) in a wide range of ways, such as lexical choices, ordering of sequences, options and obligations to start or terminate conversations, etc (Sacks et al., 1974). For instance, Sacks and Schegloff (1979) have discussed that when referring to other persons in conversation, there are preferences for 'recognitionals', that is, names (e.g., first name, first name + last name, title + last name); yet such recognitionals may be used with care, requiring the speaker to draw upon the mutually supposed knowledge between him/herself and the recipient (i.e., if they both know the referred-to person), and/or an evolving understanding of the situation (i.e., how this reference will be used in future talk). Besides the use of person reference, Goodwin (1979) looks at how a speaker designs his/her turn-at-talk with reconstructions, such as phrasal breaks and restarts, so as to solicit gaze from an intended recipient. Also, Lerner (2003) studies the phenomenon of selecting a next speaker and reveals cases when no explicit addressing techniques are used, a turn can be designed in a way with a built-in 'sequence-initiating action', and the requirements of responding to which limit eligible responders to a single recipient; this form of recipient design not only accomplish addressing, but also contribute to selecting the next speaker. Examples of recipient design illustrated here are by no means exhaustive, however, one can find resemblance in-between those and cases analysed in the next chapter.

Preference organisation

Another related, somewhat overlapping and confusing device is called 'preference organisation', which is closely related with how a selection of action can be made amongst alternative possibilities. Some certain actions in a particular context are performed directly and explicitly, with minimal gaps after between the prior turns' completion, whilst other actions are non-explicitly stated, delayed or avoided. Turns that are designed for the former are called *preferred-action turn shape*, and those of the latter *dispreferred-action turn shape* (Pomerantz, 1984). For instance, a SPP of an acceptance toward a FPP of an invitation is seen as a preferred action, thus tend to come straightforward after the turn doing the action of invitation; a SPP of a declination, on the other hand, tend to be designed in a delayed, less direct way, sometimes preceded by, or even replaced with some extra conversational work (e.g., a warrant, a hedge, a hesitation token). Other than making alternative selections in structured adjacency pairs (see Section 3.3.1), preference organisation also operates in a more context-sensitive way on a turn-by-turn basis, which will not be unpacked here.

As mentioned before, adjacency pairs are considered the 'building blocks' of conversational sequences; turn design, on the other hand, can be seen as one of the 'cornerstones' of talk-in-interaction, in that it meaningfully formulates and connects turns into a coherent, flowing strip of talk that accomplishes courses of actions. My aim here is to summarize a few key aspects of turn design that are directly relevant to the analysis of this study, without hoping of being comprehensive[26]. The next section unfolds with a discussion on how all the previously reviewed underlying principles of CA can be applied to accommodate particular research interests in the case of the present study, that is, institutional talk, and multimodality.

3.4 'Applied' CA and institutional interaction

Although from its early beginning, conversation analysis has investigated institutional talk, e.g., Sacks' (1992) study on calls to suicide prevention centre and Schegloff's (1968) study on calls to disaster centre, its focus was never on the particularities of the institutional settings. Especially, Sacks and Schegloff's subsequent work together with Jefferson on the

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[26] I refer to Drew (2013) for a more comprehensive discussion on turn design.

conversational devices of 'turn-taking' (1974) and 'opening up closings' (1973) are focused on mundane, daily conversations, which seem to provide better examples of the local functioning of such devices. From the late 1970s onwards until the 1990s, new followers of CA has led to a resurgence of interest in institutional contexts such as meetings (e.g., M. A. Atkinson et al., 1978), classrooms (e.g., Mchoul, 1978) and courtrooms (e.g., Kometer, 1995). It was observed that in such settings, participants' talk are oriented toward goals more restricted, with more specifically defined constraints on what counts as allowable contributions to the 'business at hand', whereas all of which are underpinned by the institution- and activity-specific inferential frameworks (Paul Drew & Heritage, 1992). Such features of 'institutionality', so to speak, seemingly distinguishing institutional talk from that of 'ordinary', are not externally imposed upon talk. Rather, seeing from a CA perspective on talk being *context-shaped* and *context-renewing*, participants locally made relevant the above institutional identities, and (re)define the talk as being 'institutional' on a moment-by-moment basis (Paul Drew & Heritage, 1992).

It can now be said that there are two distinctive lines of CA research. The first and original, developed by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, studies everyday 'ordinary' conversation, that is, the *institution of interaction*, as "an entity on its own right" (Heritage, 2004, p. 223; Heritage & Clayman, 2011, p. 16). The second, seeing ordinary conversations as a point of departure, seeks to "apply the acquired knowledge of conversational organization" (P ten Have, 2007, p. 7) into the understandings of "the management of social *institutions in interaction*" (Heritage, 2004, p. 223; Heritage & Clayman, 2011, p. 16), that is, how institutions are "talked into being"(Heritage, 1984, p. 290). Ten Have (2007) refers to the first tradition as 'pure CA' and the second 'applied CA'. The present study, focusing on university student group meetings as an institutional setting, hence falls into the second tradition, and the above-mentioned features of institutional interaction is of great importance in understanding the reflexive relationship between the 'business at hand' for meeting participants, defined by the local institutional goals, the roles or status taken up by each participant, and the turns-at-talk that unfolds in courses of action sequences.

Heritage (2004, p. 225) provides a list of six places, where features of institutional talk

systematically emerge:

1. Turn-taking organization;
2. Overall structural organization of the interaction;
3. Sequence organization;
4. Turn design;
5. Lexical choice;
6. Epistemological and other forms of asymmetries.

1, 3, 4 and 5 as constructs of CA have been looked at in the present and precious chapters[27], whereas illustrations of 1, 2 and 3 in the context of workplace meeting interactions have also been discussed the previous chapter[28]. Here I will briefly unpack the sixth area, which, as Heritage (2004; see also P ten Have, 2007) further explains, falls into four different types of asymmetries:

1. Asymmetries of participation

This asymmetry is commonly observed in institutional interaction, particularly in various kinds of lay-professional encounters – trainee-trainer, patient-doctor, and in the cases such as the current study, meeting chair-meeting participants. As such, institutional agents, such as a meeting chair, is tied to his/her particular role and tasks, as well as given discursive rights and obligations to take certain initiatives in the talk-in-interaction in meetings[29]. Such cases can be found in the analysis of the current study in the following chapter, e.g., the chair exerts the right to mark a 'digression' led by a co-participant, and sets the talk back on track.

2. Asymmetries of interactional and institutional 'knowhow'

This refers to the unequal involvement of experience and reasoning to the institutional routine. For instance, in case of medical encounters, the patient is not equally involved in the kind of 'protocol' or 'agenda' that the doctor is up to.

3. Epistemological caution and asymmetries of knowledge

This third type of asymmetry is two-fold. On one hand, professionals tend to take

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[27] See Section 2.5.4 and 2.5.5 for a review of the turn-taking system; see Section 3.3 for 3, 4 and 5.

[28] Section 2.3.3 discusses the features of overall structural organisation in workplace meeting interactions; Section 2.3.4 discusses those of turn-taking and sequence organisation (illustrated in the example of topic progression).

[29] See Section 2.3.3, the role of the chair, for further discussion on this point.

epistemological cautiousness on certain issues under discussion by avoiding taking a firm position when making claims; on the other, an expert-lay relationship can be co-constructed based on an epistemic gradient, when, for instance, a patient tentatively uses medical terminology with uncertainty. Cases of this type can also be found in the following analysis, e.g., when making an oppositional statement toward a co-participant regarding an issue that falls into that co-participant's expertise, the speaker tend to design the turn with particular lexical choices that express hesitancy and hedging.

4. Rights of access to knowledge

The last one refers to the asymmetries of the 'right to know', in that a layperson often refer to the source of the knowledge of a professional, who is entitled with the 'right to know' whereas him/herself is not. Resembling cases can also be found in the present study, as will be discussed at a later stage.

Certain areas in the above-mentioned will be referred back in the following chapters of analysis and discussion; while what follows next is a brief consideration of the methodological issues of CA met by the researcher in conducting the present study.

3.5 CA and multimodality

As mentioned in previous chapters, the present study provides a fine-detailed multimodal, sequential analysis on a collection of cases of speaker transitions during a specific phase of meeting interaction (i.e., roundtable update discussion). The complexity of building up a systematic collection of this kind entails methodological challenges in practice. Here, a discussion on such issues is carried out, drawing from recent attempts and explorations in CA research literature[30]; whereas this discussion shall remain an on-going, open-ended one, it will be re-addressed in the later chapters with further insights gained from the analysis of the present study.

When building a collection of a recurrent phenomenon with a focus on the deployment of and

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[30] See Section 2.4.4 for a brief literature review on recent CA studies with a multimodal focus.

interplay between verbal/vocal and bodily-visual practices, a challenging analytical objective is to describe *systematicity* and *accountability*; that is, to answer questions such as *how bodily-visual resources are used systematically in interaction, and how do they play a part in the construction of accountably produced social actions in the local sequential context (Mondada, 2014b; Mortensen, 2012)?* As discussed before, with only audio-recorded data available, early CA studies mainly focus on how conversationalists' verbal/vocal practices accomplish courses of actions in interaction. Such that, some recognised actions – for instance, speaker self-selection – when being analysed in video-recorded data in more recent studies, are found consisting of multimodal practices, which are assembled in a multi-layered manner, including pointing gesture, forward-inclining upper body, shifts of eye-gaze, establishment of mutual gaze. Also, a self-selecting action, previously recognised as a speaker's phenomenon, could be found to be accomplished not only by the doer (i.e., the self-selecting speaker), but also by the recipients (i.e., co-participants). The addition of such new data thus afford analysts a widening lens to further investigate the regularities of human interaction; one of the primary objective is to understand the process of action formatting and positioning that involve compositions of the whole set of multimodal resources, termed as the '*complex multimodal Gestalts*' by Mondada (2014b, 2014a). These insights therefore greatly challenge and expand the existing notions of *temporality* and *sequentiality* in the established paradigm of CA.

To start with, talk-oriented CA analysis is based on the linear temporality of verbal talk. Due to this intrinsic property, multiple layers of verbal practices, that is, overlapping talk from more than one speaker in pursuit of more than one course of actions, are considered problematic and accountable, which are usually resolved quickly in turns-at-talk (e.g., Oloff, 2012, 2013; Schegloff, 2000). As a result, in talk-oriented studies, the moment-by-moment, accountably unfolding of actions strictly follows this linear and successive manner, with no gap and no overlap (e.g., Sacks et al., 1974). In comparison, the temporal-spatial-interactional properties of bodily-visual practices allow several modalities of resources mobilised by multiple participants to come into play simultaneously, and thus allows more than one course of action to be pursued in concurrence (C. E. Ford et al., 2012). Therefore, studies from a multimodal perspective see action formation as a multi-layered and intertwined accomplishment realised on plural temporalities, rather than on a successive, turn-by-turn

basis.

Upon recognising the distinctive properties of verbal and bodily-visual resources, it is now easier to tackle this question: *how can such concurrently-unfolding, courses of actions be accounted for in the midst of simultaneously mobilised resources on plural temporalities?* Indeed, neither synchronies nor asynchronies happen by accident; rather,

> actions are prepared, foreshadowed, or pursued in one modality, while in another modality, participants still or already orient to some other business. Asynchronicities between modalities … constitute systematic coordinative practices where each modality has its own distinctive place in the temporality of the ongoing production of interactional structure (Deppermann, 2013a, p. 3).

That is to say, sequentiality from a multimodal perspective, or, plural sequentialities, are organised not on a linear basis, but in parallel courses of actions that are mutually adjusted and reflexively intertwined; it relies on the locally arranged and adjusted prior and next actions within the emergent composition of 'complex multimodal Gestalt' (Mondada, 2014b). Thus, from an emic perspective, participants in interaction are constantly doing what Mondada (2006) calls the "online analysis" on one another's verbal and embodied production:

> Actions formatted by mobilizing a variety of verbal and embodied resources are inspected, monitored, and treated by the co-participants who orient to their temporal and sequential features, allowing them to project the next action and to understand retrospectively an action as responding to a previous one (2014b, p. 154).

Arguably, the expanding boundaries of temporality and sequentiality therefore challenges the existing conceptual frameworks within the CA paradigm. The 'next-turn proof procedure'[31] (Sacks et al., 1974, p. 728) used in talk-oriented CA studies allows analysts to see what is going on in the interaction through the eyes of the participants, that is, through examining the subsequent turns-at-talk, usually the immediate next turn, CA analysts can understand how a specific turn-at-talk is locally received, understood and responded to by co-participant(s) (Sidnell, 2012). In other words, based on how a subsequent participant orients to the turn, it

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[31] See Section 3.2.2 for a discussion on the CA assumptions underlying the 'next-turn proof procedure'; see Section 4.4.2 and 4.4.5 for a discussion on how 'next-turn proof procedure' works in data analysis.

gives local evidence of the analytical claim that a turn is implementing a given action. When analysing data from a multimodal perspective, the same proof procedure applies. However, it works not on the level of turns-at-talk, but more generally on the level of actions-in-talk, whether verbal or embodied. It means that, the claim that a participant is 'doing' an action in talk can be more sufficiently grounded in how the participant assemble the complex multimodal Gestalt to format that action, and how co-participants respond to a multimodal Gestalt, whether vocally/verbally or bodily-visually constructed in the local sequential environment. Thus it is fair to say that we can apply a 'next-action proof procedure' to understand and describe multimodally formatted actions in talk that "are characterized by multiple simultaneous temporalities, rather than strict successivity", while retaining the principle of sequentiality, as "participants fundamentally orient to emergent actions and their sequential positioning, to prior and next, to initiating and responding actions" (Mondada, 2016, p. 361).

Nevertheless, rather than seeing the shifting conceptual frameworks as something new to the CA paradigm, it is, by its very nature, a response to the original call of ethnomethodological CA – that is, to study the orderliness in human interaction and how they are accountably produced through recognisable social actions, whether through spoken practices or otherwise. Indeed, whereas the majority of early CA work had a primary focus on the orderly characteristics of talk, there were studies as early as the 1980s that explored sources of evidence other than talk, to account for actions in talk, such as Goodwin's early work on participants' gaze direction (C. Goodwin, 1980, 1981), hand gesture (C. Goodwin, 1986, 2007a) and so on[32]. Through such a shifted conceptual framework of plural temporality and sequentiality, CA analysts are therefore more readily accommodated to account for actions in talk, especially actions that are multimodally formatted by the 'complex multimodal Gestalts' (Mondada, 2014b).

Further, the notion of 'resource' that comes with such an "integrative and holistic conception of multimodality" (Mondada, 2016) is not, in fact, new to the paradigm of CA either. Based

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[32] See Section 2.4 for a brief review on CA research literature on gaze direction, body positioning and gesture production.

on his early work, Goodwin (2000a) has proposed an approach to study action in human interaction that resides with CA, which considers "the simultaneous use of multiple semiotic resources by participants", and therefore,

> …a particular, locally relevant array of semiotic fields that participants demonstrably orient to…is called a *contextual configuration (italics added)*. As action unfolds, new semiotic fields can be added, while others are treated as no longer relevant, with the effect that the contextual configurations which frame, make visible, and constitute the actions of the moment undergo a continuous process of change (p. 1490).

This way of approaching talk and embodiment has provided a systematic framework that integrates different domains of phenomena as components of a common process of action-production and sense-making. What Mondada argues for, namely, the notion of 'resource' in multimodal action-formation during talk-in-interaction (see, for example, Mondada, 2007b, 2013, 2016), can be seen as a development from Goodwin's early idea, or at least along the same line of thinking. This notion of 'resource' has in fact underpinned a multitude of recent CA studies that have a multimodal perspective (see, for example, C. E. Ford & Stickle, 2012; C. E. Ford et al., 2012; Hazel et al., 2014; Mondada, 2007b, 2014b, 2016; Mortensen, 2016)[33], and therefore has been used throughout this thesis. According to Mondada (2016),

> …*accountability (italics added)* can be achieved in a situated and indexical way, thanks to multiple possible resources that are made locally available and relevant by the ecology of the activity and that are used and oriented to in an endogenous way by the participants (p.341).

In other words, it entails an indexical and emic perspective on the local relevance of multiple and multimodal resources, that: (1) treats all types of resources as potentially relevant, without prioritising one over another *in priori*; (2) the relevance of a resource can be oriented to by participants on a moment-by-moment basis, depending on the local ecology and activity; and (3) some ecologies and activities may favour certain types of resources over others, thus some resources are more publicly available than others (e.g., verbal talk in telephone conversation). Up to this point, the question raised at the beginning of this section regarding *systematicity* and *accountability* is being responded to, and so is the underlying principles for the present study being explicated.

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[33] See Section 2.4.4 for a brief review on recent CA studies with a multimodal focus.

This therefore yields another discussion in regard of the need to develop and renovate methodological tools for CA researchers working with multimodal data and transcripts. A most debated topic is therefore: *how realistic and necessary is it to translate CA vocabularies that were originally based on speech-oriented CA (e.g., adjacency pairs, sequential organisations, turn designs, recipient designs, turn-taking) into a multimodal framework?* Recent studies have already approached this question from different angels. Some look at how notions such as turn-taking provides insights in the sequential organisation of activities that are not referenced by verbal talk, such as pool skating (Ivarsson & Greiffenhagen, 2015) and sign language (Groeber & Pochon-Berger, 2014). Other studies in majority chose to focus on a particular practice, turn format or sequence, which were traditionally thought to be accomplished by verbal/vocal resources, or used to be analysed only in verbal talk. These studies therefore look at how such conversation activities can be complemented, elaborated or reinforced by their co-occurring bodily-visual resources, for instance, verbal turns completed with bodily-visual demonstrations (Hayashi, 2005; Keevallik, 2014), embodied adjacency pairs with first pair parts delivered with verbal talk and accompanying gesture, and bodily visual second pair parts (C. E. Ford et al., 2012; see also Stukenbrock, 2014), verbal overlaps resolved in a progressive, embodied way (Oloff, 2012, 2013), speakership establishment and turn completion coordinated and projected by accompanying gestures (Mondada, 2007b), so on and so forth[34].

Whereas it is by all means intriguing to rethink the boundaries of talk-oriented CA terminologies with new insights gained from video-based findings, it is necessary to bear in mind that some terminologies, such as the turn-taking rule-set, the principle of 'one speaker at a time', TCU and TRP, are designed for understanding and describing conversational actions through 'talk' based on its particular properties, one of them being the linear temporality discussed earlier. Whereas embodied actions are not necessarily organised on a turn-by-turn basis following the 'one at a time' rule. Consequently, as much as they can be contextualised

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[34] For two recent collections of studies on this, see: Special Issue: A body of resources – CA studies of social conduct, *Journal of Pragmatics* (2014), Volume 65, edited by Gitte Rasmussen, Spencer Hazel and Kristian Mortensen, and Special Issue: Conversation Analytic Studies of Multimodal Interaction, *Journal of Pragmatics* (2013), Volume 46, Issue 1, edited by Arnulf Deppermann.

and elaborated by bodily-visual practices, some talk-oriented CA notions do not seem to "sit well" when describing actions in the absence of 'talk' and need to be reworked (Deppermann, 2013a, p. 4). Nevertheless, there are other properties of talk-in-interaction that are shared by human action in general; such as projection, which can be translated into 'adjacency pairs' which is talk-oriented, or 'next-positioning of actions', which is loosened to describe more generic features of sequential actions. Taking this as a point of departure, the present study is therefore more interested in how the verbal turns-at-talk afford an analytical "anchor point" (Mortensen, 2012, p. 3) when dealing with different temporalities and sequentialities of multimodal resources, and how verbal and multimodal resources, when being concurrently mobilised by participants, are organised in different but orderly ways, altogether contribute to the co-construction of social actions. It is to be noted here that talk as an 'anchor point' is rather a methodological choice when working with multimodal data, than an analytical perspective that puts 'talk' at the centre of action-formation. Regarding this as well as the applicability of talk-oriented CA terminologies, further discussion will be carried out in Chapter 6 with insights from the present study.

Having said this, another pressing question is, *how, in practice, observations on multimodal data can be sufficiently represented by CA-style, multimodal transcripts?* As a product of observation and analysis rather than a "precondition" of those (Deppermann, 2013a), multimodal transcripts therefore brings bigger challenges than producing verbal transcripts, in the ways that they can both support and constrain analysis (Mondada, 2014b). Drawings and screen shots are commonly used to 'represent' the bodily-visual action trajectories; annotations consisting symbols and written descriptions of embodied conduct are also frequently used. These screenshots and annotations are either aligned to the verbal transcript as a baseline (see, for example, Markaki et al., 2010; Mondada, 2007b; Mortensen, 2016; Mortensen & Hazel, 2014; Okada, 2013; Oloff, 2012; Streeck, 2013), or, albeit less frequently, used as a baseline themselves to align verbal productions (see, for example, Groeber & Pochon-Berger, 2014; Ivarsson & Greiffenhagen, 2015). In both ways, it is made possible to recreate the simultaneity and progressivity of different modalities in an unfolding course of action in the form of written and printable transcripts. For the present study, I draw upon these previous explorations on multimodal transcripts, with

adaptations to suit my analytical focus; this discussion will therefore be elaborated upon in the next chapter (see Section 4.4.1).

While it remains an on-going exploration in developing specific conventions of multimodal transcripts for CA research, I shall come back to this point in Chapter 6, especially on the implications of the transcript conventions developed for use of the present study.

3.6 Reliability, validity and generalisability of CA

This section discusses how CA as a research methodology stands in relation to other methodologies in social sciences, by how constructs such as reliability, validity and generalisability can be accounted for in the CA research process. Being one of the few attempts to address such issues in existing CA literature, Seedhouse's (2005) work will be drawn upon in much of the discussion here.

The primary issue lies with the *reliability* of CA concerns how the recordings are made, in what quality and whether considered capturing enough details for the purpose of the analysis (Seedhouse, 2005). This shall be discussed in the next chapter (Section 4.3 and 4.4) regarding how choices of data collection and transcript production are made and justified; whereas here I consider reliability in relation to aspects of *repeatability* and r*eplicability* of the study. First, it is standard practice in CA to produce fine-detailed transcripts in support of the analysis, and provided in the written work for readers to test the quality of analysis themselves. Second, although audio/video recordings are seldom made available in CA publications due to ethical and other technical considerations, CA researchers commonly share data and transcripts with one another, in data sessions as well as in public conferences and workshops (P ten Have, 2007). For instance, data and transcript excerpts for the present study were brought to the Micro-Analysis Research Group in Newcastle University in 3 different data sessions in 2014 and 2015, as well as presented at 3 different conferences, so that the reliability of the present study is strengthened.

Seedhouse (2005) discusses four kinds of validity in relation to qualitative research. The first

is *internal validity*, which concerns "the soundness, integrity and credibility of findings" (ibid. p. 255), that is, whether the data prove what the researcher claim to have found. Arguably, the adherent to the emic perspective ensures what CA analysts find is based on the micro-detailed analysis of participants' observable and demonstrable orientations in accomplishing courses of actions through talk. That is, the fine-details of the interaction themselves is the only justification for the analytic claims made by a CA researcher, hence easily testable by another. This emic perspective further entails two other aspects: first, CA does not avail existing theories *a priori* to analysing the data, unless the participants themselves locally invoke to such theories; second, CA also refuses to take any potentially relevant contextual features (e.g., gender, social status, cultural background) into account unless the emic analysis show such features are "procedurally relevant to those participants at that moment" (Seedhouse, 2005, p. 255). Therefore, by adhering to its methodological principles, CA research maintains its internal validity, as well as the second type of validity, that of *ecological validity*. This type of validity concerns how the analytical findings are applicable to people's daily lives in the 'real' social world. Unlike laboratory experimental research which tend to be based on theoretical hypothesis and conduct research on participants as experimental subject, CA draws upon naturally occurring conversations in which people perform their authentic social actions through talk, and reveals the underlying interactional organisations as the 'machinery' or 'norms' shared by people in accomplishing their social actions. Thus, CA can be said to be "exceptionally strong" (Seedhouse, 2005, p. 257) in terms of its ecological validity.

The third type is *construct validity*, which, in a positivistic, etic paradigm, considers the validity of the mapping from research constructs and categories, to the observed features in the data; nevertheless, in an emic, phenomenological paradigm of CA based on ethnomethodology, social constructs, such as that of 'institutionality' (Section 3.4) are seen as "being talked in and out of being" (Seedhouse, 2005, p. 258) by interactants, thus are as 'real' to the analysts as they are to participants themselves.

Finally, I consider the *external validity* or *generalisability*, that is, to what extent the analytic findings of CA can be generalized beyond the particular research context in which it is conducted. To explicate for this requires a revisit of the research aim of CA, as mentioned in

the beginning of the chapter, which is to explicate for "the underlying social organization…through which the orderly and intelligible *social interaction* is made possible" (C. Goodwin & Heritage, 1990, p. 283). That is to say, although CA tends to analysed on a micro-level with a relatively small amount of data that is context-bound, as it is usually being criticised for, the analytic objectives of CA is in fact to provide "some aspects of a generalizable description of the interactional organisation" (Seedhouse, 2005, p. 256), by looking at the "organisation of the micro-interaction in a particular social setting". In other words, CA reveals how the 'machinery' of conversation works in a context-free manner, as being normatively oriented to in each individual instance, and also in a context-sensitive manner as the departure from which are normally marked with care. For example, in the case of the present study, through a fine-detailed multimodal analysis on the cases of speaker transitions in student group meetings, the close description of how participants mobilise multimodal resources in accomplishing their courses of actions differ from case to case; nevertheless, the analysis as a whole contribute to the understanding of a model of 'participation as embodied actions', which "takes into account the simultaneous multimodal activities of all participants in an interactional event…(and) how all participants' activities contribute to bring off the event in the precise multimodal and sequential shape it gets" (Deppermann, 2013a, p. 3).

3.7 Summary

This chapter began by introducing the theoretical underpinnings of the chosen methodology, CA, of this study, and outlining key interactional organisations within CA that are directly relevant to the present study. The latter half of this chapter then turned to focus on the line of CA research on institutional talk-in-interaction, including the basic stance that shall be taken when applying CA to account for 'institutionalities' and particular aspects of institutional interaction that have been uncovered in existing studies; then, the discussion continue on the methodological and practical challenges faced by CA analysts when examining talk-and-bodies-in-interaction, that is, multimodality within the framework of CA. These two strands of CA research are where the current study is located and therefore the discussion here serves to lay a solid theoretical foundation for the following chapters. The chapter is closed

with a brief discussion on areas of reliability, validity and generalisability of CA.

Chapter 4. Research Design

4.1 Introduction

The methodological principles and theoretical standpoint of CA were discussed in the previous chapter; in this chapter, I will outline the research design of the present study. The first two sections mainly describe the setting of the research. In Section 4.2, I provide a brief sketch of the data source –Newcastle University Corpus of Academic Spoken English (NUCASE) (Walsh, 2014), and a description of the context in which the present study is conducted – university student group meetings, forming a sub-dataset of the corpus. Next, in Section 4.3, I will give an overview of the data collection procedures and the ethical research practice carried out for collecting corpus data, as well as the technical issues involved for the purpose of the present study.

The following sections then describe the practical procedures conducted for the present study, following the methodological approach of CA. Section 4.4 firstly explains the process of transcription and analysis, including a brief introduction to the general impression of the meeting interaction data (e.g., the opening and closing, and other procedures and phases), so as to give readers a birds-eye view of the meeting interaction (Section 4.4.2). Then, in particular, the overall structural organisation of the focal phenomenon, speaker transitions during sequences of '*roundtable update discussion*', will be described (Section 4.4.3). Section 4.5 highlights the significance and originality of the present research, and revisits the research questions that frame the presentation of data analysis in the next chapter.

4.2 Data source, research context and participants

As has been mentioned earlier, the data used for the current study is extracted from a research project on a corpus of academic spoken English, that is, Newcastle University Corpus of Academic Spoken English (NUCASE). Began in 2011, the project is set out to explicate the complex relationship between language, interaction and learning by looking at how tutors and students construct meanings and reach mutual understandings through talk at various higher education settings, including seminars, tutorials, student group meetings and English language

classes. The aim of the project, therefore, is to "describe, characterise and operationalize interactional competence in a higher education setting" (Walsh, 2014), especially in the aforementioned settings where small group teaching and learning is used as a pedagogical tool. Comprising one million words of spoken data (approximately 120 hours), the whole dataset for the corpus was collected during 2010 – 2011 across the three faculties of the university (i.e., Humanities and Social Sciences, Medical Sciences, and Science, Agriculture and Engineering), and one English language centre offering the pre- and in-sessional English language classes (i.e., INTO Newcastle) and constitutes a variety of higher education teaching and learning contexts (e.g., tutor-led small group seminars, tutorials, student group discussions and meetings).

The primary dataset for the present research consists ten hours of video- and audio-taped interaction of student group meetings from the corpus. Collected from November 2010 to February 2011 during the final year of the undergraduate programme of Marine Technology with Marine Engineering (BEng Honours),
the dataset includes eight meetings, recorded with one video-camera and one audio-recorder. Each meeting lasts from 45 minutes to two hours and 20 minutes, with the same group of six participants working on their final year Naval Architecture group project (i.e., to design and build a wind turbine). The meeting takes place in a seminar room, where participants are seated face-to-face around desks arranged in a squared circle, with a certain distance from each other as it shows in the figure below. Also, to maintain anonymity of the participants, pseudonyms were given to each participant as can be seen in the figure below.
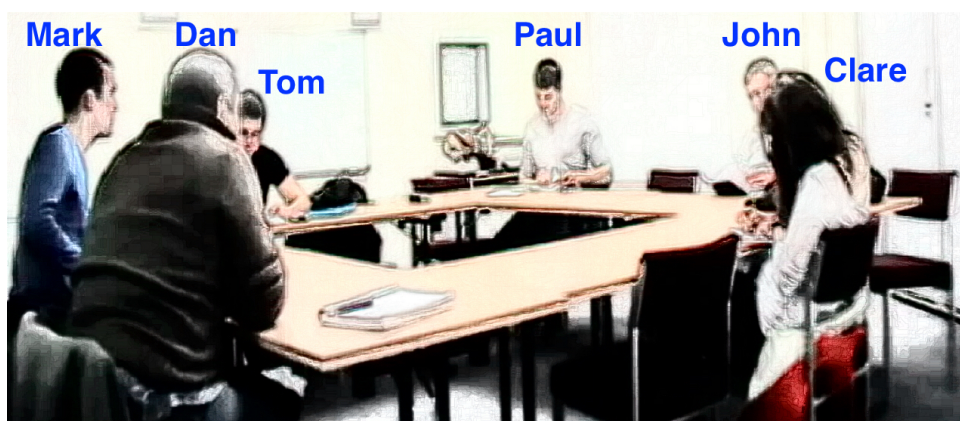
Figure 4.1 Seating arrangement of student group meeting

4.3 Data collection, ethics and technical issues

The British Council and Cambridge University Press funded the collection and compiling of data for the NUCASE project during the year of 2010 to 2011, as undertakings kept separate from the present study. The ownership of the corpus data solely belongs to Cambridge University Press, and access to the dataset was given to the researcher for purposes of the present study and relevant academic activities only.

Full ethical practices under the regulations of Newcastle University were adhered to at all times. Before collecting the data, initial contact was made with the key administrators of the university, and permission to record video- and audio-data at the various above-mentioned settings was gained. Informed consent was obtained through an information sheet about the research shown to each participant, and a consent form for each participant to sign, upon confirming their permission and participation (Heath, Hindmarsh, & Luff, 2010, p. 17; Liddicoat, 2011, p. 24), and acknowledging their rights to refuse:

1. to be recorded or to give access to the situation for recording purposes;
2. to grant permission to use the recording for research purposes;
3. public display or publication of the recordings in one form or another. (ten Have, 2007, p. 79)

As no minors were involved in any of the recordings, consent from participants themselves are considered sufficient (Mckay, 2006, p. 25). Anonymity of the participants was ensured, during recording, compiling, storage and analysis of the corpus data (Liddicoat, 2011, p. 24). Especially, participants' real names were not recorded in any form; in the data presented throughout the thesis and in all forms of related academic activities, participants were referred to by their pseudonyms. Further, where screen shots of the video-recordings were inserted in the thesis, such as in the figures inserted in transcripts, all images were anonymised by the researcher. In other words, all images were processed to a degree that does not fully reveal participants' original physical appearances places (e.g., Figure 4.1 above), hence retaining anonymity of participants.

To ensure the interaction being recorded was as 'naturally occurring' as possible (George

Psathas, 1995, p. 45), that is, as interaction that would occur regardless of the presence of the researcher or the recording device, attempts were made to limit the potential influences of the 'observer's paradox' (Labov, 1972). The data collection was done in an un-intrusive manner as much as possible by the research assistant who conducted this: by distributing the consent forms and setting up the recording devices before the session begins, taking a non-participatory role and leaving the scene during the session, collecting the devices after the session closes.

Nowadays, researchers carrying out studies on social interaction increasingly recommend the use of multiple cameras to allow maximum access to the shared visual space of participants (Heath et al., 2010, p. 53). For the dataset used in current study, the institution only allows one video- and one audio-recorder each session. Yet it should be noted that having a single view does not "severely constrains or even undermines the ability to analyse the activity of interest" (ibid.) for the current study, as the meeting participants are seated around a circle of desks with movements restricted to their upper bodies, and the video camera is mounted on a tripod, placed statically at a distance, where full visual access to all participants is ensured (Liddicoat, 2011, p. 22). Further, having a secondary source of audio data placed on the desks in the centre of the participants not only allows capturing the fine-details of the audio (e.g., in-breath, soft voices, inaudible overlapping talk), but also provides a back-up to the video recording.

During analysing the data, the researcher is able to investigate all the embodied aspects of the interaction (e.g., gaze, upper-body movement, manipulation of objects); yet also experienced the shortcoming of having a single video camera: visual access to some of the participants may temporarily be blocked by others in front of the video camera due to their upper body movements. Nevertheless, it is commonly agreed that having two static recording devices in the present study is much less intrusive than multiple ones, not to mention the complex data those would produce to be synchronized and analysed later. After all,

> there is no ideal way of recording spoken language data but rather the researcher has to find a best fit between the resources available and the purpose of the project. The aim of the Conversation Analysis researcher is to produce the best quality recording of an interaction, with as little intrusion as possible (Liddicoat, 2011, p. 23).

Therefore, the researcher considers it an acceptable trade-off between the naturalness of the

data being rendered to the intrusion of the equipment, and the amount of details of the interaction being captured.

4.4 CA transcription and analysis

As has been discussed before, the aim of CA is to discover the 'grammar' or 'machinery' of naturally occurring interactions (Sacks, 1985), based on Sacks' assumption that there is 'order at all points' (Sacks, 1992); the practical methodological approach of CA therefore entails the unique core activity of the transcription of data and the case-by-case analysis based on instances of a focal phenomenon. In this section I will focus on the procedures of CA transcription and analysis, both in relation to what have been discussed in the literature and what were carried out in practice in the present study.

4.4.1 Transcription

To start with, transcription is seen as the initial step that enables the analysis of the recorded data; meaning that it "re"-presents the actual event in the audio- or video-recordings (Green, Franquiz, & Dixon, 1997, p. 172) in a form that allows fine-detailed analysis in the way CA requires (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998), as Sacks (1984) explains,

> I started to work with tape-recorded conversations. Such materials had a single virtue, that I could replay them. I could transcribe them somewhat and study them extendedly - however long it might take (p.26).

For this to work, a CA transcript should be produced differently from traditional secretarial transcription for meetings or interviews, that tends to focus only on *what* has been said; whereas CA analysts also need to put down as much detail as possible of *how* it has been said, as "no level of detail is considered *a priori* to be irrelevant" (Liddicoat, 2007, p. 14) to understand the talk-in-interaction. Such details are drawn upon two basic analytic concerns. The first is the dynamics of turn-taking, that is, besides the actual words spoken, the beginnings and endings of the turns should be paid extra attention, on the precise details of overlap, gaps, pauses and audible breathing. The second is the characteristics of speech delivery, that is, the pace of delivery, sound duration, stress, pitch, intonation and volume (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998). Further to this, when working with video-recorded data, the

analysts are given access the non-verbal, multimodal aspects of talk-in-interaction (e.g., gaze direction, body positioning, gesture), and thereby face with the choice of which aspect of which participant's bodily movements goes in to the transcript, in what ways and to what extent. The more fine-grained the transcript gets on such interactional features, the more difficult and challenging it is for transcriber-researchers, and the less consistency can be found amongst CA researchers in their ways of representing these features (Hazel, Haberland, & Mortensen, 2012).

Therefore in reality, CA analysts have to make principled decisions on the level of detail that best suits their research, both in terms of their analytical foci, and real-life practicalities, whilst retaining the accessibility of the transcript for potential audiences (e.g., readers, public data sessions) (Liddicoat, 2007). The transcription system first developed by Gail Jefferson (1985, 2004), also described in early works of CA (e.g., Sacks et al., 1974), has become the 'common language' of CA transcription, allowing adaptations to various 'dialects' for all CA analysts. Although CA analysts reach a consensus that there is no canonical way of formatting CA transcripts, Gail Jefferson's transcription system should still be considered the most robust one that is well suited for the way of analysis CA asks (Liddicoat, 2007; P ten Have, 2007). For the current study, I also adapted the Jeffersonian tradition for transcribing vocal/verbal aspects of interaction, whereas embodied aspects were transcribed based on a set of tailor-made transcript conventions (see Appendix I), which will be discussed in detail in Section 4.4.5.

In addition, as the analysis proceeds and the transcription starts, there is a risk that CA analysts may start to rely too much on the transcript - a secondary 'representation' – when going back and forth amongst collected cases and noting patterned features, whereas the primary data in the recording starts to lose its central place (Hazel et al., 2012). For analysts and researchers facing this issue, it is therefore crucial to bear in mind that:

> …transcripts and recordings are reflexively tied together in the production of their mutual intelligibility: transcripts facilitate access to the recordings and highlight detailed features for the analysis; reciprocally, recordings give to transcripts their evidence and substance, they allow and warrant an enriched and contextual interpretation of tiny conventional notations. They mutually produce their accountability, intelligibility and

interpretability (Mondada, 2007a, pp. 810–811).

For the present study, attempts were made to avoid this potential risk by using a transcription linking software (or, alignment software) (Hazel et al., 2012; Mondada, 2007a) - CLAN software (Mac version) (http://childes.talkbank.org/clan/). This programme supports facilities to use Jeffersonian symbols for transcripts; more importantly it offers various linking features between recording and transcript within one workspace on a computer screen (see Figure 4.2 below): (1) the visual representation of the data is placed on right hand side of the screen, and the audio sound wave the bottom left[35]; (2) the transcript is placed on the left, and is read line by line from left to right, top to bottom; (3) the dots placed in the transcript link the lines of transcript with both its audio and video representations, that is, when clicked on, the software automatically highlights the linking line of transcript and starts playback of the corresponding sound and video of the highlighted line. Such time-stamped and linked representations of the recording and transcript bring several benefits to CA analysts: (1) to enable convenient retrieval of each stretch of the sound (or silence) whenever producing, adding, changing the temporally linked transcript; (2) synchronized access to the video ensures every detail of bodily-visual aspects of the interaction is present when analysing the actual event. In this way, the mutual intelligibility of the transcript and recording is reflexively produced, which largely reinforces the reliability of the analysis.
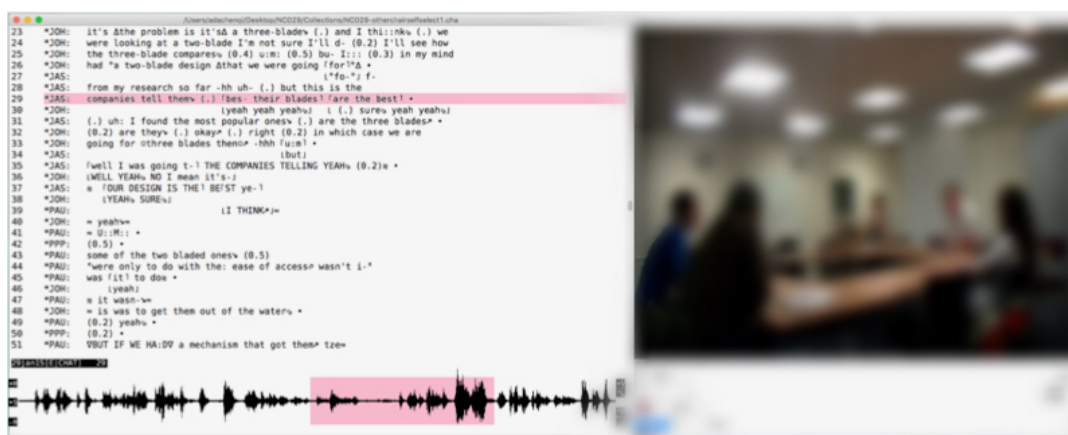
Figure 4.2 Screenshot of CLAN workspace

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[35] In the screen shot in Figure 4.2, the visual representation of the data on the right-hand side has been blurred for anonymity purpose.

4.4.2 Initial observation and single case analysis

As stated in the beginning, the process of producing transcripts itself forms a crucial part of the analysis procedures. Although the analysis already begun at the initial observation and note-taking of the audio-/video-recordings, it is during the repeated listening to/watching at the original data and the subsequent transcription process that the analysts gradually gain a close acquaintance with the data to the suitable level of detail (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998). These first stages of observation is characterised by Psathas (1995, p. 45) as "unmotivated looking", a practice in line with CA's main principles, meaning that the analysts do not select the interactional phenomena based on any pre-formulated theorising. Rather, this is 'noticing' the features of talk that may initially seem unremarkable (Schegloff, 1996a); a process of letting the data speak out to the analysts; a mindset of

> giving some consideration to whatever can be found in any particular conversation we happen to have our hands on, subjecting it to investigation in any direction that can be produced from it (Sacks, 1984, p. 27).

However, unmotivated looking does not mean that the reviewing of data is purposeless; rather, it allows CA analysts to notice the actions being done in a given stretch of talk and the particular practices of conduct used to accomplish these actions. Two general strategies that structure this analytic process were suggested by the first generation of CA researchers. The first it to ask the question "*why that now?*" (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973, p. 299) when trying to understand what is being done by a stretch of talk. To deconstruct this question, "that" points either to a human action, or a feature of talk observed in the segment; "now" points to the local sequential context that action occurs, or, the outcome to which the practice of talk or other conduct is pursuing. Therefore, by asking the question of "why that now", an analyst can either start from "a noticing of the action" and provide an account of how it is accomplished – by talk or other vocal/bodily conduct – in its sequential context; or work from "noticing of some feature of the talk" and identify the outcome of it, that is, the action being accomplished in its immediate sequential context (Schegloff, 1996a, p. 172). Further to this, Schegloff (ibid.) also argued that there are three distinct methodological elements characterising an account of action in CA: (1) a formulation of what action or actions are being accomplished as exemplified by the data, and, where

applicable, 'deviant cases' that tests the claim of such underlying formulations; (2) a grounding of the formulation in participants' reality, by demonstrating that the participants in the data are understood as doing the action(s), and are oriented to by co-participants as such; (3) an explication and analysis of how the talk/conduct being observed, with the practice embodied in it, yields to the action, that is, what makes the talk/conduct recognisable as implementing that action[36].

