

CHAPTER 24

Gestures in overlap

The situated establishment of speakership

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This paper aims at contributing to the analysis of overlaps in turns-at-talk from both a sequential and a multimodal perspective. Overlaps have been studied within Conversation Analysis by focusing mainly on verbal and vocal resources; taking into account multimodal resources such as gesture, bodily posture, and gaze contributes to a better understanding of participants' orientations to the sequential organization of overlapping talk and their management of speakership.

First, we introduce the way in which overlaps have been studied in Conversation Analysis, mainly by Jefferson (1973, 1983, 2004) and Schegloff (2000, 2002); then we propose possible implications of their multimodal analysis. In order to demonstrate that speakers systematically orient to the overlap onset and resolution we analyze the multimodal conduct of overlapped speakers. Findings show methodical variations in trajectories of overlap resolution: speakers' gestures in overlap display themselves as maintaining or withdrawing their turn, thereby exhibiting the speakership achieved and negotiated during overlap.

1. Overlap as a classical topic for Conversation Analysis

Turns at talk are organized in such a way that addresses the alternation of turns among participants, the distribution of rights and obligations among speakers and the minimization of both gaps and overlaps between turns (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974). One of the fundamental features of the turn-taking model is the participants' orientation to the principle of "one party talks at a time". Nevertheless, overlap – that is, simultaneous talk by more than one party at a time – is a recurrent phenomenon in social interaction. This could be seen as a violation of the turn-taking system; however, it is a phenomenon that, although departing from the normative expectations that organize talk-in-interaction, consistently takes them into account: "No matter how much overlapping may be found in the talk [...], the talk appears to be co-constructed by reference to one-party-at-a-time as its targeted design feature [...]" (Schegloff 2000: 3).

Considered in this way, overlap is an interesting phenomenon to look at in order to understand how turn-taking actually works.

If we exclude from this domain of inquiry the cases where activities are organized on the basis of other principles, such as collective choral responses orienting to “all-at-a-time” schisms producing two or more parallel simultaneous conversations (Egbert 1997), we can distinguish two environments for overlaps which have been studied by reference to the principles of turn-taking within one conversation:

- a. Environments where overlap is not dealt with as problematic by the participants (cf. Schegloff 2000: 5–6) and results mainly from their monitoring of the current turn organization and from their projection of the Turn-Construction Unit (TCU) completion at the next Transition-Relevance Place (TRP). In this case, overlap onset exhibits the online analysis done by co-participants of the current turn: overlap occurs at systematic places, such as in terminal or pre-terminal positions, where the projection of the turn’s completion is possible. In a similar way, the production of continuers and assessments in overlap orients to the TCU boundaries and is systematically positioned, without claiming the right to take the floor (Schegloff 1982, Goodwin 1986). These overlaps orient to the minimization of their length and to the imminent completion of the overlapped turn.
- b. Environments where overlaps are resolved through an “overlap management device” (Schegloff 2000): in this case, more than one speaker is contesting or claiming for a turn space at the same time and overlaps become “problematic” with respect to turn-taking. These overlaps can be sustained and competitive, but do orient to their minimization too, thanks to the management device, which provides for a procedure for negotiating the overlap’s end.

Various dimensions can be considered for describing overlaps:

1. The *positions within the ongoing turn* where overlap emerges, exhibiting the real time analysis done by the overlapper of the progressive, incremental organization of the turn;
2. The *positions within overlap itself*: concerning the overlap beginning (*onset*), we can distinguish (cf. Jefferson 1983) a *pre-onset position* (where overlap has not yet taken place but where it can be prevented, generally by taking into consideration vocal or multimodal resources appearing in pre-beginnings of the incipient turn), an *onset position* (where the overlap properly starts), a *post-onset position*, a *post-post-onset or middle position*; concerning the overlap’s end (*resolution*), we can distinguish (cf. Schegloff 2000) a *pre-resolution*, a *resolution* and a *post-resolution* position.
3. The *resources* distributed in these positions;
4. The *practices* mobilizing these resources in order to get various interactive jobs done, such as increasing volume and pitch, speeding up or slowing down (Local, Kelly & Wells 1986), repeating, recycling (Schegloff 1987), restarting (Goodwin 1981), all timely organized in relation to the various phases of the overlap, defining its trajectory.

Talk is not only organized step by step, in an incremental way, sensitive to the contingencies of context and of others' interactional conducts; talk is also organized by a *topology of sequentially ordered positions* offering various opportunities to participate. The timed positionings of overlaps show precisely how participants do orient in a finely grained way to these opportunities in order to adequately initiate their interactional moves.

