

# How to disengage: suspension, body torque and repair

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## Abstract

This paper uses conversation analysis to study other-initiated repair in multiactivity situations. The paper focuses on two aspects of the repair initiator's embodied conduct directly connected to the initiator's involvement in multiactivity: body torque and the suspension of a parallel manual activity. The analysis reveals how the body torque and suspension of manual activity, when co-occurring with other-initiations of repair, display the OIR-speaker's temporary disengagement from the manual activity, and how this embodied conduct communicates downward prioritisation of the manual activity and increased involvement in the interaction. This paper shows that, to participants in a conversation and simultaneously involved in multiactivity, solving interactional trouble is prioritised over the progression of the parallel manual task, and that this hierarchisation of activities displays a strong preference towards restoration and maintenance of intersubjectivity. Data in English, Finnish, and French, excerpts in this paper in English and in French with English translation.

# 1 Introduction

Every now and then people find themselves in situations where we are doing a routine task – such as cooking, washing the dishes, etc. – while having a conversation, and for one reason or another, we cannot quite hear or understand what the other person is saying. In these situations, the participants who initiate repair sometimes temporarily disengage from their manual activity through suspending what they are doing and twisting their upper body towards the speaker who produced the problematic turn-at-talk. The main argument of the paper is that these temporary disengagements from the manual task display the repair-initiating participant's temporary prioritisation of solving interactional trouble over the progressivity of the parallel but unrelated physical activity. Such local prioritisation also makes visible the repair-initiating speakers' hierarchisation of the parallel activities, and their preference towards restoring and maintaining intersubjectivity. Before moving on to data and the analysis, I will discuss previous research on repair and embodied conduct in conversation.

In conversation, participants sometimes come across interactional problems, such as trouble in hearing, understanding, or accepting what is being said by the interlocutor and, for the conversation to progress, the participants have to work together to solve the problem. The organization of repair (Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977; Svennevig, 2008; Kitzinger, 2013) provides participants with interactional practices to deal with such problems, and, thus restores and maintains intersubjectivity (Schegloff, 1992). In other-initiated repair (e.g., Schegloff et al., 1977; Dingemanse, Blythe & Dirksmeyer, 2014; Kendrick, 2015), a participant who may identify a trouble in a co-participant's earlier turn initiates a repair procedure. This is done by, firstly, locating the trouble source and, secondly, potentially indicating what the repair initiator's problem with the trouble source (henceforth, TS) is. In this paper, the focus is on participants' embodied conduct in other-initiated repair (henceforth, OIR) in the context of multiactivity (Haddington et al, 2014). More specifically, I will focus on two aspects of the OIR-speaker's embodied conduct that are directly in connection with their involvement in multiactivity: body torque and suspension of the ongoing manual activity.

For the purposes of this study, I have chosen to define multiactivity as involvement in interactional episodes where two or more independent activities are simultaneously kept relevant and progressed in parallel through verbal and embodied resources. Additionally, these activities are not sub-activities of a

common, broader line of action, such as different phases in preparing a meal, or task-related talk occurring in connection with a jointly coordinated activity. My interpretation does not rule out nor criticise other definitions of multiactivity, but it is adapted here in order to help clearly distinguish the interactionally relevant and observable conduct of an individual participant and their *intra-personal* coordination multiactivity (for more on the definitions of *inter-personal* and *intra-personal* multiactivity, see Deppermann, 2014). Rather than focusing on multiactivity itself, this study approaches multiactivity as a *context* for the type of interactions where participants adjust their involvements between conversation and other simultaneous but unrelated activities. Furthermore, the physical/manual activities studied in this paper are quite mundane and routine-like by their nature. These activities are not time-critical, and their progressivity can temporarily be put on hold without any serious consequences (compared to, for example, the hierarchisation between carrying out surgical operations and instructing students at the same time, as in Mondada 2011, 2014c). Problems in intersubjectivity, on the other hand, are treated by the participants as urgent, and there is a preferred time window for initiating repair: in the same turn which contains the trouble-source, in the next turn following the trouble-source turn, or in the next turn after that. (Schegloff et al., 1977; Schegloff, 1992, 2000). This difference between the time-criticalness of, on the one hand, the manual tasks in my data and, on the other hand, other-initiations of repair, creates the context for the type of hierarchisation of activities illustrated in this paper.

Turning one's body to manage multiple activities and/or interactions is a common practice in our everyday lives, and highly recognizable as such. Body torque (Schegloff, 1998), i.e. "divergent orientations of the body sectors above and below the neck and waist, respectively," (p. 536) is an embodied feature of interaction which can make visible a participant's engagement with – and ranking of – multiple courses of action and interactional involvements. As also shown by Schegloff, a participant can display a temporary orientation to an inserted, "interruptive" activity by twisting the upper segments of the body relative to the lower segments of the body, while simultaneously displaying a continued orientation to the intervened-upon activity with the planted orientation of the lower body parts. (Schegloff, 1998, pp. 543–544.) In my data, suspending a manual activity by freezing one's hands in that activity achieves similar displays of involvement. In previous research, suspending an activity has been shown to display participants' orientation to various contingencies that shape the specific

multiactivity situation (Haddington et al., 2014). Furthermore, suspending an activity temporarily puts it on hold because of multiple demands, but also indicates that resumption of the activity is foreseen (Haddington et al., 2014; Keisanen, Rauniomaa & Haddington, 2014; Mondada, 2014c). Thus, the activity is not abandoned but only postponed, and a suspension “maintains the relevance of the suspended activity while that suspended activity is backgrounded” (Haddington et al., 2014, p. 25). One argument I make in this paper is that body torque and a suspension of manual activity together achieve a stronger display of increased involvement than they would alone.

The temporary suspensions of a manual line of action, studied in this paper, also resemble a prolonged gestural hold. In previous research (e.g. Cibulka, 2015; Mondada, 2007; Sidnell, 2005; Sikveland & Ogden, 2012; Streeck, 2009), such holds have been shown to appear as a gesturer’s means to communicate a continuing relevance of a sequence over its completion, for example in urging for a response, and the retraction of the gesture communicates an understanding or acknowledgement concerning the response. This function is also connected with other kinds of embodied holds (signs in sign language, gaze, leaning forward, etc.), as shown by Floyd et al. (2016), in the context of other-initiated repair. In their article, Floyd et al. describe different types embodied holds, in both signed and spoken languages, and how the OIR-speaker’s release of the hold displays that the problem has been solved (2016). In this study, I will approach embodied holds through a close examination of the OIR-sequence as a whole, including the initiations of body torque and the initiations of manual activity suspension, as well as their respective holds. This paper will complement the above studies by showing how a specific combination of two embodied holds – of body torque and the suspended manual task – in the context of OIR not only display unsolved interactional trouble but also make visible the OIR-speakers’ temporary prioritisation of the conversation over the parallel manual task.

