

# ECCA20



*European conference of  
Conversation Analysis*

June 29 – July 2 2020



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## Abstracts keynote sessions



### Keynote 1

Dr. Melisa Stevanovic  
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### Joint decision making in a dyad: resources, practices, contingencies

Joint decision-making is a specific arena of social interaction where the participants' collaborative management of the turn-by-turn sequential unfolding of interaction can have tangible consequences for the participants' circumstances. In addition, joint decision making has implications for people's social identities and democratic agency and is thus also of value in itself.

As an interactional phenomenon, joint decision-making draws on a range of resources, such as lexical choices, prosody, gaze, and body postures, and practices, such as displays of access, agreement, and commitment. Essentially, it necessitates a capacity to exercise control over the agenda of interaction and an ability to respond flexibly to others' analogous attempts. This talk seeks to unravel the details of how joint decisions emerge in a dyad. I will work my way from the beginning of the decision-making process to its end, focusing on the following three questions:

- (1) How do participants initiate joint decision-making?
- (2) How do participants proceed from a proposal to a joint decision?
- (3) When is a joint decision established?

Essentially, I argue that the emergence of any joint decision necessitates that, at each point of the process, the participants manage to construct symmetrically shared control over the unfolding activity.

To substantiate my argument, I draw on my previous conversation-analytic studies of sequences of naturally occurring joint decision-making interactions, as well as on statistical analysis of experimentally induced interactional data with eye tracking, motion capture, and physiological measurements.



## Keynote 2

Dr. Saul ALbert  
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### Three meeting points between conversation analysis and artificial intelligence

Sacks' (1963) first published paper on 'sociological description' uses the metaphor of a mysterious 'talking-and-doing' machine, where researchers from different disciplines come up with incompatible, contradictory descriptions of its functionality. We may soon find ourselves in a similar situation to the one Sacks describes as AI continues to permeate the social sciences, and CA begins to encounter AI either as a research object, as a research tool, or more likely as a pervasive feature of both.

There is now a thriving industry in 'Conversational AI' and AI-based tools that claim to emulate or analyse talk, but both the study and use of AI within CA is still unusual. While a growing literature is using CA to study social robotics, voice interfaces, and conversational user experience design (Pelikan & Broth, 2016; Porcheron et al., 2018), few conversation analysts even use digital tools, let alone the statistical and computational methods that underpin conversational AI. Similarly, researchers and developers of conversational AI rarely cite CA research and have only recently become interested in CA as a possible solution to hard problems in natural language processing (NLP). This situation presents an opportunity for mutual engagement between conversational AI and CA (Housley et al., 2019). To prompt a debate on this issue, I will present three projects that combine AI and CA very differently and discusses the implications and possibilities for combined research programmes.

The first project uses a series of single case analyses to explore recordings in which an advanced conversational AI successfully makes appointments over the phone with a human call-taker. The second revisits debates on using automated speech recognition for CA transcription (Moore, 2015) in light of significant recent advances in AI-based speech-to-text, and includes a live demo of 'Gailbot', a Jeffersonian automated transcription system. The third project both uses and studies AI in an applied CA context. Using video analysis, it asks how a disabled man and his care worker interact while using AI-based voice interfaces and a co-designed 'home automation' system as part of a domestic routine of waking, eating, and personal care. Data are drawn from a corpus of ~500 hours of video data recorded by the participants using a voice-controlled, AI-based 'smart security camera' system.

These three examples of CA's potential interpretations and uses of AI's 'talking-and-doing' machines provide material for a debate about how CA research programmes might conceptualize AI, and use or combine it with CA in a mutually informative way.

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# Abstracts presentations (Monday June 29<sup>th</sup>)

## Room A

### **Ambulatory openings**

*Elliott Hoey*

A fundamental practical problem for would-be interactants is how to initiate an interaction. The problem is how to enter into a communion of mutually ratified participation in a shared activity, or how to transition from a state of non-interaction into a 'focused interaction' (Goffman, 1963). This paper shows how people initiate interactions on a construction site, focusing on encounters in which at least one party is ambulatory. It contributes to studies of openings by focusing on the intersection of mobility and openings in a complex workplace setting. In this way it contributes to our understanding of spatiality and mobility in interaction (Haddington, Mondada, & Nevile, 2013) and also advances renewed interest in the multimodal aspects of openings (Pillet-Shore, 2018). Data are based on a collection of 80 openings identified in over 10 hours of recordings of construction site activities, and are in American English and Mexican and Latin American Spanish with English translation.

The ambulatory openings under examination are not openings in the strict sense; the vast majority of cases are not workers' first encounters of the day (and hence do not include things like greetings). Rather, they are re-openings or re-initiations after an interregnum of non-interaction such as a lapse in conversation (Hoey, 2020). Such re-openings are common to certain workplace activities, where talk and social interaction is optional or occasioned rather than serving as the main remit of the encounter. Such settings have been described as ongoing states of incipient talk (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973) or open states of talk (Goffman, 1981). Openings in these settings have been less studied, though recent work has addressed, for example, initiating talk in open offices (Salvadori, 2016) and during physically laborious activities like mucking out a sheep stable (Keevallik, 2018). This article extends research on re-openings in settings where interaction is occasioned and only sporadically engaged in, and adds to it the dimension of mobility.

The analysis examines ambulatory openings by first looking first at those in which the approaching party initiates interaction, addressing the formatting of opening utterances and the design of their approach. It then addresses instances where the approached party initiates interaction. These are referred to as 'anticipatory openings' in that the approached party's opening utterance is aimed at anticipating the reason for the foreseeably imminent interaction. It is argued that ambulatory openings alert us to the constitutive nature of interactional space (Mondada, 2009) for the organization of the first moments of a mobile encounter.

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## Talk-in-interaction in police border controls

Michael Mora Rodríguez

Within the broad area of study of interaction in police settings, researchers have been working in a wide variety of fields. Examples include interviews with suspects (De Almeida, 2018), cases of sexual assault (Richardson, Stokoe and Antaki, 2018) crisis negotiations (Sikveland, Kevoe-Feldman and Stokoe, 2019), emergency calls (Whalen and Zimmerman, 1990) and traffic encounters (Reiter, Ganchenko and Charalambidou, 2016). However, there are not relevant studies regarding police border controls. Hence, the intention of the present research is to begin to fill this knowledge gap in social interaction at police border controls (road checkpoints) at the Spanish-French border.

In such situations, police officers stop drivers and passengers to prevent illicit drug traffic, transportation of prohibited and smuggled goods and other illegal activities. To accomplish this task, police officers talk with those whom they identify as suspicious. This could be considered an example of task-oriented interaction (Drew and Heritage, 1992). This research looks into the impact of task orientation on the overall structural organization [a type of sequential organization (Schegloff, 2007, p.2)] in police border controls. Previous research from a variety of contexts has shown these standard patterns: Whalen and Zimmerman (1990) studied the overall structural organization of emergency calls, such as calls to the police. They show that these interactions have six main components: (1) Pre-beginning (Zimmerman, in Drew and Heritage, 1992, p.419); (2) Opening/Identification/Acknowledgment; (3) Request; (4) Interrogative series; (5) Response; (6) Closing (Whalen and Zimmerman, 1990, p.469). Another example is Robinson (2013) who describes a large-scale structure/project that organizes physician-patient interaction (Robinson, 2013, p.29-31). Also, Mondada (2018) observed an overall sequential organization in practices of tasting cheese in gourmet shops (Mondada, 2018, p.748).

Using conversation analysis, I analyze transcribed videotape data of actual police border controls. These interactions are transcribed following standard conventions (Jefferson, 2004). The majority of these transcriptions are in Spanish, for which idiomatic English translations are included. My contribution to the first European Conference of Conversation Analysis (ECCA 2020) is intended to be presented as an original paper. It will be approached through several extracts which will be selected on the basis of the characteristic organizational components of police border controls. The main objective is to advance an understanding of how interactions in police border controls are structured and organized.

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## Room B

### Requesting for verification in collaborative storytelling. On the relationship between gaze behaviour and turn design across varieties of Spanish

*Ignacio Satti*

This paper explores the multimodal practices mobilized by tellers when requesting for verification from knowing recipients during storytelling. Requesting for verification has been described as a mechanism that tellers use to deal with telling a story in the presence of somebody that already has knowledge of it (Goodwin, 1981; Lerner, 1992; Mandelbaum, 1987), an interactional problem that Sacks (1995) early described as typical of “Spouse talk”.

Drawing upon interactional linguistic methods (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 2017), I analyze a corpus of collaboratively told stories in Spanish by participants of four different regions (Buenos Aires, Bogotá, Cochabamba and Freiburg), where 252 instances of tellers requesting for verification have been identified and have been subject to a mixed methods approach combining qualitative and quantitative analysis. The results show that participants use gaze behavior, epistemic markers and tag questions to make their turns interpretable as a request for verification for the knowing recipient. Nevertheless, these resources are not equally distributed among the regions under study. The participants from Cochabamba (Bolivia) design their turns more frequently with tag questions, while in the other regions looking at the knowing recipient and establishing mutual gaze at the end of the turn seems to be sufficient. Qualitative analysis of deviant cases shows, on the one hand, that in Buenos Aires, Bogotá and Freiburg tag questions are used a) more frequently with separation from the main turn, i.e. mobilizing response or pursuing a more emphatic response by the knowing recipient, and b) when gaze from the knowing recipient is not available. On the other hand, in Cochabamba tag questions are more frequently a) prosodically integrated in the main turn and b) produced with the same lexical item (*no*), which argues for a high degree of conventionalization of the tag question in this sequential context. The analysis of gaze frequency across the corpus shows significantly lower frequency of the use of gaze in the participants from Bolivia, which could explain the use of tag questions as a substitute system for gaze when requesting for verification, similar to what Rossano et al. (2009) show for repetitions in question-answer sequences in Tzeltal speakers.

The data stems from my PhD project focusing on collaboratively told stories in Spanish.

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## Room C

### Teachers 'doing being an expert' in postgraduate medical education

*Marije van Braak & Mike Huiskes*

Group reflection, a prevalent educational activity in postgraduate medical education, is an essential part of the Dutch training for General Practice (GP). General Practitioners in training attend weekly group reflection sessions, during which they discuss and reflect on their experiences from practice. These sessions are facilitated by one or two medical teachers, who usually are experienced GPs, psychologists or behavioral scientists. As 'seasoned' professionals, their contributions to the reflective discussion are intrinsically framed by their expertise. Institutionally, their teacher role comes with higher status (as compared to the participating residents) in terms of knowledge and experience, but also in terms of the interaction: teachers usually chair the sessions, monitoring and managing the interactional process.

Despite their institutional role, teachers are reluctant to manifest themselves as experts through the timing and manner of their contributions to the ongoing reflective discussion. As one teacher reflected, for example, bringing in your own experience may 'kill the discussion' – an interactional move that contrasts sharply with teachers' institutional task to *facilitate* reflective discussion. Going through our recordings of reflective discussion sessions at the Dutch GP training, we noticed that teachers use various practices for 'doing being an expert'. They may index their expertise explicitly by phrases like "From my experience, ..." or "What I always do, is ...", or implicitly by, for example, doing suggestions such as "It could be that a mourning process is still at play here".

We are currently conducting a collection study of teachers 'doing being an expert' in 41 recordings of 30-90 minute group reflection sessions at the eight institutes of Dutch GP training. In this presentation, we will present our initial analysis and discuss some of the analytical pitfalls we encounter during the process. Eventually, the study's results will be used in a CARM-training for group reflection teachers at the GP training institutes.

## Citizens re-establishing epistemic asymmetry in citizen-expert interactions in the Dutch energy transition: “Then I look at the knower...”

*Roel van Veen*

The most critical questions for sustainability are no longer about what is causing the problems, but are about how we can solve them: how can we facilitate the transformative societal changes that are required to develop a sustainable society (Fazey et al., 2018). In this respect, the idea has emerged that sustainability must come from the grassroots (Seyfang and Hexeltine, 2012). On that account, public participation and civil society engagement has become the norm in the energy transition, which is the transformative societal change towards an energy system based on renewable energy instead of fossil fuels (Dutch Climate Agreement, 2019; Woudstra et al., 2018). Traditional roles between citizens and energy professionals are changing in the current energy system, and both are still struggling with defining and re-defining their identity and the corresponding roles in the future energy system (Batel and Devine-Wright, 2015; Saintier, 2017). The energy transition involves entrepreneurship and grassroots innovation, but who is responsible for what? More importantly, who gets to decide on what (Dueholm Rasch and Köhne, 2016)? Knowledge is a fundamental issue in negotiations about this.

Citizens frequently state that they have insufficient or no knowledge or understanding about the matter at hand in our case study. Which might be surprising, because citizens were put on equal footing with energy professionals in these participatory innovation and co-creation meetings. They were explicitly told that the experts do not have a monopoly of wisdom nor of knowledge and that their input was very much needed in order to accelerate the energy transition in their community. However, tailoring knowledge claims seems to help citizens to establish an informed and rational identity (cf. Versteeg and Te Molder, 2019), and to manage accountability in and responsibility for decision-making. Our analysis will show that citizens construct a lay identity when making these epistemic claims and we will argue that they orient to a classic division of labour, in which experts still ‘speak truth to power’ (Wildavsky, 1979) while doing so. This practice not only reinforces the technocratic approach to decision-making that was precisely intended to be overcome by the energy professionals who designed these participatory innovation and co-creation meetings (Chilvers and Kearnes, 2015), but also puts ownership of the policy problem back into the experts’ hands. Epistemic asymmetry in citizen-expert interaction is, thus, being re-established.

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## Room D

### A Multimodal analysis of *je pense* and *ich denke* ('I think') in talk-in-interaction

*Sophia Fiedler*

In this study, I analyze two verbal constructions: *je pense* and *ich denke* ('I think') in French and German interaction. These verb forms belong to the grammatical category of complement-taking predicates (CTPs), that is, transitive verbs, which usually call for a direct or indirect object. Despite this standard rule *je pense* and *ich denke* occur in numerous formal realizations: without complement as positionally variable devices, or with complement but without the complementizer *que / dass* ('that'). I argue that the different formal realizations come with specific interactional functions, which go beyond those of epistemic parentheticals or stance markers (Thompson/Mulac, Kärkkäinen 2012). Both verbs are used to make thought (which needs to be defined more precisely) publicly available. They therefore represent an important resource to assure mutual understanding and intersubjectivity (Schegloff 1992, Raymond 2019). At the same time, speakers use *je pense* and *ich denke* to coordinate turn-taking. I suggest that they contribute considerably to the organization of specific actions such as obtaining the next turn (turn-initially), or to solicit the recipient's reaction (turn-final).

