



Speakership, reciprocity and the interactional space: Cases of “Next-speaker self-selects” in multiparty university student meetings



Qi Chen ^{a, b, *}, Adam Brandt ^c

^a School of International Studies, Hangzhou Normal University, 2318 Yuhangtang Road, Yuhang District, Hangzhou, Zhejiang, China

^b Institute for Education, Teaching and Leadership, Moray House School of Education, The University of Edinburgh, 1028 Holyrood Rd, Edinburgh EH8 8AJ, UK

^c School of Education, Communication and Language Sciences, Newcastle University, King George VI Building, Queen Victoria Rd, Newcastle Upon Tyne NE1 7RU, UK

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ABSTRACT

This paper addresses the pragmatics of meeting interactions by focusing on a locally managed turn-taking system in a recurring meeting activity that is yet to be examined, namely, roundtable update discussion. In these activities, a meeting chair appoints primary speakership to each participant to give an update on recent work, during which non-chair, non-primary co-participants may contribute ideas and raise questions. By examining a collection of four cases of one specific turn-taking practice, namely, next speaker self-selection, this study illustrates: 1) how the static, seated interactional space affords a non-chair, non-primary participant various multimodal resources in pursuing and constructing his/her self-selecting actions, and 2) how co-participants mobilise the multimodal resources that are made available by the physical seating arrangements in the local ecologies of the activity, to carry out mutual monitoring and orientation in accordance with their emerging roles. Particularly, this study explores the systematicity of participants' mobilisation of multimodal resources by revealing the hierarchical order of gaze/head movements, upper torso and gesture when deployed in side-by-side and face-to-face seating arrangements. Such an explication shed new lights on how visual access in-between incipient self-selecting speakers and current speakers is exploited as a publicly-available resource to contextualise the operation of turn-taking.

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1. Introduction

This study builds upon the body of research on the pragmatics of meeting interactions (e.g., Asmuß and Svennevig, 2009; Atkinson et al., 1978; Boden, 1994; Svennevig, 2012), and contributes directly to the more recently growing strand of research on embodied participation frameworks in such settings (e.g., Ford and Stickle, 2012; Markaki and Mondada, 2012; Mondada, 2007, 2012, 2013). In this paper, we examine one specific turn-taking practice in multiparty meeting interactions, that is, *next-*

* Corresponding author. School of International Studies, Hangzhou Normal University, 2318 Yuhangtang Road, Yuhang District, Hangzhou, Zhejiang, China.

E-mail addresses: Qi.Chen@ed.ac.uk (Q. Chen), Adam.Brandt@newcastle.ac.uk (A. Brandt).

speaker self-selection (Sacks et al., 1974, p. 704); and through the lens of ethnomethodological interaction analysis, we uncover how such practices are initiated, responded to and jointly accomplished by co-participants.

In particular, this study is situated in a recurring meeting activity we observed in our dataset, namely, the *roundtable update discussion* – an activity often held at the beginning of a meeting, during which the meeting chair invites each participant to provide an update on the progress of their work; the chair-appointed *primary speaker* is therefore afforded entitlement to an extended turn, with the chair as his/her *primary recipient*, whereas other *non-chair, non-primary* co-participants may contribute ideas, raise questions or propose oppositional opinions (cf. Ford and Stickle, 2012). Within the ecologies of this activity, a particular locally-managed, “party-administered” (Sacks et al., 1974, p. 726) turn-taking system operates: 1) the meeting chair administers the rights to speak, hence the transitions of speakership, and especially, the establishment of *primary speakership*; 2) this therefore entails the need for extra interactional work for other *non-chair, non-primary* co-participants to bid for speakership and gain reciprocity (cf. Butler and Wilkinson, 2013; Ford, 2008; Ford and Stickle, 2012; Hauser, 2009). To our knowledge, this particular aspect of meeting interaction has yet to be examined, and not in such detail.

Drawing upon 12 h of meeting interaction data, we employ ethnomethodological interaction analysis to unpack the fine details of how this is achieved. To do so, we present a collection of four varied cases of a *non-chair non-primary* participant self-selecting to be the next-speaker. In each of these four cases, the seating position of the self-selecting speaker varies, vis-à-vis the current *primary speaker*, the meeting chair and other co-participants. Building upon Sacks and Schegloff's (2002) notion of *home position* and *body torque*, Mondada's (2009) notion of *interactional space*, as well as the Goodwins' work (e.g., C. Goodwin, 1981; M. H. Goodwin, 1980b) on participants' mutual monitoring during talk-in-interaction, we particularly look at: 1) how the static, seated *interactional space* affords a *non-chair, non-primary participant* various interactional resources in pursuing and constructing his/her self-selecting actions, and 2) how co-participants mobilise the interactional resources that are made available in the local ecologies of the activity, to carry out mutual monitoring and mutual orientation in accordance with their *emerging participant roles*. Through our analyses we show how participants rely on the different multimodal resources (e.g., body torque, body inclination, gaze direction) which are made available by the different seating arrangements, to constitute, maintain or mobilise *shared interactional space* at different sequential positions of their emerging courses of actions. These observations are significant to our understanding of meeting interaction, and turn-taking practices more broadly.

1.1. Turn-taking in meeting interactions

The pragmatics of turn-taking in meetings has been extensively studied with an ethnomethodological approach (e.g., Asmuß and Svennevig, 2009; Atkinson et al., 1978; Boden, 1994; Svennevig, 2012). These studies show that the chair of the meeting usually monitors and mediates turn-taking and participation, by indicating the order of speakers, allocating next turns, interrupting an on-going turn when it goes beyond expected duration or topical content, so on and so forth (Svennevig, 2012). In more formal, larger meetings, to make themselves accountable for their actions, self-selecting speakers signal their willingness to speak by making a bid to the chair and request for speakership, for instance, by raising a hand, gazing at the chair, leaning forward or making a verbal request; whereas in less formal, smaller meetings, there is more implicit negotiation on the extent to which the chair executes his/her role and others orient to him/her as such (Boden, 1994; Svennevig, 2012). Schegloff (1995) refers to this asymmetric interactional order of meetings as organised in “two parties”, which is similarly described by Ford (2008, p. 57) as a “leader-plus-others formation”. More importantly, this bipartition is interactionally constructed and negotiated on a moment-by-moment basis *in situ*.

More recently, a small number of researchers have examined embodied aspects of turn-taking in meetings, especially how the locally-available multimodal resources afford co-participants to establish speakership and gain reciprocity around turn transition places. For instance, Ford (2008) illustrates the subtle ways a potential next speaker prefaces his/her self-selecting action with non-vocal, bodily displays of incipient speakership (e.g., attentive gaze, nodding) toward the current speaker during an on-going turn. Further, Ford and Stickle (2012) makes a distinction between a *primary speaker* who is entitled to extended holds of the floor, and a *non-primary speaker* who is not currently a chair nor a current *primary speaker* but attempts to self-select: when a *non-primary speaker* attempts to initiate a turn, special interactional work needs to be done in order to display incipient speakership and therefore secure displayed reciprocity from others, especially current speakers; such work includes bodily-visual actions and phonetic/lexico-grammar practices (e.g., gaze directions, body orientations, cut-offs and restarts) at both pre-beginning and turn-beginning places. Similarly, Mondada (2007) shows how pointing gesture can be used by self-selecting speakers to predict possible turn completion and project an upcoming turn at turn beginnings and pre-beginnings, therefore establishing their emerging speakership in a gradual way. Such multimodal accounts, amongst others (e.g., Deppermann et al., 2010; Ford and Stickle, 2012; Markaki and Mondada, 2012; Mondada, 2012, 2013), push forward the boundaries of explorations on turn-taking practices beyond traditional sound/word-based analysis, which is exactly the aim of this present study. In this way, by explicating our collection of four chosen cases, our paper contributes not only to understanding of turn-taking practices in meeting interactions, but also more generally to mutual monitoring and mutual orientation during the courses of self-selecting actions in multiparty conversations.