What relates body torque and suspensions of manual activity to OIR is that they are both practices capable of displaying levels of a participant’s *involvement* in – and hierarchisation of – two parallel but separate activities – in this case, the physical task and the conversation. Goffman (1963) defines involvement as referring to “the capacity of an individual to give, or withhold from giving, his concerted attention to some activity at hand – a solitary task, a conversation, a collaborative work effort” (p. 43). He also divides involvement into main and side involvements. A main involvement, according to Goffman, is one that absorbs the major part of an individual’s attention, and is visibly their current main focus,

whereas a side involvement is an activity that can be carried on in an abstracted way in parallel with, but not disturbing, the main involvement (1963, p. 43). By Goffman's definition, the physical activities in which the OIR-speakers in my collection are involved are initially displayed as main involvements through the OIR-speakers' body orientations and their visual-manual focus on the tasks. In reality, though, the participants' levels of involvement are not as black and white as "main and side," nor "dominant and subordinate" (Goffman, 1963, p. 44), but much more complex and dynamic. As Mondada (2014a) points out, "[t]he relation between main and side is not decided once and for all but is a dynamic and constantly renegotiated one" (p. 46), meaning that sometimes a participant involved in multiactivity might prioritise talk, and at other moments the same participant might prioritise the physical activity instead. This is very much the case in my data, where the participants, for the most part, carry out routine manual tasks in parallel temporal order (Mondada, 2014c) with the conversation. Rather than being side involvements, the OIR sequences inserted into the on-going physical activity (by the OIR-speakers themselves, it should be noted) result in moments of observable dual involvements (Raymond & Lerner, 2014), as both are kept simultaneously relevant through, e.g., various bodily adjustments (Raymond & Lerner, 2014, p. 242), such as bodily suspensions. This clearly does not mean that the OIR-speaker was earlier involved *only* in the manual task and not in the conversation, nor can it really be said which one is prioritized, as they rely on different, non-exclusive resources. Rather, the bodily adjustments make the dual involvement – and the local hierarchisation of the activities – *visible*.

This study further illustrates how such adjustments communicate a constant negotiation of a participant's levels of involvement between the conversation and the parallel physical task. It shows that the visible shifts in involvement achieved through body torque can be *upgraded* by adjusting one's manual activity. Whereas by 'just' turning towards a co-participant makes visible a temporary upward prioritisation of the conversation (Schegloff, 1998), a suspension of the on-going manual activity during a body torque achieves a further disengagement from said activity while still visibly maintaining its relevance. The study will also add to previous research on repair by showing that activities that *can* be managed in parallel temporal order (Mondada, 2014c) with talk are often brought to a halt in moments of interactional trouble. Also adding to Floyd et al.'s (2016) findings on embodied holds in other-initiations of repair, this paper investigates the moments when repair – and the holds – are initiated, as well as what implications the manner

of the disengagements may have for the wider sequential context of the OIRs and to our understanding of how people maintain and hierarchise their involvements in parallel activities in complex and dynamic ways.

## 2 Data and method

The data used in this study consists of video-recorded naturally occurring conversations in English, Finnish, and French. These conversations take place in diverse settings, such as workplaces (laboratories, offices), domestic environments (student apartments, family home with kids) and educational environments (university group work sessions and a seminar), and the participants represent different nationalities conversing in either their mother tongue or in English as lingua franca. All the recordings were made with the informed consent of the participants, and the identities of the participants have been obscured by using pseudonyms in transcripts and in the running text, and by blurring their faces in the screen captures. The data was collected in the UK and in Finland.

The dataset consists of 15 different recordings, totalling in 74 hours. A collection was formed of cases of other-initiated repair in interactional episodes in which one or more of the participants were involved in a parallel manual activity and did not have direct eye contact to each other (i.e., cases where a body torque *could* occur). The total number of such interactional episodes which also include OIR(s) is 20. With three of the episodes comprising more than just one repair initiation, the number of individual other-initiations of repair is 25. A body torque occurs in 16 of these episodes, and the number of episodes where OIR(s) co-occur with both body torque and a suspension of manual activity is 14.

The method used in this study is multimodal conversation analysis (e.g., Deppermann, 2013; Mondada, 2014b, 2016ab, 2018). Multimodal transcripts (Mondada, 2014a; Appendix) of the participants' talk and embodied conduct were prepared on the basis of the video data, after which in-depth sequential analysis was systematically conducted in order to identify the social actions of which the torques and activity suspension were part, as well as the relation between body torques and the manual activity suspensions.

### 3 Analysis

The following analysis focuses on OIR in episodes of multiactivity, where the repair initiations co-occur with body torque and suspensions of manual activities. These activities are mostly mundane, routine-like activities than can be suspended for a while without any immediate urgency. Furthermore, in the episodes studied in this paper, the TS-speaker and the OIR-speaker have no direct line of mutual gaze while the OIR-speaker is oriented to their manual task. In the data, activities that were previously carried out in parallel with ongoing talk, and without gazing at them, were in the same recording also suspended or abandoned at certain points in the interaction, which lead to the finding that the suspensions were doing something interactional. In all the cases in the collection where a body torque and suspension of manual activity occur in connection with a repair sequence, the OIR-speakers disengage from their manual activity *right after* or, in some cases, already *during* the TS-turn, and the verbal repair initiation always occurs after the initiation of the embodied disengagement and right after the TS-turn. This makes visible the local prioritisation of repair, as well as the OIR-speaker's treatment of the manual task as 'suspendable' and, thus, lower in the OIR-speaker's own hierarchy of the activities. In this section, I will first show illustrative examples of body torque and manual activity suspensions co-occurring with minimal and non-minimal OIR-sequences. Once I have characterised the sequential environments where the phenomenon *does* occur, I will discuss a few cases where the OIR-speaker does not display a similar prioritisation of solving interactional trouble and discuss different contextual reasons for that.

#### 3.1 Disengaging from a parallel manual activity while initiating repair: displaying hierarchisation of involvements in multiactivity episodes

The examples in this section have been selected to show that the practice of the embodied disengagements is, by its form, quite consistent throughout various different repair sequences: OIR-speakers similarly disengage from their manual tasks in connection with OIRs concerning different types of TS-turns (questions, statements) as well as different kinds of interactional trouble (of hearing, understanding, and acceptance). In the first excerpt – and in about half of all the



examples in the collection where repair is prioritized over a physical task – the repair-initiation concerns the OIR-speaker’s trouble in hearing a part of the TS-speaker’s previous turn. Lloyd and Shayna are flatmates in a student apartment and are doing their chores in the kitchen (Figure 1a). Shayna, who is preparing herself a salad, has been telling Lloyd, who is doing the dishes, about her night out the previous evening. In lines 04 and 05, as Lloyd finishes washing a knife, puts it on the drying rack, and moves his hands back in the sink to pick up another knife to wash, Shayna makes an additional statement about her having been sleepy during the evening and, thus, categorizes herself self-deprecatingly as the most boring person in the world. The OIRs in the examples are marked with grey highlighting in the transcripts, and the embodied conduct achieving the disengagements is marked with arrows.

(1a) Potentially not dangerous, Cam1\_1, 08:21<sup>1</sup>

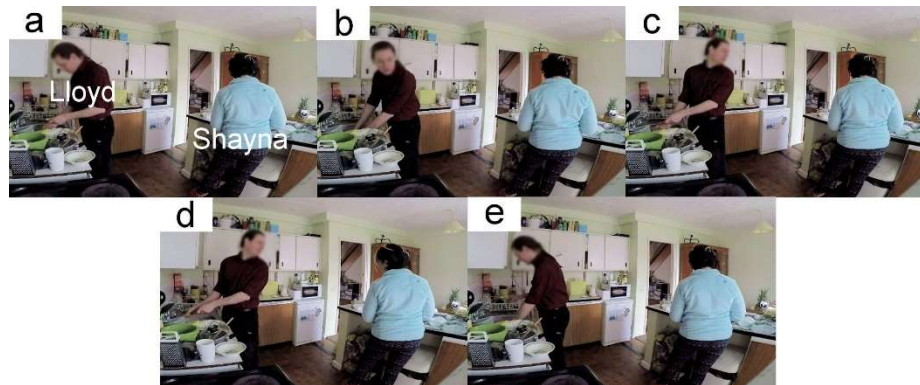
```

01 SHA: so ,yeah it was fun yesterday.
02 LLO: ;mm.*
    fig:      *fig1a
03      (2.7)
04 SHA: but I was as sleepy as always.
05      (0.3)
06      I'm the most bo'ring person in the lworld.l*
    llm: >>washing-----lputs knife away,,,,,,lboth hands in sink--->
-> llb:                                     ---l.....lface to left--->
    fig:                                     *fig1b
07      (0.5)l (0.4)
    llb: ---l...>
    llm: ---l...>
08 LLO: you're the whatl* (there)?1
    llb: ...lin torque, gaze twd SHA--->
-> llm: ...lhands above sink, holding knife and sponge--->
    fig:      *fig1c

```

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<sup>1</sup> The tags for the multimodality lines in the transcript are to be interpreted as follows: e.g., llb = Lloyd’s body orientation; shb = Shayna’s body orientation; llm = Lloyd’s manual action, etc. All the transcripts in this paper will follow the same pattern.



