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Autor: Mondada, Lorenza / Svensson, Hanna / Schepen, Nynke van

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"Why that not now": participants' orientations towards several organizational layers in social interaction

Lorenza MONDADA, Hanna SVENSSON & Nynke VAN SCHEPEN

Basel University

Department of Linguistics and Literature / French Studies

Maiengasse 51, 4056 Basel, Switzerland

lorenza.mondada@unibas.ch, hanna.svensson@unibas.ch,
n.vanschepen@unibas.ch

Dans la perspective de l'analyse conversationnelle, cet article offre une analyse détaillée d'une pratique consistant à mettre en cause le positionnement séquentiel d'une action « maintenant » et à la reporter à un autre moment. En cela l'article discute d'un des principes fondamentaux de l'analyse séquentielle, qui est l'orientation des participants vers la question "why that now?" (Schegloff & Sacks 1973) lors de leur interprétation de toute action au sein du déroulement de l'interaction sociale. En particulier, l'article s'intéresse à la manière dont les participants traitent une action à la fois dans son positionnement séquentiel "ici et maintenant" et en tant que pouvant être repositionnée "plus tard", voire lors d'une interaction future. Ce faisant, l'analyse montre comment les participants s'orientent à la fois vers le présent et vers l'historicité de leurs interactions, en tenant compte de différents niveaux d'organisation et de leurs temporalités à la fois connectées et distinctes. L'analyse est fondée sur un corpus de réunions de politique participative au cours desquelles des citoyens sont invités à proposer des idées pour un projet d'aménagement urbain. Lors de ces réunions, le modérateur – mais aussi d'autres participants – peuvent proposer qu'une suggestion, une idée, une proposition ne soit pas traitée et discutée lorsqu'elle est formulée ("maintenant") mais à d'autres moments de la rencontre ou lors d'une rencontre ultérieure : de cette manière ils mettent en cause son positionnement séquentiel et sa légitimité, tout en reconnaissant sa pertinence possible "plus tard" au fil d'une série de rencontres ou d'un projet, s'orientant ainsi vers un agenda institutionnel plus vaste. L'article offre une analyse systématique des pratiques par lesquelles ces post-positions sont accomplies ainsi que les *accounts* qui en construisent la justification et l'intelligibilité publiques.

Mots-clés:

analyse conversationnelle, multimodalité, vidéo, réunion politique, organisation de la séquence, séquentialité, *accounts*, postpositions.

1. Introduction

Within Conversation Analysis, social interaction is described as temporally and sequentially organized in a step-by-step manner: participants produce and format actions by finely orienting both retrospectively towards the previous action and prospectively towards the next one. Participants organize the progressivity of their talk by orienting to the omnipresent question "why that now?" (Schegloff & Sacks 1973). This provides for the understanding of the action itself, what it is responsive to, what it projects, its specific format, whether it is on/off topic, its lexical and syntactic choices, etc. The importance of the sequential positioning of utterances and actions has prompted a specific interest within Conversation Analysis for the local relevancies characterizing a specific moment in time and within a sequence: "now". This has a particular

importance for sequence organization: for instance, a first pair part projects a normatively expected second pair part – and the latter is legitimately produced in a slot that is opened by the former (Schegloff & Sacks 1973; Schegloff 2007).

However, Conversation Analysis has also explored other organizational levels: most importantly, the overall organization of social interaction (Robinson 2012). Participants orient specifically to the moment within the entire conversation in which they are positioning their action, such as opening (Schegloff 1968) or closing (Schegloff & Sacks 1973), but also specific episodes or phases (for example, the phases through which a medical consultation is progressively achieved, Heritage & Maynard 2006). For instance, participants may recycle elements of the beginning of a telephone call when initiating its closing and they may recapitulate what has been said and agreed upon during the call, thus orienting towards the call as a whole (Schegloff 1986); they may also orient towards the transition from one topic to another, from one task to the next (Modaff 2003), or from trouble telling to less delicate matters (Jefferson 1984).

Participants may also orient to more than just the activity they are currently engaged in: they make arrangements, refer to future encounters, plan the next meeting, promise to call back, hence projecting future activities as relevant: "The use of arrangement-related items to organize a 'next' encounter provides for 'this' conversation to be one in a series" (Button 1991: 270).

Thus, in achieving an action, a participant may orient to different organizational orders, some of which are more local, some more global. These orientations can be managed together and at the same time, but one can also supersede the others. The phenomenon we focus on in this paper – in which a speaker initiates an action and another participant objects that it is not well positioned "now" and postpones it "later" – shows how "now" can be the terrain for concurrent orientations towards not only what is relevant to do "now", but also what has been done "now" that could be more relevant at another moment. Postponing an action to later moments, or even later encounters, reveals how participants orient to both local and global forms of organization.

2. The phenomenon: postponing an action

Postponing an action, as revealing participants' orientations towards various organizational orders, will be studied here on the basis of a large corpus of video recorded meetings of citizens engaged in a participatory project in urban planning in a French city. Citizens are invited by the city administration to share ideas for a future park to be built on an old military site. They participate in different events and activities, including some brainstorming sessions, where they are invited to make suggestions and proposals. The data we focus on here are extracted from the first series of brainstorming sessions of various

groups, preceding a second series of sessions held two weeks later. In each meeting about 25 citizens gather together, a few officers in charge of the urban project are present but listen rather than interact with them, and a facilitator manages the session. After preparatory discussions in small groups, the serial organization of the activity consists of the facilitator selecting a citizen and opening a new sequence, the citizen making a proposal, the facilitator reformulating it for submission to the public discussion, and finally, when an agreement has been reached, writing it on a whiteboard (see Mondada 2011, 2012, 2013).

The phenomenon of interest can be observed in the first excerpt. The facilitator, Prévost, selects Géomard, who proposes shared gardens in the park. This proposal is neither accepted nor elaborated on as such: Prévost asks for further elaborations and postpones its discussion to another meeting, claiming that it is more relevant for what they will do "next time". Nonetheless, he proposes to write down what has been said. The practice through which an action is declared as not relevant "now" and is postponed to another moment is the focus of our analysis.