Moreover, the way in which participants mobilize resources and practices for beginning their turns in overlap also exhibits the way in which they consider the emergent process of establishing and accomplishing speakership itself (Mondada 2007). Since overlap is a place where possible competitive turn beginnings are confronted, the way in which overlapping speakers format their turns within the overlap manifests their orientation to their speakership, their rights and obligations as speakers, as well as their stabilization or vulnerability within overlap. Thus, what happens during overlap is interesting to look at for the analysis of the establishment and transformation of speakership.

2. Overlap and multimodality: Simultaneity of talk and simultaneity of gestures

Within Conversation Analysis, overlap is a phenomenon that has been predominantly defined in relationship with talk. In this context, one can wonder about the issues raised by the simultaneous organization of multimodal resources within the sequential organization of talk-and-other-conducts in interaction, especially in environments where overlap occurs. How can video data and multimodal phenomena such as gestures, gazes, facial expressions, bodily postures, contribute to or even transform the view we have of turn-taking and overlaps? Existing work on turn-taking and multimodality has complexified our understanding of the way in which the sequential organization of the turn adjusts to and reflexively integrates multimodal details (see Goodwin 1981). As a consequence, the study of the timed character of social interaction has taken into account both *successive* and *simultaneous* relationships: what characterizes multimodality is that it unfolds in a finely tuned coordination with talk, even if their mutual adjustment within an ordered *Gestalt* is not just a matter of synchronicity (Schegloff 1984; Kendon 2005).

Overlaps concern simultaneous talk; thus, we can ask what happens when other kinds of simultaneities are considered, related to multimodal conducts, gestures, glances, facial expressions, body postures (Oloff 2009). Two possible lines of inquiry can be sketched in this respect. On the one hand, it is possible to explore multimodal conducts during overlapping talk, questioning the way in which gestural and other visual resources contribute (or not) to overlap practices (practices for overlapping, for avoiding overlap, for resolving overlap). This is the line of inquiry adopted here.

On the other hand, one can wonder if multimodal conducts occurring simultaneously with talk could be considered as overlapping it or not. This option is explored by Schmitt (2005), who consequently discusses the concept of “kinetic overlap” on the basis of one example of pre-selection done by a participant in a visible, hyperbolic gestural way during the ongoing talk of a current speaker; the latter notices the former’s pre-selection, but selects her only much later on, continuing to speak for a long moment without any perturbation.

The first line is not unrelated to the second. Interestingly, some simultaneous multimodal conducts are oriented to by participants as having an overlapping (or even interrupting) character – as producing some perturbation of talk, similar to the overlapping talk (note that this is *not* the case in the example studied by Schmitt 2005). This can happen when multimodal turn pre-beginnings project imminent (verbal) turn-taking, or when turns are accomplished gesturally (for example providing for the second pair part of an adjacency pair). In these cases, multimodal conduct either projects and prepares (as in the pre-beginnings) or substitutes talk. However, this is *not* the case of all multimodal conducts occurring simultaneously with talk. This leads us to consider overlap primarily as a verbal phenomenon, crucially related to the disruptive potential of more than one person speaking at the same time. Simultaneous talk is produced in a specific way, which does not have the same properties and does not offer the same opportunities as simultaneous multimodal conducts. Moreover, multimodal conducts co-occurring with talk and coordinated with it do not occur in a synchronic way with it, but within a different temporality (mostly *preceding* talk). This feature produces an interesting shift of turn boundaries: in the same way that turns can have gestural pre-beginnings that produce a flexible left boundary of the turn, they can also have gestural post-completions that expand turns in a multimodal way (Mondada 2007). We can predict that these positions can be variously oriented to by co-participants, either as belonging to the turn or not and either as overlapping it or not.

In this paper, we focus on the participants’ multimodal conduct during overlap, on the basis of video recordings of everyday activities in interaction. Considering that “hand gesturing is largely, if not entirely, a speaker’s phenomenon” (Schegloff 1984: 271), we can wonder what happens in overlap: how are overlapping and overlapped speakers gesticulating? Do gestures follow the same trajectories as talk, for example, exhibiting perturbations when talk is perturbed during overlap or in its aftermath? What does the analysis of gestures during overlap reveal about the way in which participants orient to, recognize and define speakers’ rights and obligations?

Schegloff indicates three exceptions to the match between gestures and speaker-ship observed above – all dealing with overlaps in one way or another:

1. The first one concerns incipient speakers. In pre-beginnings, not-yet-speakers or imminent speakers produce gestures that contribute to their transformation from recipients to newly established speakers (see Mondada 2007).