To do this thus requires the second strategy, the '*next-turn proof procedure*': participants display their understandings of other's turns-at-talk in their immediate subsequent turns they produce, and therefore it "affords both a resource for the analysis of prior turns and a proof procedure for professional analyses of prior turns – resources intrinsic to the data themselves" (Sacks et al., 1974, p. 729). That is to say, the evidence that a practice (or phenomenon) is recognisable as implementing an action lies internal to the data – to understand what kind of action the first interactant meant to accomplish with his utterance, we first look at how the second intreactant understands/responds to it in the next turn, and, how the first interactant responds to the second interactant's utterance in the third turn, so on and so forth. Adopting this strategy therefore allows the analysts to gain insights on the on-going interaction from the perspective of the participants, that is, an *emic* perspective[37].

Also, apart from the two strategies available to analysts, Ten Have (2007, p. 125) recommends a list of analytic foci when initially starting with data, outlining the general CA constructs to be accounted for: *turn-taking organisation, sequence organisation, repair organisation and the organisation of turn-design* (see Chapter 3). Likewise, Heritage (2004, p. 225) has recommended a similar, but more tailor-made list when looking at institutional talk, as is the case for the present study. And these places of analytical attention provide a 'way-in' to the CA mindset in analysing conversational data, particularly when starting with a single case:

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[36] Having said this, it is necessary here to clarify what the term 'practice' mean. Here I use Heritage's (2011, p. 212) explanation: "…a 'practice' is any feature of the design of a turn in a sequence that (i) has a distinctive character, (ii) has specific locations within a turn or sequence, and (iii) is distinctive in its consequences for the nature or the meaning of the action that the turn implements".

[37] See Chapter 3 for a discussion of the *emic* perspective in CA.

1. Turn-taking organization;
2. Overall structural organization of the interaction;
3. Sequence organization;
4. Turn design;
5. Lexical choice;
6. Epistemological and other forms of asymmetry.

Therefore, through unmotivated looking, analysts can notice a particular instance of a practice (or phenomenon) together with its distinctive sequential features and the social action implemented by that practice. Starting from a single case, analysts can then locate other similar instances, and identify the boundaries of that phenomenon or properties by discerning its generic, context-independent properties and moving away from the particularities of any single case. Nevertheless, the analysts should always retain the accountability of each individual case and its particularities (Sidnell, 2012, pp. 77–78). How these two strategies, that is, the 'why that now?' question and 'next-turn proof procedure' were adopted to analyse, collect and build the collection of current study, especially in terms of the multimodal aspects of interaction, will be further unpacked in Section 4.4.4 and 4.4.5, whereas here I continue to discuss the initial analytical steps carried out for the present study.

For the current study, the initial dataset, consisting ten hours of student meetings in audio- and video-recordings, were firstly transcribed into simplified, orthographic transcriptions. The initial 'unmotivated looking' was then carried out based on the less-detailed transcripts, by repeatedly watching, listening, reading and taking notes, which lasts for 1-2 months. CLAN also allows marking of certain sequences (i.e., GEMS) that are found of particular interest (e.g., overlap, leaning forward), which is extremely useful at this stage of initial observation. During this process, I also worked on 15 minutes of a randomly chosen video recording with its transcript, and used the strategies discussed above for a more in-depth, single case analysis. It was during this initial analysis I came to be familiar with the overall 'shape' of the meeting interaction in my data, that is, the 'overall structural organisation' (OSO), which is listed in the second of the six analytic foci by Heritage (2004) and defined as "phases of activity that ordinarily occur regardless of the interaction's particular content" (Heritage & Clayman, 2011, p. 40). Acquiring an understanding of the OSO of how student group meetings are conducted

therefore became my first step of analysis, as illustrated in the flowchart below:
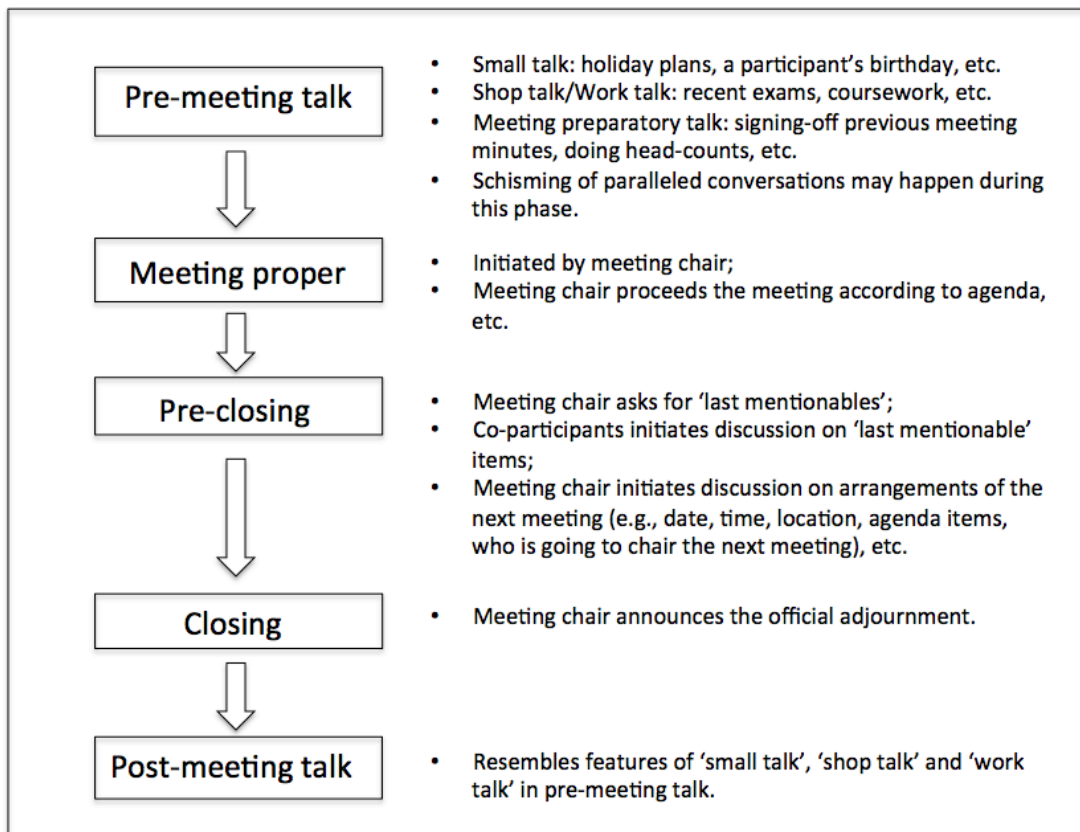
Figure 4.3 Overall Structural Organisation of Student Group Meetings

As I further investigated the data in-depth based on a general understanding of the overall 'shape', a focal phenomenon was located, that is, speaker transitions within the 'roundtable update discussion' phase (Stage B in Figure 4.3); this will be explicated in the following section.

4.4.3   *Overall structural organisation of roundtable update discussion*

After a closer look, it was observed that as part of the meeting proper phase (see Figure 4.4), the roundtable update discussion itself also appear in the shape of an oriented-to OSO, as illustrated in the flowchart below:
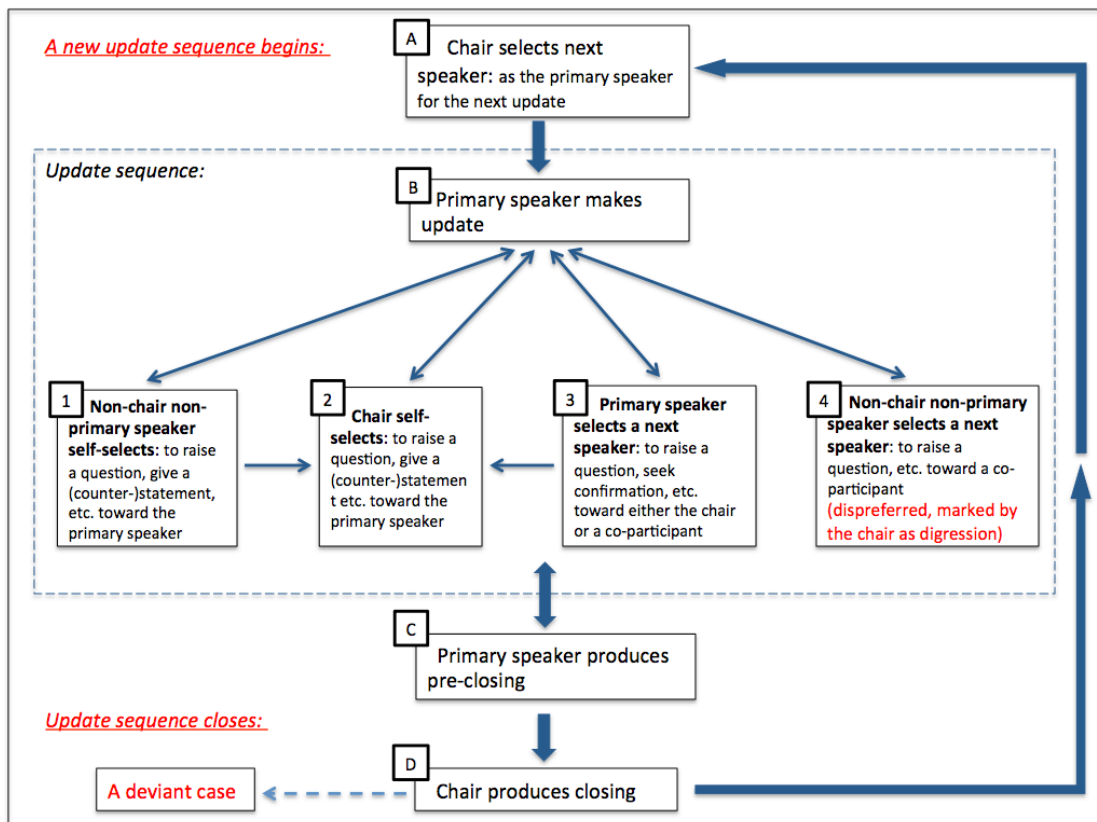
Figure 4.4 Overall Structural Organisation of Roundtable Update Discussion

To explicate for the OSO shown in Figure 4.3 above, this roundtable update is initiated and managed by the meeting chair, who appoints a *primary speaker* to report the update (Stage A), closes each update (Stage D) and appoints the next (Stage A), monitors the duration and content of the talk, and keeps written notes. In some occasions, the chair executes the rights to mark digressions of an on-going talk, and sets it back on track – whether caused by a co-participant or the chair him/herself. In some other occasions, a non-chair speaker has the responsibilities to gain the chair's permission before opening up a new sequence.

It was also noticed that when the chair-appointed current *primary speaker* is carrying out his/her update to the meeting participants (Stage B), the meeting chair is usually the target/primary recipient of the update talk, who keeps the talk interactive with brief verbal (e.g., continuer, acknowledgement marker) or bodily-visual (e.g., nodding, eye-gaze) responses and usually does not hold the floor, i.e., does not interfere with the progress of the update. More importantly, speaker transitions during this phase were observed as follows: such transitions appear when the update sequence is put on hold and the talk is expanded into additional and

further discussion/enquiry by either a non-chair, non-primary speaker, the meeting chair, or the primary speaker him/herself (Stages B1, 2, 3 and 4 in Figure 4.4).

The most-frequently occurring speaker change during this phase is through 'next speaker self-selects' (Sacks et al., 1974), initiated by either a non-chair non-primary speaker, or the meeting chair (Stages B1 and B2). Such self-selection sometimes entails raising a question, sometimes making a statement toward, or an opposition/counter-statement against an 'arguable move' (Maynard, 1985; H. T. Nguyen, 2011) in the previous utterance of the primary speaker. When the inserted sequence following the self-selection is closed, the primary speaker goes back on track and resumes the update (Stage B). Speaker change through 'current speaker selects next' (Sacks et al., 1974) is less frequent during a primary-speaker's update talk, and cases observed are normally initiated by the primary speaker him/herself (Stage B3), who puts the update on hold and raises a question or seeks elaboration from co-participants. The least frequent type of speaker change – and treated as dispreferred actions – is also found (Stage B4), which is initiated by a non-chair non-primary speaker who selects another co-participant to be the next speaker. Such an action would then be pointed out by the meeting chair as a 'digression' from the meeting agenda, and the responsible participant would be held accountable. Therefore it can be seen as deviant from the regularities of the update sequence, yet with parcitipants' orientation to how it 'normally' should have been done (Liddicoat, 2011).

In-between each update, there are observable transitions, consisting of pre-closing (Stage C) and closing sequences (Stage D), usually coming from the primary speaker or the meeting chair; although an update discussion may resume from a pre-closing in some cases. Then, after an update is officially closed, the chair brings together the joint attention among co-participants, and appoints the next primary speaker to report the update (Stage A). An illustration of a chair closing a current update talk and selecting a next primary speaker is given below, in which the meeting chair Paul closes the current update talk by Clare (line3, 5), and selects Tom as the next primary speaker for the update (line 7):

Ex.4.4.1 chair selects next primary speaker

```
1   CLA:    ·hh u:m (0.8) then all the monitoring systems will come a- come
2           a part of that⇗≈
```

```
3   PAU:    ≈ yeah
4           (0.7)
5   PAU:    okay↘
6           (1.4)
7   PAU:    ·hhhhh Tom⤴ anything to↗ (0.4) add (.) about the structures↗
8           (2.0)
9   TOM:    basically we need to start with the (.) geotechnical analysis 10
             yeah
11  DAN:    (0.4) yeah ⌈·hh⌉
21  TOM:              ⌊u:m⌋
```

The sequence of talk therefore goes in a cyclical, recurring and structured manner. However, a deviant case was found, in which an update sequence transition (Stage D and A) was done with a departure from the underlying 'norms' of the structural organisation, as illustrated in the extract below. In this case, the meeting chair, Paul, has just closed a previous sequence of update discussion and about to open the next by selecting a new primary speaker, John (line 1-6, Figure 1-2, see Paul's gesture); whereas John avoids Paul's projected selection by shifting away his gaze (Figure 1-3). At the meantime, a non-chair non-primary speaker, Dan, self-selects, suggesting himself to be the primary speaker (line 4, 8); the meeting chair soon grants him the floor, aligning with John's bodily display (line 8-10, Figure 6-8) and the new sequence thus begins (line 11). What is worth noticing is how this transition gets done in the micro-seconds with the bodily-visual coordination among the three co-participants.

Ex. 4.4.2 a deviant case

```
1   PAU: ·hh °alright° (.) SO:: I don't should we GO::⤴ (.) ·hhhh
2        I don't know what order we should go in of (0.2) plan should
3        we go↗≈
4   DAN: ≈ #uh
              #Fig.1
```
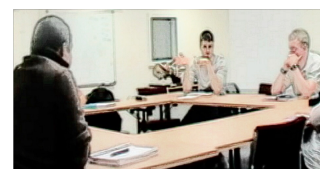

Fig.1   Fig.2   Fig.3

Fig.4

Fig.5

```
5        (0.8)
6    PAU: #prop design↗ (0.2) #o:r #should we start from structures↗
         #Fig.2            #Fig.3-4
7        #(0.7) of≈
         #Fig.5
8    DAN: ≈ #whatever I can go #°if you want I don't mind it's up to you°
            #Fig.6           #Fig.7
```


Fig.6

Fig.7

Fig.8

```
9        #(0.6)
         #Fig.8
10   PAU: yeah↗ go for [ it ]
11   DAN:              [okay] (.) ER: well er I already↘ started working
12   DAN: on structures [I'm just] putting (.) basics like when I get≈
13   PAU:               [ yeah↘ ]
14   DAN: ≈the numbers↘ (.)
```

Such overwhelming observations therefore explicate how such speaker transitions shaped and were shaped by the regularities of the activities during roundtable update discussion, which were talked into being as a locally co-constructed institutional phenomenon. Such regularities include participants' orientation toward different participant roles, the agenda/procedure of the meeting, expertise in their fields of knowledge, so on and so forth. Whereas Stages A, C and D are illustrated above as part of the OSO of roundtable update discussion, it was decided that the present study will be exclusively looking at these speaker transitions during roundtable update sequences, namely, Stage B1, 2, 3 and 4, as the focal phenomenon, and a systematic collection will be built by examining each case in the initial dataset. Details of how this was done will be elaborated in the following sub-section.

4.4.4   Identifying, collecting and analysing a recursive phenomenon

There are different ways a collection of interactions can be assembled in CA research: a researcher may start with a particular interactional phenomenon of interest (e.g., greetings), or, may be interested in interactions in a particular setting (e.g., classroom interaction), or, it can simply be whatever data is at hand (Liddicoat, 2011). The initial dataset for the current research, that is, eight meetings consisting 10 hours of video- and audio-recordings, was chosen as a loosely based collection because of the researcher's interest in student group meetings as a particular setting.

When such loosely based corpus data of interactions is established, next steps are to identify a focal phenomenon of interest that emerge in the initial observation, and to work through the data and collect new instances for the chosen phenomenon. It is commonly suggested that whereas the initial observation usually takes a rather loose stance, the latter step is to be done as systematic and comprehensive as possible (Liddicoat, 2011; P ten Have, 2007). To be precise, the analysis may begin with a small set of data; then, a "provisional analytic scheme" (P ten Have, 2007, p. 148) can be generated in this initial analysis, which is to be used to develop further analysis, by comparing it with other data using inductive reasoning. Regularities may therefore be identified and explicated when other data confirm the scheme, and adjustments can also be made to the scheme when variations to the phenomenon are been accounted for. Attempts should be made to go through each instance of the phenomenon exists in the data until the scheme covers all the data in the corpus, so as to ensure a range of variations accomplished and the selection of instances are not based on limited or subjective choices (Liddicoat, 2011; P ten Have, 2007)[38].

During the initial observation through 'unmotivated looking', all eight meetings were initially observed based on plain-text transcripts; two meetings with which audio- and video- recordings of the best quality were then chosen for further analysis and being transcribed in-depth using Jeffersonian CA conventions (see Appendix I). During this phase of in-depth transcription and observation, a recurring phenomenon, that is, speaker transitions during sequences of

---

[38] For a well-known example of this process, see Schegloff's (1968) study of telephone calls.

'*roundtable update discussion*', was noted by the researcher. As discussed in previous sections, the activity of *roundtable update discussion* was usually initiated by the meeting chair at the beginning of the meeting proper, and serves the purpose for each meeting participant to make an update on their recent work progress, report any issues and future plans, etc. It was observed that speaker transitions during each sequence of roundtable update are done on one hand in a chair-mandated, tightly administered manner. On the other, the dynamics of this interactional setting afford the participants to create and enact upon a variety of locally emerging, co-jointly constructed participation roles (e.g., *primary speaker, non-chair non-primary speaker, current speaker, possible next speaker, incipient speaker, target recipient, addressed recipient*) (C. E. Ford, 2008; see for example C. E. Ford & Stickle, 2012; Mondada, 2007b, 2013). Local contingencies thus arise when multiple participants taking on different emerging roles participate in the talk, and particularly, by shaping their verbal and bodily-visual practices accordingly with observable orientations to the orders, procedures and roles that are particularly bound to the *roundtable update discussion*. Driven by the interest to explicate the intricacies of the embodied shifts of participation framework, speaker transition in the '*roundtable update discussion*' was then chosen as the focal phenomenon for the next-step fine-detailed analysis.

During the period of analysis that lasted for approximately a year, I went through each case of the speaker transitions during each update sequence (Stage B) of the '*roundtable update discussion*' phase in the chosen two meeting data, until all instances of variations of speaker transitions were accounted for. A 'provisional analytic scheme' therefore gradually took shape as variations of speaker transitions were being accounted for, until all instances were analysed and the whole collection was built; this collection includes six cases of 'next speaker self-selects' (i.e., self-selections) initiated by non-chair, non-primary speakers, and six cases by the meeting chair; also included are three cases of 'current speaker selects next' (i.e., other-selections), initiated by current primary speakers and non-primary speakers. Due to the limitations on time and space for the current thesis, only a proportion of the collected cases are presented in this thesis, which is chosen to best illustrate the analytical focus and to represent all variations of cases; these include four cases of non-chair non-primary self-selections, four cases of chair self-selections and three cases of other selections.

4.4.5 *'Next-action proof' procedure and multimodal transcripts*

As discussed in Section 4.4.1, compared to transcription in early speech-oriented CA studies, it is much more complicated to produce a manual representation of both verbal aspects of conversation and the intertwined bodily-visual aspects as an end product of the analysis, especially for a multimodal CA transcript as the case of the current study. Especially, the human bodies are constantly in motion and not every move was treated by themselves or co-participants as 'relevant' to their on-going course of action or interactional project (e.g., self-grooming). Also, it is not possible to record every single detail in the multimodal annotations of the transcript in reality. The methodology of CA thus affords a toolkit – the emic perspective and the two strategies, 'why that now?' question and 'next-turn proof' procedure – to enable my decision-making.

When identifying and analysing each case of speaker transition, a series of decisions were made regarding where the course of action was initiated, whether through mobilising verbal/vocal or bodily-visual resources, how many participants were 'actively' involved, and whether a particular vocal/verbal and/or bodily-visual display is made relevant to the developing course of action, so on and so forth. Such decision-making can be underpinned and justified by applying the two strategies in CA, the 'why that now?' question and next-turn/action proof procedure (see Section 4.4.2 and 3.5). In detail, the following steps were taken when dealing with each single case. First, a particular speaker transition was noted, in which there is a shift, or a series of shifts, in the local participation framework. The starting point of analysis was therefore the entry turn of the next speaker which executed the action of speaker transition. Second, I expanded the scope of analysis backward (temporally), to the point where either the self-selecting speaker (i.e., in cases of 'next speaker self-selects') or the current speaker (i.e., in cases of 'current speaker selects next') demonstrated the first vocal/verbal and/or bodily-visual display that exerted a shift in the local participation framework, that is, the 'first move' of the action sequence. Third, starting from the 'first move', I expanded the scope of analysis to notice every multimodal display that is relevant to the speaker transition, that is, to re-present multiple sequentialities of the multimodally formatted action. Applying the next-action proof procedure, it can be told whether a particular

vocal/verbal or bodily-visual display is part of the assembled multimodal Gestalt of a multimodally formatted action, by looking at its local sequential positioning, its prior and next actions in the emergent 'stream of actions', and its initiating and responding actions from co-participants. Finally, I looked beyond the first verbal turn that executed the speaker transition, and analysed how speakership of the self-selecting/other-selected speaker, once established, was maintained, negotiated and mobilised at turn extensions and sequence expansions.

When producing a multimodal transcript to re-present every analytic claim following the above steps, I have made the following arrangements, which were greatly inspired by previous work (see, for example, C. E. Ford & Stickle, 2012; C. Goodwin, 1986, 2007c; Markaki & Mondada, 2012; Mondada, 2007a) (see Figure 4.3 below for an illustration). First, to represent the multiple temporalities of talk and other multimodal resources, I used annotations to mark participants' bodily-visual practices, with each annotation placed on a separate line in *italics* and grey-shade under the corresponding line of verbal transcript, with the beginning of the annotation and the beginning of the corresponding utterance vertically aligned. Second, to represent the progressivity and successivity of multimodal action-formation, that is, how a multimodal Gestalt is assembled by a single participant over a longer stretch of talk to construct an action, I assigned one special symbol ('♯, £, &, ¥, %, ∮') to each participant for their bodily-visual annotation (see Appendix I). Third, to represent the concurrent, coordinated courses action of multiple participants, I inserted series of screen shots as an additional visual access for readers, each marked with the corresponding annotations, participant names and line numbers. In practice, I firstly noted down everything starting from the 'first move' by watching the video and looking at the verbal transcripts back and forth. Every effort was then made to locate, create and align annotations that represent the whole course of multimodally formatted action. Afterward, screenshots were generated, representing the visual of the whole trajectory of action. Each series of screenshots were inserted in-between lines of transcripts and annotations. To ensure readability and accessibility, the first screenshot for each extract of data often captures the whole setting, with all participants marked with their pseudonyms (See Fig.1 in Figure 4.5). The following screenshots in an extract usually captures a part of the whole setting, focusing on one or more

participants, so as to give an enlarged view of their bodily-visual displays (see Fig. 2-3 in Figure 4.5).


```
1        PAU: #u:m:: ·hhh (0.7) !kk (.) °trying to think-° uh: I'm just
              #PAU look down, clap hands
2            trying to think of this↘ #(0.6) duct↗ #&twenty meter duct↘
                                        #PAU hands touch eyes
                                             #PAU gaze front
                                               &DAN lean backward
```

Fig.1 DAN/PAU gaze/body (L1-3)

```
3        JOH: & (.)yeah
              &DAN lean forward
4            £(1.2)
             £JOH gaze PAU
```

Fig.2 JOH/PAU gaze (L4-5)(Enlarged)
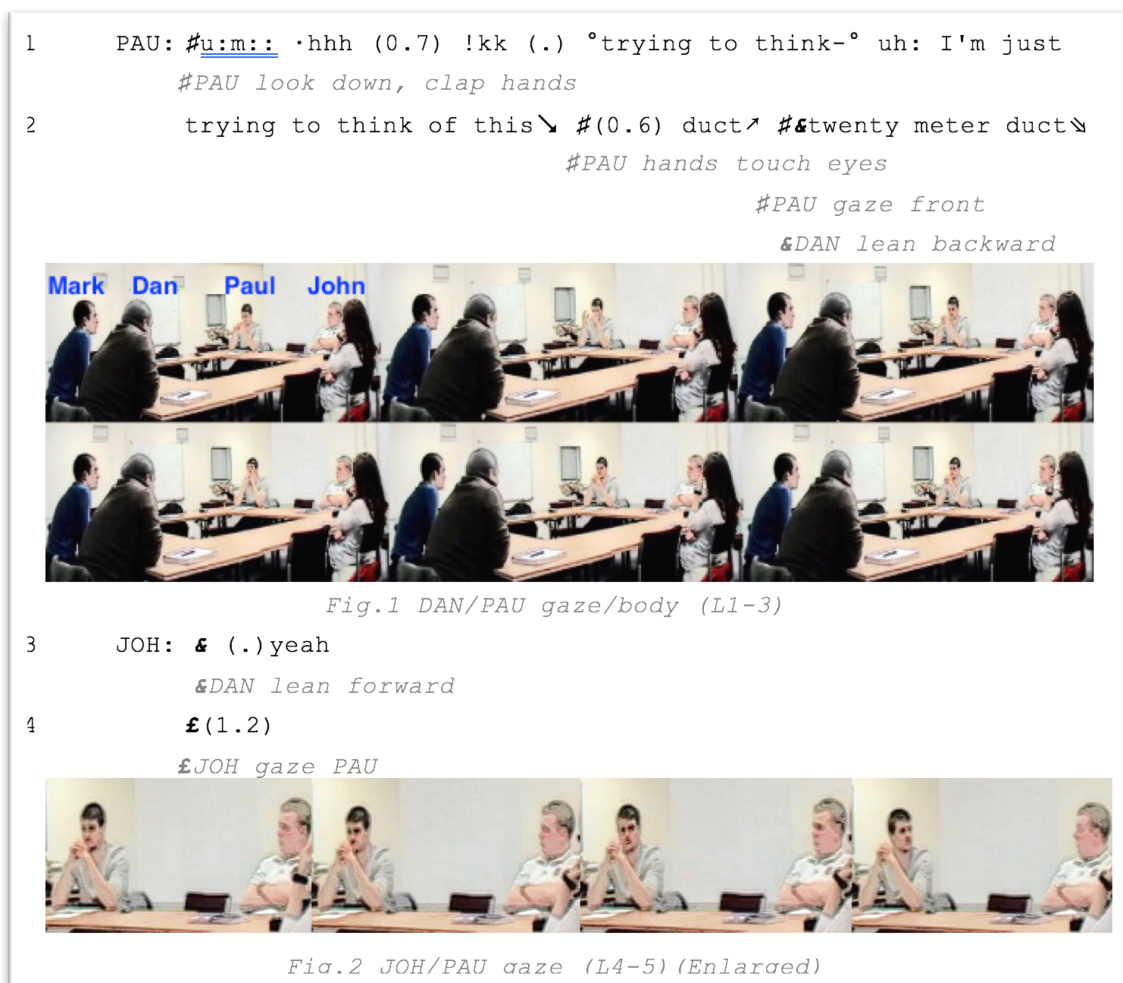
Figure 4.5 Sample transcript for illustration

For instance, all annotations started with '#' describe Paul's bodily-visual displays. So that by tracking the symbol '#' at the beginning of each annotation, readers are able to see, for instance, how the multimodal resources were mobilised by Paul, and how he assembled the multimodal Gestalts to construct courses of actions. Then, by looking at the series of screenshots representing Paul's bodily-visual annotations, readers are given visual access to what the annotations describe. Further, by looking at multiple participants' annotations together with the corresponding screenshots, readers are able to follow how Paul's embodied conduct is intertwined with those of other co-participants. However, it is worth noticing here that, as a matter of fact, any piece of multimodal transcript that represents a piece of data

…always constitutes a particular analytical accomplishment…Each printed version (as a definitive form of transcript) is the result of a selective process of displaying,

foregrounding, highlighting particular details for a specifically recipient-oriented
analysis or demonstration (Mondada, 2007a, p. 819).

Therefore, all transcripts produced for the current study are in support of the analytical claims
made in this thesis, and the two should be considered as a unified piece of work instead of the
transcripts being a generic representation of the original data.

4.5 Focus of the study and research questions

As mentioned in previous chapters, the purpose of the present study is to investigate the
professional and academic competences university students use and reply on to participate in
multiparty group meetings; within the framework of CA, I therefore present fine-detailed,
sequential multimodal analysis on how meeting participants display speakership and recipiency
by mobilising their verbal/vocal and bodily-visual resources during speaker transitions in
sequences *of roundtable update discussion*. The significance and originality of the present
study is two-fold. The first is contextual, in that it is the first study to examine speaker
transitions during *roundtable update discussion* in university student group meetings. On one
hand, student interaction in higher education settings has not been paid enough scholarly
attention, and this is particularly true from an interactional perspective. Unlike the
well-developed body of research on workplace meeting interactions in institutional
corporations and organisations, it is severely under-represented in the CA literature to date.
Further to this is a scarcity of research attention to university student group discussions
(including meetings). The second is methodological, as no CA study hitherto has offered such a
systematic collection of speaker transition and turn-taking practice that accounts for the
multimodal aspects of interaction. Therefore, it can be said that the present study is the first to
thoroughly investigate speakership and recipiency display for the accomplishment of speaker
transition from a multimodal perspective, especially with the scope of analysis beyond pre-turn
and turn-beginning positions.

The following **research questions** have been posed to uncover the collaborative
accomplishment of speaker transition in the collected instances of the focal phenomenon,
speaker transitions during sequences of '*roundtable update discussion*':

1. How is speaker transition accomplished through 'next speaker self-selects' during the roundtable update discussion?

    a. How does a non-chair, non-primary speaker select him/herself to be the next speaker, and obtain/manage displayed recipiency from his/her target recipient?

    b. How does a meeting chair self-select to be the next speaker, and obtain/manage displayed recipiency from his/her target recipient?

2. How is speaker transition accomplished through 'current speaker self-selects' during the roundtable update discussion?

    a. How does a current primary speaker select a co-participant to be the next speaker?

    b. How does a current non-primary speaker select a co-participant to be the next speaker?

Therefore, the next chapter unfolds according to the above-mentioned types of recurring speaker transitions. It starts with cases of 'next speaker self-selects' (Sacks et al., 1974), with a selected number of **non-chair self-selection** cases **(RQ 1a)** in Section 5.3.1 and 5.3.2 which are to some level similar to what Ford and Stickle (2012) have studied; according to them,

    self-selecting incipient speakers, specifically non-chairs or non-primary speakers, must do special work to gain the displayed recipiency of others, and sometimes particular others, among a range of potential next speakers" (2012, p. 26).

However, in the present study, I go beyond the pre-turn and turn-beginning positions, where Ford and Stickle (2012) and many other CA analysts' (e.g., Markaki & Mondada, 2012; Mondada, 2007b; Mortensen, 2009) interest lies, and look at the broader sequence of the action to include turn-extension and turn-final positions. The reason behind this is that, in my data, it was observed that such **verbal and bodily-visual 'special work'** often, though not always, persists beyond the first TCU of the self-selecting turn, which will be shown in the following presentation of data analysis. Following that, cases of **self-selection made by the meeting chair (RQ 1b)** will be illustrated in Section 5.3.3 and 5.3.4, in which the chair is found to exploit among a wide range of verbal and bodily-visual resources, to gain and consolidate speakership, as well as to address his turns-at-talk to selected co-participants.

According to Goodwin (1980, 1981), when a self-selecting speaker gazes at his/her target recipient, it indicates that s/he is soliciting mutual gaze, as a display of recipiency, from the

other party; and when and how the gaze of the target recipient is obtained is relevant to the speaker. It is within the analytical scope of the present study to investigate how the sequential position of the displayed recipiency is relevant to the self-selecting speaker, how it can be affected by the situational conditions of the meeting (e.g., seating arrangements) and how the talk-and-bodies-in-interaction evolves *in situ*. Therefore, I use the turn-beginning position of the self-selecting verbal turn as a cut-point. Cases in which recipiency through gazing is displayed on or after this cut-point are presented in Section 5.3.1 and 5.3.3; whereas those that are displayed prior to this cut-point are presented in Section 5.3.2 and 5.3.4.

Cases of speaker transition through 'current speaker selects next' (Sacks et al., 1974) are presented in Section 5.3.5 and 5.3.6. The former contains two cases of such **other-selections initiated by the current primary speaker (RQ 2a)**, and finally the latter focuses on a single case, in which **a non-chair non-primary speaker selects a next speaker (RQ 2b)** and treated as a dispreferred action by the meeting chair.

4.6 Summary

In this chapter, I have introduced and outlines the aspects of research design of the current study, by firstly considering the research setting, the data source (Section 4.2), the procedures and issues of data collection and ethical considerations (Section 4.3), then focusing on the transcription and analysis process (Section 4.4). The chapter ends with a revisit of the research focus, contributions and research questions (Section 4.5), preparing for the next chapter, which reports the outcomes of the analysis.

Chapter 5. Analysis

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents 11 selected cases of speaker transition during sequences of roundtable update discussion. Cases selected and analysed here represent all variations in the full collection, which are speaker selection and speaker change amongst different parties, including the meeting chair, a chair-appointed *primary speaker* and other *non-chair non-primary* co-participants. The guiding research questions below are addressed:

1. How is speaker transition accomplished through 'next speaker self-selects' during the roundtable update discussion?

   a. How does a non-chair, non-primary speaker select him/herself to be the next speaker, and obtain/manage displayed recipiency from his/her target recipient?

   b. How does a meeting chair self-select to be the next speaker, and obtain/manage displayed recipiency from his/her target recipient?

2. How is speaker transition accomplished through 'current speaker self-selects' during the roundtable update discussion?

   a. How does a current primary speaker select a co-participant to be the next speaker?

   b. How does a current non-primary speaker select a co-participant to be the next speaker?

In Section 5.2, I revisit some of the interactional features observed in the *roundtable update discussion* phase of the meeting, which have been explicated in detail in the previous chapter. Then in Section 5.3, I examine in-depth each one of the cases chosen from the collection; the analytic focus is placed on how speaker transition gets done through the dynamics of shifting participation framework, as being both verbally/vocally and bodily-visually coordinated by the meeting participants in gaining and maintaining speakership and recipiency. Particularly, in Section 5.3.1 and 5.3.3, two cases of self-selection initiated by a non-chair non-primary speaker, and two cases by the meeting chair, are discussed respectively; what these cases have in common is that the self-selecting speaker gains displayed recipiency from the target recipient after the verbal, self-selecting turn is initiated. In comparison, Section 5.3.2 and 5.3.4 discuss another four cases of self-selection in which the self-selecting speaker gains displayed

recipiency prior to the verbal turn. In what follows, less frequent cases of other-selection during sequences of update discussion are explicated, in which two cases are initiated the primary speaker (Section 5.3.5) and one dispreferred case is initiated by a non-chair, non-primary speaker (Section 5.3.6).

5.2   Roundtable update discussion

As discussed in the previous chapter, after the 'meeting proper' is officially started, there is usually a *roundtable update discussion* on each participant's recent progress and future steps. It has a tightly organised overall structural organisation (OSO, see Section 4.4.4) as can be observed in participants' orientations toward the regularities of turn-taking and sequential organisations, as well as in that whoever violates the regularities would be held accountable. Further to this are the dynamic affordances of this interactional setting, with which different interactional roles emerge in the unfolding talk, including a chair-appointed *primary speaker*, a *non-chair non-primary* self-selecting speaker, a *target recipient* of the current speaker, and other co-present participants. Each one of the meeting participants, therefore, not only orients toward the regularities of the structural organisation of the talk, but also enacts upon a variety of interactionally constructed roles taken by him/herself *vis-a-vis* other co-participants; in doing that, s/he deploys a wide range of multimodal interactional resources, including verbal resources such as prosody, lexical-grammar and vocalisation devices, and other bodily-visual multimodal resources such as body-positioning, hand-gesture, eye-gaze direction, son on and so forth.

5.3   Speaker transition during roundtable update discussion

In this section, altogether 11 selected cases of speaker transitions during sequences of the *roundtable update discussion* are analysed, which are categorised into the six sub-sections as introduced above.

5.3.1   *Non-chair self-selection: toward non-gazing recipient*

In the following extract (see Segment 2 in Appendix II for full transcript), I will analyse a case of self-selection initiated by a *non-chair, non-primary* participant, Dan, toward a

non-gazing *target recipient*, Mark; Dan makes two different attempts of self-selection during a longer stretch of talk, where himself and Mark are seated on the same side of the desk (see Fig.1). In other words, in both attempt of Dan's self-selection, the target recipient's gaze is not displayed until the verbal self-selecting turn is initiated. Prior to Ex. 5.3.11, Mark has been selected as the *primary speaker* by the meeting chair Paul, and has been reporting on the update for around 1 minute. Meanwhile, Paul is playing the role of the chair by giving brief responses to Mark's update talk such as 'yeah' and 'mhm' (lines 2, 9), and reformulating the talk into a gist/upshot (lines 10, 13) from time to time.