(1a) (time11 – JardPart_CAB_FC_181108_ATE_GPA_01.08.18)

1 geo \$(0.8)
2 PRE \$raises RH--->
2 PRE parce qu'on est là [sur des] intentions sur des: (0.4)&
because we are now [on the] intentions about the: (0.4)&
3 ? [>ouais ouais<]
[>yeah yeah<]
4 PRE &usages que vous souhaitez\#* alors \$par[don j`]vous\$ ai *coupé=
&usages that you wish\ so par[don I] cut you=
geo --->\$lowers hand---\$
pre *points to geo-----*
fig #fig.1 .



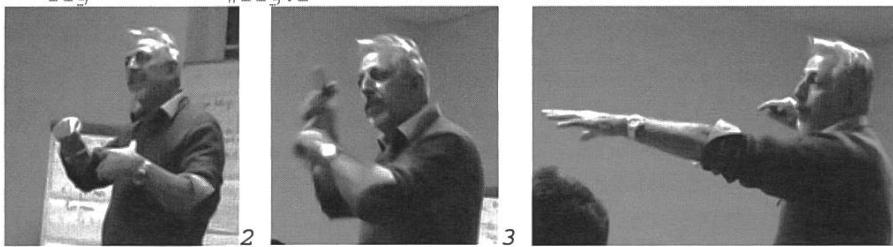
5 GEO [oui euh]
[yes ehm]
6 GEO =on en a on en avait parlé d'ce problème\ (0.4) c'est pas
=we have we had talked about this problem\ (0.4) this is not
7 un point d'détail/ dans les usages/ (0.5) on avait envisagé
a detail/ concerning the usages/ (0.5) we had considered
8 la possibilité du jardin partagé:/
the possibility of a shared ga:rdén/

While Géomard has already raised his hand, bidding for the turn, the facilitator offers a formulation of the ongoing activity (Heritage & Watson, 1979) ("we are now on intentions" (2), concerning the future uses of the park). This formulation has a normative effect on what is to be done next. Prévost then selects Géomard (4) (Figure 1) who orients to this formulation and considers it

a constraint for the formatting of his own proposal. Géomard voices a proposal that has been discussed in his small group (6). As a preface, he claims that "this is not a detail" (6-7) and in order to exhibit the appropriateness of his point, he recycles the category "usages" (7) – which is a rubric mentioned by Prévost (4) – and the title of a column of text written on the board. Even before it is actually uttered, Géomard's proposal is thus explicitly presented as fitting with the ongoing activity. Furthermore, by claiming that his proposal is *not* a detail, he retrospectively and prospectively orients toward a too detailed proposal as possibly problematic. At the end of his turn he proposes to have shared gardens (8). This is not immediately responded to (9), projecting trouble:

(1b) (time11 – JardPart_CAB_FC_181108_ATE_GPA_01.08.18)

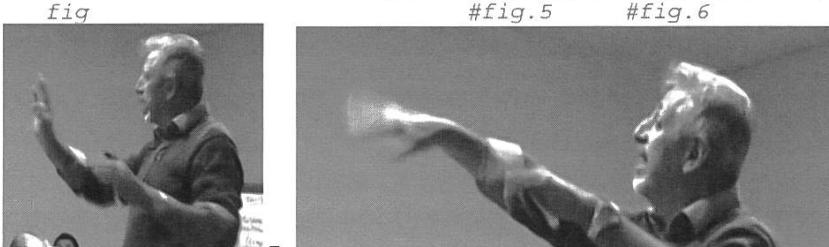
9 (0.6)
 10 GEO hein c' [est:] euh da:ns dans cer*tains [xx]
 right i[t's:] ehm i:n in certain [xx]
 pre *2H circ mouv--->
 11 ? [mm] [mm]
 12 PRE [d'accord\] (.)
 [all right\] (.)
 13 mais #quel est l'objectif derri*ère* (0.2) c`*qui m'intéresse#
 but which is the objective behind\ (0.2) what interests me
 --->*,*,*,* *2H circ mouv--->
 fig #fig.2 #fig.3# fig.3#



14 c'est (.) jardins partagés c'est déjà une réponse pré*cise#
 it's (.) shared gardens it is already a precise response
 fig -->*points fwd->
 15 (0.2) >c'qu'on< verra plus ta*rd*
 (0.2) >what we< will see later
 --->*circ. gest*



16 (0.3)
 17 GEO pour la conviviali[té: pour euh les]
 for the conviviali[ty: for ehm the]
 18 BLE [ça rentre ça rentre] dans l'éducatif/ aussi-
 [it enters it enters] in the educational/ too-
 19 PRE =voi: là d'acco*rd oké*# (.) gar*#dez-le bien\$ pour la prochaine
 =there you go all right okay (.) keep it well for the next
 *nods---*stop gest*RH open tow. GEO-->
 fig #fig.5 #fig.6



20 fois/ (.) j`vais l'*marquer quand même\ jardins partagés (.)*
 time/ (.) i will mark it nevertheless\ public gardens (.)
 --->*RH points to whiteboard-----*
 21 *gardez-le pour* la prochaine fois/ *aventure/ j`*
 keep it for the next time/ adventure/ i
 circ gest----- *points to BLE*

22 *vais l'+noter/*+ (0.4) mais/ *ça ça sera plus# dans l'esprit
 will mark it/ (0.4) but/ that that will be more in the spirit
 RH pts board-- *2H rolling fwd---->
 +LH pts officer+

fig



#fig. 7

23 +de c`>qu'on veut lui donner* la *prochaine fois<+ hein\
 of >what we will attribute to it next time< right\
 pre +looks at officer-----+
 pre -->*,*,*
 24 (0.2) *(0.2)
 *stopping gesture-->
 25 PRE là on est *sur les *intentions*/ on *avance progress#ivement*
 now we are on the intentions/ we move on progressively\
 pre ->*iconic gesture-----*,*,*stopping gesture-----*
 fig #fig. 8
 26 (0.8)
 27 PRE allez on passe à votre table
 let's go we pass on to your table