2. The second one concerns “nonspeakers” trying to tell something without interrupting, who orient to the very possibility of organizing a multimodal course of action simultaneously to talk without disrupting it.
3. “A third type of exception occurs when a current speaker is interrupted, and yields to the interrupter. Such at-that-moment nonspeakers may hold a gesture that was in progress at the point of interruption to show that they consider their turn still in progress and intend to resume after the interruption.” (Schegloff 1984: 271). This is the type we investigate in this paper. In the example analyzed by Schegloff (1984: 272), the speaker’s gesture is frozen throughout overlap and is remobilized when he resumes the turn. We will show that this is one among a range of possibilities. Their variety highlights the embodied conception participants have of speakership as it is locally defined, achieved and sustained.

In this paper, we focus on the trajectory of the ongoing speaker’s gestures as she is overlapped by others. On the basis of a video recorded dinner conversation among friends, we analyze a collection of cases showing how these gestures display the participant’s orientations to the local definition and recognition of speakership. Four configurations are described:

- a. Current speaker continues to gesture during overlap (3.),
- b. Current speaker continues to gesture but shows some gesture perturbations (4.),
- c. Current speaker holds/freezes gestures before continuing them (5.),
- d. Current speaker abandons her gesture (6.).

In the first three cases the speaker maintains her speakership; in the last one she loses it.

3. Current speaker continues to gesture during overlap

In what follows, we provide a systematic analysis of various gestures’ trajectories during overlapping talk. The first case we focus on displays the continuity of gestures during overlaps, showing how the speaker can maintain an orientation to his status as current speaker, even when he is overlapped by others. The excerpt is taken from a dinner conversation between friends, Victor (VIC) being the host receiving Nadine (NAD) and Yves (YVE) for dinner. Yves has just graduated from an art school where he studied cinema and tells about his experience as a film director. Transcript conventions are explained at the end of this paper.

(1) (PM_150_024010_extrS)

1 **YVE** comment dire °ou° (.) °en tout° cas *mettre* en
 how to say °or° (.) °well in any° case*to bring*
 yve *....*shakes->
 2 **en::: en avant:** (.) °euh° *ce disposi**tif,
 to the::: fore: (.) °er° *this devi**ce,
 yve *....body pos*
 gaze NAD+--->1.7
 left hand----->1.4
 3 [(c'qu') étaient) qui #'taient des&
 [(that] were) which#* were
 4 [((noise of lighter))]
 yve -----*2h in front of body-->
 fig #fig1
 5 **YVE** &(min*uscles) caméras, #
 &(min*uscule) cameras, #
 yve -----*percussion gesture-->1. 10
 fig #fig2



#fig1



#fig2

6 [*°donc euh°]+::[:.° (y a des) #par+ties:,+où&
 [*°so er°]+:: [:.° (there are)#par+ts:, +where&
 7 **NAD** [*mm,hm.] + [(de) #sem+blant]+de:::]
 [*mm,hm.] + [(to) #sim+ilar) +to:::]
 nad *nods
 yve *.....turns body left----->>
 gaze NAD-+,,,,,,+.....+gaze NAD
 fig #fig3
 8 **YVE** &voilà#:,+où y a (où) j' passe d'une
 &exactly]#:,+where there are (where) i pass from one
 yve -----+gaze table & hands----->>
 fig #fig4



#fig3



#fig4

9 **YVE** [#caméra à] *#l'au:tre, *h j'arrive&
 [#camera to]*#the other, *h i'm coming&
 10 **NAD** [#°ouais enfin.°]##
 [#°yeah well.°]##
 yve percussion---*...Rhand up*----->>
 fig #fig5 #fig6



#fig5



#fig6

Line 1, Yves is talking to Nadine and Victor about the technical aspects of one of the film settings he worked on during his studies. After having mentioned the “minuscule cameras” (l. 5), Yves continues his explanation, but is overlapped by Nadine (l. 6–7), who produces first an acknowledgement and then starts a longer turn, but drops out after a long vowel stretch on “to::” at the end of line 7. After a short account responsive to Nadine (“exactly”, l. 8), Yves continues his turn, describing a scene where he as a director had to switch between the cameras. A last short overlap between Yves and Nadine occurs at line 10, where Nadine is not projecting more to come.

From “bring” (l. 1) on, Yves shakes this hand in front of his head during the development of his TCU, looking at the table. He then changes the position of his body leaning backwards (l. 2), letting slide his left elbow from the table and moving this hand downwards. He is now looking at Nadine who is sitting opposite to him. His right hand lets go of the lighter he was holding until this moment (l. 4), freeing this hand for the gesture to come. Then, Yves holds both hands in front of him in the air, palm down (l. 4, Figure 1), freezing them for a moment. From line 5 on, he starts moving both hands in a percussion gesture in front of his body (Figure 2).

