

## Thursday, May 11<sup>th</sup>

10:00-11:00	<b>Plenary: Lorenza Mondada</b>				
11:30-13:00	Room 6	Room 7	Room 8	Room 10	Room 12
	<b>Classroom/learning interaction, part I</b>	<b>Intersubjectivity generally</b>	<b>Institutional phone calls</b>	<b>Institutional multiparty interaction, part I</b>	<b>Therapy and counselling, part I</b>
	Derya Duran & Olcay Sert	Marja Etelämäki	David M. Edmonds & Ann Weatherall	Nynke van Schepen	Peter Muntigl & Lynda Chubak
	Saija Merke	Iris Nomikou, Alicja Radkowska, Joanna Rczaszek-Leonardi & Katharina J. Rohlfing	Marc Alexander & Elizabeth Stokoe	Ole Pütz	David Monteiro
	Adrienne Lynett	Chloé Mondémé	Ana Cristina Ostermann	Hanna Svensson	Jan Svennevig
14:15-16:15	Room 6	Room 7	Room 8	Room 10	Room 12
	<b>Classroom/learning interaction, part II</b>	<b>Asymmetric participation</b>	<b>Formulations and definitions of meaning, part I</b>	<b>Repair</b>	<b>Therapy and counselling, part II</b>
	Alan Rumsey	Maziar Yazdanpanah & Charlotta Plejert	Henrike Helmer	Carla Cristina Munhoz Xavier	Rein Ove Sikveland & Elizabeth Stokoe
	Ilana Mushin & Rod Gardner	Katariina Harjunpää	Yael Maschler & Michal Marmostein	Andra Rumm	Rose McCabe
	Sara Keel & Sara Merlino	Maija Hirvonen & Liisa Tiittula	Uwe-A. Küttner	Galina Bolden	Elina Weiste & Enikő Savander
	Alexa Hepburn & Jenny Mandelbaum	Anne Marie Dalby Landmark, Pål Gulbrandsen, Jennifer Gerwing & Jan Svennevig	Darcey K. Searles & Sarah Barriage	Salla Kurhila, Markku Haakana, Niina Lilja & Marjo Savijärvi	Nataliya Thell
16:45-18:15	Room 6	Room 7	Room 8	Room 10	Room 12
	<b>Classroom/learning interaction, part III</b>	<b>Institutional multiparty interaction, part II</b>	<b>Formulations and definition of meaning, part II</b>	<b>Imperatives and directives</b>	<b>Therapy and counselling, part III</b>
	Daniela Veronesi	Bogdana Huma, Rein Ove Sikveland & Elizabeth Stokoe	Yoonjoo Cho	Marja-Leena Sorjonen, Liisa Raevaara & Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen	Marco Pino
	Ann-Carita Evaldsson & Helen Melander	Jarkko Niemi	Elizaveta Chernyshova	Misao Okada	Liisa Voutilainen & Aino Koivisto
	Mats Andrés	Elwys De Stefani	Jörg Zinken, Henrike Helmer, Thomas Spranz-Fogasy & Arnulf Deppermann	Melisa Stevanovic & Arniika Kuusisto	Anssi Peräkylä & Jörg Bergmann

## Friday, May 12<sup>th</sup>

9:30-10:30	<b>Plenary: Federico Rossano</b>				
11:00-13:00	Room 6	Room 7	Room 8	Room 10	Room 12
	<b>Offers, proposals, requests &amp; invitations, part I</b>	<b>Repair and multimodality</b>	<b>Aphasia and autism</b>	<b>Syntactic constructions</b>	<b>Medical settings</b>
	Giovanni Rossi	Xiaoting Li	Maria Frick, Soile Loukusa, Leena Mäkinen, Marja-Leena Mattila, Hanna Ebeling & Tuula Hurtig	Ritva Laury, Karita Suomalainen & Anna Vatanen	Douglas Maynard, Dagoberto Cortez & Toby Campbell
	Barbara Fox, Trine Heinemann & Sandra A. Thompson	Leila Kääntä, Niina Lilja & Arja Piirainen-Marsh	Sara Merlino & Sara Keel	Chase Wesley Raymond	Minéia Frezza & Ana Cristina Ostermann
	Sara Routarinne & Liisa Tainio	Søren W. Eskildsen	Johanna Vanhatapio	Rasmus Persson	Satomi Kuroshima & Yukio Oshiro
	Carmen Taleghani-Nikazm	Niina Lilja & Arja Piirainen-Marsh	Scott Barnes	Mary Jill Brody	Mike Huiskes & Patrick Nieboer
14:30-16:00	Room 6	Room 7	Room 8	Room 10	Room 12
	<b>Offers, proposals, requests &amp; invitations, part II</b>	<b>Touch and taste</b>	<b>Mediated interaction</b>	<b>Service encounters</b>	<b>Silence and turn-taking</b>
	Andriela Rääbis	Asta Cekaite & Disa Bergnehr	Christian Licoppe & Sylvaine Tuncer	Anna Lindström	Anna Vatanen
	Jenny Mandelbaum, Darcey Searles, Wan Wei	Julia Katila	Elizabeth Keating	Kimmo Svinhufvud, Katariina Harjunpää & Lorenza Mondada	Lucien Tisserand
	Tommi Himberg, Melisa Stevanovic, Maija Niinisalo, Anssi Peräkylä, Mikko Sams & Riitta Hari	Polly Szatrowski	Heike Baldauf-Quilliatre & Isabel Colón de Carvajal	Jan Lindström, Catrin Norrby, Jenny Nilsson & Camilla Wide	Lesley Stirling, Rod Gardner, Joe Blythe & Ilana Mushin
16:30-17:30	<b>Plenary: Jörg Bergmann</b>				

## Saturday, May 13<sup>th</sup>

9:30-10:30	<b>Plenary: Leelo Keevallik</b>				
11:00-12:30	Room 6	Room 7	Room 8	Room 10	Room 12
	<b>Responses, part I</b>	<b>Theater rehearsals</b>	<b>Instructions, part I</b>	<b>Mobility and multiactivity, part I</b>	<b>Practices, part I</b>
	Emma Betz & Jörg Zinken	Liisa Raevaara	Johannes Wagner & Tine Larsen	Sylvaine Tuncer & Pentti Haddington	Jessica Sarah Robles
	R Samuel K Schirm	Marjo Savijärvi	Anne-Sylvie Horlacher	Michael Sean Smith	Jonathan Potter, Alexa Hepburn & Galina Bolden
	Aino Koivisto	Stefan Norrthon	Burak S. Tekin	Antti Kamunen	Hanna Lappalainen & Kaarina Mononen
14:00-15:30	Room 6	Room 7	Room 8	Room 10	Room 12
	<b>Responses, part II</b>	<b>Noticings</b>	<b>Instructions, part II</b>	<b>Mobility and multiactivity, part II</b>	<b>Practices, part II</b>
	Tom Koole & Myrte Gosen	Jakob Steensig, Trine Heinemann & Caroline Grønkjær	Christian Greiffenhagen, Stuart Reeves, Mark Perry & Yumei Gan	Mathias Broth & Lorenza Mondada	Richard Ogden
	Florence Oloff	Saul Albert, Michael Sean Smith & Patrick G.T. Healey	Erling Fjeldstad, Oskar Lindwall & Jonas Ivarsson	Rosemarie Samaritter	Mika Simonen
	Joe Blythe				
15:45-16:45	<b>Plenary: Paul Drew &amp; Kobin Kendrick</b>				

Bergmann, Jörg  
University of Bielefeld  
PLENARY  
12.5.2017 at 16:30-17:39  
Small hall, University of Helsinki, 4<sup>th</sup> floor

Re-repeating failed response pursuits: On a moving threshold of intersubjectivity in interaction

When a summons, a question, a request or another sequence-initiating action fails to get an answer, the action is almost always repeated after a short silence in an identical or somewhat modified form. By repeating the initial action a speaker insists that a response was due, and tries a second time to pursue that response. While some studies in CA have dealt with the conversational practices of dealing with 'noticeably absent' responses, the guiding question of my presentation is: What happens if the repetition of the initial action likewise turns out to be unsuccessful?

It is a common experience that a response pursuit which fails to elicit a response does not get re-repeated indefinitely. Based on data from everyday conversations and institutional talk it will be shown that "the third attempt" to elicit a response is a sequentially prominent position. It is marked as "re-repetition" and overwhelmingly it is the last in the three-part series of attempts to pursue a response. After the failure of a third response pursuit the continuation of attempts to elicit a response is terminated, as if further pursuit activities become futile. Frequently a shift to other cointeractants and/or activities takes place after a failed third response pursuit.

Third re-repeats may be seen as providing a local threshold of intersubjectivity since in the case of failure a speaker may doubt or recall his/her presumption of a local social order. The failure of a third response pursuit is taken as evidence for the unavailability of a responsive/responsible co-interactant. It can be observed, however, that frequently a new circle of attempts to solicit a response and to secure a co-interactant's availability is started after some lapse of time.

Drew, Paul & Kobin Kendrick  
Loughborough University / University of York  
PLENARY  
13.5.2017 at 15:45-16:45  
Small hall, University of Helsinki, 4<sup>th</sup> floor

### Intersubjectivity in the recruitment of assistance

In the talk one of us (PD) gave at the CoE's kick-off seminar (June 2012), the opening data fragment was a field note: "Two people in their kitchen, cooking. One (A) does 'looking for something', gazing from side-to-side around on the surfaces near the oven. The other (B) says, "They're over there on the table". (A) crosses to the table and picks up oven gloves. (B) has discerned, correctly, that (A) was looking for the oven gloves. Intersubjectivity is evident at a number of 'levels', including the design & understanding of non-verbal conduct, in physical space; participants' attribution of intentionality to one another; and cooperation." The remainder of that talk focused on repair as a defence of intersubjectivity. However since then we have been working further on cases such as the one illustrated in that field note, cases in which another's assistance is recruited in resolving a difficulty self is experiencing. We have explored some of the embodied and linguistic practices through which assistance is recruited in ordinary face-to-face social interactions (Kendrick & Drew 2016). We have further explored the social interactional (not cognitive) practices through which participants can come to recognise or anticipate another's need or difficulty, the role of 'trouble alerts' in mobilising another's assistance – and particularly their role in reconfiguring participants' attention towards a shared focus of attention. We are proposing that this shared focus (which is close to Goffman's focused gatherings, e.g. Kendon 1988) is a prerequisite for intersubjectivity in interaction. We will explore matters such as the role of trouble alerts in mobilising assistance, the reconfiguration of attention to a shared focus, and other's anticipation or recognition of self's trouble, through the analysis of several examples – in which we can see intersubjectivity-in-action.

Kendrick, K. & Drew, P. (2016) Recruitment: offers, requests, and the organization of assistance in interaction. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 49: 1-19.

Kendon, A. (1988) Goffman's approach to face-to-face interaction. In P. Drew and A. Wootton (eds.) *Erving Goffman: Exploring the Interaction Order*. Cambridge, Polity Press: 14-40.

Keevallik, Leelo  
University of Linköping  
PLENARY  
13.5.2017 at 9:30-10:30  
Small hall, University of Helsinki, 4<sup>th</sup> floor

#### Achieving synchrony of vocal and bodily action

Studies of grammar have for a long time systematically discarded embodied behaviour. This paper targets the analytical boundary between vocal language and the participants' bodies, arguing that it can be impossible to maintain. Based on data from occasions of joint physical work, such as cleaning a sheep stable, and instruction of dance and pilates, the study shows how grammar emerges in close relation to self and others' bodily moves. Clauses and phrases, but also words and single sounds are indexically tied to current bodily action by different parties. Vocal and linguistic elements accomplish expressive performances, such as displays of extreme bodily effort, pleasure, or advanced rhythm, while they also instruct, correct and assess others' current performance. The paper therefore argues that even grammarians should be interested in the human body beyond the vocal tract. In interaction we can discover how grammar is systematically fitted to trajectories of embodied activities, as well as deployed interchangeably with bodily displays, resulting in truly multimodal patterns that emerge in real time. Furthermore, in addition to sequentiality, vocal and linguistic means are deployed to accomplish synchronous action, such as a coordinated lift of a piece of manure or an exact timing of a first dance step. Intersubjective synchrony is achieved across modalities: an instructor's vocal action can be responsive to the student's current bodily movement and at the very same time instruct its (improved) continuation by lexical choice, grammatical structure, sound stretching, increased volume or otherwise extreme prosody. At moments like this the iconic and indexical capacity of an individual voice is finely tuned into others' simultaneous embodied experiences, all coming together in a synchronous whole where action is distributed across different modalities and bodies.

Mondada, Lorenza  
University of Basel and University of Helsinki  
PLENARY  
11.5.2017 at 10:00-11:00  
Small hall, University of Helsinki, 4<sup>th</sup> floor

Tasting together: multisensorial intersubjective experiences in interaction

In this talk I address the intersubjectivity of phenomena that are generally regarded as rather individual, private and solitary: sensory practices. Sensing objects and environments is a major aspect of our access to and contact with the world. People do not merely physiologically or cognitively engage with it, but within techniques of the body and embodied actions, through which they share their sensorial experiences, designing them in collective and intersubjective ways. By studying video recordings of people tasting food together, I explore how multisensorial practices are interactively, intersubjectively and sequentially organized. The analyses focus on the temporality and sequentiality of embodied sensorial practices as well as on their visibly accountable dimension, crucial for the achievement of their intersubjectivity. The data come from tasting practices documented in encounters in food shops, tasting trainings and professional cooking sessions in restaurants. In this way, I propose to enlarge the approach of multimodality to include sensoriality as a set of practices that are interactively and intersubjectively methodically organized.

Rossano, Federico  
University of California, San Diego  
PLENARY  
12.5.2017 at 9:30-10:30  
Small hall, University of Helsinki, 4<sup>th</sup> floor

### Becoming accountable beings

Some scholars have claimed that only humans have the capacity and motivation to engage in cooperative communication and to engage systematically in fast-paced and extended social interactions (e.g. Levinson, 2006; Tomasello, 2008). According to these accounts, while there might be socio-cognitive precursors to communicating like human beings (e.g. great apes can attribute intentions and can cooperate in specific situations), great apes do not interact in a manner comparable to human beings. But what does it mean to interact like a human being? In this talk I will present both observational and experimental data on great apes, human children and adult humans from different cultures to outline some of the distinctive features of human social interaction and to assess to what degree great apes and human children orient to the social accountability of their own and other participants' actions.

In particular, I will attempt to integrate current interests by evolutionary anthropologists and comparative psychologists in the precursors to language evolution and what makes human sociality unique (including pro-social tendencies and the development and enforcement of social norms) with a semiotic and conversation analytic focus on the practices that members utilize to make sense of one another's behaviour. Ultimately this talk will suggest that the development of a sense of accountability may be a crucial component of what makes us distinctively human and makes us interact in distinctively human ways.

Albert, Saul  
Queen Mary University of London

Co-presenters: Michael Sean Smith, Patrick G.T. Healey

### The equivocal state of noticings as actions-in-conversation

When someone notices something in conversation, they reflexively formulate an ostensible cognitive/perceptual state in relation to some noticeable state of affairs in the world and create opportunities to shift their current roles and states of talk. Conversation analysts have shown how people work to equivocate over causal connections between apparent cognitive, environmental, and interactional states and have questioned whether noticings constitute a routinely responsive social action 'type'. Noticings are analyzed variably as bodily re-orientations of attentiveness, 'change of state' tokens, referential practices, and retrosequences. However, these studies have tended either to characterize noticings as specifiable sequences of talk or to eschew analytic characterization, treating noticings as generic, ubiquitously observable features of interaction. This paper explores these phenomena in terms of their consequential relevance as actions-in-conversation and shows how people use noticings as 'bookmarks' for relevance which can then be developed or abandoned accountably. The paper compares detailed video of scientists' noticings in a mobile fieldwork setting with noticings in talk between gallery visitors observing an unusual artwork. This reveals some recurrent methods participants use to equivocate over apparent shifts in their cognitive/perceptual states, states of affairs noticed, and any interactional relevance reflexively occasioned. They use the retrosequential structure of noticings to maintain equivocal states of incipient relevance: to enhance or diminish accountability for doing an action, formulating a noticeable, or shifting between copresent states of talk or silence. The equivocal states occasioned by noticings and similarly retrosequential actions provides participants with a method for maintaining the ambiguity of action-types, noticeable resources, and states of talk. Therefore, attempts to characterize the normative regularities of response to noticings or to develop coding schema to pick them out as specifiable actions risks ignoring their use as a key members' method for equivocation.

Sat-2-2-7

Alexander, Marc  
Loughborough University

Co-presenter: Elizabeth Stokoe

Noise complaints in different institutional services: Implications for design, response and outcome

This paper examines initial telephone queries between complainants reporting neighbourhood noise and call takers from (1) environmental health, (2) antisocial behaviour and (3) mediation services. We demonstrate the ways in which similar types of noise complaint are differently designed for the institution being called, focusing explicitly on how participants display knowledge (or not) of the service they seek help from. This contrasts with the majority of work in conversation analysis and discursive psychology, which typically examines complaints, as a type of action, in one setting, or examines multiple instances of an action (e.g., a particular question design) across different contexts. We build on one earlier paper, in which calls about noise to different organizations (mediation services and child helplines) showed how noise was characterised as either constitutive of complainable activities coupled with caller displeasure (mediation) or constitutive of abuse (helpline), relative to the producer of the noise and the effect on the speaker reporting the noise (Stokoe & Hepburn, 2005). In the current paper, we investigate the occasioned use of the 'controlling agent' (noise source) of problematic social conduct and how similar complainable matters are formulated; particularly how accountability is assigned (or not) to neighbour behaviour (Edwards & Potter, 1993). We show that and how in mediation/antisocial behaviour calls, noise complaints are always tied with the accountable noise-producing agent (Edwards, 2005). By contrast, some noise complaints in environmental health calls are agent-free. We explore the sequential and interactional consequences of these alternatives of formulating noise, and discuss how similar noise complaints can be designed to be understood by different institutions. This uniquely illustrates how the common socio-cultural objective of invoking normative behaviour change when complaining can be institutionally designed in distinctive ways, also demonstrating that noise is not a neutral category but culturally formulated and institutionally interpreted social conduct.

Thu-1-2-8

Andrén, Mats  
Linköping University

### Shared laughter at the preschool?: Enacting emotional intersubjectivity in teacher-child interaction

As part of investigating my hunch that preschool children mainly engage in shared laughter with peers, rather than with teachers, and a general interest in what sort of responses children receive to their laughter, I have become interested in the question of when teachers do engage in shared laughter with children. Here, shared laughter either means two persons laughing in overlap, or one person laughing first and the other responding with a second laughter; not necessarily in overlap. Of interest here are also situations where adults do not respond by laughing, but by smiling. The data includes videos of a wide range of activities in a Swedish preschool, collected over 1,5 years. The analysis treats laughter as embedded in orchestrations of speech, gaze, gesture and other social bodily activities. Generally, many asymmetries are involved in enacting child-teacher relationships, but it will be argued here that when shared laughter does occur, it appears precisely when there is symmetrical affiliation in the sense of enacting “an alignment of perspectives” (Glenn, 2008, p. 3). Cases where teachers respond by smiling to children’s laughter serve as a kind of middle ground - partly confirming the children’s laughter and partly a distancing from “joining in”. While there is interactional research on laughter, and while there is e.g. psychological research on children’s laughter, there is very little research on children’s laughter in interaction. This, combined with an approach to intersubjectivity as a practical interactional accomplishment of everyday life (e.g. Harold Garfinkel), provides new insights into how emotional expressions figure in the accomplishment of intersubjectivity. I follow Alfred Schütz’ advice that the philosophical problem of interpersonal understanding is not to be understood as “one thing”, but many different ones - as diverse as the interactional practices involved; in this case, varieties of children’s laughter and its responses.

Thu-3-3-6

Baldauf-Quilliatre, Heike  
ICAR, Université Lyon Lumière

Co-presenter: Isabel Colon de Carvajal

### Encouraging in videogame interactions

Our presentation investigates videogame interactions and focuses on “encouraging” as multimodal practice. Encouraging seems to be a very interesting type of action to understand the construction of intersubjectivity in the particular participation framework in videogame interactions. Our study is based on different interactions in French (involving various numbers of participants and different types of videogames) and pursues the investigation of the different status of the players and their avatars (Baldauf-Quilliatre / Colon de Carvajal 2015). According to Spagnolli & Gamberini (2003) who describe screen-based environments as “hybrid”, we are interested in the specific hybridity of videogame interactions: avatar and player are sometimes a kind of hybrid, especially when it comes to actions which have to be realized by the avatar in the game. Encouragements are one of the actions, which reveal this hybridity. A sequential analysis has therefore to take into consideration the hybrid environment: The systematically sustained intersubjective understanding in interaction (Heritage 1984) concerns not only the players. Firstly, events or game constellations caused by the players’ actions might be part of the sequence and need to be dealt with. Secondly, avatars can be considered as participant (e.g. a player encouraging his own avatar). And third, not all participants are always engaged in gaming, some might be spectators and therefore act as spectators. In our paper we will analyse different French videogame interactions which are either part of the database CLAPI ([www.clapi-ish.lyon.fr](http://www.clapi-ish.lyon.fr)) or recorded in the interdisciplinary project Ludespace (Boutet et al 2014, Colon de Carvajal 2013). By following a conversation analytic approach and with a detailed sequential and multimodal analysis we will show how encouragements in videogame interactions allow understanding the particular co-construction of intersubjectivity in this specific hybrid environment.

Fri-2-3-8

Barnes, Scott  
Macquarie University, Australia

Intersubjectivity, morality, and disability: Topicalising communication problems in interaction

Ethnomethodological approaches to social action disclose the dynamic and moral nature of intersubjectivity in interaction. With each word, glance, movement, etc., interactants provide a basis for the reflexive transformation of the social activity at hand, and make themselves potentially accountable for the world held in common in and through it. Problems with speaking, hearing, and understanding talk can interrupt the progression of interaction, affect the maintenance of intersubjectivity, and place each party at moral risk. The repair system offers a robust method for dealing with such issues, but its functions and scope are inherently limited; the shadow of repair only stretches so far, and more fundamental or persistent problems for intersubjectivity might need to be addressed using additional or alternative practices. Interactions involving people with communication disabilities generate various opportunities for intersubjectivity to rupture. Deficits of cognition and language provide for more global misalignments affecting mutual orientation, stance, and common ground, which repair may only be able to get at superficially or locally. These misalignments, and the problems that they entail for the progression of interaction, may instead be topicalised and addressed using actions like accounts, complaints, directives, and threats. This paper reports on work in progress exploring the ways that these sorts of actions are used to topicalise and attribute problems in the interaction to difficulty communicating. It employs multimodal conversation-analytic methods to analyse a corpus of approximately 40 hours of everyday and institutional interactions involving 10 people with acquired communication disabilities; principally aphasia. This paper will demonstrate how these actions problematise intersubjectivity, invoke socio-relational features of the social scene, and configure (moral) responsibility for current state of the interaction. In particular, it will be argued that these actions foreground deontic and affective aspects of intersubjectivity, and explore how they can dilute the agency of people with communication disabilities.

Fri-1-4-8

Betz, Emma  
University of Waterloo

Co-presenter: Jörg Zinken (IDS Mannheim)

Between acceptance and confirmation: Doing confirming simpliciter with ja in German

Responses are central to managing intersubjective understanding: making reference to prior talk, indexing epistemic positioning, and aligning or agreeing with previous actions. Lexical choice and grammatical alternatives are important aspects of responding (Thompson et al., 2015). With confirmation in particular, interactants manage agreement but also negotiate access to and relative authority over knowledge (Schegloff, 1996; Heritage/Raymond, 2005, 2013).