**Fig. 1. Lloyd suspends his dishwashing activity and initiates repair**

We can already see during Shayna's turn in line 06 that there is something problematic there for Lloyd. His initial head-turn at the end of line 06 (Figure 1b) might be suggestive of a problem in hearing, which later proves to be the case as shown by Lloyd's repair initiation. Shayna's statement is followed by a 0.9-second gap, during which Lloyd begins to turn his upper body further to his left and lifts his hands up from the sink. He initiates repair in line 08 with a category-specific interrogative, "you're the what (there)?", indicating he understood Shayna called herself something, but not what that something was. During his repair initiation, Lloyd twists his upper body and turns his gaze to Shayna (Figure 1c), and freezes his hands over the sink. The body torque enables him to gaze toward Shayna, and the posture shift is timed to co-occur with the interrogative "what", i.e. at the point where a response from Shayna becomes relevant. Lloyd maintains his lower body orientation towards the sink, which, according to Schegloff (1998), displays the dishwashing as his primary activity and the repair as a secondary, temporary one. The notion of either of the activities in this context being 'primary' is problematic, as even though Lloyd's lower body is anchored to the dishwashing, he has been equally involved in the conversation even before turning, managing them in a parallel temporal order (Mondada, 2014c) without any trouble. Nevertheless, the body torque does display Lloyd's *disengagement* from the dishwashing as temporary, further indicated by him holding his hands frozen in the activity over the sink. The temporary disengagement displays Lloyd's temporarily increased involvement in the conversation as well as local prioritisation of solving the

problem over progressing the physical task. Next, we will see Shayna do the repair in line 08.

(1b) Potentially not dangerous, Cam1\_1, 08:21

```

09 SHA: the most (.) %b: o'ring* person Lsin the worldSL
shb: >>twd counter--s.....sface to lefts,,,,,,,,,stwd counter-->>
llm: ---lwipes knife with sponge-----l...>
llb: ---L,,,,,,,,,Ltwd sink-->
fig: *figld
10 (0.6)l*(0.3)
llm: ...lputs knife away,,,>
fig: *figle
11 LLO: that's lactually noLlt true.
llb: ---L.....Lgaze to left-->
llm: ,,,lwipes knife with sponge-----l...>
12 SHA: h: (h)eh;heh ln'o:?
llb: ---L,,,>
12 (0.2)L(0.1)
llb: ,,,Ltwd sink-->>
13 LLO: no [ (like) ]seriously,
14 SHA: [(alright)]
15 LLO: co- come to the computer science depart[ment some,times hehehehe]
16 SHA: [(h)eh:::(h)eh(h)eh ] .hhh
17 SHA: alright.

```

Shayna's turn in line 09 shows she recognized Lloyd's problem as a problem in hearing, and she repeats the trouble source, stressing the first syllables of "boring person." She also turns her head slightly to her left during her turn (Figure 1d), which could also orient to Lloyd's trouble in hearing. Lloyd resumes his manual activity already before the repair turn is finished but begins to release his body torque after "person," indicating the trouble having been sufficiently solved at this point (Floyd et al., 2016). During the pause in line 10, Lloyd finishes washing the knife (Figure 1e) and produces the relevant next for Shayna's self-deprecating announcement by stating "that's actually not true" and jokingly proving his point by comparing her with computer scientists.

By maintaining his lower body orientation towards the sink during the repair operation, as well as by holding his hands frozen over the activity-relevant space, Lloyd makes visible the temporary yet prioritised nature of the repair sequence and maintains the relevance of his dishwashing, implying that he will continue the task once common understanding has been achieved. This supports the notion that solving interactional trouble (in hearing, understanding, etc.) to maintain or secure intersubjectivity is placed higher in the OIR-speaker's hierarchy of activities than the parallel physical activity, which is made visible by displaying increased involvement in the conversation through suspending the manual activity and doing

a body torque. Next, we can see a similar disengagement in a repair sequence in a workplace setting.

In excerpt (2), the OIR-speaker's repair initiation also concerns his trouble in hearing, but this time in the context where he has been asked a question. Diogo and Taru, both non-native speakers of English, are working together in a laboratory, analysing different medicine samples. Diogo is engaged in writing in his laboratory diary, and Taru has been observing the computer display showing the progress of the analysis. Taru then turns toward Diogo and asks him about his preferred format for the data from the measurements.

(2a) ProcEngLab\_day2\_cam1\_4, 11:48

```
01 TAR: 'mtsk .hh T*so you want to 'have the 'data (up) in' number (formats).
    tab: T.....Ttwd DIO--->
-> dim: >>writing-----dstops, lifts pen off paper, both hands suspended--->
-> dib: >>gaze down twd diary-----D.....Dgaze twd TAR--->
    fig:                *fig2a                                *fig2b
02      (2.0)
03 DIO: °uh::::°,
04      the data- db#wha:t?
    dim:      ---d...>
    dib:      ---Dleans slightly twd TAR--->
    fig:                *fig2c
```

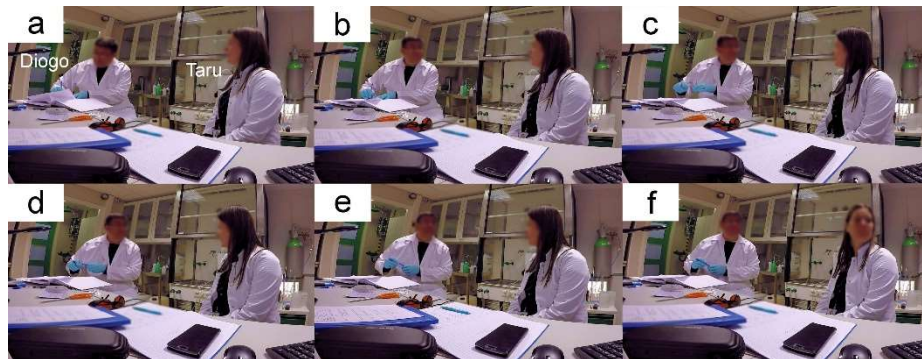


Fig. 2. Taru asks Diogo a question, Diogo initiates repair

In line 01, once Taru has turned to face Diogo (Figure 2a) and while her question is still under way, Diogo stops writing, suspends his hand, with the pen in it, in the writing position just above the diary and turns to gaze at Taru (Figure 2b). Here,

the torque occurs primarily in connection with being asked a question, which makes relevant a display of reciprocity (Heath, 1984), in this case through visible disengagement from the manual activity. A 2-second gap follows, during which Diogo quietly stares at Taru, and then in line 03 he displays further trouble by producing a hesitation marker, and finally initiates repair in line 04 with a partial repeat “the data- #what:t?”, communicating he grasped the word “data” from Taru’s utterance, but not the whole context. He leans slightly forward (on forward leans in OIR, see Rasmussen, 2014; Li, 2014) and begins to lift his hands off the diary during the repair initiation (Figure 2c), displaying further prioritisation of the conversation through disengaging his hands from the task. The initial disengagement from the writing takes place during the TS-turn, and Diogo’s lack of response, together with the prolonged gaze and hold, display trouble in understanding. The ‘upgrading’ of the manual suspension – lifting the hands further off the diary – in line 04 displays Diogo’s orientation to the repair action as prioritised higher than the progressivity of the writing.