After the first overlap with Nadine (7), Yves begins to turn his torso to the left, maintaining this slightly different orientation until the end of the excerpt. He also turns his head in the same direction, not looking at Nadine anymore on the second overlap onset (“(to)”, l. 7), but at his gesturing hands (Figure 3). By doing this, he turns away from the overlapping speaker Nadine and her left hand gesture (see the white circle on Figure 3–4) during the second overlap, now following his own talk’s trajectory. He briefly gazes in her direction during the second overlap, turning his head again back to his hands at the end (l. 8, Figure 4). Interestingly, he lifts his hands during the second overlap when his gaze reaches Nadine again (l. 7, gaze towards Nadine), continuing the percussion gesture in an amplified way, being performed at a higher level in front of his body. However, his movements don’t signal a perturbation as he continues his percussion gesture during Nadine’s overlapping talk, neither changing the rhythm, tempo or amplitude nor his bodily orientation (see Figure 5: overlap onset of the third overlap, Figure 6: end of third overlap). After the last overlap with Nadine, Yves continues gesturing, bringing his hands to a slightly different position when he begins a new TCU.

In this excerpt, Yves is developing a multi-unit-turn and maintains his status as a current speaker during Nadine’s overlapping talk. He doesn’t glance at her but instead slightly turns away while she is attempting to develop her talk (second overlap). The continuity of his gesture shows no visible perturbation due to her talk. Yves continues his talk and his gesturing after the last overlap, while Nadine withdraws from the turn (l. 10, her turn format and prosody manifest a drop out).

Here, the current speaker organizes his gesture’s trajectory in a way that ongoing gesticulations are held when other participants overlap his turn. In this way, even if Yves orients toward Nadine’s overlapping talk by shortly glancing in her direction, by responding to what she said (see his responsive “exactly”, l. 8) and by repeating a previous segment he produced in overlap (“where”, l. 6, repeated after “exactly”, l. 8), his

gestures are carried out continuously. Thus, Yves continues his turn at a multi-dimensional level: he keeps talking and gesticulating, both in a continuous form and without hitches, displaying the continuity of his speakership.

4. Current speaker continues with some perturbations

While in the first case the overlapped speaker goes on gesticulating in a continuous way, in other cases his gestures can display some perturbations. In the next excerpt, Yves is the current speaker, overlapped first by Victor, then by Nadine:

(2) (PM_150_023945_extrF)