The pause after the first pair part (9) projects some trouble and Géomard orients to it as an absence of response (Pomerantz & Heritage 2012). He adds some words, offering a new opportunity to respond – which Prévost does in slight overlap (12). His turn is formatted in a dispreferred way: although it begins with an agreement particle ("d'accord"/"all right" 12), this is followed by a disjunctive connective ("mais"/"but" 13). Moreover, Prévost responds with a question – another first pair part – whose gist is further specified (13): he focuses on the aim "behind" the proposal (and this relation is visualized with a rotating gesture oriented towards the back, Figures 2-3). The actual proposal is characterized as "already a precise response" (14) and as such postponed to later (with a gesture pointing forward, Figure 4 and a rotating gesture referring to the future at turn completion, line 15). Thus, the proposal is assessed both in temporal ("déjà"/"already" refers to its (too) early production) and in semantic ("precise") terms – both aspects indexically sounding as a critique in this context. This paves the way for postponing it to "later" (15). Géomard (17) and a citizen sitting next to him (18) attempt to respond to this critique by transforming the proposal, but Prévost produces a dispreferred response again, though he acknowledges it. After the agreement particle, a stopping gesture (Figure 5), and a new postponing with a "keeping" gesture (Figure 6), addressed to Géomard (19), manifest the refusal to discuss the citizen's proposal "now".

Nonetheless, Prévost performs another action: he offers to write down the idea, which he repeats (20), while pointing towards the whiteboard behind him. This action constitutes a concession: although he refuses to discuss the proposal, he offers to write it down on the board, thus archiving it. He also repeats the postponing (21) and again makes a circular gesture referring to future time (see line 15). He also adds another idea ("adventure") that was

discussed several minutes before with Blondin (who is pointed at while he mentions it), and offers to write it down (22). Interestingly, at this point, and while continuing the rolling gesture representing the future (Figure 7), he looks at one of the officers of the public administration in charge of the coordination of the urban project (23) who sits in the margins of the room and mentions again the "spirit" of the next meeting. This gaze (cf. Mondada, forthcoming) to the officer shows an orientation towards the agenda of the next meeting as something that is not orchestrated by the facilitator alone but that obeys institutional constraints, personified by the representative of the city.

Prévost closes the sequence with two formulations of what they are doing: firstly, he repeats the initial formulation (25, cf. exc. 1a, 2); secondly, he adds another one referring to the progressivity of the activity (25), done with a stopping gesture (Figure 8). These two formulations make explicit the constraints imposed on the proposals, namely concerning their suitable, relevant, and timely character: they are expected to be on topic and to be not too specific since detailed topical developments are postponed to the next session.

This excerpt shows various aspects of the phenomenon studied here:

- the facilitator initiates a new sequence and opens a slot for the action of a participant – for a proposal;
- a citizen is selected and utters a proposal;
- the facilitator treats the citizen's action, or at least its contents, as not fully relevant "now" and postpones them, relocating them within the future course of the activity or the procedure. Postpositions can be done within different turn formats – referring to a future time, or offering accounts for why the action is not relevant now. Moreover, the postposition can be followed by a concession, consisting of writing down the idea;
- in most of the cases, the participants tacitly align with the postposition. But they may also negotiate its reasons, insist on, and resist it.

The practice of postponing refers to an alternative sequential positioning of an action. It reveals an orientation to: a) the *local sequence organization*, to the slot created here and now and identified by the participants as making possible, relevant, and legitimate some type of action – here: proposals; and b) the *global organization* of the activity or the procedure. The latter refers not merely to another possible temporal slot, but invokes a global agenda. This global agenda is not publicly announced as such, it is contingently evoked within the course of the activity, so that the accounts given for not doing an action now both refer to it and reflexively constitute it. Moreover, this global agenda does not uniquely depend on the facilitator, but also on the overall institutional context and its organizational constraints: in some cases this can

be expressed through bodily orientation by the facilitator turning to the officer, who represents the institution in the room.

The following analyses aim at showing the methodical and systematic character of this practice and its orientation to multiple local and global organizational orders. First, we describe the design of a slot for an action – here, a proposal – and the recognition of this slot by the citizen performing that projected action. Second, we explore the practice of postponing the elaboration of the action and the issues it raises – mainly related to its accountability and institutional legitimacy. Third, we show how participants either align or disalign with the postposition – with a special focus on how they resist it.

3. The identification/recognition of a sequential slot for an action

Postposition is a practice that can target a diversity of actions in a variety of sequential environments. In particular, the practice can treat actions that are locally categorized as misplaced by the participants – such as, in our corpus, initiating a new sequence when the previous one is not completed, self-selecting to respond to a participant disregarding what the facilitator is doing, etc. But the practice can also be mobilized for actions that are sequentially adequately placed, being produced in a sequential position where they have been projected and expected. We focus here on this latter possibility, i.e. on actions done within a slot that has been provided for that purpose – and more particularly, proposals made after the facilitator has initiated a new sequence, inviting the citizens to utter the next suggestion, and after the facilitator has selected a particular speaker, giving him the right to speak for that particular action. Thus, we focus on postpositions that do not address a problem of misplacement, but that do something else.

In some cases, the facilitator initiates a new sequence by just selecting the next speaker, without specifically constraining the type of projected action:

(2) (time8c – SportDouves_CAB_FC_181108_ATE_GPA_01.01.22)

1 PRE y a c'monsieur d'abord
there is this sir first
2 BLE madame navarro tout à l'heure nous a bien rappelé qu'il
missis navarro a moment ago has reminded us that there
3 y avait trois zo:nes/ l'esplanade/ le fort/ (.) et les douves/
were three zo:nes/ the esplanade/ the fort/ (.) and the moats/
4 PRE mh
5 BLE donc\
so\
6 GIL °ah ben oui ça [x°]
°oh well yes that [x] °
7 BLE [dé] jà/ on sait que: on peut mettre le la
[ju]st/ we know that we can locate the the
8 partie sport dans les douves\
sports area in the moats\
sports area in the moats\

After being selected, Bélingard refers to a previous contribution by the project's manager, Mrs Navarro, in which she depicted three areas in the park.