Ex. 5.3.11 Part A (first attempt, lines 1-35)

```
1    MAR: (.) cos ⌈we DID⌉≈
2    PAU:         ⌊ mhm  ⌋
3    MAR: ≈ Δat theΔ STAR:T↘ we talked about↗ (0.3) logistics didn't
4         we- we talked about↗ (0.4) we'd start to pla:n↗
5         (0.7) if Δyou're gonna to buil it- say on theΔ north coast what
6         (.) likely ports would you u:se↗ what kind of distances↘
7         (0.5)
8    MAR: ⌈ so ⌉ looking at↗
9    PAU: ⌊yeah↘⌋
```


Fig.1 DAN gaze/body (L10)

```
10   PAU: (.) talk about &how the: ports ⌈    or  uh    ⌉ ≈
11   MAR:                                ⌊IMPLICATIONS of ⌋ ≈
12   DAN:                                ⌊((clears throat))⌋
                        &DAN nod, gaze front
13   PAU: ≈ ⌈&expanding and stuff↘⌋ yeah↘≈
14   MAR: ≈ ⌊& whe:re  you would↗ ⌋
            &DAN reposition upper torso, gaze MAR
```
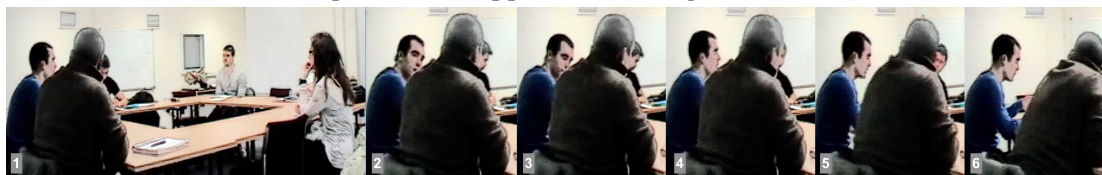

Fig.2 DAN/MAR gaze/body (L14-19)

```
15   DAN: ≈°go into de⌈tails↘  ⌉°≈
16   PAU:            ⌊°¥yeah°↗ ⌋≈
                     ¥MAR gaze DAN
17   MAR: ≈ &yeah↘¥
          &DAN gaze front, nod
            ¥MAR gaze downward, then front
18        (1.0)
19   MAR: but YEAH I would &keep it basic at the start↘ °so° when I move
                           &DAN gaze MAR, upper body lean forward
```

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```
20        on from toda:y↘
21        (0.9)
22  MAR: basically try and look at a- a total Gantt char:t↗ (0.3)
23        business wi:se↗≈
24  PAU: ≈yeah↗≈
25  MAR: ≈what who: Δwould applyΔ for funding↗ (.) where↗ (0.7) and
26        then↘ as we get into more details I can apply:↗
27        (0.9)
28  MAR: °apply those↗°≈
29  PAU: ≈yea:h↘ Δare you gonna be talkingΔ &abou:t↗ like↗ the supply:
                                          &DAN gaze front, nod

30        chai:n ⌈  °as  well° ⌉
31  MAR:        ⌊ΔThat's what I'm⌋ THINKING ofΔ YEAH cos you you've got
32        to allow Δfor that &I think↗Δ
                              &DAN lean back, R hand touch nose

33  PAU: (0.3) yeah↘≈
34  MAR: ≈ that's a &huge (.) °part of the cost yeah°≈
                    &DAN R hand down, lean forward
35  DAN: ≈ &°uh°
        &DAN gaze MAR, shuffle upper body back and forth
```


Fig.3 DAN body/gaze (L29–35)

First attempt (lines 1-35)

The following analysis firstly looks at Dan's first attempt of self-selection. As *Extract 5.3.11*
starts, Mark and Paul are engaged in competitive exchanges marked with overlapping
utterances (lines 8-9, 10-11, 13-14, 15-16). It is exactly during this overlapping talk when Dan,
a *non-chair non-primary* speaker, gradually makes himself available for an up-coming
self-selection to propose a shift of the current participation framework. As a co-present
participant and recipient of the conversation between Mark and Paul, Dan is actively engaging
in their on-going talk with his vocal and bodily display, (Figure1-2) including head-nods,
gazing at Paul while he speaks (line 10) and throating-clearing at overlapping talk (line 12).
His engagement shows that he is closely monitoring the two current speakers. He then
displays a reposition of his upper torso and a redirection of eye-gaze toward Mark (lines
13-14), which can be seen as his attempt to gain recipiency from his potential recipient, Mark.

Next, right after the overlapping talk is resolved at Paul's 'yeah↘' at line 13, Dan places his verbal turn '°go into details↘°' at line 15, which is directed to Mark judging by his gaze direction at Mark; this turn is possibly a brief assessment of or a turn extension to Mark's previous turn. Dan then receives a verbal response from Paul in overlap ('°yeah°↗', line 16), and both bodily and verbal responses from Mark - the brief mutual gaze at line 16, and the 'yeah↘' in latching at line 17. Yet the mutual gaze is soon disestablished as Dan and Mark, one after another, shifts away their gaze (line 17). Following a 1-second pause (line 18), Mark self-selects to continue his update as the *primary speaker*, resuming the previous participation framework in which Paul plays the role of the chair (line 19 onwards). After realising that the floor is rendered to Mark, Dan draws upon bodily-visual resources and continue to actively display his recipiency toward Mark as Mark's extended verbal turn unfolds at lines 19-28. Such recipiency displays include nodding (line 17), leaning his torqued upper body forward and redirecting his gaze toward Mark (Figure 3, line 19). At lines 29-32 comes Paul's verbal turn, which is a request for additional information from Mark ('Δare you gonna be talkingΔ abou:t↗ like↗ the supply chai:n', line 29), and Mark's responding verbal turn to Paul ('ΔThat's what I'm THINKING of YEAH', line 31). What follows on line 34 is a brief sequence-closing assessment ending with decreased loudness ('that's a huge (.) °part of the cost yeah°', 34), produced by Mark. During this stretch of talk, Dan displays his readiness for another attempt of self-selection. He firstly starts to frequently reposition his upper body posture and his right hand (Figure 3, lines 29, 32, 34-35); then, right at Mark's TRP on line 34, he shifts his gaze at Mark and produces the vocalisation '°uh°' (line 35). The sequential positioning of his embodied and vocal conduct therefore shows Dan's display of incipient speakership.

Up till now, I have shown how Dan's self-selection is 'prefaced' vocally and bodily-visually, and how, after losing the floor, he resorts to embodied resources as an actively-engaged recipient, who gradually makes himself available for the upcoming slot in the ongoing talk-in-interaction. The following two parts of analysis of the rest of the extract therefore shows Dan's second attempt of self-selection: at the turn beginning (lines 38-41), and during the turn extension (lines 41-45).

Ex. 5.3.11 Part B (second attempt, lines 36-41)

```
36        (0.7)
37   PAU: °um that'll be good°≈
38   DAN: ≈o- OBVIOU¥sly &to do the cost↘ benefit analysis you need more
                    &DAN gaze MAR, lean back, turn toward MAR
               ¥MAR gaze DAN
39        $de&% tails: as we said↘
           $TOM look up at DAN, then look down
              &DAN gaze front, then MAR
               %CLA lean upward, gaze DAN
```


Fig.4 Mar/DAN/TOM/PAU/CLA gaze/body (L38-39)

```
40   MAR: (.) ye⌈¥ah↘ ⌉
41   DAN:     ⌊¥to  ⌋&$wards↗ #uh: &¥hh (0.4)   &wha- HOW long↘
                ¥MAR look down, lean backward, nod, R hand scratch head
                   &DAN gaze front, R hand point forward
                   $TOM look up, nod
                        #PAU nod
                          &DAN gaze MAR, lean forward,
                            retract R hand gesture
                           ¥MAR gaze DAN
                               &DAN gaze downward
                                 front, R hand gesture
```


Fig.5 MAR/DAN gaze and gesture (L41)

Second Attempt: turn-beginning (beyond first TCU) (lines 36-41)

Dan's verbal self-selection is initiated in latching with Paul's sequence-final assessment on line 37. Soon after the turn beginning hitches 'o- OBVIOUsly', which could be used by a speaker to draw attention from a non-gazing recipient (in this case, Mark) (cf. C. Goodwin, 1980), Mark responds to Dan with gaze; hence mutual gaze between Dan and Mark is established, and Dan having secured Mark's displayed recipiency successfully (Figure 4, line 38). After securing the floor, Dan leans backward and twists his upper body further left toward

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Mark (Figure 4, line 38). Meanwhile, recipiency display from Mark through eye-gaze is sustained throughout the whole TCU ('`to do the cost`↘ `benefit analysis you need more details: as we said`↘', lines 38-39); as the turn reaches its TRP with a falling intonation ('`as we said`↘'), Dan shifts his eye-gaze to the front 'home position' (Sacks & Schegloff, 2002) towards the whole group where other co-participants are seated. While Paul is gazing toward Dan already, Tom and Clare, one after another, ceases note-taking and respond to Dan with eye gaze within this TCU (Figure 4, line 39). This is done only briefly though, and Dan's gaze is soon redirected back to Mark (Figure 4, line 39). This embodied conduct displays Dan's dual-orientation toward his co-participants. To be precise, by orienting his upper torso toward the two parties, his on-going turn is not only addressed to Mark, his *primary/target recipient*, who is also the *current primary speaker* throughout this broader sequence, but also to the other co-participants, who are being actively engaged in the current participation framework.

Passing Dan's TRP on line 39, Mark produces a brief response token ('`yeah`↘', which slightly overlaps with the beginning of Dan's upcoming turn extension ('`towards`↗ `uh:  hh (0.4) wha- HOW long`↘', line 41). This turn increment consists of a prepositional phrase, modifying '`more details`' in the previous TCU; starting with a preposition '`towards`', it is therefore projecting that there is more to come for this possibly complete turn. Further, Dan employs a series of interactional devices in respond to the overlapping utterance with Mark, including the vocalisation '`uh:`', the exhalation, the brief pause and the repair initiator ('`wha- HOW`'); such devices also work to hold the floor and prepare himself for the next-item-due (cf. Fox, Hayashi, & Jasperson, 1996, p. 204; Schegloff et al., 1977).

Simultaneously, Dan and Mark's embodied display also work to negotiate speakership and recipiency as shown in Figure 5, which adds another layer of understanding to this stretch of talk. After Mark's '`yeah`↘' and during Dan's initiation of his turn extension ('`towards`'), Mark displays a series of bodily-visual practices; he leans backward, moves gaze direction downward, scratches the back of his head using his right hand and nods. Meanwhile, right after Mark disestablishes mutual-gaze, Dan also re-directs his gaze toward the two co-participants, Tom and Paul, with his right hand pointing forward (Figure 5, line 41). Soon, Tom and Paul both acknowledge Dan's bodily orientation with slight but noticeable head-nods (Figure 5, line 41).

Here, Dan's action trajectory can be seen as a part of his 'floor-holding device' (the verbal/vocal part of this device has been discussed above), by which Dan turns to elicit other co-participants' displayed recipiency when he temporarily loses the recipiency from Mark, who is his primary addressee/recipient. After that, Dan continues to hold the floor and delay the up-coming turn with an exhalation ('hh (0.4)', line 41). At the meantime, he retracts his pointing gesture, leans his upper body further forward and turns his head/gaze direction back to Mark again (Figure 4). At this point right before he produces verbal utterance 'wha- HOW long↘', he has successfully re-established mutual eye-gaze with Mark, whom his turn is primarily addressed to. To put simply, throughout the turn-beginning utterances on line 41, Dan has assembled a series of vocal, verbal and bodily-visual resources to put the turn-at-talk on-hold, with the whole action trajectory emerging in accordance with Mark's bodily display to withdraw recipiency; after that, the mutual orientation between Dan and Mark resumes and the talk continues, as it will be analysed below.

Ex. 5.3.11 Part C (second attempt, lines 41-47)

```
40    MAR:    (.) ye⌈¥ah↘ ⌉
41    DAN:         ⌊¥to  ⌋&$wards↗ #uh:  &¥hh (0.4)   &wha- HOW long↘
                 ¥MAR look down, lean backward, nod, R hand scratch head
                      &DAN gaze front, R hand point forward
                      $TOM look up, nod
```



```
                                     #PAU nod
                                         &DAN gaze MAR, lean forward,
                                           retract R hand gesture
                                         ¥MAR gaze DAN
                                                 &DAN gaze downward
                                                front, R hand gesture




                                     Fig.5 MAR/DAN gaze and gesture (L41)
42        what time you &nee:d↘ ·hh (.)
                        &DAN gaze front(PAU/JOH)

43        &for us to give you the &⛛final detailed↗ &desi:gn↘⛛
          &DAN gaze MAR            &DAN gaze front    &DAN gaze MAR
```

Fig.6 MAR/DAN gaze/body (L42-43)

```
44        (.)¥Δso you canΔ      ¥do: the       ¥wor:k↘ &before↗
            ¥MAR gaze front,    ¥MAR gaze DAN ¥MAR gaze front
             open mouth,                           &DAN gaze front
             R hand under chin,
             upper body shuffles
```


Fig.7 MAR/DAN gaze/body (L44)

```
45        ¥(.)      &Δdue     time↘Δ
          ¥MAR gaze DAN
              &DAN retract gesture
```


Fig.8 MAR/DAN gaze/body (L45-46)

```
46    MAR:& (.)¥uh- ↑WHAT I'd like to do it set it all ¥up↘
            &DAN gaze MAR
              ¥MAR gaze downward front              ¥MAR gaze DAN
47        (0.6)
```

Second Attempt: turn-extensions (lines 41-47)

Next, I will analyse Dan's multiple turn extensions, in order to take a further look at the
collaborative verbal/embodied display between the *non-chair non-primary self-selecting*
speaker, the *primary speaker* and other co-participants. During Dan's multiple turn extensions
(lines 41-45) to his previous TCU, Dan's verbal and embodied production continues to display
his dual-orientation toward his *primary/target recipient*, Mark (lines 41, 43, 46), and other
co-participants (lines 41, 42, 43, 44), as unpacked below.

Dan's turn extension contains three distinguishable increments. When producing the first

increment, a prepositional phrase modifying the previous turn (`hh (0.4) wha- HOW long↘ what time you need↘ ·hh (.)`, line 41-42), Dan redirects his gaze toward the front 'home position' (Sacks & Schegloff, 2002) and face the other co-participants twice, before and after he briefly exchanges mutual gaze with Mark (Figure 5). Then, during the second increment, a purpose clause (`for us to give you the ∇final detailed↗ desi:gn↘∇`, line 43), Dan redirects his gaze back to Mark at the beginning (`for us to give you`) and end (`desi:gn↘`), but orients to the group during the rest utterance of the increment (`the final detailed↗`) (Figure 6).

Now to compare the two speaker's bodily displays during Dan's first and second increments: whereas Mark has displayed his recipiency to Dan with gaze, Dan's gaze is oriented to the other co-participants for most of the time, and only toward his *primary recipient*, Mark, for several brief mutual eye-gaze. These are established at the beginnings (`hh (0.4)`, `for us to`) and possible completion point (`desi:gn↘`), which are the transition places where Dan's speakership may be at risk (Figure 6).

For Dan's third and last turn increment, which is also a purpose clause (`so you can do: the wor:k↘ before↗ (.)△due time△↘`, line 44-45), Dan and Mark display their bodily-visual movements differently as before. Mark initiates a withdrawal of his recipiency toward Dan's ongoing talk, by redirecting his gaze and shuffles his upper body back and forth (Figure 7, lines 44). Meanwhile, he also displays incipient speakership by showing his readiness to talk through opening his mouth and placing his right hand under his chin (Figure 7, lines 44). Meanwhile, Dan does not align with Mark's action trajectory of competing for the floor, but makes extra efforts to hold the floor to himself: verbally and vocally, during his turn production, his prosodic pattern places emphasis on `do:` and `wor:k↘` (line 44) by using varied pace and sound duration; he also draws his recipients' attention by inserting a micro pause after a rising intonation at the TRP `before↗ (.)△due time△↘` (lines 44-45); bodily-visually, he maintains his gaze direction toward Mark until the TRP (`do: the wor:k`, line 44), and soon redirects his gaze toward 'home position' (Sacks & Schegloff, 2002) facing other co-participants at `before↗` on line 44 (Figure 7, lines 44). Further, it can be noted that through out the three increments, Dan mobilises his right hand for another extended phase of gesticulation as soon as

he retracted the pointing gesture on line 41 (Figure 5-7, lines 41-44); at the point when his verbal talk reaches a closing at '△due time↘△', he simultaneously retracts his right hand gesture (Figure 8, line 45). Soon after that, Mark's attention was finally drawn to Dan with gaze (Figure 8, line 45). Then, Mark takes over the floor and produces a verbal turn in respond to Dan on line 46.

After analysing this second attempt of self-selection, I now compare Dan and Mark's bodily-visual practices at various sequential positions throughout this sequence. Firstly, it can be noticed that Dan's bodily display at the first TCU (Figure 4, line 38-39) resembles what he displayed at final increment (Figure 7-8, lines 44-45), where he has just yet gained, or started to lose the recipiency from his *primary recipient*, Mark. Therefore, at these junctures, to consolidate and/or re-gain Mark's displayed recipiency is the primary task to Dan, and to address his ongoing talk to the rest of the group is secondary. It thus explains Dan's prolonged gaze toward his *primary/target recipient* and brief gaze toward other co-participants around TRPs. Secondly, during the middle two increments of his turn extension (Figure 5-6, lines 41-43), Dan has secured prolonged gaze from Mark, therefore to consolidate Mark's recipiency becomes less of a primary interactional task. As can be told from Dan's gaze direction movements, his dual-orientation toward Mark and other co-participants at these places becomes more equally distributed. It is therefore clearly shown that the two attempts of Dan's self-selection are carried out as a joint-accomplishment amongst co-participants, through their intertwined verbal and bodily-visual investments according to the locally-emerging contingencies.

In the next extract, I will analyse another case of self-selection initiated by Dan as a *non-primary speaker*. But this time it is toward Paul, the meeting chair, at the moment when he has just made his update as the current primary speaker, and raised a question to the whole group of co-participants (see Segment 8 in Appendix II for full transcript). Same as the previous case, the *primary/target recipient* does not respond with gaze until passing the beginning of Dan's verbal self-selecting turn. Yet what is different from the previous case is that Paul, the *primary/target recipient*, is seated face-to-face across the squared desks with Dan, the self-selecting speaker.

Ex. 5.3.12 Part A (lines 1-11)

```
1     PAU: #u:m:: ·hhh (0.7) !kk (.) °trying to think-° uh: I'm just
           #PAU look down, clap hands
2          trying to think of this↘ #(0.6) duct↗ #&twenty meter duct↘
                                          #PAU hands touch eyes
                                               #PAU gaze front
                                                 &DAN lean backward
```


Fig.1 DAN/PAU gaze/body (L1-3)

```
3     JOH: & (.)yeah
           &DAN lean forward
4          £(1.2)
           £JOH gaze PAU
```


Fig.2 JOH/PAU gaze (L4-5)(Enlarged)

Fig.3 JOH/PAU gaze (L4-5)

```
5     JOH: Δ°&£it's a twenty two meter #duct £but yeah↘°Δ≈
           &DAN lean backward         #PAU gaze JOH
            £JOH gaze DAN                 £JOH gaze PAU
6     PAU: ≈ twenty two #meter duct↘≈
                        #PAU gaze front
7     JOH: ≈ yeah↘
8          & (0.5)
           &DAN lean forward
```


Fig.4 DAN/PAU body/gaze (L6-10)

```
9     PAU: is there ANY:↑ twenty two meter duct in the world↘≈
10    DAN: ≈ #°huh-uh°
              #PAU gaze JOH
```

11   (0.7)

At the beginning of *Extract 5.3.12*, Paul starts formulating the question about the 'twenty-metre duct', with hesitations and hedges (lines 1-3); whereas John responds to him with a correction ('Δ°it's a twenty two meter duct but yeah↘°Δ', lines 3, 5), which was then accepted by Paul (line 6) and further confirmed by John (line 7). Although not vocally participating in this stretch talk, Dan mobilises his bodily display in tune with the two vocal participants, therefore displaying his active recipiency, and, possibly, speakership incipiency. Passing the TRP and during the 0.6-second pause of his verbal turn ('I'm just trying to think of this↘ (0.6)', line 2), Paul's gaze direction is gradually re-directed toward the front 'home position', at which point Dan starts to slightly shuffle his upper torso back and forth (Figure 1, lines 2-3). After this slight body movement which does not draw the attention from either of the vocal participants, Dan initiates another body movement. He inclines his upper torso backward again in a slightly bigger angle as John starts his verbal turn directed to Paul at the beginning of John's verbal turn 'it's a twenty two meter duct but yeah' on line 5, which is shown in Figure 3. This time, John notices Dan's movement and briefly gazes at Dan during his own verbal turn beginning, as shown by an enlarged view given in Figure 2. Yet John's attention is soon drawn back to Paul, the target recipient of his on-gong talk who just starts to display recipiency to him in gaze approaching the end of this turn (also shown in the enlarged view in Figure 2, line 5). Also, during the swift verbal exchanges between Paul and John on lines 5-7, Dan sustains his upper-torso backward inclination (Figure 3); this 'shift and put on-hold' bodily conduct is Dan's second attempt to initiate a shift of participation framework --- possibly a shift of his own role from a recipient to an incipient speaker.

Then, Dan resumes the 'home position' of his upper torso (Figure 3, line 8) during the 0.5-second pause, after which Paul raises the question ('is there ANY:↑ twenty two meter duct in the world↘', line 9). Here, note that Paul's gaze is re-directed to the front 'home position' (Sacks & Schegloff, 2002) since the end of line 6, and maintained throughout his question on line 9 (Figure 4), therefore a display of his orientation that the question delivered by his verbal turn on line 9 is open to all co-participants. To respond, Dan quickly produces a soft but hearable laughter ('°huh-uh°', line 10) latched onto Paul's turn-final, which can be seen as response as well as his display his availability as the next speaker for this question. Yet at the

same time as Dan's laughter, Paul moves his head and hence his gaze toward John (Figure 4, line 10). Paul's gaze movement here exerts double-effect: first, this re-direction of gaze at his turn-final position displays his orientation that his verbal turn, i.e. the question, is now directed primarily to John, making John's response the next relevant action; second, as his gaze is now away from the front-facing 'home position', it entails the need for Dan to secure his recipiency at a later stage, which will be looked at shortly.

Ex. 5.3.12 Part B (lines 12-16)

```
12    JOH: u⌈h:: ⌉
13    DAN: ⌊well⌋ there &must #£be↘≈
                        &DAN gaze PAU
                          #PAU gaze DAN
                          £JOH gaze DAN

14    JOH: ≈yeah↘≈
```


Fig.5 PAU/JOH gaze (L13-14)

```
15    PAU: ≈°what's ⌈#£that↗°⌉
16    DAN:          ⌊#£   the⌋re must be £Δbecause there'sΔ some
                    #PAU hands under chin
                     £JOH gaze PAU        £JOH gaze DAN
```


Fig.6 PAU's body posture and JOH's gaze shift (L15-16)

```
17       already some &tidal &turbine Δ&existing &ductedΔ I think↗≈
                      &DAN gaze JOH    &DAN gaze JOH
                         &DAN gaze PAU      &DAN gaze PAU

18    PAU: ≈ ye⌈ah ⌉ but they're not that↓ big are they↗
19    DAN:    ⌊uhm⌋
20       (0.5)
```

During the microseconds on lines 12-16 marked with latching and overlapping, Dan successfully places a verbal self-selecting turn. I will now uncover step-by-step the coordinative verbal and bodily-visual displays amongst participants, mainly focusing on Dan

(the *non-chair non-primary* self-selecting speaker), Paul (the chair and current primary speaker) and John (a vocal co-participant).

First, lines 12-13 are analysed as follows. Upon the arrival of Paul's gaze and his verbal turn which solicits a response from John (see Part A, Figure 4, lines 9-10), John holds the floor with a lengthened hesitation token 'uh::' on line 12. Meanwhile, Dan also vocally respond to Paul; he places an early entry of his self-selecting turn 'well there must be↘' (line 13), with the beginning partly overlapping John's hesitating 'uh::'. Next, in response to Dan's self-selection, Paul and John both retracts eye-gaze from each other at the same time, and redirects to Dan by the end of the on-going TCU (Figure 5, line 13); Dan thereby successfully gains displayed recipiency from Paul, his target recipient, at this point. It can also be seen in Figure 5 that the other two co-present participants, Clare and Mark, also re-direct their gaze toward Dan at his self-selection.

I will now analyse the next bit of talk on lines 14-16. Firstly, quickly after a redirection of gaze, John accompanies the action with a verbal response token 'yeah↘' toward Dan, latched with Dan's turn-final (line 14). Secondly, latched onto John's 'yeah↘' is Paul's verbal turn '°what's that↗°' as his response to Dan's verbal turn, possibly a repair initiator and clarification request due to hearing issues caused by the previous overlapping talk, or simply eliciting further information from Dan. Paul then accompanies his verbal turn with a bodily-visual practice – he slightly leans forward and places both of his hands under his chin (Figure 5-6, line 15) – which is a display of his attentive listenership and a 'go-ahead' action which relinquishes the floor over to Dan. Finally, Dan continues to produce his turn in full on line 16, with a recycled beginning from his previous turn 'there must be' on line 13. Also it is worth noticing that although seen on the transcript this is a few lines away due to the annotations, the timing between Dan's two verbal turns are in fact produced in mere microseconds. By placing this second turn, Dan is on one hand treating his previous attempt of self-selection on line 13 as impaired (cf. C. Goodwin, 1979) due to the delayed recipiency display and overlapping utterance; on the other, he responds to Paul's turn '°what's that↗°' (line 15) and therefore treats it as a repair initiator (cf. Schegloff, 1987b). In terms of John, from line 12 onwards, he gradually shifts his own role in the evolving participation framework, from a selected

next-speaker (line 12) to an attentive recipient (lines 13-16) co-participating in the on-going talk, which can be told by his shifts of gaze direction, closely monitoring the exchanges between Dan and Paul (Figure 5-6).

In this case, Dan's mobilisation of bodily-visual resources, which displays his orientation as an attentive recipient and an incipient speaker, can be found similar to the previous case in *Extract 5.3.11 Part A*. However, Dan's action trajectory of self-selection, especially the delivery of his self-selecting verbal turn, is accomplished without displaying additional bodily-visual practices compared with the previous case in *Extract 5.3.11 Part B/C*. There are two explanations to this difference: first, Dan's verbal turn in this case is relatively brief and short, which entails less challenges in securing the recipient's gaze; second, the seating arrangement in this case is different from *Extract 5.3.11*, as Paul, his *target recipient*, is seated face-to-face with him and therefore easily accessible for Dan to solicit mutual gaze. Nevertheless, this case of self-selection also illustrates co-participants' mobilisation of multimodal resources in a collaborative and coordinative manner. Taking the role of the chair, Paul's treatment to Dan's verbal self-selection is done in a delicate and progressive way, by initially establishing mutual gaze (line 13), then verbally soliciting repair/clarification upon Dan's self-selecting turn (line 15), and finally relinquishing the floor to Dan and displaying his embodied recipiency (line 16). Also, upon being selected as the primary addressee of Paul's question, John delays his next turn with hesitation (line 12), and gradually shifts his participation role to a recipient by closely monitoring the swift transition of speakership from Dan (line 13) to Paul (line 15) and back to Dan (line 16) with his gaze direction.

In addition, during Dan's verbal utterance on line 17, he redirects his gaze twice in-between John and Paul, which can be seen in his head movements[39]. This action trajectory is also comparable to the case in *Ex. 5.3.11* in which Dan displays more noticeable re-directions of upper-torso and gaze as his 'dual-orientation'. What can be told up until now is, therefore, 'next speaker self-selects' cases are far from straight-forward, linear procedures following the turn-taking system, and a fuller picture can be gained when taking into consideration the

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[39] Dan's slight head movements here, although noticeable in the video-recording, are too nuanced to be shown in screenshots.

physical seating arrangements, the wider sequential environment before and after the self-selecting action, and more importantly, participants' mobilisation of multimodal resources to carry out and/or respond to the developing courses of self-selecting actions.

5.3.2   Non-chair self-selection: toward gazing recipient

The following extract contains a case of self-selection that is initiated by John, a *non-chair*, *non-primary* speaker, toward Mark, who is the current primary speaker (see Segment 3 in Appendix II for full transcript of this sequence). In this case, Mark engages in mutual gaze with John prior to John's turn-beginning position (lines 10-24, Part A), whereas the two participants are seated face-to-face with each other. During this inserted sequence during Mark's on-going update, the two participants both invest extra interactional work, verbally and bodily-visually, in gaining, consolidating and competing for speakership as well as soliciting and displaying recipiency (lines 24-49, Part B and C). In particular, Mark attempts multiple times to compete for the floor during John's extended turns (lines 34-39, Part C). The sequence is closed with another self-selection, made by the meeting chair, Paul, which is analysed in Section 5.3.3 (see Ex. 5.3.31).

Ex. 5.3.21 Part A (lines 10-24)

```
10   MAR: (0.6) and not- MAYBE ask for details Δcos they won't give usΔ
11        like ¥business details ¥and just ask for:
              ¥MAR gaze JOH      ¥MAR gaze downward front
12        (0.3)
13   JOH: £·hhhhh
          £JOH lean forward, hands under chin
```


Fig.1 MAR/JOH/PAU body position (L11-13)

```
14   MAR: £what kind of plans are you looking at Δwhat kind of plansΔ
          £JOH shuffle upper torso
```

```
15        have ¥you used        ¥in the pa:st≈
            ¥MAR gaze front ¥MAR gaze downward front
```


Fig.2 JOH/MAR body/gaze (L14-15)

```
16    PAU: ≈ yeah≈
17    MAR: ≈ what's been successful↗ and ¥£hopefully ∆if we get some∆
                                        ¥MAR gaze upward right
                                         £JOH nod
18        ¥responses
           ¥MAR gaze JOH
19        £(1.2)
           £JOH raise eyebrow
```


Fig.3 JOH/MAR body/gaze (L17-19)

```
20    PAU: yeah↗ ⌈ °that's   good↗° ⌉
21    MAR:       ⌊∆¥that's what I'd∆⌋ like to do↘
                ¥MAR gaze downward front
```


Fig.4 PAU/MAR body/gaze (L22-25)

```
22        #(1.2)
           #PAU put on pen cap
23    PAU: &hhh¥h
            &PAU gaze MAR
             ¥MAR gaze JOH
24    JOH: are you looking at #the cost of the #project too↘
                            #PAU gaze JOH      #PAU gaze downward front
                                                take off pen cap
```

```
25   MAR: (0.4) #YEAH I mean ¥I'd LI:KE to↘ (.) I mean Δtha-¥I think
            #PAU write notes                              ¥MAR lean
                    ¥MAR lean backward                     forward
```

Pre-turn and turn beginning: John self-selects (lines 10-24)

Extract 5.3.21 starts halfway during Mark's update in extended turns that are addressed to the
whole group of co-participants. Paul, as the meeting chair, is closely attending to Mark's update,
giving brief responses (lines 16, 20), and taking notes for the meeting record from time to time
(lines 11, 24). Specifically, during Mark's turn-in-progress on line 10, Paul is engaged in
note-taking and therefore not engaged in any eye contact (Figure 1). Meanwhile, Mark
intermittently glances at his co-participants, including John, when approaching the TRPs in his
multi-unit turn and then quickly shifts his gaze back on the desk, where his meeting notes are
placed (Figure 1, 2, 3, lines 11, 15, 18). Now to unpack this process, I will start by focusing on
lines 11-19. Passing Mark's brief glance on line 11 and right after the brief pause in the middle
of the on-going TCU on line 12, John produces a longer, audible out-breath, and changes his
body position from sitting back in the chair to leaning forward on the desk, placing his hands
under his chin (Figure 2, line 13). Possibly, this body movement is John's attempt of showing
increased attentiveness of listenership toward Mark, as well as his readiness to take the next
available slot. Yet Mark does not respond to John's bodily conduct until later. Here, Mark
continues his turn-at-talk on lines 14-18, and left his utterance hanging at an if-clause
(`hopefully Δif we get someΔ responses`, line 17-18) with a long pause of 1.2 seconds (line
19).

After the longer pause, Paul gives a brief positive verbal assessment `yeah↗ °that's good↗°`,
overlapping Mark's sequence-final closing `Δthat's what I'dΔ like to do↘`; it is then
followed with another 1.2-second longer pause (line 22). It is precisely at this juncture that Paul
as the meeting chair, Mark as the primary speaker and John as the *non-chair non-primary*
possible next speaker all propose a shift in the current participation framework, yet with
different orientations, as I will explicate in the following. Firstly, Paul slowly leans upward,
putting the pen cap back on, and produces a prolonged out-breath while gazing toward Mark
(Figure 4, lines 22-23); by doing this, Paul shows that he is switching from his previous
engagement, that is, observing and note-taking, to a different engagement, possibly to proceed

to the next update talk. Then, right by the end of Paul's out-breath, Mark looks upward and establishes mutual gaze with John (Figure 4, line 23), which is likely a response to his previously displayed incipient speakership on line13 (Figure 1). In response to Mark's gaze, John immediately starts his verbal turn 'are you looking at the cost of the project too↘', a question addressed directly to Mark (line 24). Passing the turn beginning, Paul re-directs his gaze to John only briefly, then quickly looks down toward the desk while taking off the pen cap and starting taking notes again (Figure 4, lines 24-25). By doing this, the meeting chair Paul is therefore acknowledging John's initiation of an inserted sequence as legitimate and switches back to his previous engagement --- note-taking and observation. At this point onwards, John has successfully secured gaze from his target recipient, Mark, and gained speakership in the established participation framework.

Ex. 5.3.21 Part B (lines 24-33)
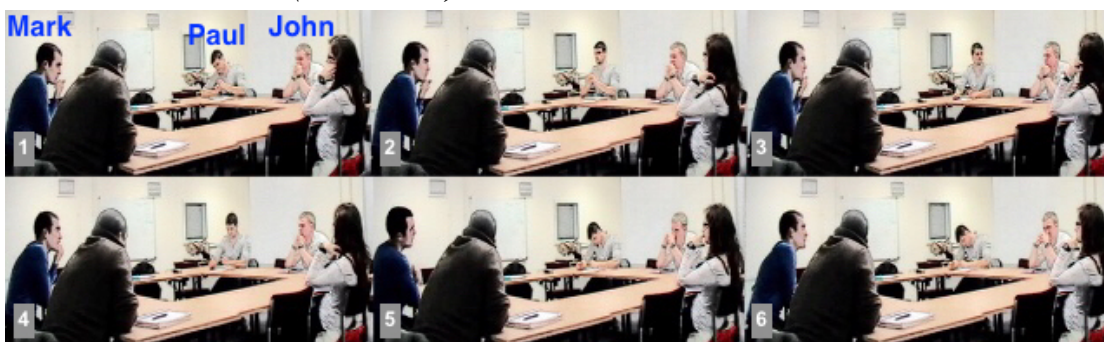
Fig.4 PAU/MAR/JOH body/gaze (L22-25)

```
22        #(1.2)
          #PAU put on pen cap
23   PAU:  &hhh¥h
           &PAU gaze MAR
              ¥MAR gaze JOH
24   JOH: are you looking at #the cost of the #£project too↘
                             #PAU gaze JOH      #PAU gaze downward front
                                                 take off pen cap
                                                £JOH touch nose
25   MAR: (0.4) #YEAH I mean ¥I'd LI:KE to↘ (.) I mean Δtha-¥I think
               #PAU write notes                          ¥MAR lean
                        ¥MAR lean backward                forward
26        that's gonna be difficultΔ to predict↘
27   JOH: (0.2) ye£ah↘
               £JOH hands under chin
```

Fig.5 JOH hands/body (L27-31)

```
28          (0.5)
29   JOH:  £⌈ ·hh  ⌉              ⌈ °bu-° ⌉
30   MAR:  ⌊because⌋ Δobviously ⌊we don't⌋ knowΔ ho:w↗ (.)
             £JOH hands movement
31         ⌈difficult⌉ it would be to (.)£manufacture≈
32   JOH:  ⌊ °su-°  ⌋
                                   £JOH nod
33   MAR:  ≈ °tha-kind-of-⌈thing⌉°
```

Base sequence: first pair part and second pair part (lines 24-33)

The talk on line 24-33 constitutes the base sequence with an enquiry and a response. After John's first pair part (FPP) question directed to Mark (ʻare you looking at the cost of the project too↘', line 24), Mark skillfully produces his second pair part (SPP), consisting of a mitigated 'no-like' response that is prefaced with a positive response. To unpack how Mark's action trajectory, first, Mark partially agrees with John's enquiry by showing his willingness to take over this work (ʻYEAH I mean I'd LI:KE to↘', line 25), claiming his affiliative stance toward John; he then verbalises a restart with a hitch (ʻI mean tha-I think', line 25), which also works to mitigate and delay the upcoming 'no-like' response, ʻthat's gonna be difficult to predict↘', (line 26) treated as dispreferred by Mark (cf. Liddicoat, 2007, pp. 116–117). Meanwhile, Mark slightly inclines his upper torso backward at the turn beginning, and then slightly inclines forward halfway during his 'no-like' response. During Mark's verbal utterance on lines 24-26, John sustains his gaze at Mark, while constantly touching/massaging his nose, which adds a certain degree of instability in his recipiency display toward Mark (Figure 4); he then gives a brief verbal response, a continuer ʻyeah↘' while he places his hands back under his chin.

Mark places an increment to his previous TCU, in the form of a warrant (ʻbecause Δobviously we don't knowΔ ho:w↗ (.)difficult it would be to (.)manufacture≈', lines 30-33), accounting for the reason of his 'no-like', dispreferred response (cf. Liddicoat, 2007, p. 115).

Here, John treats Mark's SPP as an 'arguable move' (cf. Maynard, 1985; H. T. Nguyen, 2011) and makes multiple attempts to enter into Mark's turn in order to gain the floor and express his oppositional view (cf. Liddicoat, 2007, p. 86). Verbally, John produces an in-breath at the turn beginning (line 29) and two cut-offs ('°bu-°', '°su-°' line 29, 32) during the TCU (line 31); bodily-visually, John's hands are constantly engaged in grooming movements, which again adds a certain degree of instability in his recipiency display toward Mark (see Figure 5, compare with lines 24-26, Figure 4). Soon after Mark's turn-final form '°tha-kind-of-thing°' (line 33), John takes up the floor and verbalises his oppositional turn (lines 34-35), which will be unpacked next.

Ex. 5.3.21 Part C (lines 34-49)

```
33   MAR: ≈ °tha-kind-of-⌈thing⌉°
34   JOH:               ⌊su:  ⌋re but in ter:ms o:f (.)¥um: Δobviously
                                             ¥MAR gaze down
35        once we gotΔ a ¥final design ¥you can estimate steelwork≈
                          ¥MAR gaze JOH ¥MAR nod
36   MAR: ≈¥°yeah↘°≈
           ¥MAR nod
37   DAN: ≈ °&yeah↘°≈
             &DAN nod
```


Fig.6 MAR/DAN gaze/body (L33-37)

```
38   JOH: ≈ uh: all the generator and electronic stuff↗ I imagine those
39        ¥prices are availa⌈ble↘⌉
           ¥MAR nod
40   MAR:                ⌊¥yeah↗⌋ ¥that's what I- ⌈I deal↘⌉ in ≈
41   JOH:                                         ⌊  uh   ⌋
                          ¥MAR nod¥MAR lean backward
42   MAR: ≈ °¥actually ye⌈ah⌉°
43   JOH:               ⌊AN⌋D-IF EVEN if it's not an EXA:CT figure↗
           ¥MAR lean forward
```

Fig.7 MAR body position (L40-42)

```
44        (0.4) a ballpark figure is definitely↗ (0.6)
45   MAR: ⌈yeah↘  ⌉ ⌈ i-  ¥if- ⌉
46   JOH: ⌊wor:thy⌋ ⌊Δcos ¥other⌋wiseΔ there's £NO: point
                        ¥MAR lean backward   £JOH open hands
```
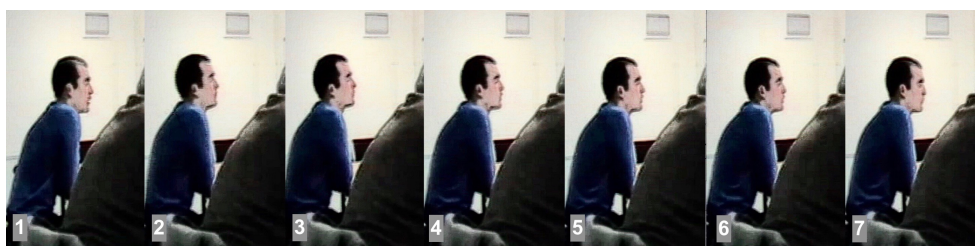

Fig.8 MAR body position (L45-49)
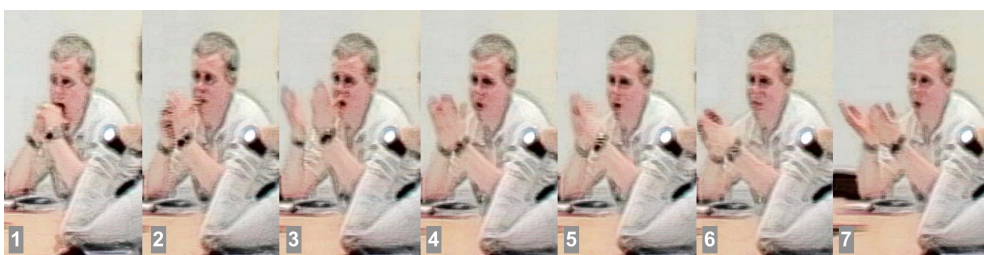
Fig.9 JOH gesture (L46-48)(synced with Fig.8)

```
47        ¥Δus doing the projectΔ £when the whole:↗ (0.6)
          ¥MAR lean forward        £JOH close hands


48        £ba:sis was to redu:ce the £ov⌈erall  ⌉ cost↘
49   MAR:                            ⌊¥yeah↘⌋
          £JOH hands point gesture       ¥MAR nod
                                     £JOH open hands
50   JOH: (0.2) Δand we then find outΔ it's actually more expensive
51        (.) to do this and attach it to wind farmer≈↘
52   MAR: ≈¥ye⌈ah↘⌉
           ¥MAR lean backward
53   JOH:      ⌊then⌋ it £is just to do it ⌈ ¥°it's what is°  ⌉
54   PAU:                                  ⌊¥well↑ that's the⌋ whole
                                            ¥MAR lean forward
                  £JOH retract gesture
55        ¥point ⌈of the⌉ project≈
54   MAR:        ⌊yeah  ⌋
          ¥MAR lean backward, sit back on chair
55   PAU: ≈ ⌈isn't it↘ we want⌉ actuall:y↗
56   MAR:   ⌊ cos we've-yeah↘ ⌋
```

57   (0.3)

__Sequence expansion: competing for the floor (lines 34-49)__

In the sequence expansion from line 34 onwards, John firstly gives a counter-statement to

Mark's SPP (lines 34-35, 38-39), explicating how the cost can be estimated, which is followed

with Mark's acknowledgement (line 40, 42). Soon after that, John provides Mark a

concessional offer by lowering the requirement from exact estimation to ballpark estimation

(lines 43-44, 46), which is acknowledged by Mark again (line 45). Then finally, John ends his

extended turn with an account for his previous action (lines 46-48, 50-51, 53), a dispreferred

opposition, which is accepted by Mark (lines 52, 54, 56). In the analysis below, I will take a

closer look at the first two exchanges between John and Mark, in terms of their reflexive,

coordinative, and sometimes competitive, mobilisation of speakership and recipiency through

verbal and bodily-visual practices.

In the first exchange, as John gains the floor and starts his oppositional turn on line 34, he firstly

produces a positive response 'su:re' in lengthened sound, following a transitional word 'but',

a turn-beginning prepositional phrase 'in ter:ms o:f' and a hesitation marker 'um:', all

vocalized in lengthened sound, thereby delaying his upcoming counter-statement. As John

utters his counter-statement, Mark displays affiliative response and attentive listenership with a

verbal continuer '°yeah↘°' (line 36) and head-nods (Figure 6, lines 35, 36, 39). As soon as

John reaches his TRP, Mark places his verbal turn entry 'yeah↗' on line 40, slightly overlapping

John's turn-final word 'available↘'. Bodily-visually, Mark also shows attempts to gain the

floor: he firstly nods as he utters 'yeah↗' (line 40), and as the verbal turn proceeds, he then

leans his upper torso backward, with his elbows temporarily leaving the desk (Figure 7). Yet

Mark does not hold the floor for long as John soon claims for speakership with a vocalisation

'uh' overlapping Mark's 'I deal↘' (lines 40-41). Closely following this overlap, Mark leans

forward and places his elbows back to where they were in the 'home position' (cf. Sacks &

Schegloff, 2002) (Figure 7, lines 40-42); meanwhile, Mark's verbal utterance continues to

proceed with decreased volume and soon ceases in overlap with John's turn initial 'AND' on line

43.

The second exchange resembles what happens in the first, in the way the overlapping talk is initiated and resolved, but with upgraded complexity as I will unpack as follows. On line 43, John's turn is initiated with a turn-initial restart 'AND-IF EVEN if' in raised volume and stress, and the same in another word 'EXA:CT'. The placed emphases on the if-clause here not only serve to further consolidate Mark's recipiency due to the previous overlap, but also function to preface the upcoming concessional offer toward Mark's previously expressed difficulty in estimating the cost (lines 25-33). As the turn reaches TRP, where a projectable positive adjective word should follow after the adverb 'definitely↗' and a 0.6-second pause (line 44), Mark takes up the concession with a verbal acceptance, attempting to take the floor with both verbal and bodily-visual practices: he produces his turn-initial 'yeah↘ i- if-' overlapping John's turn-in-progress, while he starts to lean his upper torso backward again (Figure 8, line 45). As a way to consolidate his speakership at Mark's turn entry (line 45-46), John firstly produces a stressed, lengthened sound 'wor:thy' on the overlap onset, which marks the completion of the TCU, then increases the pace of delivery of the closely latched TCU beginning '∆cos otherwise∆', which cuts off Mark's verbal turn entry and therefore resolves the verbal overlap.

During John's proceeding verbal TCU, he continues to exploit prosodic resource and embodied conduct to gain and consolidate Mark's displayed recipiency; whereas Mark's embodied action of progressive withdrawal is finely tuned with John's evolving action trajectory step-by-step, as I will explicate next. After Mark drops out of his previous verbal turn and halfway during Mark's body repositioning of leaning backward (Figure 8), John vocalises the word 'NO:' with stress, increased loudness and duration, while initiating an iconic gesture with both hands open (Figure 9, line 46). In response to this, Mark starts to lean forward to his 'home position' (cf. Sacks & Schegloff, 2002) while keeping his mouth open (Figure 8, line 47), which can be seen as an embodied 'standby' position in regard to his previously displayed incipient speakership (cf. Oloff, 2013). Next, as John's on-going turn proceeds, he continues his bodily-visual display that goes hand-in-hand with Mark's progressive drop-out.

Firstly, as can be seen in Figure 9, John slowly closes his hands together during '∆us doing the project∆', then he claps his hands when he utters 'when the whole:↗' and holds two hands together during the 0.6-second pause. Next, he points both hands forward at the word 'ba:sis'

with a prolonged sound and stress (line 47, Figure 9). Further in response to John's emerging action trajectory which shows his willingness to hold the floor, Mark closes his mouth precisely during the emphasised word 'ba:sis' (Figure 8, line 47), which marks his definite withdrawal (cf. Oloff, 2013). As John reaches his TRP 'the overall cost↘' on line 48, he recycles his previous gesture with both hands held open, which he used at the beginning of the TCU (Figure 9, compare with line 46). Finally, Mark starts to display his recipiency after the definite withdrawal, with a verbal continuer 'yeah↘' and a head-nod at the TRP (Figure 8, lines 48-49), as an acceptance and acknowledgement of the warrant John has just vocalised regarding his previous oppositional action.

By looking at this longer sequence of self-selection, I have shown that when participants are seated face-to-face and mutual gaze is easily accessible, how a self-selecting *non-chair non-primary* speaker enters his turn with displayed recipiency from his target recipient, who is the chair-appointed *primary speaker*. I have also shown how the base sequence of an enquiry and response is expanded into several speech exchanges starting from an oppositional turn and evolved in an affiliative way between the two speakers. During their turns-at-talk, the participants' intertwined and collaborative bodily-visual displays, especially their body positioning and gesture-in-talk, have largely extended our understandings of the verbal turn-taking procedures. Although John's on-going turn continues to unfold (lines 50-57), it will not be analysed here; as the next exchange between Mark and John is intertwined with another case of self-selection initiated by the meeting chair, Paul, which is included in Section 5.3.3 (see Ex. 5.3.31).

In the next extract, I will analyse another case of self-selection initiated by a *non-chair non-primary* speaker, Dan, toward a gazing *target recipient*, John, who is the current primary speaker at the moment. In other words, before Dan initiates his verbal turn, he has displayed incipient speakership bodily-visually toward the current speaker at his turn-final position, and successfully established mutual gaze. Also, same as the previous case, the two participants are seated face-to-face. Before the talk in *Extract 5.3.22* (see Segment 6 in Appendix II for full transcript) unfolds, John was selected by the meeting chair, Paul, as the *primary speaker*, and has started his update. As John continues his extended turn on line 1, Dan displays incipient

speakership towards John, through both bodily-visual and vocal practices (line 4-6), and finally manages to gain the floor by a verbal self-selection (line 7).

Ex. 5.3.22 (lines 1-12)