Complement-taking predicates in general have been amply researched in various linguistic approaches (Givón 1980, Lehmann 1988, Matthiessen/Thompson 1988, Tesnières 1959) and in numerous languages (Helmer *et al.* 2016 for German, Kärkkäinen 2007 and Thompson/Mulac 1991 for English, Keevallik 2016 for Estonian, Pekarek Doehler 2016 for French). For French and German however, studies on *je pense* and *ich denke* are sparse (but see Andersen 2007 and Auer 1998), especially when it comes to an interactional perspective (but see Deppermann *et al.* 2017 on *ich dachte* ('I thought')).

Analyzing 18 hours of French and 17 hours of German video recordings, transcribed according to the Jeffersonian conventions of Conversation Analysis (2004) this paper examines the conversational actions speakers accomplish by using *je pense* and *ich denke* in everyday talk. I will also take into account the interlocutors' non-verbal conduct, that is, gaze (Rossano 2013) and gesture, transcribed according to the conventions elaborated by Mondada (2014).

The present paper contributes to existing research on CTPs in three ways. First, it follows an interactional approach (Couper-Kuhlen/Selting 2018), which has not been adopted so far for *je pense* and *ich denke*. The analytical units of turns and sequences, and the inclusion of context dependency allows me to demonstrate that these two verbal constructions are emergent devices that contribute to the organization of social interaction. Second, I include the analysis of the interlocutors' gestural conduct and will address the question whether *je pense* and *ich denke* are realized in 'multimodal packages' (cf. Hayashi 2005, Kärkkäinen/Thompson 2018), where verbal and mimo-gestural conduct occur together. Finally, this study uses a cross-linguistic approach, which not only follows a recent tendency in Interactional Linguistics to compare several languages (Lindström *et al.* 2016). It also helps to identify the features of each language concerning its specific infrastructure of social interaction.

Taken together, this paper contributes towards a better understanding of how grammatical resources work interactionally in two different languages.

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## Use of a Japanese interjection *hora*-token to restore the credibility of one's claim

Akiko Imamura

When a participant presents a factual/evaluative claim in talk-in-interaction, s/he may encounter affiliative and disaffiliative responses produced by different recipients (Goodwin,1990; Mori, 1999; Pomerantz,1984). Using CA, this study investigates how conversationalists employ the Japanese interjection *hora* to assert one's credibility in such a sequential context. While *hora* is known to call one's attention to what is shared among the conversationalists (Oshima, 2001), few studies have examined its interactional use in detail.

The data consists of 1) approximately 40 hours of video-recordings that the researcher collected, and 2) Talkbank (MacWhinney, 2007). The analysis demonstrates that *hora*-tokens recurrently occur when a claim of the *hora*-speaker is contested or questioned at first by a recipient, and then agreed or confirmed by another recipient subsequently. See excerpt (1) in which Natsu presents what is the famous song associated with an amusement park (lines 59 and 60) and encounters Kiko's contested claim (line 61), After Eri supports Natsu's claim in lines 62 and 63, Natsu deploys *hora* while looking at the disagreeing party, Kiko.

### Excerpt (1)

59 NATSU: [ >dakara <  
60 ʔtoo mai fure:[ndoʔ (ya te)uh huh [huh huh  
61 KIKO: [chi:ga::u, ooruu [weizu togyaza: ya]  
62 ERI: [ah::::: doc:]chika(h)tte  
63 iu to kocchi ya wa= ((pointing to N/gaze at K))  
64->NATSU: =ho[ra:::::]::((gaze at K))  
65 KIKO: [eh:::::] ((gaze at E))  
66 Natsu: mh huh huh 67 Eri: un  
67 Eri un

Based on my data, by producing a *hora*-token after a turn supporting her original claim, the speaker (Natsu) appears to call the attention of the disputing party (Kiko), to the supporting party's (Eri) turn. Anchored to the supporting party's turn, *hora* also serves as a resource to assert the credibility of Natsu's claim that was once contested or questioned. While the example above includes a turn comprised of a stand-alone *hora* token, it is followed by another TCU in some cases. Following *hora*-tokens, the disagreeing party may show further opposition or withdraws the opposition.

In investigating the similar sequential context in English, Kendrick (2019) reported that the perception verb "see?" is employed to claim evidential vindication. While the use of "see?" may have similarities with that of *hora*-token in Japanese, cross-linguistic differences are also observable between these two elements in terms of grammar and intonation. Using Kendrick's analysis of "see?" as a reference point, this paper examines what social action is performed with the use of *hora*-token in comparison in Japanese ordinary conversation. In addition, the study also investigates the cross-linguistic similarities and differences between



## Abstracts data sessions (Monday June 29<sup>th</sup>)

### Let's talk about sex - Discussing sexual health in oncology settings

*Irene Kelder & Petra Sneijder*

As life expectancy of cancer patients has increased in recent years, cancer becomes a chronic condition more often. This explains the growing need for discussing quality of life issues such as sexual health (Varela, Zhou & Bober, 2013). The World Health Organization defines sexual health as 'a state of physical, emotional, mental, and social well-being in relation to sexuality; it is not merely the absence of disease, dysfunction, or infirmity' (World Health Organization, 2006). Cancer and its treatments can cause significant sexual and intimate changes (Mercadante, Vitrano & Catania, 2010; Sadovsky et al., 2010). These changes include physical, psychological, and interpersonal problems that may affect quality of life of patients and their partners (Tierney, 2008).

Sexual health discussions between cancer patients and their practitioners are important for a number of reasons. For example, it can help normalize concerns for patients (Park, Norris & Bober, 2009), it can help to inform choices about treatment, and it is crucial for identifying and treating potential sexual problems that affect the quality of life of patients (Flynn et al., 2012). Although health care professionals in oncology acknowledge sexual health as an important topic, discussing this particular topic can be problematic for these professionals (Ussher et al., 2013). Challenges they face are, for example, bringing up sexuality when they have the idea that there are more important things to address (Hordern & Street, 2007), and presuming that it's a personal or an inappropriate thing to bring up (Ussher et al., 2013).

Over the last few years, efforts have been made to provide recommendations on discussing sexual health and develop communication training interventions (Reese et al., 2017). However, these recommendations and interventions are often based on research that is focused on self-reports of practitioners and patients. Unfortunately, these self-reports do not tell us how participants communicate about sexual health during actual conversations. That is why the aim of this data session is to gain insight into how the topic of sexuality is raised and managed in consultations between health care professionals and oncology patients, using analytical principles of the discursive psychological perspective (Wiggins & Potter, 2017).

For this research project, data are being collected from approximately 80 patients, across four types of cancer: prostate cancer, breast cancer, colorectal cancer, and gynaecological cancer. Conversations are being audiotaped during treatment and follow-up visits. In this data session, the focus will be on a conversation between a patient following treatment of gynaecological cancer and her health care provider, audiotaped at an outpatient clinic at a large medical centre in the Netherlands. We will specifically zoom in on the way in which talk about sexuality is initiated or occasioned by the health care professional, and what is accomplished with these practices.

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## From interviewing to arguing: Argument sequences and institutional roles in Greek TV news interviews

Lena Gialabouki

The news interview is prototypically organized around a series of question-answer sequences, with interviewers asking questions and interviewees answering them (Clayman & Heritage 2002, Heritage & Greatbatch 1991). By restricting themselves to the act of questioning, journalists shield themselves against accusations of bias, and maintain a position of 'formal neutrality' or 'neutralistic stance' (Clayman & Heritage 2002: 120).

However, examination of 10 news interviews, broadcast between 2011 and 2013 on Greek television stations, shows that questioning is not the only action journalists perform during news interviews. They also initiate arguments. Within the framework of conversation analysis, this data session seeks to a) investigate how, in the context of the news interview, argument sequences emerge, develop and come to an end (i.e., how arguing is interactionally managed and negotiated by participants), and b) discuss the implications of this practice for the institutional role of journalists.

To this end, selected excerpts from a collection consisting of about 80 argument instances are presented. These range from minor, three-part sequences focusing on one particular point which is not further pursued by participants to more expanded sequences, in which the initial point of argument becomes a vantage point for the introduction of further ones, leading to an escalation of disagreement between participants. In the course of these sequences, participants deploy a number of mechanisms to pursue their agenda.

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## The role of conversational (dis)fluency markers in the organization of talk-in interaction

Loulou Kosmala

So-called disfluency markers (uh and um, pauses, repetitions, self-repairs), also known as “repair phenomena” (Schegloff et al., 1977) have often been associated to speech production difficulties by a number of linguists and psycholinguists (see Bortfeld et al., 2001; Clark, 2006; Smith & Clark, 1993) as their main formal feature is to interrupt or suspend the flow of speech (Fox Tree, 1995). However, they can also be analyzed from an interactional linguistic perspective: here (dis)fluency is understood as a multimodal and dynamic process contributing to the flow of interaction (Kosmala, 2019; Kosmala et al., 2019), and the same forms can in fact show both signs of “fluency” and “disfluency”, depending on contextual factors. The different roles served by (dis)fluency markers in discourse is thus highly contextual: while some of them occur in contexts of uncertainty or speech production trouble, others can also be used to facilitate the coordination of the co-speakers’ actions (Goodwin, 1981), to maintain a hearer-speaker relationship (Fischer, 2000) or to manage turn-taking (Kjellmer, 2003). Therefore, I adopt the term “(dis)fluency” with “dis” in brackets, (following Crible et al., 2019; Götz, 2013) in order to stress out their functional ambivalence and to avoid a dichotomy between “fluency” and “disfluency” which is often too restrictive.

My goal is to go beyond the traditional formal characterization of disfluency conducted in most quantitative studies, and to show more specifically how (dis)fluency markers can be the result of an interactional achievement (Schegloff, 1982). Therefore, the aim of this data session is to better understand the conversational role of (dis)fluency markers in specific interactional practices, by looking at their location in the turn, their co-occurring manual gestures and the direction of gaze, and their overall contribution to the organization of talk.

The data under study is taken from a corpus of video-taped recordings of semispontaneous exchanges between American students. Particular attention will also be paid to the co-occurring gestures and direction of gaze during the production of (dis)fluencies. The research questions are the following: how do co-speakers manage to regulate the flow of the interaction with the use of (dis)fluency markers? Which analytic methods can be used specifically to recognize the contribution of (dis)fluency markers to the organization and coordination of talk?

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## Abstracts presentations (Tuesday June 30th)

### Room A

#### Reading aloud during an interactive tabletop game activity: Getting each other's orientation in line

*Svenja Heuser*

Our paper addresses how reading aloud written instructions during a tabletop-mediated activity is inducing participants' orientation in terms of 'aligning'. In the here discussed single case study, participants engaging in an unfamiliar interactive tabletop-mediated game activity are all equally dependent on related information in order to jointly achieve the game task(s). Written instructions on the interface provide crucial information, thus serving as a game manual and offering guidance throughout the game activity. We observed that this written information mediated by the interface is often *read aloud* by (at least one of) the participants. Drawing on the principles of Conversation Analysis in its multimodal understanding (Mondada & Schmitt 2010, Sidnell & Stivers 2012), we investigate the mutual relationship between reading aloud and the participants' orientation. So, what does reading aloud achieve in the interaction?

Reviewing the research, so far, this practice has only been investigated by a few scientists from a conversation analytic perspective. Swerts & Geluykens (1994) have examined the speakers' specific prosodic performance while reading aloud. Koole (2012) found that in classroom contexts it is often used by the speaker to localize a problematic passage in a written text that might have not yet been understood correctly. In our data, we observed that reading aloud often acts as a participants' aligning practice. Reading aloud actually elicits the participants' orientation towards the vocalized written instructions. The orchestration of 'orientation aligning' is actualized in the participants' embodied (re-) orientation as well as locally addressed through diverse other resources (e.g. paraphrasing/elliptic vocalizing, accentuating).

In the analyzed excerpt that is taken from a data corpus consisting of about five hours of video recordings (cf. Sunnen et al. 2019), we can highlight how the participants' get each other's orientation in line by jointly orienting onto a specific area of the interface (see fig. 1).

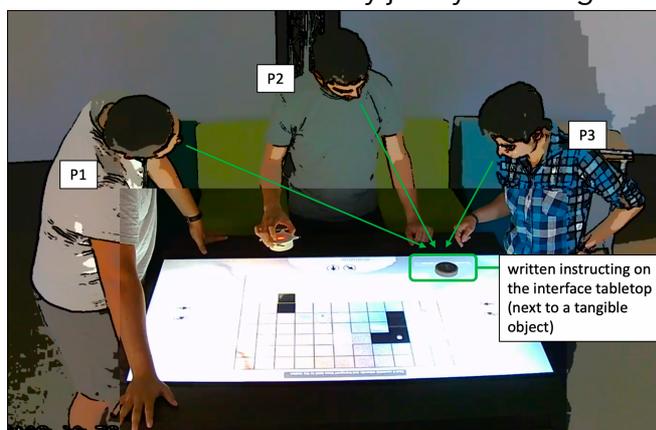


Figure 1: All participants aligning their orientation onto the written instructing while one participant (P3) is reading its content out aloud.

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## Singing as a means for zooming in time when proposing at opera rehearsals

*Agnes Löfgren*

The aim of the present paper is to explore singing as a resource in singer proposals during scenic opera rehearsals. It will be shown how singing within the proposal makes embodied action available as dramatic action, and more specifically how it carries a zooming function to finely coordinate body and music. Previous studies have targeted singing as a resource in interaction in different contexts, such as orchestra rehearsals, workplace meetings, music instruction and mundane interaction (Weeks, 1996; Stevanovic & Frick, 2014). In these studies, singing has been shown to reduce speaker agency and accountability, aid in the display of mutual solidarity, as well as illustrate something that has previously been said. The material of the present paper consists of 20 hours of video recorded scenic opera rehearsals, in English and Swedish. A scenic opera rehearsal is when the opera ensemble, led by the director, decide on the dramatic aspects of the performance on stage. The scenic opera rehearsal differs from previous settings where song as a resource in interaction has been studied, in that the focus is to coordinate embodied dramatic action with the predetermined temporality of the music. Although the quality of the music or the song per se is not targeted during these particular rehearsals, the participants sometimes use song from the libretto as a resource in the interaction, within the frame of multimodal *depictions* (Clark, 2016). Singing is shown to be one of the resources that can be deployed, within the depiction, to index performance time, making the simultaneous embodied behavior understandable as dramatic action within the opera performance. Whereas proposals without song in the depiction seems to refer to larger and less specific segments of actions, singing will be shown to carry the function of zooming in temporality-wise to finely coordinate body with music. With the aid of multimodal interaction analysis, the present study systematically explores verbal and embodied behavior in relation to depictions with and without song.

