The facilitator's task of formulating citizens' proposals in political meetings: Orchestrating multiple embodied orientations to recipients

Lorenza Mondada

Abstract

Institutional settings in which larger groups of people interact constitute a perspicuous setting for the study of how a diversity of voices, opinions, and positions are expressed and addressed among the participants. The paper studies how multiple recipiency is bodily and practically organized by the participants in a situated manner, with a particular focus on chairmen, facilitators, animators in charge of the management of the encounter. More specifically, the paper studies the linguistic and embodied organization of local orientations to multiple participants and parties, to the difference between recipients and addressees, and to the lamination of different voices in single embodied turns at talk. Within a conversation analytic perspective, the paper offers a detailed analysis of the actions of a facilitator mediating grass-root political meetings among citizens. In this context, after a proposal has been uttered by a citizen, the facilitator formulates it again for the all of the participants, both orienting towards different co-present participants and different voices and towards a collectivization of the proposal. Through the analysis of the emergent progressivity of the facilitator's reformulations and the way they are multimodally designed for multiple recipients, I offer empirical evidence for a reflection about relationships between recipiency, participation and multiparty interactions.

Keywords: Conversation analysis, interaction in larger groups, institutional talk, embodied participation framework, mediated turn-taking system, multimodality, formulation, recipient-design.

German Abstract

Institutionelle Kontexte, in denen große Gruppen von Menschen miteinander interagieren, bilden für die Erforschung der Art und Weise, wie eine Vielfalt von Stimmen, Meinungen und Positionen zum Ausdruck gebracht und unter den Teilnehmern ausgetauscht wird, einen reichhaltigen und methodisch gut zugänglichen Analysekontext. Die vorliegende Untersuchung untersucht, mit welchen Praktiken Versammlungsleiter, Moderatoren, Animatoren, welche für den Ablauf einer öffentlichen Veranstaltung zuständig sind, den Bezug auf unterschiedliche Adressatengruppen situationsspezifisch und unter Einsatz körperlicher Ressourcen organisieren. Im Besonderen wird die sprachliche und leibliche Organisation von lokalen Ausrichtungen auf mehrere Teilnehmer und Parteien, die Unterscheidung zwischen Empfängern und Adressaten und die Verknüpfung verschiedener Stimmen in der körperlichen Gestaltung von Redebeiträgen untersucht. Ausgehend von einer konversationsanalytischen Perspektive bietet dieser Beitrag eine detaillierte Analyse der Handlungen des Moderators, der eine politische Bürgerversammlung leitet. Es wird gezeigt, wie der Moderator Vorschläge einzelner Beteiligter für alle wiederholt und sich dabei zugleich auf die verschiedenen kopräsenten Teilnehmer und ihre Stimmen (im Bakhtinschen Sinne) bezieht und eine Kollektivierung des Vorschlags zu erwirken versucht. Durch die Analyse des Prozes-

ses der Reformulierungen des Moderators und der verschiedenen Methoden, mit denen sie multimodal für unterschiedliche Adressaten gestaltet werden, trägt diese Studie zu einer Reflektion des Zusammenhangs zwischen *recipient design* (Adressatenzuschnitt), Interaktionsbeteiligung und Mehrparteien-Interaktion bei.

Keywords: Konversationsanalyse, Interaktion in großen Gruppen, institutionelle Interaktion, leibliche Beteiligungsrahmen, moderiertes Sprecherwechselsystem, multimodale Interaktion, Reformulierungen, *recipient design*.

1. Introduction

This paper addresses issues of recipiency and participation in institutional settings within interactions in larger groups. In these interactions, a diversity of voices, opinions, and positions is often expressed and addressed. The paper studies how this is practically organized by the participants and, in particular, by chairmen, facilitators, and animators in charge of the management of the encounter. More specifically, it studies the linguistic and embodied organization of local orientations to multiple participants and parties, to the difference between recipients and addressees, and to the lamination of different voices in single turns at talk. The paper deals with these issues from a conversation analytic perspective, through the study of a "perspicuous setting" and a specific practice in this setting – describing the actions of a facilitator mediating political meetings among citizens. In this context, after a proposal has been uttered by a citizen, the facilitator formulates it again for the all of the participants, orienting towards different co-present participants and different voices. Through the analysis of the emergent progresssivity of the facilitator's reformulations and the way they are multimodally designed for multiple recipients, I offer empirical evidence for a reflection on recipiency, participation, and multi-party interactions.

This reflection elaborates on and contributes to ongoing work on recipient design, participation, and polyphony in social interaction – as well as on formula-

tions and reported speech. In dealing with institutional interactions within larger groups, the analysis explores how multiple recipients are addressed and managed moment by moment in embodied turns at talk. It shows how participation in these larger groups is not restricted to two parties (around two parties constituted by a "performer" and an "audience" for example) but is much more complex, segmenting, differentiating, and structuring participation in a subtler and also in a more dynamic fashion. The paper tackles issues such as how this complex participation is tailored moment by moment in interaction; through which multimodal resources this organization of participation is made audible and visible, publicly accountable for all of the participants; what kind of actions are performed in such a polyphonic environment; and how they contribute to the accomplishment of the institutionnality of the context and the situated specificity of the ongoing activity.

1.1. Participation and multiple recipiency

Recipient design constitutes a principle governing social interaction that was formulated very early on in Conversation Analysis by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (see also Sacks 1992:II, 441, 438):

> By 'recipient design' we refer to a multitude of respects in which the talk by a party in a conversation is constructed or designed in ways which display an orientation and sensitivity to the particular other(s) who are co-participants. In our work, we have found recipient design to operate with regard to word selection, topic selection, admissibility and ordering of sequences, options and obligations for starting and terminating conversations, etc. (Sacks/Schegloff/Jefferson 1974:727).

This principle is expressed in a very general way and constitutes a key for understanding the "context-sensitivity" of the interactional order, adjusted to the local participation framework. It has generated a long-term interest in the way in which an utterance is specifically designed for its recipient and can be moment-by-moment redesigned, depending on the changing status of the recipient or on her response. Thus, the notion of "recipient design" has impacted both reflections on how to categorize and conceive of participants in interaction and on turn design and its emergent configuration.

This discussion puts different participation statuses at the center of analytical attention. The orientation towards the recipient generates a constant online analysis by the speaker of whom the co-participants are, identifying and categorizing them under a relevant identity and position for the purposes of the current action (through the constitution of a "Partnermodell", Deppermann/ Schmitt 2009). In this analysis, the speaker can differentiate between "recipients" and "addressees" – the former being the factual recipients of the utterance and the latter being the ones targeted by it (cf. Deppermann/Blühdorn 2013:8). Moreover, recipients and addressees can be participating in the interaction, and also not be doing so – as in the case of overhearing and distant audiences.

In this paper, I am interested in the multimodal implementation of recipient design in a specific constellation, namely where several recipients are concerned. This kind of participation framework allows the analyst to investigate how parties and recipients are locally defined and delimited at a given moment, how they are

possibly differently treated, how they are identified, and how the orientations towards them are made publicly accountable.

This approach is very much inspired by Goodwin and Goodwin (2004) and Goodwin's (2007) reflections on multiple audiences and multiple recipients and is built on their critique of Goffman's participation framework. In a nutshell, Goffman (1981) provides important tools to show that different voices are laminated within a single utterance. However, his footing model is restricted to a double typology of positions that inhabit the production and the reception format and are treated in different terms and without paying much attention to their constant and dynamic interactions. Goodwin and Goodwin's work constitutes a proposal to go beyond Goffman's model; it reveals the polyphonic dimension of single turns treated not in isolation but in relation to their sequential environment and considered not as purely linguistic structures but as multimodal practices, reflexively built within the moment by a moment production integrating the embodied responses of the co-participants.

Within this framework, various studies have shown "how a single utterance invokes multiple participation frameworks (Goodwin 1981; Goffman 1981; Heath 1986) that constitute different recipients to it in alternative ways" (Goodwin/ Goodwin 1990:108). A vivid example is given in Goodwin (1979) where a speaker engages in an announcement that he has quit smoking and, in the absence of substantial responses from his addressee, expands and transforms the initial utterance in the announcement of something new into a celebration, addressed to his wife. In this case, recipiency is transformed in the emergent organization of the turn, which also does different actions for different recipients. Another example is given in Goodwin and Goodwin (1990) where an interstitial structure is used "to build a single utterance that simultaneously constructs two different types of action to two different recipients, and which receives two simultaneous responses" (Goodwin/Goodwin 1990:86). One single turn responds to two recipients, who have different participation statuses – an explicit addressee and another co-present participant who is not officially acknowledged (Goodwin/ Goodwin 1990:109). This in turn constitutes a way of structuring, differentiating, and hierarchizing various co-present persons in the setting.

This paper elaborates on this line of research by focusing on a particular practice, how a turn reformulating a previous one orients towards several participants, achieving different actions depending on who is locally addressed. The practice shows that this multiple recipiency is organized in a crucial way by multimodal resources – that is, other than language –, by the embodied multiple orientations to co-present participants (see also Schmitt/Knöbl 2014).

The issue of multiple recipiency has been specifically mentioned in studies of public talk in the media; in this case, the participation framework is characterized not only by the interaction between the speaker and his interlocutor but also by the orientation and often the reference to an overhearing audience. This generates practices addressed to more than one recipient – typically a co-present addressed person and an absent distant audience. As Heritage (1985:100) puts it, the overhearers may be primary recipients, although not being the addressees of the ongoing talk (see also Clayman/Heritage 2002).

A tangible example of this multiple orientation, radio programs in which a layperson calls to get advice from an expert, is analyzed by Hutchby (1995). The

participation framework is constituted not only by the advice seeker (the caller) and the advice giver (the expert) but also by the radio host and the overhearing audience. Hutchby speaks of a "generalizing orientation" of the expert, who addresses both the particular problems of the caller and the potential interests of a larger public (Hutchby 1995:221):

> This involves the expert using an individual caller's particular concern as the ostensible basis for the production of information designed to target a wider constituency.

This is done via a two-part format in which the experts' answers respond to the caller in their first part and expand to more, subsidiary information in their second part. The host may contribute to this, and, in some cases, a distinctive focus on the second part may operate a change in the participation framework in which "the status of the audience is shifted from that of *overhearer* to that of *co-addressee*" (Hutchby 1995:230).

Clayman (2007) discusses another set of practices in which the overhearing audience is not only tacitly considered but also more explicitly managed. He shows that a public audience can be variously treated in broadcast news: as directly addressed (this is also done by gazing directly to the camera), as explicitly evoked and represented in reported speech, or as oriented to as overhearers (in this case, the person gazed at is the co-present addressee, the interviewee) (Clayman 2007:227). Reported speech allows journalists to speak on behalf of the public – showing that what they say is neither for their own benefit nor under their unique responsibility. This possibility is exploited within various actions, for example for asking "public framed questions" and also more for aggressive questions. This produces a specific footing in which direct reported speech is used to convey the public's views and concerns. This also allows journalists to distance themselves from the substance of what is conveyed and to exhibit their professional role and achieve their "neutrality" (Clayman 1990:223-224).