This conversation analytic study focuses on responses to turns formulating something that can be accepted or confirmed: an understanding of another's action or position, an assessment of a shared experience. Tokens such as eben, genau 'exactly' are options for responding to such "confirmables" in German (Altmann, 1978), and epistemic positioning is essential in differentiating them (Betz, 2014). We add to the research on response tokens by investigating ja 'yes', which, like eben and genau, can respond to confirmables (Imo, 2013). Using everyday face-to-face interactions (e.g., cooking, game playing), we show that a simple ja allows speakers to align with the prior without fully committing to it. This contrasts with genau or eben. One pattern supporting our analysis is ja + another confirmation token, as in the following extract from a room painting project:

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streifen 'stripes' [FOLK218_16:45]
01 Tamara: nee=sieht doch COÖler aus ohne die streifen;
           no it does look cooler without the stripes (0.3)
02 Pauline: >ja,< (.) eben;
03 (0.2)
04 Pauline: wusst ich auch;
           I also knew((that))
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With eben, Pauline agrees while claiming epistemic priority (see 04). This eben constitutes an upgrade to ja in epistemics and commitment. We suggest that the basic function of ja after confirmables may be described as confirming simpliciter, since responding with ja seems to be a practice located between acceptance and confirmation. Research directions include comparing different prosodic-phonetic realizations of ja, since the token's shape determines its local responsive function.

Sat-1-1-6

Blythe, Joe  
Macquarie University

### Murrinhpatha speakers' 'no-response' response to recruitments

In recent years the umbrella term recruitments has emerged for the family of initiating actions that, whether intentionally or otherwise, enlist the assistance of others (Kendrick & Drew 2016; Heritage 2016; Zinken & Rossi 2016; Floyd, Rossi & Enfield forthcoming). For Murrinhpatha speakers, possible responses to recruitments include a range of formats that differ in position along a preference hierarchy (Blythe forthcoming). These range from overtly signalled prompt compliance through to overt refusal, the most preferred and least preferred extremes, respectively. From a collection of 145 Murrinhpatha recruitments 32% were completely ignored.

By not being compliant, the 'no-response' response format emerges as a structurally dispreferred option which buys respondents out of the need to display the response features normally associated with dispreference (as hedged, mitigated, accounted for, etc.) (Heritage 1984:265-280; Schegloff 2007:58-96; Pomerantz 1984; Pomerantz & Heritage 2013). Silence, ordinarily thought of as preceding dispreferred responses becomes the sole indicator that refusal to comply is the message implicitly conveyed through 'no-response'. In this paper I examine the collection of the implicit refusals performed by ignoring the prior recruiting turns.

#### References

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Sat-2-3-6

Bolden, Galina  
Rutgers University

### Patrolling territories of knowledge in other-initiated repair

Conversational repair - practices for dealing with breakdowns in intersubjectivity - is organized by reference to two local identities: the speaker of the problematic talk and its recipient (Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977). However, when additional interlocutors are present, they can - and, on occasion, do - participate in repair sequences by, for example, self-selecting to respond to a repair initiation that was not addressed to them (Bolden, 2011, 2012, 2013). Using the methodology of Conversation Analysis to analyze a large corpus of multiparty conversations in Russian and English languages, this paper examines a particular kind of participation in other-initiated repair sequences: whereby multiple interlocutors disconfirm, reject, or resist the premise of a repair initiation.

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

Thu-2-3-10

Brody, Mary Jill  
Louisiana State University

## Dialogic Syntax and Intersubjectivity in Tojol-ab'al Mayan

In this paper I engage the conversational practice of the Tojol-ab'al (Mayan) speech community via the model of "dialogic syntax" (Du Bois 2014) in order to illustrate the general utility of this model for analysis of intersubjectivity in interactive discourse. The "dialogic syntax" model provides a justification for language use that other models of syntax and/or dialogue would categorize as overly redundant or repetitive, and reveals the intersubjective nature of conversation, especially heightened discourse (Sherzer 1987). In Tojol-ab'al interactive discourse, repetition of all or part of an utterance made by a previous interlocutor is an important mechanism of constructing interactive discourse (Brody 1986, 1994). This mutual construction of discourse is a conversational norm (Brody 1993), to the degree that it extends to constructed (reported) conversation (Brody 2004). The structure of Tojol-ab'al interactive discourse is illuminated through extending of the diagraph developed in Du Bois's model applied over sequences of exchanged utterances. I show that the flexibility of the diagraph in application highlights the interactive repetition that speakers of Tojol ab'al engage in fulfillment of their cooperative language ideology.

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Fri-1-4-10

Broth, Mathias  
Linköping University

Co-presenter: Lorenza Mondada

## Walking away II: resisting progressivity, stopping moving away

Previous work (Broth & Mondada, 2013) has demonstrated that in mobile activities, such as guided visits, completion of interactional sequences is achieved by transiting from a sedentary participation framework into a mobile one, with one or more persons moving away, thereby dissolving the previously relevant interactional space. In this study, a central issue was the convergent orientation of the participants intersubjectively treating walking away as exhibiting sequence closing.

In this paper, we build on the above analysis by considering an alternative configuration, in which some participants resist walking away instead of aligning with it. They delay the progressivity of the mobile activity initiated by another participant by producing actions that expand the previous sequence and stop the walking away: they may elaborate on previous informings, ask questions, and make comments or assessments. In such cases, the co-participants orient both to the relevance of moving away and to these actions as resisting it.

On the basis of video recorded guided visits in various settings (an architectural visit of a building, inspections of buildings for energy analysis, a visit of a garden, a gastronomic city tour, etc.) and languages (Swedish, French, English) we show, using detailed multimodal transcription of the video data and sequential analysis of talk and body movement, how participants intersubjectively orient to body movements as displaying, in their emergent details, prospective and retrospective relations within the sequentiality of social interaction. Intersubjectivity is here manifested in a tacit and embodied way, revealing the way participants' coordination is both possible and negotiable.

Broth, M, Mondada, L. (2013). Walking away. The embodied achievement of activity closings in mobile interactions. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 47, 41-58.

Sat-2-1-10

Cekaite, Asta  
Linköping University

Co-presenter: Disa Bergnehr

Social touch and 'carnal intersubjectivity': Lamination of affection and control in embodied social interaction

The present paper aims to discuss the concept of the 'carnal' intersubjectivity, or "intercorporeality" (Merleau-Ponty, 1964; Crossley, 1995) by engaging in an empirical examination of touch as it is utilized in adult-child interactions in Swedish families and preschools. It is argued that exploration of touch in social encounters provides a fruitful avenue for demonstrating the social interactional anchoredness of human intersubjectivity defined as an "intertwining of 'flesh' of" "sentient-sensible beings" (Merleau-Ponty, 1964; Crossley, 1995). Touch plays an important role in human interaction, including areas such as achieving another person's compliance and displaying intimacy, affection, or status (Cekaite, 2010; 2016; forthcoming; Goodwin & Cekaite, 2013). The study examines the interactional organization of affectionate and control touch used in adult-child interactions (in preschools and families in Sweden with 1-5 year old children). Video-recorded data involves 24 hours of recordings. Multiple characteristics of touch conduct are examined: type, location, approximate duration, function, and interactional context. The present study deploys a multimodal interactional approach, examining the organization of situated activities (Goodwin, 2000; Depperman, 2013). The analytical focus is on touch behavior and what can be identified as the interactional uptake of touch, displayed through the publicly visible actions of the participants. It is demonstrated that adults recurrently use multimodal interactional design of affectionate and controlling acts, involving lamination of touch, talk, gazes and facial expressions. Such acts are deployed in, for instance, disciplining encounters, where adults' disciplining talk is coordinated, i.e., simultaneously or consecutively embellished, with affectionate touch (stroking, patting, half-embracing the child), and facial expressions. It is shown that the communicative potentials of touch are commonly bidirectional and contingent on the participants' progressively evolving embodied actions. Touch can be accepted or rejected, such as when a recipient complies, or moves away, grimaces, or withdraws from corporeal contact.

Fri-2-1-7

Chernyshova, Elizaveta  
Université Lumière Lyon 2

### Achieving mutual understanding by explicating indirectly conveyed information

In verbal interaction, speakers tend to achieve mutual understanding through talk. In doing so, they sometimes check a piece of information that they interpret as being indirectly conveyed in prior talk. This conversational mechanism has been approached within the conversation analytical framework throughout the study of repair sequences (Schegloff 1992), as well as other phenomena such as “confirming allusions” (Schegloff 1996), “articulating the unsaid” (Bolden 2010), or even “formulating” (Heritage & Watson 1979). In this communication I will focus precisely on explication sequences in a corpus of French data of ordinary conversation among friends. I consider those sequences as ways for the speakers to deal with information they interpret as being implicitly conveyed in their interlocutor’s talk, information that needs to be clarified in order to carry on their interaction and thus maintain intersubjectivity. More particularly, I will look into the structure of the turn that initiates the explication sequence, based on which I will try to outline the inferential strategies that speakers seem to adopt. The goal of this study is to contribute to understand the functioning of implicit contents and indirectly conveyed information in conversation. By performing explications, speakers show what they treat as being relevant for the understanding of their interlocutors in a certain context and how they proceed in order to infer information from prior talk. An account of the explication processes and the inferential strategies also makes possible to question how the conversation analytical framework can deal with signification and the way it is involved in the co-construction of mutual understanding.

Thu-3-2-8

Cho, Yoonjoo  
Newcastle University

## Candidate understanding as a situated and multimodal practice in L2 interviews

This study examines candidate understanding uttered by the interviewer in accordance with how it displays intersubjectivity between the interviewer and interviewee who do not share their first language. Specifically, the current analysis focuses on how the candidate understanding packaged with embodiment foreground the meaning of utterances turn by turn, along with how it incrementally develops a sequential movement to the interviewer's self-disclosure and affiliative responses. I discovered that the aforementioned phenomena are closely related to either the interviewer's epistemic status as L1, or the interviewer and interviewee's shared identity as L2. Video data employed in the current study are comprised of approximately 10 hours of open-ended interviews (both in English and Korean) with ten marriage immigrants living in South Korea. By utilising Conversation Analysis, identified cases of the interviewer's candidate understandings were sequentially investigated in line with three key questions: 1) What kind of things lead to candidate understanding?; 2) How are they formulated?; 3) How are they responded to? This analysis of sequential organisations demonstrates a process of intersubjectivity check through visually describing the meaning of utterances. It also illuminates that how a candidate understanding resolves a prior repair work and word search moment, furthermore, how it proceeds identity work invoking different levels of epistemic status. A contribution of this study is to debate interactional business and consequences of candidate understandings in the L2 interview context, thereby highlighting candidate understandings as a social performance, rather than a mere reformulation of what has been said. This study also raise a question relating to prevailing conception of interviewers' practices in social science research, which heavily rely on their questioner's role. Based upon this critique, I would argue that the interviewer's discursive competence utilising moment-by-moment interactional resources from interviewee's utterances is as important as question formulation.

Thu-3-1-8

Dalby Landmark, Anne Marie  
University of Oslo

Co-presenters: Pål Gulbrandsen, Jennifer Gerwing, Jan Svennevig

Intersubjectivity in a multilingual hospital encounter: problems of agreement or understanding?

Guidelines for contemporary health care promote patient-centered care, which involves the physicians' ability to 'check and clarify understanding'. Achieving mutual understanding and intersubjectivity may be particularly challenging in encounters with non-native speakers, and ineffective communication with non-native speaking patients constitutes a risk to patient safety and health. Nevertheless, little is known about what specific strategies interlocutors use to secure understanding, or intersubjectivity, on a micro level, turn-by-turn, in authentic monolingual and multilingual encounters, let alone how understanding is accomplished in situations where not only the patient, but also the health professional speaks a non-native language. Contributing to fill this gap in research, the present study takes a conversation analytic approach in order to explore interactional strategies for achieving intersubjectivity in an extended decision-making sequence where the physician and patient, with different native languages, use Norwegian as a lingua franca. Data for this study were 18 videotaped encounters with non-native speaking patients, drawn from a larger corpus collected at a Norwegian teaching hospital in 2007-8, and transcribed using Jeffersonian conventions. We selected one encounter for close analysis where it appeared to be particularly challenging to achieve intersubjectivity and progressivity. Examining particularly difficult cases may increase our knowledge into how disruptions from the routine organization of core medical activities, such as treatment decision-making, are generated and dealt with. The analytical starting point was to investigate the physician's various attempts to secure understanding and generate participation from a seemingly 'passive' patient, whose dominant contribution was minimal responses (i.e. "mm", nods), which can serve a variety of functions in talk that must be collaboratively negotiated and established by the interlocutors.

Thu-2-4-7

De Stefani, Elwys  
KU Leuven

Displays of (dis)affiliation in multi-party interaction: emerging and fading “multi-participant parties” in mutual-help group discussions for chronically ill people

Within conversation analysis, 'recipient design' of turns-at-talk (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974) is treated as a “key feature in accomplishing intersubjectivity” (Deppermann 2015: 66) and the notion accounts for the observable fact that speakers design their talk for specific recipients. The latter may instead orient towards intersubjectivity by displaying understanding of the prior turn (Mondada 2011, Deppermann 2015). While preference for intersubjectivity is seen as a principle of conversation (Heritage 2007, Mondada 2011), previous studies have mainly focused on two-party interactions, where notions such as “speaker”, “recipient”, “party” etc. may appear self-evident. But these categories are locally emerging and malleable: Analyzing multi-party interaction, Goodwin (1979) shows how a speaker designs his turn-in-progress for multiple recipients, which he successively addresses. In her study of public participatory meetings, Mondada (2015) demonstrates that parties to a discussion are not static entities, but continuously configured through interaction. In this contribution I build on preceding work on multi-party interaction by examining meetings of a mutual-help group for Chronic Fatigue Syndrome (CFS) sufferers. My analysis is based on a Dutch-spoken corpus of seven video recorded meetings (3 hours each). It focuses on a recurrent practice observable in small-group discussions (4 to 7 persons): Participants repeatedly provide explanations of what kind of disease CFS is (while it is notoriously difficult to define) and co-participants systematically display their affiliation or disaffiliation with the foregoing definition or description. (Dis)affiliation with a prior definition is an interactional locus where intersubjectivity becomes visible. For example, recipients cluster as “multi-participant parties” when they affiliate or disaffiliate, hence unveiling the dynamic accomplishment of interactional parties. By looking at how participants (dis)affiliate with prior definitions while at the same time displaying their orientation towards an intersubjective, collective activity, this contribution relates the notion of intersubjectivity to practices of defining and displays of (dis)affiliation.

Thu-3-3-7

Duran, Derya  
Hacettepe University

Co-presenter: Olcay Sert

### Word Search Sequences in an English as Medium of Instruction Context in Turkey

Understanding how emergent instances of word searches are resolved is crucial for a richer interpretation of intersubjectivity in interaction (Radford, 2009). Although, there is a growing body of research on word searches in a variety of contexts including lingua franca (Brouwer, 2003), bilingual (Greer, 2013), and daily conversational contexts (Hayashi, 2003), to our knowledge, there has been no study conducted on the interactional management of word search sequences in English as a Medium of Instruction (EMI) contexts. To fill this research gap, our paper aims at examining how a teacher and students in a higher education setting engage in word searches and thus maintain intersubjectivity. The data for this study come from detailed transcriptions of 30-hour video recordings of two content classes that were recorded for twelve weeks at a university which adopts EMI for all its degree programs in Turkey. The participants (n=78) are fourth year undergraduate students in the faculty of education. We employ a conversation analytic methodology with a multimodal perspective, focusing on moments when the participants orient to word search activities. Our analysis shows that word search is initiated through code-switching, publicly visible resources such as gaze, body orientation, gestures, and explicit formulaic expressions such as “how can I say it?” and intersubjectivity is achieved mostly in self-initiated other repair format. As for the unattended searches, the teacher does not orient to them when there needs to be something repairable with the content or terminology, thus prioritizing content over L2 (i.e. English) use. Another important finding is that by flagging her word search with an explicit interrogative such as “what is (&) in English?”, the teacher also appeals for help from the students and the search is completed in mutual collaboration, which will contribute to research on epistemic asymmetry in classroom interaction. The study has several implications for pedagogy in EMI contexts and beyond in demonstrating how participants deploy a variety of interactional resources to pursue pedagogical goals while maintaining the progressivity of talk-in-interaction.

Thu-1-1-6

Edmonds, David M.  
The Chinese University of Hong Kong

Co-presenters: Ann Weatherall (Victoria University of Wellington).

Epistemics and reality construction in telephone-mediated dispute resolution.

Telephone helpline interactions can be characterised by an asymmetric distribution of access and rights to certain knowledge between speakers. Institutional call-takers are often treated as having greater access and rights to know the policies and procedures of their institution. Whereas, callers are treated as having greater entitlements to know their own experiences. Our research investigated how the latter was managed in calls to telephone helpline services that handle complaints with, and attempt to resolve disputes between consumers and their utility providers. We investigated how callers displayed and asserted their epistemic rights to knowledge in the calls. An institutional task in these calls was for parties to construct and establish an intersubjective understanding of the details of the complaint. One way this was accomplished was through call-takers questioning callers about their complaints. We restricted our focus to declarative request for confirmation sequences, where speakers were positioned on almost equal epistemic footings. We examined a corpus of 183 calls to two helpline services in New Zealand and Australia. We used conversation analysis and discursive psychology to analyse 78 cases of these sequences.

There were two main outcomes of our work. First, we identified the different response formats to declarative requests for confirmation and showed how they managed and displayed callers' epistemic rights to the detail at hand. We proposed that the responses could be placed along a continuum, whereby they displayed increasingly stronger assertions of callers' epistemic rights to the relevant information. Second, we documented how epistemic matters were implicated in speakers constructing the complaint as a version of reality.

Our work shows how speakers construct and establish an intersubjective understanding of the complaint as a version of reality. We also show how epistemic matters and reality construction are bound up with, and implicated in achieving intersubjectivity in telephone-mediated dispute resolution.

Thu-1-1-8

Eskildsen, Søren W.  
University of Southern Denmark

Embodied understanding and learning in second language talk.

This paper studies the role of gestures in the process of second language (L2) learning and the process of understanding that must accompany learning. Understanding and learning are viewed as fundamentally social processes that take place as observable phenomena in real-time interaction and ultimately sustain the accountable processes of reaching and maintaining intersubjectivity (Kasper, 2009; Koschmann, 2011, 2013). Investigating embodied actions in L2 learning over time, I bring this moment-to-moment multimodal co-constructed interactional work of L2 users to bear on their long-term language learning.

Building on Eskildsen & Wagner (2013, 2015, in press) I investigate L2 speakers' initial packaging of particular linguistic resources with particular gestures, often in repair environments. This packaging of linguistic and embodied resources gives rise to particular gesture-word packages, built on the fly and in situ, that become available when needed in subsequent conversations where intersubjectivity is challenged. The paper traces the learning situations and the usage trajectories of these gesture-word packages, sometimes over a period of several years. I will show in detail how these emergent gesture-talk packages are used, manipulated, loosened, and slightly changed over time to achieve an increasing variety of actions. I draw on methodologies from conversation analysis and usage-based linguistics to show the details of both primordial learning environments and emergence and sedimentation of L2 resources. My data indicate that the process of learning specific L2 items springs from interactional trouble to be overcome and moves along a path of appropriation-for-use in embodied ways that change slowly over time around an iconic core, suggesting a strong link between L2 development, on-going meaning-ascribing, and embodied actions.

The study draws on data from two Mexican Spanish-speaking students in the MAELC database at Portland State University, a longitudinal audio-visual corpus of almost 4,000 hours of recordings of American English L2 classroom interaction.

Fri-1-3-7

Etelämäki, Marja  
University of Oslo

### Subjectivity, intersubjectivity and collectivity in interaction

The paper will argue that while creating and maintaining intersubjectivity, the participants of an interaction are constantly construing also subjectivity. This is due to the fact that intersubjectivity is crucially (and conceptually) an asymmetric relation between subjects: the experiencing subject (Self) and the experienced subject(s) (Other). Without this asymmetry, there would be mere undifferentiated collectivity instead of intersubjectivity. (See Zahavi, 2003, 2015.) The paper will show that the relation between the Self and the Other - we-ness - is a dynamic fission-fusion process where participants are constantly negotiating over the internal homogeneity of the "we" (see also Enfield 2013). Moreover, it will suggest that, intersubjectivity entails a sufficiently shared understanding of we-relation between the participants.

The paper will focus on stretches of interaction where the we-relation, i.e., the degree of (a)symmetry, between the participants is repaired. These kinds of repairs rarely come into the surface of interaction but are, instead, embedded (cf. Jefferson 1987). The paper will discuss the practices for reorganizing the relations between the participants.

The data consist of audio and video recorded Finnish everyday interactions. The method of analysis is conversation analysis (see, e.g. Schegloff 2007, Sidnell 2010). The results of the analyses will then be contextualized against relevant insights from interactional linguistics, cognitive linguistics, phenomenology, and social psychology.

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Thu 1-1-7

Evaldsson, Ann-Carita  
Uppsala university

Co-presenter: Helen Melander (Uppsala University)

The emotionality of blaming: Escalated moral character work and negative affect in conflict talk among children and teachers

This study highlights how embodied displays of negative affect, such as anger and crying, in routinely performed conflicts in various ways intensify the moral layering of blaming activities (e.g. insults, accusations, criticism, complaints) that become consequential to the recognition of deficiencies in moral character (Dersley & Wotton, 2001; Buttny, 1993). The selected data are from a videoethnographic study in a special teaching group with five children (8-10 years) diagnosed with ADHD and constitute a case study that explores how expressions of emotion figure into the organization of routinely performed conflicts leading to an accumulated record of deviant moral characters. Drawing on ethnomethodological conversation analysis and sociocultural linguistic approaches, the analysis focuses on the embodied and dialogical character of affect, morality and stance (M.H. Goodwin et al. 2012; Du Bois & Kärkkäinen, 2012). The analysis traces succeeding conflicts where one girl is singled out and blamed for faulty conduct, first among a group of children leading to the girl walking out, and second, as the conflict and the walkout event is recapitulated afterwards, in teacher-child interactions where the child refuses to align with the teacher's reconstructed version of the past event. The results of the study show that the emergence and expression of negative affect is a jointly configured intersubjective activity reflecting the participants' intimate, longstanding and shared experiences of one another. In conclusion, the study demonstrates how moral character work produced in the midst of emotionally intense interactions is part of a mutually performed affective relationships constituted over time in institutional practices.

Thu-3-2-6

Fjeldstad, Erling  
University of Gothenburg

Co-presenters: Oskar Lindwall, Jonas Ivarsson

### Intersubjectivity in hypnotic interaction

Despite the dubious reputation of hypnosis, there is now a large body of research that investigates how hypnosis can be used to reduce patients' experience of pain. By closely analysing three video recorded quasi-naturalistic cases of hypnosis for pain relief, this study takes an interest in how hypnosis is interactionally organized and practically accomplished. A central question is how intersubjectivity is established and maintained in the different phases of the hypnosis. The hypnotic interaction predominately consists of the hypnotist formulating various instructions (by telling, proposing, suggesting, or asking) directed to the persons being hypnotized. In line with this, the sequence organization could be described as a series of adjacency pairs, consisting of a verbal instruction, followed by an attempt to follow the instruction and with occasional expansions. In the beginning of the session, the instructions are mostly directed to actions in the external world where the hypnotist instructs the persons being hypnotized to move their body in certain ways. As the session progresses, the instructions turn from physical actions towards the ability to imagine certain situations, activities, or states. As a result, the visual access to responding actions are highly restricted. Given this lack of visual access, how is the hypnotist finding interactional evidence of the hypnotized person being able to follow the instructions? It is possible for the hypnotist to observe minute changes in body posture, breathing, and the relaxation of limbs, but what does this say about the hypnotic state of the other person? Questions pertaining to intersubjectivity, are not only relevant as analytic concerns, but remain central tasks for the participants. How to establish and share the hypnotic experience then, is here cast as a setting's problem and its resolution, by way of its local interactional organization, could be telling vis-a-vis a more general interest in intersubjectivity-in-action.