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1   YVE   s'tout que moi j'avais huit caméRAS,
      'specially as i had eight caméRAS,
2   (0.5)
3   NAD   [hm.hm,]
4   YVE   [donc la] galère t'imagin:es, bon c'tait:
      [so the] pain you ima:gine, well that was:
5   c'est: c'tait un choix, dès le début,
      that's: that was a choice, from the start,
6   (0.6)
7   VIC   ouais [c'est (c- huit) caméRAS.]=
      yeah [it's (i- eight) cameras.]=
8   YVE   [xxx ausSI,]=
      [xxx toO,]=
9   NAD   =(e+n ne-)+ en mê[me temps?]
      =(a+t th-)+ at th[e same time?]
10  YVE   [c't dire que]:: voilà:,
      [that is]:: exactly:,
      yve +.....+gaze NAD----->1.13
11  YVE   [t'as huit caméRAS*: , et do[nc]#(.)&
      [you've eight caméRAS*: , and s[o]#(.)&
12  VIC   [ouais:, (°et donc.*et pis do[nc.°)]#
      [yeah:, (°and so.* and so th[en.°)]#
13  NAD   [ou]#ais:,&
      [ye]#ah:,&
      yve *...lifts 2hands----->
      gaze NAD----->1.17
      fig #fig7
14  NAD   &[(et alors). ch:]oisir #*en*sui[#te, (d)e::]
      &[(and so) ch:]oose th[#en (the::)]
15  YVE   &[°euh-.°*je-,] [#faut qu'
      &[°er-.°* i-,] [#i have to
      yve -----*.....Lhand chin-***,percuSSION-->
      fig #fig8 #fig9

```



#fig7



#fig8

16 YVE &j'ch]oisi*[ss:e,] (.) [*t]# 'vois, [+faut que j'choisisses
& ch]oo:[se,] (.) [*y]# 'see, [+i have to choose&
17 NAD [de] la mer[*:-]# [+la meilleure:]
[of] the ber[*:-]# [+the best:]
yve -----*suspension---*percussion gesture----->l.19
gaze NAD-----+,,gaze away--->l.19
fig #fig10



#fig9



#fig10

18 YVE °(c'ui qui)°] (chalon)# cha- è:- chaque caméra, # à
°(the one)°] (eacho)# ea- e:- each camera, #at a
fig #fig11 #fig12
19 tel + moment.+* [(.) (bien)]*
given+ moment.+* [(.) (good)]*
20 NAD [ouais oua]*is. c'est énorme
[yeah ye]*ah. that's tremendous
yve -----+,,,,,,+gaze NAD ---->
percussion----*freeze hands--*,,,-->



#fig11



#fig12

Yves is still talking about the film set and explains the difficulties of using eight cameras at the same time (l. 1, 4–5). Despite the rising intonation on “start” (l. 5) which projects more to come, Yves does not go on immediately, so Victor starts talking after the pause (l. 6–7). But Yves continues his comment about the cameras (l. 8), overlapping part of Nadine’s question to him (l. 9), asking if he was using the eight cameras at the same time. He produces a short second pair part directly after the overlap (“exactly;”, l. 10) and continues with a longer explanation. He is overlapped first by Victor (l. 12) and then by Nadine, who seeks probably to link up with what Yves has said (see “(and so)”, l. 14). Despite some perturbations, Yves completes his turn and Nadine drops out (l. 17). She self-selects again only when Yves has completed his turn (l. 20).

How do participants multimodally resolve these overlaps? We observe that Yves’s short explanation (l. 10) is still designed for Nadine (cf. his gaze Figure 7). While Victor is overlapping his talk (l. 12), Yves begins to lift both hands, he then makes a stroke gesture on the last item of his TCU (Figure 7) and freezes both hands for a while. During the next overlap, this time with Nadine, Yves lifts his left hand and touches his chin (l. 14–15, Figure 8). He lowers his hand quickly afterwards and starts a percussive

gesture with both hands before the next overlap onset (l. 15, Figure 9), thus anticipating a possible completion of Nadine's turn ("(and so) choose then", l. 14). But Nadine continues her simultaneous talk, and shortly before the end of this overlap (l. 16), Yves nearly suspends his gesturing again, briefly freezing both hands in front of his torso before continuing his percussion gesture as he continues his turn (Figure 10). Interestingly, Yves does not only suspend his gesture, but also his turn for a beat, time for Nadine to say in the clear "the ber:-", (l. 16–17). The continuation of Yves's turn again displays his orientation to a possible completion of Nadine's turn ("of the ber:-" could be a complement of "choose", completing Yves' syntactical construction). Nadine finally drops out after the next overlap ("the best", l. 17), while Yves continues his percussion movement until the end of his TCU (l. 19, Figure 11–12).

In this excerpt, Yves tries to maintain his status as a current speaker. The perturbation due to Nadine's overlapping talk is not only visible in the suspension of his current TCU (l. 15), but also in the suspension of his gesture. Yves briefly stops, transforming his gesture in a self-touching gesture, and then continues it while continuing his turn. Another perturbation is visible as he is not only suspending his turn and then repeating it ("i have to choose", l. 16), but also slightly freezing the movement of his hands, taking up his percussion gesture again before recycling what Nadine has previously overlapped. Whereas at the beginning Yves is clearly oriented to Nadine (continuously looking at her until line 16), he turns his head slightly to the left when recycling his syntactical construction (l. 16) and starts looking at the table while continuing his turn (Figure 11–12). This head movement matches the part of his turn where no more overlap and no more gestural perturbation occur, signalling Yves's attention to the trajectory of his own talk (and not to Nadine's). He only reorients to her at the end of his TCU, bringing his head back to its former position (l. 19–20), indicating that he gives her the floor.

This excerpt shows the current speaker being overlapped by two co-participants who contribute to his talk – since Yves integrates materials from Victor's and Nadine's overlapping turns. These recyclings display his responsiveness to their contributions. During the overlaps, Yves continues his ongoing turn as well as his ongoing gestures, but exhibits some perturbations while taking into account his co-participants' concurrent actions. Once the simultaneous talk is resolved, the speaker continues his gesturing without any perturbation.

5. Current speaker suspends his gesture and then continues

Overlaps can occasion some perturbations both in current speaker's talk and gesture, displaying her sensitiveness to others' conducts. These perturbations can lead to a suspension of the gesture, as in the following excerpt: Nadine's turn will be overlapped several times, leading her to suspend her gesture before continuing it:

(3) (PM_150_025258_extrG)