Bélingard suggests that one of these, the moats, can be converted into a sports area.

In other cases, the facilitator may be more explicit:

(3) (time16 – Decouverte_CAB_FC_181108_ATE_GPA_1.05.43)

1 PRE est-ce qu'il y avait d'autres choses/ (.) madame
were there other things/ (.) madam

Here, the expected action is not specified, but is located in a series that is progressively expanded: "other things" are indexically understandable as concerning an action that is coherently added to the previous one, that of making proposals.

In the following excerpt, the design of the slot is explicitly formulated:

(4) (time1 – Dénivellation_CAB_FC_181108_ATE_GPB_01.53.33)

1 PER est-c`que ça:: suscite des: des réactions/ évoque des choses/ (.)
does thi::s generates reactions/ evokes things/ (.)
2 parmi les autres groupes/
among the other groups/
(0.3)
3 BEN oui/
yes/
4 PER *ou:a[is]
ye:[ah]
per *points to BEN--->
6 BEN [(''ex)cusez-moi'')
[(''ex)cuse me'')
7 (0.3)*
per -->*
8 BEN c'est-à-dire qu'on pourrait utiliser la d- le:: la dénivellation
it means that we could use the d- the:: the drop
9 du parc/ (0.2) justement/
of the park/ (0.2) justly/

At the beginning of the fragment, the facilitator explicitly offers a slot for "reactions" (1-2) and indeed Benillon proposes to exploit the geography of the park to make water circulate (8-9).

In the next excerpt, the facilitator formulates the invited action with the verb "to wish" (4):

(5) (time12 – PasDeLogement_CAB_FC_181108_ATE_GPC_01.39.12)

1 (1.6)
2 PER euh:::
ehm:::
3 (1.3)
4 PER par rapport à c'que vous n'souhaitez pas est-[c'qu] 'y
in relation to what you don't wish are [there]
5 ? [hm]
[hm]
6 a enco[re des] choses que vous avez à::
mo[re] things that you have to::
7 MIC [(houlà)]
[(wow)]
8 MIC oui y (en a)=
yes there (are)=
9 PER =à [aj]outer/
=to [a]dd/
10 ? [a-]
[a-]
11 (1.0)
12 PER on [vous éco]ute
we [listen to] you

13 CAT [ben]
 [well]
 14 (0.6)
 15 MIC bah (0.2) euh: ça a pas été évoqué mais (.) la mode est à: la:
 well (0.2) ehm: it hasn't been evoked but (.) the fashion is to:
 16 reconversion des casernes en logements étudiants\
 convert barracks into student housing\
 17 (0.5)
 18 MIC je pense qu'on peut dire qu'on n'souhaite pas de logements\
 i think that we can say that we do do not wish housing\
 19 (1.1)

Here the facilitator invites the citizens to add further "things they don't wish" (4-9) and selects the next speaker (12), Michelet, who proposes to ban the construction of student housing. Interestingly, the citizen uses the same verb ("we do not wish" 18) in the negative form. This further shows – as in excerpt 1 – that citizens exhibit the adequacy and conformity of their action in that specific slot.

In the excerpt below, the facilitator invites the citizens to fill a new slot (1), and subsequently specifies the type of action that is relevant, in this case a proposal regarding the usages (2):

(6) (time8a – SportDouves_CAB_FC_181108_ATE_GPA_01.02.35)

1 PRE autre chose sur votre groupe/
 another thing within your group/
 2 (0.2)
 3 PRE sur eu:h (0.3) c'que pourrait être sur les *usages hein/=
 about e:hm (0.3) what could be in the usages right/= *turns twd whiteboard-->
 4 GIL =au point d'vu*e sport on a pas bien précisé/
 =concerning the sports we haven't well precised/
 5 pre --->*
 6 (0.7)
 6 PRE alors préci[sez]\]
 so pre[cise]\]
 7 GIL [c'est un] un euh un parc de détente/ un parc de loisirs/
 [it's a] a ehm a park for recreation/ a park for leisure/
 8 un parc de où on peut faire du spo:rt/ (0.5) *avec par exemple un
 a park of where we can practice spo:rt/ (0.5) with for example an *walks twd whiteboard-->
 9 pre piste d'*athlétisme [ehu dans les fossés/]
 athletics track [ehm in the moats]
 pre --->*turns twd GIL-->

Prévost opens a new sequence by offering the group to voice "something else" (1) and before a response is given, adds a further specification, concerning the rubric of "usages" inscribed on the whiteboard – which is not only mentioned but also bodily oriented to (3-4). Giles responds by pointing at a lack of proposals concerning sports (4) and is explicitly invited to develop the topic (6) – which he does (7-9).

These instances show that the facilitator may explicitly design a slot for a specific type of action, and that the citizens design their action in order to exhibit its relevance and adequacy for that slot. Nonetheless, the facilitator can postpone discussion of their proposals.

4. Postponing the invited action

Postponing the elaboration of the citizen's action is generally done straight after the formulation of the proposal. It can be done in both minimal and expanded turn formats (section 4.1). Accounts can be added to legitimate the postponing by relating it to a general agenda (section 4.2). In some cases, as a concession, the facilitator proposes to write the proposal on the board (section 4.3).

4.1. Minimal vs. expanded turn formats

Postponing can be achieved in turns designed in various ways. The minimal format makes explicit the temporal dimension of the postposition, with a reference both to "not now" and to the future.