(2b) ProcEngLab\_day2\_cam1\_4, 11:48

```
04 TAR: the data.d*
    dim:      ...dholds pen with both hands at chest level--->>
    fig:      *fig2d
05 DIO: yes?
06 TAR: do you want to have just images? or in number (0.6) for[mats.    ]
07 DIO:      [I >predfer]* it,<
    dib:      dtilts head
              back--->>
    fig:      *fig2e
08      uh:: numbers.T
    tab:      ---T, , , >
09 TAR: okay.T*
    tab:      , , , Tgaze twd cpu--->>
```

In line 04, Taru prefaces the repair solution by first stating the object of her inquiry, “the data.” At this point, Diogo leaves his hands at his chest level and changes the grip on his pen, now holding it with both of his hands rather than in a writing position (Figure 2d), displaying further disengagement from the writing and that he is now paying more attention to Taru. Diogo shows he has grasped the context of Taru’s question through a go-ahead “yes?” in line 05, but that he does not yet fully understand what Taru had said. Taru then moves on with the repair in line 07. Rather

than doing a full repeat of the TS-turn, Taru reformulates her question by adding another alternative for Diogo to choose between, images or numbers. Diogo replies in lines 07 and 08 by stating he prefers numbers, leaning his head back in line 07, displaying having reached an understanding of what Taru asked (Li, 2014; Floyd et al., 2016). Here the repair solution is not followed by the OIR-speaker returning to his task once common understanding has been reached, but it is Taru who marks the closure of the information requesting sequence by producing a sequence closing third (e.g., Schegloff, 2007) “okay” and turning back to face the computer display (Figure 2e). Diogo still remains in his torqued position and continues by accounting for why he prefers numbers, and only after that returns to writing on his diary (data not shown).

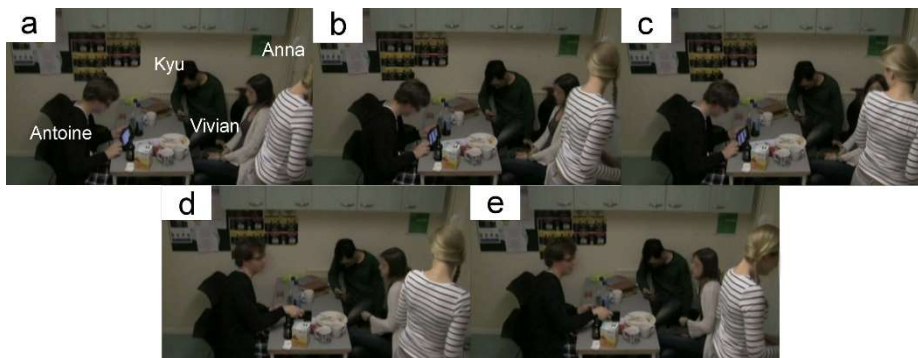
Having now observed two cases where the repair initiation concerns the OIR-speaker’s trouble in hearing/understanding, we will next move on to excerpt 3, where the torque and the suspension of manual activity occur in connection with OIR concerning trouble in acceptance and urge the co-participant to respond with a sufficient repair solution. Exchange student flatmates Antoine, Kyu, Vivian and Anna, all non-native speakers of English, are spending time together in their apartment’s kitchen (Figure 3a). Anna (the OIR-speaker) is washing dishes, and Antoine has been playing different national anthems from his new tablet computer, which has started to annoy the others, especially Anna, who has taken several chances to challenge and ridicule Antoine. Just prior to the excerpt, Kyu has asked Antoine, who is Belgian, what the Belgian national anthem is like, and they have also been joking about the then Belgian prime minister. Here, Antoine announces the next activity of finding a certain version of the anthem.

(3a) A Strange Combination 2 <04:46-04:59><sup>2</sup>

```
01 ANT: 'cause I'm gonna found the French version of the *Dutch version,
      fig:                                     *fig3a
02      (but I don't),
03 ANN: ^a^the French* version of ^a^the Dutch ^version?
-> anm: ^stops washing, hands held in sink-->
-> anb: ^.....^gaze twd Ant, upper body slightly left from sink-->
      fig:          *fig3b          *fig3c
```

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<sup>2</sup> Here, anm = Anna’s manual action; atb = Antoine’s body orientation, etc.



**Fig. 3. Anna suspends her washing and turns to Antoine to initiate repair**

In line 01, Antoine appears to misspeak as he announces he is trying to find “the French version of the Dutch version”. Anna self-selects and initiates repair in line 03 by repeating the troublesome part in Antoine’s turn (for repetition repair, see e.g., Jefferson, 1972; Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks, 1977: 368; Wu, 2006, 2009; Haakana et al., 2016) with a final-rising intonation, expressing doubt (Wu, 2009) towards the content of Antoine’s turn and, in this specific context, a degree of challenge. Simultaneously with the repair initiation, Anna sharply and abruptly turns her head and upper body to her left (Figures 3b and 3c) to gaze at Antoine and freezes her hands in the dishwashing activity. This disengagement from the dishwashing and the consequent hold make visible Anna’s temporary prioritization of the conversation and orients towards solving the interactional trouble, which is made relevant and identifiable through the verbal repair initiation.

(3b) A Strange Combination 2 <04:46–04:59>

```

04      (1.1)
05 ANT: N((sniff)) no the NFrench version of the:,
      atb: N.....Ngaze twd ANN--->
06      nn the Belgian ayn- Aan*t[hem.
07 ANN:      [o:h.A*
      anb:      ---A,,,,,,,,Awhole body twd sink--->>
      fig:      *fig3d *fig3e
08 ANT: Aand there must be a NGerman anthemN also.
      anm: Acontinues washing--->>
      atb:      ---N,,,,,,,,Ngaze twd tablet--->>

```

During the 1.1-second gap in line 04, Anna remains in a torqued position gazing at Antoine and keeps her hands frozen above the sink. She remains static in this position until Antoine does the repair in lines 05-06 by reformulating the trouble source, during which Antoine also begins to lift his gaze from his tablet towards Anna. Through maintaining the embodied hold and, consequently, her gaze towards Antoine, Anna makes it pronouncedly relevant for Antoine to respond (Stivers & Rossano, 2010; Bavelas, Coates & Johnson, 2002). As Antoine reformulates the trouble source, Anna begins to release her torque (Figure 4d) at the point where the end of the repair solution is projectable, signalling that the problem has been sufficiently solved (Floyd et al., 2016). While turning back, Anna produces a change-of-state token “o:h” (Heritage, 1984) which receipts the repair and proposes a resolution of the trouble (Heritage, 1984, p. 316). Once she has fully released her body torque, Anna resumes the dishwashing in line 08 (Figure 3e). At the same time, Antoine returns to the topic by stating there must also be a German language version of the anthem. During his turn, he lowers his gaze and continues to play with his tablet. Thus, both display their local understanding of the sequence as complete through gaze withdrawal (Rossano, 2012) and by releasing their holds and assuming a more relaxed body posture (Cibulka, 2015: 19; Floyd et al., 2016). Embodied disengagements from the manual tasks as presented above are similarly present also in non-minimal repair sequences, where the first repair solution does not sufficiently solve the problem, and (at least) a second repair initiation is required for the sequence to move forward. Whereas the previous excerpts depicted minimal repair sequences, the next excerpt will illustrate the non-minimal repair sequences in the collection. The OIR-speakers’ embodied conduct in the non-minimal repair sequences follows the same pattern as in simple repair sequences; the body torques and suspensions of manual activity co-occur with the initial other-initiation of repair, either during or right after the TS-turn, and achieve a temporary disengagement from the physical activity, displaying temporary upward prioritization of the conversation. As shown by Floyd et al. (2016), when the repair sequence is extended, also the embodied hold is prolonged to last until the problem has been sufficiently solved. This has also proved to be the case with holding the body torque and the frozen manual activity in the context of multiactivity situations. In my collection, one such case, excerpt (4), also includes local adjustment of the manual suspension during the second repair-initiation. Before the excerpt, Lloyd has been telling Shayna about a boring house party in which he had been the previous night. Shayna, reaching to grab a bag of lettuce, has her body facing Lloyd while preparing to turn to the counter again. Shayna then asks Lloyd a question