1.2. Mutual monitoring/orientation in multiparty interactions

According to Sacks et al. (1974), the design of the turn-taking model favours smaller numbers of parties in a conversation. Central to this is called the 'turn-order bias', which refers to only two speakers (i.e., current and next) and its operation that chooses the 'prior to current' speaker to be the next. As a result, within three or more parties, a current non-speaker who intends to speak is under the constraint to self-select at the first TRP (i.e., transition relevant place, see Sacks et al., 1974) and, if not successfully, at each upcoming TRP. Therefore, participants in multiparty interactions are under pressure for the minimisation of gaps and turn sizes, and additional motivation of 'starting first' due to heightened competition for speakership (Ford, 2013; Sacks et al., 1974). As such, for participants in multiparty interactions who attempt to initiate an action and gain reciprocity and/or response from whom the action is targeted, extra interactional work may be required, such as closely monitoring co-participants' concurrent engagement and physical movements, identifying and claiming the next available slot (e.g., TRP or completion of action) (Butler and Wilkinson, 2013). Such features of talk-in-interaction were well-documented in the early seminal work of Charles Goodwin and Marjorie Goodwin on participants' mutual monitoring and mutual orientation (C. Goodwin, 1980a, 1981, 1987; M. H. Goodwin, 1980b). For instance, Charles Goodwin (1981; cf. Schegloff, 1987) showed that such special interactional work can be found at turn-beginnings, where the speaker can use eye-gaze, turn design, and/or restarts and pauses to secure mutual gaze from one or more target recipients. Further, such interactional work may not be restricted to verbal turn beginnings, but occur in the form of displays of incipient speakership at pre-beginning positions, aiming to raise attention from targeted recipients, to project the upcoming self-selecting action and to gain the floor from current speakers; these usually appear as audible in-breaths, changes in body positioning (e.g., leaning backward or forward when seated, moving around when standing), facial expressions and gestures (e.g., Butler and Wilkinson, 2013; Mondada, 2007; Schegloff, 1996; Streeck and Hartge, 1992).

Particularly, as a primary means for people to conduct mutual monitoring and display shared-attention in face-to-face social encounters, gaze directions in talk-in-interaction has been studied by Charles Goodwin (1979, 1980a, 1981). According to Goodwin (1981, p. 75), there are two principal rules on the distribution of rights of gaze direction between a speaker and a recipient.

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

That is to say, especially in multiparty conversations, it is crucial for a speaker to secure displayed reciprocity through gaze from a target recipient so as to gain and/or consolidate speakership; whereas the speaker's gaze shifts may become a resource to designate the talk to specific target recipient(s), hence the need for co-participants to closely monitor the speaker's gaze direction in order to respond to the on-going talk accordingly.

Building upon this understanding of how gaze as a resource for mutual monitoring can be mobilised in relation to normative turn-taking practices, this article illustrates how gaze can also be deployed for the development of courses of actions in multiparty meeting interactions, thus re-contextualising previous findings. Further, we chose to expand our focus beyond a particular modality of resource (e.g., gaze) or a particular sequential position (e.g., pre-beginning, turn-beginning) (see, for example, Mondada, 2007; Mortensen, 2009; Rossano, 2012a; 2012b; Stivers and Rossano, 2010) and aim to provide a full account of participants' dynamic configurations of multimodal resources for mutual monitoring and mutual orientation during the sequential unfolding of the self-selecting actions of a next speaker.

1.3. The body, the interactional space and seating arrangements

In considering body positioning in multiparty conversation, it is essential to understand how the human body with its different parts can be mobilised to facilitate mutual monitoring and mutual orientation. The most influential work is Kendon's (1990) notion of *transactional segment*, which refers to the space constituted by three hierarchically organised body parts: the head (including eyes), the torso and the lower body. By twisting different parts around the same vertical axis of the body, a participant can display various levels of engagement in what Goffman (1963) termed 'multifocused gatherings': whilst the head and the torso are more flexible and thus allowing the participant to turn around more frequently toward the focus of attention on a dynamic basis, the lower body is relatively more static and thus takes a more stable position of engagement in the on-going activity (Kendon, 1970, 1990). Based on this idea, Schegloff (1998, see also Sacks and Schegloff, 1975/2002) describes the notion of *body torque* which refers to the turning of the upper torso or head toward a third co-participant for a temporary engagement, when the primary, main engagement between two co-participants (e.g., a dyad conversation) is suspended. When the interaction driven by the temporary, secondary focus ceases, the primary conversation resumes and the torqued body may return to its original *home position* (Sacks and Schegloff, 2002).

As such, in multiparty conversation, mutual monitoring and joint attention is achieved by participants mobilising their body parts alongside the talk-in-interaction, fluidly creating and (re)shaping the physical space they share. Kendon (1990) uses the term 'F-formation' (cf. Sacks and Schegloff 2002, *home position*) to describe the spatial arrangement when the *transactional segment* of each participant overlaps with one another; that is, an ideal spatial formation that facilitates the joint attention in a focused gathering. In comparison, Mondada (2009) uses the notion of '*interactional space*' in a less typological and more

dynamic sense to explicate how conversational participants position their bodies, gestures and gaze to build a *shared interactional space*. Through multimodal accounts of spatial arrangements during talk-in-interaction between strangers on the streets asking for directions, Mondada (2009) describes how conversational participants employ their bodily resources to coordinate and stabilise their *shared interactional space* in a methodical and normative way in conversation openings, thus revealing that a *shared interactional space* between co-participants is the “pre-conditions for social interaction” (p. 1977).

As it is crucial to understand how the human body accesses and configures the *interactional space* in talk-in-interaction, it is equally important to gain a better understanding on how the spatial arrangements afford participants the availability of multimodal interactional resources. Recent studies on institutional talk-in-interaction has acknowledged the importance of the physical space and its affordances, such as an interrogation room during a police interrogation (Lebaron and Streeck, 1997) and help desk counter in an international university (Mortensen and Hazel, 2014). More specifically, there is growing interest in providing multimodal accounts for turn-taking practices afforded by more static, seated spatial arrangements in meeting/classroom interactions (e.g., Fasel Lauzon and Pochon-Berger, 2015; Ford, 2008; Mondada, 2006, 2013; Mondada et al., 2017; Mortensen, 2009). For instance, Ford (2008) stressed the importance of seating arrangements of an incipient speaker vis-à-vis a current speaker (i.e., for unobstructed visual access) in meeting interaction; Mondada has conducted a number of multimodal video studies on turn allocation/organisation in large meetings (e.g., Heath and Mondada, 2019; Markaki and Mondada, 2012; Mondada, 2013); Mondada has also shown how spatial locations of seated tables can be deployed as resources for turn management and participation organisation (both materially and symbolically) (Mondada et al., 2017).

In comparison, the aim of this paper is to provide a thorough multimodal account for: 1) the varying affordances of a seated spatial arrangement; 2) a locally managed turn-taking system with a small number of meeting participants. By showing how participants methodically and normatively deploy the multimodal resources made available *in situ* to coordinate and reconfigure the *shared interactional space* when constituting their turn-taking practices, we contribute to the existing multimodal accounts on turn-taking in various institutional settings. Below is a further discussion on such a seating arrangement.

In multiparty meetings such as the case of the present study, when participants are seated in a circular-formation, collective attention requires all to face the centre in their *home position* (Fig. 1). Consequently, any *torqued body* facing a particular participant would thus interfere the common space, creating a temporary engagement amongst selected parties. In this way, the different seating arrangements of the current *primary-speaker* vis-à-vis *non-chair non-primary* self-selecting co-participant can be seen as locally available multimodal resources that have different *affordances* (Gibson, 1979/2015) to the emerging construction of a self-selecting action. Also consider Fig. 2 below, which provides an illustration of a side-by-side and a face-to-face seating arrangements.

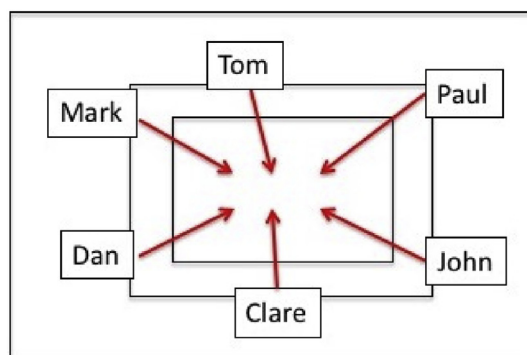


Fig. 1. Home position in a meeting.