As these studies show, specific footings, managing a dynamic variety of recipiencies, may be organized by hosts, mediators, journalists, and other social categories to achieve a diversity of actions. In what follows, I elaborate on and contribute to these studies by demonstrating how the use of reformulations, formulations, and reported speech by a facilitator in a public political meeting both organizes a diversity of recipients and voices and performs the professional management of the public event.

1.2. The setting: a participatory democracy meeting

This paper tackles the issues of recipiency and participation in an institutional context characterized by social interactions in a large group of participants, which I consider to be challenging for the notion of multi-party interaction and the way in which this multiplicity is relevantly oriented to, organized, and managed by the participants themselves. The context studied here concerns a series of meetings of citizens contributing to a project in urban planning. In these meetings, issues relative to "participation" are not only practically managed but are also politically addressed, since this does not only concern the organization of turn-taking but also specific distributions of occasions, rights, and obligations to contribute to the ac-

tivity, which reflexively respond to and accomplish the meeting as a "participatory" political event (see Mondada 2013).

The data on which I work have been collected by myself with my teams in Lyon and in Basel since 2008. The data provide a video documentation of a participatory political process that began at that time in a large city in France, dealing with a public park to be designed and planned on the site of an old military garrison. In 2008, the municipality invited citizens to join the discussions about the park, and a series of brainstorming meetings was organized to foster collective thinking and proposals from the grassroots. Within a few weeks, six meetings gathered groups of about 25 citizens, mediated by a facilitator. Some political representatives and town officers assisted too. Each meeting lasted less than three hours and has been videotaped with two cameras and some extra audio recorders.

In these meetings, citizens are sitting around tables scattered in the room, and the facilitator stands in front of them, moving in the front. On the wall, a white board is used to write proposals that have been discussed and agreed upon. The activity typically involves the facilitator offering citizens the opportunity to make proposals and suggestions for the future park; once selected, the citizen utters a proposal (and, in some cases, a question, a critique, a comment, etc.), and the facilitator submits it to collective discussion and agreement. If the proposal is agreed upon by the group, it is inscribed on the board. If it raises controversies and disagreements, it is written on a special board, called the "idea box" (cf. Mondada 2011, 2012). In this paper, I focus on a particular moment of this procedure at the beginning of these recursive episodes; the facilitator often formulates the proposal just uttered by a citizen, submitting it to the entire room for discussion and agreement. My analysis describes the methodical practices of the facilitator in this context.

1.3. The practice: formulating a citizen's prior talk for the audience

The practice studied is related to the turn-taking system that is adopted in these meetings, which is mediated by the facilitator (Mondada 2013); the citizens generally address him and not the other citizens. Consequently, the practice in focus here consists of the facilitator formulating again and redirecting a citizen's contribution to the entire assembly. This practice raises interesting issues of multiple recipiency since the facilitator does not just orient to the entire room but also orients to the original speaker and, in some cases, to additional specific co-participants.

The practice presents a number of similarities with what has been described as a *formulation*, first by Garfinkel and Sacks (1970) and then by Heritage and Watson (1979). Garfinkel and Sacks notice that participants to a conversation on some occasions might be "saying-in-so-many-words-what-we-are-doing" (1970:351):

> A member may treat some part of the conversation as an occasion to describe that conversation, to explain it, or characterize it, or explicate, or translate, or summarize, or furnish the gist of it, or take note of its accordance with rules, or remark on its departure from rules (1970:350).

This phenomenon has been analyzed by Heritage and Watson (1979), concerning a subclass of formulations, the delivery of reports, stories, announcements, and

news (1979:124). These formulations "exhibit participants' understanding" of what has been said, "by producing a transformation or paraphrase of some prior utterance" (1979:129). Heritage and Watson show that formulations are an efficient method for recycling previous topical elements and renewing their relevance in order (1979:152)

> to achieve some other conversational ends, such as providing constructional materials for the establishment of implicativeness, underlining or marking significances, terminating topics, and incorporating other conversational activities (e.g. 'making arrangements') in reassembling the sense of conversational materials.

Within this perspective, formulations of gist or of upshot constitute a first pair part projecting a preferred positive second and confirming the first – the disconfirmation being a dispreferred option. An important point for the way in which the facilitator in the data analyzed here uses formulations concerns the fact that they offer a candidate understanding, constituting a "public display of agreed intersubjectivity" (Antaki et al. 2007:168), and exhibit the understandable, coherent, and decidable character of what has been said (Heritage/Watson 1979:156).

Following this seminal analysis, various conversation analytic studies have shown the efficiency of formulations in various settings; for example, Antaki et al. (2005) have shown how formulations in psychotherapy allow the therapist to propose a professional version of what is said in lay terms by the client (about this setting see also Antaki et al. 2007; Deppermann 2011; Drew 2003). Barnes (2007) demonstrated that formulations in meetings can achieve fixing of the outcome of a discussion and sequence closing while Heritage (1985) shows that formulations in news interviews are used as prompts, recycles, and probes. Addressing the issue of the contextual specificity of formulations, Drew (2003) shows that they can do very different jobs in different institutional settings; they contribute to the achievement of core activities specific to these settings – like building a compromise to settle a controversy in a negotiation in an industrial discussion. Not only is it so that "formulations are associated with activity sequences which are especially characteristic of certain forms of talk-in-interaction" (2003:306), but also their specific form seems to be related to the specificities of this context – for example, in therapy sessions, "you mean" will be favored by the patient trying to understand what the therapist is saying, whereas "(what) you are saying is" will be used in industrial negotiations. Thus, as we also shall see in the analyses that follow, the use of formulations is context specific – they are in the service of activities and tasks specific to particular contexts – as here, mediating citizens' discussions in participatory political meetings. This shows that there is indeed an "institutionalized distribution of rights to formulate" (Heritage/Watson 1979:150).

Formulations in Conversation Analysis contribute to a field that has been widely discussed in linguistics under various labels such as *reformulation*, *paraphrasis*, and *rephrasing*. Within classical linguistics, reformulations have been discussed from a semantic point of view by comparing two co-referential versions and their (dis)similarities; they also have been studied form the perspective of the formal markers that introduce them (see Gülich/Kotschi 1983 for a helpful discussion) – but interaction has often not been taken into account at all. An exception is the work of Gülich and Kotschi (1987, 1990) who provide for an interactional perspective, although mostly focused on emergent and progressive turn production, characterized by multiple adjustments, rather than on the way in

which what has been said by one person is formulated again by another participant.

In the data analyzed here, the facilitator himself sometimes refers to and categorizes what he does as "reformulating". This emic category prompts me to use the technical term formulation in the conversation analytic sense, along with *reformulation* as a member category – by reference to the local formulation of the practice by the participants. Through its use, the facilitator exhibits the relation between what has been said and what he is formulating and orients to the importance of the publicly accountable character of his practice. Although he may present himself as a "sounding box" echoing citizens' views or a "spokes person" representing their opinion, he also acts as a gatekeeper – namely in checking, selecting, filtering, and transforming the terms of the proposal, which will serve as the basis for future discussion and in the establishment of a collective opinion and consensus.

1.4. The analysis

The empirical analysis is organized as follows. First, I present the simplest sequential format in which the practice is observable, where the facilitator formulates the proposal of a citizen in the next turn immediately after it, orienting both to the "author" and the global assembly (§ 2.). Second, I study how he formulates a proposal after some intercalary turns or sequences, referring to it as an "idea" (§ 3.) and still attributing it to its author. Third, I show how the formulation can transform the original proposal, partially or totally rejected by the facilitator, by assembling different voices and by orienting to different participants in the room (§ 4.). Finally, I show how antagonistic positions in a previous debate are summarized within the same turn, orienting to opposed citizens and to the remaining co-participants (§ 5.). These different environments display common but also specific features of the practice of (re)formulating, revealing not only how the facilitator performs his tasks as a "spokesperson" but also as a "gatekeeper". In the final discussion, I systematize the findings, and I elaborate on some conceptual consequences for the *emic* definition of participants, recipients, and addressees.

2. Immediate reformulations after the citizen's proposals

In this section, I focus on the simplest sequential environment in which a citizen's turn is formulated by the facilitator in the next turn. Within the brainstorming discussions in which the citizens are invited to make proposals, suggestions, and critiques for the urban project, a recurrent pattern is observable, organized as the following:

1. the facilitator initiates a new sequence and selects a citizen;
2. the citizen makes a proposal;
3. the facilitator formulates the proposal again in the next turn.

We can notice that the citizen's proposal is not followed by its discussion or by the expression of agreement or disagreement; instead, it is formulated again by the facilitator. Only after the reformulation do other citizens respond to it.

In the following analyses, I am interested in the way in which the facilitator reformulates the proposal and the way in which he addresses multiple recipients, thus accomplishing different actions. My focus is on the multimodal formatting of the facilitator's action and on how he addresses several recipients – by using various resources: linguistic resources, such as pronouns, but also embodied resources, often in a body-torqued fashion. I do not restrict the extracts to only his turn but reproduce instead the entire sequence.

This section outlines the basic sequential format. However, it also presents some variations. First, I describe facilitator's reformulations in the next turn that are prefaced by the connective "donc" ("so"), which might be very close to but also more transformative of the previous proposal (§ 2.1); second, I discuss extended reformulations that are explicitly categorized as such (i.e. prefaced by "je reformule") and that also explicitly categorize the action targeted (as *doing a proposal*) (§ 2.2).

2.1. "donc" + reformulation of the proposal

The first extract I analyze represents the pattern in its simplest format. The facilitator (PREvost) selects a group of participants (1). One representative of the group (TURenne, who is visible at the extreme left of Figure 1, where the arrows point at) utters a proposal (2), which is then formulated again by Prévost (4-9). The transcription reproduces not only the talk (in bold, with an English translation in italics) but also the body postures of the facilitator (his gestures, prG; his head movements, prH, his walking and movements in space, prW) as well as the embodied conducts of the speaker and other participants, when relevant.

(1) voies d'accès vertes (1811 38.33)

```
1  PRE:    est-ce‡ qu'y avait d'autre# cho:‡se, ‡dans vos propositions?#
           what else did you have, among your proposals?
   prG        ‡points twd TUR's group---‡
   prH    >>looks twd TUR's group------------>
   prW                                        ‡walks back------>
   fig                        #fig.1                      fig.2#
```


1   2   3

```
2   TUR:    %les voies d'accès au‡ #parc, qu'elles soient vertes et qu'il
            the access paths to the park, they have to be green and there
    tur     %looks at PRE----------->
    prW                 --->‡stops------->
    fig                     #fig.3
3           ait qu'il ait une amélioration %des:% pistes cyclables.%
            has there has to be an improvement of the cycle lanes.
    tur                                 -->%l. AUD%looks at PRE----%
4   PRE:    d'act‡cord. †voies d'accès ver#tes et pistes cycla:bles,
            okay. green access paths and cycle lines,
    prH      ->†,,.....†looks at the audience -------->
    prW       ->‡walks twd audience-------------------->
    fig                                 #fig.4
```


4

```
5           (0.3)
6   PRE     donc† (.) †ça, #‡ (.) ça ‡nous met# on est un peu
            so (.) that, (.) that goes already a bit
    prH         †,,,,,,†looks at TUR------------------>
    prW                 ->‡stops---‡pivots twd TUR--->
    fig                 #fig.5              #fig.6
```


5

6

```
7           déjà dans le dé†tail mais‡ .h (.) c'est du dépla#cement
            into details but .h (.) that's alternative
    prH             -->†looks at AUD---->
    prW                     ->‡turns to AUD and faces it-->
    fig                                     #fig.7
```


7

8

```
8           doux, amé†nagé,# (.)‡ %c'est ça?%
            transportation, equipped, (.) that's it?
   prH           -->†looks at TUR's table-->
   prW                    ->‡walks tow TUR---->
   tur                      %nods-----%
   fig                 #fig.8
9  TUR      oui tout à ‡fait
            yes absolutely
   prW          --->‡
```

After having selected the group, also pointing in their direction (1, Figure 1), Prévost walks back (Figure 2) and adopts a listening posture (Figure 3), standing at a distance and looking at Turenne, who speaks on behalf of the persons around her table.