```

1  NAD    &ça peut être chouette un truc avec] des
      &this can be grEAt something with]
      nad >>gaze in front----->
2  NAD    +*mouvements:,+euh* qui *fe+raient[: , euh .h]
      +*MOVEMENTS: ,+ er *which*would+be:[er, .h]
3  VIC    [°styl]°és.°+
      [°styl]°ish.°+
      yve >gaze nad----->
      nad +..gaze vic---+ +..gaze yve-----+
      +..opens palm-----*beat*open-----*..->
4  nad    +(0.2)
      +gaze vic-->
      -shakes right hand-->
5  NAD    ouais, pas naturel:, mais à la fois
      yeah, not nAtural:, b:ut at the same time
      nad >---gaze vic----->
6  nat[ur+el,      MAIS#:      EUH:..]
      nat[ur+al,      BUT#:      ER:..]
7  YVE    [ça veut+dire, que#tu VOIS i' y a]+une*scène
      [that means,+that#you SEE there's]+an*incre-
      yve ---nad-----+..gaze vic-----+
      nad >-gaze vic-+..gaze yve----->
      -----*--lateral mouvements-----*...->
      fig #fig13
8  YVE    incroyAble da[ns ba-      *#barry +lyn+dON[: ,
      dible scÈne i[n ba-      *#barry +lyn+dON[: ,
9  VIC    [ouais voilà*# c'est+ça,+ °x[x° &
      [yeah right*#that's+it,+ °x[x° &
10 NAD    [tu&
      [you&
      yve >gaze in front-----+..gaze vic-->
      nad >---gaze yve-----+gaze yve-->
      ..right hand to chin....*touches chin----->
      fig #fig14

```



#fig13



#fig14

```

11 VIC    &+x quand #c'est dansé, +c'est pas non*#] plus&
      &+x when #it's danced,+it's not *#]natural&
12 NAD    &+ferAIS la# différen+CE, entre:*#]
      &+would make a# DIFFeren+ce, between:*#]
      yve -+..gaze nad----->
      nad ---vic-----+,,,, looks in front-->
      -+..opens palm-----*,,,,, *chin-->
      fig #fig15
13 VIC    &na[ture]l. °mais:°
      &ei[the]r. °but:°
14 NAD    [ouais.]
      [yeah.]

```



#fig15



#fig16

```

15  NAD      [*entre  +##la  DAN:SE  [*ET  LE*:. . *]
      [*between +##the DAN:CE  [*AND  THE*:. . . *]
16  YVE      [*mais enCO+##RE, c'est PAS::[*c'est pAs*trOp:*]
      [*and  STI+##LL, it's NOT:: [*it's nOt*too: *]
      nad      +...gaze yve----->
      yve      -...open palm lateral mov.-----*throat>>
      im.      *---nods-----*
      #fig17
17  YVE      c'est pas trop: (ouais parce que,)+##par exemple,&
      it's not too: (yeah because,)  +##for example,&
      yve      ---gaze nad-----+,,,,,
      im      #fig18
    
```



#fig17



#fig18

In this fragment, the three friends are talking about how actors can move in a film, opposing dancing vs. non-dancing, but still choreographed, movements. After having positively assessed Yves’s explanation (l. 1), Nadine goes on with a detailed description of the movements. During this turn, her right hand moves progressively into action, first with a short beating gesture with the open palm (l. 2). When Victor suggests a possible completion (“stylish”, l. 3), Nadine suspends her turn, looks at him and starts performing a small shaking gesture with her right hand, thereby projecting the refusal of his suggestion (l. 4). After a minimal acknowledgment (“yeah”, l. 5), she gets back to her suspended turn and starts performing a lateral movement with the right hand (l. 6, Figure 13). Anticipating her possible completion, Yves self-selects in overlap (l. 7); both speakers upgrade to a competitive volume some syllables later (Schegloff 2000). In this context, Nadine progressively drops out of her turn: first she directs her gaze to Yves, then she withdraws from the turn, and finally she shortly retracts her gesturing right hand, slightly touching her chin (Figure 14).

Yves announces the description of an “incredible scene” in the movie “Barry Lyndon” (l. 7–8). While he is still talking, Victor responds to Nadine’s previous turn (l. 9). As Victor and Nadine engage in mutual gaze during this overlap, Yves drops out

of his turn (l. 8). At a possible completion of Victor's turn ("that's it", l. 9), Nadine self-selects (l. 10) and brings her hand into an open palm vertical position (Figure 15), which would enable her to easily carry out again the previous lateral movement (cf. Figure 13). Despite the incompleteness of her turn ("between:", l. 12), Nadine retracts her hand again (Figure 16) and stops talking – although projecting a continuation (see her gaze withdrawal from Victor, Figure 15–16, and her minimal acknowledgement, l. 14).

Both Yves and Nadine orient to the next transition-relevance place and self-select in overlap (l. 15–16). While Yves is looking at Nadine, Nadine visibly continues her suspended previous turn: she repeats the connector "between" (cf. l. 12) and immediately brings her hand back into the vertical open palm position (Figure 17). Although she considerably raises her voice during the overlap, she doesn't complete the second complement ("the dance and the:.", l. 15). Shortly before withdrawing from the turn, her right hand stops moving laterally and is retracted to her throat (Figure 18). The participants treat the turn as complete for all practical purposes: Yves starts nodding on the negation (end of l. 16), visibly responding to her, and Nadine seems to orient to the completeness of her turn, adopting a recipient's posture (cf. Figure 18), while Yves gets back to the description of the film scene.

In this excerpt, the successive perturbations affecting Nadine's complex turn are visible not only in the suspension of her talk, but also in the delays of her lateral gesture at the beginning and in the retractions of her gesturing right hand. Only after having (for a moment) secured her turn's trajectory, Nadine (re)positions her right hand in a vertical open palm position and executes a lateral movement.

6. Current speaker suspends his gesture and then abandons it

As we saw in the last excerpt, the perturbation occasioned by the overlap can provoke a suspension of the speaker's gesture, who can repristinate it as he continues to speak. In other cases, the gesture is not only suspended but also abandoned, as here:

(4) (PM_150_024643_extrZ)

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1  YVE  *et le *moment
      *and the*moment
yve  >>gaze VIC----->
      *.....*palm open
2      où*+ t'#+a[s t'as deux +#nanas,##OU T'AS]      **la **&
      where*+you'#+v[e you've two+#girls,##WHERE YOU'VE]**the**&
3  VIC      [(et)::::::, ]
yve      [(and)::::::, ]
      *2hands alternating upon the table-----*
      **Rhand tow VIC**
      gazeVIC+,,+gaze table-----+gaze VIC-----+
fig      #fig19      #fig20      #fig21