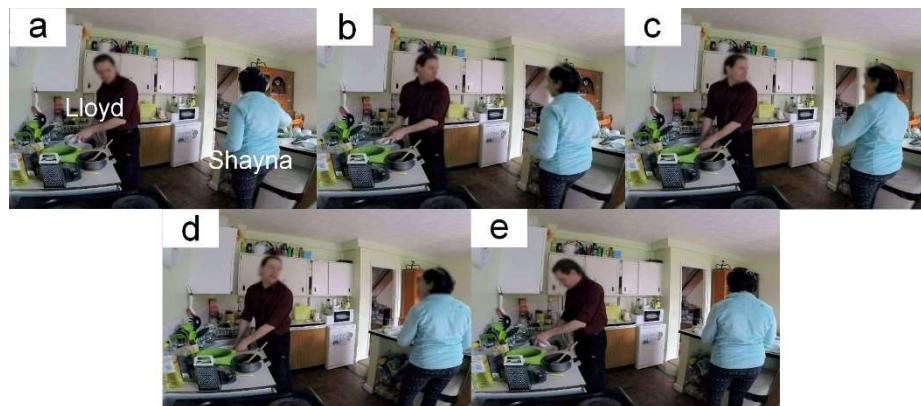
about the time he came home from the party, and Lloyd turns to gaze at her and initiates repair.

(4) Potentially not dangerous 01\_01\_1013-1024

```

01 SHA: but, eh- you 'were *shere early.Ls*
    llm: >>washing--->
-> llb: >>twd sink---L.....Lgaze twd SHA--->
    shb: >>body twd LLO,
        gaze twd counter---s.....sgaze twd LLO--->
    fig:                *fig4a                *fig4b
02      (0.5)
03 SHA: weren't you.
04      (0.5)
05 LLO: 'hnh?
-> llm: 'stops washing, hands in sink--->
06 SHA: you 'were* 'shere, (.) early.
    shm: s.....spoints down w/ handL--->
    fig:                *fig4c
07      (0.2)'(0.5)
-> llm: ---lcontinues washing--->
08 LLO: uh:: (0.2) earliser 'in: (.) 'yesterday evening 'you meanss<.=
    shb:                ---s,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,sbody twd counter>
    shm:                ---s,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,shand on counter>>
    llm:                ---lstops washing, hands static over sink--->
09 SHA: ='yea:sL,
    shb: s.....sturns head twd LLO--->
    llb: ---L,,,>
10 LLO: ye*ahL.
    llb: ,,,,Lglances to his left--->
    fig:                *fig4d
11      (0.3)
12 SHA: 'uhuhs.
    shb: s,,,,stwd counter--->>
13      (0.1)L(0.2)L*
    llb: ---L,,,,,Lwhole body twd sink--->>
    llm: ---lcontinues washing--->>
    fig:                *fig4e

```



**Fig. 4. Lloyd initiates repair on and responds to Shayna's question**

In line 01, Shayna asks Lloyd a question, her body facing Lloyd while she is picking up a mushroom from the box on the counter (Figure 4a). During Shayna's utterance, Lloyd begins to turn to look at Shayna while continuing to wash the dishes in parallel. Their gazes meet right at the end of Shayna's turn (Figure 4b), and a 0.5-second gap follows. Shayna interprets the lack of response as Lloyd not having understood her utterance as an information request, and produces an incremental (Schegloff, 1996; Ford, Fox & Thompson, 2002) tag question ("weren't you") in line 03, pursuing uptake from Lloyd (Ford, Fox & Thompson, 2002, p. 19). In line 04, another 0.5-second gap follows, after which in line 05, Lloyd suspends his washing, leaves his hands frozen in the activity, and produces an open class repair initiation "hmh?" (Drew, 1997), displaying no grasp of what Shayna just said. This time Shayna treats Lloyd's trouble as trouble in hearing, and repeats her question in line 06, emphasizing the place formulation by stressing the word "here" and pointing down with her index finger (Figure 4c). In line 07, Lloyd continues the washing again but does not release his torque. This already displays that there is further trouble for Lloyd in Shayna's information request, which becomes evident as he initiates repair for the second time in line 08 with a candidate understanding (Heritage, 1984; Antaki, 2012) "earlier in: (.) >yesterday evening you mean<,". While Lloyd is still producing the second repair initiation, Shayna begins to turn her body towards the counter in preparation for starting to chop the mushrooms. After the micro-pause following "earlier in:", Lloyd suspends his washing again and re-disengages from the activity for the duration of his offer for the meaning of "early". Latching with the end of Lloyd's turn, Shayna answers "yea:" and turns

her head to gaze at Lloyd. In line 10, Lloyd abruptly begins to release his torque, displaying having understood Shayna's question, and answers "yeah." Lloyd then continues the washing, but stops his head-turn for a moment to look at something on his left (Figure 4d). Shayna closes the sequence in line 10 through gaze withdrawal (Rossano, 2012) and a sequence closing "uhuh", after which Lloyd also fully orients back to the dishwashing by turning his upper body back to face the sink (Figure 4e).

Whereas the first repair initiation and disengagement from the dishwashing in lines 01-05 concern Shayna's previous turn as a whole and, potentially, Lloyd's trouble in hearing, the second repair initiation in line 08, and the co-occurring re-suspension of the washing, orient to a different trouble in the same TS-turn, the meaning of "early". At this point, Lloyd is already in body torque and gazing at Shayna, but Shayna is turning back to the counter and does not have visual access to Lloyd. This makes it difficult to say what exactly this second suspension is doing. One possibility is that it has to do with the noise caused by the washing. When Lloyd suspends the washing, there is an audible cease to the splashing sounds, which may be noticeable for Shayna, in which case it would still function as an observable suspension of manual activity even without Shayna having visual access to it. The timing of the second suspension could also be meaningful; the washing is halted right before candidate understanding Lloyd offers to Shayna, which could be Lloyd's orientation to minimising any potential hearing issues at the crucial point of the repair initiation. Nevertheless, the release of the torque and the resumption of the manual task immediately follow Shayna's confirmation of Lloyd's candidate understanding, and thus display the trouble having been solved.