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## Room B

### Reporting racism

*Yarong Xie*

**Background:** The ambiguity of racism is repeatedly acknowledged (Durrheim, 2014; Stokoe, 2015), but yet to be addressed amongst social psychologists. Most conversation-analytic and discursive approaches to racism focus on how members of the majority deny, discuss or (re)produce racism (van Dijk, 1992; Wetherell & Potter, 1992; Augoustinos & Every, 2007). Little attention is paid to how members of the minority talk about their racist encounters, and what there is tends to be based on researcher-led interviews (Kirkwood, McKinlay & McVittie, 2013; Parker, 2018). This project thus sets out to examine how people report racist encounters in naturalistic settings.

**Methods:** Seven broadcast interviews with people affected by racist encounters were sourced directly from YouTube. Key words such as 'racism' and 'racist' were used to search for these interviews. Interviews were transcribed using Jeffersonian notation (Jefferson, 1985). Guided by discursive psychology (Edwards & Potter, 1992; Wiggins, 2017) and conversation analysis (Sacks, 1992; Heritage & Clayman, 2010), the analysis focused on the descriptions of the racist encounters, the ways in which these descriptions were designed, and how the program hosts and interviewees sequentially and consequentially oriented to each other's accounts.

**Findings:** Over the course of reporting racism, three interwoven phases were found. First of which is *pre-reporting*, where people being targeted and/or witnesses construct the context of which the focal encounters take place as ordinary and mundane. It is after this *pre-reporting*, the interviewees then describe the *reportable*, which covers the focal encounter. The *reportable* is reproduced systematically through reported speech (Wooffitt, 1992), when the focal encounter involves verbal abuse. The description of the *reportable* is also minimum in detail, which routinely ends with either a generaliser (Stokoe & Edwards, 2007) or silence. Third, people being targeted and/or witnesses recurrently portray their initial *reactions* toward the focal encounter as non-problematic and as any ordinary person would have reacted. Given that these are broadcast interviews, the programme presenters are found to play a crucial role in co-producing these accounts of racism. Their collaborative input warrants the reporting of racism legitimacy and credibility.

**Discussion:** The moment-by-moment examination of the interactions shows that reporting racial encounters is a delicate and difficult task for people of the minority. The pervasive discursive patterns demonstrate that people, like researchers, treat the notion of racism as ambivalent and open for debate; there are normative constraints against making accusation of racism, and people orient to these constraints by presenting their encounters as matter-of-facts; and that reporting racism is not a soliloquy – it needs to be received and oriented to as a legitimate activity.

## Engendering applause through embodied conduct in street performance

Jessica La

Applause is one of the most studied and ubiquitous forms of audience response. It is a means to display affiliation across a wide range of settings from political speeches and political rallies to theatre and orchestral concerts. One of the main issues within interactional work on applause is how people come to collectively initiate, coordinate, and mobilise applause. Most studies systematically analyse how applause is engendered through talk. Of note is Max Atkinson's pioneering research which showed how passages of speech are constructed to be applaudable. Atkinson argued that speakers design their talk in ways that allow audience members to project they *should* applaud and *when* they should applaud. In other words, activity is not intrinsically applaudable but produced to receive applause. Some studies also point to the possibilities of the body (e.g., gaze) for projecting applause yet there is a dearth of work that examines, in depth, the role of embodied conduct in engendering applause.

My contribution to ECCA will be a paper that examines how applause is engendered through embodied resources within street performance. In street performance, the body is the main instrument to perform stunts such as juggling, acrobatics, contortion and so on. The body is also crucial for street performers to sustain audience participation and manage audience responses. As the remuneration that street performers receive for their show relies entirely on the generosity of their audience, they must ensure their show is enjoyable and engaging. A key concern for street performers then, is to generate affiliative responses such as applause, laughter, and cheering, from the audience. Through fine-grained analyses of embodied conduct in video recordings, I examine how street performers deploy embodied resources to generate and project the moment of applause. In addition to its relevance to issues of applause, embodiment, and projection, this work is also important for understanding how people, *en masse*, can simultaneously accomplish the same action in a coordinated and timely manner.

## Room C

### Distributing next speakership. A case study on doctor's 'oscillating addressivity' in triadic medical visits with unaccompanied minors

Vittoria Colla & Federica Ranzani

The presence of unaccompanied minors (hereafter UAM) in the Italian health care system represents a new and underexplored phenomenon. Given their "unaccompanied" status as well as linguistic and cultural differences, UAM are supported in their everyday life accomplishments by professional educators who play a key role in mediating their encounter with the host society and, as this article illustrates, with its health care system.

While previous studies have investigated triadic medical interaction involving respectively native children and their parents (see among others Stivers, 2007; Tate, Meeuwesen, 2001) and nonnative patients and cultural-linguistic interpreters (Bolden, 2000; Baraldi, Gavioli, 2012), no research has ever addressed triadic medical visits with UAM whose native language is unknown to both professionals involved, i.e. the physician and the educator. Compared to other triadic medical encounters, visits with UAM are characterized by further levels of asymmetries due to the peculiar cultural-linguistic differences at stake, as well as to the educator's institutional role (Caronia et al., 2019).

The article reports findings from an exploratory study on medical visits involving an Italian physician, three UAM with low communicative competence in the language of the visit and two educators institutionally in charge of them. Adopting a Conversation Analysis informed approach, and focusing on the "problem presentation" and "history taking" phases of the visit (see Heritage, Maynard, 2006), this article analyzes how next-speakership is negotiated and (re)allocated in interaction (see Stivers, 2001). Specifically, two main interactional practices appear to contribute to the local management of next-speakership: the 'oscillating addressivity' by the doctor and the 'pivot move' by the educator. We argue that these moves are crucial both for the local management of the UAM's inclusion and active participation in the medical interaction, and for the collaboration between professionals.

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## **“Thank you for holding”: A conversation analytic study of getting through to the doctor’s surgery**

*Sophie Parslow*

How do patients navigate the interactional space between dialling the GP practice’s telephone number and being connected to a practice receptionist? Calls to non-urgent service providers, such as the GP practice, are frequently answered by auto-attendant systems (AAS). These systems typically provide a simple menu (e.g., *press one for [X], press two for [Y]*) to route the incoming call and may also play informational messages and waiting announcements. While telephone conversation openings have been widely studied (e.g., Leydon, Ekberg & Drew, 2013; Schegloff, 1979), less attention has been given to the sequence between the initial AAS opening and the second (re)opening with a human-call taker. In these instances, the pre-recorded message serves as an answering identification, and callers display recognition by remaining on the phone and/or selecting an option from the menu. However, callers are then placed in a queue until a call-taker becomes available.

In this paper I investigate how callers to GP practices orient to these recorded messages before, and after, being connected to a receptionist. My data are drawn from a corpus of ~1100 audio-recorded telephone calls made to two GP practices in October 2014. Using conversation analysis, I first focus on the organisation of the messages and their associated actions. I then examine how, and when, callers explicitly respond to or invoke, these messages. I also examine instances where callers formulate a response to the message, or spend time waiting and hang up before connecting to a receptionist.

The following example illustrates how a patient’s reason for calling can be misaligned with the institutional information in the recorded messages:

```
01 PAT: mhgh:[mm
02 AAS:      [Beetown medical centre is now
03          booking flu vaccination appointmen[ts.
04 PAT:      [I don'
05          want a fucking [flu vaccination appointment.
06 AAS:      [If you are ↑eligi↓ble for
07          a flu vaccination (0.3) and haven't had one
08          yet (0.5) please ask reception to book you
09          an appointment.
```

Analysis so far has shown that explicit orientations in cases like this are present in around 40 percent of calls. I argue that this sequence is important in understanding the macro-organisation of calls to service providers and provides an insight into callers’ live turn-by-turn commentary on their experience. Analysis has also shown that callers make these kinds of utterances with and without a hearable third-party present. This work contributes to conversation analytic research on calls to non-urgent healthcare providers and the analysis of openings, as well as the design of pre-recorded messages. This paper also has implications for addressing the relevance of this pre-summons-response phase to the start of the interaction itself.

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## Room D

### **Newsmarking and beyond: Confirmable turns with *echt* in German conversation**

*Marit Aldrup*

Conversation-analytic research has found two distinct ways in which news announcements and informings are recurrently responded to in conversation: information receipts (e.g. *oh*) and newsmarks (e.g. *(oh) really, is it*). The former have been described as backward-looking change-of-state tokens proposing sequence closure, whereas the latter have been shown to highlight the newsworthiness of the previous turn and to routinely engender sequence expansion (Heritage 1984; Jefferson 1981; Schegloff 2007). This is because newsmarks, at the very least, make relevant (re)confirmation, which may, in turn, be followed by sequenceclosing assessments or further talk about the news. Notably, the ensuing sequential trajectory appears to largely depend on the lexico-syntactic and prosodic-phonetic design of the newsmark as such (Heritage 1984; Jefferson 1981; Local 1996; Thompson et al. 2015).

While the above findings about information receipts and newsmarks are based on English data, research on related tokens in German has so far mainly focused on change-of-state particles such as *achja* (Betz & Golato 2008), *ach* and *achso* (Golato & Betz 2008). Newsmarks such as *echt*, *ehrlich* and *wirklich*, on the other hand, have only received marginal treatment (e.g. Imo 2009). This study thus sets out to explore the interactional deployment of one of these “assertions of ritualized disbelief” (Heritage 1984: 339) – German *echt* – from an interactional-linguistic perspective (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018). The multimodal analysis of video recordings of German face-to-face interactions suggests that confirmable turns with *echt* oscillate between topicalizing (Button & Casey 1985), repair-initiating and disagreementimplicated uses depending on their verbal, vocal and bodily-visual design and the sequential contexts in which they occur.

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## Minimal pronominal clauses as requests for confirmation and reconfirmation in Danish talk-in-interaction

*Maria Jørgensen*

Despite being vital in talk-in-interaction, there is still a lot we do not know about questions. Not only are traditional grammatical descriptions of them often lacking in many areas, we also need more detailed interactionally anchored descriptions. For instance, the overview of the Danish question-response system given by Heinemann (2010) still needs to be verified, elaborated on and put into a grammatical framework. As part of the Grammar in Everyday Life project at Aarhus University, Denmark, my PhD project seeks to solve part of this problem by providing a comprehensive grammatical description of the question-response system of Danish talk-in-interaction. This talk is a step in this endeavor; in it, I present an analysis and a discussion of a category of questions that has not previously been described in Danish, namely requests for confirmation in the form of minimal pronominal clauses (such as *gør det ik? 'does it not?'*). The analysis will be based on a collection of around 60 questions from a data set of over 50 hours of video and audio recordings of naturally occurring, informal interactions between native speakers of Danish.

The talk examines the actions these questions are used to accomplish, their sequential environment, the prosodic patterns and embodied actions connected to them, and the practices they are a part of. Using conversation analysis and interactional linguistics, I argue that the questions in my collection all request a confirmation or reconfirmation, but that they are involved in different practices. For instance, they can be used as newsmarks, explicitly showing that previous information was new to the speaker, and, in some cases, opening up to further elaboration or discussion of a topic. They are also used to express affective stances such as surprise (Sørensen in prep.) or to challenge the previous information. In the talk, I will also discuss the responses to this question format, focusing on whether a simple (re)confirmation is enough or whether more elaboration is needed (Steensig & Heinemann 2013). Finally, I will compare the questions to similar phenomena in English and Swedish.

The analysis uncovers an as of yet undescribed phenomenon in Danish talk-in-interaction and thus contributes to a deeper description of the Danish question-response-system. In addition, it provides further grounds for cross-linguistic comparison of both minimal pronominal clauses and questions.

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## Abstracts poster sessions (Tuesday June 30<sup>th</sup>)

### Room A

#### **Digital counselling in the Norwegian Labour and Welfare Administration: Communicative challenges for counsellors' professional practice**

*Liv Bente Schellenberg Strømhaug*

The Norwegian Labour and Welfare Administration (NAV) is taking the lead in the exponential development of digitalization within public management. Since December 2017, NAV has operated with an online Activity Plan, here all the clients of Welfare need to register, suggest activities, and communicate with a counsellor. The aim of the Activity Plan is to make the counsellors' work more efficient doing counselling online, and by that; save time to use on the clients which requires closer follow-up. They are also straining the importance for the clients to be an active part in this online interaction to create development in their own situation. The institutional culture is moving from mainly face-to-face meetings into a written-based and digital practice, that is not synchronic in time (Røhnebæk, 2016).

The professionals are raising several concerns due to the digitalization of their professional practice; the lack of digital- and linguistic skills for the clients, the difficulty in relational work and establishing trust, finding boundaries in availability, it can take long time to wait for replies, and that they have experienced challenges in showing the clients how to be empowered through the digital system as the government intended. They also express incoherency between the guiding principles from the Ministry on how to communicate in writing, and the need to do relational work also in online counselling.

There is a lack of empirical knowledge about how the counselling is conducted, how the interactions are steered from the professionals, and how they choose which clients require extra follow up and therefor a face-to-face meeting.

In this project, authentic written dialogues between clients and counsellors will be analysed through a dialogic perspective and as a communicative activity type (Linell, 1998; 2011), to enlighten how the participants through the dialogue do relational work, how they mediate to a common understanding, and how the counsellors facilitate for participation for the clients. This project will extend the existing research on email interaction, online chats and professional counselling. My project is still in an early phase, and I would therefore like to have a poster presentation.

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## Empathic moments in WhatsApp-messaging

*Sanne Knook & Wyke Stommel*

Technologically advanced societies have undergone immense changes in terms of the communication media used in both professional and private settings. An estimated 55 billion WhatsApp messages are sent per day (Meredith, 2019). In the Netherlands, 85.1% of the population uses social media (StatLine, 2018). This means that digital communication media are integrated into social life and social interaction, of which one key dynamic is empathy.