On her side, Turenne addresses the proposal (2-3) to Prévost; her voice is relatively low and she looks at him – only having a quick glance at the room while she stretches the article of *des: pistes cyclables* ("of the: cycles lanes" 3).

What Prévost does next, is to re-voice the proposal for the audience. He does this visibly by walking towards the middle of the room and then looking at the participants and gesticulating towards them (4, Figure 4). By changing his bodily posture from listening to Turenne to talking to the entire group, Prévost re-voices the proposal for everybody.

The facilitator's turn is not homogeneously turned towards the room as the recipient. The first formulation of the proposal (4) is entirely addressed to the room. Prévost prefaces it with *d'accord* ("okay") and recycles part of the lexical material composing Turenne's turn. Here, Prévost does not only act as a spokesperson but also as a pure animator, a "sounding box", echoing with a louder voice the keywords of the proposal.

A second formulation is launched next. It is prefaced by *donc* ("so" 6) and by the insertion of a comment, which lets surface a critical assessment of the proposal (it comes too early and goes too much into details 6-7): Prévost begins his comment by looking at Turenne, although maintaining the lower part of the body oriented toward the audience in a body-torqued position (Figure 5); then, he continues it by stopping his walk towards the audience and by turning his entire body towards Turenne (Figure 6). Interestingly, as soon as the parenthesis is closed and Prévost goes on with a new formulation of Turenne's gist (after *mais* 7), he begins to look at the audience again and quickly turns back to them (Figure 7), fully re-oriented towards the room as he offers the reformulation (*c'est du déplacement doux, aménagé,* 7-8). Again, he first looks then turns the upper part of his body towards Turenne when he adds a final confirmation check (*c'est ça?* 8, Figure 8) and while Turenne confirms it both verbally (9) and with a nod (8). While the first formulation is rather a synthetic recycling of previous materials, the second is prefaced by the connective *donc* and offers a candidate understanding, with a transformation, of the gist of Turenne's proposal. The formulation is completed by a request for confirmation (*c'est ça?* 8) to which she responds positively (9).

"Donc" is the typical connective used to preface these formulations in French – corresponding in this respect to "also" in German (Deppermann 2011:161) and "so" in English (Raymond 2004) ("so" is a systematic resource used in the formulations studied by Barnes 2007 and Deppermann 2011; in Antaki et al. 2005, it alternates with reported speech).

In this excerpt, we observe how the reformulation of the proposal orients to several recipients and does several actions at the same time. The initial proposal is addressed by the citizen to the facilitator – and not to the other co-citizens. The facilitator re-directs it to the entire room. In doing so, he displays a double orientation, achieving a double set of actions:

- The facilitator orients to the initial speaker as the *author* of the proposal and recognizes her as such; she is addressed for assessments and comments, as well as for a request of confirmation – which she grants.

- The facilitator also re-directs the proposal to the entire co-present group, communicating to them what the author has proposed, thus publicizing it. By doing this, he publicly submits the proposal, as a spokesperson, and opens the next phase, as a facilitator, which is the establishment of an agreement (or not) about it.

This double orientation is hearable in the turn format of the formulation, but it is also visible in the body-torqued position of the facilitator – who modifies his position in a detailed way as his turn expands and concerns different recipients.

The following excerpt shows the methodical character of the way in which this double recipiency is multimodally achieved.

Prévost is writing the previous proposal on the white board and Julliard (the second person from the left in Figure 9) uses this as an opportunity to initiate a new sequence (1), accepted and ratified by the facilitator (2). Hence, Julliard begins his proposal, collaboratively expanded by other co-participants:

(2) berges (1811 45.07)

```
1   JUL    et surˆtout pour éviter c`qu'on::[: rencon]tre
           and above all to avoid  what we [currently have with the
    pre    >>writes the previous proposal on the whiteboard----> l.12
           (« Lieu qui respecte les différences »)----->
2   PRE                                    [ouais?]
                                           [yeah?]
3   JUL    actuelle[ment avec l[a::=
4   ?              [(    )
5   LAT                        [les berg[es,
                               [the river margins
6   JUL                                [les berges [euh actuel[lement
                                       [the river margins [eh currently
7   LAT                                              [oui
                                                     [yes
8   LEM?                                                       [ah oui
                                                              [oh yes
9   ?      ah ouais [ouais
           oh yeah  [yeah
10  LAT             [c`est un calvaire.=
                    [it's the hell.=
11  JUL    =où pié#tons et vélos co[habitent euh
           =where pedestrians and bikes co[exist ehm
12  JEA?                            [sur les mêmes ‡voies ouais
                                    [on the same lane yes
    prW                                    --->‡turns to AUD-->
    fig           #fig.9
13  BIJ?   [ben oui.]
14  PRE    [doncˆ]
           [so
```

```
15          (0.3)
16 PRE      †dans les usa:g#es↑† que +vous n'voulez‡ pa:s↑† (0.4) c'est
            among the usages that you do not want      (0.4) there is
   prW                                              -->‡faces AUD-->
   prG                             +...beat gestures---->
   fig                    #fig.10
17 PRE      pas circu#la†tion type berges?=+
            no circulation like on the river margins?
   prH              -->†looks at JUL-->
   prG                              ---->+points at JUL-->
   fig             #fig.11
```



```
      9 PRE writes,      10 PRE looks at JUL   11 PRE looks at the room
and JUL self-selects
```

```
18 JEA      =voilà.
            =right.
19 PRE      [c'est# [ç[a?]+
            [is it [th[at?]
                      ---->+
   fig             #fig.12
20 JUL      [oui
             [yes
21 BLO        [sur]†tout pas.†
              [absolutely not.
   prH            -->†,,,,,,,,,†looks at AUD->>
```


12

Julliard self-selects (1), exploiting the silence occasioned by Prévost who is still writing the previous proposal on the board (Figure 9) – an action that closes the previous sequence. Prévost acknowledges his selection (2) and Julliard goes on. His turn is collaboratively produced and supported by several other participants, displaying their agreement and affiliation with his proposal (4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13).

Prévost turns back from the board (12-16), briefly looking at the audience as he begins with *donc* (14) then looking at Julliard (Figure 10) as he initiates the formulation (16) but then quickly turning to and addressing the audience as he continues (Figure 11). Interestingly, he looks at and then faces the audience when he says *que vous n'voulez pas* (16), thereby conferring to the 2nd person pronoun

"vous" the widest reference – concerning the entire room and not restricting it to Julliard and to his table.

As in the previous excerpt, the end of the formulating turn is produced with a gaze on the author (17). Prévost's reformulation ends with an interrogative intonation, projecting a confirmation, which is further explicitly requested (19 – cf. extract 1, line 8), by pointing at Julliard (Figure 12), who confirms. Other participants join the confirmation (18, 21), exhibiting their affiliation with the proposal.

In sum, in these two excerpts, the same phenomenon is observable. A participant makes a proposal, and the mediator reformulates it, addressing it to the audience and at the same time to the initial author. *Reformulating for the audience* makes the proposal public and seeks an agreement; *reformulating for the original speaker* visibilizes him or her as "author" and asks for confirmation. This double orientation is visible in the organization of the turn but more vividly in the organization of the body posture, alternating between an orientation towards the author *versus* towards the entire group, and adopting, in some cases, a body-torqued position showing the double relevance of these bodily orientations.

Bodily orientations, in their complex organization (which motivates our transcription distinguishing between body movements, gaze and head orientations, and gestures), display this multiple recipient orientation. They also make visible the participation framework of the activity; they orient to particular participants – to the author of the proposal, to sub-groups of participants (the table), and also to the entire group as a whole, a "party" (Schegloff 1995). These orientations vividly manifest, for the participants first and secondly for the analyst, the way in which participation is organized, segmented, and rearranged dynamically, depending on the moment-by-moment progression of the turn at talk and the multiple actions it performs.

In some cases – as in the first two fragments I have previously analyzed – the facilitator reformulates the proposal in terms quite close to the initial turn, although introducing some extensions and inferences. In some other cases, the same sequential and multimodal format is used for a formulation that quite radically transforms what has been said. Here is an instance of the latter case.

(3) axe traversant (part I)

```
1  PRE        [alors expliquez nous (.) ils nous expliquent rapidement,
               [so explain us (.) they explain us quickly,
2  LAT        nous en fait on on pense que: (.) pour aller par exemple de
               we actually we we think that: (.) to go for example from
3             l'entrée euh: qui est rue du repos, (0.6) euh: vu m- ce qui
               the entrance ehm that is Repos street, (0.6) ehm given m- what
4             nommé entrée principale jusqu'à l'entrée nord, (0.5) on
               labeled main entrance until the north entrance, (0.5) we
5             pourrait avoir euh: un axe euh: dan- sur la place d'armes
               could have ehm an axis ehm in on the military square
6             %(0.4) qui qui #per#%me#ttrait euh:% de
               (0.4) that that would allow ehm to
   lat        %...................%LH back and fwd%
   fig                 fig.13#   #fig.14#fig.15
```

13   **14**   **15**

```
7            d'a- [(.) [d'aller jusqu'à la manufacture de tabac euh:]
             to g- [(.) [to go until the tobacco manufacture ehm]
8    ?           [mais bien [sûr
                 [but of [course
9    PRE          [donc +v'voulez↑ qu'on puisse +re#lier deux#+]
                  [so you want to be able to make a link between two
     prG                +......................+draws 2 arches w 2H+
     fig                                         #fig.16   #fig.17
```


16   **17**
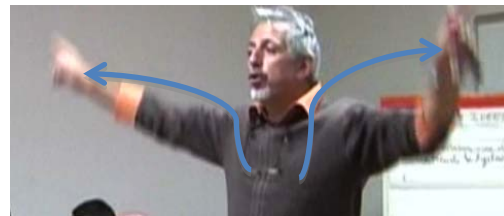
```
10           quartiers entre eux +en fait.+ c'est ça?
             districts actually. is it that?
     prG                         +gest back+
11   LAT     interqu+artier quoi.
             interdistrict right.
     prG            +same gesture w 2H--->>
```

This excerpt is located within a debate about whether the park should be open or closed at night. Latuillier has argued in favor of the former solution. The facilitator asks him to make his position explicit (1), and, in response, Latuillier develops the exemplification of possible movements through the park (2-7). In line 6, he engages in a word search concerning the verb projected by *qui permettrait*. This word search is achieved in two ways: on the one hand, it is self-completed by Latuillier himself, who produces first an iconic gesture with his hand forwards and backwards (Figures 13, 14, 15) and then the verbal solution (*d'aller jusqu'à la manufacture*, 7); on the other hand, it is other-completed by the facilitator. In overlap, Prévost engages in the formulation of this emergent verbal proposal. Beginning with *donc*, he recycles *permettre* in the form of "pouvoir", as well as the notion of spatial movement with *qu'on puisse relier deux quartiers* (9-10), but he also gesturally contributes to it, drawing with both of his arms two wide arcs (Figures 16, 17). He ends with a request for confirmation as in the previous cases (*c'est ça?* 10). Latuillier aligns with this description, which he synthetizes in his confirmation with the term *interquartier* (11), while the facilitator does again his gesture.