```
1     JOH:  £&u:m it's Δthe problem is it'sΔ a three blade↘ (.)£I thi::nk↘
              £JOH gaze down                                      £JOH gaze
               &DAN nods, gaze front                              front
2           (.) we were looking at a two: blade I'm not sure I'll d- (0.2)
3            £I'll see how the three blade compares↘ (0.4) £u:m: (0.5) bu-
              £JOH gaze down                                £JOH gaze front
```


Fig.1 JOH gaze (L1-3)

```
4            £I:::& (0.3) in my mind £&had °a two: blade design
              £JOH gaze down          £JOH gaze front
                &DAN lean back          &DAN lean forward, R hand under chin
```


Fig.2 JOH/DAN body/gaze (L4)

```
5     JOH:  Δthat we were going ⌈for⌉°Δ
6     DAN:                      ⌊°fo-°⌋ f-
7           from &my research £so far ·hh uh- (.) but this is the companies
                  &DAN R hand gesture
                    £JOH move head upward
```


Fig.3 DAN/JOH gesture/head (L7)

```
8         tell them↘ (.) ⌈bes- their blades⌉ ⌈    are the best    ⌉
9    JOH:               ⌊yeah yeah yeah↘⌋  ⌊ (.) sure↘ yeah yeah↘⌋
10   DAN: (.) uh: I found the most popular ones↘ (.) are the three blades↗
11   JOH: (0.2) are they↘ (.) okay↗ (.) right (0.2) in which case we
12         are going for three blades then ↗ ·hhh ⌈u:m⌉
```

Here, I will analyse Dan's self-selection at his pre-turn and turn-initial positions in detail. At lines 1-3, as the current *primary speaker*, John is explaining the problem about two- or three-blade design, while Dan, a non-chair *non-primary* co-participant is closely monitoring John's utterance and action, as displayed through his forward-gaze direction and head-nod at the beginning of John's turn (Figure 1, line 1); meanwhile, John exchanges mutual eye-gaze with Dan at times (Figure 1, line 1-3). On line 4, passing a TRP, John produces an extension: 'I::: (0.3) in my mind', while he lowers his front gaze direction (Figure 2). From this moment onwards, Dan employs a series of bodily practices: he shuffles his upper torso, firstly backward, and then forward, inclining on the desk again in his 'home position' (cf. Sacks & Schegloff, 2002), while placing his right hand under his chin (Figure 2, line 4). This action trajectory can be seen as his display of incipient speakership toward John, in order to secure recipiency from him, therefore making himself the possible next speaker (cf. Mondada, 2007b). This movement is responded by John as he soon looks up and establishes mutual eye contact with Dan, and the eye contact is maintained from this moment onwards (Figure 2, line 4); John then switches to a softer volume with accelerating speed as he produces his following utterance '°a two-blade design ∆that we were going for°∆' (line 4-5), which is also his response to Dan's bid to take a turn, by preparing to end his own on-going turn (cf. C. E. Ford, 2008). Dan's next turn-initial actions further work to consolidate John's displayed recipiency: in overlap with John's turn-final TRP (line 5), Dan produces restarts 'fo- f-' (line 6), which function draw attention from recipients and therefore secure speakership (cf. C. Goodwin, 1980). Dan then accompanies his verbal turn beginning ('from my research') with a pointing gesture using his right index finger (Figure 3, line 7). In response, John slightly turns his head further toward Dan during the next bit of his talk ('so far'), Dan thus successfully gains the floor at this moment thereafter. As it is shown here, as a self-selecting *non-primary speaker*, Dan's self-selection is done step-by-step with extra interactional work: firstly showing extra attentiveness toward the current speaker, John, through fixed eye-gaze, then an embodied

display of incipient speakership (i.e., re-positioning of his upper torso and hands) that gains the target recipient's gaze, together with a vocal bid for the floor (i.e., 'fo- f-') and finally a pointing gesture to heighten the recipient's attention. John and Dan then engage in a discussion about whether to use a two or three-blade wind turbine, during which the meeting chair Paul self-selects (see Ex. 5.3.32).

In the two sub-sections up until now, I have shown cases in which a non-chair, non-primary speaker self-selects, producing a verbal turn directed toward the primary speaker during his/her update. As I have shown in the four chosen cases above, participation framework is negotiated and contested amongst (but not exclusively restricted to) three parties – the self-selecting, non-chair and non-primary speaker, the current primary speaker, and another co-participant (usually the meeting chair[40]) – during the joint accomplishment of the self-selection. In particular, the analysis focuses on how the self-selecting speaker manages to secure and consolidate displayed recipiency from the current primary speaker at different sequential positions (i.e., pre-beginning, turn beginning, sequence expansion). In the following two sub-sections, cases of self-selection initiated by the meeting chair will be analysed.

5.3.3   Chair self-selection: toward non-gazing recipient

The following extract shows a case of self-selection made by the meeting chair, Paul. Prior to the time when Paul selects himself to be the next speaker, John, a *non-chair non-primary* speaker, has just come to a closing of his previously inserted sequence with Mark, the current primary speaker (see Ex. 5.3.21, for full transcript see Segment 3 in Appendix II). Paul and John are seated on side-to-side, facing Mark across the squared desks. Paul's self-selecting turn (lines 54-64) is therefore primarily addressed to John, giving a counter-statement to John's oppositional turn that he previously produced toward Mark about the cost of the project. Yet Paul does not engage in mutual gaze with John, until passing the first TCU of his verbal turn; he initially affiliates with Mark, managed to gain Mark's recipiency within his first TCU. I will discuss below Paul's strategic way in prioritising the need for displayed recipiency firstly from a simultaneously self-selecting co-participant, Mark, then his target recipient, John.

---

[40] Except for Extract 5.3.12, in which the meeting chair is the current primary speaker at the moment.

Through John's multi-unit turn starting on line 43, Mark has attempted to self-select three times. In Section 5.3.2 (see Ex. 5.3.21 Part C) I have shown how the first two attempts are made in overlapping talk, and resolved. In this extract, Mark's third attempt of self-selection (lines 52, 56 58) will be looked at, particularly because it is made in conjunction with John's closing of the sequence (line 53), and Paul's self-selection (line 54).

Ex. 5.3.31 Part A (lines 43-53)

```
43    JOH: ⌊AN⌋D-IF EVEN if it's not an EXA:CT figure↗
44         (0.4) a ballpark figure is definitely↗ (0.6)
```


Fig.1 PAU/JOH body position/gesture/gaze (L44-49)

```
45    MAR: ⌈ yeah↘ ⌉ ⌈ i-     if- ⌉
46    JOH: ⌊wor:thy⌋ ⌊#Δcos other⌋wiseΔ there's £NO: point Δus doing
                      #PAU put on pen cap        £JOH open hands
47         the projectΔ ##£when the whole:↗ (0.6) ##£ba:sis
                        #PAU gaze JOH              #PAU gaze MAR
                         £JOH close hands          £JOH hands pointing
48         was to redu:ce the £ov⌈erall ⌉ #cost↘
49    MAR:                     ⌊yeah↘⌋
                        £JOH open   #PAU gaze downward front
                            hands
```
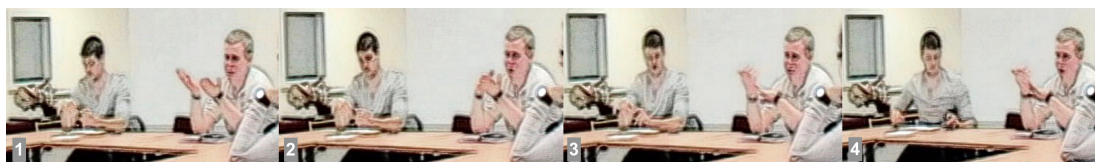

Fig.2 PAU/JOH body/gaze/gesture (L50-51)

```
50    JOH: (0.2) Δand we then find outΔ #it's actually more expensive
                                         #PAU take off/put on pen cap
51         (.) to £do this and £attach it #to wind farmer↘≈
                   £JOH R hand point        #PAU hands on desk
                         £JOH L hand point
```

```
52    MAR:  ≈¥ye⌈ah↘⌉
            ¥MAR lean backward
53    JOH:      ⌊#then⌋ it £is just to do it⌈¥#°it's     £what is°  ⌋
```

Pre-turn (lines 43-53)

During John's utterance up until line 44, Paul has been taking meeting notes, with his upper torso leaning forward on the desk as shown in Figure 1. Starting from line 46 as John verbalises the account for his oppositional statement vocalised earlier, Paul initiates a series of embodied actions, showing that he is monitoring the two current speakers, as well as making himself ready to take the next available slot: he finishes writing and puts the pen cap back on the pen (line 46), gives a glance to John and Mark, then moves his gaze downward on the meeting notes in front of him (lines 47-48, see Figure 1 for the whole trajectory). Next, following John's beginning of his final TCU on line 50, Paul initiates another action trajectory (Figure 2-3, lines 50-53): he takes off the pen cap, possibly trying to take more notes, but soon he abandons this action and puts the pen cap back on, places his hands on the desk while gazing downward at the desk (Figure 2, lines 50-51); then he starts to lean slowly backward, precisely around the preliminary component completion point 'to wind farmer↘' of John's compound TCU (cf. Lerner, 1996b) (Figure 3, lines 52-53). Paul's body repositioning here can be seen as his display of dual-orientation, on one hand toward recording the meeting notes and proceeding of the agenda, on the other toward the development of the on-going talk. Meanwhile, Mark also attempts to gain speakership passing John's preliminary completion of TCU, both verbally and bodily-visually, with a verbal continuer 'yeah↘' (line 52), overlapping the beginning of the final component of John's on-going TCU (cf. Lerner, 1996b) on line 53, as well as leaning his upper torso backward (Figure 3). Here, Mark and Paul both display their incipient speakership; in the following extract on lines 53-59 I will analyse how they resolve the competition for the

floor.

Ex. 5.3.31 Part B (lines 53-59)

```
51          (.) to £do this and £attach it #to wind farmer↘≈
                £JOH R hand point        #PAU hands on desk
                        £JOH L hand point
```


Fig.3 JOH/MAR/PAU body/gaze/gesture (L52-56)

```
52    MAR: ≈¥ye⌈ah↘⌉
           ¥MAR lean backward
53    JOH:    ⌊#then⌋ it £is just to do it⌈¥#°it's    £what is° ⌉
54    PAU:                             ⌊¥#WELL↑    £that's the⌋
              #PAU leans backward        ¥MAR lean forward and hold
                                         #PAU gaze MAR
                  £JOH open hands, then close   £JOH gaze
                                                   right front

55          whole ¥point ⌈of the⌉ project≈
56    MAR:               ⌊yeah↘⌋
                 ¥MAR gaze PAU, lean backward
57    PAU: ≈ ⌈Δisn't  itΔ↘ #WE↑ want ⌉ a&ctuall:y↗
58    MAR:   ⌊ cos  we've- #  yeah↘  ⌋
                        #PAU lean forward gaze front
                            &DAN lean backward
```


Fig.4 PAU/JOH body/gaze(L57-61)

```
59       (0.3)
```

Turn-beginning/first TCU (lines 53-59)

As the final component of John's compound TCU continues to proceed to a TRP ('just to do

`it`', line 53), John accompanies with a retraction of his on-going gesture back to his 'home position' (Figure 3), by firstly holding both hands open, palm-up, which is a position where his gesture is initiated and held during transition, then folding both hands under his chin (compare with Figure 1). This verbal and bodily-visual closing of the sequence thus further works as an invitation to Paul and Mark to compete for the floor, especially considering their display of incipient speakership earlier.

Now, I will reveal step-by-step the verbal and bodily-visual interaction between Paul and John, and between Mark and Paul respectively. Leaning further backward on the chair, Paul places an early entry into John's turn-final 'trailing-off' in overlap ('`°it's what is°`', line 53). In particular, Paul's turn-initial '`WELL`↑' is verbalised with higher pitch and volume, and the following '`that's`' stressed; both works to gain attention and secure the floor (line 54). Simultaneously, in response, John lowers his volume and soon ceases his turn (line 53). John's bodily-visual display at his turn-final position is also coordinated with the emerging participation framework: after his closes his hands and resumes the 'home position', he re-directs his head toward right, possibly monitoring Paul's movement out of the corner of his eye, hence he disengages mutual gaze with Mark (Figure 3, line 53). Further, when Paul verbally gains the floor from John at his turn-initial '`WELL`↑', bodily-visually, as he continues to lean backward, he orients to Mark with gaze, soliciting recipiency from him (Figure 3, line 54).

Prior to Paul's verbal turn entry, Mark is engaged in mutual gaze with John and closely monitors John's movement, possibly awaiting the next opportunity to self-select. When Paul initiates his verbal entry at John's TRP, Mark re-adjusts his action trajectory, which he earlier initiated as a display of incipient speakership: halfway during his backward inclination, he keeps his upper torso 'on-hold' at Paul's turn beginning ('`WELL`↑`that's the`', line 54), re-orients his head/gaze toward Paul as a display of his recipiency, and soon resumes his action of backward inclination until he is leaning on the chair (Figure 3, lines 54-56). Here, Mark also shows a dual-orientation: bodily-visually, he orients to Paul's self-selecting turn by establishing mutual gaze; verbally, he still proceeds his own pending self-selection, previously directed to John and this time toward Paul, who is currently holding the floor. He firstly produces a continuer/acknowledgement marker '`yeah`↘' (line 56) at the middle of Paul's TCU as a display

of his attentive listenership. Then, as soon as Paul's utterance passes a TRP 'of the project' (line 56), Mark initiates his turn beginning 'cos we've-' (line 58). However, this is produced in overlap with Paul's confirmation check '∆isn't it↘∆', in a faster pace. Then Paul quickly continues his on-going turn with the next TCU beginning 'WE↑ WANT actuall:y↗' in raised loudness, lengthened sound and ends with rising intonation (lines 57). In response, Marks cuts-off his turn-beginning, and soon drops out of this turn and ends with another acknowledgement marker 'yeah↘' (line 58). Meanwhile, bodily-visually, Paul starts to lean forward and places his hands under his chin again, while redirecting his gaze from Mark toward middle-distance front, without any direct mutual gaze with anyone (Figure 6, line 55), which can be seen as his resumption of 'home position' (Sacks & Schegloff, 2002) being a chair and a current speaker.

Paul's whole action trajectory here on lines 53-57 has multiple sequential consequences: it resolves the overlapping talk with John, consolidates his own speakership and gains Mark's recipiency. Up until now, Paul has successfully gained speakership as well as affiliated with Mark, given Mark's embodied recipiency display, and his verbal withdrawal and acknowledgement marker that closely follows.

Ex. 5.3.31 Part C (lines 57-66)

```
57   PAU: ≈ ⌈∆isn't  it∆↘ #WE↑ want ⌉ a&ctuall:y↗
58   MAR:   ⌊ cos  we've- #  yeah↘ ⌋
                        #PAU lean forward gaze front
                                 &DAN lean backward
```


Fig.4 PAU/JOH body/gaze(L57-61)

```
59       (0.3)
60   CLA: ((clears throat))
61   PAU: £(.)##&it doesn- it doesn't matter if-it's &cheaper #or more
         £JOH gaze PAU                                    #PAU gaze
            #PAU gaze left-front                                JOH
```

Fig.5 PAU/JOH body/gaze(L62-66)

```
62        expensive it's ⌈ just ⌉ the fact that #we're proving↗
63   JOH:              ⌊yeah↘⌋
                                          #PAU gaze front
64   PAU: #(0.7) ⌈   what price   ⌉ it is yeah↘≈
65   JOH:        ⌊°it can be done°⌋
          #PAU gaze JOH
66   JOH: ≈ yeah↘ (.)£↑no that's fine↘#
                £JOH gaze front
                          #PAU gaze front
```

Sequence closing (lines 57-66)

Following the TCU beginning on line 57 ('isn't it↘ WE↑ want actuall:y↗'), without

further pursuing this TCU, Paul abandons the turn and takes a slightly longer pause, during

which Clare produces a throat-clearing sound on line 60. This turn abandonment and the

pause can be seen as Paul's skillful way of delaying the up-coming talk and soliciting

recipiency from John (Figure 4, line 61). Immediately after Clare's throat-clearing sound and

right before Paul starts speaking again on, John shifts his gaze toward Paul. Next, Paul

initiates his new TCU with a restart 'it doesn- it doesn't', while he initiates a gradual

redirection of gaze further to his left toward John, responding to John's displayed recipiency

and finally establishes mutual gaze with John at 'or more expensive' (Figure 4, line 61-62),

where his compound TCU reaches the preliminary component completion point (cf. Lerner,

1996b). Paul's embodied re-direction here therefore directs his verbal talk toward John, who

responds attentively, by placing a continuer 'yeah↘' (line 63) as the final component is

initiated, a brief assessment '°it can be done°' (line 65) approaching Paul's turn final

position, and a sequence-closing assessment ('yeah↘ (.) ↑no that's fine↘', line 66)

latched onto Paul's turn. Meanwhile, it is worth noticing that Dan, as a co-present participant,

also actively engages in the on-going talk with his upper body re-positioning: he leans forward on the desk at Paul's turn beginning 'it doesn-' (Figure 4, line 61), then starts to shuffle his upper torso back and forth starting at 'cheaper or more' until the end of Paul's utterance (Figure 4-5, lines 61-64). This bodily movement was responded by Paul with only a glance and a brief pause, as he is approaching his turn-final TRP (Figure 5, lines 62-64). Right after the brief pause, John verbally responds to Paul in overlap, then provides a sequence-closing assessment 'yeah↘ (.)↑no that's fine↘', while both of them, one after another, re-directs their gaze toward the front (Figure 5, lines 65-66). The speakership is then passed back to the current *primary speaker*, Mark, who continues his update in the talk follows the chosen extract (see Segment 3 in Appendix II).

Based on the analysis above, I have shown how, as the meeting chair, Paul skillfully selects himself as the next speaker at the juncture of John's sequence closing and Mark's display of incipient speakership, by mobilising a range of multimodal resources. In particular, by placing his verbal turn early during John's utterance with increased loudness and pitch, Paul firstly gains the floor before Mark had a chance; he then successfully solicits Mark's recipiency during the overlapping talk with him through gazing and further placing a latching TCU beginning with increased loudness and higher pitch; finally his body repositioning, gaze shift, turn abandonment and restarts further work to secure recipiency from John, who is the target recipient whom his turn is primarily addressed to. Paul has strategically prioritised the need of displayed recipiency from Mark, who is the current primary speaker and has been displaying incipient speakership prior to the extract starts. In this way, Paul's self-selection is done and his interactional project here, that is, to place a counter-statement toward John, is also accomplished, given Mark's alignment and John's acceptance.

Next, I will present another case of self-selection initiated by the meeting chair. *Extract 5.3.32* follows directly after *Ex. 5.3.22*, which is analysed earlier in Section 5.3.2 (see Segment 6 in Appendix II for full transcript), where Dan self-selects as a *non-chair non-primary speaker*. In this extract, Paul and John are seated at the same side of the desks, whereas Dan is facing the two. Here I will show, as John and Dan's competitive exchanges continue, Paul, as the meeting chair, self-selects in a skilful way without extra bodily conduct and successfully brings

the joint-attention back to himself right at his verbal turn beginning (lines 20-22).

Ex. 5.3.32 Part A (lines 10-17)

```
10    DAN: (.)uh:&I found #the most popular ones↘(.)are the three blades↗
                    &DAN lean forward, R hand gesture
                        #PAU hands under chin, gaze DAN
11    JOH: (0.2)£∆are they∆↘(.) okay↗£(.)&right (0.2)££in which case we
                £JOH raise eyebrow    £JOH nod        £JOH gaze down
                                        &DAN gaze down
                                            &DAN gaze up
```


Fig.1 DAN/PAU/JOH body/gaze (L10-11)

Fig.2 JOH body/gaze (L11)(Enlarged)

```
12        are going £for three blades then↗ ·hhh ⌈&&u:   m  ⌉
13    DAN:                                       ⌊&&yea- BU-⌋
                                            &DAN R hand gesture
                £JOH gaze DAN, smile                £JOH lean backward
```


Fig.3 DAN/JOH gesture/body (L12-15)

```
14        ⌈&I was £going t- £the COMPANIES⌉    &TELLING YEAH↘ (0.2)≈
15    JOH: ⌊&WEL-  £YEAH↘ NO↘£I mean it's- ⌋
            &DAN R hand gesture, lean backward    &DAN both hands gesture,
                £JOH open hands                        lean backward
                        £JOH fold arms, lean backward
```

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Fig.4 DAN/JOH gesture/body (L16-18)

```
16    DAN: ≈⌈ £OUR DESIGN is the⌉ &be⌈ st ye-  ⌉
17    JOH:  ⌊£ !t YEAH↘  SURE↘ ⌋
18    PAU:                        ⌊I THINK⬀⌋≈
           £JOH lean back, nod &DAN hands on desk,
                              lean forward, gaze PAU
```

Pre-turn (lines 10-17)

During the talk prior to the chosen extract between Dan and John, Paul was monitoring their competitive exchanges, with shifts of gaze directed back and forth to the two parties, while keeping his body posture upright, his forearms on the desk and his chin resting on both hands. From line 10 onwards, Paul redirects and maintains his gaze direction toward the front (Figure 1).

During the talk on lines 10-17, Dan firstly poses an oppositional turn toward John about the design of the wind turbine being a two-bladed one (‘I found the most popular ones↘ (.) are the three blades⬀’, line 10), which was then verbally acknowledged (‘△are they△↘ (.) okay⬀ (.) right’, line 11) and accepted by John (‘in which case we are going for three blades then⬀’, lines 11-12), who has previously suggested a three-bladed design (see Ex. 5.3.22). The bodily interaction between Dan and John on line 11 also explicates the oppositional effect of Dan's verbal turn (Figure 1 and 2): John raises his eyebrow, tiles his head and nods while verbalising his multiple verbal acknowledgement tokens, he then gazes down on the desk, possibly at his notes while producing the verbal acceptance; whereas Dan gazes down at John's verbal acknowledgements, possibly to avoid mutual gaze with John hence making this opposition less confronting, but soon gazes up as John expands his turn with a further acceptance.

After that, Dan further pursuits this topic with an account for his own oppositional turn, which serves the purpose of distancing himself with the third-party who makes the statement (‘the

COMPANIES TELLING', line 14). This can also be seen as Dan's affiliative attempt toward John. In response, John continues to agree with Dan (lines 15, 17). Yet their verbal exchanges and bodily-visual displays all shows an upgraded competition for speakership, as shown in overlaps, cut-offs, increased volume, stress, and their synchronised gestures (i.e., opening arms) and body positioning (i.e., leaning backward) (Figure 3 and 4, lines 12-17).

Ex. 5.3.32 Part B (lines 16-28)

Fig.4 DAN/JOH gesture/body (L16-18)

```
16    DAN: ≈⌈ £OUR DESIGN is the] &be⌈ st ye-  ⌉
17    JOH:  ⌊£ !t YEAH↘  SURE↘ ⌋
18    PAU:                        ⌊I THINK↗⌋≈
         £JOH lean back, nod &DAN hands on desk,
                    lean forward, gaze PAU
```


Fig.5 DAN/JOH/MAR gaze (L19-21)

```
19    JOH: ≈ye&£ah↘≈
            &DAN gaze JOH
             £JOH gaze PAU
20    PAU: ≈&U:: ¥M::
            &DAN gaze PAU
             ¥MAR gaze right-front
21         &(0.5)
         &DAN gaze MAR
```


Fig.6 DAN/PAU/MAR gaze (L22-23)

```
22    PAU: #&some of  the ¥two bladed ones↘
            #PAU gaze JOH  ¥MAR gaze PAU
             &DAN gaze PAU
23    PAU: ¥(0.5) °were only to do with the: ease of access↗ wasn't i-°
            ¥MAR gaze down
```

```
24        was ⌈ it ⌉ to do≈
25   JOH:     ⌊yeah⌋
26   PAU: ≈ it wasn-↘≈
27   JOH: ≈ is was to get them out of the water↘
28   PAU: (0.2) yeah↘
```

Turn-beginning/first TCU (lines 16-28)

During John and Dan's overlapping talk on lines 16-17, Paul places his turn entry and claims for speakership: he produces the turn-initial element 'I THINK↗' (line 18) with a raised volume, a stress and rising intonation. Dan and John, who are the two current vocal co-participants, quickly orient to Paul's self-selection by adjusting their on-going action trajectories. Verbally, Dan quickly lowers his volume, and then withdraws from his turn with a cut-off 'ye-' (line 16) (Oloff, 2012), whereas John immediately gives a response token 'yeah' latched onto Paul's utterance (line 19). In response to his co-participants actions, instead of pursuing his turn-in-progress, Paul delays the next-item-due with a hesitation marker 'U::M::' in a lengthened sound with stress, then a 0.5-second pause (line 20-21). What is particularly intriguing at this moment is how the other two co-participants (i.e., John and Dan), through their collaborative bodily-visual display in split-second, all direct their attention to Paul. I will uncover this process layer by layer as follows.

Firstly, simultaneously with his verbal withdrawal in a vocal cut-off 'ye-' in overlap with Paul, Dan leans forward on the desk, retracts his hand gesture, then puts his hands back to the 'home position' on the desk (compare Figure 1 and 4) and redirects his gaze toward Paul as a display of his recipiency (Figure 4, line 16). Then, during John's response token 'yeah' (line 19), John, who preciously engages mutual gaze with Dan, shifts his gaze direction to Paul (Figure 5, line 20). However, Paul does not respond to this established recipiency from John with mutual eye-gaze until later.

At the same time when John moves his gaze away, Dan shifts his gaze back toward John, possibly eliciting John's mutual gaze (Figure 5, line 19); this action can be seen as Dan's attempt to seek for possible recipiency from John after his previous verbal withdrawal (cf. Oloff, 2012). However, Dan fails to secure his recipiency due to John's unavailability as described

above (i.e., gazing at Paul). Then, as Paul delays his up-coming verbal turn on line 20-21, Dan starts to shift his gaze direction again. He firstly briefly glances at Paul as Paul is verbalising a hesitating 'U::M::' (Figure 5, line 20), and then reaches Mark during the 0.5-second pause (Figure 5, line 21). However, Mark, who has been focusing his gaze on Dan throughout the previous verbal exchanges, has started to shift his head as well as his gaze away from Dan toward slightly right-front (compare Figure 1 and 5, line 20). Once again, Dan fails to establish mutual gaze with a potential recipient, Mark. This action trajectory of Dan's firstly displays that he is closely keeping track of the current speaker Paul's action, possibly waiting for a next possible slot to pursue his unfinished utterance; secondly it shows his further attempt to seek for a potential recipient after his drop-out of the previous verbal turn. As both of his attempts failed, he soon abandons his turn definitively by gazing at Paul, the chair and the current speaker (Figure 6, line 22). It can be seen that Dan's recipiency toward Paul is displayed in a progressive way, starting from his verbal dropout (line 16), through an embodied 'stand-by', seeking for possible recipients (line 18-21), followed with a definitive withdrawal as he becomes a displayed recipient for Paul (line 22) (cf. Oloff, 2012, 2013). Further, this whole stream of actions is closely intertwined with Paul's skilful deployment of speakership by his turn initial 'I THINK', his lengthened hesitation marker 'U::M::' and the 0.5-second pause.

Finally, on line 22, at the same time as Paul receives recipiency from Dan, he re-initiates this verbal turn, which is primarily addressed to John as shown in his redirection of gaze and hence the establishment of mutual orientation with John (Figure 6). That is to say, at his verbal turn beginning, Paul has successfully brought together these two vocal co-participants' joint-attention (i.e., John and Dan), before he directs his talk to one of them as his primary recipient (i.e., John). Paul then further clarifies a few details on the 'two-blade/three-blade' issue with John and closes the topic, after which John resumes his update (see Segment 6 in Appendix II for full transcript).

Similar with the previous case, Paul prioritised the need for Dan's recipiency over John's in a strategic way, according to these two co-participants' moment-by-moment display of their own availability. In both cases, turns-at-talk between the current two speakers becomes competitive and potentially oppositional; during which the current meeting chair Paul self-selects to bring

together co-participants' joint-attention on his evolving action, and to facilitate their mutual orientation toward the emerging participation framework, as well as the interactional task of avoiding conflict and possibly building-up social solidarity as a meeting group.

5.3.4 Chair self-selection: toward gazing recipient

In the following Extract 5.3.41, I will present a case of self-selection also initiated by the meeting chair, Paul, which happens when Mark is making the update as the current *primary speaker* (see Segment 2 for full transcript). Before Paul self-selects, Mark and Dan were engaged in a discussion initiated by Dan's previous self-selection (see analysis of *Ex. 5.3.11*); when the discussion is gradually brought to a closing by Dan, Paul takes up the floor and successfully draws recipiency from Mark. Different from previous cases of chair-initiated self-selection, in this case, Paul and his target recipient Mark are seated face-to-face with each other; also, before his verbal self-selecting turn, Paul has already received Mark's displayed recipiency through gaze.

Ex. 5.3.41 Part A (lines 46-58)


```
                    Fig.1 DAN/MAR gaze/body/gesture (L46-53)
46   MAR: & (.)¥uh- ↑WHAT I'd like to do is set it all ¥up↘
          &DAN gaze MAR
              ¥MAR gaze downward front                  ¥MAR gaze DAN
47        (0.6)
48   DAN: ⌈¥&°okay°⌉
49   MAR: ⌊¥&what I⌋ think it should ¥look like↘ and a:s
              ¥MAR gaze downward front   ¥MAR gaze upward, R hand touch ears
               &DAN gaze downward front, nod, lean backward
50   MAR: ⌈  I get &details  ⌉ use them↗≈
51   DAN: ⌊((clears throat))⌋
                    &DAN gaze MAR, lean forward
```

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```
52    DAN:  ≈ uhm≈
53    MAR:  ≈ and the:n↗ obviously if  &maybe ⌈we'd have  ⌉≈
54    DAN:                                    ⌊°we'll do°⌋
                                       &DAN R hand gesture
```


Fig.2 DAN/MAR/PAU gaze/body/gesture (l55-56)

```
55    MAR:  ≋ &¥enough        ¥details    ⌈I ¥ca⌉:n↗≈
56    PAU:                                ⌊ t! ⌋
              &DAN nod, gaze downward front, lean backward
                ¥MAR gaze DAN  ¥MAR gaze PAU   ¥MAR gaze downward front
57    DAN:  ≈&muddle th⌈¥em↗⌉
58    MAR:            ⌊¥ask⌋  for  mo::¥&re↘
              &DAN gaze front, lean forward
                      ¥MAR gaze DAN     ¥MAR gaze PAU
                                      &DAN gaze downward front
59        # (0.5)
            #PAU hands rub eyes
```


Fig.3 MAR/DAN/PAU gaze/body/gesture (L57-59)

Closing of the previous sequence (lines 46-58)

Mark's extended turn starting on line 46 is directed to Dan, containing his response to Dan's previous turn (see *Ex. 5.3.11*). Yet during his verbal talk, Mark does not maintain gaze toward his target recipient Dan; rather, he only glances at Dan passing the TRP on line 46 ('set it all £up↘') while keeping a downward-looking gaze throughout the second ('what I think it should look like↘', line 49) and third TCU ('and a:s I get details use them↗', line 50), as well as the beginning of his fourth TCU, which is an if-clause leading a compound TCU ('and the:n↗ obviously if maybe', line 53) (see Figure 1). This resembles Dan's earlier bodily display during his previous turn, which is analysed in *Ex. 5.3.11*, that a speaker dose not necessarily need gaze at his/her recipient all the time during his/her verbal turns-at-talk (cf. Kangasharju, 1996, p. 314). Conversely, in this case, as the recipient, Dan's displayed

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recipiency toward the speaker is relevant at all times, and the absence of such a display is therefore accountable. The following stretch of talk then involves how Dan progressively proposes a closing to the sequence, and how Mark as the current *primary speaker* reorients to the meeting chair, Paul, to solicit recipiency.

Dan maintains his gaze toward Mark throughout Mark's first TCU, which ends with a falling intonation and followed with a 0.6-second pause on line 47 (Figure 1). Dan then treats Mark's verbal turn as well as his proceeding action as complete, responds with '°okay°' (line 48) and shifts his head away toward the front and nods (Figure 1). This action trajectory can be seen as Dan's initial sequence-closing attempt. Yet at the same time, Mark initiates another turn containing two TCUs connected with a conjunction 'and' (lines 49-50); in response, Dan soon resumes his recipiency toward Mark with throat-clearing, gaze and a response token ('uhm', line 50-52, Figure 1). Starting from line 53, Mark produces his fourth TCU 'and the:n↗ obviously if maybe we'd have enough details I ca:n↗ ask for mo:: re↘' — a compound TCU led by a preceding if-clause. Therefore, the if-clause creates what Lerner termed 'a semi-permeable point' at the completion of this 'preliminary turn component' (Lerner, 1996b, 2002), providing an opportunity for collaborative completion of this unfolding turn toward the final component completion. It is at this precise point where Paul and Dan both access the floor, with verbal and bodily actions (lines 55-58). Here, I primarily focus on Dan's action trajectory.

Right after Mark initiates the if-clause, Dan upgrades his attentive listenership both verbally and bodily-visually, by firstly inserting a brief verbal assessment ('°we'll do°', line 53), then a pointing gesture using his right hand, along with several nodding (Figure 2, line 53-54). Here, again, Dan starts to lean backward and retract his gaze, thus his recipiency, from Mark (Figure 2, line 55). This series of action therefore shows Dan's affiliative stance toward Mark, and his second attempt to close this sequence. As Mark's ongoing turn of if-clause proceeds after the semi-permeable point and the main clause starts ('enough details I ca:n↗', line 55), Dan enters into Mark's verbal turn with an anticipatory completion ('muddle them↗', line 57), while inclining on the desk, facing his front without any eye-contact with Mark (Figure 2, line 57). This collaborative turn-continuation made by Dan further shows his misaligning action opposed to Mark's effort to pursue his on-going verbal talk, his affiliative stance toward Mark's

statement and his pursuit to withdraw from the on-going sequence. During Dan's developing

actions, Mark displays several attempts to secure his recipients' gaze by glancing back and forth

between Dan and Paul, firstly on line 55, then repeated on line 58 during the utterance 'ask for

mo::re↘', which is his own final component completion (Figure 2 and 3). As he has definitely

lost Dan's recipiency on line 58, he re-orients his gaze toward Paul, the meeting chair, seeking

to solicit recipiency while continue to pursue his turn-in-progress (cf. Kendon, 1967b).

Ex. 5.3.41 Part B (lines 55-65)

```
55    MAR: ≈  &¥enough        ¥details     [I ¥ca]:n↗≈
56    PAU:                                 [ t! ]
              &DAN nod, gaze downward front, lean backward
               ¥MAR gaze DAN  ¥MAR gaze PAU   ¥MAR gaze downward front
57    DAN: ≈&muddle th[¥em↗]
58    MAR:            [¥ask]  for   mo::¥&re↘
              &DAN gaze front, lean forward
                     ¥MAR gaze DAN     ¥MAR gaze PAU
                                    &DAN gaze downward front
59         #  (0.5)
           #PAU hands rub eyes
```


Fig.3 MAR/DAN/PAU gaze/body/gesture (L57-59)

```
60    MAR: °uhh°
```


Fig.4 MAR/PAU gaze/gesture (L61-63)

```
61    PAU: (.) [yeah↘]
62    MAR:     [adjus-↘] ¥#adjust↘      the:      ana[#lysis↘]
63    PAU:                                          [#t!    ]
                     ¥MAR gaze downward front
                       #PAU gaze downward front   #PAU gaze
                        hold hands front              MAR
```

Fig.5 MAR/PAU gaze/gesture (L64-65)

```
64    MAR: ⌈#°based on:°⌉
65    PAU: ⌊#·hhh⌋ ¥I mean I don't know if it's going into too much details
             #PAU gaze downward front
                 ¥MAR gaze PAU
```

Pre-turn/turn-beginning (lines 55-65)

Next I will discuss how Paul displays incipient speakership prior to his verbal turn, and how he
finally self-selects with displayed recipiency at his turn-beginning position from
co-participants. From line 55 onwards, at the conjunction of Mark's solicit of recipiency and
Dan's attempt to close the on-going sequence, Paul, as the meeting chair who is closely
monitoring the talk (see for example Figure 1 and 2), produces a claim for speakership. He
firstly displays his willingness to talk right after Mark's first glance at him on line 55, with a
dental click 't!' (line 56). Then, soon after Mark's redirection of gaze back on him on line 58,
which is where Mark's verbal talk ends, Paul initiates another action: he closes his eyes and
touches eyes and nose with both of his hands (Figure 3, line 59). Although maybe triggered by
physical discomfort of his eyes, the action also functions to distance himself from Mark's solicit
of recipiency in gaze. This action trajectory is held through the 0.5-second pause until Mark's
next verbal turn 'adjus-↘ adjust↘ the: analysis' (line 62), during which Paul verbally
responds with 'yeah↘', overlapping Mark's turn beginning restarts, yet still with no display of
gaze toward him as seen in Figure 4. Next, Paul gradually lowers his hand, holds them in front
and looks at them, Mark notices Paul's unavailability and starts to look downward while
continuing his turn (Figure 4, line 62-63). Finally, holding his hands together and raising his
gaze direction up toward Mark, Paul claims for speakership again with another dental click,
partly overlapping Mark's TRP 'analysis↘' (Figure 4, line 63). Then, Paul produces a longer
audible in-breath, projecting his incoming turn, overlapping the next bit of Mark's utterance
'°based on:°' (line 64); in response, Mark's remaining utterance is produced in lowered
volume and soon abandoned as he looks up toward Paul. As Paul's verbal turn starts with 'I
mean', he successfully draws Mark's displayed recipiency right from the turn beginning (Figure

5, line 65).

Ex. 5.3.41 Part C (lines 65-74)

Fig.5 MAR/PAU gaze/gesture (L64-65)

```
64    MAR:  ⌈#°based on:°⌉
65    PAU:  ⌊#·hhh⌋ ¥I mean I don't know if it's going into too much details
             #PAU gaze downward front
                  ¥MAR gaze PAU
66          Δis there anywayΔ that if #¥we could may:be:↗ #if we've got
                                       #PAU gaze front      #PAU gaze MAR
                                        ¥MAR nod
```


Fig.6 PAU/MAR body/gaze (L66)

```
67          this desi:gn we could almost predict like a TI:MELI:NE↗
68    MAR:  (0.2) yeah↘≈
69    PAU:  ≈¥for maybe the design↗ and-
              ¥MAR lean backward, gaze downward front
```


Fig.7 MAR upper torso/gaze (L69)

```
70          (0.6)
71    MAR:  ·hh ⌈yeah cos we're (.) at the CONference⌉
72    PAU:      ⌊   produ ctional    prototype      ⌋ I don't know
73    MAR:  (.) we saw like these Pelamis↗≈
74    PAU:  ≈yeah↘
```

First TCU and beyond (lines 65-74)

Further, Paul's verbal turn consists of multiple conversational work around his assertion, 'if

we've got this desi:gn we could almost predict like a TI:MELI:NE↗' (lines 66-67);

these include hedges, rising intonations ('I mean', 'if we could may:be:↗', lines 65-66, 'for maybe the design↗', line 69), disclaimer ('I don't know if', line 65) and other lexical choices that shows uncertainty ('if we've got', line 66, 'almost predict like', line 67), all of which works to mitigate Paul's authoritative role as the meeting chair, and displays his epistemic stance as someone who is less knowledgeable than Mark in the ongoing topic. Interestingly, Paul's bodily conduct is structured in a way that is in line with the above-described verbal actions: right before securing Mark's recipiency at his turn beginning, Paul starts to move his gaze downward (see Figure 5) and therefore, there may only be a brief exchange of gaze between Paul and Mark. He does not engage in mutual gaze with Mark until he initiates the contesting statement that is addressed to Mark at 'if we've got' (Figure 6, lines 66-67). Therefore, it can be told that this delayed gaze therefore works in accordance with his turn's talk so far, as the former holds the floor for him whereas the latter mitigates and softens his upcoming assertion. Then, Mark verbally responds to Paul with 'yeah↘' (line 68), thereby confirming Paul's assertion. But bodily-visually, he disengages in Paul's talk as he leans backward, sitting back on the chair with his arms folded across his chest (Figure 7, line 69). Next, right after Paul's turn-final conjunction 'an-' (line 69) and a 0.6-second pause (line 70), Mark selects himself through a verbal turn, beginning with an audible in-breath and another 'yeah' (line 71). Meanwhile, Paul produces an extension to his previous turn in overlap with Mark's self-selecting turn, but soon ends his ongoing talk with a turn-final disclaimer 'I don't know' (lines 71-72), which further works to display that this topic is out of his epistemic domain. As Mark continues to speak on line 73, the talk soon goes back into the update procedure again.