Sat-2-2-8

Fox, Barbara  
University of Colorado

Co-presenters: Trine Heinemann, Sandra A Thompson

### Forms, functions and systems in American English requesting at shops

There has been an extraordinary increase in recent years in research on the topics of action formation and ascription, particularly with regard to the action of requesting. [1] Beginning with Wootton's early study on a child's forms for constructing requests, scholars of interaction have been intrigued by the environments of use for different requesting forms. But very few have tried to take on the entire range of requesting forms used in a given language. An important exception is Rossi (2015); examining all the requesting forms found in his Italian everyday interactional data, he proposes that these forms make up a 'system' of requesting in Italian, and that each form has a function within that system. Our study further explores this notion of "system" by analyzing all of the requesting forms used by customers in a set of four fairly diverse North American English-speaking shops.

We find that each shop context is associated with a unique pattern of distribution of requesting forms. The question arises, then, as to whether each shop has its own system of request forms, or whether English has a single system of requests which manifests differently in each of these contexts. We provide evidence that each context has its own system, and that this system constrains the function of the forms involved. These facts suggest that "systems" of forms for action formation may be associated with interactional contexts rather than with entire languages.

[1] Couper-Kuhlen (2014), Curl and Drew (2008), Drew and Couper-Kuhlen (2014), Drew and Kendrick (2015), Fox (2015), Fox and Heinemann (2015, 2016a, 2016b), Lindström (2005), Heinemann (2006), Mondada and Sorjonen (to appear), Rossi (2012, 2014, 2015), Sorjonen and Raevaara (2014), and Wootton (1981, 1997, 2005), Zinken and Ogiermann (2011, 2013).

Fri-1-2-6

Frezza, Minéia  
Universidade do Vale do Rio dos Sinos (UNISINOS)

Co-presenter: Ana Cristina Ostermann

“Is the weight good for her case?”: (Absent) valence in online commentaries during prenatal ultrasound exams and how it affects intersubjectivity

Even though fetal images produced by ultrasound scans are easily understood by the professionals who perform the exam, they are not always as obvious to the (lay) parents. Mitchell (2001) argues that parents are highly dependent on who perform the scans to “see their baby amidst the swirling grey mass of echoes” (p. 120). In order to understand how this dependence happens in practice, the present study, which derives from a larger research project that investigates doctor-patient interactions in moderate and high-risk pregnancy, uses Conversation Analysis to analyze 138 video-recorded fetal ultrasound scans held in a Brazilian public hospital. We describe how intersubjectivity is affected by ultrasound technology in those interactions, in particular, because the display of fetal images on the screen triggers information requesting and provision sequences. The analysis reveals that the doctors try to explain the fetal images mainly by using online commentaries, which were defined by Heritage and Stivers (1999, p. 1501) as the “talk that describes what the physician is seeing, feeling or hearing during physical examination of the patient”. Heritage and Stivers (1999) claim that online commentaries usually come with assessments of the information commented. Our data reveals that the understanding of the professionals’ online commentaries by pregnant women is highly dependent on assessments being provided together with them. This is evidenced by the fact that when online commentaries are not presented with assessments, the pregnant women request for them to understand more than the image itself, but what it means in terms of the fetal health. Thus, in these interactions, the presentation of some valence of the information shows to be more salient for achieving intersubjectivity than the description of the image itself.

Fri-1-2-12

Frick, Maria  
University of Oulu

Co-presenters: Soile Loukusa, Leena Mäkinen, Marja-Leena Mattila, Hanna Ebeling, and Tuula Hurtig

### Asserting and demonstrating thoughts of the other

This paper examines participants' responses to questions regarding the thoughts and actions of another person. The data is drawn from 34 semi-structured interviews with adolescents, 17 of whom have been diagnosed with autism spectrum disorder (ASD) - either Asperger's syndrome or high-functioning autism. The interviews are in Finnish. The focus of this study is on linguistic means used by the participants in a task in which they are asked to watch a video clip and then tell what one of the characters is doing and thinking. A common type of response to the latter question is an assertion, such as *noo (.) se oli selvästi kiinnostunu siitä (2.0) kurssista ja (.) siitä mitä siellä tehdään ja 'well, she was clearly interested in the course and what it's all about and'*, which names the thought (e.g. *kiinnostunu* 'interested') and includes modal markers (e.g. *selvästi* 'clearly') showing the speaker's epistemic stance. The responses also include direct reported speech, such as *kuulostaapa tosi hauskalta kurssilta haluanpa itsekin mukaan sinne* "That sounds like a fun course. I think I'd like to join." Reported speech can be said to perform the action of demonstrating that which is talked about (see Clark & Gerric 1990). The aim of the study is to explore the actions of asserting and demonstrating in interaction. Furthermore, the study casts more light on what we know about the language use of people with ASD. The study is part of the Academy of Finland research project Pragmatic language abilities in adolescents and young adults with autism spectrum disorder, which is a subproject of the multidisciplinary Oulu University Hospital and University of Oulu research project Autism Spectrum Disorders - a follow-up study from childhood to young adulthood.

Clark & Gerric 1990: Quotations as demonstrations. *Language* 66: 764-805.

Fri-1-1-8

Greiffenhagen, Christian  
The Chinese University of Hong Kong

Co-presenters: Stuart Reeves (University of Nottingham), Mark Perry (Brunel University), Yumei Gan (The Chinese University of Hong Kong)

### Distributed Instruction: Locating and Correcting Trouble in a Mixed Reality Game

This paper examines instructions in the form of corrections to ongoing activity (c.f., Lindwall and Ekström, 2012; Mondada, 2012). In the setting we look at—a ‘mixed reality’ game that takes place on-the-streets and online—a team in a control room direct the actions of remote mobile participants (c.f., Goodwin, 1996; Luff et al., 2003).

Using video fragments from the control room, we show trained ‘runners’ traversing the streets of a city and broadcasting live video from handheld cameras to online players. These runners are supported by a technical team present in the control room that consists of ‘monitors’ who observe runners’ live video streams during the game, and a ‘stage manager’, who oversees the overall game performance. Critically, the control room is asymmetrically configured such that monitors are able to see and hear potential problems as they watch the runner video, but only the stage manager can correct or instruct runners on the streets via walkie talkie. This resulted in a setup akin to Lynch et al.’s (1983) ‘Cartesian situation’ of a chemistry experiment in which a sociologist collaborated with a partially paralyzed student. So, working with the monitors, the stage manager must somehow ‘locate trouble’ and ‘instruct for correction’. We examine how such activities, typically performed by the same person, have to be intersubjectively achieved within the asymmetric configuration so as to accomplish a working division-of-labour, and therefore ensure the successful running of the game.

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Sat-2-1-8

Harjunpää, Katariina  
University of Helsinki

## Signs of (dis)engagement and the intersubjectivity of participation in multilingual, asymmetric interaction

In interactions where all the participants do not have a common language, multilingual speakers may linguistically mediate the interaction for them. This kind of facilitating does not target only straightforward problems of understanding. A lack of understanding can be secondarily indicated by the participants' verbal and embodied displays of actively attending to the interaction (e.g. Greer 2008), as well as disengaging from it (Harjunpää frth). These moves may be interpreted by others as demonstrations of that participant's limited access to what is being said. The bilingual speakers may display such an interpretation by mediating (translating) the prior talk to that participant, but also by rejecting their reciprocity. The paper analyzes both kinds of instances in video recorded, Finnish-Brazilian Portuguese everyday conversations. It could be said that in addition to enabling a fuller understanding of past and on-going talk, mediating activities operate at a preliminary level of intersubjectivity. By this I refer to how the participants resolve whether the speaker of the other language is (to be) involved in the current conversation - how they establish ratified reciprocity and, accordingly, the potential relevance of mediation. In terms of participation frameworks (Goffman 1981, Goodwin & Goodwin 2004, Goodwin 2007), the paper thus examines the dynamics of the less focal participants.

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Harjunpää, Katariina frth: *Turn-design for bilingual mediating. Translatory practices in Finnish-Brazilian Portuguese everyday conversation*

Thu-2-2-7

Helmer, Henrike  
Institute for the German Language, Mannheim, Germany

#### German x heißt y ('x means/is y'): Strengthening intersubjectivity by definitions

Definitions and explanations are a means in interaction for ensuring understanding and for preventing or addressing misunderstanding (cf. Burska 1991, Harren 2009, Temmerman 2009, Deppermann 2016). This paper deals with the construction x heißt y ('x means/is y') as a format for definitions in German. Using this construction, speakers frequently not only define unknown terms, but also explain how specific terms are to be interpreted for the practical purposes of the current situation. Equating two terms or concepts in the x heißt y format, speakers can substitute an unknown term with an (often grammatically correlated) term that other participants might know. This is the case especially for foreign words, technical terms or abbreviations. Intersubjectivity is then developed or strengthened in the sense that the formerly unknown term can be used subsequently. At other times, turns formatted like definitions are rather descriptive explanations: in such cases, x heißt y is not a general definition of x, but is targeted to the specific verbal and situational context (e.g. "optimieren heißt knapp kalkulieren", 'to optimize means to calculate tightly'). Rather than defining the term, each construct indicates a certain meaning other participants need to understand in order to follow the current interaction. However, these definitions are not (supposed to be) universally valid, but are bound to that very situation. In these cases, intersubjectivity is developed or strengthened not only by providing an explanation of concepts, but often also by indicating an explanation of the speaker's intention. The collection of about 100 cases of x heißt y in German stems from interactions in informal and institutional settings, which are available on [dgd.ids-mannheim.de](http://dgd.ids-mannheim.de). The data are analysed using an interactional linguistic approach that also takes into account multimodal aspects.

Thu-2-1-8

Hepburn, Alexa  
Rutgers, State University of New Jersey

Co-presenter: Jenny Mandelbaum

Invoking intentionality in responding to behavioral transgressions in family mealtime interactions: the case of burping

Rather than seeing intersubjectivity as the abstract correlation of underlying mental states, conversation analysts have understood it as something based in interactional resources, involving turn-by-turn displays of understanding about the other's meanings, knowledge, intentions and so on. Less discussed in these approaches is the way that intersubjectivity can become a live arena that is exploitable for the purposes of conflict and control. In this paper, we discuss the imputation of recipients' intentions in speaker's responses to one problem behavior - burping at the dinner table. Burping is a bodily function that infants are presumed not to be able to control. The ability to control (or restrain) one's burps is apparently a hallmark of incipient civilization, such that burping publicly is a socially sanctionable activity. In this paper we examine children's (apparently) intentional and unintentional burp production in early childhood (ages 3-5), later childhood (age 9), and late teenhood (age 17), and parental responses to these burps. Using the methods of conversation analysis, we show that parents respond to this "social infraction" regardless of the age of the child. We show that parents deploy a range of interactional techniques in responding to burps. These include both serious and non-serious responses, overt interdiction, and other responses that require significant inferential work on the part of the "offending" child. While young children appear to be highly sophisticated in understanding parental reprimands, older children may exploit the inferential work required of them to flout their parents. In this way burping becomes an interesting laboratory for incipient independence, as well as contributing to a broader project exploring the interactional practices associated with socialization. We discuss how the locally and sequentially managed nature of intersubjectivity provides both a resource for managing problematic behavior, and also for resisting inferential work.

Thu-2-4-6

Himberg, Tommi  
Aalto University

Co-presenters: Melisa Stevanovic, Maija Niinisalo, Anssi Peräkylä, Mikko Sams and Riitta Hari

Decision in your hands: On the gestural treatment of proposals in dyadic decision-making

Joint decision-making is an important part of everyday life. The first step towards establishing a joint decision involves one participant making a proposal for a desired action or state of affairs. The recipient, however, may respond to the proposal in many different ways: with acceptance, ignorance, demur, or rejection. While previous conversation-analytic studies have shed light on various lexical and prosodic practices used by the recipients to lead the proposal to various outcomes, in this study, we will consider the recipients' gestural treatment of their co-participants' proposals. We carried out naturalistic interaction experiments with twelve dyads. The participants' task was to make joint decisions in two conditions: face-to-face and with no mutual visibility. We video-recorded the interactions, while also using an optical motion capture system to record the participants' body movements. Afterwards, we identified all proposals from the interaction and coded for their reception, using a coding scheme with five different response categories (accepted, delayedly accepted, commented upon, ignored with silence, rejected). The motion capture data (velocity/acceleration of hand/arm movements) were analyzed in relations to these five categories. In the face-to-face condition, accepting responses to proposals were accompanied with an increased level of gesturing, as indicated by the velocity/acceleration patterns of the participants' hand/arm movements. The analysis of the video-recordings showed these movements to be mostly beat gestures or big open-arm shrugs. Rejections, in contrast, involved the recipients "freezing" their hands/arms. In the no-mutual-visibility condition, there was a radical drop in the amount of gesturing by the recipient. However, when the recipients accepted a proposal with delay, they would gesticulate with their arms just like in the face-to-face condition. In describing how gestures serve joint decision-making, the paper sheds light on the multimodal aspects of collaborative action. Simultaneously, the paper contributes to a better understanding of the interface between individual meaning-making and intersubjective processes.

Fri-2-3-6

Hirvonen, Maija  
University of Helsinki

Co-presenter: Liisa Tiittula (University of Helsinki)

Teamwork between blind and sighted persons: Effects of visual asymmetry on intersubjectivity

In the study of human interaction, visually perceived resources of communication are often taken for granted. Up to date, research has shown in multiple ways how visual actions contribute to meaning construction (e.g. gestures and pointing, Kendon 2004) and are employed in turn taking (e.g. Goodwin 1981). Among the more recent interests is the interactive asymmetry resulting from communication impairments such as aphasia (e.g. Laakso 2015). All these aspects must be seen in a new light when interaction is asymmetrical due to the lack of sight: for instance, when some participants are blind while others are sighted. What functions do gaze and other non-verbal means serve when the use of visual resources is partially impaired in interaction? Our contribution discusses visual asymmetry in the interaction between blind and sighted persons. The case in point is teamwork during which sighted and visually impaired audiodescribers create an audiodescription of a film, that is, a verbal translation of the visual elements for the visually impaired audience. In the team, translating becomes embodied and interactive. It involves the sighted participants making visual information intelligible for the non-sighted participant through verbal and bodily means. The blind participant, on the other hand, contributes with the analysis of the film's soundtrack. In order to achieve a translation of the source material, the team members must find mutual understanding. We present authentic video data of such translation process. The data is analysed in the framework of multimodal interaction analysis to explaining how multimodal resources are used by the participants to interact and achieve understanding.

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Thu-2-3-7

Horlacher, Anne-Sylvie  
University of Basel

Building intersubjectivity during the consultation phase in hair salon interaction: From successful to problematic understandings of an expected outcome

Haircut negotiations are integral to client-hairdresser's interactions at the salon (Oshima, 2009; Jacobs-Huey, 1996, 2006). During the consultation phase hairdressers and clients work towards an intersubjective understanding of the haircut in prospect. Intersubjectivity is here conceived as the reciprocal recognition of the project to be pursued. In which ways do participants in hair salon interaction come to a consensus of the service to be delivered? How do they practically coordinate and achieve orientation towards an expected outcome? This contribution explores through which resources hairdressers display their understanding of the clients' instructions. In this respect, the 'next turn proof procedure' (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974) is a key instrument for analyzing how hairdressers treat a prior instruction from the clients. Intersubjectivity is thus a mutually intelligible and publicly accessible phenomenon, which is not restricted to individual cognition: "Its accountability is built through a plurality of displays, claiming and demonstrating understanding, thanks to the mobilization of linguistic and embodied resources" (Mondada, 2011: 542; Mondada, 2012). The analysis shows that hairdressers frequently request clarification or confirmation and that they subsequently redefine and reconceptualize the haircut or provide additional explanations. The presentation also focuses on moments when hairdressers display absence of recognition or misunderstandings of the clients' instructions. These problematic understandings have often been referred to as 'breakdowns of intersubjectivity' (e.g. Deppermann, 2015). The analysis is based on video recordings collected in hair salons located in the French speaking part of Switzerland (18 sessions involving 18 clients and 6 hairdressers, 16 hours in total) and uses the methods developed in conversation analysis (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974) and multimodal interaction analysis (Streeck, Goodwin & LeBaron, 2011).

Sat-1-2-8

Huiskes, Mike  
University of Groningen

Co-presenter: Patrick Nieboer

### Assessments as collaborative actions in surgical interaction

Surgery is a situated collaborative practice that requires constant alignment of the actions of all parties involved formatted both in a verbal and an embodied way (e.g. Bezemer et al. 2011). However, the coordination of surgical activity is only one aspect of the management of the “fine grained organization of teamwork (Mondada 2016:230)” in the operation theatre. Surgical procedures are basically a set of tasks in a particular order. Completion of these tasks involves a continuous cycle of deciding-acting-judging and evaluating; requiring a constant coordination and alignment of the assessment of the situation at hand. In this paper we analyse the ways in which surgeons recruit other team members in collaborative assessments. We will show that surgeons use a variety of practices that have different sequential implications and response obligations and that are sensitive to the epistemic and deontic rights of the participants. Our data consist of three surgical operations recorded at the orthopaedic department of the UMCG in Groningen. All cases involve a standardized procedure: a total hip replacement (prosthesis). Every operation is performed by a team: A surgeon (O), an assistant (A) and a scrub nurse (I). The surgeon is either an expert (O1) or a trainee (O2, O3). O1 and O2 are supported by an expert assistant (A1). One case involves a formal situation in which the trainee (O3) is assisted by an orthopaedic surgeon as a teacher (A2). In our analyses we focus on the ways O involves A in collaborative assessment sequences. Our analyses show that O uses both implicit and explicit strategies to involve A in the collaborative assessment of the situation. The practices that implement these actions are shown to “display a certain form of complementarity and asymmetry that is related to issues of responsibility and authority” (Mondada 2016:229) in the surgical team.

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Fri-1-4-12

Huma, Bogdana  
Loughborough University

Co-presenters: Rein Ove Sikveland, Elizabeth Stokoe

“Doing” business relationships and negotiating shared understandings of sale progress in business-to-business sales

Selling occurs over single, short, face-to-face (Raevaara, 2011; Vinkhuyzen & Szymanski, 2005) or telephone encounters (Clark, Drew, & Pinch, 1994), or, as often the case with business-to-business sales, through a progressive series of interactions (Clark, Drew, & Pinch, 2003; Firth, 1995) leading towards a transaction. In “distributed” business-to-business sales, composed of several episodes and involving multiple buyer and seller representatives, participants to an encounter often index various aspects of past conversations as resources for current interactional projects. We documented the interactional work accomplished by these references, within a corpus of 153 business-to-business prospecting calls from three British companies selling office equipment. The calls are initiated by salespeople in pursuit of potential customers they had unsuccessfully contacted in the past. Using conversation analysis we examined the sequential placement and interactional import of “claims of prior contact”. We found that prior interactions are invoked in the production of the “reason for the call” (Schegloff, 1986, p. 116), through which a salesperson introduces a call as ostensibly responsive to a prospective buyer’s solicitation to be re-contacted. Thus, the current call is framed as embodying an ongoing business relationship, while also appearing to be customer focused. In addition to justifying calls, a salesperson also uses “claims of prior contact” to expand sequences and deal with an interlocutor’s non-cooperation in moving the sale forward. In pursuing the interlocutor’s alignment to the current project, the salesperson mobilises evidence of prior contact and mentions interactions with other buyer employees. We conclude that, in encounters that are part of distributed business-to-business sales, invoking prior interactions constitutes a key resource for (1) ‘doing’ business relationships (cf. Laurier, 2012; Pomerantz & Mandelbaum, 2005) and for (2) negotiating a consensual understanding of the sale progress across multiple encounters and interactants as a basis for moving forward with it.

Thu-3-1-7

Kamunen, Antti  
University of Oulu

## Body torque as an intersubjective practice for structuring multiactivity situations

Body torque, i.e. “divergent orientations of the body sectors above and below the neck and waist, respectively”, is an embodied feature of interaction with a “capacity to display engagement with multiple courses of action and interactional involvements” (Schegloff 1998: 536). It has previously been studied in contexts of specific settings and activities, such as doctor-patient interaction (Ruusuvuori 2001), playing video games (Mondada 2012), and student-teacher tutoring (Belhiah 2009), but since Schegloff’s paper, there has been no other systematic sequential research focusing on the phenomenon itself. By building on previous research and a collection of examples of body torque, this paper approaches body torque through the conversation analytic method by systematically studying when - in relation to the participants’ involvement in multiple activities - body torque is initiated and how it is organised between participants, e.g. in the form of simultaneous torqueing. More specifically, this paper focuses on conversations within longer continuous multiactivity sequences in order to analyse in detail how body torque relates to the shared understanding between the participants in the production and structuring of situations with multiactivity. The data come from a wide array of videoed naturally-occurring interactions in both domestic and institutional settings.

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Sat-1-3-10

Katila, Julia  
University of Tampere

## Accumulation of Embodied Relationship Histories: Tactile Negotiation of Space

The presentation provides a case study of non-verbal tactile negotiation of space of non-native Finnish mothers and their children in a joint activity of building a shared life-line out of each group members' life events. The data consists of the real life video-recordings of the group. The focus of interest is on few data extracts where the group-members co-inhabit the space and thus manage the intersubjectivity drawing from their shared embodied relationship histories - the manners in which certain specific bodies have co-inhabited the tactile lifeworld in history. Thus, the aim is to investigate how various - both personal and relationship-based - embodied histories of body-positions provide a re-usable resource in the moment-of-action -scale, citing the possible body-trajectories and patterns of being together, such as conventions for proximity and touch. This culture- and relationship-based accumulation of embodied relationship histories as a resource for ongoing action can provide a means for the participants to anticipate and inhabit others' movements. Methodologically, this presentation that draws from a wide range of embodied interaction studies, including conversation analysis, aims to discuss the possible ways to study real life video-tapes without pre-dividing the comprehensive movement of human bodies into different modalities, or pre-separating the participants of action into separate individuals in the sense that only one individual would construct a turn at a time. Instead, intersubjectivity is understood as an entirely co-embodied tactile intercorporeality with various, all the time ongoing time-scales; it is a moment by moment, co-negotiated accomplishment of whole bodies moving together in various ways. Understanding intersubjectivity in this way also enables an understanding of cognition as something entirely embodied and shared. The aim is to investigate how it is possible to study various embodied historical time scales in the moment of action -timescale.