In spoken interaction, empathy has been found highly relevant in response to other peoples' stories about their personal experiences. It can be displayed using various resources varying from response cries to actions such as assessments (Heritage 2013; Kupetz 2014, Jefferson 1988). Response cries like "oh" and "ah" have been regarded the most empathic response possible (Heritage 2013). Using a response cry, recipients position themselves as a *troubles* recipients specifically (Jefferson 1988). They appear to occur early in the sequence and elicit further talk on the matter. Assessments or affiliative formulations typically come later in the sequence (after the exposition) and have been claimed to display empathy (Jefferson 1988).

In a dataset of 9 archived WhatsApp-histories between friends which spanned between 7 months and 2 ¼ years (consisting of 66077 posts in total) we identified 134 sequences of personal news delivery and empathic response from the co-participant. Our analysis focuses on the actions used in empathic responses (typed response cry, assessment, questions for more information), especially with regard to their positioning in the sequence. A first observation is that response cries are very frequent compared to the other empathic response types known from spoken interaction. However, in WhatsApp they are always coupled with a next action (e.g., a question or assessment). Apparently, for a news recipient in WhatsApp it is not enough to communicate trouble reciprocity (Jefferson 1988) "only". Second, questions and assessments seem to have different sequential meanings. While assessments imply the recipient has enough information about the news to empathize or affiliate (Jefferson 1988), questions imply the recipient needs more information to assess and thus affiliate. Thus, it can be negotiated when empathy is relevant. We would like to discuss various cases, including one in which an affiliative assessment is apparently posted too early in the sequence. In sum, it seems that participants orient to a sequential organization specific to sharing news on personal issues and receiving this news in an empathic way relevant to the affordances of WhatsApp.

We are looking forward to sharing our initial thoughts and discuss what they imply about the specificity of WhatsApp-interaction.

## Room B

### How general practitioners raise “stress” as a potential cause of medically unexplained symptoms: A conversation analysis

Inge Stortenbeker et al.

A common explanation for medically unexplained symptoms (MUS) relates patients' psychosocial circumstances to their physical ailments. The present study used conversation analysis to examine how general practitioners (GPs) ascribe psychosomatic causes to patients' unexplained symptoms during medical consultations. Our data consisted of 36 recorded consultations from Dutch general practice in which GPs concluded that patients suffered from MUS. In 14 consultations, we identified two distinct ways in which GPs suggest the relevancy of psychosomatic issues as explanatory for the patients' complaints. Psychosomatic ascriptions are either captured in 1) history-taking questions (e.g. “could it also be a-a e:h a reaction to e::h (0.5) e::hm how you're feeling ?”), or 2) diagnostic explanations (e.g. “the moment you start worrying about a body part, (0.3) you will automatically better detect that body part.”). Whereas questions made relevant patient responses in the next turn, explanations invited only minimal responses and subordinated patients' expertise in symptom experiences to the GP's medical expertise. By questioning patients whether their symptoms may have psychosocial causes – rather than explaining it to them – GPs enabled symptom explanations to be constructed collaboratively. Furthermore, we found that GPs lay ground for psychosomatic ascriptions by first introducing psychosocial issues as a consequence rather than a cause of complaints (e.g. “I can imagine that this does somehow scare you or not?”, “well what do you have. e::h at least concerns”). Patients usually confirmed feeling stressed due to the complaints. Preliminary activities allowed GPs to initiate rather delicate psychosomatic ascriptions later in the consultation.

## Understanding the role of silence in conversations with people with aphasia

*Isabel Windeatt*

My research investigates how silences are used and understood by people with aphasia (PWA) and their conversation partners. Current UK and international healthcare guidance advises accepting silences and allowing PWA 'plenty of time to respond' (NHS, 2018). This is a directive which can be difficult to follow within conversation, as greater than one second of silence can be considered problematic by interlocutors (Jefferson, 1989). This guidance also implies that silences have no communicative value, and result only from additional processing time.

However, silence has many additional functions within communication such as foreshadowing a negative response (Pomerantz & Heritage, 2013), indicating a refusal to speak (Mann et al., 2015), or displaying sustained disagreement (Pietikäinen, 2018). The understanding of conversational structure and management is unimpaired in aphasia (Perkins, 1995) suggesting that comprehension of the functions of silence is also retained. By treating PWA's silences as merely a result of processing time, conversational partners are being encouraged to ignore these functions and disregard meaning which may be relayed through silence.

I analyse the use and interpretation of silences by both participants, determining how silence is used as purposive communication and what may occur when language difficulties due to aphasia impede the interactional usage of silence. In my poster I present an example of the use of an increment (Ford et al., 2002) by a person with aphasia, employed to pursue a lack of uptake from their communication partner. This usage attempts to maintain the progressivity of the interaction and adhere to the preference of minimising silence within communication. This example displays one of many ways in which the current healthcare guidance relating to silence and aphasia is troublesome and why the complexity of silence within aphasic communication needs to be better understood rather than it merely being considered as an inevitable artefact of aphasia.

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## Room C

### **Collaborative turns in Italian: Clause-combination from an interactional perspective**

*Virginia Calabria*

My PhD research focuses on a recurrent phenomenon in language-in-interaction, whereby a speaker completes or recompletes the interlocutor's turn. The phenomenon has been described as collaborative turn sequences (Lerner 1987, 1991), co-constructions (Lerner 1991) or collaborative turns (Bolden 2003; Auer 2015), among others. Drawing on Conversation Analysis (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974) and Interactional Linguistics (Selting & Couper-Kuhlen 2001; Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018), I study collaborative turns produced in multi-party interactions in present-day Italian. The analysis is based on 10.5 hours of video data recorded in Milan in ordinary (a dinner party involving 3-5 participants) and institutional (two business meetings involving 3-5 participants) settings.

In this poster I focus on a case in which a speaker extends the previous speaker's turn by means of a relative clause, and I introduce the term *other-increment* (see e.g. *other-initiated increment*, Lerner 2004; *turn continuation by other*, Sidnell 2012). This relates to existing work which has shown that when a speaker reaches a possible transition-relevance space, another speaker may extend the previous turn with "further talk" (Schegloff 2001:11) that can be more or less grammatically fitted to the previous turn. If the extension fits syntactically to the end of the previous turn, and the preceding speaker's action is carried on, then it is ascribed to the domain of increments (Schegloff 1996; Vorreiter 2003; CouperKuhlen & Ono 2007). Additionally, Thompson & Couper-Kuhlen's (2005) observe that speakers of different languages have access to different lexical, syntactic and prosodic resources that allow for turn incrementation.

Building on these findings, I inquire into the specific grammatical features, possibilities and restrictions offered by Italian relative clauses. In Italian, "che" serves as a resource for combining clauses which allows for a variety of extensions (hence the frequently used label "che polivalente" [polyvalent che]), some of which identifiable as relative clauses. More precisely, I zoom in on cases in which other speakers self-select by expanding a previously completed turn with a relative clause and I examine a) whether the speaker of the other-increment continues the previous action or achieves a different action, b) how the resource is related to topic management. For instance, Stoenica (2018) has shown that relative clause-expansions may allow speakers to refer back to a previously discussed topic.

On a more theoretical level, this study sheds new light on linguistic and conversation analytic concepts, such as "clause", "sentence", "turn", "TCU". Previous research has shown that speakers orient to the clause as a locus of interaction and that the participants' ability to collaborate in (re)completing the turns of others is evidence of this (Thompson & Couper-Kuhlen 2005). However, the pragmatic dimension of this practice has been less systematically studied. Hence, I show how clauses relate to interactionally relevant actions, as achieved by producing an other-increment, and also how language specific grammatical formats constrain the possibilities of turn-incrementation.

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## Room D

### **Interaction, Interpretation & Information in Museums and Galleries**

*Lucy Meechan*

In recent years, we have witnessed the emergence of a burgeoning corpus of video-based field studies within various disciplines concerned with 'multimodal' interaction, in particular with the ways in which objects, tools and technologies feature in conduct and communication. As yet however, there is little academic or applied research that examines how various forms of text and related resources, material or digital, feature in how people interact with each other and with their local environment. Museums and galleries invest substantial time and resources in providing information to visitors, with the idea that these resources 'enrich' the museum experience now deeply engrained within contemporary museum practice. However, our understanding of how these labels, gallery cards, electronic devices and the like, inform visitor's engagement with exhibits remains limited.

Drawing upon Ethnomethodology, Conversation Analysis and the growing corpus of research concerned with embodied or 'multimodal' interaction, my research examines how visitors use the information provided by museums and galleries in exploring, discussing and interpreting works of art. It explores how textual and other types of institutional information is deployed and used by people, in interaction with each other, as they examine and engage with exhibitions. My contribution to ECCA 2020 would be a poster session, where I would present video-recordings of naturally occurring interactions between visitors as they explore a room of John Constable paintings at the Royal Academy, London. Examining in detail the talk, and embodied conduct of visitors, the session will analyse the function of gallery labels in terms of the sequential organisation of visitor interactions at the exhibit face, with the phenomena of interest comprising instances whereby visitors engage with gallery labels. This discussion is useful in terms of its contribution to contemporary developments in studies of social interaction, and in particular our understanding of how the sense and significance of art arises in and through talk, embodied conduct and the use of material and digital resources.

# Abstracts data sessions (Tuesday June 30<sup>th</sup>)

## Room A

### **Drinking coffee: An embodied means for signalling availability in break room conversations**

*Mari Holmström & Christoph Hottiger*

Drinking coffee is perhaps one of the most recurrent activities in a broad range of workplace settings across the globe. In fact, this phenomenon is so common, that there is even a social activity which is named after the type of beverage people consume and the fact that they do this as an intermittent phase between longer stretches of work - the coffee break. This is precisely what lies at the heart of this proposed data session.

The data in this proposal has been recorded by the Break project (Interactional organisation of break-taking activities and social support in a changing workplace environment), which is based at the University of Oulu, Finland. The Break project studies interaction in workplace break rooms, utilising video recordings of naturally occurring conversations: the data consists of video recordings (approximately 50 hours) from six communities, complemented by ethnographic data. One integral part of these break interactions is to sit and enjoy a beverage, such as coffee, with coworkers.

The aim of this data session is to explore some of the break-taking data and investigate whether there is a discernible pattern in how the cups are handled in relation to the ongoing verbal interaction. Furthermore, we would like to discuss whether that could be indicative of an embodied non-speech turn-taking system that is closely connected to the verbal level of the interaction, for example in signalling and estimating availability in conversations. Mirroring is also considered as a possible factor.

The studied phenomenon is based on previous research on turn-taking (e.g. Auer 2018; Ivarsson and Greiffenhagen 2015; Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson 1974; Weiß 2018), as well as a study on closing sequences, gesture and materials (e.g. Laurier 2008). During the data session, a video clip from the data will be shown, along with a Mondada-style transcription, allowing a close interaction analytic inspection of the phenomenon. The data is in Finnish or English; an English translation will be provided in the transcript as necessary. Video data from break rooms provides fruitful material for studying such a phenomenon, as it features different constellations of participants engaged in conversation whilst enjoying beverages like coffee or tea.

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## Room B

### **Negotiating language beyond conversational openings. A single case analysis of patient-receptionist interaction at the doctor's office**

*Federica D'Antoni*

The aim of this data session is to explore the language negotiation in a specific kind of institutional interaction between unacquainted persons, i.e., encounters between patients and medical receptionists in a multilingual area. Whereas previous literature has shown that language is negotiated at the very beginning of the encounter (Heller 1982; Torras & Gafaranga 2002; Mondada 2018), in this data session I will propose a single case analysis of an encounter, where language negotiation continues beyond the opening sequence. The data hence document recurrent instances of code-switching (Poplack 1980; Auer 1998).

The data session will be based on four excerpts taken from the same extended encounter between a patient (who has an appointment with a general practitioner) and a receptionist. The participants engage in an encounter during which they carry out multiple courses of action (e.g., checking the patient's file on the computer, printing out forms and test results, etc.) that are possibly relevant for their language choices. The corpus has been collected in Friuli (north-eastern Italy) with multiple video- and audio-devices. In 7 hours of continuous recording in the waiting room of a doctor's office, I collected more than 100 encounters between patients and two medical receptionists. The languages spoken are Italian and Friulian.

The data session addresses the following questions:

- How do speakers orient to the different languages they speak?
- How can we account for a "bilingual mode" of interaction?
- Which practices do speakers use to align with or resist a proposed language change?
- In what way is code-switching sensitive to sequential position, co-occurring (embodied and practical) activities, the overall organisation of multiple courses of action?

The data session will draw on the methods of investigation provided by conversation analysis (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson) and multimodal interaction analysis.

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## Room C

### Laundry baskets: A membership categorisation analysis of how general practitioners and patients make gender relevant in medical interaction

*Ilona Plug*

Medical trajectories can be noticeably different for women and men in all stages, from symptom presentation and health care seeking to diagnosis and treatment plans (FitzGerald & Hurst, 2017; Goudsmit, 1994; Seymour-Smith et al., 2002). It is yet unknown how gender permeates the communication between doctors and patients. The current study therefore focuses on gender as it is interactionally made relevant by interlocutors, at the first stage of the medical trajectory, i.e., when patients present their symptoms to a general practitioner. Membership categorisation analysis (MCA) will be used to examine the ways in which general practitioners and patients make gender relevant in interaction. Gender is made relevant in interaction when (one of) the interlocutors refer to categories such as 'man' or 'woman', and when corresponding category-bounded predicates and actions are activated (Paulsen, 2018; Stokoe, 2006; Stokoe, 2010a; Stokoe, 2010b; Stokoe, 2012). For instance, one of the general practitioners in our data asks a woman patient with pain on the chest: 'And when you carry the laundry basked up the stairs, I just shout something wild, then it does not get worse?', which activates a typical "housekeeping" activity that is traditionally perceived as an activity performed by women, and is thus bounded to the category 'woman'. Instances in which gender categories or category-bounded predicates and actions are made relevant may reveal gender related qualities, roles, and expectations, from general practitioners as well as from patients. The analyses will show how general practitioners and patients use gender categories for various interactional goals within the medical communicative context.