This case shows that formulating a proposal can rely on quite important transformations of it. The facilitator actively contributes to it, completing and co-pro-

ducing it verbally and gesturally. This substantial intervention of the facilitator is manifested in his early overlapping self-selection. In the short format of his turn, he both orients to Latuillier as having spoken for too long as well as prefaces with *vous voulez*, which points at the content rather than at its expression (contrary to "vous dites" for example). Nonetheless, the facilitator orients to Latuillier as its author and treats the reformulation as what he intended (the intention is expressed by the verb "to want" 9), asking his confirmation (*c'est ça?* 10) as in the previous cases.

The formulations analyzed in these first three excerpts show the extent to which the formulator elaborates on, expands, develops inferences based on, and transforms the target turn – which is a specific feature of formulations (Heritage/Watson 1979) –, showing the work done by the facilitator, who might stick to the initial terms (being a spokesperson) but also change and even correct them (being a gatekeeper). In all of the cases, however, he holds a double orientation towards the author of the proposal and toward the other co-participants.

2.2. "madame propose", "je reformule": extensive formulations

The facilitator's formulation is often introduced by "donc" (see Excerpts 1, 2, and 3) while gazing at the author and is completed by a request for confirmation ("c'est ça?"), uttered again with a bodily orientation towards the author. Other resources might be used in the formulation, as in the next instances, where it is explicitly introduced by a *verbum dicendi* and by a formulation of the action both of the author ("you propose") and the reformulator ("I reformulate"). In this way, the author is explicitly recognized through his or her mention as well as in the use of reported speech. The analysis of the next two excerpts shows how this is methodically achieved by the moderator.

In the next excerpt, a citizen (LEMoret, who is sitting along the wall on the right of the door in Figure 18) proposes to organize an annual event in the park.

(4) fête (1811 1.22.04)

```
1  PRE     oui? # (.) pardon [ma%dame.%
           yes? (.) pardon [m'am.
2  LEM                     [moi j'me demandais↑ [si pour ren‡forcer
                           [me I was wondering whether to make stronger
   lem     >>raising hand------%,,,,,%
   prW     >>approaches to LEM's table--------------------‡
   fig        #fig.18
```


18
PRE looking at LEM, who raises her hand

```
 3 AUD                                              [((hubbub))
 4 LEM       euh [l'i- l'identi-
            ehm [the i- the identi-
 5 PRE           [on vous entend pas su[rtout
                [we don't hear you ab[ove all
 6 LEM                                  [l'identité du: eh du parc,
                                        [the identity of: eh of the park
 7 PRE       ou[i, [s'il vous plait, >on s'écoute merci<
            ye[s, [please >we listen to each other thanks<
 8 LEM         [eh [ima- ima-
              [eh [ima- ima-
 9 LEM       imagi:ne:r euh qu'il y ait euh une: une fête eh, (0.7) euh
            imagine ehm that we could have eh a a celebration eh (0.7) eh
10           bon:: tous les:: tous [les an:s,] ou tous les deux an:s,
            well:: every:: every [yea:r,] or every two year:s
11 COL                             [>ponctuelle.<]
                                   [>occasional.<]
12 LEM       je n'sais pas, autour par exemple de la renaissance.
            I don't know, about for instance Renaissance.
13           (0.5)
14 LEM       y a des pennons à lyon, est-ce que: ce lieu pourrait pas
            there are pennons in Lyon, couldn't this place
15           être (.) autour du château:↑ euh:: *†une:* #
            be (.) around the castle: ehm:: a:
   prH                                         -->†turns to aud-->
   vir                                             *dismissive gesture*
   fig                                                    #fig.19
```


19 looks at AUD

```
16 GEO?     (   )
17           (0.4)
18 PRE       a+lors‡ [>voy- y a c`monsi†eur↑< qui vous entend pas† là
            so       [>see there's this sir< who does'n hear you there
19 LEM               [une valorization
                     [a promotion
   prG       +.....points fwd-->
   prW           ‡walks fwd-->
   prH                         ---->†looks at LEM-----------†fwd->
20 JEA       ((lau[ghter))
21 LEM           [une valorisation+ d`‡la:: de::=
                 [a promotion of the: the:
   prG                       --->+
   prW                       --->‡
22 PRE       =madame# propo:†se↑ j`vais #essayer d`reformul[er,†
            madam    proposes   I will try to reformul[ate
                            †turns head to LEM----------------†
   fig       #fig.20                  #fig.21
```

20 looks at AUD

21 looks at LEM

```
23 LEM                                                      [oui
                                                           [yes
24 PRE     †vous m`†dites. euh (1.1) madame se dit↑ pourquoi pas comme
           you tell me. ehm (1.1) madam tells to herself  why not as an
   prH     †,,,,,...†turns to AUD------------------>
25         marqueur identitaire du lieu:↑ (.) il y ait UN †événement
           identity marker of the place (.) there would be an event
   prH                                           -->†turns to LEM->
26         <hein [j'ai bien en†tendu?>
           <right I heard well?>
27 LEM            [voilà un événe†ment
                  [right an event
   prH                  -->†to AUD---->
28 PRE     un événement annuel↑
           an annual event
29 LEM     ou bi[annuel
           Or biannual
30 PRE          [qui manifeste euh:†: (.) e†uh le %lieu.%
                [that manifests ehm:: (.) ehm the place.
   prH                  --->†to LEM†
   lem                                       %slight nod%
```

The facilitator selects Lemoret as next speaker (1), and she begins to talk, proposing to organize a festive event in the park (2). He adopts a listening posture (Figure 18) similar to the one of Excerpt 1, Figure 3, looking at her from a distance.

Her turn progresses with some incursions of the facilitator treating some parallel conversations in the room (3), pointing to possible hearing problems people may be encountering in the audience (5) and asking others to listen (7).

When Lemoret's turn is possibly complete (12) in the following pause, the facilitator does not move, and she goes on (14-15) with an example of historical events in the park (the "pennons" were members of a militia for the defense of the city and its order). The progression of her turn encounters some difficulties, visi-

ble in the hitches and word searches (15). At that point, the facilitator begins to look at the audience (Figure 19). He is able to spot that one member, Virard, turns to his friend and, in response to Lemoret's proposal, makes a dismissive gesture (15). Prévost treats this action not by addressing it directly but, in overlap with the word found by Lemoret (18), by referring again to problem of hearing (18), pointing forward and walking forward towards Virard and the audience (18). After a short gaze back to Lemoret, he continues to look to the room.

He holds this posture as Lemoret does not complete her turn (21). Without looking back at her, the facilitator begins the "reformulation" of her turn (22, Figure 20) with a louder voice. In this context, Prévost formulates both what she is doing (*madame propo:se* 22) and what he is doing (*j'vais essayer d'reformuler* 22). He uses the previously pointed at difficulties of hearing as an accountable ground to proceed with the reformulation of the proposal.

The facilitator's turn beginning is oriented both towards the audience and towards the author (Figures 20 and 21). He begins by looking at the audience while referring to Lemoret (*madame*) and her action in the 3d person (22, Figure 20) then turns towards her and formulates the action he is about to do (22, Figure 21) – to which Lemoret responds positively (22). Then, the facilitator progresses using reported speech, first with *vous m'dites* (24) while he is turning away from her – an expression using the 1st and the 2nd pronoun – and a *verbum dicendi*, foregrounding the dual relation between him and her, and second with *madame se dit* (24) while he looks to the audience, using not only the 3rd person but also changing the recipient of the reported speech (to herself – presenting her saying as a personal thought rather than a public proposal). The proposal is reported while looking at the audience, with the exception of a request for confirmation (26) uttered while looking at Lemoret and granted by her. This request for confirmation is also treated as a possible invitation to correct by Lemoret, actually correcting his version (230) without him acknowledging this. He only turns briefly back to her as he hesitates and searches for a word (30), promptly turning away as he completes the turn – displaying again an orientation towards the "source" when he encounters a problem in progressing.

In this case, the formulation is announced by means of reported speech and explicitly categorized as a "reformulation". It is produced by mainly orienting to the audience while turning back to the author at some specific sequential positions where a request for confirmation or a word search is initiated. Thus, this context offers an example of a specific use of reported speech. Contrary to most environments in which reported speech has been studied where the "source" is generally not accessible (see the studies collected in Holt/Clift 2007), here, talk just being produced is immediately reported in the presence of the original speaker. This means that the formulating and reporting work done by the facilitator can be publicly scrutinized by the author and by the assembly; the original speaker becomes a witness of her own talk, able to monitor, correct, and confirm the report (cf. Goodwin 2007:23). This has specific political implications related to the local construction of a public common understanding of the issues discussed and to the public visibility of the facilitator's practice, revealing its professionality and "neutrality" (Clayman 1992). Thus, the accountability of formulations and reported speech becomes politically relevant.

In the next extract, a similar phenomenon is observable within a longer exchange. This is an extended excerpt that allows me to show in detail the environments in which the facilitator turns back to the author of the proposal while engaged in formulating the proposal.

In order to provide the entire sequence, I reproduce here the proposal made by LUCre from his selection by the facilitator on (Excerpt 5a). I then focus on Prévost's formulation (Excerpt 5b). The proposal suggests to exploit different areas in the park (the fort, the esplanade, and the area in front of the entrance) in order to organize different types of closures of the public space.