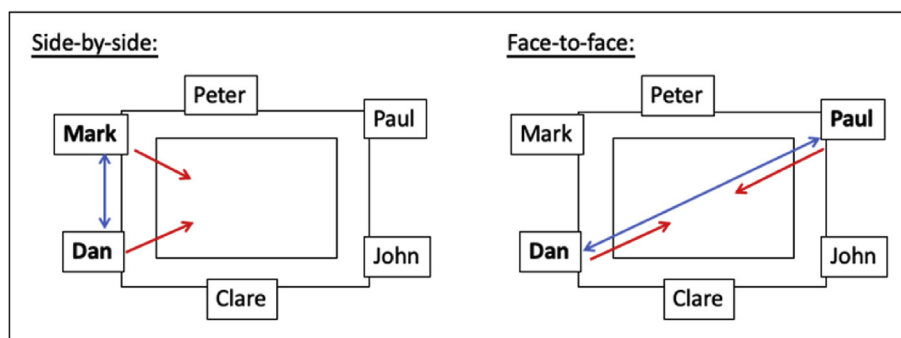


Fig. 2. Side-by side vs. face-to-face.

Through this illustration, we can see that: 1) In a side-by-side seating arrangement (i.e., Mark and Dan), a torqued upper torso and head from the *home position*, that is, away from the direction of a collective attention, is necessary, for Mark and Dan to constitute a *shared interactional space* in-between themselves, in order to establish mutual orientation; thus movements of gaze and head direction, and twists of upper torso, become the primary indicators of their current engagement; 2) in a face-to-face seating arrangement (i.e., Paul and Dan), mutual gaze becomes easier to access and to stabilise thanks to the readily established *shared interactional space* when both Paul and Dan are at their '*home position*', displaying a collective attention; thus participants may draw upon other multimodal resources instead to indicate their varying levels of engagement, such as inclinations of upper torso, hand and arm movements.

2. Data and transcription

The data in this paper are extracted from a larger project (Chen, 2017), with the dataset collected between November 2010 and February 2011 in a British university, during the final year of a Marine Technology with Marine Engineering undergraduate programme (BEng Honours). The dataset includes eight meetings, recorded with one video-camera and one audio-recorder, each lasting 45 min to 2 h 20 min. The meetings involved the same group of six students working on their final year group project in Naval Architecture. Meetings were held regularly, with students alternately acting as chair. The meeting process itself is not assessed nor monitored, whereas the end product of the meetings (that is, their design of a wind-turbine in a chosen location along the coastline in the UK) is assessed by the university. The meeting takes place in a classroom, where participants are seated face-to-face around desks arranged in a square as shown in Fig. 3 below. Pseudonyms are given to each participant.

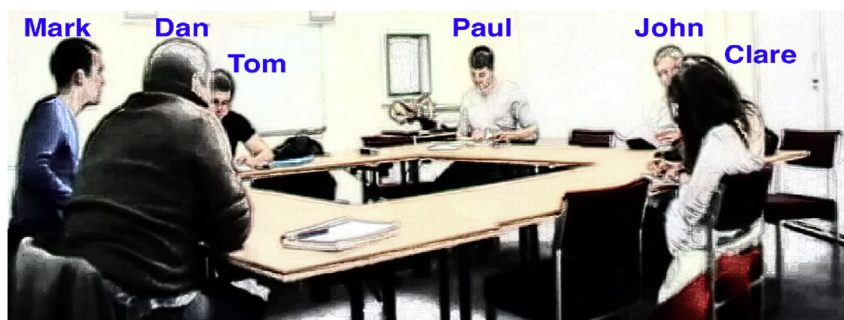


Fig. 3. Seating arrangement of student group meeting.

Inspired by previous work (e.g., Ford and Stickle, 2012; C. Goodwin, 2007) and especially the multimodal transcription convention developed by Mondada (see Markaki and Mondada, 2012; Mondada, 2018) and also to allow for maximum simplicity and clarity, the transcription convention for this study has been tailor-made: 1) to represent the multiple temporalities of talk and other multimodal resources, annotations were used to mark participants' embodied practices, with each annotation placed on a separate line in *italics*, vertically aligning the corresponding utterance; 2) to represent the progressivity and successivity of multimodal action-formation, that is, how a '*complex multimodal gestalt*' (Mondada, 2007) is assembled by a single participant over a longer stretch of talk to construct an action, we assigned one special symbol ('‡', '£', '&', '¥', '%', '\$') to each participant for their embodied annotation; 3) to represent the concurrent, coordinated courses action of multiple participants, series of screen shots were inserted as an additional visual access for readers.

As noted above, we present a collection of four *next-speaker self-selection* cases and provide a thorough multimodal account of the extended sequential environments of the self-selecting action, explicating how it is projected, initiated, responded to, and jointly accomplished by the co-participants. When building and presenting the collection of four cases, we consider two features so as to capture systematicity of the findings: 1) how the self-selecting speaker is seated vis-à-vis the target recipient (i.e., side-by-side or face-to-face); 2) whether reciprocity through gaze is secured by the self-selecting speaker before or after the turn-beginning position. Fig. 4 summarises the seating arrangements in each of the excerpts: in Excerpt 1 and 2, the self-selecting speaker (name in **bold**) is seated side-by-side with the target recipient (i.e., Dan vs. Mark), whereas in Excerpt 3 and 4, the self-selecting speaker (name in *italics*) is seated face-to-face with the target recipients (i.e., Dan vs. Paul and Dan vs. John).

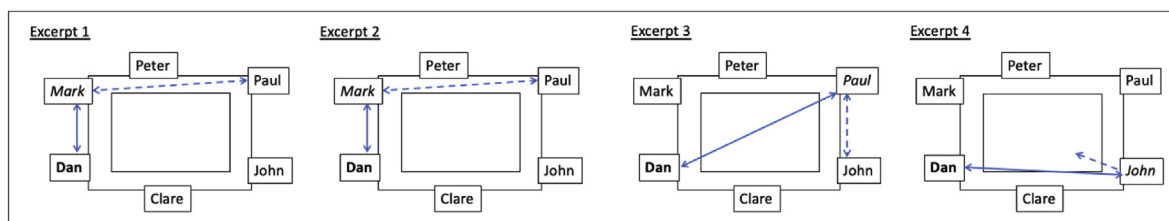


Fig. 4. Seating arrangements of Excerpt 1–4.

As such, Excerpt 1, 2 and 3 present three cases in which reciprocity through gaze is secured upon or after the turn-beginning position of the self-selecting verbal turn, whereas Excerpt 4 presents a case where reciprocity through gazing is already established prior to turn-beginning position. In each excerpt, we look at various sequential positions including pre-beginning, turn-beginning and beyond the first TCU of the self-selection; we particularly focus on how the side-by-side/facet-to-face seating of the self-selecting speaker vis-à-vis the *target recipient* affords co-participants multimodal resources for their mutual monitoring on a moment-by-moment basis.

3. Toward a non-gazing recipient, seated side-by-side

In this section, we present two cases of self-selection initiated by a *non-chair, non-primary* participant (Dan) toward a non-gazing *target recipient* (Mark) who has been selected as the *primary speaker* by the meeting chair (i.e., Paul), and who is seated side-by-side with Dan (Figs. 5 and 7). In both cases, the *target recipient* Mark does not display reciprocity until the onset of Dan's verbal self-selecting turn.

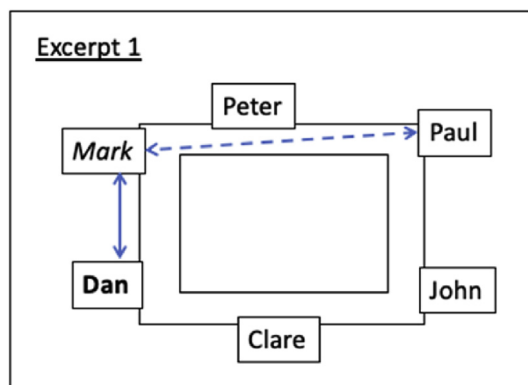


Fig. 5. Seating arrangement of Excerpt 1.