At ECCA I would like to have a data session, preferably with scholars who are familiar with MCA. The data consist of several fragments in which general practitioners and patients draw on gender working towards interactional goals such as enquiring or explaining symptoms.

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## Room D

### Single and multiple greetings in multilingual openings between unacquainted individuals at tourism offices

*Thomas Debois*

In this data session, I will take a closer look at both single and multiple greetings in the openings of multilingual encounters between unacquainted individuals. Greetings are a powerful type of adjacency pair that allow co-present individuals to become “participants” and have been studied in telephone openings (Schegloff, 1967) and in face-to-face interaction (Kendon & Ferber, 1973; Duranti, 1997; Pillet-Shore, 2008). Greeting sequences enable speakers not only to implement the turn-taking machinery, but also to provide a first sample of the language(s) they speak (Mondada, 2018). Hence, greeting sequences are the first locus in which the language(s) of the encounter are negotiated between individuals who meet for the first time. Greetings may be produced as single sequences or as “multiple greeting sequences” (Licoppe, 2017) and they may be sensitive to spatio-temporal contingencies: e.g., Kendon & Ferber (1973) have shown that “distant salutations” manifest as embodied greetings (head toss, waving, etc.), whereas “close salutations” encompass smiles, vocal greetings, body contact etc.

This data session is based on a collection of encounters recorded in tourism information offices of two different cities located in Flanders, Belgium. The corpus consists of 12,5h of data recorded with multiple audio- and video-devices and documents more than 120 encounters, in different languages and language varieties, such as Dutch (both Flemish and Netherlands Dutch), English, French, and German.

The questions for this data session are:

- How do spatiotemporal contingencies relate to the organisation of openings between unacquainted individuals?
- Which socially relevant actions do interactants achieve through the use of single or multiple greetings?
- In what way are language competences made relevant in the very first words of the encounter?
- How do greetings relate to membership categorisation?

These and other questions will be addressed within the framework of multimodal conversation analysis.

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## Abstracts presentations (Wednesday July 1<sup>st</sup>)

### Room A

#### **Materiality and temporality of objects in instructive activities in supervised cooking**

*Sofian Adam Bouaouina*

This paper discusses interactions between participants involved in supervised food production in different settings (at school/ at home), characterized by an asymmetry of knowledge (with a more knowledgeable person instructing a less knowledgeable one). In the context of activities of instruction, which are recurrent in settings where food is produced under supervision, I will focus on moments where the participants – through manipulation – show an orientation towards the material and sensorial specificities of ingredients or emerging dishes, making relevant their consistency and texture.

In the field of Conversation Analysis, instructions have been studied within an educational context – focussing on manual/textile work (e. g. Ekström, 2011; Lindwall & Ekström, 2012; Lindwall, Lymer & Greiffenhagen, 2015), in driving lessons (e. g. De Stefani & Gazin, 2014), and in chirurgical operations (Mondada, 2014a). Instructions in cooking courses have been studied as orienting to the relevance of “material features” of ingredients for subsequent actions in the process of food preparation (Mondada, 2014b). Yet, activities of instruction where the actual material specificities of objects are made relevant on a sensorial level have not yet been extensively studied. Supervised food production seems to be a perspicuous setting for showing how the texture of an object can be made relevant through, for example, touch.

The discussed collection comes from a diversity of settings. The first corpus consists of cooking lessons at a secondary school in the German speaking part of Switzerland, where groups of students are preparing a meal under the supervision of their teacher. The menu is defined by the latter, who also dictates which recipes the students have to follow. Generally, the teacher is rotating in the kitchen, assisting when help is sought. In the second corpus, collected in a family in Tunisia, an unexperienced person helps a very experienced cook during meal preparation. The third corpus features several (semi)-professional cooks of different cultures preparing a big dinner together, experiencing with food and developing the final dishes in situ (i. e. not following any recipes). Common to the various data are asymmetric distributions of knowledge (Pomerantz 1980, 1988; Raymond & Heritage 2006; Heritage, 2012a/b), of rights and obligations, and of expertise, which make instructions recurrent.

The paper will focus on instructive activities, and more particularly on the relationship between the evolving ‘temporality of food’ and the agentivity/autonomy given to the instructed participant preparing it. In other words, the paper draws attention to how the materiality and sensoriality of an object is made relevant for interaction and how the temporality of an emerging dish, its changing material character over time, and the irreversibility of certain actions are consequential for the spatial and temporal organisation of the participants’ actions.

## The perception, emotion and identity of blind people: The continuum of visual perception

*Louise Lüchow*

For most of us the world is first and foremost visually perceived (Workman, 2016). Hence, the visual world is a norm from which architectural as well as technological designs origin, and thus, the visual norm reiterates.

Voice User Interfaces (VUI's), such as Google Home and Alexa, are becoming increasingly accessible and are gradually embedded into our homes. Besides from relieving us from the engrossing screen and visual interface, the VUI's also represent a great potential for especially blind and visually impaired people, enabling them to simply speak their requests, rather than navigating in a recited visual interface. Furthermore, it allows them to make use of the same accessible technology as the seeing. From this point of view the VUI's possess a huge potential for social inclusion of blind people in an otherwise visual world. However, since the VUI's is still based on the same architectural structure as the visual interface and since the blind and visually impaired people do not necessarily share the intuitive approach to the technology as his/her seeing fellow, the inclusive potential cannot stand undisputed: the adaption process is a challenge, that might expose especially the newly blind and visually impaired people's vulnerability as not being sufficiently capable in the visual society. Thus, threatening to identity as capable, the newly blind or visually impaired may experience exclusion in the adaption process leading to frustration or even resignation from using the VUI.

Though we cannot know what people experience or think during the process of learning new technology, it is possible to see how they visually orientate. This gives us an insight whether, or to what extent, the blind or visually impaired person is cognitively navigating within a visual perception of the outside world.

Using ethnomethodological conversation analysis and video ethnography (Heath et al., 2010) I will demonstrate concrete examples of various extents in which the seeing, the newly blind and the born blind participant visually orientates during the adaption process of the VUI. I do not intend to prove, but rather to elucidate, what I will refer to as a continuum of visual perception.

This paper contributes to the understanding of atypical interaction (Antaki & Wilkinson, 2013), adding a multimodal perspective (Streeck et al., 2011) in the investigating of the naturally occurring methods, the atypical participants make use of, when adapting to the VUI.

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## Room B

### **Beyond sequential resistance: A case for using membership categorisation analysis**

*Natalie Flint*

This study considers the intersection between sequential and extra-sequential properties of a particular form of resistance in family interactions. The analysis here explores to what extent participants orient to epistemics and/or deontics in doing resistance. In particular, the analysis will explore how participants invoke epistemic and/or deontic authority through category work.

Over recent years, resistance has been the focus of sequential analyses in Conversation Analysis (Berger, Kitzinger & Ellis 2016; Humă, Stokoe & Sikveland 2019; Joyce in prep; Kent 2012; Sikveland, Kevoe-Feldman & Stokoe 2019; Stokoe, Humă, Sikveland, Kevoe-Feldman 2020; Widdicombe 2017). More specifically, this paper explores Sequential Resistance. Sequential Resistance refers specifically to the practice of derailing an ongoing sequence and has been explored previously in relation to transformative answers (Stivers & Hayashi, 2010; see also Clayman 2013), subversive completions (Bolden, Hepburn & Potter, 2019), sequential deletion (Author in prep), sequential abandonment (Author in prep), and interception (Author 2019, Author in prep). It is these sequentially derailing forms of resistance that I will consider in more detail here.

This study is built upon the sequential analyses of the intricacies of turn design, sequence organisation, and repair, and how these interactional phenomena, which are core to conversation analytic studies, are consequential in everyday family interactions. More specifically, this paper considers how epistemics and deontics are made relevant in these cases of Sequential Resistance through participants subtle orientations to membership categorisation.

This paper contributes to a growing number of studies that consider both the sequential and categorial aspects of interaction (see Hansen 2005; Stokoe & Attenborough 2015, and more specifically in the context of resistance, Joyce 2019). Here, this is done by analysing how participants demonstrate epistemic and deontic authority through the use of category work in family interactions. Here, I explore to what extent family members in these resistance sequences invoke devices that are at odds with each another. To do this intricate work, members' typically orient to categories through category bound attributes and predicates, rather than explicitly referring to categories. Ultimately, these orientations to category allow the interactants to demonstrate their authority – be that epistemic or deontic – which enables them to derail an ongoing sequence.

The interactions explored here are family interactions in British and American English. This study also contributes to an existing field of literature on parent-child interaction, however here I explore family interactions with older children than typically seen in current research, contributing to knowledge concerning family life with older children and teenagers. This paper contributes to a wider research project on orientations to sequential resistance in family interactions.

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## Doing person reference with ethnic categories during case conferences of a hospital in rural Kazakhstan

*Bakyt Muratbayeva & Benjamin Quasinowski*

Recognising absent third parties is a recurring practical problem in conversational storytelling. Participants have a number of different resources at their disposal to solve this problem, e.g., first or last names, kinship terms, along with other descriptors. This original paper examines how staff members of a hospital in a small rural community of Kazakhstan employ ethnic categories as recognitional forms to refer to absent third parties, namely to patients. Data are from our videographic study in this hospital between 2015 and 2016. The paper is based on our analysis of 40 daily case conferences. Our approach was conversation analytic. We analysed sequences of talk in which participants used ethnic categories to refer to patients during conversational storytelling.

Earlier studies on identification and person reference have shown that participants' choice from available sets of practices of identification is contingent on the degree of intimacy and anonymity between, on the one hand, speakers and recipients, and, on the other hand, present and absent parties. In the community where we did our study, members of the hospital staff and their patients are often friends, kin, or neighbours to each other. Consequently, members of the hospital staff often have intimate knowledge about their patients, that is, they are acquaintances. This is almost the default case. However, approximately one third of the community's population are recent immigrants from 1 of 2 neighbouring countries. There is a considerable amount of segregation between these 'newcomers' and the 'established' members of the community. Therefore, when newcomers are patients in the hospital, the hospital's staff members often have much less intimate knowledge about these patients. When staff members refer to them, problems in recognising are much more frequent than in the default case. This differential distribution of knowledge has implications for recipient design in conversational storytelling. A main finding of our study is that when knowledge about talked-about absent patients is insufficient, participants tend to use ethnic categories rather than other recognitional forms, such as first or last names. Our study contributes to conversation analytical research on person reference in interaction. For one, it supports Schegloff's (2007) assumption that referring to persons is mostly being done by using resources quite different from membership categories. However, our study also shows that in those cases where person reference is indeed being done by using membership categories, ethnicity is a preferred resource. We propose that this preference is due to the specific cultural ecology of the village community. With this original paper we want to open up a discussion and work towards the paper's publication.

## Room C

### **The role of interpreters in police interviews with vulnerable witnesses**

*Emma Richardson et al.*

People with intellectual disabilities (ID) are disproportionately likely to be the victims of sexual assault and rape, yet are also less likely to speak out about their abuse and rarely appear in court (see Antaki et al, 2015). This group is, therefore, over-represented in the numbers of sexual assault cases that do not progress through the criminal justice system (Richardson et al. 2018). One potential barrier to justice is the quality of evidence that can be obtained during the investigative interview, with research also suggesting that ID witnesses may, for instance, yield more to leading questions, or be perceived as unreliable witnesses in court (see Richardson et al, 2018).

Along with other vulnerable witnesses, ID witnesses may be accompanied in the interview by appropriate adults, whose role is to protect the interests of the child or young person or by interpreters. Interpreters assist the interviewee to understand and communicate. Existing CA literature has examined the role of interpreters, and translators, in medical contexts (see Friedland and Penn, 2003; Watermeyer, 2011; Penn and Watermeyer, 2012, 2014; Niemants and Stokoe, 2017). However, we know very little about the role of these other parties to the investigative interview, especially in cases of interviews with alleged victims of sexual assault and rape.

This paper in progress examines a corpus of police investigative interviews with vulnerable adult and child witnesses reporting rape and sexual assault. The dataset comprises 19 video-recorded interviews, provided by a police service in England. All identifying features, including names, places, voices, and faces, have been obscured for anonymity purposes. Within a corpus of 20 interviews, 10 are conducted with an appropriate adult, translator or interpreter present.

The extent to which the interpreter contributes to the conversation varies from all turns being translated through a sign interpreter to a few minimal turns from an appropriate adult, such as a parent. I will present a preliminary conversation analysis of interviews focussing on the role of the interpreter in facilitating officer-witness communication. The specific analytic focus will be on occasions where officer-witness communication 'breaks down' and the interpreter or appropriate adult speaks, and how this impacts progressivity of the interaction between officer and witness. The intended outcome of this analysis is to contribute to the CA literature on role of interpreters and intermediaries specifically in investigative interviews.

## Using narratives in self-help groups to make sense of experiences of otherness

*Sarah Hitzler*

Stories and second stories have been described as very effective means for reflexive exchange in selfhelp contexts. In particular, Arminen (2004) has shown how in AA, the use of second stories helps participants to abstract from personal experiences and build up shared identities and a 'figurative worldview' that helps participants to make sense of their lives. While AA offers a concept for mutual help that is based on very strict rules of participation and that relies heavily on the format of 'testimonials', other forms of self-help groups also draw on narratives in order to make accessible and discussable members' particular realities.

Drawing on the single case of an exchange in a self-help group for people with obesity, I show that narratives can be used to make expressible experiences of irritation. Life-world situations in which members experience irritation may be difficult to speak about as it is an affective reaction more than a rational assessment. The narrative in point discusses the casual ascription of otherness by family members, leaving open the teller's assessment of this ascription while clearly marking it as tellable. In this way, in reproducing the critical situation as a narrative, its specific significance is bracketed and left to be worked out by the other interactants. The significance of a specific experience is then determined and negotiated in a series of ensuing second stories, which, by highlighting specific aspects and de-emphasising others, serve to offer a (moralised) interpretation of what it is that the teller experienced.

Members in self-help groups thus establish spaces in which life-world experiences and assumptions about norms and ordinariness can be put into relation and be debated in interaction. The experience of otherness and exclusion is reversed while group members establish a shared identity, thereby actively distinguishing themselves from conventional norms and making relevant alternative moral points of reference.

The material drawn on stems from a corpus of audio-recorded meetings of five self-help groups addressing different topics in Germany.