Fri-2-2-7

Keating, Elizabeth  
University of Texas at Austin

### Engineers, Culture, and Intersubjectivity in Technologically-Mediated Contexts

With advances in communication and computer technology, it has become routine for people to collaborate with others who are living and working in different countries. Interactions take place mediated through computer screens and telephones. Such interactions, mediated through “prosthetic” technologies, enable the projection of the voice and the body into unfamiliar spaces. This introduces challenges for establishing common ground (including shared assumptions about communicative routines and the nature of the person), and for negotiating intersubjectivity. This paper investigates these challenges through studying groups of engineers whose job it is to collaborate on complex engineering designs from different parts of the world, and problems they have developing shared understandings across geographical and cultural divides. The engineers found that mistakes due to misunderstandings plagued their projects. Assumptions about sense making strategies proved to be flawed, and yet the engineers had little opportunity for new learning about each other to develop better predictive capabilities, due to time zone differences, work pressures, and their uniform-looking “virtual” shared space. Although conversation analysts have noted a preference to “oversuppose and undertell”, the engineers who carefully provided rich context, used repetition and redundancy, and, in short, who practiced a strategy of “undersuppose and overtell”, were better able to build new common ground in these technologically-mediated interactions. Nevertheless, with few opportunities to observe each other’s interaction habits, negotiating common perspective was a continual challenge. Data consists of participant observation, audiotaped multi-engineer conference calls, and interviews. Methods of analysis include conversation analysis, discourse analysis, and analysis of cultural practices.

Fri-2-2-8

Keel, Sara  
University of Basel

Co-presenter: Sara Merlino (University of Basel)

## Parents' and Children's Interactive Organisation of Pedagogical Sequences in Everyday Family Life

Within classroom settings, teachers' and students' deployment and accomplishment of pedagogical devices, such as the famous I-R-E sequence (Instruction-Response-Evaluation), have been extensively studied and discussed (Macbeth 1991, 2003, 2011; Mehan 1978, 1979, 1985; Watson 1992). Participants' interactive organisation and mutual orientation towards a distinct attribution of membership categories and associated tasks have been emphasized: Teachers give instructions to which students are required to respond to, and the evaluation of the response by the teacher finally closes the classic three-part sequence. However, the occurrence of these sequences in the midst of family everyday life has not yet been the subject of systematic investigation (but see Goodwin 2007 on families' knowledge explorations).

Based on a large corpus of audio and video recordings of 8 French-speaking families filmed in their homes, our analysis focuses on the way pedagogical devices, such as I-R-E, are initiated and interactively accomplished within parent-child everyday interaction. By adopting a multimodal approach, taking into account participants' use of gaze, gesture, body posture, their manipulation of objects, etc., the paper aims at showing how participants reach a shared understanding about their current interaction as being of a pedagogical nature. First, our detailed analysis unpacks how participants manifest their orientation to membership categories that are constitutive of pedagogical situations (i.e. the competent expert versus the not yet fully competent learner). Second, it reveals how they engage stepwise and in an embodied way into relevant category-bound activities (such as requiring instruction/giving instructions; responding to instruction/scaffolding a response on its way, etc.). In conjunction, these two analytical focuses allow to demonstrate the fine interactive work involved in reaching intersubjectivity as it unfolds throughout sequences of action. Moreover, it demonstrates the profoundly situated nature of pedagogical devices as they are interactively negotiated and accomplished within the multiple contingencies of everyday family life.

Thu-2-3-6

Koivisto, Aino  
University of Helsinki

### Repair receipts in maintaining and restoring intersubjectivity

Third position is an interactional slot where the speaker can, for example, assess the newsworthiness of the given answer, evaluate it or simply acknowledge it and thereby propose sequence closure. This paper will examine third position turns and the work they accomplish in maintaining and restoring intersubjectivity in repair sequences. Special attention will be drawn to Finnish change-of-state tokens when used as repair receipts (Heritage 1984), that is, elements that acknowledge the repair and close the repair sequence (A: repair initiation - B: repair - A: repair receipt). The Finnish system of change-of-state tokens allows speakers to choose between particles that receive the prior talk as new information and particles that claim now-understanding or now-remembering. This paper will consider how these different particles work to regulate sequence development after requested repair. It will be argued that so called news particles foreground the new information provided by the repair and in effect promote sequence/topical expansion, while claims of now-understanding/remembering strongly promote sequence closure.

Besides examining the Finnish devices for achieving repair sequence closure, the paper will set up a contrast between sequences that are closed with a repair receipt and sequences where no third position acknowledgement is produced. When do we need specific repair receipts to exit repair sequences and when is it possible to resume the main line of talk without any specific receipt object?

The data for the study is drawn from a large data archive containing both telephone and face-to-face conversations from everyday settings. The research method used in the study is Conversation Analysis.

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Sat-1-3-6

Koole, Tom  
University of Groningen

Co-presenter: Myrte Gosen

### Scopes of understanding

One way in which participants in social interaction work to sustain intersubjectivity is by showing each other their understanding of who they are, what they are doing and what they are talking about. And one procedure for doing this is the set of practices that specialise in doing understanding. These are verbal objects such as 'hm' and 'oh' (Gardner 2001), and bodily activities such as head nods (Stivers 2008, Whitehead 2011). Research so far on these tokens can be summarized as showing that the work of understanding tokens can be characterised in terms of three different dimensions: (i) they target different objects: tokens may claim having understood what referent was talked about, or what action was performed by the talk preceding them. (ii) they differ in terms of epistemic stance, i.e. they make weaker and stronger claims to understanding. (iii) they differ in scope, i.e. they index understanding of smaller or larger units of talk.

In this paper we will report on a Conversation Analytic study of this latter dimension. Koole (2010) found a difference in response to explanations between 'hm' (I understand the immediately prior turn-constructural unit) and 'oh' (I understand the entire explanation). In an analysis of explanation activities in a variety of settings such as mundane, educational and financial interaction, we will elaborate on Koole 2010 and show that smaller and bigger scopes of understanding can be indexed by different tokens such as 'hm' vs. 'oh' and head nods vs. vocal tokens. We will show that explanations are produced as recognisable structural units in response to which different tokens of understanding are produced in different structural positions, either in the course of a unit's production, or at the end of one.

Sat-2-1-6

Kurhila, Salla  
University of Helsinki

Co-presenters: Markku Haakana, Niina Lilja, Marjo Savijärvi

### Managing participation framework in extended repair sequences

In this paper, we will focus on other-initiated repair sequences in which resolving the trouble requires more than one repair turn. As repair is the speakers' way to deal with problems of speaking, hearing and understanding, the participants need to resolve the problem to return to the talk-in-progress. Often other-initiated repair involves a short sequence (e.g. Kitzinger 2013: 249). However, in some cases the next turn does not resolve the trouble, and the speaker needs to produce a new repair initiation. We will focus on such instances where a speaker produces multiple repair initiations before the trouble is resolved and the sequence can be closed.

Our data consist of 37,5 hours of everyday interaction in Finnish. This study builds on our previous work on repair initiations in Finnish (Haakana et al. 2016). The vast majority of other-initiations in the data are resolved within the subsequent repair turn, but there are cases where resolving the trouble is extended over several turns. We will discuss the reasons behind the extendedness, such as the participants' differing ideas of the source of the trouble, or their disagreement about the matter that is being repaired. In particular, we will focus on the difference between dyadic and multiparty conversation. In dyadic conversations, problems of hearing or understanding threaten the intersubjectivity between the participants in a way that halts the talk-in-progress, whereas in multiparty conversation the talk-in-progress may continue, since the responsibility of maintaining intersubjectivity is shared between several speakers. It will be argued that in multiparty conversation, initiations of repair are produced to manage not only problems in speaking, hearing and understanding, but also as a means to manage the participation framework.

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Thu-2-4-10

Kuroshima, Satomi  
JSPS/Chiba University

Co-presenter: Yukio Oshiro

### Evidencing the intersubjective experience of seeing: A case of medical reasoning in surgical operations

By drawing on conversation analysis as a methodological and analytical approach, this paper examines the ways in which surgeons do engage in practical reasoning (i.e., medical reasoning) during the surgical operation. It particularly sheds light on the visual aspect of the activity of recognizing/identifying internal organs and blood vessels. In doing so, they describe what they can observe in front of them or in the reproduced 3D-CG image shown in the monitor inside the operation room. Even though they are engaged in mere observation of the body and/or the images without looking at them in certain way, they recurrently use an evidential marker (i.e., *mieru* 'seem, appear' or *kanji* 'feel') to downgrade their claim (Heritage & Stivers, 1999). The interactional function of evidential marker has been discussed in terms of designing a turn to mitigate the claim within the literature (Chafe, 1986). By taking the larger scope of the function, this paper demonstrates how the evidential statement is used in order to conduct a particular action. In the current corpus, the surgeons are using evidential marking not aligning with the preference organization for agreement (Pomerantz, 1984) but designing a turn to be heard in certain way - i.e., not as a result of mere looking but as a result of some reasoning. Even though the surgeons display their strong orientation to the visual aspect of the activity, when they formulate their experience of seeing, they present it as a conclusion of reasoning. They do so in order to invite others to examine the same object and make it relevant to agree/disagree with the observation. In this way, the evidential marking of their visual experience is a practical solution for achieving their intersubjective experience of seeing in order to make a subjective act into the intersubjective one which others can also examine.

Fri-1-3-12

Küttner, Uwe-A.  
University of Potsdam

"That's what I say/mean" - Remediating disaffiliation by insinuating a co-participant's misunderstanding of prior talk

The sequential turn-by-turn organization of conversation, together with the availability of practices for initiating and doing repair, provides a procedural infrastructure for implicitly negotiating, accomplishing, and maintaining intersubjective understanding (cf. Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974; Heritage 1984; Schegloff 1992; Deppermann 2008; Sidnell 2014).

This paper offers a conversation analytic and interactional linguistic account of a practice with which speakers make use of this infrastructure in order to retroactively remedy incipient or manifest disaffiliation (cf. Stivers 2008). The practice consists of using the format "That's what I mean/say" in third position of conversational sequences so as to undermine what a co-participant just forwarded as a disaffiliative or challenging response to a preceding turn. By claiming to actually have said or meant "the same" with his/her earlier turn, the speaker not only removes the disaffiliative or challenging character of the co-participant's response; s/he also insinuates the respondent's misunderstanding of that earlier turn's import, thereby implicitly attributing responsibility for the surfaced disaffiliation to the respondent. This practice can therefore be characterized as a systematic alternative to doing third position repair as described by Schegloff (1992), although the two practices are certainly related (and perhaps preferentially ordered).

Besides reinforcing the significance of third position as a crucial site for the negotiation of mutual understanding, these findings provide empirical support for the idea that mutual understanding and affiliation are two somewhat distinct dimensions of intersubjectivity that can operate in partial independence of each other, with participants being able to mobilize (or invoke disruptions of) one in the service of restoring the other. The analyses will consider both the sequential and the linguistic features of this practice. Data are in English and consist of audio-recorded telephone calls.

Thu-2-3-8

Kääntä, Leila  
University of Jyväskylä

Co-presenters: Niina Lilja, Arja Piirainen-Marsh

Using material and embodied resources for initiating repair in instructional sequences

In this paper, we analyze material and embodied configurations that are used to initiate repair in sequences of instructed action. More specifically, the analysis shows how different multimodal resources are assembled in activity-sensitive ways to initiate repair in instructional sequences that involve the use of objects and features of the environment. It is based on a collection of cases drawn from a classroom corpus consisting of c. 250 hours. An emerging body of research on instructional settings describes the multimodal practices participants employ to solve problems of understanding that hinder the successful accomplishment of an ongoing action (e.g. Hindmarsh et al., 2011; Lindwall & Ekström, 2012). Such studies provide evidence on the complex configurations of multimodal resources in use in instructor's corrective practices. Our paper contributes to this research by showing how the spatial arrangements of classrooms and their material ecologies impact the actions through which repair is initiated and managed. Overall, the paper aims to contribute to a more holistic understanding of repair practices by describing the local relevance and calibration of multimodal resources in repairing problems of understanding in settings where instruction is the main activity. This entails an analytic orientation that conceptualizes repair - like all human action - as layered, i.e. characterized by local assembling of diverse resources and adjusted to specific contingencies including spatial arrangements, and material and semiotic structures available in the environment (e.g. Goodwin, 2000; Mondada, 2016).

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Fri-1-2-7

Lappalainen, Hanna  
University of Helsinki

Co-presenter: Kaarina Mononen

### Use of first names and intersubjectivity

One of the typical ways to create intersubjectivity between participants is to use one's first name. However, in Finnish, the use of first names is not common even in multi-party conversations (Seppänen 1989; Havu et al. 2014). Seppänen (1989) has shown in her case study that the use of first name as a part of addressing has special interactional functions, but on the whole, only few studies have examined it in authentic conversations.

The aim of our study is to explore when and why first names are used in Finnish conversations as well as how intersubjectivity is maintained in contexts in which names are not used, e.g. what is the role of gaze, touching and other multimodal practices? The analysis is based on two different datasets, everyday conversations and interaction between caretakers and residents in an old people's home. By comparing these corpora by using conversation analysis, our aim is to find out, if first names are used similarly or differently in these contexts.

On the basis of our previous results, first names are used to attract the attention of another participant in both contexts. Their role in showing intimacy and empathy, instead, is a more complicated, sensitive and context-bound question that needs further research.

### Literature

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Sat-1-3-12

Laury, Ritva  
University of Helsinki

Co-presenters: Karita Suomalainen (University of Turku), Anna Vatanen (University of Helsinki)

Se että as a projector phrase in Finnish conversation

Our paper focuses on the *se että* construction (Leino 1999), which occurs in spoken Finnish at turn openings and also in the middle of turns where it opens new turn constructional units. *Se että*, lit. 'it that', consisting of a demonstrative followed by a complementizer, can be syntactically independent, but can also be integrated as an argument in a clausal construction.

Our paper is based on approximately 15 hours of data from the CA archives housed at the University of Helsinki Department of Finnish, Finno-Ugric and Scandinavian Studies and from the University of Turku program in Finnish.

In our data, *se että* emerges in contexts of lengthy tellings, informings, assertions and assessments. It functions to mark the main point or gist of a telling, to bring up an opposing view, to mark the speaker's contrasting stance in concessive turns, to add to or focus on a perspective that has come up earlier, or to underline the speaker's own point (cf. Ajmer 2007 on the English *the fact/thing is* and Günthner 2008 on the German *die Sache ist*). *Se että* is strongly forward projecting -- it is a projector phrase (Günthner 2008, Hopper and Thompson 2008, Pekarek Doehler 2011). Overall, it functions to construct what follows *se että*, the speaker's claim or assertion, as identifiable to and thus intersubjectively shared by the participants. In the construction, *se* marks the upcoming claim as identifiable (Laury 1997; Etelämäki 2006), while *että* marks the introduction of its speaker's own voice (Koivisto, Seppänen & Laury 2011). The turn that houses *se että* is typically followed by affiliative dialogue particles, or agreeing assertions, but also sometimes disagreements, all expressing the stance of the recipient of the *se että* turn.

Fri-1-1-10

Li, Xiaoting  
University of Alberta

### Orchestrating talk, touch, gaze and blinking in achieving intersubjectivity

Intersubjectivity is central to communication and social interaction. Participants display their understanding of others' talk and action in and through their response in the next turn. Thus, displays of mutual understanding are achieved largely implicitly in the sequentially organized conversation (Heritage, 1984, Schegloff, 1992). However, intersubjectivity may become particularly relevant when understanding problems arise and are dealt with through recipient-initiated or speaker-initiated repairs (Schegloff et al., 1977; Schegloff, 1987). This study echoes with the conference theme on the linguistic, embodied and multimodal practices in achieving intersubjectivity.

Adopting the methodology of conversation analysis, interactional linguistics, and multimodal analysis, this study examines how participants deploy talk, interpersonal touch, gaze, and blinking to seek and display shared understanding in self-initiated self-repairs in Mandarin Chinese conversation. The data for this study are 6 hours of video recordings of everyday Mandarin face-to-face conversation. There are 6 interactions (3 dyads, 2 triads, 1 quartet) with each lasting about an hour. An examination of the data shows that: 1) speakers use lexico-syntactic practices (such as negator bushi 'no', turn-initial particle ei, and rhetorical question), interpersonal touch, and gaze at the recipient in performing self-repair and seeking recipients' shared understanding; and 2) recipients use blinking, nodding and multiple says of confirmation tokens in displaying their shared understanding. The orchestrated use of multimodal practices in seeking and displaying shared understanding by conversational participants shows that intersubjectivity is interactively managed through both talk and bodily-visual practices. Also, the relevance of intersubjectivity is not assumed, but a locally negotiated accomplishment in conversation.

Fri-1-1-7

Licoppe, Christian  
Université Paris-Saclay

Co-presenter: Sylvaine Tuncer

Showing objects in Skype video-mediated conversations. Visual intersubjectivity as an interactional achievement.

This paper focuses on sequences in which participants show one another a personal object in video-mediated communication. It is based on a corpus of video-recorded, naturally occurring Skype conversations, treated within an EM/CA perspective. We focus on sequences in which the visual display of the object becomes the focus of the interaction. Starting with 'informative showings' which enact a recipient without relevant knowledge regarding the showable, we discuss how these are initiated in a way that frames the aspect under which the showable could be 'seen', and how talk and embodied manipulations of the showable are used collaboratively as resources to achieve a joint perspectival 'seeing-as', projecting assessments by the viewer which are expected to ratify such visual intersubjectivity as an interactional accomplishment. The orientation of such sequences towards the achievement of visual intersubjectivity becomes manifest when characteristic and recognizable trouble occurs, through the interactional work participants do to achieve adequate enough displays of understanding regarding the showable. Last we introduce a different type of showing sequence, i.e. 'evocative showings', which enact instead a knowledgeable recipient, and presuppose her ability to 'get' the point of the showing. Here the orientation of such sequences towards intersubjectivity becomes apparent in the way they are done as a kind of guessing game, sometimes with limited or even without framing of the object being shown. Finally, we discuss how the achievement of intersubjectivity as a collaborative accomplishment in such Skype-based showing sequences involving personal objects is used as a powerful resource to perform 'intimacy-at-a-distance' and to maintain and to do 'bonding' in situations of spatial separation.

Fri-2-1-8

Lilja, Niina  
University of Tampere

Co-presenter: Arja Piirainen-Marsh

## Gestures and understanding in second language interaction

Gestures are central to sense making practices and play a key role in socially observable displays of understanding (Goodwin 2000). Recent studies suggest that gestures can also serve as important resources in second language learning (e.g. learning of L2 constructions) (Eskildssen & Wagner 2015). This paper investigates how gestures and bodily movements support intersubjectivity in second language interactions. More specifically, we look at sequences where participants orient to problems of understanding through their bodies, especially through talk and gesture. Drawing on multimodal conversation analysis, the analysis focuses on three different uses and functions of gestures 1) gestures that orient to the possibility of an understanding problem before a problem has surfaced in talk, 2) gestures used to clarify a trouble source in repair solution and 3) gestures that are used to claim understanding.

The data consist of 60 service encounters collected in the context of a research and development project aiming to design pedagogical practices to support language learning outside classroom walls, "in the wild". In this project, students of Finnish as L2 participated in service encounters and video recorded their interactions for later reflective discussion in the classroom.

The findings contribute to earlier research on the role and functions of gestures in repair sequences and shed new light on the way that resources of talk and the body are mobilized in order to achieve intersubjectivity in L2 service encounters.

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Fri-1-4-7

Lindström, Anna  
Uppsala University

Regulating behavior in public places: Interactions between buyers, sellers and bystanders at the farmer's market

The farmer's market constitutes a fruitful niche for studies of social interaction. Previous research has explored the farmer's market as a site for cultural engagement and identity construction (Pradelle 2006). This conversation analytic (CA) study explores the plasticity of interactional constellations at the farmer's market by documenting how the participants in dyadic sales exchanges (seller and buyer) engage bystanders (such as prospective customers who are waiting in line) in their ongoing social encounter. I will describe the contexts where such engagements occur as well as the different participation structures and action trajectories they engender. The analysis will show that the engagements typically are initiated multimodally through changes in bodily orientation, gaze, and facial expression. Furthermore, I will propose that the engagements are used to achieve and maintain a shared orientation toward what constitutes normatively accepted social behavior at the market. As such, they provide resources for regulating behaviour in public places. The data is drawn from video recordings of the early morning hours at a weekly farmer's market in a medium sized Swedish town. The camera was focussed on a stall where an elderly farmer sold fresh produce and flowers. The recordings capture the farmer's interactions with a stable clientele who show up around the same time each week as well as a range of individuals who appear to frequent the stall more intermittently or for the very first time. The data was collected in accordance with Swedish ethical research guidelines and the data is transcribed according to conventions developed for CA and multimodal analysis.

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Fri-2-1-10

Lindström, Jan  
University of Helsinki

Co-presenters: Catrin Norrby, Jenny Nilsson, Camilla Wide

Positive high-grade assessment turns in Swedish service encounters: a comparative study of box office interactions in Sweden and Finland

In service encounters, both customer and staff engage in the exchange of information, delivery of goods and services: the staff might request a booking reference, and a customer information about an event. Upon delivery of such services, the recipient could use up-graded responses, i.e. high-grade assessments. Our aim is to investigate the use and function of positive high-grade assessments in the two national varieties of Swedish, Finland Swedish and Sweden Swedish. We draw on a corpus of 50 hours of video recorded interactions between customer and staff at box offices in Finland and Sweden.

Research on high-grade assessments (Antaki 2002) suggests that they are essential for intersubjective work, as they display the speaker's enthusiasm, sympathy, surprise or disgust towards what another party has said. High-grade assessments can be one-word expressions (e.g. brilliant, lovely) or clausal expanded responses (e.g. That's great). Previous research has also noted that up-graded responses function as a means to bring an interactional sequence to a closure (Antaki, Houtkoop-Steenstra & Rapley 2000).

In our box office encounters we can identify the same kinds of functions and sequential environments for high-grade assessments. However, by comparing Sweden Swedish and Finland Swedish data, we have observed differences in the qualitative and quantitative distribution of such evaluative turns: the high-grade assessment lexicons are partly different in Sweden and Finland, and these kinds of responses are in general more frequent in the data from Sweden. This may suggest a difference in communicative style between the national varieties of Swedish. In our presentation we aim to discuss what bearing this can have for the expression and experience of intersubjectivity in the type of interactions we have studied. We base our analysis on Interactional linguistics, with a special focus on sequence analysis, and Variational pragmatics (Schneider & Barron 2008) for a comparative analysis.

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Fri-2-3-10

Lynett, Adrienne  
UCLA

### Repair as a resource for group affiliation: Intersubjectivity in an adult literacy classroom

As a mechanism for dealing with problems in understanding, repair can elucidate the underlying intersubjectivity that organizes social interaction. Certainly, any turn at talk that orients to a prior turn demonstrates a mutual understanding to some degree; the organization of repair, however, is a way of dealing with breakdowns in this understanding. Repair has therefore been said by some conversation analysts to 'defend' or 're-establish' intersubjectivity in conversation. In a literacy class for indigenous Mexican immigrants to the U.S., such sequences reveal much more than just a defense of the kind of general shared understanding that is a necessary condition for any conversation to take place; they can also reveal the students' and instructors' affiliation to their shared cultural heritage. The present study uses conversation analysis methods to investigate repair sequences in an adult Spanish-language literacy classroom for indigenous Mexican immigrants in the U.S., a group whose continued marginalization drives a particularly acute need for social affiliation. As a place for indigenous immigrants to gather and study together, the adult literacy class offers a venue for members of this community to build and maintain a sense of shared sociocultural understanding. The repair sequence, then, can serve as window into this kind of intersubjective understanding that is key to building social affiliation. An investigation into repair sequences in this classroom illustrates how repair serves as a resource not just for managing misunderstandings but also for revealing and building cultural solidarity. Taken together, these instances of repair illuminate an important manifestation of intersubjectivity in the adult literacy classroom: how a shared sociocultural understanding is maintained by members of the indigenous community in the U.S.