(5a) trois degrés (0212)

```
01 PRE     quelles ↑propositions: à nou:s fai:↑re
           which    proposals     to do for us
02         (0.6)
03 PRE     allez
           go
04         (0.7)
05 PRE     continuez là, co[mme ça euh:
           go on over there, like that ehm:
06 LUC                     [on on a un débat hein, on a: on arrive (.) pas (.)
                           [we have a debate right, we a- we cannot achieve
07         (pas facile) d'a[ccord mais
           (not easy) agreement    but
08 PRE                     [par[tez, [parlez plus fo[rt
                           [go        speak louder
09 ?                           [((small laughter))
10 ?                                              [parlez plus fort
                                                 [speak louder
11 LUC     *on a trois entités, le fo:rt, l'esplanade, et:: l'espace qui est
           we have 3 entities the fort the esplanade and the space which is
   luc     *looks at PRE--->
12         devan:t, vers le sud, et le sud-est, (0.7) donc on peut imaginer
           in front towards south and south-east (0.7) so we can imagine
13         des niveaux d'ouverture et d'fermeture différents,
           different levels of opening and closing
14         (0.3)
15 ?       hum
16 PRE     ah↑ oui↓
           oh yes
17         (0.2)
18 LUC     le fo:rt↑ peut très bien vivre, (0.2) d'façon assez close le soi:r,
           the fort can very well live (0.2) in a rather closed way at night
19         y a pas d'soucis, euh:: (0.2) c'est un espace f- (.) fermé, (0.5)
           there're no problems eh:: (0.2) it's a space c- (.) closed  (0.5)
20         l'esplanade↑ a sa propre vie avec des anima%tions qui
           the esplanade has its own life with some events which
   did                                               %turns to PRE->
21         est% liée aux bâtiments autour,+% (0.4)+
           is connected to the buildings around (0.4)
   did      ->%raises hand----------------%
   prG                             +gest twd DID+
22 LUC     et tout ce qui est devant, (0.8) quand on va de la rue victorien
           and all that is in front (0.8) when you go from victorien
23         sardou (0.5) à la rue de l'épargne=
           sardou street (0.5) to the savings' street=
24 PRE     =ça va? c'est clair [pour tout le monde?
           =is that ok? It that clear [for everybody?
25 LUC                         [à la rue du repos,
                               [to the rest's street
26         (0.8)
```

```
27 LUC     et: on a là un espace, qui peut être en contact direct avec euh::
          and we have there a space which can be directly in contact
          with eh::
28        l'espace public, si y a un éclairage le soir, ça peut très bien
          the public space, if there's some lighting at night, that can
          fairly well
29        être un espace public normal, banalisé=
          be a public space normal and unmarked=
```

We can notice that, as with Lemoret above, the beginning of Lucre's turn is characterized by some difficulties in being heard (8, 10). But from line 11 on, his turn continues in a clear way. His proposal is first synthetized (to "imagine different levels of opening and closing", 12-13). Then, it is expanded after a change-of-state of the facilitator (16) and in the absence of any other action initiated by him. A possible repair is initiated by the facilitator (who actually invites the audience to do a possible repair – without obtaining any response) when Lucre mentions various street names (24), but the latter continues until completion (29).

Lucre's expansion details three zones, the fort (18-19), the esplanade (20-21), and the space in front of the park (22-29), and their consequences for building more or less closed areas.

At completion, the facilitator offers his own version of what has been said. During his long formulation, he both addresses the audience and closely monitors Lucre, checking his confirmations and attributing to him the ideas he summarizes.

(5b) trois degrés (0212) (continuation of 5a)

```
30 PRE    †=d'accord +donc pro+positi[on,‡                †
          =okay       so   proposal
31 ?                                 [j'entends rien du [†tout
                                     [I don't hear anything [at all
32 PRE                                                   [†on entend pas
                                                         [we cannot hear
   prG              +........+RH points at LUC--------->
   prW                                 ‡walks forward->
   prH    †looks at AUD----------------------------†looks LUC->
33        c'est:↓ propo[sition de c'#monsieur↑ en s'†+di‡sant,+
          it's    proposal from this sir        saying
   prH                               --->†looks AUD->
   prG                               --->+,,,,,,,,+
   prW                                 --->‡
   fig                   #fig.22
```

```
34 ?                    [j'peux pas prendre de notes
                         [I cannot take notes
35 PRE      +(0.2) i peut y# av‡oir euh (0.2) euh des↑ (p-) (.) des‡
             (0.2) there can be   ehm (0.2) ehm some (p-) (.) some
   prG      +gesticulates with 2 symetric hands--->
   prW                        ‡walks back------------------------‡
   fig             #fig.23
```



```
                                      23
```

```
36          de†grés, (.)+ >si vous
            degrees (.)   if you
   prH      ->†looks at LUC----->
   prG             ->+gesture is frozen-->
37          [m'dites si j'dis des< bê†[ti+ses?
            [tell me if I say some mi[stakes
38 LUC      [%trois%                  [>trois degr[és<
            [three                     [three different degrees
   luc       %nods%
39 PRE                                        [d'ou‡verture et de
                                              [of opening and of
   prH                        ->†looks at AUD-------->
   prG                          -->+gesticulation continues----->
   prW                                    ‡walks fwd----->
40          fermeture différe‡nts,† (0.2) il dit †ben le la question du châ:†teau,
            closing          (0.2) he says well the the issue of the castle
   prH                       -->†looks at LUC--†looks at AUD on the R side†L side->
   prW                       -->‡
41          (.) et son ↑environn†ement ↑peut-être du [%bâti etcétéra, %
            (.) and its environment    maybe of the buildins etc.
42 LUC                                               [%fort↑          %
                                                     [fort
   luc                                                %palm open supine%
   prH                        --->†looks at LUC-->
43 PRE      le fort↑% (0.4)% euh† peut être lui↑ effectivement fermé
            the fort (0.4) ehm  may be   it   actually be closed
   prH                       ->†looks at AUD---->
   luc           %nods%
44          à certains horaires,+
            at some moments
   prG                     --->+,,,,,
45 ?        (non)
            (no)
46          (0.3)
47 PRE      +euh† je sens une idée qui est au+tour de+ l'esplana:de↑ (.)
            ehm   I feel an idea that concerns  the esplanade
   prG      +points RH at LUC---------------+,,,,,,,+gesticulates-->
   prH        ->†looks at LUC->
48          plutôt ouverte↑+ >on l'a déjà *dit+ tout à l'heure< sur la
            rather open we just talked about that a minute ago about the
   prG               -->+LH points to LUC--+cont gesticulation->
```

```
49          notion †d'espace public, (.)†
            notion of public space, (.)
   prH         ->†looks at AUD---------†looks at lUC->
   luc                                  *nods
50 PRE      donc en fait qui soit aussi amé†nagée† de telle manière↑
            so  actually which has to be arranged in such a way
   prH                              --->†looks OFF†looks LUC-->
51          à ce qu'elle† soit↑ (.) elle-même (.) [ou†verte vingt-quatre
            that it could be  (.) itself   (.9 [opened 24
   prH            ->†looks at AUD---------------†looks at LUC->
52 LUC                                               [(  )
                                                     [(  )
53 PRE      heures †sur vingt† quatre ↑c'est
            hours on 24           it's
   prH         ->†looks & chin†looks at LUC--->
54          ça [qu' vous di[+tes?† et puis éventuellement↑ d'autres es+paces
            what [you are saying?   and then possibly     other spaces
55 LUC         [oui        [oui
               [yes        [yes
   prG              -->+2H point to AUD-----------------------+,,,->
   prH                ---->†looks at AUD-->
56 PRE      c'e‡st-à-dire .h +ne pas avoir une espèce de conce‡ption↑+
            that's to say .h not to have    a sort of conception
   prG              --->+gesticulates-----------------------+
   prW         ‡walks back------------------------------‡
57          +†(0.3) si j'entends‡ bien?+ (.) très monolithique↑
                                           (0.4) *des choses.+
            (0.3) if I understand well? (.) too monolithic (0.4) of the matter
   prH      ->†looks at LUC------------->>
   prG      +2H point at LUC---------+2H gesticulate-------------------+
   luc                                               *nods
   fig                 #fig.24
```


24

```
58 PRE      &c'+est ça? j'ai résumé un à peu‡ [près,+
            is it that? did I resume approxima[tively
   prG       ->+RH points at LUC-------------------+points nxt speaker->
   prW                            --->‡
59 LUC                                     [tout à fait (ça)
                                           [absolutely (that)
```

This long formulation presents some interesting aspects that I will synthetize, instead of going through it step by step.

The facilitator explicitly attributes to Lucre the proposal he is re-voicing. He does this by categorizing it (as a *proposition* 30, 33) and by pointing at Lucre as the author (*de c'monsieur* 33, Figure 22). He does this also by using a *verbum dicendi*, *il dit* (40) and by looking at him and by attributing to him the idea (47) in a stronger way, pointing at him with the open hand supine – a gesture of presenta-

tion (Kendon 2004) and looking at him. These two references to Lucre as the author preface the introduction of the two first points of his proposal, concerning the *castle* (which will be repaired into a *fort* 42) and the *esplanade* (47). The reference to the author is used to structure the reformulation.

Again, as in Excerpt 4 above, the need for a reformulation is accounted for by pointing at some hearing and listening difficulties in the audience (31, 34) echoed by the facilitator (32). This makes the action he does accountable and legitimate.

The facilitator also does several checks for confirmation, orienting to Lucre at specific points and inviting him to correct the ongoing formulation. In the first instance, he explicitly asks him to tell if he makes mistakes (37); during this request, Prévost's gesticulations (Figure 23) are frozen as he looks at Lucre. Moreover, this invitation to correct comes after a slight hesitation, line 35, preceding *degrés*, which is the word searched for by Prévost and the term used by Lucre. It occasions a correction from Lucre (38) who specifies the number of degrees proposed. The first correction (*trois* 38) is done with a lower voice and some nods and is possibly not heard by Prévost; the second is done when Prévost is already gazing away – Prévost does not take it into consideration. Next, Prévost does a request for confirmation, representing a further invitation to correct, at the end of the reformulation of the second point made by Lucre (53-54 *c'est ça que vous dites*). Prévost gazes at him – and he confirms positively (55). Another instance is produced when offering a general summary (*si j'entends bien?* 57), pointing at Luc with both hands (Figure 24), and is parenthetically inserted within a hedged nominal construction (*une espèce de conception* 56 / *très monolithique* 57), the first part projecting the focal word, an adjective, which is ratified with a nod by Lucre (57). The forth and last instance occurs at the end and constitutes the closure of the "summary", formulated as such in the request for confirmation (58), granted again in a stronger way.

Lucre does two corrections of Prévost's summary. The first is invited (38) but is not integrated in Prévost's talk; the second is occasioned by Prévost's mention of the *château* (40) and by his gaze on Luc a few syllables later (41). Lucre seems to exploit the gaze as an occasion to make his correction (*fort* 42) visible, accompanied by an iconic gesture.

Even though the facilitator constantly monitors Lucre for confirmations or corrections, his formulation proceeds smoothly and integrates the inserted request sequences in a skillful way, minimizing disruptions to the progressivity of the summary and even exploiting them for the public recognition of the original speaker. In this way, he manages to keep a double orientation, towards the author and towards the audience – although favoring the progressivity of the public activity.

3. Distant reformulations of an "idea"

In the previous section, I have analyzed instances of proposals made by citizens and immediately re-voiced in the next turn by the facilitator, who thereby addresses them to the larger group and publicizes them. In this section, I focus on another sequential configuration in which the facilitator re-voices a previous proposal *after* some extra interventions:

1. the facilitator initiates a new sequence and selects a citizen;

2. the citizen makes a proposal;

3. the proposal is commented upon by various intercalary turns;

4. the facilitator formulates the proposal treated as an "idea".

Intercalary turns can either be affiliative, supporting the initial proposal (§ 3.1), or disaffiliative, uttering some criticisms against it (§ 3.2.). Contrary to the previous extracts, the formulation is not always introduced by "so", and, contrary to extracts 4-5, reported speech is not used. Instead, the initial turn is referred to as an "idea". These formulations are not extended and are rather short, synthetic, and often focused on a particular expression considered as particularly fitted for formulating the "idea". The phenomenon is rather similar to what Deppermann (2011) calls "nationalization", i.e. the transformation of a previous description into a more abstract and shorter version.

3.1. After an intercalary affiliative intervention

Some citizen's proposals are immediately followed by a series of responses from other citizens, which can affiliate with them and show, in their immediateness and agreement, their shared and agreed upon character.