In excerpts (1)-(4), we could see that the OIR-speakers' body torques and suspensions of manual activity are part of displaying their temporarily increased involvement in the conversation, and that the disengagements occur quite uniformly in repair sequences with different types of trouble (hearing, understanding, acceptance) or social action of the turn in which the trouble-source occurs (question, statement). By partially turning away from their manual activity and towards the TS-speakers, the OIR-speakers make visible their local prioritisation of the conversation over the physical activity, while still maintaining the relevance of the suspended task. Together with body torque, the OIR-speakers' suspensions of the parallel manual activities, and holding their hands frozen in the activity, achieve a temporary disengagement from said activity and add to the increased involvement in the conversation while maintaining the relevance of

returning to the activity soon. In all the cases, in accordance with the findings of Floyd et al. (2016), the release of the body torque and the resumption of the manual activity display that a sufficient repair solution has been provided. In sum, co-occurring with verbal repair initiators, this embodied conduct makes visibly the OIR-speaker's hierarchisation of the parallel activities, as well as their orientation towards reaching and maintaining intersubjectivity. In the following section, I will discuss cases of OIR in multiactivity episodes where the OIR-speakers do not display similar levels of involvement in – and prioritisation of – solving interactional trouble.

### **3.2 Cases with only partial or no disengagement from the manual activity**

While OIR-speakers' displays of increased involvement in the conversation at moments of interactional trouble appear to be a recurrent phenomenon, as illustrated in the previous section, their disengagement from the parallel manual activity is not obligatory. Floyd et al. (2016) also point out in their paper that a participant's involvement in a parallel physical task is in itself a ready account for not displaying embodied orientation to (completions of) repair sequences (Floyd et al., 2016, p. 195), which speaks for the context-specific yet context-free nature of participants' hierarchisation of activities. In this section, I will present cases from my collection where the other-initiations of repair are achieved in parallel temporal order (Mondada, 2014c) with the physical activity. More specifically, in these episodes, the OIR-speakers either turn their bodies towards the TS-speaker while continuing their manual task throughout the repair sequence, or they do not disengage from the physical activity at all. This can, on the one hand, connect to the nature and the 'severity' of the trouble and the OIR-speaker's own affordances for solving it, and, on the other hand, orient to the local relevance for maintaining one's focus on their manual task. I will first discuss one case of OIR where there is just a body torque but no suspension of manual activity (excerpt 5), then a case where the OIR-speaker turns her body but does not hold the torque (cf. Floyd et al., 2016: 196-197) (excerpt 6), and, finally, a case where the OIR-speaker neither turns nor suspends his manual activity, but maintains his full bodily orientation towards his manual task throughout the repair sequence (excerpt 7).

Excerpt (5) has two participants, Dyanna and Freddie, native French-speakers, who are co-workers at a laboratory. Before the excerpt, Freddie has entered the

laboratory where Dyanna has been washing some bottles at the sink, and the two have discussed about Freddie's feelings of inefficiency. During this exchange, Dyanna has initiated repair on Freddie's complaints, in which cases she has both turned partly towards Freddie and suspended her manual activity. On his way out of the laboratory, Freddie looks at a device on a countertop (off-screen) and asks Dyanna whether it is supposed to be on.

(5) Lab 29 Jan Cam2 Clip 09, 06:14

```

01 FRE: c'est *normal qu'c'est: allumé ça?F*
        Is it normal that that is on?
frb: >>gaze twd device-----F...>
fig:      *fig5a                                *fig5b
02      (0.2)D(0.2)F(0.3)D*(0.2)
dyb:      D.....Dturns her head to gaze twd FRE--->
frb:      ...Ftwd DYA--->
fig:      *fig5c
03 DYA: °quoi°? Deu:h Dj'sais pas.F*
        What? er:m I don't know.
dyb:      ---DglancesDgaze twd FRE--->
        at device
frb:      ---F,,,>
fig:      *fig5d
04      (0.3)F(0.5)
frb:      ,,,Fgaze twd device--->
05 DYA: c'est pas mDfoi.*
        It's not me
dyb:      ---D,,,>
frb:      ---Fwalks out--->>
fig:      *fig5e
06 FRE: D*d'accord
        OK
dyb: Dtwd sink--->>
fig: *fig5f

```



**Fig. 5. Dyanna turns and sees the referent of Freddie's question**

In line 01, during Freddie's inquiry, Dyanna is completely oriented to her task at the sink, while Freddie is looking at the device, facing away from Dyanna (Figure 5a). He turns to gaze towards Dyanna in line 02, followed by Dyanna also turning to gaze at Freddie over her shoulder (Figure 5c). She initiates repair in line 03 in a quiet voice with an 'open' class repair initiator "°quoi°?",<sup>3</sup> shifts her gaze a bit lower to the direction where the device is, and answers Freddie's question right after the repair initiation rather than waits for Freddie to do the repair solution. Freddie starts to avert his gaze at the end of Dyanna's answer in line 03 (Figure 5d), displaying orientation to the sequence as complete (Rossano, 2012), and looks back to the device while Dyanna accounts for not having the requested information by stating she is not the person using the device. She begins to turn back towards the sink at the end of her account in line 05 (Figure 5e) at the same time as Freddie starts to walk towards the door, producing the sequence-closing "d'accord" on his way out.

Even though it is not clear whether Dyanna recognised Freddie's utterance as a question, the content of the turn seems to become evident to her once she turns to look over her shoulder and sees him by the device. The form and quietness of the repair initiator are also suggestive of Dyanna's level of focus on her task, and that Freddie's question might have caught her off guard at a point when the previous

---

<sup>3</sup>"Stand-alone *quoi* (*what*) or *comment* (*what*) are commonly used to address problems of hearing, resulting in the prior speaker repeating the entire turn." (Maheux-Pelletier & Golato, 2003, as cited in Golato & Golato, 2015)

sequence had already been closed and she had already fully oriented back to washing the bottles. Nevertheless, Dyanna manages to solve the problem by herself just by looking, and there is no need for any collaborative efforts for reaching intersubjectivity. By turning to look at Freddie, Dyanna makes visible some level of involvement in the conversation, but her continuation of the washing simultaneously displays lesser disengagement from the activity and, consequently, a lesser increase in her involvement in the conversation than in the cases where repair action is required from the co-participants for the conversation to progress. Furthermore, the OIR-speaker's parallel involvement in the manual task and the repair activity is so short, that there is no real need for prioritising one over the other. In the next excerpt, we will look at a case where the parallel manual activity is prioritised over displays of embodied orientation to the repair due to the requirements of the task.

In excerpt (6), the OIR-speaker (Dyanna) is measuring liquid into micro test tubes with a pipette (Figure 7a), an activity which requires accurate hand-eye coordination. The TS-speaker (Santeri, Finnish) is a few metres behind her, rummaging through one of the laboratory's refrigerators looking for a specific gene wrap sample. Santeri begins to talk, possibly thinking out loud that someone (unintelligible from the recording who) might have given the sample to Freddie, and Dyanna has trouble hearing what he says.