Thu-1-3-6

Mandelbaum, Jenny  
Rutgers University

Co-presenters: Darcey Searles, Wan Wei

What prompts an offer?: The intersubjectively agreed-upon trajectory of serving oneself at the family dinner table

This paper addresses the puzzle of why interactants treat serving themselves a food item at the dinner table as making relevant an offer of that food item to others, and conjectures that the answer may lie in an intersubjectively taken-for-granted understanding of what constitutes proper attentiveness to others. Drawing on a collection of more than 180 offers collected from video recordings of 21 naturally occurring family dinners in the US, we examine offers under the rubric of recruitments (Kendrick & Drew, 2016). Using the methods of Conversation Analysis (Sidnell & Stivers, 2013) we explore what prompts offers of food. In line with Kendrick and Drew's (2016) findings, these offers are prompted (1) through monitoring another's apparent need for an item; (2) in response to a request for an item; and (3) after an item is brought to someone's attention (e.g., by bringing it to the table, after an inquiry about it, or when it is about to be removed from the table). Strikingly though, the largest number of offers in this collection occurred after or while someone served themselves. Participants seem to orient to an entitlement to attend to one's own needs: in the environment of the family dinner table there appears to be an intersubjective understanding that one may fulfill one's own needs first. But the practices observed here indicate a possible orientation to a social norm of proper attentiveness to the needs and welfare of others after having fulfilled (or while fulfilling) one's own needs. We describe the courses of action through which these offers are prompted, and consider the implications for our understanding of altruism, recruitment, benefactors/beneficiaries (Clayman & Heritage, 2014), and the relationship between offers and requests (Kendrick & Drew 2014).

Fri-2-2-6

Maschler, Yael  
University of Haifa

Co-presenter: Michal Marmorstein

Constructing intersubjectivity via Hebrew *ya'ani/ya'an* (re)formulations: A discourse marker borrowed from Arabic (*ya'ni*, lit. 'it means')

In this talk we explore a function of Hebrew *ya'ani/ya'an* -- a discourse marker (DM) borrowed from Arabic -- which is profoundly implicated in constructing intersubjectivity. The data come from an 11-hour corpus of audiotaped casual Hebrew conversation (Maschler 2016) manifesting 38 tokens of the DM. The methodology is that of interactional linguistics. Similarly to Arabic *ya'ni* (lit. 'it means') (Marmorstein 2016), the majority of Hebrew *ya'ani/ya'an* tokens (21, 55%) involve (re)formulations (Garfinkel and Sacks 1970). Most of these tokens frame various expansions (Keevallik 2003: 178) of same-speaker prior-talk for explanation, specification, elaboration, etc., all enhancing understanding among participants. Such tokens usually precede the expansion but sometimes follow it. The data also manifest *ya'ani* immediately following clarification requests, preceding a suggested formulation (often bordering on other-initiated other-repair) of the interlocutor.

For example, in the following excerpt, three students discuss a grade Nurit received on an exam. Asaf mentions that 80 was Nurit's *saf* 'threshold', i.e. lowest grade she would accept without repeating the exam, a concept Itay demonstrates problems understanding:

57 Asaf: *shmonim?*  
          *eighty?*  
58 *ze /haya/ hasaf shelax.*  
          *this /was/ your threshold.*  
59 Nurit: *...naxon.*  
          *right.*  
60 Itay: *....saf?*  
          *threshold?*  
61 *... ya'ani ha--,*       *ya'ani the--,*  
62 *....ritspa ke'ilu,*  
          *floor like,*  
63 *..lo saf.*  
          *not threshold.*  
64 *...hevan[ti.*  
          *I got it.*  
65 Asaf:    *[kav taxton.*  
          *lowest line. ...*  
68 *gvul taxton.*  
          *bottom limit.*

Itay repeats the trouble source in question intonation (60), immediately followed by his formulation of this term, preceded by *ya'ani* -- 'the floor like, not threshold', concluded with metalingual (Maschler 1994) *hevan* ('I got it', 64). Asaf offers two (re)formulations/repair solutions instead (65, 68). Although among Hebrew speakers, the lexical semantics of the Arabic word -- 'it means' -- is generally unknown, we see that they nevertheless employ *ya'ani/ya'an* to construct their joint understanding in interaction. The persistence feature of grammaticization (Hopper 1991) is thus shown to continue also across languages.

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Maynard, Douglas  
University of Wisconsin, Madison

Co-presenters: Dagoberto Cortez, Toby Campbell

How Is It Possible to Discuss End of Life Issues in Cancer Care?

This presentation follows our earlier research on the interaction order in the oncology clinic interview, including its phase-structure, and the use of “appreciation sequences” by which clinicians remind patients about the positive effects of their treatment so far. Now we return to the question of whether and how the participants in ongoing cancer care can relevantly raise end of life issues. We approach this question not in a normative way but in terms of the interaction order, and more specifically the organization of news deliveries about CAT scans, meaning assessment, and treatment recommendations. Our specific concern is with situations in which chemotherapy or other treatment has ceased to be effective.

Fri-1-1-12

McCabe, Rose  
University of Exeter

## Intersubjectivity and Suicide: Communication in the Clinic and Patient Self-Reports of Suicidal Thoughts

There are no physical tests or signs of suicide. Professionals assess risk of suicide in face-to-face contacts with people. The U.K. National Confidential Inquiry into Suicide (2016) found that professionals judged immediate risk of suicide at the patient's final appointment before death to be low or not present in 85% suicides. A number of studies have found that, prior to death, patients do not communicate suicidal ideation, "deny" suicidal ideation and are classified as low risk. I will explore how the formulation of suicide risk is a product of the professional-patient interaction and how this corresponds with patient self-reported suicidal thoughts.

I will present findings of a conversation analytic study of professional-patient communication about suicidal ideation, i.e. thoughts about and plans of taking one's life, in the U.K. (McCabe et al. in press). 83 exchanges about suicidal ideation in secondary mental health care and 6 exchanges in primary care were analysed. Professionals always asked a closed yes/no question inviting a yes/no response. Professionals tended to ask patients to confirm they were not suicidal using negative questions: 75% of questions were negatively phrased, communicating an expectation of no suicidal ideation, e.g. "No thoughts of harming yourself?". A statistical test (chi-squared) was conducted to test whether questions influenced patients' responses. Negatively phrased questions biased patients' responses towards reporting no suicidal ideation ( $\chi^2=7.2$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p=0.016$ ). There were discrepancies in what patients reported to the professional and self-report on the BDI questionnaire item 'thoughts of killing myself'.

These findings shed some light on patients 'denying' suicidal ideation before taking their own life and why patients' experiences are not disclosed. Professionals may use negatively framed questions because of the institutional pressure to assess risk so that it becomes a 'tick box' exercise. Paradoxically, this has the unwanted effect of making the assessment unreliable. These findings highlight some of the challenges involved in an institutionally situated task which involves assessing the subjective state of another, one where getting it right can be a matter of life and death.

Thu-2-2-12

Merke, Saija  
University of Helsinki

Action sequences functioning as intersubjective learning tools in Finnish-as-foreign-language classes:  
Student-initiated question sequences

This paper is based on my doctoral dissertation. It examines sequences of student-initiated questions in classes of Finnish-as-a-foreign-language at a French university. The data were videotaped during two two-week periods separated by five years. During each session, two different student groups were videotaped, both a beginners group and one of advanced learners of Finnish.

The research method adopted was ethnomethodological conversation analysis. The analysis focuses on sequences in which students express non-understanding concerning a grammatical detail. The student's question is connected to a noticing that is based on mutually shared grammatical knowledge. Student questions interrupt the on-going classroom activity so that participants simultaneously engage in individual epistemic search sequences and a collective knowledge co-construction.

The specific question sequences identified are those initiated by negatively formatted declaratives, adversative declaratives and question-word question that imply a contrast. A detailed sequential analysis demonstrates that these questions also activated issues of "right" and "wrong" that are connected to social and moral order. The question formulations relate to previous norm violations and in this sense, to moral issues. Concretely, when a student asks a question, the other participants consider issues of epistemic primacy and territory, and evaluated the legitimacy of the question.

The analysis demonstrates that intersubjective understanding is at first undermined when the students notice unexpected and contradictory grammatical details that are investigated in terms of the question. The re-examination of expectations regarding linguistic issues creates opportunities to test and re-establish linguistic knowledge and mutual understanding. The question sequences also provide tools that aid the students in structuring their personal linguistic understanding and in advancing their collective language learning.

Keywords: question-answer sequences, moral communication, learning opportunities

Thu-1-2-6

Merlino, Sara  
University of Basel

Co-presenter: Sara Keel (Univ. of Basel)

### A fine-grained analysis of therapeutic sequences in aphasia speech therapy sessions

Aphasia speech therapy is an institutional activity aimed at the linguistic recovery of adults whose linguistic abilities have been significantly restricted due to an injury to the brain - most commonly caused by a stroke. During the therapy sessions, these abilities are tested and practiced through different types of exercises, such as naming or describing pictures or objects, playing games, reading texts. The realization of these tasks is structured around three-part sequences (Merlino, in press) that resemble “instructional” or “elicitation” sequences traditionally observed in pedagogical settings (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975; Mehan 1978) or test-item sequences performed in test settings (Marlaire & Maynard, 1990): 1) the speech therapist’s initiative (often a question or request); 2) the client’s response and, 3) its evaluation by the speech therapist (Simmons-Mackie et al. 1999, Wilkinson, 2013). However, the interactive accomplishment of these sequences is not as clear-cut as it might seem: our detailed and multimodal analysis of the data reveals, for instance, that the client’s production of a response is achieved through a collaborative process that often requires multiple turns, which are accomplished through the deployment of both verbal and embodied resources. Focusing on the tasks performed in different types of therapeutic settings (such as hospitals, clinics and private surgeries), our paper offers detailed analyses of these “therapeutic” sequences and questions their three-part format, by showing the complex work performed by both the speech therapist and the client in order to coordinate their actions and negotiate mutual understanding in the realization of what looks like the “essence” of the therapeutic work. Adopting a conversation analytical approach, our paper is based on the video-recordings and multimodal transcriptions of a large corpus of speech therapy sessions (approx. 50 hours) with aphasic speakers who have been filmed in the framework of a longitudinal research perspective.

Fri-1-2-8

Mondémé, Chloé  
University of Southern Denmark

What can human-animal interaction tell us about intersubjectivity?

For analysts of social interaction, the intersubjective dimension of social life is not only taken for granted, but almost a tautology: could there be a social interaction with no intersubjectivity, since social interaction is by essence constituted of the meeting of (at least) two subjects interacting in the same phenomenological world? This preliminary observation remains insignificant unless we consider forms of interactions where a doubt can be cast on the nature of the participant's subjecthood/autonomy. In this regard, human-animal interactions constitute an interesting topic of inquiry: intersubjectivity presupposes subject, and western continental philosophy (and its many outcomes) still has some doubts on the nature, or even on the existence, of animal subjectivity. Yet, we argue that a praxeological and ethnomethodologically informed approach might help consider the problem from another perspective (Wieder, 1980) and tackle the issue in a more empirically-grounded manner (Goode, 2007 ; Laurier, Maze, Lundin, 2006). Following this line, we propose to treat "intersubjectivity" not as the meeting of two subjectivities but as the interactional accomplishment of the other living being as a subject. That implies to observe how in « lived action and lived contexts » (Wieder, 1980) intersubjectivity is achieved, created, actively accomplished and oriented to. To address this, we examine sequences of video-recorded interactions between humans and dogs, in domestic or training settings. Despite the lack a shared « objective knowledge of the world » (Heritage, 1990), sequential analysis shows how a common understanding of the on-going action is still possible. A particular focus on the role played by objects and materiality in the mutual achievement of action will support the examination of intersubjective understanding.

Thu-1-3-7

Monteiro, David  
University of Basel

## Planning future encounters in social work interactions

Advice-giving is a common feature in many institutional settings and, in social work encounters, it is a central activity for professionals and clients to plan how they will handle the case after the encounter has taken place. Previous studies on the interactional organization of advice-giving in institutional settings have shown this activity to involve participants' orientation to an epistemic asymmetry between professionals and laypersons, identifying an array of practices whereby laypersons respond to professional advice by asserting knowledge and competence (Heritage & Sefi, 1992; Pilnick, 2001; Waring, 2007).

The present study investigates how participants in social work encounters manage intersubjectivity concerning professionals' advice to clients on how to seek for support after the encounter; this is done within the framework of Conversation Analysis and on the basis of 20 hours of video data from social work encounters organized within different institutions in Portugal. The advice-giving activity under study is sequentially organized so that 1) professional identifies an institution and advises client on what to do in there, 2) clients respond, displaying acknowledgement and, in some cases, knowledge of and commitment to perform the advised-for course of action, and 3) professional projects a positive outcome. Within this sequential environment, I will explore a practice organized around the production of reference to places: in response to professionals' reference to another institution, clients point to its direction within the surrounding geography, displaying alignment with and projecting subsequent advice from the professional on what to do in there, and subsequently obtaining confirmation from the professional. This study contributes to research on advice-recipient practices in institutional settings by showing that, concerning future encounters within the institutional network, participants' orientation to reference to places both allow clients to assert their competence and commitment to actively participate in the management of their extended institutional process and professionals to ensure clients' understanding of what to do in order to obtain institutional support.

Thu-1-2-12

Munhoz Xavier, Carla Cristina  
Sheffield University

### Mother's reparative repetitions: a resort to maintain intersubjectivity

Intersubjectivity plays an important role in language development, especially when mothers and children face problems of acceptability. In certain situations, mothers may let the children's mistakes pass if they are in the position to understand what the children said. In other cases, mothers may find the children's prior turn unacceptable. Faced with this interactional possibility, mothers may initiate a repair sequence to give the children a chance to improve their prior utterances in some way. These repair practices underlie the capacity of the speakers to talk together and to understand each other [1, 3]. Following the interactional phonetics methodological approach [2], and taking into consideration the analytic importance of the next turn and sequential implicature, this study investigates how the speakers negotiate the action done by the mothers' reparative repetition of the children's (mean age 2.5) previous turns in everyday Brazilian Portuguese conversations. This study shows that the mothers' reparative repetitions are linguistically and sequentially designed to help to diagnose the problem in the troublesome turn. Phonetically, the mothers' repetitions to correct pronunciation are produced with significant syllable lengthening and rising pitch patterns, and these cues are understood by the children as an invitation to correct their prior turn. However, the children are not always able to distinguish the action done by their mothers' repetition. In the case of reparative repetitions produced with a rise-fall intonation contour, the speakers seem to orient to the mothers' repetition in different ways, although both treat it as a repair initiator. The children treat it as a hearing trouble, while the mothers' subsequent talk provides evidence that the repetition was designed to correct the children's lexical choice. The results show that the children's ability to understand mothers' repetitions addressing pronunciation problems come before the ability to understand repetitions that address problems of lexical choice.

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Thu-2-1-10

Muntigl, Peter  
Simon Fraser University

Co-presenter: Lynda Chubak

Entering Chair Work in Emotion-Focused Therapy: The epistemic and deontic achievement of intersubjective understandings.

Emotion-Focused Therapy/EFT tends to incorporate two forms of practices: EFT therapists follow the clients' personal experiences by heightening awareness and validating their emotions; they also select more directive process-guiding interventions to lead clients, in order to resolve an identified emotional processing difficulty in adaptive ways (Greenberg, 2010). The practices of both following and leading the client during therapy make it incumbent on EFT therapists to appropriately navigate two central domains of interaction. First, by following their clients, therapists are often attuned to their clients' epistemic entitlements and their primary rights and access to own experiences (Heritage, 2013). Second, and in contrast, leading clients orients more to the deontic concerns (Stevanovic & Svennevig, 2015) of recruiting clients in emotion-focused therapeutic tasks. Using the methods of conversation analysis, we examine an EFT intervention termed chair work (Greenberg, 2002). Data consist of ten one-hour videotaped psychotherapy sessions involving three therapists and four clinically-depressed clients in which therapists make proposals for clients to speak with either a conflicted aspect of self (two-chair work) or with a non-present significant other to address unresolved feelings or 'unfinished business' (empty-chair work). For this paper, we explore the intersubjective challenges that arise when clients are mobilized to speak with a personified vacant chair. When entering chair work, therapists and clients were found to work through epistemic and deontic concerns. Epistemically, the therapeutic interaction focuses first on gaining client confirmation about what is experientially relevant for the client. On the deontic side, therapists and clients then negotiate rights regarding directing chair work entry. Successful initiation of chair work is predicated on the client's approval or consent towards a therapist's "proposal for action". Thus, we argue that chair work involves securing intersubjective understandings in both epistemic and deontic domains.

Thu-1-1-12

Mushin, Ilana  
University of Queensland

Co-presenter: Rod Gardner

Engaging with others to become a school learner in a culturally diverse classroom

In Australia, children begin their schooling at around 5 years. In their first year children must acculturate to school to become classroom learners. This can be particularly challenging if children do not already speak the language of schooling (i.e. Standard Australian English) at home, because children must acculturate to ways of learning in a new institutional as well as linguistic environment.

In this presentation we focus on ways children engage with others to do learning in a school where over 50% of children speak a language other than English at home, and come from a range of cultural backgrounds. We have more than 20 hours of transcribed video recordings of classes collected over one school year. As each child wore a voice recorder we are mostly able to hear each child clearly.

The analysis is on how children engage in an independent task that was instructed to the whole class by the teachers, undertaken in small groups. We focus on a) how children demonstrate understanding or non-understanding of task instructions, b) how they recruit others (teacher or fellow students) to confirm or assist in developing understanding (cf. Kendrick & Drew 2016), c) how they self-select to assist others. In the spirit of Conversation Analytic studies of Early Childhood Education (e.g. Danby 1998, Theobald et al 2015, Bateman 2015), we examine the embodied, linguistic and material resources by which children display their actions, and respond to others' actions. Thus we are able to see where and how intersubjectivity is established and sustained, and where it breaks down as children develop ways of becoming school learners through their interactions. We are also able to identify where the linguistic backgrounds of children may be a factor in engaging themselves and others to do learning, and where it is not.

Thu-2-2-6

Niemi, Jarkko  
University of Helsinki

### Agreeing on 'the next step' in a Business-to-Business sales meeting

In contrast to Business-to-Customer (B-to-C) sales interaction, in Business-to-Business (B-to-B) sales interaction it is rare to make a sale on first couple of contacts with a potential customer. Thus it is one of most important objectives of the salespeople also in a face-to-face business meeting with the representative(s) of a customer firm to agree on 'the next step': what could the salesperson (SP) and the customer (C) agree to do next after the meeting in order to advance the sales process one step further. In addition, without an agreement on the next step, the sales meeting can be considered as a failure at least from the SP's perspective. Recognizing the importance of the next step, it is hardly surprising that the earlier literature on B-to-B sales usually states that it is SP's task to propose a commitment that will move the sale forward in some way, and it is recommended that the commitment proposed is the highest realistic commitment C is able to give. Drawing on Conversation Analysis as method and 23 video-recorded B-to-B sales meetings in the Helsinki area with a total running time of 25 hours and 27 minutes as data, this paper investigates by who, how and at what point of the meeting the next step is proposed and discussed in B-to-B sales meetings. The paper demonstrates that the participants in a B-to-B meeting orient to the next step and the process of agreeing on it as a part of a B-to-B meeting. As a consequence, it is demonstrated that also C may propose the next step. Finally, the paper considers the intersubjective understanding between the participants. This understanding is the basis on which SP builds her or his evaluation of the highest commitment C can give.

Thu-3-2-7

Nomikou, Iris  
University of Portsmouth

Co-presenters: Alicja Radkowska, Joanna Rczaszek-Leonardi, Katharina J. Rohlfing

Taking up an active role in play routines: co-constructing intersubjective experiences

Recent work positions anew the origins of the self in infants' early social interactions. These approaches (e.g. Reddy et al., 2013) propose that by being engaged in recurrent interactions, infants as young as two months construct intersubjective experiences, by being aware of other people's behavior towards them. For the development of intersubjectivity, Rczaszek-Leonardi and colleagues (2013) propose that in everyday interactions, caregivers attribute an active role in the ongoing activity to infants' behavior, and thus the infant experiences him or herself as an agent from early on. It is further suggested that infants' initially non-specific behavior is scaffolded to become intentional and conventionalised. In this paper we consider social routines as a context in which the beginnings of intersubjectivity can be observed. More specifically, we focus on peek-a-boo (see also Bruner & Sherwood, 1976), as an 'action format' (Bruner, 1983). Due to its interactive nature, this activity entails a particular temporal order of individual actions and junctures in which specific behaviors are expected. By looking at the sequential organization of verbal and non-verbal resources used by mothers and infants during peek-a-boo interactions, the analysis will focus on the development of the infants' active participation in the game. Furthermore, by following interactions over time, it will be shown how infants' initial use of resources is narrowed down to the conventionalized means of the routine. By acting appropriately within such a routine, we argue that infants co-construct sequences of actions and display early intersubjective understanding. For the analysis we draw from a corpus of 20 Polish mother-infants dyads filmed during a peek-a-boo game, when the infants were 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 10 and 12 months of age.

Thu-1-2-7

Norrthon, Stefan  
Stockholm University

To stage a quarrel - The intersubjectivity work of what to tell - and how - at the theatre

Theatre work is intersubjectivity work: theatre is a collective art form where many voices participate: the voice of the playwright, the fictitious characters, the directors, the actors, the scenographer and so on. These voices have a premiere date to relate to, by when they must agree on what to tell how. In this presentation I identify key features in the intersubjectivity work when actors and the director rehearse a scene where the characters are quarrelling. Theatre rehearsals include a fictive "conversation": verbal utterances and stage directions are declared in the written play. In this case, the participants know from the beginning that the scene will end with shouting and a physical fight. In the work of "what to tell - and how", the participants interpret and discuss how to understand the written play, and various multimodal resources (cf. Mondada 2014), like movements, gaze, tempo etc. are tested, modified and repeated. This makes a multimodal analysis necessary (see Goodwin, 2007, Mondada 2014, 2016) and the method used is Conversation Analysis. The study focuses on the rehearsals of one specific scene, and forms part of my ongoing dissertation, which is based on a corpus of 82 hours of video recorded theatre rehearsals. One observation that I will discuss is that actions that clearly belong to the theatrical world often are used in meta discussions about the work. Another observation is that early in the process, participants often relate the fictitious situation to the world outside the rehearsal room, for example to movies or other plays, and to shared or private experiences. References like these seem to play an important role in achieving intersubjectivity about what to tell, and how, at the theatre.

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Sat-1-3-7

Ogden, Richard  
University of York

### The role of clicks in action delivery and ascription

A fundamental problem for speakers in conversation is the delivery and recognition of social action. This paper examines the contribution of clicks - a vocal but not verbal, paralinguistic practice - in the delivery of social action in English.

Clicks in English have a complex semiosis. As sound objects (Reber 2012), they sit on the margin of what is typically considered to be linguistic. At their least linguistic, they are vegetative sounds produced as a speaker prepares to talk (Scobbie, Schaeffler & Mennen 2011, Ogden 2013); iconically they project talk by marking incipient speakership (Wright 2011, Ogden 2013, Kendrick & Torreira 2015). At their most linguistic, clicks can be produced with phonetic features like nasalisation, lip rounding, or repetition. They may also be accompanied by e.g. gestures or facial expressions. These clicks seem to be grammaticised practices whose meaning is arbitrary, language- and sequence-specific; and they bear affective meaning. The analysis is based on a collection of over 200 clicks from a corpus of American English phone calls, and c. 7 hr of conversation, and focuses on 'linguistic' clicks, where iconic interpretations are least available, and where it is hardest to invoke iconic interpretations based on 'preparations for speaking': clicks post-positioned after a TCU; multiple clicks; and standalone clicks in the place of a full responsive TCU with verbal content. The role of clicks in establishing intersubjectivity is complex and often ambiguous, partly because of their minimal form, their marginal linguistic status (as well as position in TCUs), and also because their simplest, most iconic function is turn projection. Often, the best conclusion is that 'deliberate' clicks express an ambiguous affective stance, and for participants this ambiguity is a useful resource: clicks provide a way for speakers to express something that they are not easily accountable for.