We join the action in the next excerpt as the participants are discussing about having no cars and no parking in the park. Although there is a general agreement about this, it raises issues about possible exceptions; somebody has just evoked the possibility of having underground parking instead of a surface parking. Prévost opens a new sequence for discussing this suggestion (1) and selects Hugol as the next speaker (1, Figure 25). Hugol produces a detailed critique of parking, arguing that it contributes to attracting even more cars and, therefore, to more pollution and more noise. At the beginning of his intervention, he uses the expression *aspirateur à voiture* to talk about parking.

(6) aspirateur (0212)

```
1  PRE     donc possibilité? (.) de stationnement s†outerr[+ain?
           thus possibility? (.) of underground parking?
   prH                                            †...looks at HUG-->
   prG                                             +points HUG->
2  HUG                                            [non mais
                                                  [no but
3          pas faut tou- faut bien con[cevoir↑ je sais qu'c'est pas
           not we have to alw- we have to understand I know it's not
4  LAU                               [(   )
5  HUG     la politique du# grand lyon↑ mais qu'un parking c'est un
           the policy of the Grand Lyon but that a parking is a
   fig                 #fig.25
```

25

```
6            aspirateur à voitu↑res † (.) [plus on cons[truira des voit-
7  BRL                                  [(   )
             car sucker (.) [the more we will build car-
8  LIS                                             [ça aspi-↑ exactement
                                                   [it suck- exactly
   prH                          --->†
9  HUG       plus on construira des parkings sous-terrains comme on l'fait
             the more we'll build underground parkings as it has been done
10           partout à lyon actuellemen:t, (.) euh plus on attirera des
             everywhere in Lyon right now (.) ehm the more this'll attract
11           voi[tures, et plus [on dira aux gens↑+ (0.2)
             car[s, and the more [we'll say to people (0.2)
12 LIS          [voilà:↑
                [right
   prG                                    --->+
             ((20 lines omitted))
34           donc ça >voudrait dire< (0.3) ben euh: la génération d'un
             so this >means< (0.3) well ehm the generation of a
35           trafic [euh: en voiture de plus euh encore plus important,
             traffic [ehm with cars more and even more important,
36 PRE              [°c'est° intéressant ça↑ comme euh ( -) comme euh:
                    [°it's° interesting that like ehm ( -) like ehm
37 HUG       du bruit↑ alors qu'on a dit >qu'on voulait pas de< bruit↑
             noise whereas we have said >that we didn't want< noise
38           [de la pollution↑ alors qu'on essaie de créer un espace
             [pollution whereas we try to create a space
39           de verdure. (.) voilà.
             of greenery. (.) that's all.
40           (0.4)
41 PRE       d'acc[ord donc on serait dans une: une espèce de contradiction
             ok[ay so we would be in a: a sort of contradiction
42 HUG            [euh à mon avis↑ à un moment faut être
                  [ehm in my opinion at some point you have to be
43           cohé[rent↑ et puis [euh ou (        )
             coherent and moreover [euhm or (      )
44 LIS           [oui puis sans compter que (    ) (.) enfin.
                 [yes and without saying that (    ) (.) well.
45 PRE                           [hein↑ *quand on parlait d-* (.) d'accord↑
                                 [right when we were talking o- (.) okay
                                       *points to PIE------*
46           (0.7)
47 PRE       autre point de vue là-d'ssus?
             another point of view about that?
48 ?         oui
             yes
49           (0.8)
50 LIS       †oui:↑ c'est-à-dire qu*and [y a plus d'place dans l'parking↑
             yes: that is to day that when [there's no place to park
```

```
51 PRE                                         [madame↑
                                               [ma'm
   prH      †looks at LIS----->
   prG                              *points at LIS->
52 LIS     ben les voitures elles tourneront euh pour pouvoir s'garer↑
           well the car will turn around ehm to find a spot
53 PRE →   d'acc#ord.* †on# est sur* l'i#dée †de dire atten#tion↑ là
           okay. we are on the idea to say be careful there
   prG            ->*,,,,........*points at HUG----------------->
   prH                †looks at HUG-------†looks in front/at LIS------->
   fig         #fig.26  #fig.27        #fig.28            #fig.29
```


26

27

28

29

```
54            le parking↑ *c'est un aspirateur à voi*†tu[res↑#
              the parking is a car suck[er
55 LIS                                                 [absolument
                                                       [absolutely
                  -->*gesticulates------------*RH points at HUG-->
     prH                                       -->†looks at HUG--->
     fig                                               fig.30#
```


30

```
56 PRE    j'reprends votre formu†le hein†
          I repeat your formula right
     prH                  -------->†,,,,,,,†
57 HUG    mh ou*ais.*
          mh yeah.
     prG       ->*,,,,*
          (0.8)
((a new speaker is selected and a new sequence follows))
```

Hugol argues against parking by saying that it is *aspirateurs à voiture,* increasing rather than decreasing car traffic, and providing several examples in town (partially omitted in the transcript) (1-39). His detailed intervention is acknowledged by various participants and supported in particular by Listerine (8, 12), who produces substantial affiliative responses.

As Hugol comes to the closure of his long turn, Prévost acknowledges that he has raised a contradiction to the previous argument (41), pointing at the person who proposed underground parking as a possible solution (Pierrel, 45). At this point, Prévost could be seen as beginning a formulation (see the use of *donc* 41), but he does not complete his turn (45).

After Hugol and Listerine's overlapping extra comments, the facilitator does not try to formulate any more but opens the floor for further arguments (47). Listerine is selected (50-51). Her turn is prefaced by *oui:↑* and begins with *c'est-à-dire,* which is a conjunction typically introducing a reformulation. She actually restates Hugol's point (50-52).

Next, the facilitator synthetizes the position (53). His brief summary is produced by looking both at Listerine and Hugol and, at the end of the turn, by attributing the "formulation" explicitly to the latter (56). This relation to two authors is made visible by Prévost's bodily orientations. When Listerine has completed her turn, he holds his pointing towards her (on *d'accord.* 53, Figure 26), but he immediately looks at Hugol while still pointing at her (in a body torqued position, Figure 27). He then points and looks at Hugol, significantly on the word "idea", thus fully attributing it to him (Figure 28), thereafter continuing to point at Hugol although looking in front of him to the audience and to Listerine (Figure 29). When he re-voices Hugol's "formulation", Prévost gesticulates (54), but, at its end, he

immediately turns towards its author (Figure 30), pointing with a palm laterally open in a presentative gesture. His turn is completed by a request for confirmation (*hein* 56) to which Hugol responds positively.

In sum, this excerpt shows that, after an intercalary turn, the previous proposal is formulated as an "idea", explicitly and bodily attributed to its author. Moreover, two − rather than just one − speakers are addressed here, although being treated differently as author *versus* as supporter.

A similar phenomenon is observable in the next extract in which Nilsen proposes to distribute some chairs in the park so that people can sit where they want; he refers to the same practice in another park, the Jardin du Luxembourg in Paris.

(7) Luxembourg (2611)

```
1  PRE       [oké?
             [alright?
2            (0.4)
3  PRE       +vous voulez intervenir monsi+eur?
             you would like to say something sir?
   pre       +points to NIL--------------+
4  NIL       ouais dans l'idée de la mixité qui est pas for[cément
             yeah in the spirit of mixity that does'n mean necessarily
5  PRE                                                     [s'i vous plait
                                                           [please
6  NIL       des pôles dédiés comme disait le monsieur, (.) euh::
             dedicated zones as mister was saying, (.) ehm:
7            y a quelque chose qu'y a au:: (0.5) dans l'jardin du
             there is something that exists in: (0.5) in the garden of
8            luxembourg à paris
             Luxembourg in Paris
9  PRE       +ouai:s
             yeah
   pre       +turns to the board-->
10           (0.2)
11 NIL       c'est le mobilier↑ qui est:: mobi:le, (0.4) c'est-à-dire: les+
   pre                                                                 --->+
             there're the funitures that are mobile (0.4) that means that the
12           euh hum: (0.3) les chaises↑ (0.3) les chaises sont pas fixées
             ehm hum (0.3) the chairs (0.3) the chairs are not fixed
13           au sol +(0.4) +et les gens prennent les chaises et vont
             on the ground (0.4) and people take the chairs and go
   pre              +bid nod++turns to the board and writes «mobilier mobile»
14           s'installer dans [le coin qu'ils veulent
             to sit in [the place they prefer
15 ?                          [non c'est vrai c'est (   )
                             [no it's true it's (   )
16 NIL       donc [on peut mettre
             so [we can put
17 ?             [oui
                 [yes
18 ?             [oui c'est vrai ça
                 [yes it's true this
19 NIL       i pourrait y avoir quelqu'un qui euh a sa chaise tout seul↑
             there could be somebody who ehm has its chair alone
20           ou: un groupe de dix personnes↑ (.) qui prennent les chaises
             or a group of ten people (.) who take the chairs
21           et +qui s` mettent [euh
             and who sit [ehm
   pre        ->+turns to the AUD and walks twd the middle of the room->
22 VER                          [alors on prend des chaisières alors.
                               [then we take chair renters then.
```

```
23            ça rappelle une bonne époque ça
              this reminds a nice period this
24 LEM?       oui
              yes
25 PRE        ben ouais [pourquoi pas?
              well yeah [why not?
26 VER                  [ben place bellecour↑ on p(  )ait [sa chaise
                        [well Bellecour square one (  )ed [his chair
27 PRE                                                    [+recréer
                                                          [recreate
   prG                                                     +gesticulates--->
28            sur le trottoir
              on the sidewalk
29 PRE        recréer des métiers qui n'exist(aient) pas, c'est+ (génial)
              recreate professions that don't exist anymore, it's (great)
                                                             ->+
30 VER        les chaisières du luxembourg elles sont [gratuites
              the chair renters of the Luxembourg they are [gratis
31 PRE                                                [d'ailleurs elles sont
                                                      [besides they are
32            gratuites euh, non+ mais #c'est +inté†res#sa+nt. #ça: voilà.†
              gratis ehm, no but it's interesting. this: that's it.
   prH                                            †looks at NIL----------†
   prG                       +RH pt at VER+        -->+LH points at NIL--->
   fig                           #fig.31      #fig.32        #fig.33
```


31 points at VER

32 looks at NIL

33 points at NIL

```
33 VER      (      [      )
34 ?               [(        )
35 PRE   d'accord.+ donc travailler sur+ la: l'idée est >intéressante<+
         okay. so to work on the: the idea is interesting
              --->+gesticulates--------+LH points at NIL-------------+
36       +travailler sur des équipements qui+ puissent être:
         to work on infrastructures that could be:
         +gesticulates--------------------+
37       eux-mêmes mobiles?
         itself mobiles?
38 NIL   ouais, et on pourrait demander aux: personnes qui gèrent le
         yeah, and we could ask to the people who manage the
39       jardin du Luxembourg, mais à priori quand on y va↑
         garden of the Luxembourg, but normally when one goes there
40       on a: ça marche bien
         we have: it works well
```

Selected by the facilitator pointing at him (3), Nilsen begins his turn by referring back to the previous discussion; he then introduces something that exists in Paris (7-8), which he describes as *c'est le mobilier/ qui est::: mobile* (11), giving the example of movable chairs in the Jardin du Luxembourg.