The following fragment is the continuation of extract 6, in which Giles proposes an athletics track in the park. He finishes his proposal in a vague way (13). At this moment, Prévost puts his left hand in the air, making a stopping gesture:

(7) (time8a – SportDouves_continuation of ex. 6)

13 GIL	[euh:::] *des choses des choses comme #ça\		
	[ehm:::] things things like that\		
pre		*LH stopping gesture--->	
fig			#fig. 9
9			
10			
14 ?	[en bas/]		
	[below]		
15 POU	le terrain de [foot]		
	the soccer [pitch]		
16 PRE	[alo]rs *attendez *au-delà x #peu importe* où on les		
	[we]ll wait beyond x no matter where we		
pre		--->*RH open--*twd GIL-----*RH stop gest-->	
fig			#fig. 10
17	mettra/*		
	will put them/		
pre		-->*	
18	(0.2)		
19 GIL	*terrai[n de foot]		
	socce[r pitch]		
pre		*RH horizontal--->	
20 PRE	[trop tôt] encore=		
	[too early] yet=		
21 GIL	=*terra[in de foot]		
	=socce[r pitch]		
pre		->*RH stop gesture--->>	

Various participants (14, 15) collaboratively expand and support Giles' proposal. But Prévost, with a stopping gesture (Figures 9-10), puts it on hold ("attendez"/"wait" 14), and qualifies it as "too early" (20) although Giles

persists in repeating Poujade's formulation (19, 21). Postponing is done solely by referring to temporal (in)adequate positionings.

Likewise, the continuation of excerpt 2 shows how the proposal of a specific location for sports in the park is made, its elaboration is postponed as occurring "a bit early" (11), followed by the promise to be treated "next time" (16):

(8) (time8c – SportDouves_continuation of ex. 2)

7 BLE [dé] jà/ on sait que: *on peut mettre le* la
pre [ju]st/ we know that: we can locate the the
looks at officer-
8 partie sport dans les douves\
sports area in the moats\
9 (0.3)
10 ? °ouais°
°yeah°
11 PRE *pas d'problème [mais ça:/ (.)] ça c'est un peu tôt pour
no problem [but that/ (.)] that is a bit early to
pre *waves RH-->
12 BLE [ça on l'sait]
[we know that]
13 PRE l`dire* hein/ [c`que *vous êtes] en train d'nous #dire/
tell that right/ [what you are] telling us/
14 BLE [xx xx xx xx]
[xx xx xx xx]
-->* *gesticulates RH palm open vert-->>
fig #fig.11



15 >non non /non< c'+est +dans la lo#gi+que/+ on en parlera#
>no no no< it's within the logical perspective/ we'll talk
+....+looks officer+, , ,+looks aud--->>
fig.12 #fig.13#

16 la prochaine fois/
next time about that/



17 BLE ah b[on\]
ah [okay\]

Prévost looks at the officer (7) signaling some trouble with the proposal and raises his hand, starting to wave (11, Figure 11). As he categorizes the proposal as coming "a bit early" (11), Bélingard continues to speak and makes a gesture of dejection. Prévost responds to this gesture, treating it as problematic, and refuses it (15). Moreover, he quickly gazes again to the

officer when referring to the global "logics" (Figure 12), then reiterating the postponement to the next session (16) while looking back at the audience (Figure 13).

These minimal postpositions negate "now" as a relevant moment for the action, the future tense, and the reference to a "next" event. By addressing the officer in an embodied way, the facilitator orients to the political agenda. Postponing can be also be done in a more elaborated way, by offering some contrastive formulation of what has to be done "now" vs. "later"/"next time" as well as some account for it.

An instance of contrast between "now" and "later" (10, 15) is observable in the next fragment. The citizens are discussing the needs of the schools. Provocatively, Lemercier proposes that one of these needs concerns a swimming pool.

(9) (time15 – Piscine_CAB_FC_181108_ATE_GPA_01.03.50)

4 LEM [les besoins pour les écoles se sont au-
[the ne]eds for the schools they are the-
5 c'est aussi la pisci*ne\
it's also the swimming pool\
pre ,,,turns twd board-->
6 (0.5)
7 JEA ah non non [non mais]
ah no no [no but]
8 GEO [ah mais] [non]
[ah but] [no]
9 [<1.5 ((hullabaloo))>]
10 PRE [*non non mais non (on *verra) *après a#[près]]
[no no but no (we will see) later l[ater]]
11 LEM [vous par]lez
[you ta]lk
pre ->*turns twd aud-----*,*,*RH stop gest, walks twd aud-->
fig #fig.14




14 15

12 d'activi[té sportive [pour les écoles/]
about sport [activities [for the schools/]
13 [<5.2 ((hullabaloo))>]
14 GIL [(ne comprend pas) xx xx xx xx xx]
[(doesn't understand) xx xx xx xx xx]
15 PRE [pour l` moment (0.2) chut chut] non non
[at the moment (0.2) shush shush] no no
16 pour l` mo[ment/ *(0.2) on on #essaie de proposer] des tendances
at the mo[ment/ (0.2) we we try to propose] some trends
pre --->*two hands open twd LEM's table, stands-->
fig #fig.15

Lemercier's statement (4-5) is responded to by several citizens disagreeing with it (7-9). Prévost seems to orient to this when he postpones the proposal: he uses the future ("we'll see" 10) and a temporal location ("later" 10), and

makes a stopping gesture toward the hullabaloo (Figure 14). As the hullabaloo continues, he formulates what they are doing "now" as "proposing trends" (15-16) – letting transpire that the proposal does not meet this formulation. While he says this, he opens his hands towards Lemercier's table (Figure 15). The postponing is also a way of putting the disagreement and the hullabaloo to an end.

In a similar way, Blondin's proposal is postponed by evoking the "spirit" of the proposal:

(10) (time16 – Decouverte_CAB_FC_181108_ATE_GPA_1.05.43)

(continuation of exc. 3. 13 lines omitted)

15 BLO est-ce qu'il pourrait y avoir aussi un esprit à la fois euh écologie
could there also be a spirit both ehm ecology
16 botanique (0.5) dans la découverte euh pour les enfants en faisant par
botany (0.5) in the discovery ehm for the children in doing for
17 exemple comme on fait pour les adultes des p'tits jardins
example like we do for the adults small gardens of
18 ouvriers (0.2) .h avoir des petits jardins ouvriers aussi
allotment (0.2) .h have small gardens of allotment as well
19 0.6)
20 BLO euh[:]
ehm[:]
21 PRE [d'acco]rd donnez-moi simp*lement l'esprit (.) sur les p'tits
[all ri]ght give me simply the spirit (.) about the small
22 jardins ouvriers on [verra]
allotment gardens we'[ll see]
23 BLO [voilà]
[there you go]

Blondin's proposal is articulated in two parts: the first is more general, referring to an ecological ideal (15-16), the second is more concrete, and mentions shared gardens (16-18). The latter is postponed – with "we'll see" – while the former is acknowledged as adequately addressing "the spirit" which is the aim of the meeting, categorically close to "the trends" mentioned in the previous excerpt. So, postponing can occasion a formulation of what is supposed to be done "now" (expressing "trends", "the spirit"). It can also generate a contrastive formulation about what will be done "later".