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## Room D

### Acting as “speakers of culture”: non-native children’s enforcing of institutional language norms in the peer group *Nicola Nasi*

The paper explores how non-native children engage in metalinguistic and pragmatic contributions in the peer group, thus socializing each other into local norms of appropriate language use in the classroom. Drawing on a larger ethnographic research implemented with video recordings in a primary school of Bologna, Italy, this study adopts a CA informed approach to analyze an Italian L2 class attended by children aged 8 to 10.

Within the theoretical framework of language socialization (Ochs & Schieffelin 2012, Figueroa & Baquedano-López 2017) and drawing from the concept of interpretive reproduction (Gaskins, Miller & Corsaro 1992), the study focuses on children’s repair trajectories (Schegloff 2007) of peers’ problematic contributions. As the analysis illustrates, children correct others’ talk and elicit appropriate (linguistic) behavior in the peer group, showing a considerable metalinguistic and metapragmatic awareness (Duranti 2001). This kind of corrective practices among non-native children concerns linguistic activities (e.g. naming) as well as literacy-related activities (e.g. pace keeping during reading aloud) (Sterponi 2012); such practices are accomplished by creatively (re)producing teachers’ ways of speaking and value-laden messages the children are socialized to during their everyday school life (Tholander & Aronsson 2003, Evaldsson & Cekaite 2010, Mökkönen 2012, Cekaite & Björk-Willén 2013). In the discussion we argue that, enacting and reproducing institutional forms of talk, non-native children socialize each other into the micro-culture of the classroom (Goodwin and Kyratzis 2007), hence becoming “speakers of culture” (Ochs 2002).

Adding empirical evidence to the field of child discourse studies focused on peer socialization (Kyratzis and Cook-Gumperz 2015, Cekaite et al. 2014), this paper lays the foundation for in- and pre-service teachers’ training as to the informed use of endogenous resources in multicultural classrooms.

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## Who owns language in online real-time interactions?

*Budimka Uskokovic*

Research on epistemics in conversation has shown that various difficulties arise in conversation when there is no symmetry in knowledge, and that interlocutors use a wide range of practices to navigate the epistemic asymmetries in interaction (cf. Heritage & Raymond, 2005). Yet, there is no empirical study which shows how these asymmetries are navigated between German native speakers (L1) and language learners (L2).

The data presented in this paper entails examples where language learners of German are more knowledgeable (K+) about the target culture and native speakers are less knowledgeable (K-) about their own culture. The empirical analysis illustrates that there is an ongoing competition between L1 and L2 speakers, specifically between their *status-based authority*, which addresses what native speakers should know, given their status (Drew, 1991), and *source-based authority*, which deals with actual experience (Enfield, 2011). This competition is displayed in the following example, where Aiden (L2) meets Theodor (L1) on TalkAbroad, an online video conferencing platform. The topic in this conversation is sharing information about entertainment in Germany and the U.S. Prior to the line 236 below, Theodor had asked Aiden what his favorite music was. In this sequence, Aiden is asking Theodor whether he is familiar with the band Wanda, an Austrian indie pop band founded in Vienna in 2012. After this sequence, Theodor asks Aiden: "Gehst du zu Konzerten oder so?" (Do you go to concerts?).

236 AID        ich habe ein band von deu-von österreichi  
              *I heard a band from Austria*  
237            u:hm a:h gehört a:h von meiner u:hm  
              *a:hm a:hm from my a:hm*  
238            ersten deutschklasse u:hm u:hm die band ist a:hm  
              *first German class u:hm u:hm the band is a u:hm*  
239            -> wand-hast du-hast du- hast du die wanda gehört  
              *wand-did you-did you- had you heard wanda*  
240 THE       -> wie-\*wie ist der name\*  
              *what-\*what is the name\**  
              \*puts a finger on his ear\*  
241 AID        wanda  
              wanda  
242 THE        wanda \*kannst du es schreiben\*  
              wanda \*can you write it\*  
              \*typing in the air\*

In line 240, Theodor (L1) treats the problem as a hearing problem and asks Aiden (L2) to repeat the reference. In line 242, Aiden first repeats the name of the band and then asks him to type it using the chat feature on the platform. In doing so, Theodor displays that hearing the name was not enough for him to recognize the band, thereby still treating it as a hearing/pronunciation problem and not his lack of knowledge/K- status. This is an aspect that I will emphasize in other examples as well showing how L1 speakers treat a problem that makes their K- status in terms of a cultural information demonstrable, how language learners respond to that, and how the problem is resolved.

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## Abstracts poster sessions (Wednesday July 1<sup>st</sup>)

### Room A

#### Approaching exclusively nonverbal multimodal interaction: A case study in virtual reality

*Nils Klawait*

We attempt to make some first forays into the multimodal investigation of social interaction in fully immersive virtual reality. It aims to demonstrate that a) VR is a radically strange interactional space characterized by unexpected difficulties in unexpected places b) nevertheless, a multimodal analysis of this interaction is possible and c) that this analysis bears relevance on a range of methodological questions in contemporary multimodality studies in general.

Specifically, we investigate a case of a non-verbal dyadic hint-and-guess sequence within a cooperative virtual reality game. The game involves two players, both in virtual reality helmets and separated geographically, who explore a three-dimensional world in which both of the players' hands and arms are tracked with six degrees of freedom. This exploration involves the interaction with – and exchange of – virtual objects between the players; as such, the game requires near-constant coordination.

In the given video fragment (recorded from the perspective of one of the interactants), both of the participants' microphones are muted for the entire duration of the session. In the beginning of the fragment, one of the players displays visible troubles with an in-game activity: putting on a mask. This action normally involves physically grabbing the mask and bringing it close to the face. However, unbeknownst, the player was already wearing a mask. As a result, the new mask could not be equipped.

The other player takes up the challenge of conveying this circumstance gesturally: the resolution of the technical problem, namely, that a mask cannot be equipped on top of an unknowingly worn mask, turns into an interactional problem through the resources that are employed to convey the quite complex matter of 'in order to put on a mask, you must first remove the mask that you are already wearing'. However, in the absence of talk as a resource, the sequence of 'taking off a mask' turns out to be outwardly indistinguishable from the sequence of 'putting on a mask', leading to prolonged gestural search sequences. We demonstrate how the players co-operatively achieve a graceful resolution of this search sequence through a protracted nonverbal hint-and-guess sequence.

We make a case for the fruitfulness of multimodal interaction analysis in fully-immersive virtual reality, using insights from aphasiological research informed by Charles Goodwin's analysis of Chil's interactional repertoire.

In conclusion, we discuss the challenges of transcribing such fully nonverbal sequences in two primary respects: firstly, we consider the question of sequentiality and simultaneity that intersect the different conventions of multimodal transcription, particularly in the context of Lorenza Mondada's pioneering approach to multimodal data. Secondly, we discuss how the analyzed fragment blurs the line between formal and emic categories for making the sequential organization of action visible: the disambiguation of the two competing sequence takings hinges upon which elements in the instructional loop are treated as preparation, apex and retraction.

## Coordinating actions with a mobile embodied AI

*Hannah Pelikan*

This paper explores human coordination with an embodied and mobile artificial intelligence (AI) in the form of a toy robot. Focus lies on a face recognition activity that requires humans to remain oriented to the robot for several seconds, while it scans and analyses (i.e. “learns”) the human’s facial features. When everything is going according to the programmer’s plan (Suchman, 1987), the face learning activity takes less than ten seconds. However, during the first attempts in a family home, it often takes the embodied AI several minutes to learn a new face. As becomes evident in the data, family members often gather in front of the robot, watching it curiously. For successful mapping of a face to a name, only one person should be in the robot’s camera frame. If several people position themselves in front of the robot at the same time, the wrong person may be matched with the entered name. In contrast to taking someone’s picture with a conventional camera, users cannot see what the embodied AI is “seeing”. They have to learn how to position themselves correctly through interaction with the robot. This gets further complicated by the fact that the robot is mobile, following previously detected human faces and turning back to its original position whenever it is pushed into a new direction. Ultimately, humans find their own ways to coordinate their bodies with that of the embodied AI, for instance by ducking under a table or covering their faces with their hands.

Data for this paper come from a corpus of video recordings of four Swedish families, whom I videotaped in their homes. They are interacting with the small toy robot Cozmo, which is inspired by Pixar’s Wall-E and Eve. Cozmo does not talk but communicates through sounds, animated eyes and body movements. It makes sense of its surroundings with the help of several sensors, among others a video camera. The robot is controlled through a smartphone app, which has been installed on one of the family members’ phones. The app allows participants to operate the robot in different modes such as playing games or letting it roam freely. One option is to teach it a person’s name and face, which will result in the robot saying their name whenever it recognizes them. Exploring how humans draw on non-lexical means for coordinating their different bodies (Keevallik, 2020), the paper scrutinizes how humans draw on Cozmo’s sounds and movements to make sense of and to coordinate with the embodied AI.

## Room B

### Phonetic and pragmatic aspects of dynamic management of turn takings in 3-participant conversations

*Valéria Krepsz et al.*

The paper presents the latest results of a long-standing project that focuses on the analysis of triadic conversations in Hungarian, from phonetic and pragmatic perspective. Our research team has been studying for a year, with grant funding (titled as 'The interrelations of phonetic properties in speech units'), how can we describe different speech units (turns, thematic units, turn-takings, overlapping speech, discourse markers, etc.) and laughter, and their dynamic changes in large, high-quality speech samples (from the Hungarian Spontaneous Speech Database) taking into account aspects of phonetics, pragmatics, and conversation analysis. In the present study, turn-takings were analyzed in a dynamic functional frame, considering the dynamical and negotiable nature of turn-taking in multi-party conversations. Relying on the analysis of phonetic and pragmatic aspects of conversation (cf. De Ruiter et al. 2006, CouperKuhlen 2009), our aim was to investigate the different resources and negotiation strategies of turn-takings, as well as their changes during conversations.

The phonetic context of turn-takings were analyzed on one hand. On the other hand, the types and temporal parameters of turn-takings were investigated with regard to their dynamic changes according to their position in the conversation. Furthermore, we investigated "floor-acquiring keywords" in floor-taking and floor-holding strategies. The quantitative aspects of the measurement is complemented by qualitative analysis of discourse activity of the current speaker and the other participants. 10 conversations with three participants (5 females and 5 males, aged between 20–35 years) were used for the study (all together 200 minutes) of the Hungarian Spontaneous Speech Database (Horváth et al. 2019). The frequency, type and duration of backchannels; the articulation rate before and after the turn-takings, the frequency and duration of the silent and filled pauses were measured, as the context of the turn-takings. The types, the frequency and the duration of turn-takings were analyzed.

The results provide new information about the dynamic nature of the everyday conversations. The description of the dynamic negotiation process can be used directly in the multilevel processing of multiparty conversations for automatic tagging or predictive improvements. Better understanding of the pragmatic and phonetic aspects of the turn-taking system brings great potential for improving the naturalness of dialogue systems.

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## Abstracts data sessions (Wednesday July 1<sup>st</sup>)

### Room A

#### 'Do we have to?'- Listening to how preservice teachers talk about learning in groups

*Fergal Harrington*

The benefits of collaborative learning models, as opposed to competitive ones, are evidenced beyond doubt and have been for many years (Johnson, 2014). Yet in general, education in classrooms and lecture halls continues to exhibit competitive models. My research focuses on the issue of why such a successful innovation should propagate at such a slow rate throughout the education system and so is guided by the question; "Do pre-service teachers exhibit epistemic obstacles to the development of collaborative cultures in post-primary education in Ireland?"

The required teacher qualification for graduates to become post-primary teachers in Ireland is the Professional Masters in Education (PME). In 2009, the University College of Cork introduced a mandatory 'Collaborative Learning' module into the second and final year of the PME course. This 5- credit module contains 24 hours of tuition time, distributed as 2-hour weekly lectures, over a 12 weeks. One week is a lecture or group of workshops by local school leaders and every other week is an opportunity for the PME second-year students (PME2s) to work collaboratively around some presented issue in education.

For the past three years, I have been making audio recordings of the collaborative conversations of several randomly selected groups of PME2 students during their efforts to collaborate.

My curiosity is whether teachers hold conceptual models of knowledge which allow for traditional formats of education (one expert disseminating information from the front of a room with rows of students facing them) and disallow others, such as collaborative models. In other words, do the PME teachers believe that sitting in rows listening to a teacher is 'real' education, and sitting in groups of learners 'doesn't count' as education?

The challenge with this question is that 'belief' is difficult to define and measure, and so in order to engage with it, a 'two pronged' methodological approach was adopted. First, cognitive linguistics, (particularly with emphasis on cognitive metaphor theory (Lakoff, 1980)) was used to determine if, and to what extent, the PME2s employ participatory (collaborative) metaphors for knowledge as opposed to acquisitional metaphors (individualised), in line with Sfarid's (1998) work on educational metaphors. Second, a conversational analysis approach to determine if, and to what extent, the PME2s exhibited support for collaborative learning, through their conversational behaviours.

The data showed that the PME2 students did not endorse collaborative methods. While they occasionally did express the acquisitional metaphor of knowledge, their rejection of collaborative methods was more easily observable in other speech behaviours. The PME2 students used a variety of talk-in-interaction techniques to establish norms of conversation which largely discredited, and created a what I describe as a 'cultural embargo' against, collaborative learning models.