Excerpt 1

1 MAR: (.) cos [we DID]≈

2 PAU: [mhm]

3 MAR: ≈ Δat theΔ STAR:T↘ we talked about↗ (0.3) logistics didn't

4 we- we talked about↗ (0.4) we'd start to pla:n↗

5 (0.7) if Δyou're gonna to built it- say on theΔ north coast what

6 (.) likely ports would you u:se↗ what kind of distances↘

7 (0.5)

8 MAR: [so] looking at↗

9 PAU: |yeah↘|




Image.1 DAN gaze/body (L10)

10 PAU: (.) talk about show the: ports [or uh] ≈
 11 MAR: [IMPLICATIONS of] ≈
 12 DAN: [((clears throat))]
 &DAN nod, gaze front
 13 PAU: ≈ [expanding and stuff\] yeah\≈
 14 MAR: ≈ [whe:re you would^]
 &DAN reposition upper torso, gaze MAR

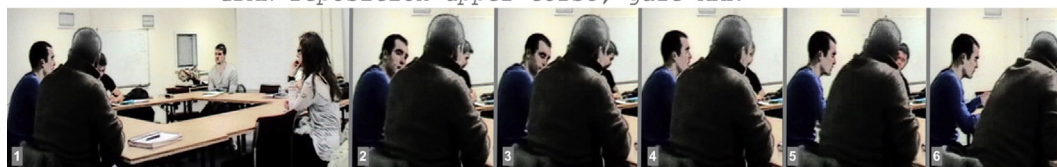


Image.2 DAN/MAR gaze/body (L14-19)

15 DAN: ~°go into de[tails\]°~
16 PAU: [°Yyeah°↗]~
YMAR gaze DAN
17 MAR: ~ &yeah\Y
&DAN gaze front, nod
YMAR gaze downward, then front
18 (1.0)
19 MAR: but YEAH I would &keep it basic at the start\ °so° when I move
&DAN gaze MAR, upper body lean forward
20 on from toda:y\
21 (0.9)
22 MAR: basically try and look at a- a total Gantt char:t↗ (0.3)
23 business wi:se↗~
24 PAU: ~yeah↗~
25 MAR: ~what who: Δwould applyΔ for funding↗ (.) where↗ (0.7) and
26 then\ as we get into more details I can apply:↗
27 (0.9)
28 MAR: °apply those↗°~
29 PAU: ~yea:h\ Δare you gonna be talkingΔ &abou:t↗ like↗ the supply:
&DAN gaze front, nod
30 chai:n [°as well°]
31 MAR: [ΔThat's what I'm] THINKING ofΔ YEAH cos you you've got
32 to allow Δfor that &I think↗Δ
&DAN lean back, R hand touch nose
33 PAU: (0.3) yeah\~
34 MAR: ~ that's a &huge (.) °part of the cost yeah°~
&DAN R hand down, lean forward
35 DAN: ~ &°uh°
&DAN gaze MAR, shuffle upper body back and forth



Image.3 DAN body/gaze (L29-35)

The talk in Excerpt 1 starts with Mark's update (1–14), during which the meeting chair (Paul) displays active listenership whereas Dan demonstrates his close monitoring of the on-going talk both verbally and bodily (head-nods and gaze, 10; throat-clearing, 12). At the exact point of overlapping talk when there is heightened competition for speakership between Mark and Paul, Dan redirects eye-gaze and slightly torques his upper torso toward Mark (Image 2 - 1, lines 13–14). This re-orientation can be seen as Dan's attempt to gain reciprocity from Mark, thus an early projection of his up-coming self-selecting action in line 15. Next, latched-on to the overlap resolution, Dan then places his verbal turn '°go into details\°' (15), possibly a brief assessment of, or a turn extension to Mark's previous turn. Immediately, Dan receives both bodily and verbal reciprocity from Mark (brief mutual gaze, Image 2 - 2, verbal acknowledgement 'yeah\°', 17), as well as a verbal response from Paul in overlap ('°yeah\°', 16). Yet this mutual orientation between Dan and Mark is soon disestablished as the two participants both shift away their gaze one after another (Image 2 - 3, 4, line 17).

Following a one second pause (18), Mark self-selects to continue his update as the *primary speaker*, thus resuming the previous participation framework (19–28). As the floor is rendered to Mark, Dan quickly resumes his role as an active recipient and closely monitors the on-going talk: redirecting his gaze and leaning his torqued upper body forward toward Mark (Image 2 - 5, 6, line 19); redirecting his gaze and displays head-nods to Paul as Paul speaks (Image 3 - 1, 2, line 29); leaning his torqued upper torso backward with accompanying right-hand gesticulation at Mark's TRP ('I think') (Image 3 - 3, line 32). Such a body-repositioning trajectory shows Dan's attempts to reconfigure his current participation framework, which are progressively developed and further upgraded until he executes another self-selecting action, as shown in Excerpt 2.

In this case, we have explicated how Dan mobilises multimodal resources to reconfigure participation framework when projecting and executing his self-selecting action. Especially, as an attentive recipient, Dan resorts to gaze shifts and head-nods to display close monitoring of the on-going talk between Mark and Paul; at pre-beginning position, as an *incipient speaker* soliciting mutual orientation from the target recipient, Dan deploys body re-positioning and *body torque* to orient toward the current *primary speaker*, Mark (Fig. 6).

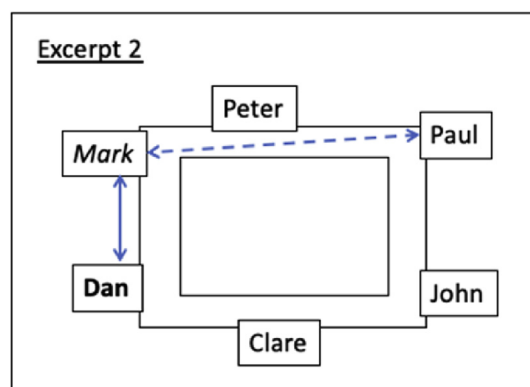


Fig. 6. Seating arrangement of Excerpt 2.

In the next case of Dan's self-selection, we continue to look at how Dan's constructions of '*complex multimodal gestalt*' (Mondada, 2007) are assembled simultaneously and successively in concert with: 1) his target recipient's evolving courses of actions to negotiate for speakership, and 2) other co-participants' concurrent engagements. We focus not only on pre-beginning (33–35) and turn-beginning (36–41) positions, but also during the turn extensions (41–47).

Excerpt 2

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



Image.4 DAN body/gaze (L29-35)

36 (0.7) *image11 DAN body; gaze (219-88)*
37 PAU: °um that'll be good°
38 DAN: ~o- OBVIOUSly &to do the cost\ benefit analysis you need more
&DAN gaze MAR, lean back, turn toward MAR
MAR gaze DAN
39 \$de&% tails: as we said\
\$TOM look up at DAN, then look down
&DAN gaze front, then MAR
%CLA lean upward, gaze DAN



Image.5 Mar/DAN/TOM/PAU/CLA gaze/body (L38-39)

- 40 MAR: (.) ye[*Yah*]]
 41 DAN: [*Yto*] &[*Swards*] #uh: &[*Yhh* (0.4) &[*wha*- HOW long
YMAR look down, lean backward, nod, R hand scratch head
 &[*DAN* gaze front, R hand point forward
 \$TOM look up, nod
 #PAU nod



&[*DAN* gaze MAR, lean forward,
 retract R hand gesture
 &[*YMAR* gaze DAN
 &[*DAN* gaze downward
 front, R hand gesture



Image.6 MAR/DAN gaze and gesture (L41)

- 42 what time you &[*nee:d*] .hh (.)
 &[*DAN* gaze front (PAU/JOH)
 43 &[*for* us to give you the &[*final* detailed] &[*desi:gn*]
 &[*DAN* gaze MAR &[*DAN* gaze front &[*DAN* gaze MAR



Image.7 MAR/DAN gaze/body (L42–43)

- 44 (.) &[*Δ*so you canΔ &[*Ydo*: the &[*Ywor:k*] &[*Δbefore*]
 &[*YMAR* gaze front, &[*YMAR* gaze DAN &[*YMAR* gaze front
 open mouth, &[*DAN* gaze front
 R hand under chin,
 upper body shuffles