4.2. Accounts for postponing: making the global institutional agenda visible

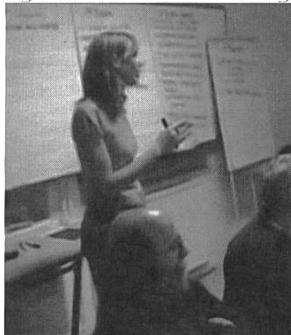
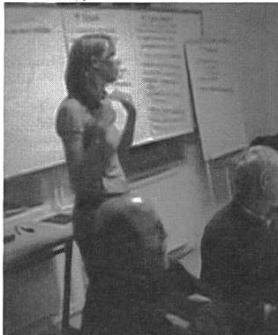
When postponing is done with an account, the latter does not only formulate what is being done "now" but also sheds some light on the global ongoing political procedure, referring to the distribution of topics and tasks within a series of meetings – therefore orienting to an organizational order beyond the actual interaction, concerning several sessions.

The distribution between what is done "now" and what will be done "later" is made particularly clear in the following excerpt. Rubens is proposing a historical footpath across the park (1, 3, 5-6):

(11) (time7 – ParcoursHistorique_CAB_FC_181108_ATE_GPB_01.50.47)

1 PER ouais/ allez-y [j^ vous en prie]
yeah/ go on [i beg you to]
2 RUB [y a y avait] deux choses *on avait
[there is there were] two things we had

4 per >>looks at RUB*nods-->
 deux ch- deux ch*oses/ donc y avait (0.2) madame qui voulait
 two th- two things/ so there was (0.2) madam who wanted
 per --->*looks at RUB--->
 5 parler de .h euh les les: de: de faire un:: quelque chose comme un
 to talk about .h ehm the the: of: of doing a:: something like a
 6 parcours historique (0.6) [dans le: dans le: dans le parc/]
 historical route (0.6) [in the: in the: in the park/]
 ((8 lines omitted))
 15 ALC *[(et donc là* c'est y a- y a) [un xx tout] l'château:=
 [(and so there it's there's- there's) [a xx whole] the castle=]
 16 PER [j`pense c'est]
 [i think it's]
 per *small nods--*
 17 RUB =oui/ y a dé[jà (un) xx x (en fait)]
 =yes/ there's al[ready (a) xx x (actually)]
 18 PER *[j` pense qu'on on]* on::: on
 [i think that we we] we::: we
 per *steps twd RUB-----*
 19 re*viendra ##plus en détails ##sur comment
 we'll come back more in detail about how
 per *hands up-*hand down palms up*turns tow board, hands up->
 fig #fig.16 #fig.17

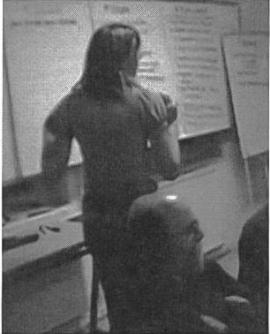


16

17

20 fi*nalement tout ça #peut se traduire dans l'es[pace] dans la*
 finally all that can be translated in the sp[ace] in the
 21 RUB ? [mhm]
 [mhm]

per ->*points to board with open hands-----*
 fig #fig.18 #fig.19



18

19

22 deuxième séance [la s'maine] prochaine .h: là on va rester sur
 second session [next] week .h: there we will stay on
 23 RUB [d'accord]
 [okay]
 24 RUB ? les ambiances=
 the atmosphere
 25 PER =voilà on exprime des souhaits des envies voilà en termes
 =that's it we express wishes desires that's it in terms
 26 d'usages et [cætera]
 of uses et [caetera]
 27 RUB [et puis la deu]xième=
 [and then the sec]ond=

28 PER =et peut-être pas trop les concréteriser pour l'instant/
 =and maybe not too much concretisize them at the moment/
 29 RUB et l-
 and th-
 30 PER ça nous f'rira gagner du temps et: la s'maine prochaine
 that will make us save time and: the next week
 31 on aura deux heures (0.2) voilà pour euh:: rentrer un peu plus
 we will have two hours (0.2) so to ehm:: go in a bit more

32 dans l`concret dans le précis euh: (0.4) [sur ces envies]
into the concrete in the precise ehm: (0.4) [about these desires]

Although Ruben's proposal is supported by another participant (15), the facilitator, Pernetti, responds to it with a thinking verb (16, 18) and some hesitations that project a dispreferred treatment; then she postpones the discussion. The postponing is firstly formulated in the future tense and with a discourse deictic verb ("on reviendra"/"we'll come back" 19) and then by a future temporal location ("in the second session", "next week", 22). This is followed by what will be done then (going more into details 25, "translating" ideas in spatial terms), as well as what is *not* to be done "now" (not to be too concrete, 28). This contrasts with what is allowed "now" (expressed spatially, "là" 24 and with another discourse deictic verb "on va rester"/"we will stay" 22) to express wishes and desires in a more general way. Pernetti points with both hands to Ruben (Figures 16-17) while uttering the postposition, publicly recognizing him as the author of the proposal. Then, she points with both hands to the board, when accounting for what will be done "now" (Figures 18-19): discussing the categories written on the whiteboard. The postposition is further justified by the need to "save time" (30-32).