Sat-2-1-12

Okada, Misao  
Hokusei Gakuen University

### Imperative actions in Japanese boxing sparring sessions

People tell someone to do something in many ways and on many occasions. This paper examines such 'directive' actions occurring in Japanese boxing sparring sessions where a coach tells the boxer to do some boxing movements. In particular, the paper focuses on one grammatical resource, i.e. imperatives, and analyzes what the coach is doing by doing the directive action through imperatives.

The paper demonstrates that imperatives in the sparring sessions are used not only before the targeted action but also at the same time as or even after the boxer has already started that action by himself. Before the targeted action, the imperatives are often used to seek the boxer's immediate compliance. In contrast, when imperatives are used concurrently or after the boxer's performance of the targeted action, the coach affirms his engagement in that action. Moreover, after the onset of the targeted action, by using imperatives together with other vocal and embodied resources, such as describing the 'front' body position of the just-then staggering opponent, the coach can also connect that targeted action with what the boxer should be noting 'now' in the boxing circumstance (e.g. the 'front' body position). In other words, she unpacks the logic regarding when to use the targeted boxing move and persists in telling him. Thus, the coach's imperative actions can also have an instructional character in the sequential and embodied environments.

Since imperative forms alone are not sufficient to recognize the actions that they indicate, what makes the participants achieve and maintain intersubjective understanding of the actions is a major issue that we need to examine (Mondada 2014, Kent and Kendrick 2016). This paper demonstrates that detailed analyses of the sequential and embodied environments in which the imperatives are embedded enable us to see specific directive actions through imperatives.

Thu-3-2-10

Oloff, Florence  
University of Zurich

## Revisiting “absent” responses to pre-emptive completions through video data

In this paper I wish to explore sequences in which pre-emptive completions (Lerner 1991, 1996) of a previous turn are not audibly responded to. These “zero appreciations” (Antaki, Díaz & Collins 1996) have been suggested to disregard or reject the candidate completion (Lerner 2004). Disregarded completions might be popularly thought of as being disaffiliative (Günthner 2013), however, they might also be linked to other-repair (Brenning 2015) or to highly collaborative joint storytellings (Mondada 1999). Although an unfilled receipt slot (Lerner 2004) thus seems to occur in a variety of co-constructive sequence types, up to now no systematic investigation of “absent” responses in the third turn has been carried out, moreover, previous observations have been based on audio data only. I therefore suggest an exploration of audibly absent responses to candidate completions based on video-recorded ordinary conversations in German. A sequential and multimodal approach to social interaction (Goodwin 1981, Streeck et al. 2011, Mondada 2013, Hazel et al. 2014) reveals that the absence of a verbal response in the receipt slot should not be mistaken for an absent response or the rejection of the candidate completion. Considering embodied conduct, three collections can be established: (1) Neither audible nor visible response in the receipt slot, (2) Absence of audible response, visible response only (e.g. head nod), (3) Delayed response to the candidate completion after an “absent” response. This systematic approach can show how participants shape and handle candidate completions as being non-relevant or competitive (1), as collaborative or in need of repair (2), or as being possibly ill-timed (3, often related to the management of several recipients). I aim at illustrating how participants design multimodal actions following a candidate completion as “rejections”, “late” or “inserted” responses, or “non-responses”, and how they accomplish, maintain, and re-establish mutual understanding in co-constructive sequences.

Sat-2-2-6

Ostermann, Ana Cristina  
Universidade do Vale do Rio dos Sinos (UNISINOS)

oka:y .h ah: you so- okay mam (.) do you consider yourself heterosexual? Intersubjectivity in action (and at stake) in survey question-answer sequences about sexual orientation

This paper draws from a larger study that analyzes interactions between call takers at a Brazilian governmental toll free health helpline and women that seek the service. The larger data set from which this paper derives comprise 126 audio-recorded interactions, all fully transcribed. This paper investigates, by means of conversation analytical methods, the final phase of those phone calls: when the institutional representative (i.e. call taker) conducts an institutional survey which contains, among a number of demographic questions, one that enquires about the caller's sexual orientation. The analysis shows that asking and answering about sexual orientation in these interactions reveals to be a highly complex activity on what concerns achieving intersubjective understanding. This is evidenced by comparing the sexual orientation question-answer sequence to any other question-answer sequence in the survey, such as education and income. The sequences about sexual orientation differ from all other question-answer sequences as they extend over several turns and demand a number of repairing practices. In order to request that information from the callers, call takers modify the institutional guidelines by transforming what was originally proposed to be an open question ("What is your sexual orientation?") into polar-questions ("Are you a heterosexual?" or "Do you consider yourself heterosexual?") or, less frequently, into an alternative-question ("Are you a homosexual or heterosexual?"). The sequential examination of the trajectories the interactions take from that point on, in particular, the participants' extensive work towards the resolution of problems of intersubjectivity, reveals the interactional consequences that (1) the use of a polar-question format for inquiring about sexual orientation and (2) the specific lexical selection of "heterosexual" in such a question occasion, transforming what had started off as a survey interaction into a new activity all together that resembles second-language classroom interactions.

Thu-1-3-8

Persson, Rasmus  
Linköping University / University of York

Incomplete utterances and intersubjectivity: 'Fill-in-the-blank questions' in interaction

This contribution focuses on syntactically incomplete utterances as a resource for information-seeking in French. Such designedly incomplete utterances (DIUs) are designed to project a response in the form of a syntactically fitted completion that conveys the requested information. Thus, the completion is made conditionally relevant next, and typically the addressee does provide it. The sequence [DIU]–[completion] constitutes a question–answer pair, and thereby differs from other collaboratively produced utterances. One important component of the practice is that the “missing” talk projectably conveys something that the DIU speaker can be heard as enquiring about (e.g. a name/number/time), and over which the addressee has relative epistemic authority. Compare, e.g., with collaborative completions occurring in word searches, where the turn’s “author” can assert authority over candidate completions, by confirmation/disconfirmation.

Data come from naturally occurring French talk-in-interaction from a variety of institutional and everyday settings, and the approach draws on interactional linguistics and conversation analysis.

The contribution connects with the conference theme by highlighting how participants' intersubjective, mutual attributions of epistemic status are crucial for how the grammatical incompleteness is understood and treated. The focal practice presupposes intersubjective understandings of what participants know and are responsible for knowing. While epistemic status is crucial for action formation in many areas (e.g. declarative questions), this phenomenon illustrates that epistemics is not merely a resource for processing “finished” chunks of language, as a subsequent interpretive module applied only to possibly complete linguistic units, but also a resource for interpreting and ascribing action import to emerging talk, with intersubjectivity being established and maintained not only between turns but also during turns. The turn-constructive system and the action formation system, then, are not entirely independent, but may be interconnected in important ways: whether some spate of talk will be a complete turn may hinge on its action import.

Fri-1-3-10

Peräkylä, Anssi  
University of Helsinki

Co-presenter: Jörg Bergmann

The dream as an (inter-)subjective object: Interpretation of dreams in the light of conversation analysis

Compared with other experiences in the life world, dreaming is an utmost subjective experience. There are no other spectators, no witnesses, nobody who could share the dreaming experience itself. Because of their deeply subjective nature dreams are a most valuable resource in psychotherapeutic work. However, in the telling of a dream the purely subjective experience has to be couched in ways and formats which makes the dream event accessible and intersubjectively available for the psychotherapist.

Using data coming from audio recorded psychoanalytic sessions in Germany and Finland, we will offer observations on the delivery and reception of dream narratives. In particular, we will examine the ways in which the patient and the therapist, in the discussion that follows the dream narration, establish shared understanding about the ways in which the dream is linked to the 'real world' experiences of the patient. A standard sequence in this dream interpretation involves therapists' formulations of the patient's everyday experience and/or the dream experience in such terms that make apparent the linkages between the two realms of experience. Furthermore, the therapists can "insert" figures of speech that originate in the dreams, into talk that focuses on the everyday experience, and thereby show the fit between two kinds of experience. While the dream is initially narrated, it is typically portrayed as an imposed experience: something that "just" happens to the patient, who is the passive receiver and observer of the events in the dream. Through the dream interpretation, the dream experience gets reframed: it becomes the patient's creation. This transition from an imposed dream to a created dream invokes the patient's accountability for the dream, and thereby, for the (often inconvenient) real life experiences that the dream gets linked to.

Thu-3-3-12

Pino, Marco  
Loughborough University

### Conflict initiation in Therapeutic Community meetings

Research in conversation analysis has shown that people's actions overwhelmingly embody a cooperative stance in conversational interaction. People methodically work to promote and sustain states of intersubjective understanding with each other. For instance, they overwhelmingly shape their responsive actions to display alignment to the projects embodied in their interlocutors' initiating actions. In this research I examine practices that people use when they depart from such cooperative alignments in the service of other projects. Specifically, I am asking how people initiate episodes of conflictual talk.

My data consist of 24 audio-visually recorded group meetings for people with drug addiction; the group meetings are led by support staff and employ a residential approach to treatment called Therapeutic Community. The group meetings were recorded in Italy, and the people in the recordings speak Italian. I am using conversation analysis to examine a collection of reciprocal accusations.

An example of such sequences is a staff member accusing a client of inappropriate conduct; rather than producing an aligning response (e.g. admission that they have done something wrong, apology, or commitment to change the criticized behavior) the client issues a counter-accusation; i.e., they accuse the staff member of inappropriate conduct. My analyses indicate that the sequential slot after the counter-accusation is crucial for entering a state of conflict. After the counter-accusation, it is available to the staff member that the client has not aligned to the initial accusation; the staff member has thereby an opportunity to back down, e.g. by modifying the initial action or mitigating it. Alternatively, the staff member can avoid aligning to the client's counter-accusation, and instead reiterate the initial accusation against the client. In the latter case, typically, the conflict is expanded with both participants iteratively pursuing mutually incompatible interactional projects – accusing the other of inappropriate conduct.

Thu-3-1-12

Potter, Jonathan  
Rutgers, State University of New Jersey

Co-presenters: Alexa Hepburn, Galina Bolden

### Subversive completions in interaction

Collaborative completions - whereby a single sentence is collaboratively produced by different parties across turns of talk - are among the most sophisticated examples of coordinated behavior, since they require a recipient to closely monitor and project upcoming details of the unfolding action (Lerner, 1987, 1989, 1991, 1996). By producing a collaborative completion of the speaker's utterance, the recipient does not simply claim understanding of the other's actions, but presents clear evidence for it.

In this paper we describe a special use of this practice, which we are calling 'subversive completions', whereby the incoming speaker designs their grammatically fitted completion so as to subvert the action of the unfolding turn and the ongoing sequence. In the following excerpt, TS is justifying her stance against women being presidents, and R's subversive completion (line 2) undermines this course of action:

```
01 TS: I may be:::
02 Rpt: -> Er: closed minded.
03 TS: No- <yea:h we:ll no:
04          ((bystander laughter))
```

This case illustrates some common features of subversive completions: They are grammatically fitted to the preceding turn, often respond to the prior speaker's word search, and produced for humorous or teasing effect. Employing conversation analysis of English and Russian data, we examine environments and uses of this practice, its uptake, and its relationship to other forms of anticipatory completion. Discussion will show how this practice of ostensibly finishing another speaker's utterances-in-progress shows us how the locally and sequentially managed nature of intersubjectivity provides a resource for subversion.

Sat-1-2-12

Pütz, Ole  
Bielefeld University

## Vagueness as a Resource in Planning: The Case of Anti-nuclear Groups

Garfinkel showed that the vagueness of language is a prerequisite for a common understanding of participants. Garfinkel (1967) argues that all expressions are indexical because they rely on their context to be understood. Common understanding is a process in interaction that is always ongoing. Participants will let expressions pass without being certain of their meaning, hoping that the future course of the interaction will help to clarify them. Ethnomethodologists believe that indexicality is an irrevocable feature of social life, yet there have only been a few explorations of indexicality as an empirical phenomenon, for example Liberman's (1980, 2012, 2013) research on cross-cultural communication. Yet while there is a continuous 'drift' (Liberman 2012) of meanings over the course of an interaction, meanings also solidify at certain points. Participants develop an understanding of what a particular expression means for this interaction or how a particular topic is to be understood now. Through 'formulations' (Heritage & Watson 1980), participants express their understanding of previous talk, but a solidification of meanings can also be collaboratively produced over a stretch of talk, which becomes clear if we consider such collaborative tasks as planning and decision-making. My research on planning in meetings of anti-nuclear groups shows that activists wait for meanings to establish themselves, and collaboratively produce these meanings by showing support or adding their own ideas to a proposal for action. By being vague and avoiding personal pronouns, activists can involve other participants and test which positions are shared by others, and they can do so without exposing themselves individually and committing prematurely to a course of action that is yet unclear. In this sense, proposals that are vague in the beginning solidify as the discussion continues; the initial vagueness of proposals is a resource that participants draw upon to collectivize proposals and achieve consensus.

Thu-1-2-10

Raevaara, Liisa  
University of Helsinki

Enacting participants and enacted characters on stage. Sustaining mutual understanding of changing perspectives in theatre rehearsals

The study investigates exercises that are part of theatre rehearsals. It focuses on episodes during which the participants of the group practice to construct stage roles or fictional characters, and reflect on the exercise. Often the participants try to construct and modify the stage characters by using various types of embodied means, slow or hasty tempo of their movements, gestures and body postures associated with different social statuses, etc. During or after the exercise they also discuss, e.g., comment, evaluate or explain, the actions and appearance of the enacted characters. Using CA as a method, the study examines how the participants verbally refer and bodily orient to each other during the episodes in focus. The verbal reference may be conducted by second or first person forms, but also by third person forms (e.g., se 'it', hän '(s)he', toi tyyppi 'that guy'). Through these verbal choices accompanied with other turn design features and embodied orientations the one referred to may be treated as an agentive and accountable participant, or alternatively, as a non-participant, a fictional character belonging to the world of discourse. The study aims to examine how the participants, through verbal and embodied means, construct and negotiate the point of view from which the actions and participation are looked at, and how they sustain intersubjective understanding of the continuously changing perspectives. The data used consist of videotaped theatre rehearsals. The study is part of a larger project Art as work and working tool which studies an annual theatre project for young adults. The participants do not need to have any previous experience in theatre making. They work five weeks together with professional artists and produce a performance for Festival of Urban Art. The data for the research project was collected during summer periods 2014-2016.

Sat-1-1-7

Raymond, Chase Wesley  
University of Colorado, Boulder

### On the accountability of commonsense inferences: Grammar in the service of intersubjectivity

In previous research, I examined a collection of 237 instances of what I have termed the 'do-construction' in English conversation (i.e., The kids do eat cake; cf. The kids eat cake). By way of its morphosyntactic and prosodic markedness (see Levinson 2000), it was argued that, across a variety of sequential positions and in conjunction with a range of social actions, at its core this grammatical construction serves to index a contrast with a prior understanding. The present paper is concerned with a subset of cases within this dataset in which an interesting repair-like practice emerged. In this subset of cases, the contrast indexed through use of the do-construction is not with the content proper of a prior utterance or sequence of utterances, but rather with a potential implication thereof. That is, this grammatical construction is routinely mobilized to index contrasts not only with explicit or otherwise demonstrated understandings, but also with possible ambiguities and potential misapprehensions that might be gleaned from prior talk. Through the use of the do-construction in such contexts, speakers can be seen to be actively holding themselves accountable for the commonsense inferences (Garfinkel 1967; Schütz 1962) that prior talk may have generated, while simultaneously working to refine and shore up the 'shared understanding' being developed with their hearers. This particular turn design thus offers us a case study in how grammar, specifically, can be deployed in turn-by-turn talk in the service of achieving an "updated intersubjective understanding" (Heritage & Atkinson 1984:11) with recipients. I conclude with a discussion of where and how this particular practice fits in with other operations that exist in what Schegloff (1982: 91) has referred to as "the organizational domain of repair", as well as comment on the relationship of such operations to accountability, commonsensicality, and normativity in interaction.

Fri-1-2-10

### Failed Teases as Intersubjective Practice in Family Interaction

This paper examines how semiotic resources are deployed in the sequential construction of actions that accomplish familial emotion. The research is based on a multimodal discourse analysis of a 50-hour corpus of U.S. home movies, focusing on how participants coordinate attention, gaze, smiling, and orientation to objects to do teasing sequences. Based on an inspection of 22 “failed teases”, the analysis shows how responsive actions resisting displays of understanding can be a practice for constituting “affection” and relational intersubjectivity in family interactions.

For example, in an interaction in which a young girl (Samantha) is distributing Christmas gifts, her grandfather (Jack) deliberately misreads the label on the gift being proffered to him (lines 6, 8, 10) and withholds the expected action (to accept the gift) in order to delay closing the sequence and to make a sort of joke that teases the granddaughter about the contents of the gift.

```
1 Samantha:          (°for you°)
2 Jack: o:h really? °For goodness sakes°
3 (1.0)
4 Jack: well look at that,
5 Samantha:          (°it's for you°)
6 Jack: a`h look it this is for,#
7 (0.5)
8 Jack: you,
9 (0.5)
10 Jack: and Jennifer.#
11 (0.5)
12 Jack: also.
13 Jack: see: and Benny.
14 (0.5)
15 Jack: >so you know< there's
16          dog bones in there #
```

Simultaneously to these verbal expansion tactics, Jack uses the gift as an attention getting and maintaining device (taking/holding it but noticeably not “accepting”) that keeps Samantha interacting with him (lines 6, 10). Upon receipt of the punchline, Samantha smiles but averts gaze and turns away, closing the sequence (line 16). In second position, resisting aligning with the proposed activity was a way of expanding a sequence to accomplish an embedded teasing sequence. By minimally cooperating with this insertion, participants ratified the value of intersubjective interaction for its own sake despite refraining from preferred displays of receipt of the tease.

Rossi, Giovanni  
University of Helsinki

### Composite social actions

The formation and ascription of social action is a cornerstone of intersubjectivity. When taking a turn at talk, a speaker normally accomplishes a purposive action such as a question, answer, agreement, complaint, request. Sometimes, however, a turn at talk may accomplish not a single but a composite action, involving a combination of two or more actions. Composite social actions have received much attention in social and linguistic science, particularly in speech act theory. Yet when it comes to their formation and ascription in everyday interaction, our understanding is still limited. Drawing on a video corpus of Italian, I examine turns at talk that report on a state of affairs in the near environment (e.g. "the water is boiling", "the dishes are blocking the drain", "it's not half bottle yet"). I show that this practice is recurrently used to implement both a request and an informing or, alternatively, a request and a complaint about the recipient's behaviour. While documenting these combinations, I also discuss certain aspects of indeterminacy in the categorisation of action, and use these to draw some general implications for the study of social action

Fri-1-1-6

Routarinne, Sara  
University of Helsinki

Co-presenter: Liisa Tainio

### Referring to Self and Other in Finnish invitations

This paper focuses on linguistic practices of achieving intersubjectivity in constructing and interpreting invitations in Finnish phone-calls. By invitations we refer to a common social activity where an inviter requests a recipient (Other) to spend time together (Eslami, 2005; Bella, 2009). Our research question is geared around the issue of how inviter (Self) and invitee (Other) are referred to in invitation sequences (cf. Couper-Kuhlen & Etelämäki, 2014). In our collection of 42 invitation sequences, drawn from a large corpus of naturally occurring telephone calls among friends and family, we found three types of invitations: 1) firstborn, 2) reissued, and 3) pop-up invitations. A vast majority of these were delivered in declarative format (e.g. "Tuota meidän tupaantuliaiset on kaheskymmenesyhdeksäs päivä," "Well our house-warming party is on the twenty-ninth"). This format creates an opportunity for the receiver to comprehend the utterance either as an invitation, or as a news announcement that can be responded to as news (cf. Drew 1984). Invitations are socially delicate actions: they simultaneously do a favor and make an imposition. In our presentation we discuss the consequences of this to the linguistic design of Finnish invitations. Our analysis shows that Finnish invitations are characterized by avoidance of volitional verbs, extensive use of conditional mood, and employment of morpho-syntactic resources such as passive voice, zero-person constructions, and various suffixes. In addition, the caller usually places Self as an agent and clausal subject. Thus, in line with Couper-Kuhlen and Etelämäki (2014) we suggest that Finnish invitations are grounded as actions that present the Self with a main obligation, as the one who assumes the main responsibility for both the management of this complex social action and their future get-together. Simultaneously, the design allows the inviter to avoid intruding on the uncomfortable territory of compelling Others to produce dispreferred social actions.

Fri-1-3-6

Rumm, Andra  
University of Tartu

Partial repeats of the preceding turn combined with a question word “mis” ‘what’ in Estonian everyday interaction

The presentation focuses on constructions which are formed by a question word “mis” ‘what’ plus a repetition of the word from the previous turn (see example 1, line 3).

(1)

01 L: /---/ tahab seda `konspekti `minukäest=et tahab `eksamit teha. hõõ (.)  
          he wants those notes from me=that he wants to take the exam (.)

02 \* ma ütsin [et nojah.] \*  
          I said oh well

03 M:                   [`mis konspekti.]  
                          what notes

04 L: tekstoloogia.  
          textology

05 M: aa  
          oh

The study suggests that the construction What X? is used for initiating a repair to solve troubles of understanding (example 1) or for displaying disbelief. Two crucial factors for interpreting the construction are prosody (unmarked vs. marked) and recipient’s response (short vs. long). Prosodically unmarked What X? is used to initiate a repair. In this case, questioners stress the question word “mis” ‘what’ (example 1, line 3). Prosodically marked What X? is used to display disbelief towards the recipients talk. In that case, questioners stress the word from the trouble source turn. A short response to What X? shows that the recipient has treated the previous utterance as an other-initiated repair (example 1, line 4). By giving a long response (incl. extra information, explanations) to What X?, the recipient treats the construction as an action which displays disbelief. The material of the study consists of everyday conversations between speakers of Estonian. The data come from the Corpus of Spoken Estonian of the University of Tartu. The approach of the study is interactional linguistics.

Thu-2-2-10

Rumsey, Alan  
Australian National University, Canberra

### Children's language learning, 'inner speech' and the development of intersubjectivity

Since 2013, in collaboration with Francesca Merlan I have been engaged in a major longitudinal study of children's language acquisition and the development of intersubjectivity in Ku Waru, a Papuan language spoken in the Western Highlands of Papua New Guinea. One of the main aims of the project is to redress a big imbalance in the range of languages in which such studies have been carried out, which have been confined mainly to European ones. That imbalance has led to false generalizations based on incorrect assumptions about the universality of particular linguistic structures, including, for example finite complement constructions of the kind that are used in English to represent locutions, thoughts and other mental processes, e.g. 'He thought he found his ring'. Pyers (2006) has argued that children's acquisition of such constructions is an essential prerequisite for their development of false-belief understanding, and therefore of their capacity for full intersubjective engagement. In common with many languages of the world, Ku Waru lacks finite complement constructions, instead making use of what looks like direct quotation to represent thoughts and other mental processes as 'inner speech', e.g., 'He went "I've found my ring" ' (cf. Reesink 1993). Here I will examine the use of those represented-speech constructions in conversational interaction involving children, and demonstrate the key role they play in the development of intersubjectivity (including false-belief understanding) and child language socialization. In conclusion I will reiterate the need to broaden the range of languages and cultures in which such processes are studied.