(6) Lab 29 Jan Cam2 Clip 11, 08:34

```

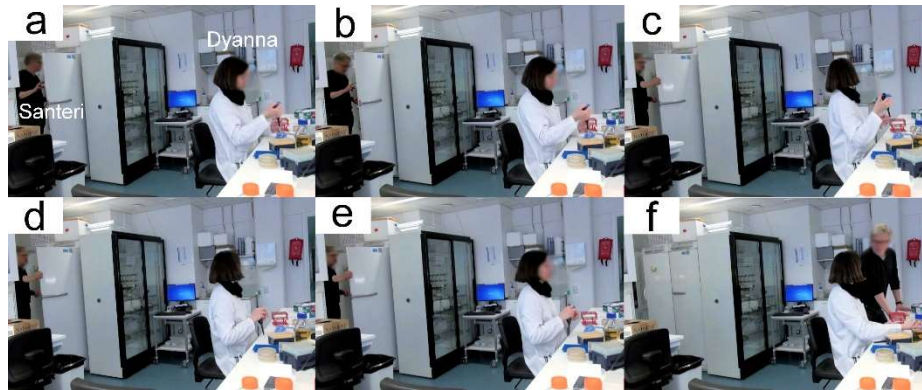
01 SAN: (I) pro*bably gave it to Freddie.
    dyb: >>twd hands--->
    dym: >>pipetting--->
    fig: *fig6a
02 (1.5)
03 DYA: hmh?*
    fig: *fig6b
04 (1.2)
05 SAN: I think Freddied (couldd-) hd*as it.
    dym: ---dejects pipette head into tube
    dyb: d...dehead turned to left--->
    fig: *fig6c
06 (0.6)d*(0.2)d(0.3)
    dym: dcloses lid of test tube
    dyb: ---d,,,>
    fig: *fig6d
07 DYA: has dd*what?=sorry?=d
    dyb: ,,deface twd counter--->
    dym: d.....deputs tube into disposal bin,,,>
    fig: *fig6e
08 SAN: =has sthe,d (0.3)s(0.8) the gene wrap (0.4) uh: sample,s
    sab: swalks-----sarrives at counter
    dym: ,,dehands on counter

```

```

sam:                                *closes fridge door
09  which I 'was ask'ing (if we have it).
dyb:  ---'.....'face twd SAN--->
fig:  *fig6f
10  DYA: yes I have it.
11  SAN: ↑you have it [already.]
12  DYA: [yea I to]ok it 'to my fridge'.=
dyb:  ---'.....'face twd counter--->>
13  SAN: =o:kay.

```



**Fig. 6. Dyanna initiates repair, Santeri moves closer to her**

Dyanna first initiates repair in line 03 with an ‘open’ class repair initiator “hm?”, marking the whole of Santeri’s previous turn as the trouble source. She continues pipetting and keeps her eyes on the task, prioritising the manual work (Figure 6b). Santeri reformulates his announcement into “I think Freddie could- has it” (line 05), not specifying what “it” is at this point. Near the end of Santeri’s turn, Dyanna comes to a phase in the activity which does not require gaze (closing the lid of a test tube), and turns her head to the left (Figures 6c and 6d), away from the workstation though not all the way to gaze at Santeri, displaying at the same time both attentiveness to Santeri’s talk and sustained orientation to her work (Nishizaka, 2014; Nevile, 2012). She does a second repair initiation “has what?=sorry?” in line 07, this time marking the “it” in Santeri’s announcement as the trouble source, while turning back to gaze at her hands (Figure 6e) and to put the empty test tube into the disposal bin. Santeri then concludes his search at the fridge and moves to the counter next to Dyanna (Figure 6f). By doing so, he makes it easier for Dyanna to hear what he is saying without interfering with the progressivity of Dyanna’s work, as well as displays understanding of the fact that Dyanna cannot really move



while she is pipetting. As Santeri moves towards Dyanna, he provides her with the repair solution, “the gene wrap ah: sample which I was asking (if we have it)”. Santeri reaches the counter at the end of line 08, and Dyanna turns her head to gaze at him, slowly closing the lid of a test tube box<sup>4</sup>, while Santeri finishes his utterance. Dyanna then briefly pauses her task and informs Santeri that she has the sample in question. Santeri receives the news and confirms them with an understanding check “↑you have it”, which Dyanna confirms and tells Santeri the sample is in her fridge, and then continues her work.

The manual activity in this excerpt differs from the ones in the previous examples in that it requires the concentration and gaze of the OIR-speaker, which in this specific context makes it more relevant for Dyanna to continue working instead of stopping and turning. Also Dyanna’s continuation of her work and not turning create a context in which both participants orient to the nature of her task as one that requires focus and limits her movements. Although she does partially turn her head to Santeri’s direction, she does it within the short time window when gaze is not required for the current phase in her task. In other words, even though she does display increased involvement in the conversation, or, at least reciprocity to Santeri’s talk, she does not accomplish it at the expense of the progressivity of her work.

In the final excerpt, the repair sequence is prioritised even lower in relation to the manual activity, which is continued in parallel and fully oriented to throughout the exchange. In excerpt (7), Paula, Malcolm, and their daughter Tanja interact in their kitchen. Two of the participants, Malcolm and Tanja, are simultaneously involved in manual activities, washing dishes and making dough, respectively. Earlier, Paula has asked Malcolm a question concerning his work schedule for the next day, to which he has replied that he should be back home around “late half nine or whatever”. The excerpt begins right after this exchange.

---

<sup>4</sup> See Raymond & Lerner (2014) for *retarding* as a form of activity adjustment for “sustaining a visible commitment to an erstwhile ongoing course of action while pursuing a second course of action.” (p. 243)

(7) Easter Saturday, kitchen, 07:34

```
01 TAN: we gotta gone before half nineB*.  
      mam: ,,,Bgrabs wooden spoons w/ handL...>  
      fig: *fig7a  
02 (1.5)  
03 TAN: to reBhear(sal) °practice°.   
      mam: ...Bwashes--->>  
04 (1.5)  
05 MAL: *you have.  
      fig: *fig7b  
06 (0.5)  
07 TAN: ↑yeah.  
08 MAL: °oh°.
```

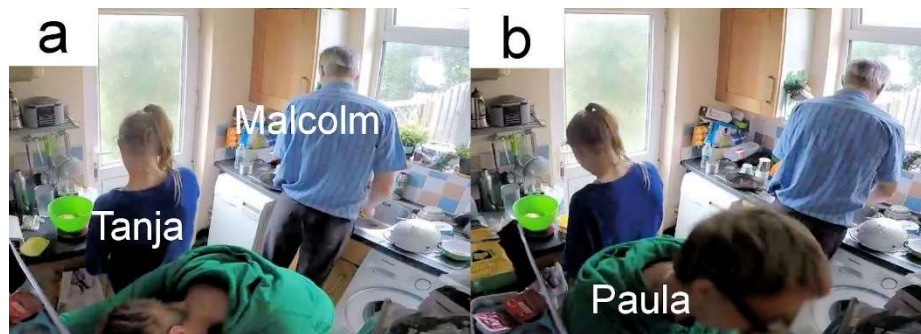


Fig. 7. Understanding check with no embodied disengagement from manual activity

Tanja initiates a new sequence about when they should leave for the rehearsals, to which Malcolm produces an understanding check “you have” in line 05. Malcolm’s turn implies he has heard what Tanja said, and that his uncertainty considered whose rehearsal was being referred to. After a short gap, Tanja confirms Malcolm’s understanding in line 07, and Malcolm produces a quiet change-of-state token “°oh°” (line 08) that receipts the repair and closes the sequence. The whole repair sequences passes while the two continue their manual activities in parallel with the conversation and keep their gazes toward their tasks.

What makes this repair sequence different from the others in the collection is, firstly, that it is the only OIR-sequence initiated with an understanding check<sup>5</sup>. Malcolm's repair initiation "you have?" suggests that he has heard and understood the time mentioned in Tanja's statement ("before half nine"), as well as the activity ("rehearsal practice"), and that his trouble only concerns the referent "we" and whether Tanja is talking about her own rehearsal. Secondly, Malcolm's understanding check makes relevant only a short answer, a "yes" or a "no". A "no" would relevantly be accompanied with an account, but as the formulation of Malcolm's repair initiation prefers a "yes" (Raymond, 2003), no sequence expansion is expected at this point. Thus, for both Tanja and Malcolm, there is low relevance for displaying a sustained orientation to the talk and, consequently, for disengaging from the manual task. Compared to the other excerpts, this case depicts a comparatively "small" trouble in intersubjectivity that does not require much increased involvement from either party. Furthermore, whereas in excerpt (6) the problem was solved so quickly that no prioritisation was needed, here the problem can be *expected* to be solved quickly, and thus is not visibly hierarchised higher than the manual tasks.