Through a fine-detailed analysis on *Extract 5.3.41*, I have shown a case where the current speaker is the chair-appointed *primary speaker*, who seeks recipiency toward the chair after losing his target recipient's gaze; and the chair, on the other hand, manages to self-select with an assertion directed to the *primary speaker*, by firstly avoiding mutual gaze with the *primary speaker* at pre-turn and turn-initial positions, and then mitigating the assertion with verbal softeners and a further delay of mutual-gaze.

In *Extract 5.3.42* that follows, a fourth case of chair-initiated self-selection will be looked at, in which Paul attempts to self-select twice, with each attempt exerting different sequential

influences. Before the talk in the extract starts, Clare was appointed as the current primary speaker by the meeting chair. During her update, she posed a question directed to John, who then responded to Clare and started an inserted sequence, which is analysed in *Extract 5.3.52* of Section 5.3.5 (see Segment 9 in Appendix II for full transcript). The extract therefore starts with John's verbal turn forming a second-pair-part answer to Clare's first-pair-part question. During John's extended turn, Paul firstly places a self-selecting turn that leads a side-sequence (lines 32-33) (cf. Jefferson, 1972) that is built-in to the on-going sequence between John and Clare. On line 42, Paul again places a self-selecting verbal turn, which leads a sequence expansion on the same topic. Paul's second self-selecting turn is directed to both Clare and John in a strategic way by using different address terms, accompanied with shifts of eye-gaze direction and use of gesture (lines 42-47). Similar with the previous case, the self-selecting speaker Paul and the target recipient Clare, are seated face-to-face; and Clare's gaze arrives to Paul as soon as Paul's verbal turn starts.

Ex. 5.3.42 Part A (lines 22-36)

```
22    JOH: £I TH⌈OU:GHT ↘   ] I thought↘ we are initially going for an≈
23    CLA:     ⌊ΔI though-Δ⌋
           £JOH gaze downward front
24    JOH: ≈ FPP (eff pea pea) #to start with↘ £cuz ⌈it's ea:]sier↗
25    CLA:                                        ⌊ yeah↘  ]
                          #PAU upper torso re-positioning
                                        £JOH raise eyebrow

26        (0.4)
27    JOH: #£and then if we have ti:me↘ we'll look at doing a CPP:
           #PAU take notes
            £JOH gaze downward front
```


Fig.1 PAU/JOH/CLA upper body (L22-27)

```
28    PAU: (0.2) yeah↘≈
29    JOH: ≈ cuz the cost Δas well↘Δ (.)
30         ΔI mean the cost it's a massive £cost ofΔ
                                        £JOH gaze CLA
31         ⌈#implication↘    ]
32    PAU: ⌊#°thirty per cent] increase was it°↗ ≈
           #PAU suspend note-taking
```

```
33    JOH: ≈£u:h-yeah Δit's thirty percent increase inΔ co:st↘
          £JOH gaze front
```


Fig.2 PAU/JOH gaze/body (L30-33)

```
34        (0.4)
35    JOH: #u:m and then a:lso:↗ (0.3) %in ter:ms o:f↗ u:m %ΔI don't knowΔ
          #PAU resume note-taking   %CLA lean forward, %CLA gaze JOH
                                           gaze front
36        £for you Δit may look a little more difficult↗Δ
          £JOH nod, gaze CLA
```


Fig.3 PAU/JOH gaze/body (L35-36)

First attempt: side-sequence (lines 22-36)

On lines 22-39, John is holding the floor with an extended turn consisting multi-TCUs, directed to Clare, answering her previous question regarding making choices of the design (i.e., CPP or FPP) based on the cost and workload (see *Extract 5.3.52*). While Clare displays her recipiency by sustaining gaze at John, John does not always look at Clare; rather he gazes mostly toward front, with intermitted brief glance toward Clare around junctures of possible speaker change, either a TRP or a turn-initial position (Figure 1, 3 and 4, lines 30, 36, 39) (cf. Kangasharju, 1996, p. 314). Passing John's third TCU ('cuz the cost Δas well↘Δ (.)ΔI mean the cost it's a massive cost ofΔ implication↘', lines 29-31) expressing his concern about the cost, Paul attempts to self-select and inserts a side-sequence to specify the exact percentage of the increase in cost ('thirty percent increase was it°↗', line 32). This insertion only discontinues the on-going sequence temporarily, as can be seen in Paul and John's verbal and bodily-visual display I will uncover next.

Paul is engaged in note-taking prior to his self-selection (Figure 1, line 27); therefore when he places his verbal turn, he suspends note-taking but maintains his gaze direction as well as his

upper body positioning during his note-taking (Figure 2, line 32), and soon resumes note-taking afterwards (Figure 3, line 35). Likewise, when John verbally acknowledges Paul's utterance ('u:h-yeah ∆it's thirty percent increase in∆ co:st↘', line 33), he slightly shifts his gaze away from Clare and toward the front middle-distance (Figure 2, line 33). By doing this, John manages to orient to Paul's talk, although minimally, as well as put the turns-at-talk between himself and Clare on 'stand-by' with his retraction of eye contact. And later on he resumes the on-going sequence (line 35) and quickly redirects his gaze back on Clare (Figure 3, line 36). In this way, the two co-participants do not establish mutual gaze and engage in minimum re-positioning of their bodies during their verbal exchange, all of which shows their brief verbal exchange is a modulated 'subordinate involvement' (Goffman, 1963). Also, during this self-selection, Paul remains taking the 'back seat', taking notes and monitoring the talk without exerting too much interruption on the on-going talk. This contrasts with Paul's second attempt of self-selection, in which he manages to expand the on-going sequence when John's next compound TCU (lines 35-39) comes to a TRP one line 39, which I will show next.

Ex. 5.3.42 Part B (lines 37-49)

```
37        (0.7)
38   JOH: £cuz you had mo:re electronics involved↗ and mo:re↘
          £JOH gaze front
39        (0.2) £moving parts #basically↘
               £JOH raise eyebrows, gaze CLA
                       #PAU lean upward, gaze JOH
40        (0.2)
41   JOH: u:m:%≈
             %CLA gaze PAU
```



```
        Fig.4 PAU/JOH/CLA gaze/body/gesture (L38-41)
42   PAU: ≈it's probably £mo:⌈re if   ⌉#you BO:TH↗ (.) have enough≈
43   CLA:                ⌊ bo:th↘⌋
                      £JOH gaze PAU  #PAU gaze CLA, L hand point CLA
44   PAU: ≈ £tim%e↘
           £PAU gaze JOH
             %CLA L hand touch glasses/nose
45   JOH: (0.4) £YEAH↘≈
             £JOH nod
```
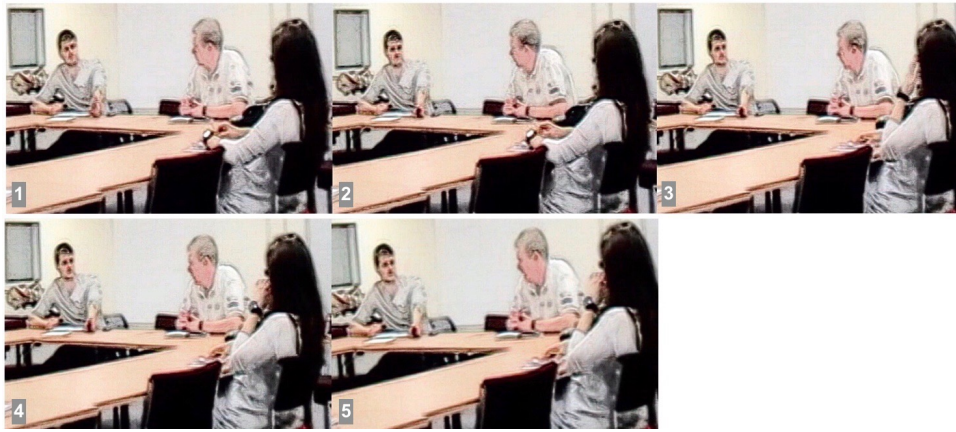
Fig.5 PAU/JOH gaze/body/gesture (L42–45)

```
46    PAU: ≈#cuz if he has enough time↘ but #you don't have ℠enough time↘
           #PAU gaze CLA, L hand point JOH

                                              #PAU L hand point CLA

                                                    ℠CLA L hand down

47         ℠to do the:↗
            ℠CLA nod
```


Fig.6 CLA/PAU gaze/gesture (L46–47)

```
48         (0.5)
49    PAU: ⌈uh: #℠mechanical    ⌉ part then #maybe↗≈
50    CLA: ⌊THEN #℠in that case↘⌋
                 #PAU retract R hand        #PAU both hands gesture
                  ℠CLA R hand point

51    CLA: ≈#℠yeah↘
           #PAU retract gesture
            ℠CLA retract gesture
```


Fig.7 CLA/PAU gesture (L46–47)

```
52    PAU: uh- (.) well↘
53         (0.4)
54    CLA: ⌈we'll    see↘ ⌉⌈uh- so should we   make it-⌉
55    PAU: ⌊I  don't know-⌋ ⌊but-   we'll jusT HAVE  to ⌋
56         see:↘ when we get there↗
```

Second attempt: sequence expansion (lines 37-49)

When John produces his turn-final form 'basically↘' of his turn extension on line 39, Paul finishes his note-taking and changes his body position. He leans backward and re-directs his gaze toward John (Figure 4, line 39); this bodily display can be seen as Paul showing his readiness to talk, hence his incipient speakership toward the current speaker John. Paul then places his verbal turn immediately after John's floor-holding hesitation marker 'u:m:' (line 41), and gains the floor for the moment onwards. Further to this, both John and Clare orient to Paul's self-selection in a coordinative, embodied way. First, Paul's previous bodily display of incipient speakership is responded to by Clare, who is previously gazing front hence visually accessible; she responds immediately by gazing at Paul with a slight head move before Paul produces his turn beginning 'it's probably' (Figure 4, line 41) (as Clare is seated facing her back to the camera, her shifts of eye-gaze can and can only be told through her head movement trajectory). Second, John, the previous current speaker who was engaged in mutual gaze and verbal exchange with Clare, also responds to Clare's gaze shift and Paul's utterance, by immediately redirecting his head, thus his gaze, toward Paul, at the utterance 'mo:re' passing the turn beginning (Figure 5, line 42).

From line 42 onwards, Paul designs his verbal turn and his accompanying bodily-visual actions in a way that exerts multiple interactional effects: a prioritised need to gain recipiency from John, the current speaker, and a verbal turn directed to both co-participants with a pointing gesture toward Clare, the current primary speaker, making her the 'primary' recipient of the current and upcoming turn. To start with, Paul prioritises the need to gain John's displayed recipiency over that of Clare's, which can be told by how Paul's gaze is directed to John at a few significant sequential positions: first, Paul's gaze toward John arrives prior to his turn beginning (Figure 4, line 39); it is then held at the turn beginning ('it's probably mo:re if', line 42) during which he establishes mutual gaze with John (Figure 5, line 42); next, his gaze direction is shifted toward Clare during the middle of the TCU ('you BO:TH↗ (.) have enough', line 42, Figure 5), and back at John reaching the turn-final position ('time↘', line 44, Figure 5).

Next, I will analyse how Paul designs his verbal-turn production with accompanying embodied displays. The initiation of the if-clause is partly overlapped with Clare's insertion 'bo:th↘'

(line 43), which is subsequently taken up by Paul as he continues the if-clause 'if you BO:TH↗ (.) have enough time↘' (line 42-44), with the word 'BO:TH↗' being emphasised in lengthened duration, raised volume and stress, following a brief pause. Therefore, here the address term 'you' together with the adverbial modifier 'both' is referring to both John and Clare, indicating the intended recipients of his on-going talk (cf. Lerner, 2003). However, as soon as Paul starts verbalise the if-clause, he shifts his gaze toward Clare, while initiating a pointing gesture using the index finger of his left hand (Figure 5, line 42). He points to Clare at the word 'BO:TH↗', holds the gesture during the brief pause and repeats the gesture phase again during 'have enough time↘'. By doing this, Paul is designating that Clare is the sole addressed recipient of his on-going – and possibly upcoming – turns-at-talk, therefore preparing for the emerging participation framework in which John's role slightly changes, from an intended recipient whose recipiency has been solicited, to a co-present participant (cf. Lerner, 2003).

Paul's turns-at-talk continues after John's acknowledgement token 'YEAH↘' (line 45), which is marked with raised volume and falling intonation, and accompanied with a head-nod. In the next compound TCU on lines 46-56, Paul is giving an account for the previously given suggestion on workload and timing, verbalised with hesitations, hedges and pauses; during this TCU, Clare attempts to claim for speakership twice at two places (lines 50, 54), that is, before and after the completion point of the preliminary turn component 'mechanical part'[41] (line 49) (cf. Lerner, 1996b). The current analysis is interested in the talk forming the preliminary component on line 46-47. As mentioned above, Paul projects a shift in the emerging participation framework regarding John; in this stretch of talk, Paul uses a different set of address terms, accompanied with gaze and gesture, and progressively demonstrates the shifted participation framework of speaker and recipient. First, Paul's verbal talk places stress on 'he' and 'you don't' (line 46), with the third person reference 'he' referring to John and second person reference 'you' referring to Clare, thereby addressing the on-going talk solely to Clare. Second, Paul holds his gaze toward Clare the whole time during the utterance, while his

---

[41] Paul's verbal turn starting from line 42 consists of a compound TCU, with a preceding if-clause, and a main clause starting from 'then maybe↗'. The if-clause therefore forms the preliminary component, of which the completion point, as Lerner (1996b) suggested, is semi-permeable and provides opportunity for collaborative turn continuation. In this case, Clare provides an anticipatory final component (lines 50, 54). However, this is out of the scope of the current analysis.

pointing gesture is used twice (Figure 6): the first time initiated and held during '`cuz if he has enough time`↘', pointed to John, and then retracted during '`but`' (Figure 6, line 46); the second time initiated and held during '`you don't have enough time`↘ `to do the:`↗' (Figure 6, line 46-47), the 0.5-second pause and the hesitation marker '`uh:`' (line 49), and retracted as he approaches the preliminary component completion point at '`mechanical part`' (Figure 7, line 49). In this way, Paul's gaze further designates to whom this on-going talk is addressed to, whereas his pointing gesture facilitates the person references in the verbal talk.

In the above case, I have shown how the meeting chair self-selects and employs a wide range of vocal, verbal and embodied resources to either maintain the current participation framework, or to project as well as to bring forward changes to the emerging participation framework. So far, I have analysed eight different cases of speaker change through 'next speaker self-selects' (Sacks et al., 1974) while the chair-appointed primary speaker is making the update during the roundtable discussion phase in meeting interactions; these cases are initiated either by a non-chair, non-primary speaker, or a meeting chair. In the two sub-sections that follow, I will show three selected cases of speaker change through 'current speaker selects next' during a primary speaker's update, in which two cases are initiated by the current speaker him/herself, and the other a rare 'dispreferred case', by a non-chair, non-primary speaker.

5.3.5 *Non-chair other-selection: current primary speaker selects next*

Before *Extract 5.3.51* (see Segment 7 in Appendix II for full transcript), John has been making his update as the current *primary speaker* for about two minutes, and is coming to a projected closing by giving a brief upshot ('`so we'll go with that`↘ `(0.6) see how that works`↘', line 35). As the extract starts, John talks about a person in their department who can offer help to their project (i.e., to design and build a wind turbine) (lines 30-35); then he starts to address three of his co-participants one by one, starting with Tom, then Mark and Paul, confirming whether they are interested in getting the help from that person (lines 36-43). John's action of addressing here is therefore a possible action of selecting the next speaker, although not always the case; it depends on whether John designs his turn in a way that directs an initiating action to the intended recipient (cf. Lerner, 2003), and/or requires a verbal response (cf. Stivers &

Rossano, 2010). Further, John's use of address term varies; he names Tom and Paul when addressing them (lines 36, 43), but uses 'you' when he refers to Mark (line 38-39), which creates further complexities in a multi-party talk like this (cf. Lerner, 1996a). I will now show how John's verbal and bodily-visual productions are designed differently in the three address turns, as well as how John and his addressees display their understanding of each other's actions and act accordingly by mobilising the locally available multimodal resources.

Ex. 5.3.51 Part A (lines 30-37)

```
30    JOH:  um: (0.2) so now↘ I kno-
31          (0.3) Δ°I:'m in contact with him so it's fine°Δ
32          Δ°if anyone wants to talk to him°Δ he's
33          (0.3) Δ°more than happy to talk to you↘°Δ
34    JOH:  (0.3) u:m:
35    JOH:  (0.7) so: we'll go: with #that↘ (0.6) see how that #works↘
                                      #PAU lean backward then forward
                                                                #PAU
                                                                gaze JOH

36          (.)£now I know (.)#I think #Tom's %interes#ted↘ (0.4) in
                £JOH gaze TOM           #JOH nod
                            #PAU gaze TOM             #PAU gaze front
                                            %CLA gaze TOM

37          prop desi: $gn↗
                    $TOM raise head
```


Fig.1 PAU/JOH/CLA/DAN/MAR (L35-37)

First address term (lines 30-37)

On line 35, John gives an upshot of his previous update, with a final falling intonation, while looking toward his co-participants in front; and all co-participants, including the meeting chair Paul, are gazing toward John (Figure 1). Following a brief pause, John initiates a new TCU with an explicit address term, that is, naming 'Tom', however uses an embedded form of addressing (line 36). Based on its lexicon-grammar and prosody, this verbal turn is designed with some

ambiguity, as it is hard to tell whether it is meant to be a statement, which does not necessitate a second pair part, or an initiating action of confirmation check, which requires a second-pair-part response (cf. Lerner, 1996a, p. 283; Sacks et al., 1974). John's way of mobilising bodily-visual resources here thus helps disambiguate the action: he directs his gaze toward Tom at his turn-beginning 'now I know', showing that Tom is the intended recipient of his incoming turn; and he emphasises this with a nod as he produces the name 'Tom' (Figure 1, line 36) (cf. Lerner, 2003). Subsequently, as co-participants, Paul and Clare shift their gaze toward Tom one after another as John vocalises the address term in 'I think Tom's interested↘' (Figure 1, line 36). Further, John's turn extension consists of a prepositional phrase with a rising intonation ('in prop desi:gn↗', line 37), which may functions as a confirmation check. In this other-selecting turn on lines 36-37, several response-mobilising features can be found: the address term, recipient-tilted epistemic asymmetry, the rising intonation and speaker gaze (cf. Stivers & Rossano, 2010), which, to some degree, hold the recipient accountable for a response. Yet, the addressed recipient Tom responds with minimal bodily-visual display, by raising his head, inclining his upper torso backward, and engaging in mutual gaze with Paul (Figure 1, line 36-37)[42]. As no audible verbal response is given by Tom, it can be told that he is not treating John's turn as containing any initiating action that requires a second-pair-part verbal response. Thus, the fact that he has been addressed as the intended recipient of the utterance does not necessarily hold him accountable as a next speaker; rather, a mutual gaze in response seems to be sufficient here as an *embodied second pair part*. Although due to the position of the camera, it is hard to tell whether Tom displays any further responsive bodily-visual practice (e.g., nodding) toward John.

Ex. 5.3.51 Part B (lines 38-43)

```
38    JOH: (0.3) %uh £also you'&r:e↓ (.)%interes%ted↘
                  %CLA gaze JOH         %CLA gaze left
                     £JOH gaze MAR, nod          %CLA gaze JOH
                           &DAN nod, gaze downward front
```

---

[42] Although in the data visual access to Tom is blocked by Dan, it is still visible here that Tom changed his upper body positioning as he is being addressed by John.

Fig.2 JOH/CLA//DAN gaze/body (L38)

```
39   JOH: £¥(0.9) %if you can get &any ti: ¥me £from your business↘≈
          £JOH tilt/wave head              £JOH smile
           ¥MAR nod                         ¥MAR lean backward
              %CLA gaze left      &DAN lean backward,
                                    R hand touch ear, gaze JOH
```


Fig.3 MAR/DAN/CLA gaze/body/gesture (L39)

```
40   MAR: ≈%yeah ⌈Δ°if I actually &get some-°Δ⌉
41   JOH:        ⌊ I    think   &YOU'R:E   ⌋
          %MAR nod, smile        &DAN gaze MAR
42   JOH: UM: &¥·hhhh
             &DAN gaze JOH
              ¥MAR lean forward
43   JOH: you're fairly maxed out↗ £and then I know Paul you're:↗
                                   £JOH gaze PAU
```

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Fig.4 DAN/MAR/JOH/PAU gaze/body (L40-43)

Second address term (lines 38-43)

On line 38, John initiates another TCU in his extended turn. This time, John uses a second person reference 'you' as a recipient reference term, which means that that he is referring to a specific addressee, yet without verbally specifying who that is. This task of specifying the addressee is therefore done through his mobilisation of bodily-visual resources; hence it further entails a task for the co-participants to visually inspect the speaker's body orientation and determine who the actual addressee is (cf. Lerner, 1996a, 2003).

John's body orientation here also precedes his verbal utterance, same as the case with the first address term. He starts to retract gaze from Tom as he produces the hesitation marker 'uh' and turn-initial 'also' (Figure 2, line 38). He soon reaches his gaze to Mark as he utters his address term 'you'r:e↓' in prolonged duration and a decreasing pitch, bodily accompanied with a head-nod directed to Mark and followed by a brief pause (Figure 2, line 38). Here, both John's verbal production and embodied display place an emphasis on the address term, which is embedded in the statement 'you'r:e↓ (.)interested↘' that constitutes a particularity for this 'unknown recipient' – 'you' being a co-participant who has epistemic expertise (cf. Lerner, 2003; Stivers & Rossano, 2010). As Mark is engaged in sustained gaze toward John (compare Figure 1 and 2), it gives his visual access to John's embodied movements; he soon responds toward John as the verbally-addressed and gazed-at recipient. Together with the shared knowledge they have, Mark displays an embodied agreement to John's statement by head nods displayed passing the TRP (Figure 3, 'interested↘', line 39). Besides, as a co-participant here, Clare switches her gaze direction back and forth between her right and her left, where John and

Mark are seated respectively, which is her bodily display of her tracking the gaze direction of the current speaker, John (Figure 2 and 3, lines 38-39). In comparison, Dan is leaning forward on the desk, looking downward, therefore without noticing John's gaze direction to Mark (Figure 1 and 2, line 38); with John's verbal reference 'you' and, possibly, his shared knowledge in what John is referring to, Dan treats himself as a candidate-addressed recipient, by immediately responding to him with head nods upon hearing 'you' (Figure 2, line 38).

With this ambiguity, John proceeds his turn with an if-clause turn increment ('if you can get any ti:me from your business↘', line 39), adding an if-condition to his statement; it functions as a further particularity of his intended recipient, therefore narrowing down the epistemic domain toward that of Mark - someone who is busy with 'business' (see Segment 1 in Appendix II). John's embodied display further explicates his orientation toward Mark: he tilts and shakes his head toward Mark and smiles (Figure 3, line 39). Here, John's two-part statement, which appeared with an ambiguous address term 'you' - a further specified recipient-tilted epistemic asymmetry, together with his gaze and head movements, implicitly makes relevant a response from Mark. Therefore, Mark starts to lean backward while nodding and smiling in response to John, displaying his affiliative stance toward John's statement (Figures 3 and 4, lines 39-41). Verbally, he soon places a response token 'yeah' latched onto John's TRP, followed with a more explicit aligning response '△°if I actually get some-°△' (line 41), in the form of a reformulated if-clause from John's original one. In other words, Marks treats John's verbal and bodily display as an initiating action that holds him accountable for a response; he therefore responds both verbally and bodily-visually.

In the meantime, without waiting for Mark's upcoming turn, John initiates another TCU 'I think YOU'R:E' overlapping Mark's utterance, with smile, increased volume and lengthened sound (Figure 4, line 41). John's verbal talk here shows that he is holding the floor for his upcoming utterance, thereby causing Mark's subsequent cut-off and drop-out of his turn, leaving his TCU incomplete (line 40). After a further prolonged hesitation marker and inhalation ('UM: ·hhhh', line 42), possibly to consolidate the floor, John's early-placed assessment then continues to evolve into a sequence closing third (SCT) ('you're fairly maxed out↗', line 43); it is then followed with the next turn which addresses Paul ('and then

`I know Paul you're:↗`', line 43). Meanwhile, after his verbal drop-out, Mark leans his upper torso forward to his 'home position' (Sacks & Schegloff, 2002) and displays his recipiency toward John (Figure 4, line 42). Also, during lines 39-41, Dan finally start to inspect the current speaker John's gaze direction, which is directed toward the target addressee Mark; he leans backward and shifts his gaze upward toward John, then Mark, and back to John again (Figures 3 and 4, lines 39-42) – a same action trajectory deployed by another co-participant, Clare, to track the current speaker's gaze (Figure 2 and 3, lines 38-39).

In this case, I have shown that using 'you' as an address term for turn allocation through 'current speaker selects next' can be done in a rather ambiguous and subtle way, which can be seen in the various ways the intended recipient and other co-participants interpret and act upon. For instance, several response-mobilising features can be observed in John's verbal turn. These response-mobilising practices can be legitimately treated by the intended recipient as an action-initiating FPP, leading to a verbal reply with a SPP; or, it can also be seen as less response-relevant, leading to a simple recipiency display by mutual gaze or other bodily practices. Also, the data further demonstrates the vulnerabilities of the person reference 'you' as an 'unknown recipient' indicator, as it entails a task for both the addressed and other-than-addressed co-participants to inspect the speaker's bodily-visual practices, especially gaze directions, so as to determine to whom the verbal turn is primarily addressed to (cf. Lerner, 1996a, 2003). Further, if ambiguity arises regarding identifying the addressed recipient, the speaker, in this case, John, is held responsible to provide further specifications, such as gaze directions, body orientations and verbal particularities of the recipient epistemic expertise. I will now continue to discuss Paul's third address term.

Ex. 5.3.51 Part C (lines 43-55)

```
40   MAR: ≈%yeah ⌈Δ°if I actually &get some-°Δ⌉
41   JOH:       ⌊ I    think   &YOU'R:E    ⌋
          %MAR nod, smile      &DAN gaze MAR
42   JOH: UM: &¥·hhhh
          &DAN gaze JOH
          ¥MAR lean forward
43   JOH: you're fairly maxed out↗ £and then I know Paul you're:↗
                              £JOH gaze PAU
```

Fig.4 DAN/MAR/JOH/PAU gaze/body (L40-43)

```
44    PAU: (0.2)  I:'£m gonna do the °£structures on the lifting systems°≈
                      £PAU lower gaze£PAU hands touch eyes

45    JOH: ≈#ri£ght↘ okay↗≈
              #PAU gaze JOH
                £JOH gaze right front

46    PAU: ≈#so: I- £this is the thing #I: ·hh (0.8) I'm almost gonna just
              #PAU gaze front          #PAU hands under chin
                  £JOH gaze PAU
```


Fig.5 PAU/JOH gaze/body (L44-46)

```
47        work out thee: (0.9) #basic cost of- compared to a winch-and-
                                #PAU raise head, gaze left front

48        a-rack #companion↗
                 #PAU gaze JOH

49    JOH: yeah≈

50    PAU: ≈ and #then which I want is #cheaper
                  #PAU gaze front       #PAU gaze JOH
```
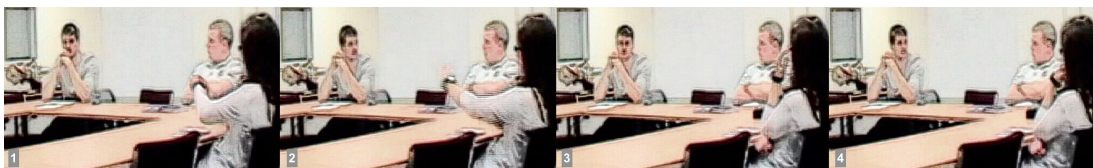

Fig.6 PAU/JOH gaze/body (L47-50)

```
51    JOH:  ⌈£     yeah        ⌉
52    PAU:  ⌊£#ΔI'm just gonnaΔ⌋ go with tha- and #make it-#it'll be
              £JOH gaze lower front                    #PAU gaze JOH
               #PAU gaze front                  #PAU gesture
53          £a basic design-#it'll be≈
              £JOH gaze PAU    #PAU retract gesture, shift gaze left front
```


Fig.7 PAU/JOH gaze/body (L51-53)

```
54    JOH:  ≈ that's fine
55          (0.5)
56    JOH:  yeah↘
57    PAU:  #jus- (1.2) go with that↘
              #PAU gaze front
58    JOH:  (.)£yeah okay
                £JOH gaze right front
```


Fig.8 PAU/JOH gaze/body (L53-58)

Third address term (lines 43-55)

Similar with the first case, John's third address term is also embedded in his question, initiating a new TCU immediately latched on to the previous one directed to Mark ("you're fairly maxed out↗", line 43). As soon as he verbalises the new TCU, he moves his head, thus redirecting his gaze, toward the meeting chair Paul, who is his next intended recipient (Figure 4, line 43). This immediate gaze-shift serves dual-function: as John retracts eye-gaze from Mark, it eliminates the possibility that Mark can secure John's recipiency to resume his unfinished utterance from line 40; also the arrival of his gaze onto Paul prior to the verbal addressing turn projects that Paul is going to be addressed next, therefore eliciting his displayed recipiency. Further, John's addressing turn is designed as a syntactically incomplete question directed to Paul, by naming him and marked with a final rising intonation ('and then I know Paul you're:↗', line 43), therefore inviting him to speak next and to complete the utterance.

Following a brief 0.2-second pause, Paul takes up the turn and responds to John's question, yet without establishing mutual gaze with him (Figure 4, line 43). He keeps his gaze direction toward front as he initiates the turn starting with '`I:'m gonna do the`' (line 44), and then slowly raises his hands and massages his eyes (Figure 5, line 44). Until passing the TRP, Paul redirects his gaze toward John and therefore reaches mutual gaze with him; this bodily redirection at the transition space displays Paul's orientation toward John, making him the target recipient of his previous turn. In response, John inserts two acknowledgement tokens '`right↘ okay↗`' as sequence closing thirds, and at the meantime starts to look away toward his right front, upon a brief mutual gaze with Paul (Figure 5, line 45). John's bodily redirection here shows that he is ready for the initiation of a new sequence. Yet latching with John's '`okay↗`', Paul extends his turn-at-talk with a lengthened '`so:`' and a restart '`I- this is the thing I:`' at turn initial position, re-claiming speakership; also, he retracts his gaze from John as soon as he re-gains John's displayed recipiency (Figure 5, line 46). Here on line 46, Paul's retraction of eye-gaze and upper body (head) toward the whole group at his turn-initial position, and the range of verbal resources he deploys not only prompts John's gaze and consolidate the floor, but also directs the upcoming talk to the whole group of co-participants and therefore including them in the evolving participation framework.

Further, in what follows on lines 46-57, Paul continues with several turn increments, reporting his update to the whole group of co-participants while displaying his dual-orientation to John at several transition places (Figure5-7, lines 48, 50, 52). Starting from line 43 of being addressed by John, Paul's verbal and bodily-visual practices displayed throughout until the end of the extract progressively brings a shift in the local participation framework, where his own role changed from an addressed recipient to the meeting chair and the current primary speaker, and John a primary speaker to a co-participant and target recipient of Paul's talk.

Therefore, one of the differences between this third case of addressing and the previous two is: in this case, although the address term is embedded in the utterance, it is designed more explicitly as an initiating action, namely, a first-pair-part action that requests a second-pair-part response from the intended addressed recipient. Further, in this case, the addressed recipient Paul, being the meeting chair, skillfully mobilises his gaze direction to consolidate speakership

and initiate changes in the participation framework. As Paul and John are seated on the same side of the desk, the (dis)establishment of mutual gaze with his interlocutor, John, becomes a resource to claim speakership as well as elicit recipiency; it also brings the need for Paul to display dual-orientation toward John at his left side and other co-participants in his front, so as to sustain joint attention.

In *Extract 5.3.52* below, another case of other selection made by a *primary speaker* will be looked at, in which Clare as a current *primary speaker* poses a question about choosing the design of the blade of wind turbine between CPP and FPP (lines 11-17). She employs bodily-visual resources to direct this question toward two attentively listening co-participants, John and Paul, during her update, thus selecting them as intended next speakers without the use of address terms (see Segment 9 in Appendix II for full transcript). John, as the primary intended recipient of Clare's question, hesitates and delays his second-pair-part answer repeatedly (lines 14-21), during which Paul is made a candidate-addressed recipient by Clare (line 17), therefore creating complexities in the emerging participation framework.

Ex. 5.3.52 Part A (lines 1-17)

```
1    CLA:  #%£and then finally↘ (0.8) um: (0.2) ∆I'm also gonna∆ talk
           #PAU note-taking
            %CLA gaze right front, gesture
             £JOH gaze CLA
2          about cuz I'm not overly sure of let's say how the power
3          electronics or the- (.) the electronics in general wor:k↘
4          #∆for let's say∆ ro:ta:ting↗
           #PAU cease note-taking, gaze CLA
```


Fig.1 CLA/PAU/JOH body position (L1-4)

```
5    JOH:  (.)£uhm≈
            £JOH nod
6    CLA:  ≈ the blade↗≈
7    PAU:  ≈ [#right↘]
8    JOH:   [# ((nose inhalation))]
            #PAU resume note-taking
```

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Fig.2 CLA/PAU/JOH body position (L5-8)

```
9    CLA: (.)£or whatever↗
          £JOH nod, gaze front
10        (1.4)
11   CLA: £cuz you kind of↘ £everyone↘ Δwell not everyone↘Δ but you
          £JOH lean forward  £JOH click pen
12        £got to over overlook #that↘ °because°somehow these
          £JOH start note-taking#PAU cease note-taking, gaze CLA
```


Fig.3 CLA/PAU/JOH body position (L9-12)

```
13        blades↘-cuz are- %wha- what are we:↗ wha- what are we:↗
                         %CLA gaze JOH, gesture
14        (0.6)£
              £JOH cease note-taking,  gaze CLA
15   CLA: £CPP (see pea pea)↗
          £JOH lean upward
```
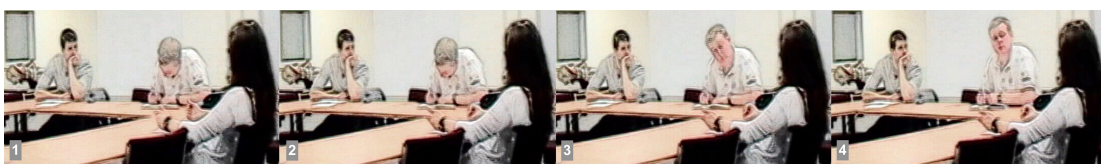

Fig.4 CLA/JOH body position/gaze (L13-15)

```
16   JOH: £tze ·h:: h::::
          £JOH gaze front, raise eyebrows
17   CLA: %£°FPP (eff pea pea)↗°
          %CLA gesture, gaze PAU, then JOH
          £JOH open/close mouth
```
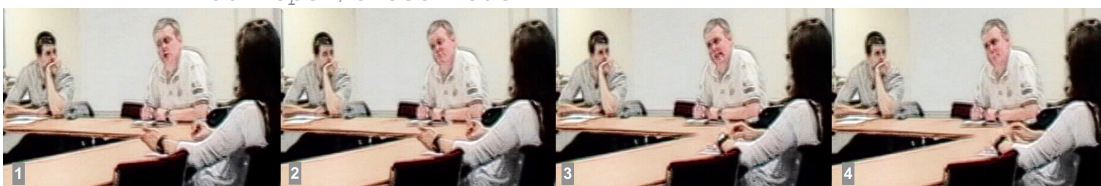

Fig.5 JOH gaze/body position (L16-17)

First pair part (lines 1-17)

At the beginning of *Ex. 5.3.52*, Clare is updating her co-participants on her part of the project, which is the design of the blade of the wind turbine, in extended turns on lines 1-4 and 11-12; meanwhile, John and Paul are listening attentively with verbal and bodily responses. Throughout lines 1-3 of Clare's extended turn, the meeting chair Paul is taking notes of Clare's update; he stops and gazes at Clare during her utterance on line 4, and gives a brief verbal response 'right↘' then resumes his note-taking on line 7 (Figure 1 and 2). John, on the other hand, sustains his gaze at Clare during her utterance on lines 1-4; he then nods and verbally responds with 'uhm' on line 5 (Figure 1-2). Starting from line 11 as Clare initiates a new turn, John repositions his upper torso and joins Paul in note-taking on line 12 (Figure 3). After Clare's restarts 'over overlook' online 12, Paul suspends his note-taking, leans on the desk, rests his chin in his left hand and gazes at Clare, while John is still taking notes without gazing at Clare (Figure 2); their different body positioning therefore displays Paul's availability and John's unavailability for a possible next speaker.

Next, one lines 12-13, Clare abandons the proceeding causal clause half-way ('°because°somehow these blades↘') and inserts a question ('cuz are- wha- what are we:↗ wha- what are we:↗'). The intended question 'what are we' is produced with lots of hitches, repetitions while placing emphasis on the word 'we' with stress, rising intonation and longer sound duration, all of which shows Clare's attempts to draw attention from a non-gazing recipient – John, selecting him as the next speaker to answer the question (C. Goodwin, 1980). Also, Clare's simultaneous bodily-visual display further tells her orientation toward John: starting from the first 'wha-' (line 13), she slightly moves her head towards John, hence re-directing her gaze from Paul to John, with both of her hands palms-up - an iconic gesture showing that she is relinquishing the floor and inviting her intended recipient to respond (Figure 4).

Following the 0.6-second pause on line 14, John also suspends his note-taking, leans upward and engages in mutual gaze with Clare (Figure 4, lines 14-15), while Clare quickly adds another element to her question – a candidate answer 'CPP↗' on line 15. Instead of giving a verbal response to Clare in a second-pair-part form, John delays his turn-to-come and holds the floor

through his vocal and bodily display of hesitation: a dental click, and prolonged in-breath and out-breath, accompanied with opening/closing mouth and raised eyebrows (Figure 5, lines 16-17). He also keeps a fixed middle-distance look at his front, without establishing mutual gaze with Clare, which also work to put the expected second-pair-part response on stand-by. Meanwhile, Clare provides a second candidate answer '°FPP↗°' on line 17, in a softer voice, during which she closes her hands and displays a brief glance at Paul, the meeting chair, who is listening attentively with the same body positioning since line 12 (Figure 5, line 17). Clare's verbal and bodily-visual practices here exert multiple interactional effects: firstly, she further modifies her previous question by providing an alternative choice; secondly, she provides John another transition space, thus prompts him to take up the next verbal turn; thirdly, she also attempts to include Paul into the current participation framework by briefly glancing at him, thus making him a candidate-addressed recipient. How the two recipients respond will be analysed below.

Ex. 5.3.52 Part B (lines 18-27)

```
18   JOH: °d- it's difficult to decide↘°
19        (0.5)
20   PAU: tze ·h ⌈£     UM::::        ⌉
21   CLA:        ⌊£°I thought it's-°⌋
                  £JOH gaze downward front
22   JOH: I TH⌈OU:GHT ↘   ⌉ I thought↘ we are initially going for an≈
23   CLA:    ⌊ΔI though-Δ⌋
24   JOH: ≈ FPP #£to start with↘ £cuz ⌈it's #ea:⌉sier↗£
25   CLA:                            ⌊ yeah↘  ⌋
                #PAU lean backward, gaze CLA  #PAU lean forward, hold pen
                £JOH gaze up     £JOH raise eyebrows  £JOH gaze CLA
26        (0.4%)
                %CLA nod
27   JOH: and then if we have ti:me↘ we'll look at doing a CPP:
```


Fig.6 PAU/JOH/CLA gaze/body position (L18-26)

Second pair part (lines 18-27)

Next, holding the same middle-distance gaze toward his front (Figure 6), John claims for the floor, but further delays his second-pair-part response with a hedge '°d- it's difficult to decide↘°' on line 18, delivered in softer voice. Then, after a 0.5-second pause, Paul starts to claim for the floor, by producing a dental click and a longer hesitation marker 'UM:::' on line 20; at the meantime, Clare also initiates a verbal turn '°I thought it's-°' in overlap with Paul's vocalisations (lines 20-21), but soon cuts it off and restarts again (line 23). It is exactly at this juncture of overlap resolution between Paul and Clare that John actually produces his second pair part, starts with floor claiming turn-initial 'I THOU:GHT↘', which is the same phrase Clare produces, but in upgraded volume, lengthened sound and a falling intonation (line 22). As Clare's restart '⌂I though-⌂' is placed partly in overlap with John's turn beginning, she cuts off again so as to relinquish the floor over to her intended next speaker (line 23). In what follows, after resolving the overlap, John also recycles the turn-initial element ('I THOU:GHT ↘ I thought↘', line 22), leading a TCU of his second-pair-part response to Clare's previously posed question; yet John keeps his previous front middle-distance gaze (Figure 6, line 22-24), and does not establish mutual gaze with neither Clare nor Paul throughout the whole TCU. Therefore, without specifying a target recipient using eye-gaze as the upcoming turn proceeds, John successfully gains and consolidates the floor against Clare, the primary speaker who intended to claim the speakership back, and Paul, the meeting chair who has also attempted to gain speakership.