Image.8 MAR/DAN gaze/body (L44)

- 45 &[*Y(.)*] &[*Δ*due timeΔ
 &[*YMAR* gaze DAN
 &[*DAN* retract gesture



Image.9 MAR/DAN gaze/body (L45–46)

- 46 MAR: &[*Δ* (.) &[*Yuh*- ↑WHAT I'd like to do it set it all &[*Yup*]
 &[*DAN* gaze MAR
 &[*YMAR* gaze downward front &[*YMAR* gaze DAN
 47 (0.6)

At the pre-beginning position, similar to the first example, Dan uses a series of bodily and verbal display at the upcoming available slot to gain speakership: first, as Mark produces a brief sequence-closing assessment ending with decreased loudness ('that's a huge (.) 'part of the cost yeah'', 34), signaling a TRP and possible completion point, Dan simultaneously repositions his upper torso forward and his right hand back on the desk upon completing his gesticulation (Image 4 - 3, 4); second, as soon as Mark's verbal turn ceases, Dan re-directs his head, hence his gaze toward Mark and meanwhile produces the vocalisation 'uh' directed to Mark (Image 4 - 5, line 35), thus upgrading his level of engagement from active, embodied reciprocity

to incipient, verbal speakership. Dan then places his verbal self-selecting turn latched onto Paul's sequence-final assessment ('^oum that'll be good', 37). As his turn-beginning hitches 'o- OBVIOUSly' serves to draw attention from a non-gazing recipient (in this case, Mark) (cf. C. Goodwin, 1980a), Mark quickly displays reciprocity to Dan's self-selecting action with gaze (Image 5 - 1, line 38). Having established mutual gaze and secured Mark's displayed reciprocity right at the turn beginning, we then look at how Dan conducts mutual monitoring with Mark and other co-participants during his first TCU and his multiple turn-extensions.

Accompanying his verbal TCU, Dan leans backward and slightly torques his upper torso further left toward Mark (Image 5 - 2, 3, line 38); this '*body torque*' therefore builds a *shared interactional space* between Dan and Mark and serves to stabilise their mutual orientation, thus Mark's displayed reciprocity through gaze is sustained throughout this whole TCU (38–39). Right before the TRP ('as we said', 39), Dan shifts his gaze direction to the front 'home position' towards the other co-participants (Image 5 - 3, 4), thus suspending mutual orientation with Mark. This re-orientation is quickly responded to by his co-participant, Clare, who ceases note-taking and re-directs her gaze toward Dan (Image 5 - 3, 4, line 39). This 'home position' is only maintained briefly as Dan soon resumes his gaze at Mark passing the TRP (Image 5 - 5, line 39). We can therefore see that Dan is displaying a dual-orientation (cf. Mondada, 2013, "double orientation") in-between a torqued body, which serves to address his verbal turn to Mark (who is his target recipient and the current primary speaker) and sustain speakership, and his 'home position', which serves to engage his other co-participants in the participation framework. As Dan continues to display his dual-orientation during his multiple turn extensions (40–47), we particularly focus on how this dual-orientation is intricately placed at various sequential positions of the on-going talk.

Dan builds onto his TCU-so-far with the first increment (41–42) starting with a preposition that retains the floor against Mark's brief response 'yeah' (40). At Dan's initiation of his turn extension ('towards',) where Mark inserts his verbal response 'yeah', Mark simultaneously initiates a series of bodily displays toward Dan: shifting eye-gaze downward, leaning his upper torso backward, nodding and scratching his head with his right hand (Image 6 - 1, line 41). Through this body re-positioning trajectory, Mark is attempting to retract from the mutual orientation with Dan and anticipating the completion of Dan's previous possibly-complete-action (cf. Mondada, 2018). In response, right after Mark's bodily retraction, Dan also shifts his gaze and upper torso toward the front 'home position' while producing 'wards' with his right hand pointing forward. We can also see here that Dan's re-orientation and re-organisation of the current participation framework is soon responded to by Tom, who raises his head with accompanying head-nods, and Paul, who also nods (Image 6 - 1, line 41). Dan's series of bodily movements up to this point functions as a 'floor-holding device'. That is to say, through his dual-orientation, he manages to elicit other co-participants' displayed reciprocity when he temporarily loses reciprocity from his primary recipient Mark. Then, Dan continues to hold the floor verbally through exhalation and brief pausing ('hh (0.4)', line 41); concurrently, he retracts his right-hand pointing gesture, leans his upper torso further forward and torques his upper torso and gaze direction back toward Mark (Image 6 - 2, line 41). In response, Mark also re-engages in Dan's elicit of mutual orientation with gaze (Image 6 - 2, line 41), and briefly re-establishes mutual gaze with Dan. Dan soon shifts to his 'home position' again, gesturing with his right hand as he verbalises the delayed restarts, 'wha- HOW long' (Image 6 - 3, line 41) and this 'home position' is sustained throughout the increment (Image 7 - 1, line 42). Then, during the second increment (43), Dan redirects his gaze back to Mark at the beginning ('for us to give you') and end ('desi:gn'), while orienting to his 'home position' toward other co-participants during the remaining utterance of the increment ('the final detailed',) (Image 7 - 2, 3, 4). As before, by displaying this 'dual-orientation', Dan's action trajectory here works to engage his co-participants in the on-going participation framework during his extended hold of the floor.

Dan then proceeds with the third turn-increment in the form of a purpose clause (44–45). Right after the brief pausing and before Dan verbalises this increment (44), Mark initiates another series of actions that does double-duty in re-configuring the current participation framework: he first shuffles his upper torso and redirects his gaze toward front with only a brief glancing at Dan around mid-turn, showing that he is withdrawing reciprocity from Dan (Image 8 - 1, 2, 3, 4, 5); he then puts his right hand under his chin and opens his mouth, displaying his readiness to take the floor at next available slot, hence his incipient speakership (Image 8 - 2, 3). In response, Dan misaligns with Mark's action trajectory by investing extra efforts to hold the floor both verbally (rising intonation and pausing, 44–45) and bodily. Especially, around the TRP where his floor is at risk and right after Mark retracts gaze at 'wor:k' (44), Dan displays his dual-orientation again by redirecting his upper torso and gaze toward his 'home position' and orienting toward other co-participants, hence retaining the floor (Image 8 - 5); this embodied display successfully regained Mark's reciprocity through gaze approaching the completion of his turn at '(.) Δdue timeΔ' (Image 9 - 1, 2, line 45).

Concurrently, during his turn-extensions, Dan's right-hand gesticulation is in line with the rest of his developing multimodal action-construction: the gesticulation phase is initiated since line 41, sustained throughout lines 42–44 (Images 6, 7, 8), and at the point when his on-going turn reaches its completion at 'Δdue timeΔ', he simultaneously retracts his right hand (Image 9 - 1, 2, line 45).

We now compare Dan and Mark's embodied displays at various sequential positions throughout this example. Firstly, we can see similarities between Dan's bodily display patterns at the first TCU (Image 5, lines 38–39) and those at the third increment (Images 8 and 9, lines 44–45), where he has just gained, or started to lose the reciprocity from his *target recipient* Mark. At these junctures, to consolidate or regain Mark's displayed reciprocity is the most urgent need for Dan, whereas to address his ongoing turns-at-talk to the rest of his co-participants and to engage them in the participation framework is a secondary need that is of less urgency. It thus explains Dan's prolonged orientation toward his *target recipient* and brief orientation toward other co-participants around TRPs. Secondly, during the first and second increments of his turn extension (Images 7 and 8, lines 41–43), Dan has secured prolonged gaze from Mark, which means to consolidate Mark's reciprocity is of less urgency; therefore, Dan's dual-orientation toward Mark and other co-participants at these places are more equally-distributed.