Pyers, J. 2006. Constructing the social mind: Language and false-belief understanding. In Enfield, N and Levinson, S. (eds.) *Roots of Human Sociality*. Oxford: Berg. Pp. 207-228.

Reesink, G. 1993. "Inner Speech" in Papuan Languages. *Languages and Linguistics in Melanesia* 24:217-225.

Thu-2-1-6

Rääbis, Andriela  
University of Tartu

## Offers in Estonian everyday telephone conversations

This study discusses the use of different offer formats in Estonian everyday telephone conversations. The data come from the Corpus of Spoken Estonian of the University of Tartu, which comprises 165 everyday telephone conversations. There are 41 offers in the collection. Offers are produced with different grammatical formats in Estonian: - declaratives (ma saadan sulle ühe väga=ea ret`septi. "I'll send you a very good recipe."); - modalized declaratives (m:a=võin `elistada ja `küside. "I can call and ask."); - interrogatives (sa aput `kurki ka `tahad=või. "Do you want some pickled cucumbers?"); - conditional + main clause constructions (ma võin sulle selle ühe `riiuli anda kui sa tahad I can give you the shelf if you want.); - division-of-labor constructions (Couper-Kuhlen, Etelämäki 2014) (sa pead mulle oma `graafiku andma sis ma akkan sulle `elistama iga omiku "you must give me your schedule then I'll call you every morning"). Using the methodology of interactional linguistics I study how the different syntactic constructions used to make offers are related to: - the interactional situation and the sequential placement of the offer; - epistemic and deontic status and stance of interactants; - distribution of benefits and/or costs (Clayman, Heritage 2014).

Fri-2-1-6

Samaritter, Rosemarie  
Codarts Arts for Health Rotterdam

### Intersubjectivity in action - Kin-Aesthetic perspective to intersubjectivity

This presentation will propose and explore a dance informed perspective to intersubjectivity. Dancers participate in each other's movement actions. Non-verbal interpersonal engagement is at the base of the co-creation and the coregulation of shared kinaesthetic patterns. Participating in the partner's movement-patterns both dancers feel, through direct perception, the kinetic qualities of their own movement patterns and those of their partner. Kinaesthetic sensations deliver a direct feedback to their own action and to the action potential. Regulation of the shared dance is achieved by the individual's adjustments of their own impulses and their adaptation to the kinetic dynamics of the interaction (Morrissay, 2008). Within the shared kinetic qualities, a sense of intersubjective space develops (Samaritter & Payne, 2016).

Self-other-distinction develops directly on the experiential level through the variations of dance and attunement patterns applied by the partnering dancers. The dynamic system of the dancing dyad organizes towards attunement or disattunement (De Jaegher & Di Paolo, 2007).

Like in all forms of improvisation the information about how to move on comes from the circularity within the shared movement situation itself (Barrett, 2000; Shotter, 2010). In their own body the dancers know how to move on, because the situation "asks" for it. The situatedness of the individual's movement experience within the dancing dyad affords the momentum and movement forms. This is in line with Gadamer's (1977) concept of play as an emerging locus of intersubjective shared aesthetic experience.

#### Applicability:

The embodied responsiveness that is characteristic for the dance improvisations is disturbed in many psychiatric conditions. The kinaesthetic perspective to intersubjectivity may serve as a model on how to address the embodied experience of intersubjective space and the (kin)æsthetics of interpersonal relating in the psychotherapeutic treatment of individuals with a disturbed sense of self, like in autism, schizophrenia and attachment trauma.

Sat-2-2-10

Savijärvi, Marjo  
University of Helsinki

## Mutual coordination of verbal and embodied resources in theatre rehearsals

Using the method of Conversation Analysis, the study investigates how participants of a theatre project coordinate their verbal and embodied actions in Devising Theatre rehearsals. The rehearsals take place in a project that offers a summer job for the participants and produces a performance for Helsinki Urban Art Festival. The director is a professional but the participants need not have previous competence on acting. The data consist of videotaped rehearsals, recorded with three cameras during the summer periods in 2014-2016. The paper focuses on sequences that emerge between the rehearsing exercises, when the director tells the participants to move to a new constellation, e.g., from pairs to three-person-groups, in order to start a new exercise. The analyses reveal how the activity is organized in time and space, and what kinds of methods the members use when organizing new groups. The activity is mutually coordinated in finest detail. The shifts of orientation, as well as the actual moving into new groups, are partly sequential, but for the most part, simultaneously performed.

The study contributes to conversation analytic research on embodied interaction (e.g. Keevallik 2013; Mondada 2009). By analyzing members' methods when constructing embodied actions that are mutually coordinated and simultaneously achieved, in interaction that is profoundly creative, the paper opens new perspectives to the concept of intersubjectivity. It also discusses CA's possibilities in the research on performing arts.

### References:

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Sat-1-2-7

Schirm, R Samuel K  
University of Waterloo

### Negotiating relevance: German aha in the receipt of information

Response particles are a common resource to receipt information in German; in doing responding, German speakers have access to a range of particles. Some of these response particles are well-researched, e.g. ja (Betz, 2016; Imo, 2013), stimmt (Betz, 2015), German oh (Golato, 2012), differing prosodic realizations of achja (Betz & Golato, 2008), jaja (Golato & Fagyal, 2007; Barth-Weingarten, 2011), and ach and achso (Golato & Betz, 2008; Golato, 2010). While there is work on aha in German suggesting it has an several functions linked to different prosodic variants (see Zifonun et al., 1997; Imo, 2009), there is to date no conversation analytic research on this response particle.

Using CA and German data from both day-to-day and classroom interactions, I identify two prosodic variants of aha in German: aHA, with a rising-to-mid intonation, marking a piece of information as being unsolicited; and aHA. with falling intonation, marking the receipt of one piece of information as an element required but both insufficient and non-final for the completion a larger task. This suggests that German aha overlaps in function with aha in other languages: a prosodic variant of Polish aha indicates an increased level of informedness after receipting an answer that contains more information than requested (Weidner, 2016); and Finnish aha marks the receipt of a piece of information that redirects the speaker's current project (Koivisto, 2016). I then discuss these two variants in terms of the work the prosodic variants of aha do in establishing intersubjective understanding, the first variant indicating that a co-interactant is interactionally misaligned, the second marking a co-interactant's contribution as relevant but insufficient for completing the larger task at hand. I conclude by situating these findings on responsive aha in German within the larger body of research of German response particles.

Sat-1-2-6

Searles, Darcey K.  
Rutgers University

Co-presenter: Sarah Barriage

### Understanding and (Mis)understanding: Word Definitions in Family Interactions

While misunderstandings and repair have been heavily researched (e.g. Schegloff, 1987; Brinton, Fujiki, & Sonnenberg, 1988), there has been less focus on young children's misunderstandings of specific words or phrases that arise in conversation except in the context of second language learning (e.g. Temmerman, 2009; Luan & Sappathy, 2011; Lilja, 2014). This paper examines orientations to word definitions in everyday family interactions, focusing on three different types of orientations: solicited definitions, definitions that are provided without a solicitation from another, and "test questions".

Data collection for this study is currently ongoing, and at least three videos (of approximately 30 minutes in length) have been collected from 17 families with at least one child between the ages of 3 and 6, with a goal to collect from 20 families total. These videos include interactions between parents and child(ren) as well as between siblings, and consist of a variety of everyday family activities such as mealtimes and play. Thus far, a collection of 42 instances of word definitions have been transcribed and analyzed following the conventions of Conversation Analysis (Sidnell & Stivers, 2013).

In examining the three main ways that word definitions occur in everyday family interactions, we can see how intersubjectivity is managed in real-time as family members attempt to get "on the same page" in terms of defining and explaining words for each other. For example, the unfolding of a word definition can lead to overt disagreements or an interaction in which family members work to construct the meaning of a word together. Overall, this paper has greater implications for how definitions are performed interactionally. In everyday family interactions, definitions are moments for interactional negotiation of meaning, and not simply a product of the one-liners from a dictionary.

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Thu-2-4-8

Sikveland, Rein Ove  
Loughborough University

Co-presenter: Elizabeth Stokoe

### Exposing agendas to resist compromise in suicide interventions

This paper is based on a study of suicide interventions, in which hostage negotiators have been called out to deal with persons who threaten to take their own lives. The data consists of 13 audio-recorded cases from the London city-region. In these encounters we observed that participants regularly draw explicit attention to the authenticity and/or relevance of their talk. While negotiators often seek to maximise the authenticity/relevance of their actions, by for example claiming “all I want to do is help you”, or denying any ‘hidden agenda’, the suicidal persons undermine the negotiators’ authenticity/relevance through exposing ‘hidden’ aspects of their talk; for example, “if you think I’m that fucking stupid”, or “I don’t play that game”. We used conversation analysis to study such sequences of talk, focussing on how and when suicidal persons expose agendas in the negotiator’s talk. In particular we sought to identify sequential features warranting such exposure. We found that suicidal persons expose agendas to disaffiliate with the negotiator, and also, as a resource for disengaging with the conversation. We show that the opportunity for the suicidal persons to do so increases following a negotiator’s strong projection of agreement or affiliation. Also, when negotiators draw explicit attention to a current activity, such as “we’re talking great”, suicidal persons explicitly resist such activity. Through interpreting a sequence of talk as disingenuous, or irrelevant, the suicidal persons orient to the authenticity of, and commitment to, their own agenda. We show how these conversations are an ongoing battle to defend authenticity for both parties. We also highlight and discuss issues regarding the study of encounters where no video recordings are, or will be, available for research purposes.

Thu-2-1-12

Simonen, Mika  
University of Helsinki

### Using a yawn to express dogs' inner feelings

This paper addresses to the question whether intersubjectivity is limited to human interactions. Yawning is a way of expressing one's inner feelings without words. Researchers have suggested that yawning is a primordial form of sociality since virtually all humans (and dogs) do yawning. Dogs are special as they are capable of recognizing human yawning and then performing their own yawn. But little is known of their (and humans') yawning practices in social interaction. Animal studies suggest dogs might feel ambivalent or anxious when yawning. The aim of the paper is to investigate with conversation analysis how dogs deploy their yawning in terms of sequence organization and social reference. The videotaped data (n=49) were gathered from an experimental setting (the Boldness study, University of Helsinki and the Folkhälsan Research Center), where dogs and their owners performed various tasks. We found eight examples of yawning and the preliminary findings are the following. First, the dog was looking for social reference (i.e., the owner) before yawning in three cases. Humans were silent and the interactional floor was empty at the moment the dog initiated her action. Second, the dog was not looking for social reference in five cases. Humans were talking (i.e., the animal scientist gave instructions to the owner) and the dogs action was produced in overlap. Once the yawning dog moved her head downward as if trying to hide the yawning. No contagious yawning was observed in these cases. Together, the findings indicate that dogs take into account what humans are doing before initiating yawning. If they are talking, the dog might listen the talk and receive dogs' understanding of what is going on. The dog might need to check with the owner if no one is talking.

Sat-2-2-12

Smith, Michael Sean  
UCLA

## Navigating Physical & Epistemic Landscapes: How mobility in the field facilitates practitioners' mutual understanding of geologic phenomena

Communication within a scientific disciplines, especially within the interactions between novices and senior practitioners, provides a starting point for novices construction of relevant skills and knowledge. When these master-apprentice interactions occur in actual ongoing scientific practice, the ways and means by which novices are socialized into competent members provides for the systematic transformation of the natural world into the discursive objects that animate discourse with the discipline as a community of practice and body of knowledge. This process is multi-dimensional: it includes diverse physical and social spaces, incorporates various forms of materiality, and originates from within embodied inter-subjectivities that are interconnected and intertwined. This embodied learning is especially important in field geology, where research is carried out in open and heterogeneous wilderness settings - settings that are only amenable to analysis via a practitioners' movement through them, either alone or in concert with others. This mobile engagement in the landscape comprises an essential component in the creation, collection, and organization of the material and textual inscriptions that animate discourse in the geosciences.

I will argue in this paper that practitioners' movement plays a transformative role in geological fieldwork, and that in moving through a physical landscape, a practitioner simultaneously moves through an epistemic landscape, joining and dividing the physical topography into one comprised of analytical categories: bedding planes, folds, faults, etc. This study examines how practitioner's mobility in landscapes plays an integral part in the production of fieldwork and contributes to the discipline as a domain of knowledge and community of practice.

The data come from a video-recorded ethnography of a geology field course, where the novices participated in various activities related to geological sub-fields. The data was analyzed using approaches that prioritize situated and embodied action and interactional linguistics. Embodiment is analyzed here through the lens of a moving body. Through movement the body becomes what Merleau-Ponty described as the "measurement of the world", or a point of articulation where the world is joined and/or divided. From this viewpoint, in moving through the world, the geologist continuously articulates and re-articulates the landscape before him; what appears as phenomena at one point in time and space is mediated by what appears to the geologist in other points in time and space. In return, the landscape reciprocally articulates and re-articulates the geologist's subsequent perception. Perception then is neither a product of just the perceiver nor of just the landscape, but something that emerges in the interaction between.

Sat-1-2-10

Sorjonen, Marja-Leena  
University of Helsinki

Co-presenters: Liisa Raevaara, Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen

Turn design as a locus of intersubjectivity: Imperatively formatted turns

In broad terms, intersubjectivity involves mutual understanding and sharing of experience between humans. In social interaction, every turn, through its design, content, and sequential placement, shows how its speaker has understood the prior action and what kind of sequence and larger activity the participants are engaged in. Furthermore, each turn shows its speaker's understanding of what assumptions are shared with the co-interlocutor. In this paper, we will discuss turn design as a locus of intersubjectivity, focusing on imperatively formatted turns. We will start by laying out the grammatical characteristics of imperative clauses: among other things, imperative clauses have no modality, no tense, and no subject in their barest form. This means that turns designed minimally with imperative clauses display that their speakers assume that the action nominated is necessary or desirable, that it should be performed now, and that it is the addressee who should perform it. We will then show - on the basis of empirical research on the use of imperatives in a range of languages (Sorjonen/Raevaara/Couper-Kuhlen, eds., forthcoming) - that speakers design imperatively formatted turns to fit their assumptions about the on-going activity. Our argument is that speakers treat all such assumptions as intersubjectively shared. Finally, we will present cases in which recipients display through their verbal and embodied conduct that the speaker's assumptions are not shared. We will discuss cases in which an imperatively formatted turn is met with lack of commitment or resistance, showing that its design is subsequently modified. We will also demonstrate that the speaker of the imperative turn can anticipate resistance or lack of understanding and specify, for example, how, why, when, by whom, or for whom the action should be performed. The design of imperatively formatted turns in interaction thus allows us to see intersubjectivity at work.

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Thu-3-1-10

Steensig, Jakob  
Aarhus University

Co-presenters: Trine Heinemann, Caroline Grønkjær

Intersubjectivity and accountability - in responses to environmental noticings in Danish talk-in-interaction

Responses to initiating actions constitute one core position of intersubjectivity because respondents display how they understand the initiating action; correspondingly the participant initiating the action will inspect the response to see if it displays a satisfactory understanding. Our presentation focuses on 'environmental noticings'. They are useful for the study of intersubjectivity because the demand that the recipient reorients her understanding. Drawing on a large collection, from Danish face-to-face interactions in a variety of contexts, we investigate recipients' displayed understanding of relevant responsive actions to noticings. Earlier explorations (much of it conducted at The Centre of Excellence) has shown that 'environmental noticings' can be responded to in a range of different ways: Some noticings just request a display of attention (Steensig et al. 2015), others invite recipients to see the noticed object as evidence (Heinemann & Steensig, in prep.), and still others demand that recipients assess the noticed objects in specific ways (Heinemann 2016; Heinemann & Steensig in prep.; Koivisto 2015; Steensig et al 2015). Here, we will investigate both recipients' displayed understanding and how they are held accountable for their understandings. Our contribution is empirical and conversation-analytic, but we also address how intersubjectivity and moral accountability can be studied systematically. Verbal and other embodied resources will be investigated.

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Sat-2-1-7

Stevanovic, Melisa  
University of Helsinki

Co-presenter: Arniika Kuusisto

Legitimizing compliance, establishing “learnables”: On the use of imperative, hortative, declarative, and interrogative directives in Finnish music instrumental instruction

Teacher directives are a central aspect of instructional activities in many educational settings. In this paper, we study how Finnish music teachers use differently formatted directives. Our data consist of 10 video-recorded instrumental lessons (violin, piano, guitar, and ukulele). The interactions are dyadic, with four different teachers and seven different students from 5 to 14 years of age. These data contain 1162 directives produced by the teacher to the student. In this study, we investigate a sub-set of these directives, which consist of imperatives (N=382), hortatives (N=275), as well as those second-person declaratives (N=103) and interrogatives (N=87) where the finite verb is in the indicative mood and lacks modal auxiliaries. The method used is conversation analysis. Our analysis points to significant differences in the use of different directive formats. Imperatives are typically used in an anticipatory way, to pre-empt a possible problem in what the recipient is just about to do. These turns are usually delivered exactly at the moment when the recipient's compliance becomes critical. Hortatives are usually produced in situations where both the speaker and the recipient are already involved something together. Thus, instead of prescribing behavior, they describe and account for it. Second-person declarative directives, in contrast, have a generic prescriptive character and their use is associated with the most elementary learning contents in a given context (e.g., how to hold a bow). Finally, interrogative directives call for the recipient's immediate compliance and they are commonly used to target the preconditions for the core instructional activities during instrumental lessons (e.g., the student's physical and mental availability). In exploring the functions of different directive formats in Finnish music instrumental lessons, the paper contributes to a better understanding of intersubjectivity as a phenomenon that is constructed in the multimodal and temporal context of joint action.

Thu-3-3-10

Stirling, Lesley  
University of Melbourne

Co-presenters: Rod Gardner (University of Queensland), Joe Blythe (Macquarie University), Ilana Mushin (University of Queensland)

Tools of engagement: achieving intersubjectivity in participation management in Australian Aboriginal conversations

Early CA research established that next-selected speakers are obligated to speak, with failure to do so being 'officially absent' (Schegloff & Sacks 1973). However it has been claimed (Eades 2000; 2007; Walsh 1997) that Aboriginal conversationalists aren't obliged to promptly speak at the next TRP, suggesting a non-focused participation frame (Goffman 1963; Schegloff 2010; Couper-Kuhlen 2010). The non-focused nature of many Aboriginal conversations is also implicated in claims that Aboriginal conversationalists need not face each other (Walsh 1997) - they are not required to maintain an F-formation (Kendon 1990). Yet the consequences of not maintaining a tight participation frame for participation management have not been fully explored. Furthermore, CA research has prioritised investigation of verbal and non-verbal person selection and response mobilising devices in dyadic rather than multi-party interactions, yet the claimed "broadcast" nature of Aboriginal conversational contributions presumes a multi-party context. In recent CA approaches to the study of conversations in one Aboriginal community, Gardner & Mushin (2015) showed that transition spaces could be unproblematically extended beyond what had previously been described for European languages, and Gardner (2010) found that non-responses to some kinds of next-speaker selection did not result in an explicit display of trouble. Nonetheless, this research also showed that Aboriginal participants do in general orient to the rules of turn-taking as described in Sacks et al (1974), and that troubles in next speaker selection do arise. In this paper we consider in more detail linguistic and embodied practices for achieving intersubjectivity at this most fundamental level of participation management, through examination of multiparty conversations video-recorded in four different Aboriginal communities (Murrinhpatha, Garrwa, Gija and Jaru). In particular, we consider multimodal characteristics (configuration, proximity, gaze, gesture) of interactions where transitions between speakers proceed unproblematically, as well as instances where negotiation over next speaker / next action ensues.

Fri-2-3-12

Svennevig, Jan  
University of Oslo

## Dialog and dominance in counseling sessions on family interaction

Formulations of gist constitute a powerful tool for establishing intersubjectivity in that the speaker makes explicit his or her interpretation of the previous talk and offers it for acceptance or rejection by the interlocutor (Heritage and Watson 1979). However, formulations may also be vehicles for strategic maneuvering in that the speaker may simultaneously attempt to promote his or her perspective or viewpoint at the expense of the interlocutor's perspectives (Barnes 2009). This paper investigates the use of formulations of gist in counseling sessions between Marte Meo-counselors and couples with small children. Marte Meo-counseling is a methodology that aims at identifying and strengthening positive interaction patterns between family members by the use of video recordings of interaction in everyday settings. Video clips of incidents involving positive interaction between parents and children are selected by the counselor and taken as a point of departure for discussion with the parents in order to discover, reflect on, and thereby strengthen the interaction patterns that contribute to positive communication. Marte Meo-therapy has a strong ideal of dialog, meaning that the counselor and the parents should equally contribute to finding the solutions that will work for the family. The analysis shows that the counselors' use of formulations may contribute to realizing this ideal of dialog, but that they on some occasions also contribute to the therapists strategically promoting their viewpoints and perspectives on the parents. The parents in turn accept the formulations of gist and thereby orient to the therapists' interpretations as authoritative. This form of dominance is not just in opposition to the ideals of Marte Meo-counseling, but constitutes an especially aggravated form of dominance in that the counselors' conclusions are camouflaged and presented as merely an interpretation of the parents' own descriptions.

Thu-1-3-12

Svensson, Hanna  
Basel University

### Claiming others' misunderstanding: institutional negotiations of shared knowledge

This paper investigates a specific interactional practice for achieving intersubjectivity in institutional multi-party interactions through the negotiation of shared knowledge: professionals correcting the premises of citizens' emerging critiques by producing alternative descriptions.

While interactional repair in 'ordinary' conversation has been abundantly researched within CA (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks, 1977; Drew, 1997; Kendrick, 2015) the interactional work it achieves in institutional interaction remains understudied (but see Kääntä, 2010; Macbeth, 2004). This study is based on video recordings of a participatory democracy project in urban planning concerning the transformation of a military site into a public park, during which the citizens were invited to participate to various meetings.

The distribution of and access to relevant information/knowledge is crucial for participating to the project and is dealt with through a variety of practices (Mondada, 2015; van Schepen, in press), correction being one of them (Svensson, in press). While it has been proposed that the production of alternative subsequent descriptions is related to interactants' respective epistemic domains (Sidnell and Barnes, 2013) this paper discusses how replacing a prior problematic statement can be mobilized as a professional resource to publicly (cf. Mondada, 2013) negotiate shared knowledge among the participants. The negotiated knowledge thus tacitly addresses overhearing 3rd parties. The multimodal sequential analysis of the corrective sequences shows that the participants orient to claimed troubles of others' understanding not only as interactional problems but also as political problems. This paper discusses how interactional repair relates to correction (Macbeth, 2004) and contributes to our understanding of how shared knowledge is not only achieved but also publicly negotiated in a situated and ordered way by the participants. In this way, it contributes to our understanding of how intersubjectivity is established, contested, and re-negotiated within institutional settings.