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<sup>5</sup> Another understanding check occurs as a second repair initiation in excerpt 5, when the OIR-speaker is already in a torqued position and gazing at the TS-speaker.

## 4 Conclusions and discussion

This study has illustrated how participants in a conversation, who are also involved in a simultaneous yet unrelated, routine-like physical task, sometimes twist their bodies and suspend their manual activities in connection with other-initiations of repair. Through such embodied disengagements from the manual activities, the OIR-speakers display their temporarily increased involvement in the conversation, which makes visible their local prioritisation of solving interactional trouble over the progression of the manual activity. The OIR-speakers' embodied disengagements were also shown to be quite uniform throughout different repair sequences: body torques and suspensions of manual tasks co-occur similarly in connection with OIRs concerning different types of TS-turns (questions, statements) as well as different kinds of interactional trouble (of hearing, understanding, and acceptance). The findings also show that the OIR-speakers disengage from their manual activity either *right after* or *during* the TS-turn, and the verbal repair initiation always occurs after the initiation of the embodied disengagement and right after the TS-turn. This timing makes visible the urgency of repair, and the OIR-speaker's treatment of the manual task as 'suspendable' and, thus, lower in the OIR-speaker's own hierarchy of the activities. These kinds of disengagements during OIR-sequences do not occur every time. In cases where the trouble is solved before the actual repair (excerpt 5), or when the trouble is not treated as a severe one (excerpt 7), there is not necessarily a need for a sustained hold and suspension, or no need for any kind of embodied disengagement from the manual activity. Furthermore, sometimes the manual activity may require both manual and visual orientation from the OIR-speaker (excerpt 6), in which cases the task is continued in parallel temporal order (Mondada, 2014c) with the conversation and the possible postural adjustments are timed to take place at moments where a temporary disengagement is possible.

As noted by Schegloff (1998), a body torque displays involvement and momentary shifts of focus between two separate but simultaneously relevant activities. This study has shown that in multiactivity episodes, the visible shifts in involvement towards the conversation achieved through body torque can be *upgraded* by adjusting one's manual activity. Whereas through body torque alone a co-participant can make visible their temporary prioritisation of the conversation (Schegloff, 1998), a suspension of the parallel manual activity during the body torque achieves a further disengagement from said activity while still visibly

maintaining the relevance of the suspended activity. Furthermore, embodied holds, such as suspension of manual activity, can display a lack of progressivity in the conversation (Floyd et al, 2016) and urge for a responsive action from the recipient (Cibulka, 2015). Thus, such embodied conduct during other-initiations of repair makes visible the participants' increased involvement in solving interactional trouble over the parallel physical activity and, in some cases, the disengagements and holds also display a high relevance for a recipient response (Stivers & Rossano, 2010).

The main contribution of this paper is that it illustrates the hierarchisation between parallel independent activities from the *participants'* point of view by showing how, in certain moments, the participants make visible through their embodied conduct their temporary prioritisation of one of the activities; in this case, the conversation. This also raises new issues on the notion of involvement (Goffman, 1963); In situations where two (or more) independent activities – that do not rely on the same resources – are progressed in parallel, it is difficult to define which of the activities, if any, are “main or side activities,” or “dominant or subordinate activities” (Goffman 1963, pp. 43–44). By showing that in certain interactional episodes, such as in other-initiations of repair, the participants *choose* to prioritise one line of action over the other we can make claims on their hierarchisation of the activities at least in that moment. This shows that involvement in activities is dynamic and emergent, and that different *levels* of involvements – from the participants' point of view – can be identified in the data. Schegloff (1998) already argued that the turning of the upper, or “lesser”, parts of the body communicate a lower ranking of an activity in comparison with a more intensive torque (Schegloff, 1998, p. 591), but, as could be seen when comparing body torques with and without manual activity suspensions, the adjustments (as well as the parallel continuation) of one's manual activity make visible a more complex system of perceived prioritisation between parallel activities.

The findings of this paper also contribute to research on the organization of repair by showing that repair is one of the contexts in which conversation is recurrently prioritised in episodes of multiactivity where the parallel manual activity could be also progressed in parallel; the pursuing of intersubjectivity and the importance of repair can be seen in the OIR-speakers' displays of hierarchisation between manual tasks and the conversation in moments of interactional trouble. The paper also adds to the growing field of studies on multiactivity. As noted by Raymond and Lerner (2014), practices of adjusting

action – such as suspensions of and disengagements from a manual activity, as discussed in this paper – do not so much emerge *from* multiactivity, but rather these practices *enable* and make observable various possible relations between multiple, simultaneously relevant courses of action (Raymond & Lerner, 2014: 230). In other words, the displays of hierarchisation achieved through these practices are *afforded* by, and make visible, a participant's involvement in multiple activities, and in this way, they are specific to multiactivity contexts.

The final issue I would like to raise is the challenge of analysing complex multimodal phenomena in interaction, especially in doing analyses to produce systematised findings of such phenomena through collections (see, e.g., Mondada, 2016b, 2018; Deppermann, 2013) rather than single case analyses. Mondada (2018) recognizes this as problem yet to be solved in studies focusing both on a restricted number of multimodal details in a given organizational phenomenon (a linguistic form, a nod, a type of gesture, gaze or face) as well as those dealing with “a richer and holistically intertwined array of details” that constitute methodical practice (Mondada, 2018, p. 87). The research process for this study was an attempt at tackling this issue. In this study, the focus phenomenon is a combination of three independent, multimodal elements: body torque, suspension of manual activity, and repair. Forming a collection of cases where all of those three elements not only co-occur but also *intertwine* to constitute a practice proved to be especially challenging, as the phenomenon is not very frequent within individual conversations. Nevertheless, examples of the same practice occurred in a number of *different* video-recorded conversations, all of which had similar interactional settings: such where one or more of the participants were involved in a parallel manual activity and did not have direct eye contact to each other (i.e., cases where a body torque *could* occur). From those episodes, I singled out all occurrences of other-initiated repair, which together form the collection for this study. Thus, rather than making claims on something being a pattern based solely on the number of individual occurrences, in analysing more complex multimodal phenomena, a stronger basis for such a claim might be the number of different individual conversations in which the phenomenon occurs. The challenges, as well as the possibilities, lie, firstly, in *identifying* the types of settings that provide the affordances for a specific multimodal practice and, secondly, in *finding* these settings from a wide array of different datasets. This requires much work and access to several data sets, but once implemented, this type of process seems promising for working towards creating collection-based analyses of complex multimodal phenomena.

## **Appendix: Adaptation of multimodal conventions developed by Lorenza Mondada (2014a)**

(For original conventions and a detailed description, see [https://mainly.sciencesconf.org/conference/mainly/pages/Mondada2013\\_conv\\_multimodality\\_copie.pdf](https://mainly.sciencesconf.org/conference/mainly/pages/Mondada2013_conv_multimodality_copie.pdf))

**A A** Gestures and descriptions of embodied actions are delimited

**B B** between two superscript initials of the participant in question

**C C** and are synchronised with corresponding stretches of talk.

**A--->** The action described continues across subsequent lines

**--->A** until the same symbol is reached.

**>>** The action described begins before the excerpt's beginning.

**--->>** The action described continues after the excerpt's end.

**.....** Action's preparation.

**-----** Action's apex is reached and maintained.

**,,,,,** Action's retraction.

**jon** Participant doing the action is identified.

**fig** The exact moment at which a screen shot has been taken

**\*** is indicated with the asterisk showing its position within a turn at talk.

## References

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