```



4 YVE &+*prin[cesse, # (.) et le:+#::::]
 &+*prin[cess, # (.) and the:+#::::]
 5 VIC [mais dans d'autres comédies musi]cales c'est comme ça?+
 [but in other musical comed]ies it's like that? +
 yve *both hands' gestures frozen on the table--->
 +looks at table-----+looks at VIC-----+
 fig #fig22 #fig23



6 +(0.2) *# (0.4)*
 yve ----->*,,,,,,*
 +looks away---->>
 fig #fig24
 7 YVE *ouais mais là # c'est c- tu vois c'est c'est j'trouve c'est:
 *yeah but there# it's you see it's it's i think it's:
 yve *2hands resting on the table---->>
 fig #fig25



Yves is talking about a musical comedy's dancing scene with two girls. He is overlapped twice by Victor. The first time (l. 2) he continues his turn, but the second time (l. 4) he drops out, letting Victor continue in the clear. Later on (l. 7), when Yves self-selects again, he does not finish his description of the dancing scene, but produces a second pair part responding to Victor's question (l. 7).

At the beginning of the fragment, Yves has the floor (l. 1–2, 4) and gesticulates iconically, moving his two hands on the table within an alternate movement as he talks

about the two girls (Figure 19). Victor comes in with a lengthy stretched “(and):::;” (l. 3), projecting more to come. During this first overlap, Yves maintains his gesture. However, he orients to the incipient overlap: shortly before the overlap, and as Victor raises his head and possibly opens his mouth, projecting an imminent self-selection, Yves stops looking at him and gazes at his hands (Figure 19). During the overlap, Yves amplifies his gesture, directing his right hand towards Victor (l. 2, while saying “WHERE YOU’VE” with a louder voice) (Figure 20–21) and looking again in his direction. Through this triple amplification, Yves treats Victor’s overlap as competitive.

Victor withdraws but self-selects again (l. 5), so that Yves’s turn continues in the clear only for a few beats and is then overlapped again. In this environment, he freezes his gesture on the table, maintaining the hands’ shape but not moving them any more during Victor’s turn (Figure 22–23). His gestural conduct is thus different during this second overlap: the gesture is not continued but frozen. Likewise, his TCU is abandoned (long stretch of the article “the:::;”, l. 4).

After Victor’s turn at the TRP that follows during a pause (l. 6, Figure 24), Yves doesn’t continue his gesture, but withdraws and abandons it. Although Victor clearly designs an opportunity for Yves to self-select, he also designs a new sequential environment projecting a next action which is not the continuation of Yves’s previous one; on the contrary, Victor produces a disagreeing argument, to which Yves now responds. Yves’s gestures are sensitive to this sequential reorientation and show that he is abandoning the previous action: both hands rest on the table, not moving any more. He also glances away, neither looking at Victor, nor at his hands (Figure 25).

In this sense, Yves’s gestures show him to be sensitive to the unfolding sequential environment, orienting not only to his rights and obligations as a current speaker, but also to the changing sequential implicativeness of talk. He abandons the trajectory of his talk before its completeness and reorients to the next action Victor has projected in overlap.