To summarise, through the two examples above, we have shown how the side-by-side seating makes '*home position*' and '*body torque*' as locally-available interactional resources that can be exploited by Dan and Mark during their emerging courses of actions: 1) at pre-beginning and turn-beginning positions, gaze and upper torso are mobilised by the self-selecting speaker for mutual monitoring purpose, as well as to re-configure participation framework and to project his self-selecting action; 2) during a self-selecting verbal turn

(i.e. first TCU, turn-extensions), displays of dual-orientation ('home position' vs. 'body torque') alongside gaze and gesture are mobilised by the self-selecting speaker to exploit the public *interactional space* vis-à-vis the target recipient and other co-participants in order to secure reciprocity and maintain speakership; 3) in coordination, the *target recipient* and *current primary speaker* methodically and hierarchically exploits gaze shifts, upper torso re-positioning and hand gesture to negotiate for speakership and manage displays of reciprocity.

4. Toward a non-gazing recipient, seated face-to-face

This section presents a case of self-selection initiated by Dan as a *non-primary* participant, toward his target recipient, Paul (the meeting chair), who is seated face-to-face with Dan (Fig. 7). Similar to previous cases, reciprocity by the target recipient is not displayed until the beginning of the self-selecting verbal turn. Talk in Excerpt 3 starts when Paul is wrapping up his update in the *roundtable update discussion* as the *current primary speaker* and is preparing to raise a question to the whole group of co-participants (1–2).

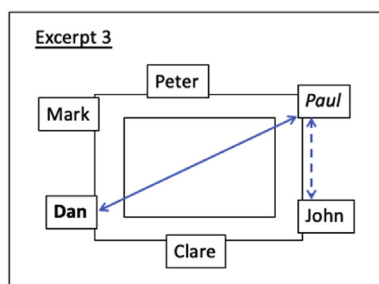


Fig. 7. Seating arrangement of Excerpt 3.

Excerpt 3

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



Image.10 DAN/PAU gaze/body (L1-3)

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



Image.11 JOH/PAU gaze (L4-5) (Enlarged)



Image.12 JOH/PAU gaze (L4-5)

- 5 JOH: Δ°&&it's a twenty two meter #duct &but yeah\°Δ≈
 &DAN lean backward #PAU gaze JOH
 &JOH gaze DAN &JOH gaze PAU

- 6 PAU: ≈ twenty two #meter duct\≈
#PAU gaze front
- 7 JOH: ≈ yeah\
- 8 & (0.5)
&DAN lean forward



Image.13 DAN/PAU body/gaze (L6–10)

- 9 PAU: is there ANY:↑ twenty two meter duct in the world\≈
- 10 DAN: ≈ #°huh-uh°
#PAU gaze JOH
(0.7)
- 11 JOH: u[h::]
- 12 DAN: [well] there &must #£be\≈
&DAN gaze PAU
#PAU gaze DAN
£JOH gaze DAN
- 13
- 14 JOH: ≈yeah\≈



Image.14 PAU/JOH gaze (L13–14)

- 15 PAU: ≈°what's [#£that↗°]
- 16 DAN: [#£ the]re must be £Δbecause there'sΔ some
#PAU hands under chin
£JOH gaze PAU £JOH gaze DAN

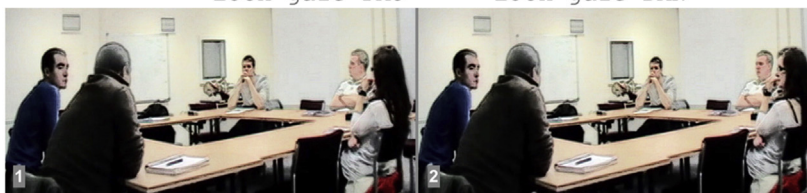


Image.15 PAU's body posture and JOH's gaze shift (L15–16)

- 17 already some &tidal &turbine Δ&existing &ductedΔ I think↗≈
&DAN gaze JOH &DAN gaze JOH
&DAN gaze PAU &DAN gaze PAU
- 18 PAU: ≈ ye[ah] but they're not that, big are they↗
- 19 DAN: [uhm]
- 20 (0.5)

During lines 1–7, Paul starts to formulate a question with a series of vocal hesitations, hedges and restarts, together with his hand gesture phase (Image 10 - 1); whereas John soon responds to him with a an acknowledging 'yeah' (3) and a delayed repair (5), which is then accepted by Paul (6) and further confirmed by John (7). Similar to previous cases, as an active recipient, Dan mobilises his bodily resources in tune with the two vocal participants: passing the TRP and during a 0.6-second pause ('think of this\ (0.6)', 2) when Paul's gaze is gradually shifted from the desk toward the front 'home position', Dan starts to shuffle his upper torso back (Image 10 - 4, 5, line 1) and forth (Image 10 - 6, line 3), displaying his attempt to reconfigure his current participation framework. As this slight body re-positioning is not responded to by co-participants, Dan

initiates another attempt soon: at the beginning of John's verbal turn directed to Paul (5), he inclines his upper torso backward again, but this time at a slightly bigger angle (Image 12 - 2, 3); this bodily display is responded to by John with gaze (Image 11 - 2, 3) during his own verbal turn-beginning 'it's' (5). Dan then sustains the backward inclination of his upper torso (Image 12 - 3, 4 and Image 13 - 1) within the next micro-seconds, during which there are swift verbal exchanges between Paul and John (5–7) with their coordinating bodily displays (Image 11 - 3, 4); this backward inclination is kept on-hold, then retracted to the 'home position' until the brief pausing (8). Here, Dan's 'shift and put on-hold' bodily trajectory can therefore be seen as his upgraded attempt to signal a shift of participation framework, it soon becomes clearer that it is a shift of his own role from an active recipient to an incipient speaker as will be shown later.

Next, Paul rephrases John's previous utterances (6) and raises a question (9), while his gaze is re-directed to the front 'home position' facing all co-participants by the end of his verbal turn in line 6, and maintained as he verbalises his question (Image 13 - 1, 2, line 9). This re-orientation therefore shows that his question is directed to all co-participants, making them as potential next speakers. Dan quickly takes this opportunity and produces a soft but hearable laughter ('^huh-uh', 10), which displays his availability to respond to this question. Yet during Dan's laughter (10), Paul moves his head and hence re-directs his gaze toward John (Image 13 - 3), his bodily re-orientation here exerts double-effect: 1) the re-direction of gaze at the transition space shows his verbal turn (i.e. the question) is now directed primarily to John, making John's response the next relevant action; 2) as his gaze is now away from the front-facing 'home position', the shared interactional space in-between Paul and Dan is impaired, which entails the need for Dan to secure his reciprocity at his up-coming verbal turn. In response to Paul, John gains and holds the floor with a lengthened hesitating vocalisation 'uh:.' (12). Meanwhile, Dan also vocally responds to Paul's question; he places an early entry of his self-selecting turn 'well there must be' (13), with the beginning partly overlapping John's hesitating 'uh:.'. Dan's verbal self-selecting action is soon responded to within the same turn, as Paul and John both retract their gaze from each other and redirect to Dan (Image 14 - 1, 2) at the TRP (13). Dan thereby successfully gains displayed reciprocity from his target recipient Paul at this point; it can also be seen in Image 14 - 2 that the other two co-present participants, Clare and Mark, also re-direct their gaze toward Dan at his self-selecting verbal turn.

In the talk that follows (14–16), John accompanies his embodied reciprocity with a verbal response 'yeah' (14) toward Dan, latched onto Dan's turn-final (13); then, latched onto John's 'yeah' (14), Paul also verbally responds to Dan with a question ('^hwhat's that?', 15), which can be seen as a repair initiator and/or clarification request due to hearing issues caused by the previous overlapping talk. Meanwhile, Paul slightly leans forward and places both of his hands under his chin (Image 14 - 2 and Image 15 - 1, 2, line 15) – which is a display of his attentive listenership and a 'go-ahead' action that relinquishes the floor over to Dan. Almost simultaneously, Dan continues to proceed with his on-going verbal turn in line 16, with a recycled beginning from his previous turn ('there must be', line 13) in overlap. It is also noticeable that the timing between Dan's two verbal turns (13 and 16) are in fact produced in mere microseconds. By placing the second turn, Dan is on one hand treating his previous attempt of self-selection in line 13 as impaired (cf. C. Goodwin, 1979) due to the delayed reciprocity display by Paul and John, and the overlapping turn beginning; on the other, this second turn can be seen as Dan's responding action to Paul's previous turn '^hwhat's that?' (15) by treating it as a repair initiator (cf. Schegloff, 1987). In terms of the previously-vocal-participant John, from line 12 onwards, he gradually shifts his own role in the evolving participation framework from a selected next-speaker (12) to an active recipient co-participating in the on-going talk (13–16), which can be told by his shifts of gaze direction as he is closely monitoring the verbal exchanges and embodied orientations between Dan and Paul (Images 14 and 15). John's gaze direction toward Dan is maintained passing Dan's turn beginning, and from this point onwards within the whole verbal turn, Dan has secured displayed reciprocity from both Paul and John.