Thu-1-3-10

Svinhufvud, Kimmo  
University of Helsinki

Co-presenters: Katariina Harjunpää, Lorenza Mondada

### Establishing a shared interactional space in entering a shop

This paper examines the openings of service encounters in bakeries in Finland, Germany, Switzerland and France. The video recorded data are analyzed using multimodal conversation analysis in order to unpack the praxeological, interactional, spatial and material organization of openings. When does a sales encounter begin? As Clark and Pinch (2010: 141) point out, “there is an almost ubiquitous assumption that encounters between salespeople and shoppers begin from the point at which verbal contact commences between these parties.” By contrast, this paper focuses on what happens as the customer makes the very first steps into the shop. This paper analyzes the first moments of the service encounters in bakeries, largely before any verbal utterance is produced. The focus is on how the client enters the physical space of the shop and how gaze and body orientations are used to create a shared interactional space (Mondada 2009), within which the client’s presence is not only acknowledged but also considered and categorized (as a regular or a new client, as a client in a hurry or with lots of time, as a client knowing what she wants or exploring the products, etc.). The paper will also explore, how the seller uses her position at the counter and movements within space to manage her availability to the client and how the client positions herself within the shop or in the queue. The specific ways in which the shared interactional space is established reveal the first, pre-verbal, mutual orientations and often categorizations providing the basis for the intersubjective experience of the service encounter.

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Fri-2-2-10

Szatrowski, Polly  
University of Minnesota

## Play participation and sensory experiences of food at Japanese Taster Lunches

In this paper I investigate how participation is achieved in intersubjective sensory experiences of food in spontaneous conversations over lunch. The data come from a video/audio recorded corpus of 13 Japanese Taster Lunches. Building on research on assessments/emotion as embodied performance (Goodwin & Goodwin 1987, 2000) and play participation (Unoccupied, Solitary, Together, Parallel, Group) (Blakeman & Browlee 1980), I address the following questions: 1) How do participants initiate, maintain and share sensory experiences, 2) How is this related to play participation, 3) What does this tell us about conversations over and about food.

For example, in one Taster Lunch, Gin and Haru are engaged (Together) in talk about the soy sauce seasoning used in the Japanese course. Iku begins eating (Solitary) a RICE CRACKER. After gazing forward and crunching on it 5 times, she breaks into a big smile saying in a low voice °A:, okaki oisii.°(°O:h, the rice crackers are delicious°) to which Gin laughs and Haru labels Iku's emotion Suggoi siawase soo //da ne. || ((You) look super happy, //you know. ||). After overlapping with agreement back channels, Gin points at a rice cracker that she had left uneaten, and offers it to Iku saying Age yo kka //kore.|| (Shall I give you //this.||). In this way Iku's Solitary participation elicits Gin and Haru's entry into a Group participation in which they recognize and label Iku's emotion and take related actions. This study contributes to research on contextualized social and cognitive activity, language and food, cross-cultural understanding, and the embodied use of language. It suggests that sensory experiences are not lodged solely in the individual, but are sustained and elaborated by language and bodily actions of multiple participants, and that participation in eating experiences can be enjoyable as play.

Fri-2-3-7

Taleghani-Nikazm, Carmen  
Ohio State University

#### Invitations in Farsi: An analysis of their turn formats and interactional placement

This conversation analytical study examines invitations in Iran. Invitation, is a common social activity, through which one party gets the other party to join an activity from which both may benefit. The study focuses on instances of invitations in everyday Farsi telephone conversations and investigates their turn design formats and the interactional contexts in which particular formats of invitation commonly occur. When an invitation is the reason for call, imperative format such as *pâsho biâ gahve bokhorim* (get up and come to have coffee), in informal relationships, and the expression *tashrif biârin.....dar khedmatetoon bâshim* (come so we can be at your service), in formal relationship, seem to occur frequently. In telephone conversations, in which an invitation is occasioned and is not the reason for call, turn design formats such as *khob mikhâi pâsho biâ injâ* (well want you to come here/well why don't you come here), a question format with statement intonation, in informal relationships, and *pas mikhâin tashrif biârin .....* ( then why don't you come...) in formal relationships. The nature of motivation behind the invitation seems to be consequential for the selection of a particular invitation turn format. When an invitation is pre-planned and is the reason for call, that is to invite the recipient for a joint activity which may benefit both parties, invitations are delivered in the imperative form. On the other hand, when an invitation is occasioned by the recipient's particular circumstance that is revealed through the immediate prior talk, then the recipient may be the principal beneficiary of the invitation. In such a context, the present tense question format with statement intonation seems to occur frequently. By inviting their co-participant, the inviter displays his or her understanding of the invitee's circumstance that motivated the invitation. The particular turn format puts less commitment on the invitee to accept the invitation.

Fri-1-4-6

Tekin, Burak S.  
University of Basel

### Rejecting to be instructed

Recently, there has been an upsurge of interest in the research studies informed by Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis (EMCA) in regard to the instructions in interaction. The upsurge concerns different settings and different orientations of the participants in these settings (Lindwall & Ekström, 2012 on crochet sessions with pedagogical aims; Goodwin & Cekaite, 2013 on parent-child interactions with everyday tasks; Mondada, 2014 on surgical theatres with institutional goals). These studies, albeit such variations, converge on the common finding that the ways the instructing parties format the instructions and the ways instructed parties comply with them reflect the participants' orientations towards their entitlements and contingencies (Curl & Drew, 2008), and asymmetric relations concerning their practical knowledge and competences. Based on a corpus of body-based video gaming sessions using Kinect, a sensory machine, where there is no "official" expert party and no "formal" pedagogic goal, this study looks into the instruction sequences initiated by spectators when players fail to produce relevant bodily movements required by Kinect. This paper explicates the sequences in which players do not follow spectators' instructions in second positions, but on the contrary overtly reject to be instructed. Rejecting to be instructed reflexively dismisses both spectators' high entitlements to instruct and the emerging asymmetries between players and spectators with regard to their knowledge and competences. The accounts players provide decline their lack of knowledge or competence as implicitly presumed by the spectators' instructions, but imply their awareness of what Kinect demands them to do with their bodies, and at the same time display an orientation towards these bodily movements as to be developed through time, pointing to their challenging aspects. By so doing, the paper discusses the intersubjective accomplishment of doing instructions, which requires substantial interactional work due to the always-incomplete nature of instructions (Garfinkel, 2002).

Sat-1-3-8

Theell, Nataliya  
Lund University

### Communicating help and support in a radio counselling program's Internet forum

The paper reports a study of a radio counselling program broadcast once a week on a Swedish state radio channel. The program episodes consist of telephone conversations between a psychotherapist and persons seeking help in dealing with life's troubles such as difficulties in relations between parents and children or between spouses, coping with anxiety, overcoming traumatic childhood experiences or living with grief. The study's focus is on how listening audience is involved in communication about the problems discussed in the program. At the end of the program episodes the listeners are invited to write their comments and reflections in a forum on the program's Internet page. In the forum the program listeners commonly format their messages as commentary turns or responses to what they have heard in the program. Using the methodology of conversation analysis, the paper explicates how the problem discussions through the program's Internet forum may replicate therapeutic elements of a helping relationship in a group. The analysis shows that the listeners often respond with second stories, i.e. descriptions of their own life situations, in which they construct their experiences as shared with the caller to the program to communicate social support and help.

Thu-2-4-12

Tisserand, Lucien  
Paris 3 ED268

"This sprawling marvel we call a 'continuing state of incipient talk' "

The concept of "continuing state of incipient talk" (CSIT) is widely used in CA and, in a more general way, in interactional studies (Berger 2012:150), while rarely studied as an object in its own right. A basic and common acceptance of the CSIT is the fact that when people share a space while they are not involved in maintaining any type of ecological huddle (Goodwin & Goodwin 2012:258) talk can start and vanish (within lapses) without opening and closing sequences (Schegloff & Sacks [1973] 1974 : 262), but instead, "adjournments" (ibid.) or "fits and starts" (Schegloff 2007:26). Drawing from a corpus of video-recorded french interactions during long car-sharing journeys, I propose in my paper to contribute to the study of CSIT identifying such phenomenons aforementioned.

Through the analysis of several short interactional episodes, I firstly show what can be such adjournments techniques, accomplished as an accountable and multimodal phenomenon within the car. Then, we look at how participants can define a share an understanding of a frontier between moments of talk and moments of silence from the TTS point of view. This research leads us to consider that there is not so much difference between adjournments and (pre-)closing sequences, as between 'conversation as a single unit' and the CSIT.

Fri-2-2-12

Tuncer, Sylvaine  
University of Oulu

Co-presenter: Pentti Haddington

The formation of intersubjectivity through object transfers in multiactivity episodes

Video-based research in EM/CA has recently begun to examine how objects feature in the moment-to-moment conduct of social interaction and activity (Nevile et al, 2014). To date, however, object transfers – i.e. one participant handing over an object to another – have received fairly little attention. They are a highly commonplace phenomenon but at the same time often go unnoticed by social participants. The few studies on object transfers concern interactions between children (e.g., Wootton, 1994; Kidwell & Zimmermann, 2007) and interactions in surgical theatres. As to the latter, Sanchez Svensson et al. (2007) have shown how professionals during surgical operations can anticipate and adjust the passing of an object with respect to the physical arrangement and the changing use of instruments as the surgical procedure unfolds. In this paper, we will first show that object transfers are interactional accomplishments that require detailed intersubjective coordination and gestural, mobile and interactional precision. Second, we will specify how object transfers can feature in, and enable, multiactivity, i.e. situations where participants are simultaneously involved in and accomplishing several courses of action (Haddington et al., 2014). Using a collection of 75 extracts recorded in cars and in a biochemistry laboratory, we will analyse the resources and practices involved in object transfers, on a continuum from (a) unnoticed achievements while participants remain mainly involved in another course of action; to (b) achievements requiring the temporary interruption of one course of action.

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Sat-1-1-10

van Schepen, Nynke  
University of Basel

Mentioning the unmentioned: a Yes/No interrogative format adopted by laypersons to request confirmation from professionals in political meetings

How participants point to something that has not yet been said in a conversation has been tackled from different viewpoints in the conversation analytic literature. For example the notion of “unmentioned mentionables” appeared in a paper by Sacks and Schegloff (1973). In this paper, the authors refer to the sequential environment of closings as the last interactional possibility to bring up topics that have hitherto remained unmentioned. Almost forty years later, Bolden (2010), introduces the notion of “articulating the unsaid”, focusing on speakers’ use of “and-prefaced formulations” operating on previous unsaid but inferable talk.

This paper studies yet another form of “unmentioned mentionables”, dealing with how participants in social interaction point at something that has not been mentioned, letting transpire that it should have been mentioned. The paper studies a participatory democracy project on urban planning in France, where citizens are invited to contribute to discussions about the transformation of an ancient military site into a public park. More specifically, in large public meetings, these laypersons are invited to ask questions and make suggestions for the park. In this context, citizens frequently adopt an interactional Yes/No interrogative question format (Raymond, 2006; 2003) for asking “has there been foreseen X?”, inquiring about an aspect of the project they present as relevant, but which is however not mentioned by the professionals, thereby requesting confirmation. Hence, citizens display caution to not overtly blame their recipient for having deliberately omitted to mention a specific topic (which as such would imply political non-transparency). Consequently, the analyses aim to illustrate how citizens as laypersons manage to participate by holding the professionals responsible and accountable not only for what they say, but also for what they don’t say. In this way, it becomes possible to show how common intersubjective understanding is actively negotiated and established by participants.

Thu-1-1-10

Vanhatapio, Johanna  
University of Oulu

### Compensatory strategies in aphasic interaction: using enactment to achieve intersubjectivity

The aim of this study is to explore how aphasic speakers employ alternative ways of communication in conversation when facing aphasia-related problems of speech production, such as word-retrieval difficulties. Some aphasic speakers who possess fairly intact syntactic and semantic abilities have difficulties in social interaction in their everyday lives, while some patients with very severe language deficits are surprisingly able to communicate using the social and cognitive resources around them and within the verbal content produced by their interlocutors. Studies have shown that, in order to communicate more efficiently, many speakers with aphasia often employ various forms of enactment, i.e. direct reported speech and/or embodied practices and/or prosody to depict to recipients some aspect(s) of a reported scene or event. Drawing on multimodal Conversation Analysis, this study explores the use of enactment by people with aphasia with emphasis on the embodied practices. Using different forms of enactment can often determine whether the aphasic speaker is understood or not, and thus, enactment can be perceived as a key factor for achieving intersubjectivity for them. This study uses as data parts of structured interviews provided by the AphasiaBank.

Fri-1-3-8

Vatanen, Anna  
University of Helsinki

## Inhabiting silent moments in Finnish everyday interaction: an exploration of co-presence

According to Goffman (1978: 813), “[i]n every society, one can contrast occasions and moments for silence with occasions and moments for talk.” This paper aims to empirically explore interactional moments that can be characterized by the absence of speech. In face-to-face encounters, however, actions are accomplished not only through talk (e.g., Haddington et al. 2014), but still there may be occasions where (ostensibly) “nothing happens”. In this paper, data from videotaped everyday interactions among intimates will be examined with conversation analytic methods. Participants in the data are speakers of Finnish, who are typically regarded as favouring silence in situations where speakers of many other languages assumedly prefer talk (e.g., Carbaugh 2009, Lehtonen & Sajavaara 1985). I will thus also discuss the stereotype of “the Silent Finn”.

Previous research has targeted several types of silence. Firstly, Mondada (2009) shows how a common interactional space is achieved multimodally, transforming incidental (and silent) co-present persons to co-participants. Within an already established focused interaction, pauses within turns (e.g., Chafe 1985) and gaps after first pair-parts (e.g., Jefferson 1989, Mushin & Gardner 2009, Stivers et al. 2009) have received abundant attention. Finally, Hoey (2015) presents several ways, both verbal and embodied, in which participants treat inter-sequential lapses. In the current Finnish data, there are lapses where the participants utilize none of the devices described by Hoey. Instead, they just remain silent, with constant bodily orientations, not engaged in (visible) side involvements (Goffman 1963), in a relaxed co-presence. The participants’ observable behavior thus suggests that they share an intersubjective understanding of a momentary mutual disengagement from interaction - but not from co-presence: they are still in a social situation (Goffman 1961, 1963). This paper demonstrates how the participants methodologically inhabit these occasions of mere co-presence.

Fri-2-1-12

Veronesi, Daniela  
Free University of Bozen-Bolzano

“So why aren't herbivores called vegans?” Managing intersubjectivity in classroom interaction between understanding, participation and (activity) progressivity

Over the past decades, classroom interaction (Koole 2015) has been extensively examined within Conversation Analysis, with investigations on phenomena such as the IRE (initiation-response-evaluation) sequence (Sinclair & Coulthard 1975; Weeks 1985; Mehan 1979; McHoul 1990; Hellermann 2003; Margutti & Drew 2014), question design and scaffolding (Lerner 1995; Koshik 2002; Margutti 2006 and 2010; Koole & Elberts 2014), and critical discussions of interaction organization in terms of activity types (Levinson 1979; 1992) and participation beyond the IRE sequence itself (Goffman 1981; Goodwin & Goodwin 2004; Philips 1972; Jones & Thornborrow 2004; Koole 2007). Attention has also been devoted to the issue of intersubjectivity, approached both from the perspective of repair (Macbeth 2004) and the display of (not) understanding versus knowing (Koole 2010 and 2012; Koshmann 2011). Drawing upon such body of research, the paper, based on a collection of audio- and videorecordings in 3 Italian primary schools (3rd grade, ca. 10 hours), aims at investigating the relationship between intersubjectivity, participation and activity progressivity. By applying a Conversation Analysis approach, the exploratory study focusses on how, during whole-class interaction centered around new knowledge - organized as succession of IRE sequences building a line of reasoning (cf. Margutti 2010) - teachers and pupils may differently orient to understanding and participation on the one hand, and the continuation of the activity at hand on the other. It is thus examined how, in the surroundings of IRE sequences, pupils unsolicited, self-selected contributions (clarification questions, personal narratives) are attended to by teachers, through talk and further visible resources (Kääntä 2015), in that they are handled as (repair) side sequences, drawn upon as resources to progress the activity at hand, or formulated as not topically relevant. Final considerations are devoted to challenges teachers may thereby face in finding a balance between ensuring intersubjectivity, pupils' active engagement and activity progressivity.

Thu-3-1-6

Voutilainen, Liisa  
University of Helsinki

Co-presenter: Aino Koivisto

### “Delayed empathy” in psychodynamic psychotherapy

It is the task of the psychotherapist to understand the client’s mind. This task informs the ways in which the therapists listen to their clients and respond to their talk. Furthermore, mutual orientation to this task of the therapist also shapes the ways in which the clients treat the therapists’ actions. Using CA as method, we will discuss this facet of shared understandings - intersubjectivity - in psychodynamic psychotherapy, by analysing turn-taking practices in sequences where the client talks about negative experiences and the therapist displays empathy.

Our focal phenomenon could be called “delayed empathy”. In the focus sequences, the client talks about negative experiences and uses interactional means to invite agreement, affiliation, or empathy from the therapist. The therapist, on the other hand, does not take a turn in the first possible place after the client’s display of a negative experience. Recurrently, the therapist’s silence is followed by the client’s “rationalizing” talk regarding the experience. For example, the client may say that there is no point of complaining about things that cannot be changed. After these rationalizations, the therapists respond with a turn that shows empathy towards the experience that the client expressed before the rationalization. The display of empathy is delayed because the therapist responds only after the rationalization through which the client has taken distance from the experience as such. We will analyse how the content and design of the therapist’s empathetic turn relates to the prior rationalization and to the display of negative experience prior to the rationalization. We suggest that the therapist’s “delayed empathy” can be used as means to investigate the client’s inner conflicts.

Thu-3-2-12

Wagner, Johannes  
University of Southern Denmark

Co-presenter: Tine Larsen

### Pre-empting upcoming risky actions

This paper reports on a study of instruction practices in one-to-one professional training, focusing specifically on instances where an expert prompts an apprentice to initiate actions that are due to ensure the continued future progressivity of the activity. Data are drawn from a number of settings wherein novices receive instruction from an expert in the performance of different manual tasks, specifically: driving a car, operating a forklift, and using medical equipment for chronic disease self-management. Across all of these environments, the activities are embodied and involve the manipulation of physical objects. As such, the individual instances in the collection are sensitive to the type and nature of the activity itself, to the material-embodied environment in which the activity takes place, AND to the activity's character as an instruction process; both apprentice and expert are, in different ways, engaged in performing the activity, constantly orienting to the progressivity and continuously developing constitution of the activity itself as well as to its potential for instruction. Analysis will show that there are significant differences in how both parties organize their practices to show how they "see beyond the current situation", i.e. how they from the particularities and relevancies of the activity's immediate circumstances project its future trajectory to foresee and pre-empt upcoming risks or critical actions. Exploring different practices of acting and instruction that are observed, the paper will discuss how they are fitted to their use at different points in time with respect to an upcoming critical action. When the need for action to adjust the trajectory of the activity is not immediate, experts may merely indicate to the apprentice that certain actions would be proper to initiate; in other instances, experts may through the way the instructions are produced convey that adjustments to the activity trajectory are urgent.

Sat-1-1-8

Weiste, Elina  
University of Helsinki

Co-presenter: Enikö Savander (Päijät-Häme Medical District)

### Building an intersubjective understanding of the patient's psychiatric problem

An intersubjective understanding of the patient's problems at the beginning of psychiatric treatment is critically important. It is a significant factor in explaining patients' adherence to the treatment, good clinician-patient relationships and successful treatment outcomes. However, there is little knowledge of how an understanding of the patient's problems is built into actual interaction between clinicians and patients. In this study conversation analysis is used to investigate sequences of problem formulation in patients' first visit to a psychiatric outpatient clinic. The study explores the interactional features of problem formulations in two settings in which clinicians employ different interviewing strategies.

The data come from a project investigating the efficacy of Case Formulation interviews in comparison to Clinical interviews for assessing patients in psychiatric outpatient care. The data used in this study are audio-recordings of patients' first visits to a psychiatric clinic in five cases where the Clinical interview method was employed and in the five cases where the Case Formulation interview strategy was used (a total of 10 hours of interaction).

The study's preliminary results indicate that the way in which clinicians asked questions had implications for the forthcoming problem formulation. In the Clinical interviews, the clinicians' questions were directed towards finding support for their diagnostic explanation (often already provided in the referral). As a consequence, the patients' complaints were reformulated as symptom descriptions. In those cases where the Case Formulation interview was employed the clinicians' questions focused on the patient's problematic experiences. The patient's complaints were reformulated in lay terms around a concept that provided a psychological explanation for the patient's complaint. The findings contribute to the understanding of achieving and maintaining intersubjectivity in sequences of actions in which patients' problems are formulated. As these formulations form the basis for the forthcoming treatment, the findings also have clinical relevance.

Thu-2-3-12

Yazdanpanah, Maziar  
Linköping University

Co-presenter: Charlotta Plejert

The timing of turn taking in multilingual encounters when interlocutors do not speak a shared language

The presentation addresses how turn-yielding and floor-taking between participants work, when they do not speak a shared language. The setting investigated is Swedish residential care, where it is sometimes not possible to match the language of staff and residents (Plejert et al., 2014). The organization of turn-taking deals with the distribution of turns among participants in conversation (Sacks et al., 1974). For example, speaker-change reoccurs; transition from one turn to a next with no gap and no overlap are common. In order to organize turns, participants use a vast range of verbal and non-verbal cues, including prosody (Caspers, 2003; Edlund & Heldner, 2005; Zellers, 2013). Whereas a great number of studies have addressed turn-taking in monolingual settings, little is known about how participants manage the timing of their turns, when they do not have a shared language or have a very limited access to a shared language. In such cases utterances might be perceived as chunks of sounds hard to comprehend and, whose contents do not provide enough resources to help the interlocutors to adjust the timing of their contributions. This is also a particular concern in relation to conditions that may affect language abilities, such as dementia. In the present study, Conversation Analysis is used in order to address the 'timing' of turn-taking in multilingual interaction between carers and residents with dementia symptoms in residential homes, where the participants do not share any language, or have very limited access to a shared verbal language. It will be demonstrated that despite the fact that carers do not understand much of the content of what the residents are saying (Plejert et al., 2014) they provide feedback, e.g. continuers, and manage turn-transitions at the 'preferred' and expected places.

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Thu-2-1-7

Zinken, Jörg  
IDS Mannheim

Co-presenters: Henrike Helmer, Thomas Spranz-Fogasy, Arnulf Deppermann

Meaning for local purposes: The project “Interactive constitution of meaning”

“All actual life is encounter”, according to the theologian-philosopher Martin Buber (2008 [1923]). But while our ‘primary intersubjectivity’ (e.g., Trevarthen 1979) predisposes us to find meaning in encounters, meaning also has to be achieved, step by step, through and for the social situation at hand. We present a new project at the IDS Mannheim, which deals with practices for the constitution of meaning in interaction. As research on natural social interaction has shown abundantly, interactive turn-taking provides for the casual display of locally relevant meaning and understanding on a running basis (e.g., Heritage 1984). Furthermore, speakers may repair troubles of understanding, and thus ‘defend’ intersubjectivity (Schegloff 1992). However, ‘meaning talk’ can also be the main business of some stretch of interaction, which may aim not so much to defend as to ‘transform’ intersubjectivity: to extend the world that is mutually understood. Examples of activities that can constitute the meaning of forms (lexical concepts, turns, or multi-modal moves) for some situation include formulations, definitions, and exemplifications. We ask about the local contexts, functions, and practices of such meaning constitution (beyond repair); the lexical and constructional verbal resources systematically implicated in these activities; and the multimodal organization of situations in which meaning becomes the business of interaction. Our common methodological ground is sequential analysis as practiced in Conversation Analysis, and the exploratory accumulation of collections based on such analysis. Data are video- and audio-recordings of informal, institutional, and public interactions in German.

Thu-3-3-8