## Room C

### **Affiliation in institutional context: Talk-in-interaction in judicial family mediation interview**

*Aida Silva Penna*

The data presented is part of a PhD study which is formulated from the contributions of Conversation Analysis (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974) to aid and subsidize forms of dispute settlement in an institutional context of legal family mediation in Brazil. In Brazil, in the last 30 years, mediation has been becoming strong in the Judicial System as an alternative to conflict resolution (Azevedo, 2016; Sales, 2011; Sampaio & Braga Neto, 2007). The mediation interview or pre-mediation is an important step during the process of mediation which occurs as the first meeting between the mediator and each party in dispute separately. Its main function lies in the mediator knowing the details of the controversy, the opposing positions, the motivations of each party and, especially, glimpsing possibilities of agreement (Sampaio & Braga Neto, 2007). In interactional theory, we translate these various objectives above as tasks, which belong to an institutional mandate (Drew & Heritage, 1992) of the mediator, understood as an orientation toward the institution's ultimate goals. In the data it seems that the goal of the parties is to complain about the other, since there are numerous third party complaints. Affiliative studies show that the recipient of a complaint affiliates with it or not (Drew & Walker, 2009). Given this, the affiliative literature shows a mismatch between the understandings of what mediation is and its practice. This paradox emerges because while, on the one hand, the mediation manuals consider it as a process facilitated by a neutral and impartial third party, on the other hand, the mediator is the one who needs to deal with those complaints in some way, at least in the pre-mediation interviews. The main research questions are (i) how the mediator's responses to complaints are constructed in terms of affiliative or desaffiliative actions in order to maintain the mediator's neutrality and impartiality and (ii) what are its possible consequences for the interaction? The recording occurred in 2007, in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, during a previous research project entitled as "Mapping the reformulations in judicial family mediation," approved by the ethics committee of the Federal University of Juiz de Fora, number 251.777, CAAE 14958013.00005147. The transcription was made from the audio recording of a complete case, distributed in two mediation interviews and four mediation sessions, totaling 296 minutes. The proposed excerpt was taken from the first interview between the mediator and one disputed party. The participants in this case are ex-partners, divorced for 3 years and with a couple of children. The legal process refers to the father's request for custody of the children. At that time, the mother held custody of the children. The girl, the oldest daughter, lived with the mother while the boy lived with his father. In the proposed sequence, one of the parties in dispute, through a narrative, points out problems of conduct of the absent party. The mediator, through questions and reformulations, requests information and clarification of the main issues surrounding the conflict.

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## Room D

### The competence in little words: The development of change-of-state tokens in L2 German

Sam Schirm

Recent CA research on second language acquisition has become more interested not only in how language learners acquire novel linguistic forms in the second language (or 'L2'), but particularly in how learners become more able to use these forms in their fitted interactional contexts — or how learners develop *Interactional Competence* (cf. Hall & Pekarek Doehler, 2011; Pekarek Doehler, 2018). For example, in their study of an L2 French speaker's interactions while sojourning in French-speaking Switzerland, Pekarek Doehler and Berger (2018) found that, over the course of a nine-month sojourn, the L2 speaker *diversified* her methods for opening a storytelling in interaction; that is, the L2 speaker was able to employ *more* methods that were fitted to the context of storytelling openings, thereby more clearly projecting the upcoming storytelling to her co-participant and more effectively securing her co-participant's reciprocity to the storytelling (see also Berger & Pekarek Doehler, 2018). In this sense, developing Interactional Competence (that is, increasing the ability for context-sensitive conduct) involves the *diversification* of methods for the recognizable accomplishment of actions in interaction (Pekarek Doehler, 2018; Wagner, Pekarek Doehler, & González-Martínez, 2018).

In this data session, we explore the development of Interactional Competence in two L2 speakers of German during their 4-month sojourns to Germany. Specifically, we track the L2 speakers' use and change in use of a linguistic resource that occurs frequently and regularly in German interaction: change-of-state tokens (cf. Heritage, 2016). There is a significant body of CA research on German's wide range of lexically distinct change-of-state tokens (e.g. *achja*, cf. Betz & Golato, 2008; *achso*, cf. Golato, 2010; Golato & Betz, 2008; and *oh*, Golato, 2012; see also Imo, 2009), and this research repeatedly demonstrates that a token's function is related to its interactional (in particular sequential) context (cf. Heritage, 1984). German change-of-state tokens' frequency, diversity, and context-dependency make them a prime resource by which to study speakers' increasing capacity for context-sensitive conduct in an L2 — or speakers' developing L2 Interactional Competence.

With this in mind, this data session seeks to answer the following questions:

1. How do the L2 speakers use tokens to index changes of state in their everyday German- language interactions?
2. How does the way in which the speakers index changes of state in their German-language interactions change over the course of their sojourns? e.g. do they use a broader range of tokens later in the sojourn? Do these tokens acquire new functions? Do functions transfer from one token to another?
3. Does *diversification of methods* (cf. Pekarek Doehler, 2018; Wagner et al., 2018) describe the L2 speakers' developing use of German change-of-state tokens?

The core participants are two intermediate L2 speakers of German on respective 4-month sojourns to a mid-sized city in Germany. I take the excerpts for this data session from a corpus of 11 hours of audio-recorded face-to-face interactions between my L2-speaking participants and their German-speaking acquaintances.

## Abstracts presentations (Thursday July 2<sup>nd</sup>)

### Room A

#### **The PolyU Pizza Bot - uses in conversation analysis and design** *Andreas Liesenfeld & Chu-ren Huang*

This abstract introduces an ongoing project of the Linguistics Theory and Language Technology group at PolyU that is concerned with human-technology interaction and dialog system design. The CA-inspired study examines repair and error-handling strategies in Mandarin-speaking voice assistants from both the user experience and system design perspectives.

We present a preliminary analysis of human-voice assistant (smart speaker) interaction that focuses on in-situ evaluation of user experience related to problems that users encounter when ordering pizza through the "PolyU Pizza bot" voice assistant. This mock-VoiceAI is designed to simulate the process of ordering pizza through a voice interface by taking the user through various steps of placing an order, specifying payment details and confirming address and time of delivery. This custom-build voice assistant comes in a variety of designs that allow the operators to specify dialog flow and error handling strategies, making it more or less likely that user may encounter problems and breakdowns when going through the process of ordering their pizza (i.e. speech processing confidence thresholds, confirmation generation and out-of-vocabulary errors). Full control over dialog system parameters opens up possibilities for an EM/CA analysis of human-technology interaction based on both frontend and backend data (Suchman 1985).

**Frontend:** We video-tape human interaction with the VoiceAI device that houses PolyU Pizza Bot (XiaoMi's TMall Genie, which allows a 'classic' CA analysis of the interface of human action formation and smart speaker design (e.g. listening status indicators on the device).

**Backend:** On the system side, we track how user input is processed and how responses are generated across various modules of the dialog system. As PolyU Pizza Bot is a custom-build voice-interface build on the Dialogflow platform, we are able to track the processing of user input through various stages of the voice processing and response generation procedure across various system components (ASR->STT->NLU->DM->NLG). This enables additional insights of how user input flows through the decision trees that underpin the dialog system and opens up the possibility to analyse how various system components jointly produce a breakdown of the pizza ordering project/process. For instance, ASR errors, NLU errors or intent recognition errors all come with different error handling strategies and fallback responses, which opens up possibilities for the human user to employ different repair sequences and strategies.

In addition, Mandarin-speaking PolyU Pizza Bot also serves as a platform to explore how human users and the dialog system jointly navigate a range of Chinese language-specific issues that occur as part of the pizza ordering process such as the input and specification of Chinese characters in place names and personal details through verbal means.

Preliminary observations based on our current collection of around 20 recordings and system logs show that human users in situ can come up with a large range of different repair sequences and strategies that often 'outsmart' the dialog system in unexpected and novel ways, which require the scripting of additional error handling strategies on the system side in order to avoid breakdown. This remote interactional process between the conversationalist (the user) and the conversation designer (the software engineer) can lead to "human-like" interactional experiences between user and engineer (mediated by technology and code) but also displays fundamental limitations of SOTA decision tree-based, task-oriented VoiceAIs, where the engineer employs various design strategies that aim to "hedge the user in" and discourage the user to stray off course so that the data collection sequence is successfully completed and more pizza can be ordered.

## On virtual embodiment: Changing an avatar in a virtual game as an interactional resource for 'setting talk' in asymmetric visual environments

*Maria Erofeeva*

This paper analyses the specificities of 'setting talk' between unacquainted participants in the virtual reality social platform VRChat. Virtual reality technology enables a participant to be 'co-present' in a shared virtual environment and interact in an embodied fashion; this peculiarity makes the space quite a unique method of video-mediated communication. We argue that the manner in which participants use technical features of these virtual environments creates novel interactional resources for topic generation and transition in conversation.

Our focus will be on widespread practices of changing an avatar in the midst of ongoing talk. An avatar in VRChat is not only a matter of appearance, it also has a number of inbuilt interactional possibilities such as turning on music that becomes audible for others, changing the colour of another player's screen, drawing with their hands and the like. An avatar can be changed at any time, but it seems to be a systematic practice for facilitating topic management in conversations between unacquainted participants. By examining the position of this practice in the topical and sequential organization of an ongoing embodied talk, we show how players' virtual 'bodies' occasion changes in the participation framework whilst playing the role of 'tying structures' in a conversational flow.

Since avatars are the most noticeable feature of a virtual setting in VRChat, the practices under investigation structurally resemble 'setting talk' between unacquainted participants. A complication is introduced if another technological specificity of that virtual social space is considered: Different VR users may - by virtue of settings or the technical characteristics of their VR system - see the same social setting differently: they may not see or hear the same number of people, and experience the same in-game objects differently. This means that in many cases players do not have a shared visual focus of attention and cannot orient to the same aspects of the environment; they may even fail to understand that something is invisible to other interactants. We will investigate how this inability to notice what is being shown impacts the topical organization of conversations where the practice of changing an avatar is used as an interactional resource. The working hypothesis is that the knowledge participants have about interacting in asymmetric visual environments make the asymmetry of knowledge a conversational topic.

The data for this study are videorecordings of VR-based interaction (recorded from the perspective of one of the participants) which are analyzed through the framework of multimodal conversation analysis.

Our research opens up a discussion on the specificities of the interactional ecology of virtual reality environments, the applicability of multimodal analysis to such environments, as well as methodological issues affecting questions of research and transcription.

## Room B

### Responsive co-animations in English interaction: indexing the hearability of two voices as “the same”

*Marina Cantarutti*

Interactional studies of storytelling and complaint stories have identified the use of reported speech or thought (animation, henceforth), as an evidential and evaluative resource (Clift, 2000, 2007; Günthner, 2007; Holt, 2007; Niemelä, 2011) that enables the mobilisation of highly aligned and affiliative responses (Drew, 1998; Drew & Walker, 2009; Golato, 2002). Previous research on these and other social activities, such as teasing and joint fictionalisation (Author, 2019a; Holt, 2007; Kotthoff, 1999), has found that co-participants orient to these animations happening just before a transition-relevance place by continuing or expanding their co-participants’ animation in the responsive slot (Author, 2019b; Guardiola & Bertrand, 2013; Niemelä, 2011; Siromaa, 2012).

Whereas first animators need to foreground or index the shift into the animation space for the new voice and position to be recognisable as such for their co-participants (Bolden, 2004; Couper-Kuhlen, 1996; Klewitz & Couper-Kuhlen, 1999; Mandel & Ehmer, 2019), co-animators need to contextualise their co-animated responses as animations of the “same” voice and/or stance (Author, 2019a; 2019b). Animation, and as will be established here, co-animation as well, are multimodal constructions (Sidnell, 2006; Siromaa, 2012; Stec, 2014; Stec, Huiskes, Wieling, & Redeker, 2017; Thompson & Suzuki, 2014) that engage not only verbal but also non-verbal resources, including material and spatial, that build the socially-shared, interactionally-developed joint imagination products of co-animation (Ehmer, 2011; Stukenbrock, 2014a, 2014b). It is acknowledged that different resources are managing several levels of organisation simultaneously (Ogden, 2012; Sikveland & Ogden, 2012), and this entails that it is *clusters* of locally-deployed resources that contribute to the co-animation being made recognisable, which is, in turn, highly contingent on the resources deployed by the first animator.

This study will explore the design features of 92 cases of co-animation in British English, in order to determine common practices around the sequential, lexico-grammatical, prosodic, and gestural design of first animations and their responsive co-animations. The paper will be aimed at describing in interactionally-grounded terms, how, in co-animation, the hearability of the voices as being “the same” is jointly negotiated by participants through the deployment of vocal and non-vocal resources.

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## Prosodic packaging of mid-telling sequences

Nicholas Mikkelsen

CA literature mostly deals with how stories are started and ended. However, less attention has been given to the mid-telling sequence (Stivers 2008). Based on a collection of Danish examples, I will argue that the packaging of mid-telling sequences shares a number of features with list constructions – namely in terms of prosody (cf. Selting 2007). Like lists, mid-telling sequences are packaged in a manner that highlights the most important components of the story. In this way, speakers can design their utterances in a manner that invites response from the listener, but also allows the speaker to continue the project after or simultaneously with the listener’s contributions. This happens in the example below in which the prosody of “gym↑nasiet.”, “↑århu:s.”, and “↑lejlighed.” and the subsequent pauses provide slots for contributions by the listener while still indicating more to come (Selting 2007: 506). The final component of the story, in lines 11-13, follows a different prosodic pattern thus marking it as the final element of this part of the speaker’s story.

```
"før ikk å" [AULing | Sofasladder | 13:28]
01 *B: [dehe he he he ]
02 *A: [det fandme snYd?]
    %eng: that's bloody cheating
03      Δ(0.2)Δ
    a      Δ....Δpoints at B--->
04 *A: ↑førΔ ↓ikkå der havde jeg altid ↓været ↑sn_
    %eng: before, right, I had always been like
    A      -->Δ
05 *A: når jeg færdig på gym↑na+siet.+
    %eng: when I'm done with high school
    b      +nods +
06      (0.2)
07 *A: ·mt (.) så flytter jeg te' ↑århu:s.
    %eng: ·mt (.) then I'll move to Århus
08      (0.2)
09 *A: i en ↑lejlighed.+
    %eng: in an apartment (.) ·mt
    b      +nods+
10      (0.3)
11 *A: å så går jeg ska je på uni_
    %eng: and then I'll go I'm going to uni
12      (.)
13 *A: versi°te[+tet°+_]
    %eng: versity
14 *B:          [+hm? + ]
    b          +nods+
```

The prosodic packaging of these larger turns at talk is instrumental in how participants are able to co-ordinate their participation in jointly achieving interaction and is an important resource for negotiating participation (Goodwin & Goodwin 2004). In the example above, the co-ordination of participation can be seen through the way in which B’s nodding in relation to the talk assists A in advancing her story. The findings show how mid-telling sequences are still highly interactional regardless of the temporary suspension of the turn-taking system. Likewise, it will be discussed whether packaging of mid-telling sequences as described is a more general feature of multi-unit turns.