To summarise, this case is similar to Excerpt 1 and 2 in the ways how Dan mobilises multimodal resources to display his orientation as an attentive recipient and soon upgrades into an (incipient) speaker at pre-beginning and turn-beginning positions. However, in this case, Dan's *target recipient* Paul is seated face-to-face with him, which makes it more accessible for Dan to conduct mutual monitoring and to solicit/sustain mutual orientation. As soon as Paul displays his reciprocity through his gaze and upper torso at his 'home position' in line 15, the *shared interactional space* is established and sustained throughout the delivery of Dan's verbal turn. In comparison, in the previous two cases, the side-by-side seating arrangement constitute a more fragile and fleeting *shared interactional space* based on a torqued body, thereby exerting more pressure on Dan to secure as well as to maintain the recipient's gaze; we can see in the previous two cases how Dan methodically deals with this pressure and displays 'extra interactional work' not only at pre-beginning and turn-beginning positions, but also during and beyond the 1st TCU of the self-selecting verbal turn.

Further, in this case, we can also see co-participants' mobilisation of multimodal resources in a coordinative and methodical manner. As the meeting chair and the current *primary speaker*, Paul responds to Dan's self-selecting action in a delicate and progressive way, by initially establishing mutual gaze (hence the *shared interactional space*) (13), then verbally soliciting repair/clarification upon Dan's (impaired) self-selecting turn (15), and finally relinquishing the floor to Dan by displaying his embodied reciprocity through gesture (16). As such, it is noticeable that he mobilises the locally available multimodal resources (i.e. gaze, verbalisations, gesture) in a hierarchical and methodical manner.

As a vocal participant in this case, John's coordinative responding action trajectory is also comparable to that of Dan's close monitoring of on-going talk and progressive reconfiguration of participation framework in all three excerpts so far: upon being selected as the primary addressee of Paul's question, John delays his next turn with hesitation (12); as Dan starts to establish speakership, John then gradually shifts his participation role to a recipient by closely monitoring the swift transition

of speakership from Dan (13) to Paul (15) and back to Dan (16) with his gaze direction; in addition, during Dan's verbal utterance (17), he redirects his gaze twice in-between John and Paul, which can be seen in his head movements.

5. Toward a gazing recipient, seated face-to-face

The last case of self-selection is initiated by the *non-chair non-primary* participant, Dan, toward a gazing *target recipient*, John, who is the current chair-appointed *primary speaker* seated face-to-face with Dan (Fig. 8). Before the talk in Excerpt 4 unfolds, John was appointed as the *primary speaker* and has started his update. As John continues his extended turn in line 1, Dan starts to display incipient speakership towards John both bodily and vocally (4–6), and successfully secures his target recipient John's gaze at the pre-beginning position; he then finally manages to gain the floor by a verbal self-selection (7).

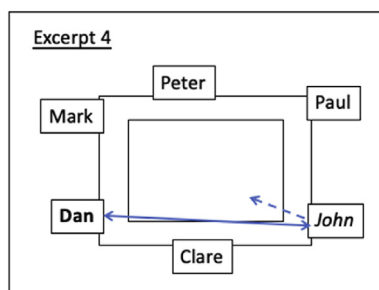


Fig. 8. Seating arrangements in Excerpt 4.

Excerpt 4.

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



Image.16 JOH gaze (L1–3)

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



Image.17 JOH/DAN body/gaze (L4)

- 5 JOH: Δ that we were going [for] $^{\circ}\Delta$
 6 DAN: [fo- $^{\circ}$] f-
 7 from ~~my~~ research ~~so~~ far ·hh uh- (.) but this is the companies
~~&DAN R hand gesture~~
~~&JOH move head upward~~



Image.18 DAN/JOH gesture/head (L7)

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

During lines 1–3, as the current *primary speaker*, John is explaining the problem about two- or three-blade design, while Dan, as a non-chair *non-primary* co-participant, is closely monitoring John's utterance and action, as can be seen through his sustained gaze direction toward his front and his head-nod at the beginning of John's turn (Image 16 - 1, line 1). Meanwhile, John frequently shifts his gaze direction in-between downward and front exactly around the TRPs during his extended turn, at 'I thi::nk\ (1), 'I'll see' and 'u:m:' (3), with the first and third shifts constituting two brief mutual gaze with Dan (Image 16 - 2, 3, 4). Then, passing the TRP in line 4; John produces an extension: 'I::: (0.3) in my mind' (2) as he re-directs his gaze toward front (Image 17 - 1); simultaneously, Dan initiates a body re-positioning action trajectory: he shuffles his upper torso, firstly backward, and then forward, inclining on the desk again in his 'home position', while placing his right hand under his chin (Image 17 - 2, 3, 4, line 4).

Similar to previous cases, this action trajectory can be seen as Dan's attempt to re-organise his current participation framework, as well as his display of incipient speakership not only to secure reciprocity from John, but also showing his willingness to talk, thus making himself the *possible next speaker*. What is different from previous cases is that, while Dan's embodied action trajectory is still emerging, John already responds to him with a gaze shift (Image 17 - 4), establishing mutual gaze with Dan while he verbalises 'had' (4); he also switches to a softer volume with accelerating speed as he produces his remaining utterance ' $^{\circ}$ a two-blade design Δ that we were going for $^{\circ}\Delta$ ' (4–5), preparing to end his own on-going turn (cf. Ford, 2008), which is also a part of his responsive action to Dan's embodied bid to take a turn.

Next, Dan's courses of turn-initial actions further work to consolidate John's displayed reciprocity: 1) verbally, overlapping with John's turn-final TRP 'for' (5), Dan produces restarts 'fo- f-' (6), which function draw attention from recipients and therefore secure speakership (cf. C. Goodwin, 1980a); 2) bodily, he also accompanies his verbal turn-beginning 'from my research' with a pointing gesture using his right index finger (Image 18 - 1, line 7) (cf. Mondada, 2007). In response, John slightly turns his head further toward Dan (Image 18 - 1) during the next bit of Dan's talk ('so far', line 7); Dan thus successfully gains the floor at this moment thereafter.

To summarise, we note how Excerpt 4 differs from the three previous cases with regard to the availability of embodied resources afforded by seating arrangements. In the previous three cases, the current *primary speaker's* attention is oriented to the meeting chair, and their seating positions vis-à-vis that of the self-selecting next-speaker constitute a triangle. Such a seating arrangement therefore affords 'home position' and 'body torque' as available resources to be exploited by co-participants on the public *interactional space* and to (re)configure participation framework; whereas in Excerpt 4, the *primary speaker* and the *non-chair, non-primary* self-selecting speaker not only are seated face-to-face with each other, but also are in a sustained 'home position' in the sequential position, thus constituting a more static and thus stable *shared interactional space* between themselves, 'body torque' is therefore not made an available and useful resource here. As such, we can also observe the *non-chair non-primary* participant Dan's methodical way of mobilising the locally available multimodal resources (e.g. upper torso inclination, gesticulation) as he re-configures the on-going participation framework and shifts his role from a recipient into an incipient speaker, and further into a current speaker: 1) prior to pre-beginning position: display of extra attentiveness toward the current speaker, John, through sustained gaze and head-nods as a recipient; 2) at pre-beginning position: upper torso inclination and hand movements that gains the target recipient's gaze, thus could be seen as

embodied displays of incipient speakership, accompanying a vocal bid for the floor (i.e., 'fo- f-'); 3) at turn-beginning position: a pointing gesture to heighten the recipient's attention.