Further, around the next juncture of transition space at John's TRP 'to start with↘' and the increment 'cuz it's easier↗' (Figure 6, line 24-25), the three participants all initiates bodily actions that goes hand-in-hand with the verbal conversation and orient to the emerging participation framework. Regarding the meeting chair Paul who has previously dropped out of an attempted self-selecting turn, he firstly leans backward, glancing at Clare at the TRP, possibly noticing that Clare is attentively listening to John (Figure 6, line 24); he then leans forward, takes the pen, preparing to take a 'back seat' and record meeting notes, while John and Clare are engaging in the verbal turns-at-talk (Figure 6, line 24). In terms of the current speaker John who has just successfully taken up the floor, he remains gazing at front middle-distance, raises his eyebrows as he utters his increment 'cuz it's easier↗' (line 24) passing the TRP,

and after that he glances at Clare, finally directing his previous verbal turn to her (Figure 6). Then, in terms of the target recipient and the current primary speaker, Clare, she listens attentively to John, produces a verbal continuer 'yeah↘' (line 25) during the increment and responds with a head nod during the 0.4-second pause (line 26) – all of which displays her recipiency to John during his utterances.

In this extract, the 'current speaker selects next' procedure is being complicated on a moment-by-moment basis: firstly, an embodied addressing action by the current speaker, Clare, then the first intended recipient John's hesitation, and the current primary speaker Clare's further attempt to solicit response and the second intended recipient Paul's subsequent up-take of the floor. However, through the collaborative verbal and bodily-visual coordination among the three parties, the first intended recipient John, manages to take the floor and produce a response to the current primary speaker Clare. As the John's turns-at-talk continues to evolve, the meeting chair Paul gradually makes himself available for an upcoming self-selection, which is analysed in Section 5.3.4 (see *Ex. 5.3.42*).

5.3.6   *Non-chair other selection: non-primary speaker selects next*

As introduced in Section 5.2.2, the least preferred speaker change occurs when a *non-chair*, *non-primary* speaker selects a co-participant as the next speaker. Here I will illustrate one such deviant case. Prior to the talk in the following extract, Paul has just finished his update, and posed a question relating to the size of the duct to the whole group, which is then responded to by Dan through his self-selection; the whole sequence is analysed in *Ex 5.3.12*. The focal case that will be discussed here comes after John and Paul bring the sequence to a closing, and before Paul can have a chance to select the next primary speaker to continue the roundtable update discussion (for full transcript see Segment 8 in Appendix II).

Ex. 5.3.6 Part A (lines 20-36)

```
20        (0.5)
21    JOH: ∆°well no we'll just go bigger°∆
22        (0.4)
23    PAU: NO↓ I'm just saying it'll be (.) interesting [to↗  ] (.)≈
24    JOH:                                              ⌊yeah↗⌋
25    PAU: ≈ have a prototype design for:↗
```
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```
26            (0.3) #°a very very large duct°↘ £hhh
                   #PAU smile                     £JOH gaze front
27    JOH: #(0.6) °yes (.) interesting who's #ducted now°↗
            #PAU lean backward, gaze desk     #PAU gaze JOH
```


Fig.1 PAU/JOH/DAN body/gaze (L26-27)

```
28    DAN: uh [°jus-°]
29    PAU:    [((throat clearing))]


30    DAN: #just a question for you John↘#£ (.) d- do you have any
            #PAU lean forward, gaze DAN     #PAU gaze downward, then DAN
                                            £JOH gaze DAN, raise
                                              eyebrows, tilt head R-side
31            ti:me↗ &f- (0.7) #&sca:les↗ or: any (0.2) you know↗
                    &DAN lean backward, gesture
                          #PAU gaze downward
                          &DAN lean forward
```


Fig.2 JOH/PAU head movement (L30-31)

```
32            (0.5) &#£whe:n↗ things≈
                    &DAN lean backward, gesture
```

```
                          #PAU gaze DAN
                           £JOH raise eyebrows, head upright, nod
33     JOH:   ≈WHEN I want do get things #done↘ (.) U:M:-≈
                                         #PAU gaze JOH then DAN
```


Fig.3 PAU/JOH gesture/head movement (L32-33)

```
34     PAU:   ≈!t #this is↘ (.)£the next discussion↘
                   #PAU L hand gesture
                           £JOH gaze PAU
35     DAN:   (0.3) ⌈&#sorry↘⌉
36     PAU:         ⌊&#  !t   ⌋
                     &DAN R hand gesture, then retract
                      #PAU retract L hand gesture
```


Fig.4 DAN R hand gesture (L34-36)

Sequence initiated (lines 20-36)

At the start of the extract, John gives a brief upshot '△°well no we'll just go bigger°△' for the previous discussion between Paul and Dan. Paul then gives an account for his action of raising the question, starting with 'NO↓ I'm just saying' (line 23) and ending with decreased volume and breathy laughs (lines 23-26); it is followed with John's brief and affiliating assessment produced in soft voice after a brief 0.6-second pause ('°yes (.) interesting who's ducted now°↗', line 27). Paul and John's verbal turns here work to bring the current sequence to a closing as well as open up the space for speaker change. Paul and John's bodily

display also project the closing: as can be seen in Figure 1, there is no mutual gaze between John and Paul throughout lines 25-27. Therefore, in what follows, Dan takes up the slot and selects himself as the next-speaker, by directing a question to John, thus opening up a new sequence (lines 28, 30-32). After that, John, the addressee of Dan's question, immediately responds to Dan (line 33), whereas the meeting chair Paul soon cuts in and marks Dan's insertion as a digression (line 34), that is, a discussion that is off-track and should not be unfolded here. Now I will unpack this sequence step by step, explaining how it is initiated, taken up, ceased and how the series of actions are accounted for.

On line 28-33, Dan directs a question to John by addressing his name ('`just a question for you John`↘', line 30), asking for John's timeline in his future work. The addressee John immediately responds at Dan's first TRP '`John`↘' with mutual eye-gaze, raised eyebrows and tilted head toward his right, displaying his attentive listenership (Figure 2, line 30). Next, Dan continues to formulate the question, yet possibly due to uncertainty or hesitation, the utterance is full of hitches, lengthening and pauses (lines 30-32). Quickly, John cuts in with a reformulation of Dan's question ('`WHEN I want do get things done`↘', line 33), at the meantime raising his eyebrows again and moving his head to an upright 'home position' (Sacks & Schegloff, 2002) (Figure 3, lines 32-33). In this way, John enacts upon the proposed shift in the participation framework, from being a recipient of Dan's question, to a speaker who is selected by Dan to answer the question. Without noticing Paul's glance at him by his TRP (Figure 3, line 33), John continues his turn-at-talk with a prolonged hesitation marker '`U:M:-`' in increased volume, possibly to buy himself more time when preparing the upcoming answer.

However, the sequence does not continue to proceed, as Paul, the meeting chair, soon puts a stop to it. As Paul's previous solicitation of eye-gaze toward John was not being responded nor noticed (Figure 3, line 33), he then chooses to verbally halt John's upcoming turn, by turning to John's recipient, Dan, who is the initiator of this 'digression'. On line 34, after a clear and hearable dental click '`!t`' that cuts off John's '`U:M:-`', Paul makes a verbal statement, marking the digression of this on-going talk ('`this is`↘ `(.)the next discussion`↘'), putting stress especially on the words '`this`' and '`next`'. Bodily-visually, Paul firstly has a gaze shift, from John at his previous turn-final position, toward Dan when John produces the hesitation marker

'U:M:-' (Figure 4, line 34); he then further emphasizes his verbal turn with a pointing gesture directed to Dan using his right hand index finger (Figure 4, note that this gesture phase is done slowly with a clearly seen trajectory). In response, the two co-participants quickly align with Paul's proposed action, by abandoning their on on-going action: John moves his gaze toward Paul right after the beginning of Paul's turn (Figure 4, line 34); Dan, on the other hand, gives a verbal apology after a 0.3-second pause ('sorry↘', line 35), accompanying with an iconic gesture using his right hand (Figure 4). What happens next shows the extra interactional work done by the meeting chair and the two co-participants, who have gone off-topic, to account for and/or pursue their own actions by displaying (dis)affiliation and/or (mis)alignment, through their mobilisation of verbal and bodily-visual resources in an orderly, reflexive way.

Ex. 5.3.6 Part B (lines 37-58)

```
37    MAR:  ⌈hh hh hh hh hh hh    ⌉
38    PAU:  ⌊#£so:↗ °I just-°     ⌋
39    DAN:  ⌊#£oka:y JUST &BECAUSE⌋ I #want to see:↘ #whe£⌈re we can⌉≈
40    JOH:                                            £⌊yeah↘    ⌋
             #PAU R hand gesture      #PAU gaze JOH  #PAU gaze DAN
              £JOH gaze DAN &DAN R hand gesture              £JOH nod, smile
41    DAN:  ≈ fit↘ how we can ⌈help⌉ and ⌈ that  ⌉ sort of ⌈&things↘⌉≈
42    PAU:                    ⌊ !t ⌋
43    JOH:                              ⌊I know↘⌋       ⌊& yeah↘  ⌋
                                                      &DAN retract gesture
```


Fig.5 PAU/JOH/DAN gesture/gaze (L37-43)

```
44    DAN:  ≈ ⌈#°cuz it's-uh°   ⌉
45    PAU:    ⌊#ye:ah↗⌋
```

```
46    JOH:              [ £yeah↘] no I'm aware of that↘ (0.2) um::- ≈
                  #PAU gaze desk, L hand palm-up gesture,retract
                      £JOH gaze front middle-distance
```


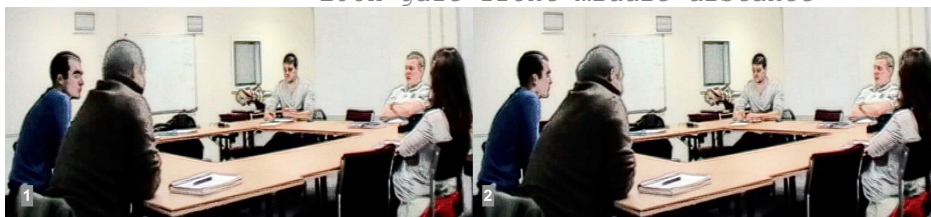*Fig.6 PAU/JOH gaze/gesture (L44-46)*

```
47    PAU:  ≈#I just want £#to hear what everyone (.)#was gonna do
                      £JOH gaze PAU              #PAU gaze DAN
            #PAU gaze DAN #PAU gaze desk, R hand gesture

48          &first↘ [#and ]≈
49    DAN:          [#yeah]
            &DAN R hand gesture, nod
                  #PAU both hands gesture

50    PAU: ≈ then we can discuss [&how ] #we're gonna↗
51    DAN:                       [&sure]
                              &DAN nod#PAU both hands beat
                                        gesture

52    PAU: (0.3)#get everything done in time↗
                #PAU both hands beat desk
```


Fig.7 PAU/DAN gaze/gesture (L47-52)