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## Room C

### **Aquatic physiotherapy: professional-patient interaction in an aquatic environment**

*David Monteiro*

Fundamentally concerned with the complex interweaving of language, embodiment and materiality, a multimodal approach to Conversation Analysis (Mondada, 2019a) has produced important insight into the situated and co-operative (Goodwin, 2017) organization of social interaction in a wide range of domains of human sociality, namely family interaction (Goodwin & Cekaite, 2018; Mondada, Monteiro & Tekin, in press), sports (Meyer & Wedelstaedt, 2017) and healthcare (Heath, 1986; Nishizaka, 2013). Developments in this field have seen a growing interest in the issues of intercorporeality (Meyer, Streeck & Jordan, 2017), mobility (Haddington, Mondada & Nevile, 2013) and multisensoriality (Mondada, 2019b), further revealing the complex organization of practices and activities where participants touch other bodies and/or objects (Cekaite & Mondada, in press) and move within the physical environment, whether through physical locomotion or by operating vehicles (Merlino & Mondada 2019; Mondada, 2018). Such approach greatly contributes to the long-standing ethnomethodological concern with how work is locally accomplished (Garfinkel, 1986), providing for the study of interactions between skilled professionals and citizens in complex material and organizational settings (Day & Wagner, 2019; Heath, Luff & Knoblauch, 2004).

Concerned with the study of professional-citizen encounters in healthcare settings, and seeking to address its intercorporeal and material dimensions as a central issue, this paper will examine interactions organized within the domain of aquatic physiotherapy (providing health care to citizens with a wide range of medical conditions, e.g. orthopaedic, neurological, developmental), which take place in a swimming pool and where one or both participants' bodies are immersed in water.

Data for this study consists in a corpus of video recordings of aquatic physiotherapy sessions collected in Portugal, as well as in a corpus of interactions in English and Brazilian Portuguese which are available on YouTube from several sources. In this paper I will proceed so to 1) present the diversity of aquatic physiotherapy activities from an interactional perspective, namely concerning configurations of the interactional space; 2) focus on a data collection, concerning a specific exercise (involving verbal and embodied instruction produced by the professional and performed by the patient), examining its sequential and multimodal organization as well as practical problems emerging therein to the participants; finally, 3) address some of the technical and methodological challenges to doing research on interactions taking place in an aquatic environment. By doing so, this study aims to contribute to and promote an ecological approach to social interaction organized in a complex and challenging professional domain.

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## Somewhere to turn to: Signposting in service provision

Marc Alexander & Emily Hofstetter

This article investigates how people are guided or ‘signposted’ out of organisations that they have contacted to third-party agencies. Using conversation analysis, we examine the interactional practices professionals use to signpost callers to external organisations when their concerns do not fit within the remit of the present service. Drawing on a corpus of over 500 calls and meetings at five different institutions in the UK (including mediation and council services, a housing charity and a politician’s constituency office), we show how the practice of signposting is intertwined with the activities of rejecting the caller’s case for receiving service, but simultaneously offers a service – namely, a redirection to an ostensibly more appropriate provider. We show how community problems can be treated as warranting assistance along a range of offer-ability (e.g., ‘I will do X for you’, ‘That’s the kind of thing we could do’, ‘Do you want their number?’), and how troubles-tellings without a specific request can be retroactively formulated into an actionable item for an institution. Our findings demonstrate practices for negotiating institutionality itself, through delimiting service remit, and through the orientations to the relevance of service provision as an institutional goal.

The caller below (C) has called the local environmental health service (E) and is reporting discarded syringes in her shed.

### Extract 1: EH-106 01

```
01 C: I I d- I mean I couldn't (.) I am <tol:d this,
02 I have not opened the door: and gone in
03 m[yself.( )
04 E: [Wu:ll it's not something that I would ↑deal with:.=I
05 mean: .hhh uh you could speak to the clean:sing department;
06 (0.2)
07 E: W:e're an enforcement um:: .hh section here.
08 (0.5)
09 E: In environmental health.=So we enf:-
10 [we do enforcement.
11 C: [Righ:t.=>So the< p'lice said to speak to environmental
12 health.=
13 E: =Y:ea::h.=Whul↓ I th- think they'd 've got it wrong,
14 .HH uh: could y'↑j'st hold on I'll just check w'a
15 colleague but .HHh th's not something we would do.
```

Following C’s closing the telling concerning the syringes in her shed (L1-2), E rejects the case, claiming it is outside the remit of the service (L4), and latches a suggestion of an alternate service to the rejection (L4-5). When the signposting does not receive a response (L6), E accounts for the inability to take action by explaining the remit of the service (L7-9). C likewise accounts for having called, claiming to have been referred by the police (L11). E offers to check (L14) but reiterates their claim that the case is not ‘something we would do’ at the service (L15).

Previous research on non-granting of requests showed how customers’ expectations can be shaped ahead of a rejection into a more ‘grantable’ request (Lee, 2011). However, no prior work has addressed sending a caller to another service. Further, past examinations of

screening cases for eligibility have focused on resistance from callers, not call-takers (e.g., Drew & Walker, 2010, p.106).

## Room D

### ‘I think’ and ‘I thought’ in Swedish talk-in-interaction

*Eveliina Tolvanen*

*I think* has been studied as a marker of epistemic stance in English conversation (see e.g. Kärkkäinen 2003). According to Aijmer (1997: 14), the English verb ‘think’ has two equivalents in Swedish, *tänka* (‘think, cogitate’) and *tycka* (‘find’, e.g. ‘I find it interesting’). Of these, previous research on Swedish talk-in-interaction has mainly focused on *jag tycker* as a marker of epistemic modality (see Karlsson 2005). However, the use of *jag tänker* (literally ‘I think’) has not been studied previously. The main focus of this paper is, therefore, to study how the construction *jag tänker* (‘I think’) is used in Swedish talk-in-interaction.

The study is a part of a larger, on-going project on how complex syntactic patterns emerge incrementally in talk-in-interaction in Swedish and several other languages. The theoretical framework for the study includes Interactional Linguistics (Selting & Couper-Kuhlen 2001) and Emergent Grammar (Hopper 1987). The data consists of video data of both everyday and institutional talk-in-interaction. The data is analyzed using conversation-analytical methods and methods that focus on the multimodal behavior of the speakers.

The preliminary results of the study show that there is a clear quantitative difference in how the present tense of the construction (*jag tänker* ‘I think’) and the past tense of the construction (*jag tänkte* ‘I thought’) are used. In my data, the past tense is clearly more common than the present tense (148 vs. 80 occurrences; for comparison, see Deppermann & Reineke (2017) on *ich dachte* ‘I thought’ in German). The results also show that the frequencies of the present and past tense vary somewhat in different types of conversational data. The three main goals of this study are, therefore, to analyze in which sequential positions *jag tänker* and *jag tänkte* occur, to study whether they project certain types of actions and, finally, to investigate if the present and past tense forms have different functions.

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## **Orienting to other's problems: Two social action formats for offering assistance in spoken German**

*Alexandra Gubina*

Despite the growing interest in practices for recruiting or soliciting assistance in social interaction (Kendrick/Drew 2016; Zinken/Rossi 2016; Drew/Kendrick 2018), relatively little attention has been given to linguistic formats used for *offering* assistance. Though the previous research has shown that formats for offers are not used randomly, but rather the choice of specific linguistic forms is contingent on different sequential and interactional factors, it has mainly focused on linguistic design of offers in English and Finnish (Curl 2006; Drew 2013; Couper-Kuhlen 2014; Kärkkäinen/Keisanen 2012). Using the methods of Conversation Analysis and Interactional Linguistics, this paper aims at analysing two social action formats for offers in spoken German and comparing their functional features crosslinguistically with previous findings from other languages.

In our data of informal interaction from the FOLK-corpus (Schmidt 2014), offers for assistance are normally done in two action formats: [soll ich VP?] ('should I do X?') and [ich kann VP] ('I can do X'). Based on the analysis of 149 instances of such offers, I show that in contrast to the linguistic design of offers in English (cf. Curl 2006), both formats can occur in response to partner's problems that were manifested in the previous turn. The choice of form, however, appears to be related to how the previous speakers formulated their problems. Speakers use the modal interrogative format [soll ich VP?] for offering assistance after verbal or embodied displays of trouble that do not explicitly state, but only imply a possible need/wish/desire of the previous speaker (e.g. *it's cold in here*). Furthermore, the format can be used for making preemptive offers that do not respond to any previous reports or displays of troubles (Kendrick/Drew 2016), but rather anticipate problems that the other interlocutor might possibly face in the ongoing activity or *project* (Levinson 2013). On the other hand, speakers only use the modal declarative format [ich kann VP] after explicit reports of the prior speaker's needs/wishes/desires (e.g. *I don't want to cook for dinner*). While it has been claimed that by determining a solution to an existing/implied/anticipated problem speakers exercise a high degree of agency (Kendrick/Drew 2014: 111), I will show that two formats can convey different degrees of agency (Enfield 2011; Duranti 2004) depending on the interactants' embodied conduct, deontic and epistemic rights, obligations and responsibilities.

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## Abstracts data sessions (Thursday June 2<sup>nd</sup>)

### Room A

#### Collaborative and multimodal explanation sequences in an L2 French classroom

*Loanne Janin*

This contribution is intended as a data session. Its purpose is to examine how adult participants in an L2 classroom engage in lexical explanation sequences, in a collaborative and multimodal way. Prior studies on explanations in educative contexts focused mainly on children speaking their L1 (Hudelot, Salazar Orvig & Veneziano 2008), with the exception of Fasel Lauzon's work on the *explanation competence* in the L2 classroom (2014). In line with CA-SLA research examining the systematic interactional procedures that second language speakers use to accomplish social actions (Hellermann 2008; Pekarek Doehler & Pochon-Berger 2011), in this contribution, I investigate how lexical explanation sequences, as social interactional practices, contribute to the collaborative development of an L2.

Data consist of video recordings of classroom interactions in a language school for adult migrants. The students are following French as a Second Language courses, at a beginner level (A1 according to the CEFR). They take part in different activities as speaking tasks, texts readings and grammar exercises. The study relies on multimodal Conversation Analysis to investigate from an emic perspective how participants ask for and give lexical explanations and how these explanation sequences are organized, distributed and achieved. More specifically, I seek to answer the following questions:

1. How are lexical explanations accomplished in a collaborative way?
2. How do participants use multimodal resources in lexical explanations sequences?
3. What is the relationship between verbal and non-verbal resources? How are they coordinated?

My first analyses shed light on the socially distributed nature of the explanation sequences. The students and the teacher engage in a collaborative effort to solve comprehension problems. Moreover, they organize their interactions in and through multiple modalities: participants rely both on verbal – talk, non-lexical vocalizations – and non-verbal – gestures, drawings, objects – resources to clarify the meaning of lexical items to their co-participants. The different modalities are closely coordinated in the accomplishment of this interactional practice, contributing to the second language development.

## Room B

### **Explaining chronic pain and disability: Interactional challenges for patients and practitioners**

*Baukje Stinesen & Petra Sneijder*

Pain that initially functioned as a signal of tissue damage – urging the individual to protect him/herself – may in some cases persist despite the fact that the injury has healed. Psychological and social factors play an important role in the evolvment of chronic pain and pain-related disabilities (Gatchel, Peng, Peters, Fuchs, & Turk, 2007). Chronic pain rehabilitation programmes are aimed at helping patients to increase their functioning despite being in pain. They take a biopsychosocial approach, taking into account the complex interplay of the biomedical, social, and psychological factors that are involved in chronic pain and pain-related disability. Together with their patients, practitioners seek to explore the social and psychological factors that may contribute to the patient's pain-related disabilities, and that potentially could be targeted to increase the patient's functioning.

However, talking about chronic pain and rehabilitation can involve interactional challenges for both patients and practitioners (Authors, 2019). In a previous study (Authors, forthcoming), we illustrated that patient's pain-related disabilities are treated as negotiable rather than a given reality during admission interviews for chronic pain rehabilitation. In addition, this study has shown, that both patients and rehabilitation physicians perform delicate interactional business to manage the authenticity of the patient's pain experience.

When patients enter a rehabilitation centre, they are examined by various members of the rehabilitation team (e.g., a rehabilitation physician, a psychologist, a physiotherapist and an occupational therapist). After the examination, one of the practitioners informs the patient about the team's observations and proposes treatment possibilities. In our data session we will introduce an example of such a conversation, which was audio-recorded at a rehabilitation centre in the Netherlands (transcripts will include an English translation). We will focus our analysis on the design of the practitioner's delivery of social and psychological explanations for the patient's pain and pain-related disabilities, as well as the uptake of such explanations by the patient. We will take a discursive psychological perspective (Wiggins & Potter, 2017) and our research question will be: which interactional dilemmas do patients and practitioners face (for example in light of managing issues of agency, accountability, and blame) when exploring biopsychosocial explanations for the patient's pain and disabilities?

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## Room C

### Problems in radio communication in multinational Military Observer training

*Iira Rautiainen*

United Nations Military Observers (UNMOs) are unarmed soldiers who are sent to crisis areas to monitor various agreements, patrol the crisis area, and help resolve local difficulties. The primary aim of military observer training is to provide UNMOs skills and capabilities that are essential for them in their future missions. UNMOs gather information in the crisis area and pass it forward through their information chain. Information is not only something that is passed forward, but also a valuable safety measure in their daily work. Efficient and lucid information sharing is therefore one of the most critical issues in UNMOs' daily work. Information sharing happens both within the team but also outwards via radio and reports. My PhD research uses conversation analytic and ethnographic perspectives to examine how interaction and teamwork are sequentially organised in multinational crisis management training. I am studying people working in multinational teams in UNMO training, with the focus on interactional practices (both verbal and embodied), language use, and information sharing. The research materials consist of field notes and observation from a three-week course for future UNMOs, video recordings from the course's patrolling exercises, and selected background information from the course attendees. I would like to present data in a data session, with the focus on displaying uncertainty in car patrols in UNMO training. Car patrolling includes several routinised activities: map reading and navigation, radio procedures, observing and information gathering. They frequently overlap and interfere with each other, adding to the complexity of patrolling. Acting in these complex situations requires teamwork and collaboration from each member. There are several causes for uncertainty in the car patrols: the team is in a vehicle and thus are on constant move; they have time constraints that they have to follow; they patrol in an area where they need to keep their safety in mind; they have different levels of experience and are thus very differently prepared for what they may encounter; they use English as their working language, but none of them are native speakers. Despite all variables, the teams should be able to react quickly as they go through their patrol route and carry out their routine activities as well as their specifically assigned tasks. My focus is on how uncertainty is brought to the team's attention: what resources do participants use to display their uncertainty and how the other team members respond to it.

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