His proposal is responded with several affiliative responses (15, 17, 18). The facilitator displays an affiliative stance too with a big nod (13) and by turning to the board and writing the expression "mobilier mobile" (13).

Nilsen's turn ends with an overlap produced by Verdier (22), who mentions *les chaisières*, referring to women renting chairs as an occupation in the past. Lemoret (24) and Prévost (25) align with the idea, and the latter generalizes it, referring to the recreation of abandoned professions (29); Verdier further adds an observation about the gratuity of the service (30). These exchanges generated by Nilsen's turn end with Prévost's positive assessment (*c'est intéressant* 32 – cf. Excerpt 6, line 36). Whereas at the beginning of this last TCU the facilitator was pointing at Verdier (Figure 31), as he produces the assessment, he looks at Nilsen (Figure 32) and then points at him (Figure 33). We observe that this pointing is very similar to the one occurring in Excerpt 5b, line 47 and Excerpt 6, line 55 above; it takes the shape of an supine open hand (Kendon 2004), presenting the referred to person as the author of the idea.

The idea itself is then made explicit by Prévost (35-37); he begins his summary with *donc* (35), followed by the formulation of the proposal, but inserts the assessments (*l'idée est >intéressante<* 35), pointing at Nilsen again before to completing it (36). Moreover, the formulation is uttered with an interrogative prosody, asking for Nilsen's confirmation – to which the latter responds positively (38).

These two excerpts show how a proposal is positively responded to by the group, generating further comments. After this expansion, the facilitator offers a synthetic summary of what he categorizes as an "idea", often assessing it as "interesting". While mentioning it, he points in a way that recognizes and makes publicly recognizable the author of this idea. Other participants may affiliate to it and share and develop it, but the "author" is singled out, and his previous contribution is officially acknowledged. These cases show how participants are visibly organized as "author", "affiliating citizen", etc.

3.2. After some intercalary disaffiliative turns

In the previous section, I have shown how a proposal, followed by affiliative comments and developments, is recognized and referred to as an "idea" in the next turn. In this section, I show how an "idea" can be publicly acknowledged even if it generates some disaffiliative responses.

In the next fragment, Latuillier makes a proposal to use the park in order to pacify the environment, namely to slow down the traffic on the road nearby. This proposal is responded to with some rebuttals and contestations about the allowed speed on the road. Next, the facilitator stops these criticisms, and, rather, points at the "global idea" given by Latuillier.

(8) pacifier (1811 1.24.52)

```
1   PRE     oké:?
            alright?
    prW     >>writes at the board, turning his back to the room-->
2           (0.8)
3   LAT     £euh:: (0.4) moi y a q- (0.2) quelque chose ‡auquel‡ à: `fin .h::
            ehm:: (0.4) me there is som- (0.2) something to which to well .h::
    lat     £hand raised--->
    prW                                         --->‡turns‡walks to aud-->
4           une idée qui me: trotte£ >dont on a pas parlé à cette table,<
            an idea that crosses >that we haven't discussed at this table<
    lat                     --->£
5           eu‡h:: (0.4) utiliser le:: le jardin quoi pour euh:# (.)
            euhm:: (0.4) use the: the garden right for ehm: (.)
    prW     ->‡
    fig                                                         #fig.34
```


34

```
6        £pacifier un peu les environs. (0.2) par exemple j`me£  disais,£
         pacifying a bit the environment (0.2) for example I was telling me
   lat   £looks at PRE------------------------------------£,,,,,....£
7        £cette rue du repos où ça roule à soixante-dix, (0.5) que ça soit
         this Repos Street where they drive at 70 km, (0.5) that it could
   lat   £looks at plans on the table---------->
8        <l'occasion> de: £pacifier# [euh:::] cette autoroute
         <the occasion> to pacify [ehm:::] this highway
9  ?                                 [°>cinquante<°]
                                     [°>50<°]
   lat           --->£looks at PRE--->
   fig                         #fig.35
```


35

```
10       (0.4)
11 LAT   que: que l- que l'ambiance euh:: (0.6) puisse: euh se répandre
         that that th- that the atmosphere ehm (0.6) could ehm expand
12       un p`tit peu autour du parc,£ (.) que:£ (0.3) par exemple.
         a bit around the park, (.) that for example.
   lat                       --->£,,,,,....££looks at plans------>
13       euh les v- les voitures qui passent sur euh les boulevards,
         ehm the c- the cars that drive on eh on the boulevard,
14       (0.4) ts. (.) soient £obligées d`rouler doucement, (1.1) euh::
         (0.4) ts. (.) would be obliged to drive slowly, (1.1) ehm:
   lat                 --->£looks at PRE--->
15 ?     °oui on peut:°
         °yes we can:°
16 LAT   pou£r que: ça s[oit
         so that it would [be
   lat    ->£looks to the back of the room--->
17 JEA            [c'est cin]quante, mainte[nant]
                  [it's 50, no[w]
18 GIL                                     [non trente, et
                                           [no 30, and
19       cinquante et puis [£i z^ont i^zont dit que]
         50 and then [they told that]
20 LAT             [£ben moi j'y passe en vélo] j` peux vous
                   [well me I pass there with my bike] I can
   lat             -->£looks twd GIL--->
21       dire [on passe à soixante-dix] ((laughs))
         tell you [people drive at 70] ((laughs))
22 PRE →        [>alors< +y a une idée globa::le]
                [>thus< there is a global idea]
   prG                  +.......gesticulates w 2 symetric hands->
23 PRE → j'entends une idée glo†bale, j`sais pas si j`la +formule£ comme
         I hear a global idea, I don't know if I formulate it
   prH                       †looks at LAT-->
   prG                                              -->+draws a square->
   lat                                                       --->£
```

```
24           i faut,£ c'est pac-† £que+ le parc soit l'occasion de† pacifier
             correctly, it's pac- that the park be the occasion to pacify
    prH                     --->†looks in front--------------†looks LAT-->
    prG                          --->+draws another square-->
    lat        -->£              £looks at PRE--->
25           l'envi+ron†nement?†
             the environment?
    prG         ->+
    prH            ->†chin points to LAT†looks at LAT-->
26 ?         en plus de
             moreover
27 ?         hm
28 LAT       ouais.
             yeah.
29           (0.2)
30 PRE       c'est ça qu'vous voulez dire?
             it's that what you want to say?
31 LAT       oui† oui
             yes yes
    prH       ->†looks around-->>
32 LAG       l'environnement sono£re °ou£i°
             the phonic environment °yes°
    lat                   -->£,,,,,,£
```

Prévost closes the previous sequence (1), and, while he is writing its proposal on the board, Latuillier raises his arm and selects (3). He mentions an "idea" (4), which he presents as personal (*versus* the product of a collective elaboration with his group, 4). The idea is formulated in lines 5-6 (*utiliser le:: le jardin quoi pour euh: (.) pacifier un peu les environs.*). Meanwhile, the facilitator has come back from the board and adopts a listening posture (Figure 34) (cf. extract 1, Figure 3; extract 4, Figure 18).

Latuillier's idea is followed by an exemplification, produced while he reads the maps of the site. He looks back at the facilitator when he utters the second version of his idea *(<l'occasion> de: pacifier euh::: cette autoroute* 8, Figure 35). Again, he turns back to the plans to exemplify it (12-14).

At the end, his proposal is overlapped by some co-participants, responding in different – mostly disaffiliative – ways, correcting him about the speed allowed on the highway (17-19). He counters their claims (20-21) and, at that point, the discussion is re-centered on the traffic rather than on the original idea.

In overlap, the facilitator refocuses the debate on the idea; he first reminds them that *y a une idée globale* ("there is a global idea" 22) then rephrases it clearly as *j'entends une idée globale* ("I hear a global idea" 23). There are interesting differences between this way of pointing at Letuillier's idea and the ones observed in the previous section. These formulations do not verbalize any author – they are impersonal (the first uses a existential construction; the second highlights the agentivity of the facilitator, who "hears" an idea but does not specify its source). This is convergent with the fact that the facilitator looks at the author of the idea – who is not looking at him but is engaged in a discussion with the co-participants –, but he does not point at him. Even when Prévost checks his own formulation, he does not explicitly verbally address Latuillier with a request for confirmation (23). So, he foregrounds the idea more than its author – who he explicitly addresses only at the end of the sequence with the final request for confirmation (30).

In sum, it is interesting to observe the contrast of the positive affiliative way of highlighting an idea in an environment in which the co-participants have responded positively and the way of relatively ignoring the author of an idea, which has been partially contested by them.

4. Polyphonic reformulations: references to multiple participants

The extracts analyzed above show how the facilitator addresses within the same turn two very different entities, thereby achieving different actions:

a) The original author of a proposal is recognized as such by the way in which he is precisely addressed within actions such as recognizing that he is the author, showing to others who the author is, asking for confirmation, etc.

b) The remaining part of the group, who is the final recipient of the proposal, is recognized with actions such as publicizing the proposal, making clear the terms of the proposal, and finally submitting the proposal for approval (this step of the procedure has not been analyzed and lies outside of the perimeter of this investigation – but see Mondada 2011, in press).

The remaining part of the paper deals with an aspect that surfaced already in a few cases (Excerpts 6 and 7) but which I want to focus more clearly on here. This concerns proposals that are reformulated by referring not only to the first speaker and author but also to other voices. This multiplicity further enriches the polyphony of these turns and shows further issues involved in reformulating and publicizing a proposal. Briefly, I show that an institutional agenda becomes visible when the initial proposal is rejected by the facilitator and reformulated in a way that refuses its initial lexical terms and instead uses terms more fitted with this agenda. The formulation and its transformative potential are clearly here in the service of institutional issues and finalities (conforming to what has been shown for formulations in other institutional settings by Antaki et al. 2005 and Drew 2003).

4.1. Rejecting the initial version of the proposal
      – with a gaze on the officer

As we have seen above, in some cases, the citizen's proposal is reformulated by the facilitator by almost exactly repeating its terms – and this is accountably done in an unproblematic manner. The proximity to the initial version is not just assessed by the analyst comparing the two versions but is locally exhibited by the way in which the facilitator produces his reformulation and addresses it both to the original speaker and to the broader audience. Nonetheless, in some other cases, the proposal can be more or less radically transformed by the facilitator; this may be the case when, for example, the initial proposal is treated as needing to be clarified and simplified (see Latuillier, Extract 3), but this may also be the case of very elaborated proposals too (see Lucre, Extract 5a/5b). As we have seen, in these different cases, the facilitator exhibits his relation to the source, either

asking confirmations (as in Lucre's case) or imposing his formulation (as in Latuillier's case).

   In other cases, analyzed in this section, the lexical terms of the initial proposal may be refused, and a new, more adequate/acceptable formulation may be proposed instead. While producing that formulation, the facilitator orients not only to the original speaker and the audience but also to representatives of the institution – adding an extra layer to the polyphonic production of the utterance.

   In the next extract, Turenne makes a negative proposal – *pas de jardin à la française* (14). The facilitator responds in a dispreferred way and first reformulates it by using other terms (*pas très structuré*) then integrates it with the suggestion of another participant (*plus naturel, pas trop structuré*). In the analysis, I focus on the action of the facilitator and his local orientations to multiple recipients. We join the action as Prévost completes the previous sequence (1), still writing the previous proposal on the board, and initiates the selection of the next speaker. Turenne (2) and Gilbert (3) both pre-select, and the facilitator picks the former (4, 6).