```
53    DAN: (.) sure≈
```

```
54     PAU:  ≈ &together↗ #bu:t #I mean↗
              &DAN lean backward, nod
                        #PAU L hand palm-up gesture
                          #PAU gaze desk, L hand beat desk
55          (0.6)
56     JOH:  yeah↘ [&okay ] fine↘
57     DAN:         [&yeah↘]
                    &DAN nod
58     PAU:  (.)#yeah↘
                #PAU gaze JOH, retract
```


Fig.8 PAU/DAN/JOH gaze/body/gesture (L53-58)

Sequence ceased (lines 37-58)

In this part of analysis, I will firstly show how Dan accounts for his digression, then how John attempts to take up this inserted sequence, and finally how Paul as the meeting chair brings together joint attention on himself and closes the sequence. after a brief verbal apology on line 35, Dan proceeds his turns-at-talk with an account of his own action (ʻoka:y JUST BECAUSE I want to see:↘ where we can fit↘ how we can help and that sort of things↘', lines 39, 41); by doing this, he explains the reason why he poses the question to John, as uttered through lines 39, 41 and 44, oriented to Paul and John. This can also be seen as Dan's attempt to affiliate with Paul. At the meantime, Paul initiates a new turn starting with ʻso:↗ °I just-°' (line 38), possibly an attempt to account for his action, that is, a straightforward marking of Dan's digression, or a pursuit of a new topic.

On the other hand, after the pre-turn dental click ʻ!t' (line 36) overlapping Dan's verbal apology, Paul initiates his verbal turn beginning with ʻso:↗', a discourse marker often used by meeting chairs for topic control (Holmes & Stubbe, 2003, p. 74). Yet Paul's turn beginning is also in overlap with Dan's ʻoka:y JUST BECAUSE' (line 38). As Dan raises his voice at the third beat ʻJUST BECAUSE' and compete for the floor, Paul lowers his voice at the third beat ʻ°I

just-°' and soon drops out from the overlapping talk (Schegloff, 2000). Further, Paul and Dan's gesture displays are also in collaboration with the resolution of this overlapping talk: Paul's right hand gesture is initiated at his turn beginning 'so:↗', waving from left to right, then retracted where his verbal talk is cut off ('just-, line 38', Figure 5); whereas Dan uses his right hand to point forward as he raised his volume at 'BECAUSE' on line 39 (Figure 5, line 39). After dropping out of his turn on line 39, Paul soon redirects his gaze from Dan to John, seeking recipiency from him; then due to John's unavailability, he redirects his gaze back toward Dan, finally displaying recipiency to him at 'where we can fit↘' (Figure 5).

Meanwhile, John is not only attentively listening to Dan, but also affiliating and aligning with him through his embodied display; these include smile and head-nod (Figure 5, lines 39-40), and verbal affirmative response tokens 'yeah↘' (line 40), 'I know↘' and 'yeah↘' (line 43) that are all marked with falling intonation. Mark, as another co-participant, also produces breathy laughter (line 37) and orients to Dan with gaze and smile (Figure 5, line 39), all of which work as softeners to the tensions created by the digression (see for example Kangasharju, 1996). As Dan continue to proceed with his verbal turn, his gesture-in-talk is maintained, and retracted until his verbal turn reaches to a TRP ('sort of things↘') (Figure 5, line 41). At this point, John, as the attentive listener to whom Dan's previous question was addressed to, takes a step further to pursue the action that was previously put on-hold, and initiates another attempt to answer the question. First, he self-selects ('yeah↘ no I'm aware of that↘', line 46) while Dan starts to trail off with lowered volume ('°cuz it's-uh°', line 44). Here, John's 'I'm aware of that' can be seen as an upgraded 'I know', claiming again that he is knowledgeable in the information required by Dan, and/or acknowledging Dan's justification for asking for such information. Also, John's gaze direction is shifted out-of-focus to his left front middle-distance as soon as he starts his verbal turn (Figure 6, line 46), which can be seen as part of his floor-holding device – to occupy the floor without eye contact with any co-participants. Then, he continues to hold the floor with a verbal hesitation marker 'um::-', delaying his upcoming turn in response to the question; but it soon it is cut off by Paul again, as explicated below.

Here, Paul displays active listenership by giving multiple verbal responses to Dan's account, including another dental click '!t' (line 42) during Dan's account, and a 'ye:ah↗' in a rising

intonation overlapping Dan's turn-final and latched onto John's turn beginning (line 45). Bodily-visually, he withdraws gaze from Dan toward the desk, while his left hand does a 'palm-up' gesture (Figure 6, line 45). Both his verbal and bodily-visual displays show that he is disattending to and misaligning with Dan's action trajectory, in contrast to John's affiliative and aligning responses. As John's action of pursuing the put-on-hold sequence is evolving, Paul soon cuts off John's ongoing turn, picking up his dropped-out turn from line 38, by recycling the turn-beginning 'I just' (line 47). This time he articulates his account by reaffirming the proceeding of the agenda and locating Dan's proposed item on the agenda, executing his authority and responsibility as a chair (Holmes & Stubbe, 2003). Firstly, he refers to the ongoing task, that is, the roundtable update which has not finished yet – 'I just want to hear what everyone (.) was gonna do first↘' (line 47-48); then the next agenda item, that is, the timing of each participant's work, to which Dan's proposed topic fits in – 'and then we can discuss how we're gonna↗ (0.3) get everything done in time↗ together↗' (lines 48-54). While Paul is speaking, he also meaningfully orients his gaze to the meeting agenda: he looks up to Dan as he starts speaking ('I just want'), looks back at the desk (i.e., where his notes and meeting agenda are) during 'to hear what everyone' (Figure 7, line 47), then looks to Dan and other co-participants for the rest of his talk (Figure 7, lines 47-48).

Next, during Paul's extended turn on lines 47-54, the two vocal co-participants, John and Dan, both affiliates and aligns with Paul through their verbal and bodily-visual display. On one hand, after dropping out of his turn on line 46, John soon redirects his gaze at Paul after the turn beginning (Figure 7, line 47) and displays his recipiency throughout Paul's verbal turn; after Paul's turn, he also verbally accepts Paul's 'halting the digression' ('yeah↘ okay fine↘', line 56). On the other, Dan not only responds affirmatively with 'yeah' and 'sure' at times (lines 49, 51, 53, 57), but also bodily displays head-nods (lines 49, 51, 54) and an iconic gesture (Figure 7, line 49), the same one when he previously apologises to him (Figure 4, line 35), acknowledging Paul's authority as a chair. In response, Paul uses his hand gesture to emphasise his up-coming talk: two 'beat' hand gestures as he verbalises 'how we're gonna↗ (0.3) get everything done in time↗' (lines 50, 52), which states that the discussion brought up by Dan will be discussed at a later state; after which he retracts his gesture and puts his hands back on the desk (Figure 7). Therefore, at this point onwards, Paul has successfully halted the digression,

brought the talk back on track with aligned co-participants, among whom I have focused especially on Dan and John, the two speakers who initiated and taken-up the digression.

In this analysis, I have shown how by coordinating with each other verbally and bodily, non-chair co-participants can team-up in a conflict and work towards the pursuit of an action (i.e., to raise a new question and respond with an answer) (cf. Kangasharju, 1996); it is also discussed how the meeting chair executes his power and authority over a dispreferred digression with reference to the meeting agenda with both verbal and bodily display, and his disaffiliative and misaligning attempts finally ceases the digression, brings together co-participants' joint-attention and sets the turns-at-talk back on-track. Starting on line 58, Paul appoints another primary speaker, Clare, and the roundtable update hence continues to proceed (see Segment 8 in Appendix II).

5.4   Summary

To summarise this chapter, upon close analysis on the collection of cases of speaker transitions in the context of *roundtable update discussion*, a degree of systematicity was revealed. Regarding cases of self-selection, it was observed that: (1) non-chair non-primary speakers self-select to pursue a new interactional project (e.g., raising a question, a counter-statement), inserting a sequence in the midst of the current primary speaker's update talk (Stage B1); whereas the meeting chair self-selects to bring changes (e.g., block, divert, negotiate, contribute) to an on-going interactional project that one or more co-participants are pursuing, therefore chair's self-selection tends to follow a previously inserted sequence within the current primary speaker's update talk (Stage B2); (2) non-chair non-primary speakers display extra interactional work at pre-turn positions, bringing the interactional project from preparatory to delivery in a transformative, reflexive way through the role of an attentive recipient, an incipient speaker to a current speaker (Stage B1); whereas the meeting chair, through close monitoring of on-going talk, self-selects in skilful ways that fluidly and actively mobilise recipiency from multiple co-participants and brings together joint attention (Stage B1).

In comparison, cases of other-selection tend to be less frequent, yet also demonstrating

systematicity. It was observed that: (3) primary speakers' self-selection leads an inserted sequence, in pursuit of a diverted interactional project occasioned by the primary speaker during the on-going update talk (Stage B3); whereas non-primary speaker's self-selection is rather rare and treated as deviant behaviours, which occasions an interactional project that is dispreferred and soon blocked by the meeting chair (Stage B4); (4) primary speaker's courses of action constituting the other-selection are also done in a transformative and reflexive way, with online turn-design and recipient design consisting use of verbal and embodied response-mobilising features (Stage B3). A revisit of the overall structural organisation of roundtable update discussion in Figure 4.4 therefore contextualises the above-described features.
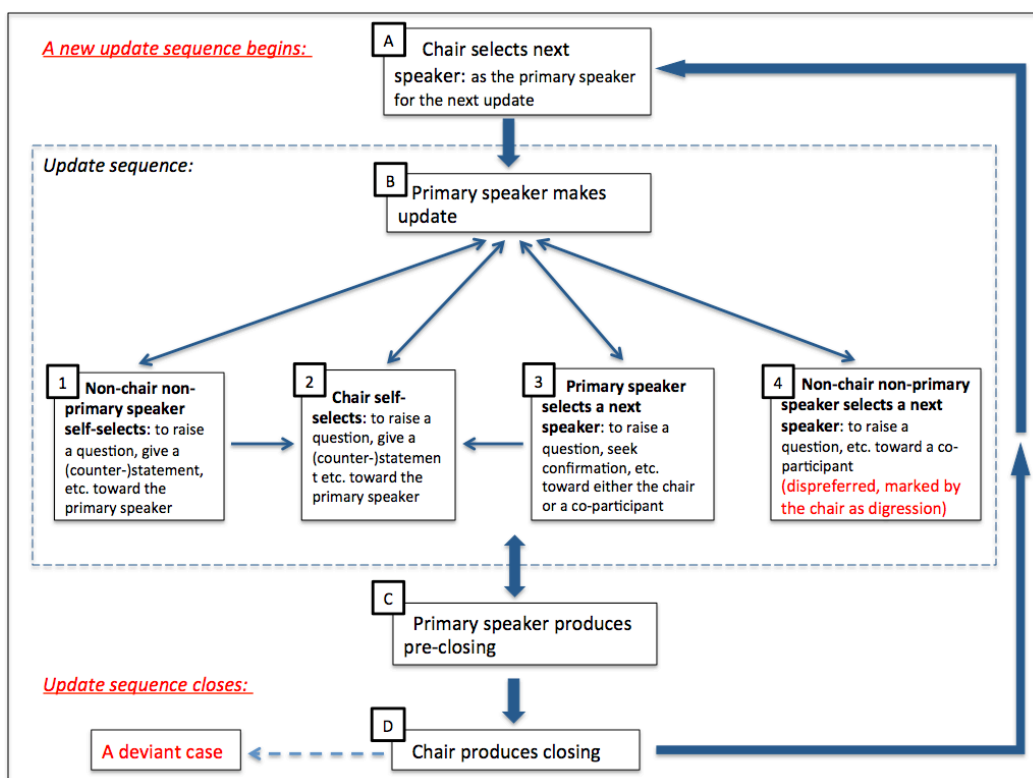

Figure 4.4 Overall Structural Organisation of Roundtable Update Discussion

Especially, a re-grouping of part of the collected cases listed below further evidenced the claims above (especially 1 and 2): all cases of chair self-selection (i.e., Ex. 5.3.31, 5.3.32, 5.3.41, 5.3.42) occur after three cases of non-chair non-primary self-selection (i.e., Ex. 5.3.11, 5.3.21, 5.3.22) and one of primary-speaker other selection (i.e., Ex. 5.3.52).

- Segment 2: Ex. 5.3.11 + Ex. 5.3.41

- Segment 3: Ex. 5.3.21 + Ex. 5.3.31

- Segment 6: Ex. 5.3.22 + Ex. 5.3.32

- Segment 9: Ex. 5.3.52 + Ex. 5.3.42

These observations shall be further unpacked and related to existing literature in the following chapter.

Chapter 6. Discussion

6.1 Introduction

By adopting the micro-analytic methodology of conversation analysis (CA), this study has investigated the professional and academic competences university students use and rely on to participate in multiparty group meetings. It draws upon a dataset of ten hours of video- and audio-recordings from the Newcastle University Corpus of Academic English (NUCASE) (Walsh, 2014), consisting of eight meetings of a group of naval architecture undergraduate students working cooperatively on their final year project. The findings of the study contributes to the field of research on social interaction by bridging the gap in existing literature on university student interaction and making the first attempt to study speaker transitions based on a systematic, multimodal collection. It also extends implications for academic and professional practitioners in training, conducting and managing multiparty meetings in similar institutional contexts.

Formulated during the extensive 'unmotivated looking' phase of initial analysis, the aim of the study has been to reveal how speaker transitions are jointly-accomplished during the turns-at-talk of the '*roundtable update discussion*' phase in student group meetings; specifically, analytic attention has been paid to explicate the assembly and accomplishment of the 'complex multimodal gestalts' (Mondada, 2014b) as meeting participants display speakership and recipiency with their verbal/vocal and bodily-visual co-ordinately and collaboratively. The following research questions have been addressed:

1. How is speaker transition accomplished through 'next speaker self-selects' during the roundtable update discussion?
   a. How does a non-chair, non-primary speaker select him/herself to be the next speaker, and obtain/manage displayed recipiency from his/her target recipient?
   b. How does a meeting chair self-select to be the next speaker, and obtain/manage displayed recipiency from his/her target recipient?
2. How is speaker transition accomplished through 'current speaker selects next' during the roundtable update discussion?
   a. How does a current primary speaker select a co-participant to be the next speaker?

b.   How does a current non-primary speaker select a co-participant to be the next speaker?

The analysis suggests that, speaker transitions through both 'current speaker selects next' and 'next speaker self-selects' are joint-undertakings, not only between the self-selecting/current speaker, and the target recipient/addressed next speaker, but also among other co-present participants. The context of the roundtable update discussion affords participants to deal with multiple interactional projects simultaneously. For instance, one participant may display multiple orientations toward different parties amongst co-participants by drawing upon a range of multimodal resources (e.g., gaze direction, gesture, body positioning) temporally and sequentially. Multiple participants may display multiple lines of action concurrently with one another, projecting multiple participation frameworks in conflict (e.g., A addresses his turn to B who withdraws recipiency, meanwhile C self-selects while A turns to C for recipiency); yet such concurrent, divergent actions, through participants' mutual orientation and coordination, can be transformed and co-constructed into a convergent course of action, which result in one emerging participation framework gathering joint-attention from all co-participants. Therefore, the transition, establishment and maintenance of speakership and recipiency are intricately coordinated in the process of the shifting and emerging participation frameworks. As such, the current study contributes to the field of multimodal CA studies on turn-taking and embodied participation in in workplace meetings (C. E. Ford, 2008; C. E. Ford & Stickle, 2012; Markaki & Mondada, 2012; Mondada, 2007b, 2012c, 2013) and classroom settings (Fasel Lauzon & Pochon-Berger, 2015; Hauser, 2009; Mortensen, 2008a, 2008b, 2009).

Moreover, the present study further extends its insights on multimodal aspects of human action formation (C. Goodwin, 2013): (1) by including and comparing cases of both self-selection and other-selection, initiated by chair and non-chair participants, the study revisits the topic of institutional entitlement and asymmetric distribution of 'rights to speak' amongst participants (e.g., M. A. Atkinson et al., 1978; Paul Drew & Heritage, 1992; Jefferson, 1978) with a 'multimodal account' (cf. Butler & Wilkinson, 2013; C. E. Ford & Stickle, 2012); (2) by accounting for participants' mobilization of the multimodal resources of their bodies as well as their physical positions, the study shed new lights on the affordances of the physical surroundings (e.g., seating) to the establishment of interactional space and turn-taking practices

(e.g., Mondada, 2012c; Mortensen & Hazel, 2014)l; (3) and the role of 'home position' and 'body torque' in the sequential unfolding of actions (e.g., Cibulka, 2014; Sacks & Schegloff, 2002).

In this chapter, I will discuss all of the insights gained through data analysis in-depth. In Section 6.2, the discussion unfolds according to the research questions, especially focusing on the relevance of my findings to existing multimodal CA research, particularly on embodied conduct and participation; relevance will also be drawn to interaction research in settings of student group work, workplace meetings, and wider institutional contexts. Section 6.2.1 focuses on speaker transitions through self-selection, with selected cases initiated by a non-chair, non-primary speaker, and in Section 6.2.2 by the meeting chair respectively; Section 6.2.3 looks at cases of other-selection made by the primary speaker, and Section 6.2.4 a dispreferred case initiated by a non-chair non-primary speaker. The overall findings and relevance for research on embodied turn-taking, participation and institutional meeting interaction will then be summarised in Section 6.3. The following Section 6.4 discusses implications for practitioners in higher educational institutions and organisational workplaces, and Section 6.5 discusses theoretical implications for future multimodal CA researcher. The chapter will close by discussing methodological issues, suggesting directions for future research and acknowledging the limitations of the present study in Section 6.6.

6.2 Discussion on the findings

This section discusses the findings from the analysis in the previous chapter with a birds-eye view, in order to bring together all of the observable patterns, comparisons and contrasts across the analysed cases of speaker transitions. It is therefore divided into four sections, with the first two sections focusing on cases of self-selections, and the third and fourth on other-selections, during the *roundtable update discussion*. Also, this section serves as a means to relate all analytic observations to different fields of research in existing literature, so as to prepare for further discussions in the later sections.

The first two sub-sections below discuss findings from analyses in Section 5.3.1 to 5.3.4 with

cases of 'next speaker self-selects', including those initiated by a non-chair, non-primary speaker, and by the meeting chair. The most striking observation on both types is the recurrent, special interactional work displayed by the self-selecting speaker to establish and negotiate speakership, and to secure and mobilise recipiency, in the midst of other parcitipants' concurrent engagements. Therefore, the accomplishment of speaker transition is not to be seen as a two-party action, rather, they are conjointly managed through co-participants' verbal, vocal as well as bodily-visual practices that constantly shape and configure the evolving organisation of participation frameworks (C. Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004; Mondada, 2012c). This finding, although itself may not be surprising, expands existing knowledge on transitions of speakership and display of recipiency documented in previous research as will be discussed as follows.

6.2.1 *Self-selection by non-chair non-primary speakers*

In Section 5.3.1 and 5.3.2, the four selected extracts illustrated cases of speaker transitions through 'next speaker self-selects' initiated by a non-chair, non-primary speaker during a current primary speaker's update sequence (Stage B1 in Figure 4.4). Below I discuss findings on participants' orientations to primary speakership and non-chair non-primary speakership, manifested in the various ways they accomplish speaker transitions in-between one another, and how the physical space (i.e., seating) constitutes or constraints multimodal resources available to them.

1. Transformative interactional projects

First, at turn-beginning positions of the self-selecting turn, reconstructions of the turn-initial elements (e.g., hesitations, hitches, restarts and pauses) were recurrently deployed to solicit mutual gaze from the primary speaker (see Ex. 5.3.11 Part B, 5.3.12 Part A, 5.3.22) (e.g., C. Goodwin, 1980). Also, observations at the pre-beginning positions resemble that in recent CA studies (Fasel Lauzon & Pochon-Berger, 2015; C. E. Ford & Stickle, 2012; Mondada, 2007b; Mortensen, 2009), that incipient speakership were displayed at such early stage to project the self-selection. Such bodily-visual displays of incipient speakership, e.g., a forward inclination, and/or twisted upper torso toward the current speaker, with other accompanying multimodal practices such as placing elbows on the desk and hands under chin (see Ex. 5.3.11 Part A, 5.3.12 Part A, 5.3.22), are described by Mondada (2007b) as "taking the visual floor" (p. 203) while

the vocal-spoken floor is still with the current speaker, making themselves 'visually' available and ready to be the next speaker.

Recent CA studies conducted by Ford (C. E. Ford, 2008; e.g., C. E. Ford & Stickle, 2012) have investigated the various ways such non-primary speakership can be established, at pre-turn, turn beginning and within the first TCU, drawing upon various multimodal resources such as stress, body re-positioning, gaze, sound stretch, hitches and restarts, and repair initiation. Within the same line, Mondada (2007b) also looks into the progressivity of speakership establishment through the roles of 'possible next speaker' and 'incipient speaker', yet focusing only on the use of pointing gesture. Likewise, my analyses also showed that a display of incipient speakership usually formed a part of a larger 'project', or a plan of "a course of conduct being developed over a longer span of time" (Levinson, 2013, p. 119; Schegloff, 2007, p. 244) that usually started during the current speaker(s)' turns-at-talk, with increasingly active recipiency and close monitoring the current speakers as an attentive recipient (see Ex. 5.3.11 Part A, 5.3.12 Part A, 5.3.21 Part A, 5.3.22). Following this line, my analytic focus was not solely placed on the types and sequential positioning of multimodal resources employed by participants. Rather, the analyses also provided a lens on the development of interactional projects or unfolding courses of actions that usually develop over several turns and/or sequences (cf. Levinson, 2013; Schegloff, 2007), through which an engaging recipient proceeded to an incipient speaker, and to a current speaker. The analytical focus was place on the finely tuned, transformative and progressive coordination and collaboration between the non-chair non-primary speaker and the current primary speaker.

For instance, in Ex. 5.3.21 Part A and Ex. 5.3.22, at some point during the delivery of current turns-at-talk, the current primary speaker attended to the bodily-visual practices of the attentive recipient and reached an initial, albeit brief, mutual gaze with the recipient, opening a 'window' for mutual orientation. The attentive recipient quickly took up this opportunity at the next available slot, and transformed the preparatory phase of the interactional project (e.g., to raise a counter-statement, an enquiry) into its delivery through the action of self-selection, bringing forward a new participation framework. In comparison, in Ex. 5.3.11 Part B and Ex. 5.3.12 Part A, the current speaker did not orient to the bodily-visual display of the attentive recipient.

Through his close monitoring, the incipient speaker then took a step forward and launched a verbal claim of speakership around the next TRP and successfully gained the floor. It is also possible that some interactional projects may not be brought to their full delivery (Levinson, 2013), depending on the availability of the current primary speaker. Such as in Ex. 5.3.11 Part A, due to a withdrawal of gaze from the current primary speaker re-directed to his concurrent engagement, the update talk, the first attempt of the non-chair non-primary speaker's self-selection was put on-hold after a brief verbal exchange. Upon losing the floor, the self-selecting speaker switched back to his body positioning as an active recipient, continued to closely monitoring the on-going talk and waiting to self-select at the next available slot (note how Dan repeatedly brought up 'details').

Evidenced by the three different ways the interactional project of non-chair non-primary speakership is taken up, a few tentative conclusions can be drawn at this stage: first, a non-chair non-primary speaker has limited rights to the floor during a primary speaker's update, second, a non-chair non-primary speaker's self-selection can be seen as the preparatory and delivery phases of an interactional project, which unfolds flexibly and reflexively, through the establishment of speakership.

2. Seating, home position and body torque

A further observation based on this concerns seating and how it affords and/or limits participants to mobilise multimodal resources, especially their upper body, to display their orientations and levels of engagement. First, in multiparty meetings like these, when all participants are seated in a circle, to gather collective attention requires everyone to face the centre in their 'home position' (Figure 6.1, see 2.4.2) (Sacks & Schegloff, 2002), creating a 'common/shared interactional space' (Mondada, 2009, 2012c) amongst all. Any 'torqued body' (Schegloff, 1998) facing a particular participant would thus break the common space, creating a *subordinate involvement* (see 2.5.2) amongst selected parties.
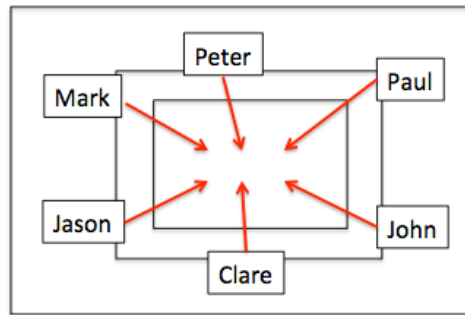
Figure 6.1 Home Position in a Meeting

In that sense, the seating positions of the current primary-speaker vis-à-vis the self-selecting, non-chair non-primary speaker are relevant to the sequential unfolding of self-selection. When seated side-to-side or next to each other (e.g., Ex. 5.3.11 in Figure 6.2), a 'body torque' of their upper torso and head from the home position is necessary for constituting a shared interactional space (Mondada, 2009) for the establishment of mutual orientation; in these cases, movements of gaze and head direction, and twists of upper torso, become the primary indicators of one's current engagement. When seated face-to-face with each other (e.g., Ex. 5.3.12 in Figure 6.2), sustaining mutual gaze becomes more static and easily accessible, requiring little gaze/head movements and body torque; also, such configuration interferes less with the need of sustaining joint attention. In these cases, participants may draw upon other multimodal resources instead to indicate their varying levels of involvement, such as inclinations of upper torso, hand and arm movements.
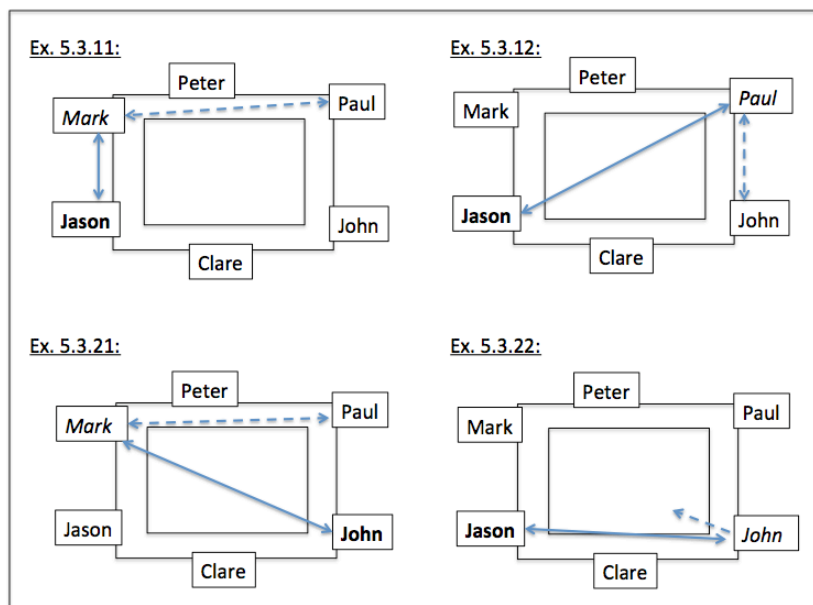
Figure 6.2 Home position of primary speaker and self-selecting speaker

Now to revisit the seating positions of Ex. 5.3.11, 5.3.12, 5.3.21 and 5.3.22 in Figure 6.2, in which only in Ex. 5.3.11 the self-selecting speaker (marked in **bold**) is seated side-to-side with the primary speaker (marked in *italics*), whereas the rest are face-to-face. The arrows illustrate the current, sustaining engagement of the current speaker (dotted arrows), and the upcoming mutual engagement between the current speaker and the self-selecting speaker (solid arrows). That is to say, in Ex. 5.3.12, 5.3.21 and 5.3.22, the primary speaker and the self-selecting non-primary speaker, seated face-to-face in their home position, can accomplish mutual monitoring effortlessly; in comparison, in Ex. 5.3.11, they need to invest extra embodied movements in order to access each other's visual 'floor'. Also, taking into account the previously discussed three different ways a transformative interactional project was taken-up into a self-selecting action, a clearer understanding can now be gained on how seating positions affected the finely-tuned action-building of a non-chair non-primary speaker's self-selection, as well as the timing of the primary speaker's arrival of gaze, i.e., displayed recipiency. This finding is, so far, an original one in existing CA research literature, particularly to multimodal CA studies on speaker selection in multiparty conversations in institutional contexts.

3. A comparison between side-to-side and face-to-face

Further, considering the amount of CA studies investigating how speakership is established in

the first place during speaker transitions (e.g., Butler & Wilkinson, 2013; Deppermann, 2013b; Fasel Lauzon & Pochon-Berger, 2015; C. E. Ford & Stickle, 2012; Mortensen, 2009), the remaining question is, what happens once the self-selecting speaker has gained speakership? In my analyses, the non-chair non-primary speakers may proceed to extended turns (see Ex. 5.3.11) or sequence expansions (see Ex. 5.3.21, 5.3.22). Section 5.3.1 and 5.3.2 showed that during these extended period of time, they also invested extra interactional work to negotiate speakership and mobilise recipiency from target recipient as well as from other co-participants; and likewise, their seating positions vis-à-vis the current primary speaker created varying availabilities of multimodal resources to display their bodily orientation and levels of engagement.

For instance, in Ex. 5.3.11 Part B & C where the two participants are seated side-to-side, it became a resource for the self-selecting speaker during his extended self-selecting turn to display dual-orientation, i.e., to switch in-between a 'torqued body' and the 'home position' using his upper torso and gaze direction (also with accompanying gesticulation). His coordinated dual-orientations functioned to, on one hand, gain and consolidate his speakership, and secure displayed recipiency from the primary speaker in a torqued-body position, and, on the other, attend to the other co-participants with intermitted release to the home position, creating a common interactional space that includes them in the current participation framework. Whilst for the primary speaker, the dual-orientation became a resource to display his increased/decreased level of engagement, that is, he attended to the self-selecting speaker with a torqued body and gaze, and displayed his disengagement with a withdrawal of gaze and release from the torqued body.

In comparison, in Ex. 5.3.21, in which the two participants were seated face-to-face, therefore a sustained mutual orientation was gained and twists of upper torso became unavailable for displays of (dis)engagement. Both participants kept a forward-leaning position on the desk as a display of mutual orientation (see Ex. 5.3.21). During the competitive turns, the primary speaker repeatedly attempted to claim the floor at TRPs, each time he lifted up his elbows and leaned his upper torso backward accompanying his brief verbal turn, which were all finely-tuned with the self-selecting speakers verbal and bodily-visual practices to consolidate

his speakership (e.g., hitches, increased volume, restarts, and gesticulation). Therefore, each time the primary speaker repositioned his upper torso and elbows to their home position on the desk to resume his recipiency display. In other words, the face-to-face seating afforded the participants a different set of multimodal resources to display their bodily orientation and engagement.

The two cases nicely show how different seating arrangements afford and/or constraint meeting participants' possibilities of mobilizing multimodal resources, by which they formed tiers of courses of actions that are built upon one another, in pursuit of one or more interactional projects through their mutual monitoring and orientation (Levinson, 2013). Although other multimodal CA studies have investigated the role of gesture, gaze, and multiple modes of resources at turn beginning/completion, sequence opening/closing, and turn transitions (e.g., Cibulka, 2014; C. E. Ford & Stickle, 2012; Hauser, 2009; Mondada, 2006, 2007a, 2009; Mortensen, 2009; Mortensen & Hazel, 2014; Rossano, 2012a), no single study has provided such thorough multimodal sequential analysis on how an interactional project is prepared and delivered over a broad span of turns and sequences, through participants' constructions of the 'complex multimodal Gestalts' (Mondada, 2014b). The next sub-section will continue discuss this through cases of meeting chair's self-selection.

6.2.2   Self-selections by meeting chair

As discussed in the previous sub-section, the analyses in Section 5.3.1 and 5.3.2 demonstrated how a non-chair non-primary participant invested extra interactional work to self-select during a current primary speakers update, observable at pre-turn, turn beginning positions as well as during the delivery of extended turns and sequences. It was also observed that such interactional work, consisted of participants' mobilisation of multimodal resources, formed a part of a larger, conjointly managed, transformatively and progressively developing, interactional project; whereas the local seating arrangements brought possibilities and/or constraints on the availabilities of multimodal resources mobilised by participants in pursuing these interactional projects. The discussion now turns to the analyses in Section 5.3.3 and 5.3.4, including four selected cases of self-selection initiated by the meeting chair. Compared to the

ways non-chair non-primary speakers worked to extensively "prepare the ground" (Levinson, 2013, p. 119) for their interactional projects before taking steps to its delivery through their self-selecting verbal turn(s), different observations were made on cases with the meeting chair.

It was shown that the meeting chair also invested multimodal interactional work to establish speakership and gain recipiency, but rather, such courses of actions were in the service to divert, block, negotiate or contribute to a co-participant's on-going interactional project. Such a contrasting phenomena therefore demonstrated the asymmetrically distributed 'rights to speak' (Butler & Wilkinson, 2013) between the chair and others in the roundtable update discussion in meetings. Indeed, although existing literature has given immense illustration on the role of the meeting chair in meeting interactions, such as the authority to mediate turn-allocation and topic development, facilitate decision-making (e.g., R. Barnes, 2007; Potter & Hepburn, 2010; Svennevig, 2012b) (see Section 2.3.3), seldom have any CA studies examined and compared the development of courses of actions of non-chair and chair's self-selection in such multiparty meeting context, especially from a multimodal sequential perspective.

First, there were also 'pre-s' in some of the cases of chair's self-selection. During the turns-at-talk between the current primary speaker and a non-chair non-primary speaker, the meeting chair often kept close monitoring of the on-going talk, either by leaning on the desk in his 'home position' as an attentive listener and mediator, or by frequently switching in-between visually monitoring the others and doing note-taking and keeping track of the meeting agenda. In the latter case when the chair was in a concurrent engagement in two activities, before he initiated a verbal self-selection, he displayed re-direction of his bodily orientation to show his readiness to be the possible next speaker: putting on the pen cap and putting down the pen, repositioning his upper torso backward and forward, tracking the current speakers' movements with shifts of gaze, etc. (see Ex 5.3.31 Part A, 5.3.42 Part A, B). Such bodily-visual practices could also involve a 'body torque' when the current speaker(s) was/were seated at his side (see Ex. 5.3.42 Part A, B), which were all similar to what was observed on non-chair non-primary speakers discussed earlier. Yet with the former case in which the chair was already closely monitoring the co-participants' behaviour, no obvious body movements can be observed to show the chair's incipient speakership (see Ex. 5.3.32 Part A, 5.3.41 Part A).

Next, the analyses also showed how the meeting chair actively mobilised multimodal resources to execute his 'rights to speak' (cf. Butler & Wilkinson, 2013) at turn-beginning positions, re-establishing the current participation framework and bringing changes to an on-going interactional project. A few illustrations from the analyses are given below:

1. To bring shift to a current participation framework

For instance, cases of inserting a verbal turn during the current two speakers' overlapping talk were observable through the chair's verbal and bodily-visual collaboration. Using increased volume and duration, hesitation and pausing at turn beginnings, the chair brought an interruption and diversion to the ongoing turns-at-talk, as a pre-emptive mediation of potential 'conflict talk' (see Ex. 5.3.31 Part B, 5.3.32 Part A) (H. T. Nguyen, 2011). Meanwhile, the chair's embodied organisation within the first TCU of his self-selecting turn – keeping the 'home position' of upper torso and head, with a middle-distance gaze in front (see Ex. 5.3.31 Part B, C, 5.3.32 Part A, B) – also shaped a common interactional space (Mondada, 2009) for all co-participants, making all of them potential recipients of his up-coming turn and therefore successfully gathered collective attention. The chair's courses of verbal and bodily-visual actions therefore served to abort (Ex. 5.3.31) and divert (Ex. 5.3.32) the interactional project the two current speakers were pursuing.

2. Dis-attending to a concurrent shift of participation framework proposed by a co-participant

In another case, when a co-participant was seeking the chair's alignment in the course of his on-going turn (see Ex. 5.3.41 Part A, B), the chair's dis-attending and mis-aligning bodily orientation (e.g., keeping the 'home position', avoidance of mutual gaze by other bodily engagement) therefore blocked whatever interactional project that co-participant was pursuing. In this way, the chair also exploited that co-participant's orientation toward himself, creating an opportunity to place a verbal self-selecting turn at the transition space, bringing his own interactional project onto surface (note how he brought up the discussion on "timeline").

3. Displaying levels of engagement in a current participation framework

Also, in Part A and B of Ex. 5.3.42, although both self-selecting turns placed at a TRP, the chair's bodily orientation was displayed differently, bringing different changes to the ongoing organisation of participation. In Part A, by suspending note-taking action but keeping the note-taking body position, he showed his minimal engagement in the on-going talk with a one-off verbal insertion and was so oriented to by the current speakers. In Part B, by ceasing his note-taking and twisting his upper torso and head toward both current speakers, his embodied claim of speakership resulted in a change of the current participation framework, a change in the common interactional space as well as in his own role in the management of meeting interaction (i.e., from a facilitator to a current speaker) (cf. Mondada, 2012c, vol. 230). As such, the chair was able to negotiate and contribute to the on-going project (i.e., the discussion on whether apply a 'CPP' or 'FPP' of the prop design) by inserting different courses of actions.

Further, the chair's sequential action continued to unfold beyond the first TCU of the self-selecting turn. Rather than to negotiate speakership and secure recipiency as in previous cases of non-chair non-primary speakers, through his verbal and bodily-visual practices, the chair displayed his capabilities to mobilise and prioritise recipiency from multiple participants to dynamically configure the emergent participation frameworks (cf. Mondada, 2012c, p. 230) in the service of his evolving interactional project. For instance, in Ex. 5.3.31 Part C and Ex. 5.3.32 Part B, the delivery of his first TCU was designed to gather joint attention amongst all co-participants and claim speakership from the two current speakers (in the first case, Mark and John and the second, Dan and John); upon achieving these, the chair then initiated a re-direction of his bodily orientation, gazing at his target recipient (in both cases it was John) as he verbalised his forthcoming turn(s). Whereas, in Ex 5.3.42 Part B, the meeting chair's use of address term 'you' and 'he' together with shifts of eye gaze and pointing gestures managed to address the second TCU to both Clare and John, and third TCU to Clare solely.

6.2.3 Other-selections by primary speaker

The former two sub-sections have discussed cases in which non-chair non-primary speakers invested extra multimodal interactional work to reflexively format their action trajectories of

self-selection, and meeting chair executed his 'rights to speak' through actions shaping varying opportunities for participation, fluidly shaping the organisation of participation frameworks (Butler & Wilkinson, 2013; C. Goodwin, 2007c; Lerner, 1995). The current sub-section will turn to discuss cases of speaker transition, through 'current speaker selects next' by a current primary speaker, whereas the following sub-section discusses the deviant case of a non-chair non-primary speaker selecting a next speaker.

Section 5.3.5 analysed two extracts of a primary speaker selecting the next speaker(s). In multiparty conversations, the speaker who initiates the action of other-selection firstly needs to specify a target recipient, and secure displayed recipiency from them. These can be done through recipient design (see Section 3.3.2) of the verbal turn, such as using an address term, with accompanying bodily-visual practice such as gaze and pointing (Lerner, 2003). Then, to select the next speaker, an initiating action needs to be done, to which the target recipient need to respond, verbally and/or bodily-visually (Stivers & Rossano, 2010) (see Section 2.4.1, 2.5.5). Yet the analyses showed a more complex picture: far from being straightforward action sequences, the sequential organisations of designating of target recipient, first position initiating action and second position response were finely-tuned through participants' deployment of various multimodal resources, fluidly and constantly shaping the participation frameworks. This process will be unpacked as follows.

To start with, in Ex. 5.3.51, the three consecutive actions of addressing made by the primary speaker were designed with different sets of response-mobilising features, including address term, recipient-tilted epistemic asymmetry rising intonation, speaker gaze. Yet target recipients oriented to the addressing action and responded to which in various ways, some treated the initiating action as requiring a verbal response, thus produced a verbal SPP (Part B and C), and others responded minimally with embodied conduct (i.e., a brief mutual gaze) (Part A). Further, the chair's third-position responses were also produced differently: he briefly exchanged mutual gaze and proceeded to the next in Part A, placed an early entry of a third-position sequence-closing assessment and proceeded to the next in Part B and in Part C, he relinquished the floor to his addressee, the meeting chair. This whole chain of actions therefore ended with the opening of the next update talk, by selecting the meeting chair as next speaker. Several

questions can be asked here: (1) To what extent can we treat a bodily-visual practice as a SPP in response to a verbal FPP, therefore constituting an embodied adjacency pair? (2) How do we explain such different action ascriptions by the three addressed recipients on the other-selection turns produced by the same speaker, seemingly containing similar verbal and bodily visual features? These questions shall be unpacked in Section 6.3.

Moreover, the second attempt of addressing in Ex. 5.3.51 Part B can be seen as an illustration of progressive and transformative development of participants' unfolding courses of action, with on-line recipient design in accordance with co-participants' next actions: the ambiguous recipient-designating 'you' and the insufficient recipient epistemic expertise resulted in two candidate recipients' embodied response (e.g., upper body re-positioning, gaze); the primary speaker then produced a further recipient particularity and a tilt of his head toward one of them and successfully designated the target recipient; through close mutual monitoring, the target recipient then produced a verbal SPP whereas the other candidate recipient halted his responsive action trajectory.

Finally, a further demonstration of the transformative interactional project in the case of collaborative other-selection can be seen in Ex. 5.3.52. The primary speaker, Clare, firstly designed her verbal turn with recipient-tilted epistemic asymmetry and held the first target recipient accountable; upon his hesitation and delay, Clare verbally gave two candidate answers to pursue her request of information, meanwhile bodily-visually opened the opportunity to a second recipient with a shift of gaze, making both of them accountable for the initiating action. Yet the participation framework soon shifted again when both recipients responded, but only one of them – the first recipient – gained the floor, and was verbally and bodily oriented to by the primary speaker (e.g., cuts-off her on-going talk, gaze); whereas the second recipient, who is also the meeting chair, through close monitoring of his interlocutors' unfolding turns and their mutual orientation, soon withdrew from the participation framework and engaged in note-taking.

The above demonstrations have shown how multimodal resources were mobilised by speakers and recipients to design their actions and response, which raises another question: to what

extent can we treat bodily-visual practices as part of turn design and recipient design? Or, taking into account the previous questions, the concern here is, whether such CA terminologies that were originally designed for verbal talk can be translated into multimodal interactions? Such issues will be revisited in Section 6.5.

6.2.4 Other-selections by non-chair non-primary speaker

In section 5.3.6, a deviant case of a non-chair non-primary speaker selecting a next speaker was unpacked on the same level of detail as previous cases. In this case, the meeting chair marked a digression made by the non-chair non-primary participant, who initiated a new topic and selected another co-participant to respond. This action obviously 'subverted' the normative overall organisational structure of the roundtable update discussion, as can be seen in the ways the meeting chair oriented to it as a departure from the normal formulation of this activity (Schegloff, 1996a); whereas the co-participants' suspension of the off-track topic, the given account, further pursuit and final submissive drop-out displayed their orientation toward both the orderliness of the update sequence and the institutional norms on the asymmetric distribution of participants' 'rights to speak' and chair's rights and obligations over both the format and the content of the meeting talk (Boden, 1994; Butler & Wilkinson, 2013). Also, this deviant case makes another demonstration of how co-participants carry out their concurrent interactional projects, and collaboratively and progressively transformed them into one converging course of action in service of one common interactional project.

After being held accountable for the digression, the non-chair non-primary speaker gave an account, directed to both the meeting chair and the selected recipient, who displayed diverging orientations toward this account: the meeting chair briefly acknowledged the account and concurrently oriented to the meeting agenda on the desk with gaze; contrarily, the selected recipient showed affiliation both verbally and bodily-visually (e.g., head nod, mutual gaze) and projected his next action to pursue the suspended interactional project (e.g., middle-distance look, hesitation). In the midst of this shifting participation framework, the meeting chair soon verbally interrupted, set the meeting back on track, and bodily-visually kept a home position, bringing together joint attention from the two current speakers who had gone off-track, and all

other co-participants. The way this sequential action unfolded is similar to what I have discussed in 6.2.2, not only in the ways the meeting chair executed his 'rights to speak', but also through the fluidly and constantly shaping of participation frameworks that are made possible through co-participants' verbal and bodily-visual coordination and collaboration.

6.3 Further discussions

The primary aim of the present study was to investigate how university students demonstrate their interactional competences to participate in multiparty meetings. By selecting the focal phenomenon, namely, speaker transitions during sequences of 'roundtable update discussion', it brings novel empirical data to the body of CA research on higher education interactions, which has been identified as an under-represented field in contemporary CA literature (for a few relevant studies, see Benwell & Stokoe, 2002; Gibson et al., 2006; Hauser, 2009; Limberg, 2010; Stokoe, 2000; Young, 2003). By taking a multimodal, micro-analytic approach on broader sequences of speaker transitions, it answers the call for more CA studies on how participants co-construct social actions by mobilising and configuring multimodal resources in various social encounters (e.g., Mondada, 2014b; Mortensen, 2012).

Based on these two starting points, my data analyses further extend the understandings of: (1) sequentially unfolding courses of actions of speaker transitions as collaborative shifts of embodied participation frameworks that contribute to a larger interactional project of the meeting participants, (2) participants' mobilisation of multimodal resources afforded and/or constrained by the physical, material environment such as seating, and (3) participants' orientations to the institutional goals and regulations emerging in the roundtable update discussion, which has asymmetric distributions on participants' 'rights to speak'. These will be unpacked in the below sub-sections respectively.

6.3.1   Speaker transitions, embodied participation and interactional project

In social interaction, it is an on-going task for people to recognise what their interactants are *doing*, that is, their actions, and design their own responsive next actions accordingly. This has been the primary interest of CA in talk-in-interaction, which is turning into a complex picture

from a multimodal perspective. To uncover this process of action formation and ascription, the analysis throughout this study has demonstrated a 'larger-scale view' in explicating meeting participants' courses of actions during speaker transitions, that is, that of *transformative interactional project*. In discussing action formation, Levinson (2013) talks about '(interactional) project'[43] being 'plans of action' that "at least one participant is pursuing, which may at first be opaque to others then retrospectively discernible, and then prospectively projectable", and that "when the other buys into the project, it is likely to surface as a sequence; when not, its invisible hand will anyway have directed the talk." (p. 122). Walsh (2013) also commented on such identifiable and coherent, although less tightly-bound, speech exchange systems, which are led by the tutors in accordance with its institutional goals, as observed in his study of university tutor-led small group teaching interactions..

Indeed, in the data of the present study, such 'interactional projects' emerge over broader sequences of speaker transitions in *roundtable update discussion*, such as a non-chair non-primary speaker bringing up a counter-statement or an enquiry toward the current primary speaker, a meeting chair trying to facilitate a decision-making process and prevent a potential conflict talk, a primary speaker requesting information from co-participants, etc., which are all observable according to the successive and progressive development of the unfolding courses of actions. These interactional projects are therefore contributing to the proceeding of the roundtable update discussion, fulfilling the institutional goal of the student meetings.

According to Levinson (2013), an interactional project includes steps to be taken to its completion, consisting of streams of actions that may appear tiered, interlocked, or intertwined, from one or more participants; one may be realised by talk and another by bodily-visual conduct, conjointly in the service of the project. The present study has demonstrated how such 'streams of actions' are realised by participants mobilising multimodal resources during their

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[43] Schegloff (2007, p. 244) has previously described "an orderly interactional feature that can shape what goes on in interaction and can be demonstrably oriented to by participants…a course of conduct being developed over a span of time (not necessarily in consecutive sequences) to which co-participants may become sensitive, which may begin to inform their inspection of any next sequence…". However, Schegloff was not exclusively talking about interactional project, but generally referring them to "an interactional project, a course of action, an interactional line or stance, a thematic thread", therefore a more general construct than what I am referring to here.

turns-at-talk, configured at varied temporality and simultaneity (e.g., the chair holding the verbal floor while mobilising and prioritising recipiency using gaze) in pursuit of a 'larger' interactional project (e.g., to self-select, resolving the on-going overlapping talk). Further, in multiparty conversations such as the present study, interactional projects are collaboratively pursued, negotiated, launched and accomplished; it will interdigitate one participant's steps toward a project with another's through their mutual monitoring and orientation. Such a moment-by-moment, multidimensional organisation of actions therefore shapes the constantly evolving, highly dynamic configuration of participation frameworks (Mondada, 2012c). From this perspective, the analysis of the current study has explicated the process of: **(1)** participants **build upon** each other's courses of actions realised by mobilising and coordinating a range of multimodal resources that are made available at the local context; **(2)** through the unfolding courses of actions of (1), speaker transitions (either self-selection or other-selection) are accomplished **progressively and collaboratively**; **(3)** the organisation of embodied participation frameworks are **constantly being (re)established** during (2), whereas all above-three are in the service of the on-going interactional project(s) pursued by one or more co-participants, constituting a part of the overall structural organisation of the roundtable update discussion.

These observations have also evidenced what Goodwin (2013) has recently proposed based on the projectability and sequentiality of human action formation in general: a "co-operative transformation zone"; Goodwin suggested that a single action is formatted on an accumulative basis within a chain of actions, by assembling, reusing, decomposing, transforming the resources (e.g., language, bodily conduct, physical objects and surroundings) made publicly available by the prior action as the 'substrate'; as such, the prior action makes available a 'substrate' for the current, and the current for the next. Within the context of multiparty workplace meetings, Mondada (2006) has proposed the similar notion of participants' *'online analysis'* on the sequential management of multimodal resources, which is tied together with their interpretation and production of actions-in-talk. In Mondada's more recent multimodal CA studies into workplace meetings (e.g., Markaki & Mondada, 2012; Mondada, 2007b, 2012c, 2013), she used the term *'multimodal complex Gestalt'* to describe participants' mobilisation and assembling of multimodal resources.

Therefore, the current study sheds new lights on research on embodied conduct and human action formation within the CA framework, and more specifically, it is comparable and complementary to the small collection of studies looking at embodied participation in multiparty workplace meetings (C. E. Ford, 2008; see also C. E. Ford & Stickle, 2012). It provides a comprehensive, systematic collection, explicating variations of shifts of embodied participation framework within a novel context that has never been accounted before, namely, the *roundtable update discussion*, within the larger setting of university student meetings. Further, the current study also provides empirical evidence to a few lines of research that are more micro-scoped on multimodal interaction. First, it was observed in the data that when dropped-out from overlapping verbal talk or temporarily loses recipiency from target recipient, participants may withdraw from the current participation framework progressively, as shown by their bodily orientation (e.g., keeping the mouth open, display on-hold position of their upper body or gesture) (see Ex. 5.3.11 Part A, 5.3.21 Part C). The findings resemble what have been reported in Oloff's (2012, 2013) study on embodied overlap resolution, and Cibulka's (2014) study on gesture-hold.

Second, observations were made on how shifts of gaze direction were operated, which shows that gaze can be mobilized as a resource to display levels and orientations of participation, as being finely-tuned with the unfolding courses of actions. For instance, when temporarily loses gaze from current recipient, a participant may redirect gaze to the next possible recipient so as to retain the current participation framework (see 5.3.32 Part B); during sequence expansion, participants may display shifts of gaze in-between target recipient and other co-present participants at different sequential positions (see Ex 5.3.11 Part B); a current speaker addressing his talk to multiple recipients may mobilise gaze shifts together with verbal turn design to direct his on-going talk to particular recipient(s) as different times with the coherent development of his course of action (see Ex. 5.3.31 Part C, 5.3.32 Part B, 5.3.42 Part B, 5.3.52 Part A). These findings therefore refine the findings on the role of gaze in turn-taking by Goodwin's early, but still most influential work (e.g., C. Goodwin, 1981, 1984, 1986). Also, to some degree, they have evidenced Rossano's (2012a, 2012b) recent observation that the organisation of gaze in social interaction is "mainly organized in relation to sequences of talk and the development of

courses of action or ongoing interactional projects (p. 319)".

6.3.2   Speaker transitions and the interactional space

Inspired by Kendon's (1990) notion of *transactional segment* and Sacks and Schegloff's (Sacks & Schegloff, 2002; Schegloff, 1998) idea of 'body torque' and 'home position' (see Section 2.4), this study has examined and compared cases of speaker transition in which speakers are seated at different positions around the squared desks, particularly to see how they manage to establish mutual orientation or enable mutual monitoring. One of the major findings is that, participants rely on different multimodal resources (e.g., body torque, body inclination, gaze shifts) available at different seating positions, and such resources were deployed to constitute, maintain or mobilise shared interactional space at different stages of their sequential actions. For instance, in cases of self-selection, an incipient speaker self-selected toward someone seated side-to-side may rely more on 'body torque' to establish or mobilise their shared interactional space, as well as to display their organisation of participation and level of involvement, whereas in face-to-face situations participants' body orientation already secured a stable shared interactional space, thus upper body inclination became a major resource for them to weaken or strengthen display of speakership and recipiency, (see Section 6.2.1 for full discussion).

Starting from this observation, the analysis throughout this study altogether have demonstrated that visual access in-between incipient and current speakers (self-selection), and current and addressed next speakers (other selection) are not only a pre-requisite for speaker transitions to happen, but also a public resource that can be exploited and mobilized to contextualise the operation of turn-taking. This work therefore parallels Mondada's (e.g., Markaki & Mondada, 2012; Mondada, 2009, 2012c, 2013) study in terms of the visual dimension of workplace meeting interaction, especially on the establishment of mutual focus of attention and 'shared interactional space'.

Further, including Mondada's work, recent studies on interactional space in multimodal interaction have explored settings such as chairman mediated workplace meetings within a

large group (Deppermann et al., 2010; Mondada, 2012c, 2013), public encounters on the streets (Mondada, 2009), institutional service encounters (Mortensen & Hazel, 2014), etc., where participants are free to walk around, thus the interactional space is more contingent and dynamic. This comparable study, however, looks at a relatively more static, seated setting in which shared interactional space amongst co-present participants is more stabilised. Despite this, participants' exploitation and mobilisation of multimodal resources, including their upper body, hands, head and eyes, were also observed, especially when there are multiple conflicting, intended shifts of participation framework amongst multi-parties. For instance, the meeting chair, during a self-selection, operated shifts of gaze in-between current speaker(s) and target recipient(s) to firstly bring together joint attention amongst all, then direct to the target recipient(s) as the verbal turn proceeded. Or, the meeting chair can also exploit the need of 'pre-requisite of visual access' to allocate turns, by 'avoid' gazing at a co-participant so as to take the next turn (see Section 6.2.2 for full discussion) (cf. Ivarsson & Greiffenhagen, 2015). Such that, the current study has provided vivid illustrations of the visual dimension of the operation of the turn-taking system, particularly how multimodal resources can be mobilised by participants to contextualise turn-taking practices amongst multi-parties.

6.3.3   *Speaker transitions and the institutional context*

The current study also contributes to the body of CA studies looking at turn-taking and participation in institutional interactions, especially the asymmetric distribution of participants' rights and obligations to speak and their bodily orientation toward such distribution *in situ*. Recent CA studies have reported on primary speakership in student group discussions in classroom settings (Hauser, 2009); non-chair non-primary speakership in workplace meeting interactions (C. E. Ford & Stickle, 2012), speakership establishment and recipiency display of teacher and students language classrooms (Fasel Lauzon & Pochon-Berger, 2015; Mortensen, 2008a, 2008b, 2009) and child-family conversations (Butler & Wilkinson, 2013), so on and so forth. In all of the above-mentioned studies, the local turn-allocation and turn-type pre-allocation can be seen as two-party administered, or, a 'leader-plus-others formation' (C. E. Ford, 2008, p. 57), which means that one party (e.g., meeting chair, teacher, adult parents) has more sustained access to the floor, giving restricted rights to the other party (e.g., other meeting

participants, students, child) in the interaction.

Nevertheless, the unique focal phenomenon which has been accounted for in this study, namely, speaker transitions during sequences of *roundtable update discussion,* constitutes a local context in which the distribution of 'rights to speak' are even more complex and nuanced: (1) the chair-appointed current primary speaker was given a 'fleeting opportunity' to hold the floor for an extend period of time; (2) during a current primary speaker's update talk, all co-present co-participants were made ratified recipients, whereas the meeting chair still held the central roles of structuring and monitoring, which made him the primary recipient of the update talk. Therefore, based on such institutional particularities of (1) and (2), during an update talk over an extended moment, inserted sequences may occur: (3) co-participants may self-select during a current primary speaker's update (e.g., to make an enquiry, raise a counterstatement), yet a non-chair non-primary speaker need to invest extra interactional work compared with a meeting chair's self-selection (e.g., pre-turn projection of incipient speakership, negotiate speakership and mobilise recipiency during on-going turn); (4) the primary speaker may also address a co-participant as the target recipient as well as next speaker (e.g., to request information, to seek confirmation), whereas a non-chair non-primary speaker's other-selection was considered deviant behaviour as it was considered off-task or off-track according to the meeting agenda.

To put simply, whilst the role of the meeting chair was prescribed and sustaining throughout the whole meeting, the roles of the primary speaker and non-chair, non-primary speakers emerged locally, temporally and contingently, in accordance with the overall structural organisation of the roundtable update discussion and the local institutional goals (see Figure 4.4, Section 4.4.4). Meeting participants therefore oriented to one another accordingly with their up-taken roles, and were socialised into the tightly structured organisation of interaction; these were observable through the variations of their turn-taking and speaker transition practices, especially their multi-dimensional, multimodal – vocal, verbal and bodily-visual – displays that constantly and fluidly re-shaped the local participation frameworks. This study thus offers rich valuable 'multimodal accounts' (cf. Butler & Wilkinson, 2013; C. E. Ford & Stickle, 2012) of the institutional entitlement and asymmetric distribution of 'rights to speak' amongst participants

(e.g., M. A. Atkinson et al., 1978; Paul Drew & Heritage, 1992; Jefferson, 1978).

6.4 Implications for academic and professional competences and practices

The present study focuses on multiparty meetings conducted by undergraduate university students working together on a group project. As discussed in the first chapter, such group-based learning activities are widely incorporated within the curriculum of higher educational institutions, and serve the purpose to diversify and facilitate the learning experience, as well as to give students hands-on experience on tasks they may encounter in future workplaces. The analysis of the interactional features of student meetings also shows resemblance with those in workplace meetings, and provides rich empirical evidence of how multimodal recourses are mobilised by meeting participants during speaker transitions, to perform actions and carry out interactional projects in meeting interactions. The revealing of such empirical evidence of how institution runs its work, as Richards (2005, p. 6) and Antaki (2011, p. 8) suggest, can be taken a step forward and play an 'enabling role' in both higher education and professional development, by sensitising students and professional practitioners to the interactional possibilities that they are likely to encounter in multiparty meetings.

To start with, regarding higher education development, as mentioned in the beginning of this thesis (see Section 1.2.1), university teachers and students often attest to the difficulties of effectively using group-based activities for learning, such as the lack of participation and emergence of poor contributors, lack of group enthusiasm and unbalanced group member allocations. Also, existing literature that offers strategies and techniques for group-based teaching and learning are mostly based on simulations of hypothetical scenarios, rather than using empirical examples showing how group interaction was conducted *in situ.* Regarding this, the present study contributes to the body of higher education research a snapshot of how student meetings, as a type group-based learning activities, are carried out *in situ*, and a showcase of how students competently participate in the meeting interaction and smoothly proceed the meeting procedures. Although it only focused on a particular setting and drew from a relatively small dataset, students could largely benefit from the findings of this study. For instance, as a newcomer to such group project work, university students may not have the

necessary IC to efficiently perform the practices of group meetings and carry out the interactional tasks. By using these real-life findings to inform students the scenarios and racetracks they are likely to encounter, they can be better equipped to carry out group-based work. The process of being socialised into the practices of group meetings and becoming able to interpret and employ the 'member's methods' could therefore be facilitated. Such scenarios and racetracks may include the following three aspects, all of which are drawn from the findings of the present study:

- Systematic procedures of the activities that a meeting may include, such as the openings, closings;
- Different participation roles and the interactional projects they may be responsible for, such as the meeting chair and his/her role to allocate turns in meeting talk;
- Seating arrangements and other physical surroundings and artefacts being useful interactional resources to participate in meeting talk.

Also, when students report difficulties to participate in their group meetings, empirical CA-based examples of similar 'communication problems' could be of great value to give students a clearer idea of the interactional possibilities they may encounter, what could possibly went wrong in their interaction and the options they have to smooth it out. Based on the above three aspects and drawn from analysis of the present study, a list of interactional possibilities is summarised below:

1. To self-select during other participants' on-going talk:
   - A meeting chair may self-select even in overlap with the on-going talk by using resources to prioritise and mobilise recipiency: first avoid mutual gaze with current speaker(s), elicit collective attention amongst all participants, then address the talk to the target recipient(s);
   - A non-chair non-primary participant may need to invest extra interactional work to become the next speaker, by securing recipiency as early as possible (even at pre-turn positions); this can usually be done through re-positioning of the upper torso, head and hands to display increased attentiveness in the on-going talk;
2. When selecting other participants as next speakers:
   - Resources to address someone and request a response may include use of address term, rising intonation, recipient-tilt epistemic asymmetry designed in the talk (i.e., requiring/triggering the knowledge only the target recipient possess), gaze (with

accompanying gesture, facial expression, etc.), pointing gesture, so on and so forth;

- Body re-orientation (e.g., shifts of gaze, gesture) may be used to direct talk to multiple participants accumulatively within one evolving verbal turn or sequence.

3. The 'home position' and different seating positions (e.g., face-to-face or side-to-side with target recipient(s)):

- When two current speakers are seated side-to-side in a roundtable meeting, the torqued body becomes a major resource to display whether their talk is directed to each other, or to the whole group; switches in-between the torqued body and home position can therefore be mobilized to display their willingness to continue engage in the talk or to withdraw.

- When seated face-to-face, upper torso inclination, gaze shifts and gesticulation become useful resource to display levels of engagement and bodily orientation;

- It is useful for a meeting chair to be seated at a position that allows visual access to all participants, so that s/he may mobilise body re-positioning (e.g., inclination, body torque and home position) to display his/her orientation to the multiple tasks, e.g., monitoring on-going talk, taking meeting notes, keeping track of meeting agenda, initiating an insertion toward a selected participant, initiating collective attention amongst all participants.

Overall, it can be told that it is crucial for meeting participants to have sustained mutual monitoring and orientation during the interaction, and a fluidly-flowing interaction is as such co-constructed by all meeting participants; to do this, participants may rely not only on talk and their bodies, but together with the physical surroundings as useful resources. The list, however, should not be treated as a prescriptive must-have strategies or techniques, but an open-ended repertoire of interactional competence (IC) that students and professionals may develop when being socialised in the community of a multiparty meeting, and have been exposed by CA.

The current study is therefore of great value to teachers and material developers in higher education institutions, by providing them an option to include real-life illustrations of students' performance in group-based activities as an element in pedagogies, textbooks and curricula.

Furthermore, there are various practical ways CA researchers can collaborate with professional practitioners and make them aware of the benefits of such empirical evidence, such as through 'hands-on' data sessions to prompt reflection, systematic 'role-play' training based on findings from CA analysis, or include both into a long-term training course. Although this is

recognisably not an easy step, previous CA researchers have made numerous attempts in settings such as clinical communication disorders and psychotherapies, language learning, workplace professional training, so on and so forth; some of which were documented in the two collections of applied CA studies edited by Richards & Seedhouse (2005), and Antaki (2011) and paved the ways for future works of CA in the direction of informing, changing and developing practices.

6.5 Implications for multimodal CA

It is undisputed that human social interaction is intrinsically multimodal, and only by paying attention to all modalities of human actions can we gain a full picture of how interaction is conducted. However, Mondada has pointed out the diversification between activities that are primarily organised by reference to talk and those by reference to embodied conducts (e.g., driving a car, pool skating). The multiparty student meeting studied here is an activity that is primarily organised by reference to talk; and this has multiple consequences on how verbal/vocal and bodily-visual practices are organised in relation to one another when seen from different angles.

First, the very business of each interactional project pursued, conducted and accomplished is done through talk, although bodily-visual practices are shown to contextualise, reinforce or complement talk at different points. For instance, participants may display embodied incipient speakership using multiple multimodal resources as a prelude to an intended interactional project, but it is until they actually establish speakership by a verbal turn that their interactional projects are brought to delivery.

Second, participants' actions are formatted using their talk as a baseline. Although multiple courses of actions can be carried out concurrently, some by talk and others by bodily-visual practices or both, the orderliness and linear progression of the verbal/vocal turn-taking and turn-construction is what participants commonly orient to and in return restricts as well as localises the use of multimodal resources in constructing multi-dimensional courses of actions. For instance, shifts of gaze direction only serves the purposes of addressing someone when it is

being mobilised by the speaker during the unfolding verbal talk, especially when the verbal turn is not sufficiently **recipient-designed** (e.g., without an address term); likewise, the withdrawal of gaze (thus recipiency) can be used as a display of bidding for closing, or, a claim for speakership, depending on whether there is a next verbal turn.

Third, although participation framework is configured collaboratively by multiple participants' vocal/verbal as well as bodily-visual practices on a dynamic, multi-dimensional basis, here it is the sequential organisation of the vocal/verbal talk (e.g., turn-taking) that creates opportunities for shifts of participation framework which participants may take up (or not), but not the other way around. For instance, in the analysis of this study, I have shown numerous cases in which participants mobilise vocal/verbal or bodily-visual resources to establish speaker and secure recipiency at pre-turn and turn-beginnings; the reason why these sequential positions can be used by participants to perform these actions is thanks to the 'one speaker at a time' rule of the turn-taking system and possible completion points (or TRPs) of turn-construction.

Having said this, it is time to reconsider the question raised at various points during the thesis, which concerns the compatibility of those traditionally-thought talk-oriented notions of CA, such as *turn-taking, adjacency pair, sequential organisation, turn design, recipient design*, etc., from a multimodal perspective[44] (see Section 3.5 for an initial discussion). Earlier in this section, I have discussed "how sequencing of actions relates to the affordances of turn-taking and turn-construction", "how vocal turns and non-vocal multimodal conduct might follow different orders of organisation" (Deppermann, 2013a, p. 5) and how talk and embodied conduct create "possibilities and constraints with regard to temporal relations of successivity and simultaneity" (Mondada, 2014b, p. 154). And based on the discussion, the question can be answered here: *first,* while these CA notions, when put forward, are defined only in terms of verbal talk, it may be a sensible idea to re-think those definitions; *second,* when situated in activities that are primarily organised by reference to talk such as the case of the present study,

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[44] For two recent collections of studies on this, see: Special Issue: A body of resources – CA studies of social conduct, *Journal of Pragmatics* (2014), Volume 65, edited by Gitte Rasmussen, Spencer Hazel and Kristian Mortensen, and Special Issue: Conversation Analytic Studies of Multimodal Interaction, *Journal of Pragmatics* (2013), Volume 46, Issue 1, edited by Arnulf Deppermann.

it is evident in the analysis that the actions and practices of turn-taking, adjacency pair, sequential organisation, turn design and recipient design can be constructed in a range of multi-dimensional ways, i.e., by vocal/verbal conduct alone, or, by a combination of both vocal/verbal and embodied conduct, or, partly by vocal/verbal and partly by embodied conduct, with each modality of conduct occupying its particular temporal and sequential position and collaboratively and jointly contributing to the formation of the action; *third,* when situated in activities that are organised by bodily conduct such as pool skating (see Ivarsson & Greiffenhagen, 2015), there is a risk that the original properties of some talk-oriented notions may get lost, for instance, TCU and its possible completion point does not translate well to the beginning and ending of turns of skaters as they are primarily tied to properties of language (e.g., grammar, syntax, semantics, intonation, pragmatics). The third point, however, is out of the scope of the current study. Yet as Mondada (2014b) suggested, to probe the usability of CA notions in such non-talk-referenced activities certainly yields new empirical findings on how human actions are formatted by drawing upon multimodal resources, and how the orderliness of talk-in-interaction can be extended to talk-and-bodies-in-interaction, or, bodies-in-interaction.

6.6 Methodological considerations and recommendations for future research

The previous section has considered methodological issues regarding the compatibility of CA terminologies and multimodality, and pointed to directions of future research. This final section will continue on methodological issues, in terms of multimodal transcription and data recording in particular, followed by recommendations for proposed areas and topics of future study.

Firstly, the multimodal transcription produced for the current study has used annotations and screen shots to include the multimodal aspects of interaction. Separate aligned annotations represent the temporality and simultaneity of each modality, and together with the series of screen shots, the trajectory, progressivity and successivity of courses of embodied actions are nicely illustrated so that readers can have a better picture of the events in the video-recordings. In comparison, a commonly used transcription by other multimodal CA analysts usually deconstructs embodied conduct to the level of detail of its onset, apex and retraction, therefore

each course of conduct occupies a separate line and results in a long transcript even for a stretch of talk that only lasts a few seconds (see, for example Mondada, 2009; Oloff, 2013). Therefore, the tailor-made multimodal transcription is much more compact and simplified, retaining its intelligibility to represent multimodal conduct as well as its readability especially suitable for broader sequences of speaker transitions included in the present study. However, in this way, a compromise had to be made by neglecting the micro-detailed timing the above-mentioned transcription is able to represent, and this may also restrict the analysis in some ways. To compensate for this, therefore, I propose that in future CA research that has a focus on multimodal practices, the actual video data can be included (where permitted) in the academic journals and PhD theses that are often shared and read digitally, so that the readers are given access to the primary video data as well as the transcripts. In this way, the reliability and validity of such CA research can be further enhanced (see Section 3.6).

Further, due to the nature of the data obtained for the present study, that is, only one camera was allowed to record one session, it also exerts certain restrictions on the analysis, especially for not being able to capture every participant's embodied actions at all times. One most obvious shortcoming of this is that, when selecting cases to be included in my collection, I could only include cases of speaker transition conducted by participants I have full visual access to and discard others. However, in defence, every effort has been made to make sure this collection of cases represents all the variations in the data and made a solid, systematic illustration of multimodal speaker transition in multiparty meeting interactions. Also, CA is not interested in making generalisations based on its sampling of participants, which means that being unable to illustrate cases for each participants should not in principle compromise the validity of the study (see Section 3.6). Having argued for this, it is always preferable to have at least two cameras placed at the scene for data collection (for a detailed discussion , see Mondada, 2012b), so as to have a fuller and wider capture especially for multimodal CA studies. Another proposal here is to use 360-degree cameras, placed in the middle of the participants on the table or mounted on the ceiling, so that all participants can be seen at all times in one video-recording. This could be particularly useful if the conversation was carried out amongst multiple participants over a desk, a digital screen or a worktop that includes manipulation of artefacts (e.g., notes, pens, meeting agenda).

One possible future venue for research on multimodal speaker transitions and turn-taking practices could be made is to look at meeting interactions with varying numbers of participants. As is was shown in the original classic CA work, the turn-taking rule-set favours "by virtue of its design, smaller numbers of participants" (Sacks et al., 1974, p. 712), which means that its operation differs when the number of participants in a conversation gets bigger. Compared with existing knowledge of the vocal/verbal operation of the turn-taking system, it would be interesting to explore how this affects participants' mobilisation of multimodal resources and their construction of embodied conduct. Similarly, it is equally interesting to observe how the local context affords participants to format their 'complex multimodal gestalts', for instance, when seated (e.g., chairs around big tables, individual tables and chairs, only chairs with no tables) or standing differently (e.g., in a circle, facing forward), or, when carrying out conversations with different physical surroundings (e.g., in a meeting room, in open air, in a hallway) – which can be another possible area of future research.

Further, researchers and practitioners in higher education could benefit from more future research on the interaction in a wider range of group-based learning and teaching activities. It is not only to conceptualise and evidence university students' interactional competences in performing academic and professional-like activities, but also to provide empirical findings for future training and teaching purposes as discussed in Section 6.4. Finally, moving slightly to a developmental perspective on participants' interactional competences, future research should also consider to carry out longitudinal data collection with the same group of participants over time, therefore being able to reveal the process of how academic and professional practitioners are socialised to the local 'community of practice' and the development of, as Goodwin (2013) describes, "the ability to create through practice the meaningful actions and objects that animate work, knowledge and discourse within specific communities requires that one be a competent member of that community (p.19)", that is, the development of one's IC in a specific academic or professional community. Especially, as most existing longitudinal studies in CA on the development of interactional competences tend to focus on spoken actions and/or practices (see, for example Ishida, 2009; H. T. Nguyen, 2006; Pekarek Doehler & Pochon-Berger, 2015), more attention can be paid in the future on the development of multimodal practices.

Chapter 7. Conclusion

This final chapter will revisit the aims of the current research and outline the main outcomes and significance; it will end by drawing upon the contributions this study has made to the field of research on social interaction and higher education.

Adopting a multimodal, sequential, micro-analytic approach afforded by the methodological framework of CA, the study was primarily set out to examine the interactional competences displayed by university students in their participation of multiparty group meetings, drawing upon a collection of video-recorded, undergraduate student group meetings from Newcastle University Corpus of Academic Spoken English (NUCASE) (Walsh, 2014). This has contributed to answering the call for more empirically based studies on student interactions in higher education contexts, which are severely under-represented in the domain of social interaction research, so as to have a better understanding on how students get their learning tasks done and their academic lives performed 'in-flight' (e.g., Benwell & Stokoe, 2002; Stokoe et al., 2013).

Particularly, the analytical focus was placed on how speaker transitions are done during a focal phenomenon, namely, *roundtable update discussion*, in the meeting interaction. As can be seen in the analysis presented in Chapter 5, the study has accounted for how meeting participants accomplish speaker transition either through 'next speaker self-selects' or 'current speaker selects next', by establishing and negotiating speakership, as well as securing and mobilising recipiency. The findings suggest that (1) speaker transitions were accomplished by participants locally as joint-undertakings collaboratively constructed amongst multiple co-participants, a process which is observable through the dynamic configuration and constantly re-establishment of participation framework; (2) participants have demonstrated their competences to mobilise the whole set of multimodal resources (i.e., vocal, verbal, bodily-visual) in their unfolding courses of actions, temporally and simultaneously.

As such, the study has followed Goodwin's (C. Goodwin, 2013; e.g., C. Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004) notion of participation as embodied, co-operative and transformative organisation of human actions, and contributed directly to the body of research looking at turn-taking and embodied participation in multiparty talk-in-interaction, in workplace meetings (C. E. Ford, 2008; e.g., C. E. Ford & Stickle, 2012; Markaki & Mondada, 2012; Mondada, 2007b, 2012c, 2013) and classroom settings (e.g., Fasel Lauzon & Pochon-Berger, 2015; Hauser, 2009; Mortensen, 2008a, 2008b, 2009). Another direct contribution of this study is that, by accounting for participants' mobilisation of multimodal resources and assembly of the 'multimodal complex gestalts' (Mondada, 2014b), it consists a systematic and comprehensive multimodal collection of speaker transitions in multiparty meeting interactions and therefore brings new insights to the existing multimodal CA research of talk-and-bodies-in-interaction. In this way, the primary aim of the study was also achieved.

Further, in comparison to the above-mentioned studies in which analytic foci are limited to a selected sequential position, such as turn-beginning, pre-beginning and/or end of turn (cf. C. E. Ford & Stickle, 2012; Mondada, 2007b; Mortensen, 2008b), the current study was determined to account for broader, expanded sequences of speaker transition. Therefore, it was made possible to showcase how an interactional project was adumbrated, noticed and (mis)aligned by co-participants, brought to its delivery, or, blocked half-way and transformed over several turns and/or sequences (Levinson, 2013), and explicate for the concurrent and/or intertwined courses of actions, whether vocal/verbal or bodily-visual, performed by multiple participants in pursuit of their on-going interactional project(s). This larger-scale perspective on 'interactional project', therefore, not only affords a wider analytical lens on action formation for the current study, but also gives a clearer representation of the temporality, simultaneity and progressivity of different modalities of actions as performed by multiple participants. Further insights were also gained in the ways specific modalities of practices (e.g., gaze direction, gesticulation, overlap resolution) were operated on the level of sequentially unfolding actions rather than the verbal turns-at-talk, and evidenced findings in recent relevant studies (cf. Cibulka, 2014; Oloff, 2012, 2013, Rossano, 2012a, 2012b). These consist a significant part of the methodological contributions of the study.

Analytic observations were also made based on the uniqueness of local context (i.e., roundtable update discussion in multiparty meeting interaction) and its affordances to the ways participants interact with each other. *First*, it affords participants with asymmetric distribution of 'rights to speak' amongst the pre-assigned role of the chair, the chair-appointed role of current primary speaker and the locally emerging role of a non-chair, as displayed by participants' orientation to one another. It was observable especially by comparing cases of speaker transition initiated by meeting chair, primary speakers with those initiated by non-chair non-primary speakers. This finding therefore contributes to the body of CA research on institutional entitlement and asymmetric distribution of 'rights to speak' amongst participants (e.g., M. A. Atkinson et al., 1978; Paul Drew & Heritage, 1992; Jefferson, 1978) with a 'multimodal account' (cf. Butler & Wilkinson, 2013; C. E. Ford & Stickle, 2012). *Second*, the local seating arrangements, that is, all participants were seated by a square of desks, facing the centre, creates different availabilities of multimodal resources (e.g., home position, body torque, body inclination) for participants constructing different sequential actions within a shared interactional space. The study is therefore parallel to a series of recent multimodal CA studies with a focus on the establishment of mutual orientation and the construction of 'shared interactional space' (e.g., Markaki & Mondada, 2012; Mondada, 2009, 2012c, 2013; Mortensen & Hazel, 2014).

Finally, the empirical findings of this study have contributed to inform practices of university students and workplace professionals, in terms of the interactional competences in participating in multiparty meetings. These include the management of meeting talk by the meeting chair, the local affordances of the seating arrangements and other physical surroundings, and more generally, the public availability of multimodal resources. Particularly, university students and higher education teachers and material writers could benefit from the empirical findings of this study, to be better informed and equipped to perform in group-based learning and teaching activities.

Also, implications for the methodological issues of compatibility between the multimodal perspective and talk-related CA notions has been discussed by the end of the previous chapter, followed with several recommended areas of future research in multimodal CA, higher

education teaching and learning, and the conceptualisation and development of academic and professional interactional competences.

Appendices

Appendix I: CA Transcript Convention

↗ rising to mid	⬈ rising to high
↘ falling to mid	⬊ falling to low
≈ latching	≋ continuation
: extended syllable	- cut-off
·hh inhalation	hh exhalation
⌈ ⌉ top overlap	⌊ ⌋ bottom overlap

(.) pause shorter than 0.2 second

Δ Δ faster than surrounding talk

∇ ∇ slower than surrounding talk

° ° softer than surrounding talk

CAPS raised volume

Underline stress

 !p/!t/!k a click (i.e. a sound involving bilabial, alveolar and velar

suction)

Symbols used for annotation of embodied conduct of participants:

PAU	*JOH*	*DAN*	*MAR*	*CLA*	*TOM*
♯	£	&	¥	⅋	$

Appendix II: Full Transcript

Segment 1