In the next fragment the facilitator builds the accountability of her action by invoking a rational distribution of time and topics between the current and the next session:

(12) (time1 – continuation of exc. 4, 2 lines omitted)

12 BEN [p]our euh: (.) faire *circu*ler [cette eau/] [f]or ehm: (.) make circulate [this water/] per *slight nod*

13 MUR [ah oui c'est] vrai [ah yes it's] true

14 <0.9 ((hullabaloo))>

15 MUR [pour faire descen[dre/]] [to make desc[end/]]

16 BEN [sous forme *de ca:ves [ou °xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx°]] [in form of cella:rs [or °xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx°]]

17 PER [donc là: sur l`concret donc pareil/] [so there: about the concrete so likewise/]

18 ça peut-être on verra euh: (0.3) la s`maine prochaine comment ça that maybe we will see ehm: (0.3) the next week how that

19 peut s` tra*duire/ [(mais *bon euh)] can be translated/ [(but right ehm)] per *nods to officer*looks at aud--->

Benillon has suggested using the geography of the park to facilitate the circulation of the water (see excerpt 4) and several other citizens support this idea (13-15). The facilitator responds by categorizing it as "concrete" (17) and postpones its elaboration to the next session for further "translation" (19), that is, clarifications about how this is to be realized. Not only does she give the same accounts as in the previous excerpt (11), but this time she refers to them as already known ("pareil"/"likewise" 17). Consequently, differently than in excerpt 11 but building on it, the postponement is not done in a dispreferred way anymore. The facilitator nods to the officer when she refers to what is planned for the next session (19). As it was observed in excerpts 1b and 8, this demonstrates how the facilitator, by addressing the present official,

acknowledges and orients to the double constraints of the local organization (the adequate management of the meeting, under scrutiny of the officials) and of the global political agenda. During the meeting, repeated references to what is to be done in the next event progressively build an accountable distribution of activities between sessions. This is initially explicitly formulated; progressively it is just briefly alluded to as in the following two cases:

(13) (time 2 - Liste_CAB_FC_191108_ATE_GPC_02.06.20)

1 BAU ouais mais: si on va là-dedans `fin moi j'en ai toute une liste aussi
2 yes but: if we'll enter into that well me i have a whole list as well
[hein/] [right/]
3 PER [ouais] j'pense qu'on: rentre dans des: [grandes précisions]
[yeah] i think that we: enter in: [great precisions]
4 ANV [ouais ouais]
[yeah yeah]
5 LSY non mais enfin des:
no but finally:
6 (0.4)
7 PER on verra ça la: la prochaine séance
we will see that the: the next session
8 (0.7)

(14) (time3 – Artistique_CAB_FC_181108_ATE _PUB_01.27.25)

1 JEA non mais y a déjà un bâtiment hein (0.3) qu'était euh pour eu:h
no but there is already a building right (0.3) that was ehm for e:hm
2 (0.4) la fanfare= (0.4) the brass band=

3 PRE =[d'accord]\]
=[all right\]
4 LAT [xx xx]
[xx xx]
5 JEA donc euh j'pense c'est [pré]vu pour/ hein\
so ehm i think it's [plan]ned for/ right\
6 PRE [okay]
[oke]
7 PRE on on reviendra après dans les dé- plus précisément hein
we we will come back after in de- more precisely right

The agenda for this meeting vs. the next one emerges within the ongoing interaction. This global project is invoked to make the action of postponing accountable and legitimate; at the same time, its explicit contour emerges progressively (within the opposition between general trends and wishes to be proposed now, and more concrete architectural implementations and solutions to be kept for the next session). This allows the facilitator to postpone proposals that have been locally invited and that have responded adequately to this invitation – e.g. actions that are sequentially designed and recognized as being locally relevant.

4.3. Postponing with a concession: offering to inscribe the proposal

The fact that a relevant action is being postponed can raise several difficulties. Postponing is easier to do when the proposal generates disagreements (see excerpt 9), but may be delicate in other cases, namely when several citizens support it. The facilitator orients to possible difficulties when postponing a proposal and its discussion. One way in which this orientation is implemented is within a concessive action, consisting of writing on the board what has been

proposed. Inscribing the proposal is also a way of dealing with its immediate and long-term temporality: it conserves and archives it, and makes it available for further discussions and reports.

(15) (time10 – PasCommeLesAutres_CAB_181108_ATE_FC_PUB_00.52.28)

1 PRE al[ors] euh j'continue sur c`qu'on [fait: est-c`qu'on fini] 1`tour&
th[en] ehm i continue about what we [do: do we finish] the round&
2 LEM [°o-°]
[°o-°]

3 JEA [(faut d'abord]
[(we have first to]
4 PRE &>et puis après on verra c`qu'on veut< pas:\ [mais j` peux le noter]&
&>and then later we'll see what we don't< want:\ [but i can write it]&
5 JEA [c`qu'on veut pas]
[what we don't want]
6 PRE &maintenant si vous voulez (0.2) madame voudrait un parc pas comme
&now if you want (0.2) madam would like a park that is not like
7 les autres\
the others\

The proposal made prior to the excerpt above is postponed by the facilitator, who accounts for postponing by referring to the specific local organization of the activity: they are currently treating proposals concerning what citizens do wish (and he offers to continue along this line, 1), and they will treat remarks about what the citizens do *not* want later on in the meeting (4). This is, however, followed by an offer to write down Lemercier's negative wish (4, 6-7).

Interestingly, participants themselves orient to writing as a (minimal) way to take a proposal into consideration even if it is not discussed for the time being:

(16) (time8a – SportDouves, end of extract 6, five lines omitted.)

27 GIL moi j'aimerais qu'on marque sport quelque part/ n'importe où
me i would like that we mark sport some where/ anywhere

After a proposal that is postponed by the facilitator, the participant requests to write down at least its keyword, "sport" (27).