7. Discussion

The preceding analyses have shown that gestures in overlap can indicate the degree of perturbation of the overlapping talk for the ongoing speaker. When he treats the simultaneous speaker as non-competitive, he continues gesticulating during the overlap (case 1). Cases 2 and 3 imply a higher degree of perturbation: there is still a continuation of the gesture, but the more problematic character of the overlapping talk is visible in the gesture perturbation (case 2) or even its brief suspension (case 3). The speaker’s orientation to the overlap as being even more problematic is shown when he first suspends and then abandons the gesture initiated during his turn (case 4).

Table 1 illustrates this continuum from the less problematic to the increasing problematic cases of overlap. In the first case, there is a continuation of gesture across the overlapping talk, whereas in the further cases gestures are more and more disturbed, being finally abandoned:

Table 1. Possible trajectories of the ongoing speaker's gestures in overlap

| <i>Continuation</i> | <i>Cont. with perturbation</i> | <i>Suspension with continuation</i> | <i>Suspension with abandon</i> |
|---------------------|------------------------------------|---|------------------------------------|
| <i>Case 1</i> | <i>Case 2</i> | <i>Case 3</i> | <i>Case 4</i> |

-problematic → +problematic

Thus, our findings show systematic variations related to speakership as a practical accomplishment in talk, sensitive to the projective potential of both turn organization and sequential organization.

Gesture perturbation is not only related to possible competitive incomings of other speakers, but also displays sensitivity to the sequential implicativeness of the overlapping talk. An overlapping turn projecting either more to come or a second pair part offers the ongoing speaker two possibilities: he can either follow his own turn's relevance (e.g. by continuing it, eventually through skip connecting), or he can address the emerging relevance set up by the overlapping talk. The bodily perturbation manifested by the ongoing speaker reveals in which way he treats these multiple projections. If he abandons the conditional relevance set up by his own turn and orients to the other's turn, this can be visible in the abandonment of his gesture; while the continuation of his projected trajectory will be reflexively achieved within the continuity of his movements, even if they are momentarily suspended and even if the speaker inserts a response to the overlapping speaker. The speaker can also display his physical disalignment with the overlapping co-participant, turning his gaze and his body away from him. The visible perturbation (suspension or abandonment) does not always manifest that the overlapped party is abandoning his status as a speaker: it can also embody a sequential reorientation in his talk and his changing status from a speaker initiating and projecting more to come to a speaker responding to a previous action.

When looking at our cases, we observe that when the current speaker continues talking within a longer overlap, he does not maintain the gaze towards the overlapper, but turns it away during simultaneous talk (ex. 1, 2, 3). In cases where the gaze to the overlapper is held more continuously, the overlapped speaker seems merely to reorient to the sequential implicativeness of the simultaneous talk of his co-participant (ex. 4). This can be observed in cases where the incoming speaker is explicitly addressing his turn to the overlapped (f. ex. designed as a first pair part).

8. Conclusion

The fine-grained multimodal analysis we presented here shows how speakers deploy gestures in overlapping sequences. Gestures exhibit the participants' orientation to the current speaker's rights and obligations and their changes. Video analysis shows how speakers' gestures exhibit their treatment of different kinds of overlap as being more or

less problematic, as being collaborative or competitive. These embodied displays orient to the timed details of turn design: Gestures (and gaze) are used to reflexively define the completeness of TCUs or its anticipation.

As we sketched out, the exact position of the gesture within the sequential development of talk-in-interaction and its precise timing with the overlapping talk have to be accounted for in the transcriptions and during the analysis. If we are interested in how speakers resolve overlap not only via verbal resources but also with gestures, changes in gestures have to be finely related to the overlap onset and to the within-overlap talk. Indeed, we demonstrated that for overlap resolution, speakers can make use of a variety of resources – not only increasing/decreasing volume, prosody, repetitions and restarts, sound stretches and rush-throughs (Schegloff 2000), but also various kinds of gestures, changes of bodily postures, movements, object manipulations, and gaze. Even if overlap is a phenomenon primarily defined by the juxtaposition of verbal and vocal resources, participants also deploy visible resources in order to manage it. Therefore, adequate video recordings, together with a fine-grained analysis, can contribute to the understanding of how participants use complex multimodal resources in order to manage their talk-in-interaction and their rights as speakers.

Transcription conventions

Talk has been transcribed according to Jefferson's conventions. For gesture, the following conventions have been used:

| | |
|--------|--|
| ++ | beginning and end of gaze |
| ** | beginning and end of gesture (body movement etc.) |
| ... | beginning of gesture (of gaze, movement etc) |
| ,,, | end/retraction of gesture |
| - | continuation of gesture |
| -> | continuation of gesture in the next line |
| -> 1.5 | continuation of gesture until line 5 |
| ->> | continuation of gesture until the end of the extract |
| ppp | points |
| h | hand |
| L R | left, right |
| 2h | both hands |

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