```
1      PAU: °so° (0.5) °sure° (0.3) ·hh u::m
2      PPP: (1.2)
3      PAU: °right° uh:: shall we sign off↘ (.) the: minutes from the
4      PAU: previous meeting first↗
5      PPP: (0.5)
6      TOM: and there's the one from↗ (.) twenty fifth of oc- TOber as
7      TOM: well↘
8      PPP: (0.7)
9      PAU: right↘ (.) ↑oh there's two↘
10     PPP: (0.4)
11     JOH: ∆you expect me to remember what we did then∆↘ hh ha≈
12     PAU: ≈ should I feed that one that way↘
13     PPP: (3.0)
14     PAU: ·hh uh hh haha hh right≈
15     JOH: ≈ um th- the-≈
16     PAU: ≈ ah I'll read this one yester[day↘]
17     MAR:                              [is ] that the last week's one↗
18     PAU: [yeah↘]
19     JOH: [yeah↘]
20     PPP: (5.0)
21     CLA: ↓ah: merci↘
22     PPP: (1.4)
23     PAU: well (0.4) tze ·hhh hope every one enjoyed their brief hh (.)
24     PAU: weekend break↗≈
25     DAN: [((clears throat))]
26     MAR: [ yeah↘  well↘  ]
27     PAU: ≈ two days and then≈
28     DAN: ≈ mhm hm≈
29     PAU: ≈straight back into ∆advanced hydrodynamics∆ that was fun↗
30     UUU: uh ha ha ha ha hh
31     PAU: ·hh ha
32     DAN: ((clears throat))
33     PPP: (3.2)
34     DAN: ↑I thought ↑DANiel would hav- would have done that one↘≈
35     MAR: ≈ no
36     JOH: (.) HE does part of it↘
37     PPP: (0.2)
38     CLA: who: did [it↘]
39     DAN:          [°uh°]
40     JOH: [heh↗]
41     PAU: [so:↘] (.) [hopefully IT MIGH-] IT MIGHT relax a bit↗
```

```
42   CLA:              ⌊so you X X ⌋
43   JOH:                            ⌊X X ⌋
44   PPP: (0.9)
45   JOH: also Jan↘
46   PPP: (0.8)
47   CLA: ↓oh Jan↘ ⌈Jan↘ ⌉ ↓oh
48   JOH:          ⌊°yea°-⌋
49   PPP: (1.5)
50   JOH: yeah↘ (.) no↘ (.) ↑oh they don't want to X X ≈
51   CLA: ≈ ↑oh ⌈   I was uh↘   ⌉
52   JOH:      ⌊it was the same⌋ chap↘≈
53   CLA: ≈ oh ⌈it's uh⌋
54   JOH: ⌊Yeah↘⌋ (0.4) no that's um (1.3) °poor Norwigians↘°
55   PAU: ·hhhhhh
56   PAU: SO::↘
57   PPP: (1.2)
58   PAU: post-exams↗ (0.3) Δtime to get downΔ to business↗
59   PAU: (0.8) we need to work out what (0.3) everyone's doing↗ (0.2)
60   PAU: individually⬈
61   PPP: (1.0)
62   PAU: u:::m tze (.) so::: (0.2) Δmaybe we should have aΔ
63   PAU: discussion on:↗ (0.3) where we're↗ (.) each gonna go↗ (.) with
64   PAU: our part of the project↘
65   PPP: (1.2)
66   PAU: and u::m
67   PPP: (1.0)
68   PAU: basically how we're gonna start↗
69   PPP: (2.0)
70   PAU: so::::↗ ·hh hh
71   PPP: (2.2)
72   PAU: Mark⬈≈
73   MAR: ≈ mhm↗
74   MAR: (0.5) Business↘
75   MAR: (0.3) yeah↘≈
76   PAU: ≈ what's going on↗ (0.5) what what how
77   PAU: are you (0.4) continuing from the lit- review now↗
78   MAR: (0.7) well basically (.) the thing I wa- uh hh I was
79   MAR: ⌈   thinking      ⌉≈
80   PAU: ⌊°((clears throat))°⌋
81   MAR: ≈ Δabout this last nightΔ reall- um::≈
82   PAU: ≈ °((clears throat))°
83   PPP: (1.1)
84   MAR: WHY I think the project shoud get out and what I should get
85   MAR: out of it (0.8)
```

Segment 2

```
1    MAR: (.) cos ⌈we DID⌉≈
2    PAU:      ⌊ mhm ⌋
3    MAR: ≈ Δat theΔ STAR:T↘ we talked about↗ (0.3) logistics didn't
4    MAR: we- we talked about↗ (0.4) we'd start to pla:n↗
5    MAR: (0.7) if Δyou're gonna to buil it- say on theΔ north coast what
6    MAR: (.) likely ports would you u:se↗ what kind of distances↘
7    PPP: (0.5)
8    MAR: ⌈ so ⌉ looking at↗
9    PAU: ⌊yeah↘⌋
10   PAU: (.) talk about how the: ports ⌈    or uh    ⌉ ≈
11   MAR:                               ⌊IMPLICATIONS of ⌋ ≈
12   DAN:                               ⌊((clears throat))⌋
13   PAU: ≈ ⌈expanding and stuff↘⌉ yeah↘≈
14   MAR: ≈ ⌊ where you would↗  ⌋
15   DAN: ≈ °go into de⌈tails↘ ⌉°≈
16   PAU:            ⌊°yeah°↗ ⌋≈
17   MAR: ≈ yeah↘
18   PPP: (1.0)
19   MAR: but YEAH I would keep it basic at the start↘ °so° when I move
20   MAR: on from toda:y↘
21   PPP: (0.9)
22   MAR: basically try and look at a- a total Gantt char:t↗ (0.3)
23   MAR: business wi:se↗≈
24   PAU: ≈ yeah↗≈
25   MAR: ≈ what who: Δwould applyΔ for funding↗ (.) where↗ (0.7) and
26   MAR: then↘ as we get into more details I can apply:↗
27   PPP: (0.9)
28   MAR: °apply those↗°≈
29   PAU: ≈ yea:h↘ Δare you gonna be talkingΔ abou:t↗ like↗ the supply:
30   PAU: chai:n ⌈  °as  well° ⌉
31   MAR:       ⌊ΔThat's what I'm⌋ THINKING ofΔ YEAH cos you you've got
32   MAR: to allow Δfor that I think↗Δ
33   PAU: (0.3) yeah↘≈
34   MAR: ≈ that's a huge (.) °part of the cost yeah°≈
35   DAN: ≈ °mm°
36   PPP: (0.7)
37   MAR: °um that'll be good°≈
38   DAN: o- OBVIOUsly to do the cost↘ benefit analysis you need more
39   DAN: details: as we said↘
40   MAR: (.) ye⌈ah↘ ⌉
41   DAN:     ⌊towar⌋ds↗ uh: hh (0.4) wha- HOW long↘ what time you
42   DAN: need↘ ·hh (.)for us to give you the final detailed↗ desi:gn↘
43   DAN: (.) so you can do the work↘ before↗ (.) due time↘≈
```

```
44    MAR: ≈ wh- ↑WHAT I'd like to do it set it all up↘
45    PPP: (0.6)
46    DAN: ⌈°okay°⌉
47    MAR: ⌊what I⌋ think it should look like↘ and a:s
48    MAR: ⌈  I get details  ⌉ use them↗≈
49    DAN: ⌊((clears throat))⌋
50    DAN: ≈ uhh≈
51    MAR: ≈ and then↗ obviously if maybe ⌈we'd have  ⌉ enough≈
52    DAN:                                ⌊°we'll do-°⌋
53    DAN: ≈ details ⌈I can↗⌉
54    PAU:          ⌊  tze  ⌋
55    DAN: ≈ muddle them↗≈
56    MAR: ≈ ask for more::↘
57    PPP: (0.5)
58    MAR: °uhh°
59    PAU: (.) ⌈yeah↘⌉
60    MAR: ⌊adjus-↘⌋ adjust↘ the: a⌈nalysis↘⌉
61    PAU:                          ⌊  tze    ⌋
62    MAR: ⌈based on:↗⌉
63    PAU: ⌊   ·hhh   ⌋ I mean I don't know if it's going into too much
64    PAU: details ∆is there anyway∆ that if we could may:be:↗ if we've
65    PAU: got this design we could almost predict like a TI:MELI:NE↗
66    MAR: (0.2) yeah↘≈
67    PAU: ≈ for maybe the design↗ and-
68    PPP: (0.6)
69    MAR: ·hh ⌈yeah cos we're (.) at the CONference⌉
70    PAU:     ⌊  productional   prototype         ⌋ I don't know
71    MAR: (.) we saw like these Pelamis↗≈
72    PAU: ≈yeah↘
```

Segment 3

```
1     PAU: ⌊yeah it means⌋ so WE could TA:KE THEIR:
2     PAU: hh (0.8) basic time constraints and how they got their first
3     PAU:  thing made (.) with ⌈the ⌉ fund that you know have you≈
4     MAR:                      ⌊yeah⌋
5     PAU: ≈ considered (0.4) if you↗ (.) had (0.4) similar funding you
6     PAU: could almost predict that you would be on the same
7     PAU: time °constraints rea⌈lly⌉°
8     MAR:                      ⌊so ⌋ WHAT I PLANned to do is email a lot
9     MAR: of ∆these little companies we went to∆ see:
10    MAR: (0.6) and not- MAYBE ask for details ∆cos they won't give us∆
11    MAR: like business details and just ask for:
12    PPP: (0.3)
```

```
13   JOH: ·hhh
14   MAR: what kind of plans are you looking at what kind of plans have
15   MAR: you used in the past≈
16   PAU: ≈ yeah≈
17   MAR: ≈ what's been successful↗ and hopefully if we get some
18   MAR: responses
19   PPP: (1.2)
20   PAU: yeah↗ ⌈ that's good↗  ⌉
21   MAR:       ⌊Δthat's what I'dΔ⌋ like to do↘
22   PPP: (2.3)
23   JOH: are you looking at the cost of the project too↘
24   MAR: (0.4) YEAH I mean I'd LI:KE to↘ (.) I mean that I think that's
25   MAR: gonna be difficult to predict↘
26   JOH: (0.2) yeah↘
27   PPP: (0.5)
28   JOH: ⌈ ·hh  ⌉              ⌈  but  ⌉
29   MAR: ⌊because⌋ ΔobviouslyΔ ⌊we don't⌋ know how↗ (.)
30   MAR: ⌈difficult⌉ it would be to (.) manufacture≈
31   JOH: ⌊  su-    ⌋
32   MAR: ≈ °that kind of thing°
33   JOH: sure but in TER:ms of (.) um: Δobviously once we gotΔ a final
34   JOH: design you can estimate steelwork≈
35   PAU: ≈ yeah↘≈
36   MAR: ≈ yeah↘≈
37   JOH: ≈ uh: all the generator and electronic stuff↗ I imagine those
38   JOH: prices are availa⌈ble↘⌉
39   MAR:               ⌊yeah↗⌋ that's what I- ⌈I deal↘⌉ in ≈
40   JOH:                               ⌊  uh  ⌋
41   JOH: ≈ °actually yeah° and if- EVEN if it's not an EXACT figure↗
42   JOH: (0.4) a ballpark figure is definitely (0.6)
43   MAR: ⌈yeah↘ if- if-⌉
44   JOH: ⌊ wor:thy       ⌋
45   JOH: Δcos otherwise there's NO: point us doing the projectΔ
46   JOH: when the whole:↗ (0.6) basis was to redu:ce the ov⌈erall⌉ cost↘
47   MAR:                                            ⌊yeah↘⌋
48   JOH: 0.2) Δand we then find outΔ it's actually more expensive
49   JOH: (.) to do this and attach it to wind farmer≈↘
50   MAR: ≈ ye⌈ah↘⌉
51   JOH:    ⌊then⌋ it is just to do it ⌈  °it's what is°  ⌉
52   PAU:                             ⌊↑well that's↓ the⌋ whole
53   PAU: point ⌈of the⌉ project ≈
54   MAR:      ⌊ yeah ⌋
55   PAU: ≈ ⌈isn't it↘ we want⌉ actuall:y↗
56   MAR:  ⌊ cos we've-yeah↘ ⌋
57   PPP: (0.3)
58   CLA: ⌈clears throat⌉
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59   PAU: (.) it does- it doesn't matter if it's cheaper or more expensive
60   PAU: it's ⌈just ⌉ the fact that we're proving↗
61   JOH:     ⌊yeah↘⌋
62   PAU: (0.7) ⌈   what price   ⌉ it is yeah↘≈
63   JOH:       ⌊°it can be done°⌋
64   JOH: ≈ yeah↘ (.) ↑no that's fine
65   MAR: (.) cos I THINK we said at the START that at one of the first
66   MAR: meetings we SAID↘ (0.5) the ideal conclusion will be
67   MAR: (0.3) the proof: (.) that this is a cheaper↗
68   MAR: (.) ⌈the ⌉ megawatts I mean≈
69   JOH:     ⌊yeah⌋
70   MAR: ≈ that's what we said it I think that's ⌈°what⌉ we said°≈
71   JOH:                                         ⌊yeah↘⌋
72   DAN: ≈ yeah yeah↘ it's cheaper to produce electiricity ⌈more ⌉≈
73   MAR:                                                    ⌊yeah↘⌋
74   DAN: ≈ cheaper than the: °wind turbine°≈
75   JOH: ≈ yeah↘≈
76   CLA: ≈ well in that case um like a labview program could be
77   CLA: written↘ ⌈at the end↘⌉ or≈
78   MAR:         ⌊   uhm     ⌋
79   CLA: ≈  △something to basically△ (1.0) you know come out
80   CLA: with how much (0.3) ▽per megawatt we've got▽
```

Segment 4

```
1    PAU: ⌊·hh⌋ °alright° (.) SO:: I don't should we GO::↗ (.) ·hhhh
2         I don't know what order we should go in of (0.2) plan should
3         we go↗≈
4    DAN: ≈ uh
5         (0.8)
6    PAU: prop design↗ (0.2) o:r should we start from structures↗ (0.7)
7         of≈
8    DAN: ≈ whatever I can go °if you want I don't mind it's up to you°
9         (0.6)
10   PAU: yeah↗ go for ⌈ it ⌉
11   DAN:             ⌊okay⌋ (.) ER: well er I already↘ started working≈
12   PAU:               ⌈ yeah↘ ⌉
13   DAN: ≈ on structures ⌊I'm just⌋ putting (.) basics like when I get
14        the numbers↘ (.)
```

Segment 5

```
1    DAN: ≈ uh: ⌈  that I ⌉ CAN estimate↘ I've got only one problem which≈
2    PAU:        ⌊isn't it↗⌋
3    DAN: ≈ is the- um:the f- the weight of the arms
4    PPP: (0.2)
5    PAU: ⌈yeah↘⌋
6    UUU: ⌊ mhm↗ ⌋
7    DAN: uh how the arms for the tidal↗ (.) itself ⌈and I we can't⌉≈
8    DAN: (.) itself ⌈       and I we can't        ⌉≈
9    PAU:           ⌊this is the thing if we can⌋≈
10   DAN: ≈ ⌈°it's the arms°⌉
11   PAU: ≈ ⌊  if we can    ⌋ get a design made for that and then give
12   PAU: you a weight
13   DAN: (0.3) yeah-≈
14   PAU: ≈ a- af- a- as- a- and point acting in the tower then you can
15   PAU: work out ⌈the⌉ forces on it- um:≈
16   DAN:         ⌊°yeah°⌋
17   DAN: ≈ yeah
18   PAU: (0.2) ·hhh I mean yu've already got the data for the win:d:
19   PAU: (0.3) tur:bi:ne towers ⌈don't you⌉ so you can use that
20   DAN:                        ⌊yeah⌋
21   PPP: (0.4)
22   PAU: u::m:
23   PPP: (0.5)
24   PAU: hhh
25   PAU: (0.6) °just trying to think° ·hh (.) Δso I thinkΔ (.) THAT maybe
26   PAU: one of the things Δwe have to ⌈push⌉ forwardΔ≈
27   DAN:                               ⌊yeah⌋
28   PAU: ≈ to do ⌈ fIRST ⌉
29   DAN:        ⌊IT JUST⌋
30   PAU: ≈ cos then it it'll just make (.) ·hh
31   DAN: uh °f- for the° for the tidal turbine it's basically the weight
32   DAN: because the- uh the: the: the force that's gonna be exerted
33   DAN: on them (.) I can calculate that from the tidal uh:: current
34   DAN: from the current speed≈
35   PAU: ≈ ⌈yeah⌋
36   DAN:   ⌊uh::⌋ sh- forwarding proportion (.) it's ⌈basically⌉ I think
```

Segment 6

```
1    JOH: it's Δthe problem is it'sΔ a three-blade↘ (.) and I thi::nk↘
2    JOH: (.) wewere looking at a two-blade I'm not sure I'll d- (0.2)
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3    JOH:  I'll see how the three-blade compares↘ (0.4) u:m: (0.5) bu-
4    JOH:  I::: (0.3) in my mind had °a two-blade design
5    JOH:   Δthat we were going ⌈for⌉°Δ
6    DAN:                        ⌊°fo-°⌋ f-
7    DAN:  from my research so far ·hh uh- (.) but this is the companies
8    DAN:  tell them↘ (.) ⌈bes- their blades⌉ ⌈    are the best     ⌉
9    JOH:               ⌊yeah yeah yeah↘⌋  ⌊ (.) sure↘ yeah yeah↘⌋
10   DAN:  (.) uh: I found the most popular ones↘ (.) are the three blades↗
11   JOH:  (0.2) are they↘ (.) okay↗ (.) right (0.2) in which case we
12   JOH:  are going for ☺three blades then☺↗ ·hhh ⌈u:m⌉
13   DAN:                                         ⌊but⌋
14   DAN:  ⌈well I was going t-⌉ THE COMPANIES TELLING YEAH↘ (0.2)≈
15   JOH:  ⌊WELL YEAH↘ NO I mean it's-⌋
16   DAN:  ≈ ⌈OUR DESIGN IS THE⌉ BE⌈ST ye-  ⌉
17   JOH:    ⌊YEAH↘ SURE↘⌋
18   PAU:                       ⌊I THINK↗⌋≈
19   JOH:  ≈ yeah↘≈
20   PAU:  ≈ U::M::
21   PPP:  (0.5)
22   PAU:  some of the two bladed ones↘
23   PAU:  (0.5) °were only to do with the: ease of access⇗ wasn't i-°
24   PAU:  was ⌈ it ⌉ to do≈
25   JOH:      ⌊yeah⌋
26   PAU:  ≈ it wasn-↘≈
27   JOH:  ≈ is was to get them out of the water↘
28   PAU:  (0.2) yeah↘
29   PPP:  (0.2)
30   PAU:  ∇BUT IF WE HA:D∇ a mechanism that got them↗ tze≈
31   JOH:  ≈ yeah≈
32   PAU:  ≈ horizontal↗
33   PPP:  (0.8)
34   JOH:  but having said that↘ if we're ducting them anyway
35   PPP:  (0.7)
36   DAN:  ⌈    °yeah°↘    ⌉
37   JOH:  ⌊doesn't matter⌋ whether you're horizontal↗≈
38   DAN:    ⌈°exactly°↘⌉
39   JOH:  ≈ ⌊if you're ⌋ in two-blade or three-blade↘ (0.2) it's the
40   JOH:  duct Δthat you've got to get out of the waterΔ
41   DAN:  (0.2) yeah≈
42   PAU:  ≈ right
43   JOH:  um: (0.3) the ∇DUCT↘∇ UH:: they've got a- a: see eff dee (CFD)
44   JOH:  programme or uh: it's actually a f- (0.2) a °fortran↗ (0.3)
45   JOH:  or foran↘° (0.4) there's a: (0.3) a (.)complicated code
46   JOH:  that has a who:le handwritten
47   JOH:  Δlogbook to go with it that Ted Glover wroteΔ
48   JOH:  Δwho was the guy before Mehmet↘Δ
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49    JOH: (.) ·hhhh um:: (0.3) who:: and ΔRod said he'd get hold ofΔ
50    JOH: that for me
51    JOH: (0.3) um::: (.) so we can do some ducting↘ (.) analysis
52    JOH: as well and design it a good duct↘
53    JOH: (0.2) um: (0.2)
54    PAU: ·hhh ⌈°Δi'm just trying t-Δ°⌉
55    JOH:      ⌊    in terms of-     ⌋
56    JOH: (0.2) go on↗≈
57    PAU: ≈ no↘ that's alright↘
58    PPP: (0.7)
59    JOH: in terms of the actual prop design↗ (.) uh: I mean we'll START↘
60    JOH: with (0.4) Darzing's one↗ (0.2) uh see how (0.2) and I don't
61    JOH: know how big his was↘
62    JOH: (.) cuz
63    JOH: ΔI've only ever seen the model which is like this bigΔ↘
64    JOH: ·hh um (0.5) so::-≈
65    PAU: his isn't ducted↘ (.) is it↗≈
66    JOH: ≈ no his is just a standard
67    JOH: Δprop so there ⌈ will be differences in itΔ⌉
68    PAU:               ⌊so we'll have to change it⌋ anyway↗ (.)
69    JOH: YEAH↘≈
70    PAU: ≈ °yeah°↘≈
71    JOH: ≈ um: but it's Δat least a goodΔ starting point (0.3) IF ONLY
72    JOH: just to look through the way he's done it↘
73    PAU: (0.2) yeah↘≈
74    JOH: ≈ to go about it cuz at the moment we are
75    JOH: Δgoing at it a bit bli:nd just kinda goingΔ ah: we'll we'll
76    JOH: work it out and the- ≈
77    PAU: ≈ so you ⌈don't⌉ think he'd let us chop the tops off his≈
78    JOH:         ⌊the-⌋
79    PAU: ≈ blade and Δpop a duct on it↘Δ ☺hhhh☺
80    DAN: °he he he he°
81    JOH: ⌈maybe not no:↗ sch:⌉ uh-hum (.) might≈
82    PAU: ⌊ha ha ha ha ha⌋
83    PAU: ≈ Δget a bit upset by that↘Δ ☺hhhh☺≈
84    JOH: ≈ bu:t u::m:
85    PPP: (0.8)
```

Segment 7

```
1     JOH: in terms of the who::le sort of see eff dee (CFD) analysis↘
2     JOH: (0.3) uh I'm quite keen to do a lot of (.) computer work↘
3     JOH: (0.5) u:m: (0.3) and also talking to Rod as well↘
4     JOH: m- mainly the reason he's back↘ (.) is he has all of his
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5    JOH: experimental work↗ (0.5) and he's not very good↘(0.2)
6    JOH: well in his eyes↗ (0.2) at see eff dee:↗ (CFD) and
7    JOH: matla:b↗ and (0.2) all of those things↘ (.)
8    JOH: so he wants to learn↗ (0.3) how to do it as well↘ (0.2)
9    JOH: ⌈but basically↘⌉ (0.2) we can get≋
10   PAU: ⌊ °well bu-° ⌋
11   JOH: ≋ him on board↗ (1.0)
12   JOH: kill two birds with one stone↘ (0.3) uh I know he has offered
13   JOH: help to Δthe other groupΔ as well↘
14   JOH: (0.4) um so we'd gotta be a bit
15   JOH: careful with his time and don't abuse him too much↘
16   JOH: (.) bu- (0.4) it will be:: (0.5) useful I think↗
17   JOH: (0.3) ⌈um: ⌉
18   PAU:      ⌊tze ·hh⌋ I: think↘ (.) the quicker we (.) go to him (.)
19   PAU: the better↘ because they're: not gonna want his help↘
20   PAU: °for (.) a little bit I don't think°↘
21   JOH: Δ°but they've gotta persuade the rest of the group↘°Δ
22   JOH: Δ°that they actually want to do this project↘°Δ
23   JOH: (0.4) so:: (0.6) ⌈   I-   ⌉
24   PAU:                 ⌊I thought⌋ they were doing uh:↗ I thought
25   PAU: they were just using↗ (.) the: °what form↗°
26   JOH: (0.5) um might ⌈change↘⌉
27   PAU:               ⌊  uh  ⌋ let's move on↘≋
28   JOH: ≋ yeah↘≋
29   PAU: ≋ anyw⌈ay↘⌉
30   JOH:      ⌊um:⌋ (0.2) so now↘ I kno-
31   JOH: (0.3) Δ°I:'m in contact with him so it's fine°Δ
32   JOH: Δ°if anyone wants to talk to him°Δ he's
33   JOH: (0.3) Δ°more than happy to talk to you↘°Δ
34   JOH: (0.3) u:m:
35   JOH: (0.7) so we'll go with that↘ (0.6) see how that works↘
36   JOH: (.) now I know (.) I think Tom's interested↘ (0.4) in prop
37   JOH: desi:gn↗
38   JOH: (0.3) uh also you're (.) interested↘
39   JOH: (0.9) if you can get anytime from your business↘≋
40   MAR: ≋yeah ⌈Δ°if I actually get some-°Δ⌉
41   JOH:       ⌊     I think YOU'RE       ⌋
42   JOH: UM: ·hhhh
43   JOH: you're fairly maxed out↗ and then I know Paul you're:↗
44   PAU: (0.2) I:'m gonna do the °structures on the lifting systems°≋
45   JOH: ≋ right↘ okay↗≋
46   PAU: ≋ so: I- this is the thing I: ·hh (0.8) I'm almost just gonna
47   PAU: work out thee: (0.9) basic cost of compared to a winch and a
48   PAU: rack companion↗
49   JOH: yeah≋
50   PAU: ≋ and then which I want is cheaper
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51   JOH: ⌈    yeah        ⌉
52   PAU: ⌊ΔI'm just gonnaΔ⌋ go with tha- and make it-it'll be
53        a basic design-it'll be≈
54   JOH: ≈ that's fine
55        (0.5)
56   JOH: yeah↘
57   PAU: jus- (1.2) go with that↘
58   JOH: (.) yeah okay
```

Segment 8

```
1    PAU: u:m:: ·hhh (0.7) !k k (.) °trying to think-° uh: I'm just
2    PAU: trying to think of this↘ (0.6) duct↗ twenty meter duct↘
3    JOH: (.) yeah
4    PPP: (1.2)
5    JOH: Δ°it's a twenty two meter duct but yeah↘°Δ≈
6    PAU: ≈ twenty two meter duct↘≈
7    JOH: ≈ yeah↘
8    PPP: (0.5)
9    JOH: is there ANY:↑ twenty two meter duct in the world↗≈
10   DAN: ≈°uh huh°
11   PPP: (0.7)
12   JOH: u⌈h::⌉
13   DAN:  ⌊°well°⌋ there must be↘≈
14   JOH: ≈ yeah↘≈
15   PAU: ≈°what's that↗°≈
16   DAN: ≈there must Δbe becauseΔ there's Δsome already someΔ
17   DAN: tidal turbine Δexisting ducted IΔ think≈
18   JOH: ≈ ye⌈ah⌉ but they're not that↓ big are they↗
19   DAN:     ⌊uhm⌋
20   PPP: (0.5)
21   JOH: Δ°well no we'll just go bigger°Δ
22   PPP: (0.4)
23   PAU: NO↓ I'm just saying it'll be (.) interesting ⌈to↗⌉ (.)≋
24   JOH:                                             ⌊yeah↗⌋
25   PAU: ≋ have a prototype design for:↗
26   PAU: (0.3) °a very very large duct°↘ hh
27   JOH: (0.6) °yes (.) interesting who's ducted now°↗
28   DAN: uh ⌈°jus-°⌉
29   PAU:    ⌊((throat clearing))⌋
30   DAN: just a question for you John↘ (.) d- do you have any
31   DAN: ti:me↗ f- (0.7) sca:les↗ or: any (0.2) you know↗
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32   DAN: (0.5) whe:n↗ things≈
33   JOH: ≈ WHEN I want do get things done↘ (.) U:M:-=
34   PAU: ≈ !t this is↘ (.) the next discussion↘
35   DAN: (0.3) ⌈sorry↘⌉
36   PAU:      ⌊!t⌋ so↗≈
37   MAR: ≈ ⌈hh hh hh hh hh hh⌉
38   PAU:   ⌈°I just-°⌉
39   DAN:   ⌊okay JUST BECAUSE I want to⌋ see:↘ (.) wh⌈ere⌉ we can fit↘≈
40   JOH:                                            ⌊yeah⌋
41   DAN: ≈ how we can ⌈help⌉ and ⌈that⌉ sort of ⌈things↘⌉≈
42   PAU:             ⌊ !t ⌋
43   JOH:                          ⌊I know↘⌋     ⌊yeah↘⌋
44   DAN: ≈ ⌈°cuz it's uh°⌉
45   PAU:   ⌊ye:ah↗⌋
46   JOH:          ⌊yeah↘⌋ no I'm aware of that↘ (0.2) um::≈
47   PAU: ≈ I just want to hear what everyone (.) was gonna do
48   PAU: first↘ ⌈and⌉≈
49   DAN:       ⌊yeah⌋
50   PAU: ≈ then we can discuss ⌈how⌉ we're gonna↗ (0.3) get everything≈
51   DAN:                       ⌊sure⌋
52   PAU: ≈ done in time↗
53   DAN: (.) sure≈
54   PAU: ≈ together↗ bu:t I mean↗
55   PPP: (0.6)
56   JOH: yeah↘ ⌈okay⌉ fine↘
57   DAN:       ⌊yeah↘⌋
58   PAU: (.) yeah↘ (0.2) WELL I was just (.) wondering where (.) Clare↗
59   PAU: where are you gonna↗ !t≈
60   CLA: ≈ um:≈
61   JOH: ≈ go with this now↗ !t ·hhh
62   CLA: Δwhere am I gonna go with this↘Δ (.) I: had a bit of a:
63   CLA: (0.2) mind change if anyone doesn't mind um:: ·hhh
```

Segment 9

```
1   CLA: and then finally↘ (0.8) um: (0.2) ΔI'm also gonnaΔ talk
2   CLA: about cuz I'm not overly sure if let's say how the power
3   CLA: electronics or the- (.) the electronics in general wor:k↘
4   CLA: for let's say rotating↗
5   JOH: (.) uhm≈
6   CLA: ≈ the blade↗≈
7   PAU: ≈ ⌈right↘⌉
8   JOH:   ⌊((nose inhalation))⌋
9   CLA: (.) or whatever↗
```

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10    PPP: (1.4)
11    CLA: cuz you kind of↘ everyone↘ Δwell not everyone↘Δ but you kind
12    CLA: of over overlook that↘ °because° somehow these blades↘ cuz
13    CLA: are- what- what are we:↗ what- what are we:↗
14    PPP: (0.6)
15    CLA: CPP↗
16    JOH: tze ·h:: h::::
17    CLA: °FPP↗°
18    JOH: °d- it's difficult to decide↘°
19    PPP: (0.5)
20    PAU: tze ·h ⌈um:::⌉
21    CLA:      ⌊°I thought it's°⌋
22    JOH: I TH⌈OU:GHT↘⌉ I thought↘ we are initially going for an≈
23    CLA:    ⌊ΔI thoughtΔ⌋
24    JOH: ≈ FPP to start with↘ ⌈cuz it's⌉ easier↗
25    CLA:                    ⌊yeah↘⌋
26    PPP: (0.4)
27    JOH: and then if we have ti:me↘ we'll look at doing a CPP:
28    PAU: (0.2) yeah↘≈
29    JOH: ≈ cuz the cost Δas well↘Δ (.)
30    JOH: ΔI mean the cost it's a massive cost ofΔ
31    JOH: ⌈implication↘⌉
32    PAU: ⌊thirty percent⌋ increase was it↗ ≈
33    JOH: ≈ u:h yeah Δit's thirty percent increase inΔ cost↘
34    PPP: (0.4)
35    JOH: u:m and then a:lso:↗ (0.3) in ter:ms o:f↗ u:m ΔI don't knowΔ
36    JOH: for you Δit may look a little more difficult↗Δ
37    PPP: (0.7)
38    JOH: cuz you had mo:re electronics involved↗ and mo:re↘
39    JOH: (0.2) moving parts basically↘
40    DAN: (.) °if-°≈
41    JOH: ≈ u:m:≈
42    PAU: ≈ it's probably mo:⌈re if you⌉ BO:TH↗ (.) have enough time↘
43    CLA:                   ⌊bo:th↘⌋
44    PPP: (0.4)
45    JOH: YEAH↘≈
46    PAU: ≈ cuz if he has enough time↘ but you don't have enough time↘
47    PAU: to do the: ↗
48    PPP: (0.5)
49    PAU: ⌈uh: mechanical⌉ part then maybe↗≈
50    CLA: ⌊then in that case↘⌋
51    CLA: ≈ yeah↘
52    PAU: uh- (.) well↘
53    PPP: (0.4)
54    PAU: ⌈I don't know-⌉
55    CLA: ⌊we'll see↘⌋
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56   PAU: ⌈but- we'll jusT HAVE to⌉ see↘ when we get there↗
57   CLA: ⌊uh- so should we make it-⌋
58   DAN: ((clears ⌈throat))⌉≈
59   JOH:          ⌊yeah↘⌋≈
60   CLA: ≈ okay↘
61   CLA: (.) ·hh well- I- I'll tal- I:'ll I'll talk to Ka:te↘ cuz I:
62   CLA: generally↘ Δthat's one thingΔ I have no idea ho:w↘
63   PPP: (0.7)
64   CLA: ho:w↘ the electronics would work↘ behind that↗ ⌈you know↗⌉≈
65   JOH:                                        ⌊yeah⌋
66   CLA: ≈ there's this small (0.4) motor↗≈
67   JOH: ≈ yeah
68   CLA: (.) ⌈n:o idea↘⌋
69   PAU:    ⌊tze⌋ what's this↘
```

Segment 10

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1    CLA: so we're only talking a month (0.9) and then hopefully
2    CLA: tha- you know the modelling side of the powe- of- of
3    CLA: the: (0.9) energy generation will be done↘ (.)
4    CLA: ·hh but then
5    CLA: ΔI- I'll and then I'll spend the rest of the time o-Δ
6    CLA: (0.3) it's not the rest of the time
7    CLA: Δcuz I wanna do a bit of yoursΔ actually
8    CLA: ·hh u:m
9    CLA: (0.8) then all the monitoring systems will come a-
10   CLA: come a part of that↗≈
11   PAU: ≈ yeah
12   PPP: (0.7)
13   PAU: okay↘
14   PPP: (1.4)
15   PAU: ·hhhhh Tom↗ anything to↗ (0.4) add (.) about the
16   PAU: structures↗
17   PPP: (2.0)
18   TOM: basically we need to start with the (.) geotechnical
19   TOM: analysis yeah↗
20   DAN: (0.4) °yeah° ⌈·hh⌉
21   TOM:           ⌊u:m⌋
22   DAN: ⌈well-⌉
23   TOM: ⌊I'm hoping⌋ to-↗ °sorry↘°
24   PPP: (0.3)
25   TOM: hoping to Δfinish that aboutΔ (0.3) this week↗
26   PAU: (0.3) yeah≈
27   TOM: ≈ or maybe la- next week↗ latest↗ and the:n↗
```

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28   TOM: (0.9) get the calculations for the structures do:ne↘
29   PPP: (0.3)
30   TOM: by: Δas you saidΔ February (0.2) or maybe: earlier↘
31   PPP: (1.0)
32   TOM: then I could go onto the uh::
33   PPP: (0.9)
34   JOH: uhm↗ ⌈·hh⌉
35   TOM:      ⌊prop⌋ design↘
36   JOH: (0.3) yeah↘
37   JOH: (0.4) ok⌈ay↘⌉
38   DAN:       ⌊ac-⌋ actually we need (0.4) structures↘
39   PPP: (0.7)
40   DAN: before↗ (0.2) the geotechnical↘
41   PPP: (0.5)
42   DAN: cuz we need to know what's are the load↘
43   DAN: that's gonna be exerted↘
44   DAN: (0.2) to know how deep ⌈the piles should go↗⌉≋
45   TOM:                       ⌊☺mm hum hum ·hh ☺⌋
46   DAN: ≋ ☺so we need to do the structures↘☺≋
47   TOM: ≋ stru⌈ctures first↘ then it-⌉
48   DAN:      ⌊and the FOR:CE↘⌋ (.) that goes↘ into the pile↗
49   DAN: and the- the whole th⌈ing before↘ we-⌉
50   JOH:                      ⌊I- I IMAGINE⌋
51   JOH: it's gonna be an iterative process↘≋
52   TOM: ≋ ⌈yeah↘ it's-⌉
53   DAN:   ⌊it's GONNA BE⌋ an iterative process↘
54   DAN: ⌈yeah↘ °certainly it is°⌉
55   JOH: ⌊it- it's gonna be make some⌋
56   JOH: massive assumptions to start ⌈with↘⌉
57   DAN:                              ⌊yes↘⌋ ⌈that's-⌉
58   JOH:                                    ⌊and just⌋ fin-≋
59   DAN: ≋ yeah↘≋
60   JOH: keep going round↘ until you ⌈get⌉ (.) a good answer↘≋
61   DAN:                             ⌊°yeah°⌋
62   PAU: ≋ ✺uhm✺≋
63   TOM: ≋ yeah cuz we need the geotechnical to: ↗
64   TOM: ⌈ (.) decide the di⌉ameter↘ and everything↗ (.) do we↘
65   DAN: ⌊·hh what would-↗ would-↗⌋
66   DAN: (0.2) uh well well we need geotechnical layers↘ to decide↗
67   DAN: (0.2) how deep↗ (0.2) it's gonna need to ⌈go↗⌉≋
68   TOM:                                          ⌊°right↘°⌋
69   DAN: ≋ (.) but↗ (0.5) we need to know as well↘ what's the
70   DAN: forces exerted↓ to see how deep↗ you need to
71   DAN: ⌈go as well↗⌉ ·hh so uh:
72   TOM: ⌊°correct°⌋
73   PPP: (3.4)
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74    DAN: uh: it- it's like a hand in hand process↘ ⌈but-⌉≈
75    TOM:                                          ⌊yeah⌋
76    DAN: ≈ i:t's as said
77    DAN: °it's iterative you have to just keep going°
78    PAU: (.) yeah
79    PPP: (0.3)
80    PAU:  ·hhh right (0.2) so::
81    PPP: (1.6)
82    PAU: ΔI'm just tryin-Δ we need to: uh::
83    PAU: (0.3) deci:de no:w ho:w quickly we want to get all
84    PAU: this done↗
85    PPP: (0.5)

86    PAU:  ·hh an:d maybe ΔI don't knowΔ set personal deadlines
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