6. Discussion

Underpinned by Kendon's (1990) notion of *transactional segment* and Sacks and Schegloff's (2002; cf. Schegloff, 1998) idea of 'body torque' and 'home position', this paper has examined and compared four cases of next speaker self-selection in a particular meeting activity, namely, *roundtable update discussion*, to see how the self-selecting next-speaker manages to establish mutual orientation or enable mutual monitoring with co-participants at varying seating positions. One of our major findings is that, participants rely on different multimodal resources (e.g., body torque, body inclination, gaze direction) varyingly made available by the different seating arrangements, to constitute, maintain or mobilise *shared interactional space* at different sequential positions of their emerging courses of actions. This demonstrates the varying affordances of a seated spatial arrangement.

Now to revisit the seating arrangements of Excerpt 1–4 in Fig. 9 below, we can see that in Excerpt 1 and 2, the *non-chair, non-primary* self-selecting next-speaker (name in **bold**) is seated side-by-side with the current *primary speaker* (name in *italics*). Further, the dotted arrows illustrate the current *primary speaker's* sustained engagement prior to the self-selection, whereas the solid arrows illustrate the upcoming mutual engagement between the self-selecting next speaker and current *primary speaker*. Therefore, we can summarise the observations we have illustrated as follows:

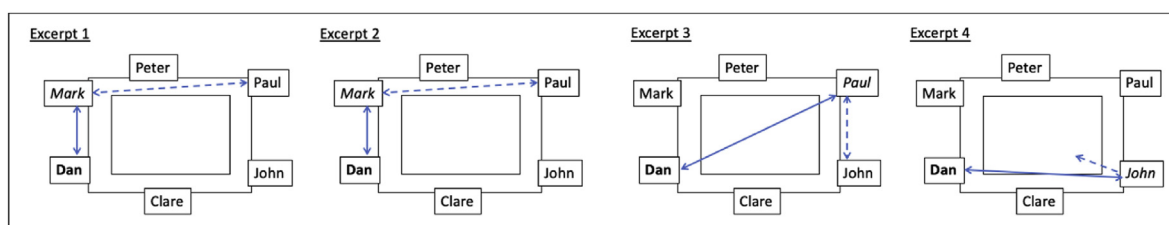


Fig. 9. Seating arrangements of Excerpt 1–4.

- 1) In a seated side-by-side situation, as in Excerpt 1 and 2, the self-selecting next speaker needs to invest extra embodied movements in order to access the current speaker visual 'floor'; they may rely more on 'body torque' to establish or mobilise their *shared interactional space*, as well as to shift their organisation of participation and to display varying levels of engagement (e.g., dual-orientation);
- 2) In a seated face-to-face situation as in Excerpt 3 and 4, where participants' bodily orientation at their 'home position' already secure a more stable and static *shared interactional space*, multimodal resources such as upper torso inclination and gesticulation become a primary resource for them to negotiate speakership and reciprocity, and display varying levels of engagement;
- 3) In a seated face-to-face situation as in Excerpt 3, as the current speaker is in a 'body torque' toward another co-participant, therefore temporarily away from his 'home position'; it entails the need for the self-selecting next speaker to invest extra embodied movements (e.g., shift and put on-hold) to secure displayed reciprocity from the current speaker as he resumes his 'home position'.
- 4) In a face-to-face situation as in Excerpt 4, as both the current speaker and the self-selecting next speaker is in their 'home position', mutual orientation can be accomplished with less effort.

Through these observations, we have provided a full account of participants' dynamic configurations of multimodal resources for mutual monitoring and mutual orientation during the sequential unfolding of the self-selecting actions of a next-speaker. In so doing, we have unpacked in greater detail the systematicities of turn-taking in this multimodal social interaction, in terms of how participants are able to prioritise one resource over others in accordance with the affordances of the local seating arrangements. We can also observe a level of systematicity in the hierarchical mobilisation of multimodal resources: gaze/head movements, upper torso movement and gesture (cf. Kendon, 1990). Focusing on this observation, our analyses have demonstrated that visual access in-between incipient self-selecting speakers and current speakers are not only a pre-requisite for speaker transitions to happen (e.g. at pre-beginning and turn-beginning positions), but also a public resource that can be exploited and mobilised to contextualise the operation of turn-taking (e.g. during and beyond the 1st TCU). This work therefore brings new insights on the visual dimension of workplace meeting interaction, and adds to the existing body of research on video analysis of meetings of various forms and sizes. Especially, in comparison with the various work by Mondada (e.g., Heath and Mondada, 2019; Markaki and Mondada, 2012; Mondada, 2013), which has focused on large meetings with more dynamic spatial arrangements, our current study demonstrates the much more nuanced multimodal establishment of mutual focus of attention and *shared interactional space* which can take place in a static seated setting involving a smaller number of participants. Similarly, it builds on the observations from previous studies (e.g., Lebaron and Streeck, 1997; Mortensen and Hazel, 2014) and further demonstrates the role that physical spaces play in shaping and constraining interaction.

To conclude, we have shown through our analysis of the four excerpts: 1) a fuller picture of multimodal action-construction of self-selection in the specific turn-taking system of the chair-mediated *roundtable update discussion*; 2) how the co-participants orient to the rights and obligations of the locally emerging roles as a meeting chair, a *primary speaker* and a *non-chair, non-primary* next-speaker during the evolving courses of self-selecting actions; 3) the systematics of co-participants’ mobilisation of multimodal resources as these are made available by the local physical seating arrangements. By showing how participants methodically and normatively deploy the multimodal resources made available *in situ* to coordinate and re-configure the *shared interactional space* when constituting their turn-taking practices, we contribute to the existing multimodal accounts on turn-taking in various institutional settings. Further, these observations are significant for our understanding of turn-taking practices more broadly. It seems apparent that these ‘next speaker self-selects’ cases in multi-party conversations are far from the straight-forward, linear procedures of simple verbal turns-at-talk, with a preference of no gap and no overlap in accordance with the ‘one at a time’ rule. As Schegloff (1996) noted, as an utterance in conversation goes through three phases, that is, as (incipient) next, as current and as prior, an incipient next turn could appear early-on by features of its pre-beginning, with its course of actions intertwined with that of the current turn. Building upon this understanding, our analysis took the perspective of embodied participation framework and provided a systematic multimodal account of a *non-chair non-primary* self-selecting participant going through three phases during talk-and-bodies-in-interaction: 1) as an attentive recipient who displays close monitoring of on-going talk, 2) as an incipient (next-) speaker who displays upgraded attentiveness and solicits reciprocity from current speaker, and 3) as a current speaker who displays varying levels of engagements toward different parties amongst co-participants in order to negotiate/sustain speakership. Arguably, another contribution of our study is therefore the rich depiction of how the streams of actions of displaying speakership and gaining reciprocity through ‘next-speaker self-selects’ are jointly constructed by co-participants through “a plurality of sequentially ordered simultaneities” (Mondada, 2018, p. 94) that are mutually adjusted and reflexively intertwined.

Transcription conventions

↗	rising to mid	↗	rising to high
↘	falling to mid	↘	falling to low
≈	latching	≈	continuation
:	extended syllable	-	cut-off
·hh	inhalation	hh	exhalation
[]	top overlap	[]	bottom overlap
(.)	pause shorter than 0.2 second		
Δ Δ	faster than surrounding talk		
▽ ▽	slower than surrounding talk		
° °	softer than surrounding talk		
CAPS	raised volume		
Underline	stress		
!p/!t/!k a click (i.e. a sound involving bilabial, alveolar and velar suction)			

Symbols used for annotation of embodied conduct of participants:

PAU	JOH	DAN	MAR	CLA	TOM
#	£	&	¥	%	\$

Conflict of interest statement

The authors declare that there is no conflict of interest.

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Qi Chen is Lecturer in Applied Linguistics at School of International Studies of Hangzhou Normal University in Hangzhou, China. She also works as Associate Tutor in TESOL at Moray House School of Education and Sports of the University of Edinburgh in the UK. Her research interests are in studying social interactions in institutional settings (e.g., workplace meetings, classrooms) and in multilingual and multicultural contexts.

Adam Brandt is Lecturer in Applied Linguistics at Newcastle University, UK. His research focuses on interaction in international and multilingual contexts, particularly in workplace and educational settings, and also arts interventions for people living with dementia.