5. Responses to the postposition

Citizens can respond in different ways to the postponement: by tacitly aligning, explicitly agreeing, or resisting it. As is observable in extract 11 above, once the facilitator has postponed the proposal, the participant who first made it aligns tacitly (21), then openly agrees (23) with the facilitator. In extract 13, Anvyle aligns with the postponing (4), but Lisyne resists it (5). In other cases, participants not only do not align with the postponing but clearly resist it, in an embodied and verbal way – as Bélingard in excerpt 8 (14, 17), reproduced here:

(17) (time8c – SportDouves, = extract 8)

11 PRE pas d'problème [mais ça:/ (.)] ça c'est un peu tôt pour
no problem [but this/ (.)] this is a bit early to
12 BLE [ça on 1`sait]
[we know that]
13 PRE 1'dire hein/ [c'que fvous êtes] #en train d'fnous dire/
say that right/ [what you are telling us/

14 BLE [xx xx xx xx]
 [xx xx xx xx]
 ble fig *f throws up hands-----f looks down--->*
#fig.20



20

15 PRE >non non /non< c'est dansf la logique/ on enf parleraf
 >no no no< it's within the logical perspective/ we'll talk
 ble *f looks up-----fnods---f*
 16 la prochaine fois
 next time about that
 17 BLE fah b[on]\
 ah [okay]\
 ble *f looks down-->>*

Prévost postpones Bélingard's proposal (11-13). In line 14, the citizen disagrees with the facilitator in an embodied way, throwing up his arms in a frustrated gesture (Figure 20). Even though the resistance is expressed only in an embodied way, Prévost responds promptly to it (15), abandoning his ongoing turn and restarting it with a first refusal of Bélingard's resistance ("no no no" 19), followed by an account clarifying that it is planned to talk about that topic the next time. In response to the account, Bélingard looks down saying "ah okay" (17), formally accepting the postponing even though he clearly displays that he is not agreeing with it.

In the following excerpt, the facilitator Pernetti proposes several times to write down Michaud's proposal as a concession. However, he refuses, and explicitly resists:

(18) (time12 – PasDeLogement, continuation of exc. 5)

15 MIC bah (0.2) euh: ça a pas été évoqué mais (.) la mode est à: la
 well (0.2) ehm: it hasn't been evoked but (.) the fashion is to: the
 16 reconversion des casernes en logements étudiants\
 conversion of barracks into student housing\
 17 (0.5)
 18 MIC je pense qu'on peut dire qu'on n'souhaite pas de logements\
 i think that we can say that we do not wish housing\
 19 (1.1)
 ((12 lines omitted))
 32 MIC non mais [y aurait un gardien hein y aura] un xxxx
 no but [there would be a guard right there'll be] a xxxx
 33 PER [on va l'noter hein ça donne euh]
 [we will note that down that gives ehm]
 34 PER non non [j'allais d-]
 no no [i would s-]
 35 HEN [(mais le gardien il ser[xx])]
 [(but the guard will be [xx])]
 36 ? [sch:]::[::]
 [sch:]::[::]
 37 PER [on va l`[noter/] &
 [we'll [note it/] &
 [sch: :]
 [sch: :]
 38 ?
 39 PER &faut [bien s]'rappeler c`que: nous a dit [yves] bert en
 &we must [well] keep in mind what yves bert told us at

40 ? [mm]
 41 ? [mm]
 42 PER [début:/] que: les bâtiments c'est quand même un usage&
 [the beginning:/] that: the buildings are nevertheless a usage&
 43 JAC [°mhm°]
 [°mhm°]
 44 PER &qui sera réfléchi (0.4) [dans: un] deuxième temps\
 &which will be thought of (0.4) [in: a] second time\
 45 HEN [°(ensuite°)]
 [°(afterwards°)]
 46 ? ((les bati[ments]))
 ((the buil[dings]))
 47 PER [MAIS]
 [BUT]
 48 CHA °°ah [ouais°°]
 °°ah [yeah°°]
 49 MIC [non] j'in[siste]
 [no] i in[sist]
 50 PER [on va]
 [we'll]
 51 MIC [j'insiste]
 [i insist]
 52 PER [on va l` noter] quand [même]=
 [we'll note it] never[theless]=
 53 PLE? [de toute] façon=
 [in any] case=
 54 MIC =parce que c'est: actuellement à la mode et c'est même finan[cé par]&
 =because that it's: currently fashionable and it's even fund[ed by]&
 55 PER [oui]
 [yes]
 56 &l'état/
 &the state/

After Michaud's proposal, a long pause (19) flags for a dispreferred answer. During the 12 omitted lines, they discuss whether the proposal regards housing in general or student housing. Pernetti offers to write down the idea (33, 37) before she postpones the discussion (39-44). Michaud does not accept this and insists explicitly on debating it here and now (49, 51). Pernetti repeats the suggestion to write down the proposal (50, 52) but Michaud resists again, and gives an account of why it is relevant to discuss it now (54-56).

In sum, the local as well as the global agenda for the meetings is something the citizens may resist. This agenda is locally managed, as is visible in the negotiations between the facilitator, the representatives of the city (as in excerpts 1, 8, and 11), and the citizens.

6. Conclusion

The paper has demonstrated that the organization of action is seen, treated, and achieved by the participants with regard to both the *local* organization of sequentiality and to the more *global* political agenda. By postponing an action from "now" to "later", participants display, on the one hand, an understanding of what is relevant, adequate, and legitimate to do now; on the other hand, they orient towards the later organization of the activity, not only within a local time and immediate sequential environment but also with regard to a larger time span and within later activities. Postponing an action to a "later" moment orients to the overall organization of the session; postponing it to the "next meeting" orients to the overall organization of the procedure within a historical

time, as structured by a series of sessions. This also points to a larger agenda, which can be more or less transparent, shared and agreed upon by the participants, as well as more or less (a)symmetrically defined by the institution – as demonstrated through the analysis of the embodied conduct of the facilitator, clearly orienting at crucial moments to the officers representing the political institution. This makes a broader institutional framework relevant. The asymmetric access to and control of the agenda by the facilitator and the politicians is, however, a subject for resistance and re-negotiation by the citizens. In this sense, the article reveals that positioning an action *now* vs. *later/next time* can become a political matter involving democratic rights to decide the institutional agenda and define the relevance of political actions done right now.

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TRANSCRIPT CONVENTIONS

Transcription of talk has been realized according to the ICOR conventions for French:

http://icar.univ-lyon2.fr/projets/corinte/bandeau_droit/convention_icor.htm

Transcription of gesture has been done according to the conventions developed by Mondada:

https://franz.unibas.ch/fileadmin/franz/user_upload/redaktion/Mondada_conv_multimodality.pdf

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