(9) jardin à la française (1811 1.23.48)

```
1   PRE     okay. est-ce qu'on a fait l`tou:r?
            right. did we complete the round?
    prW     >>still writing on the board--->
2   TUR     y a aut`[chose qu`a été évoqué à cette table là
            there's some[this else that was mentioned at that table there
3   GIL          [j'ai une question à poser↑ °encore°.
                 [I have a question to ask  °again°
4   PRE     pardon? oui:?
            pardon? yes:?
5           (0.5)
6   PRE     alors all‡ons-y
            then let's go
    prW         -->‡turns and walks towards TUR------>
7   TUR     sur le sty:le:
            about sty:le
8   PRE     sur le [style?
            about style?
9   TUR           [°style°
                  [°style°
10          ‡(0.1) ‡ (0.4)
    prW        -->‡turns back to the board--->
11  PRE     dans donc dans >style ident‡ité< oui:?
            under so under >style identity< yes:?
    prW                     ----->‡to TUR----->
12  TUR     mais plutôt dan::s‡ les con:tre/=
            but rather under the counter(-arguments)=
    prW                  --->‡to the board--->
13  PRE     =d'a‡cc[ord
            =ok[ay
    prW      ->‡turns to TUR and walks tow her----->
14  TUR           [pas de jardin à la françai‡se‡
                  [no French garden
    prW                           -->‡stops‡
15          +(0.3) # (0.5)
    prG     +RH in hairs---->
    fig           #fig.36
```

36

```
16 ?        ((various laughte[rs, 1.2))]
17 ?                      [((some booings, 0.6))]
18 PRE      #mais ça:↑+ (.) †alors voilà↑ p- sortons# †peut†-être un peu#
            but this   (.)  well right   p- leave out maybe     a bit
   prG          ---->+
   prH                       †looks at TUR------------†,,.†turns to OFF-->
   fig      #fig.37                                  #fig.38    fig.39#
```


37   **38**   **39**

```
19         d'la typo†lo†gie, (0.2) est-ce que vous† êtes plutôt dans
           the typology, (0.2) are you rather into
               ---->†,,†TUR--------------------†aud---->
20         quelqu'un↑ (.) dans quelqu'un↓ dans hh quel.hque cho::.hhse↑
           somebody↑ (.) into somebody↓ into hh some.h thi::.hhng↑
21         (0.†5) *de m- m- de pas très structuré? >c'est ça !l'idée?<#
           (0.5) of m- m- of not really structured? Is it this the idea?
            ->†looks towards TUR's table---->
   tur                                          !looks HIL->
   fig                                            fig.40#
```


40   **41**

```
22 HIL     oui
           yes
23 TUR     oui
           yes
24 ?       m
```

```
25 PRE      mo†n£[sieur? #
             sir?
   prH      ->†looks at HIL->
   her          £looks at HIL->
   fig                  #fig.41
26 LEM          [oh ben oui oui! oui£ oui [moi je suis d'accord là °moi°
                [ah well yes yes yes yes I agree with this °me°
27 COL                                    [ouioui oui oui
                                           [yesyes yes yes
   tur                         -->!
   her                           --->£
28 HIL      °plus naturel°
            °more natural°
29 PRE      pl†us na- alors voilà vous l`formulez positi†vement, (.)
            more na- so right you formulate it positively  (.)
   prH      ->†looks at aud-------------------------†,,,looks TUR/HIL-->
30          .h quelque chose de plus naturel↑ pas trop structuré↑ c'est ça?
            .h something more natural↑    not too structured  is it that?
31          (0.3)
32 HIL      ouais
            Yeah
```

Once selected, Turenne does not directly utter her proposal but first positions it within the rubrics that organize the board on which the facilitator is inscribing them. She formats it in a way that fits with the pre-existing categories structuring different lists on the board (one is titled "style" 7) and also with the constraints of this kind of writing (a short nominal format without a verb, 14). Thus, her proposal is carefully tailored for being imminently written down and projects its archiving on the board; this is also visible in Prévost's embodied responses. This si done when he turns back to the board when she mentions the rubric (10) and acknowledges it (11) as well as when she further specifies that it concerns a negative style (12) (for each category, there is a positive and a negative list) – occasioning a new pivoting of Prévost towards the board (12-13). Once these preparatory steps have been achieved and agreed upon, Turenne utters the proposal (*pas de jardin à la française* 14), beginning with a negative particle and followed by the type of garden she does not want. This formulation is ready to be inscribed and fits with the syntactic format of the previously inscribed ones (Mondada in press).

But her proposal is followed by a long pause (15). The facilitator stops his walk to the board even before it is completed (14). He adopts the listening posture observable in previous excerpts, but, this time, he also makes a movement of his hand in his hair, adopting a "thinking face", in silence (15, Figure 36, Figure 37) – prefiguring a dispreferred response. Other co-participants respond, several with laughter (16), others with booing (17). They both orient to the posture of the facilitator and to what the proposal does; they recognize and constitute the proposal as particularly provocative.

After two seconds, the facilitator finally responds (18). He still holds his hand in his hair, and his turn is formatted in a dispreferred way, beginning with *mais ça:↑* and remaining unfinished. He then goes on, inviting Turenne to abandon the typological approach. This refers to the categorization of gardens as "à la française" *versus* "à l'anglaise" (the citizens had an information session about these types of gardens some weeks before). Thus, before formulating the proposal, the facilitator indicates that there is a problem with the lexical choices made by Turenne. When he makes the suggestion to abandon this vocabulary, he turns to

Turenne (Figure 38). But interestingly, when he mentions the typology, he turns towards the representative of the city council (identified as OFF in the transcript, as officer) (18-19, Figure 39), who is sitting on the margins of the room, near the camera. Turning towards the officer, the facilitator displays that the version is problematic from the perspective of the institution. This introduces an extra – unspoken, but oriented to and expressed by the facilitator – voice in the discussion.

Next, the facilitator offers a gist formulation of the proposal itself, asking for confirmation (19-21). He encounters a slight difficulty, which he self-repairs (20), and formulates the issue by referring to the "not much structured" character of the park (21); the pursuit of a confirmation is explicitly uttered in the final >*c'est ça l'idée?* (21). By so doing, the facilitator refuses the words of the proposal and rather searches for its "idea".

The way in which this question (19-21) is addressed is interesting for the multiple recipients it manifests. At the beginning of the question, Prévost's gaze shifts from Turenne to the audience (19) – in such a way that the question (and namely the reference of the pronoun "vous" on which the gaze shifts) is not only addressed to her but also to the entire room. This might tackle issues shared by the audience (as demonstrated by the laughter and the booing), showing that the proposal does not only concern one participant/group. The last part of the question, in which the alternative lexical choice is suggested, is produced while looking at Turenne.

Interestingly, when the last request for confirmation is uttered (21), mentioning the "idea", Turenne turns her head towards her neighbor, Hilbert (21) (Figure 40: they are sitting against the wall, Turenne first, then Hilbert on her right). This introduces a new "(co)-author" of the proposal and retrospectively constitutes it as the product of a group and not of a single person. Indeed, various participants orient to Hilbert. As Hilbert and Turenne have responded positively (22, 23), the facilitator explicitly selects him (25), looking at him, as does another neighbor of the same table, Hectorius (25) (Figure 41, who sits on Hilbert's right). Other participants join the agreement around the "idea" (24, 26, 27).

Solicited, Hilbert does not only agree with Prévost. He makes an alternative proposal, which corrects the one suggested by the facilitator (°*plus naturel°* 28). This is immediately picked up by Prévost; he begins to repeat it (29), but he cuts it off, turning to the audience and offering a public formulation of the action done by Hilbert (*vous l'formulez positivement* 29) before integrating it in his own previous construction (*quelque chose de plus naturel* 30). This solution is checked for confirmation (30), and Hilbert responds positively (32).

In this case, we observe a multiplication of voices involved in the formulation of the proposal/idea. Turenne begins by orienting to the future writing of the proposal by the facilitator, in a text pre-structured by him, formatting it accordingly; Prévost orients to the institutional (unspoken) constraints as he rejects it and seeks for an alternative; the alternative is proposed by a co-author, Hilbert, and Prévost inserts it in the syntactic mold he created first – thus treating these versions as equivalent and reaffirming the relevance of his own formulation. The result is a collective object, which has been shaped through the orientation towards multiple recipients.

Another simpler, similar case is observable in the following extract. In the discussion preceding it, various citizens have proposed to dedicate for sport infra-

structure an area of the park where there is an old football field. This has been countered by the town officer, stating that the existence of infrastructure is not a binding principle for the future park. We join the action as Gilbert proposes, responding to the officer, to build an athletic lane in the area of the football field. The facilitator "reformulates" the proposal in more general terms (Bilmes 2008; Hauser 2011), avoiding the initial lexical choices while looking at the officer. As in the previous excerpt, the citizen's proposal is transformed by reference to institutional constraints personified by the officer.

(10) parc à activité (part I; 1811 55.09)

```
1   GIL                              [je suis d'accord avec vous↑ m: à: à
                                     [I agree with you↑ m: with with
2         la [seule restriction↑ c'est] que le terrain de foot (.) °qui
          the [only restriction↑ it's] that the football field (.) °that
2   PRE   [allez-y↑ >puis monsieur à côté après<]
          [go   >then mister beside afterwards<]
3   GIL   n'est pas en état↑ c'est évident↑ (.) il n'a pas été entretenu↓°
          it not in good shape↑ that's obvious (.) it wasn't maintained°
4         (0.2) mais il y a l'espace↑ (0.4) d'un terrain de foot (0.3)
          (0.2) but there is the space (0.) of a football field (0.3)
5         i:solé↑ dans un coin s- bien spécifique↑ (0.5) avec une piste
          isolated in a corner s- quite specific (0.5) with an athletic
6         d'athlétisme pour y aller (0.2) dans un coin sp- (0.3) bien
          lane to run there (0.2) in a corner sp- (0.3) well
7         spécifique là encore↑
          specific   again
8   JEA   (         [         )
9   GIL            [il faudrait (0.2) une distinction entre les lieux de
                   [one would need (0.2) to distinguish between places of
10        repos de déten[te (0.3) pour les enfants↑ les petits ou:
          quiet of rel[ax (0.3) for the children↑ the young or
11  LEM               [ben oui
                      [yes right
12  GIL   les moins p`tits et les plus vieux ↑et les †moins vieux↑† (0.5)
          the less young and the older and the less old (0.5)
    prH                                              †looks on the R†
13        et (0.4) le sport↑ (0.4)+ [ici.
          and (0.4) the sport (0.4) [here.
14  PRE                            [donc↑ la proposition qu`vous faites↑
                                   [so the proposal you make
    prG                       +2H parallel palm open vertical--->
15        pour +rformuler↑ >puis j` vous donne la parole vous l'avez
          to reformulate >then I give you the floor you have
    prG      ->+RH points--->
16        demandée monsieur< +(0.5) pour sortir# de †la logique
          requested it sir< (0.5) in order to exit the logic
    prH                                          †looks on the R--->
    prG              --->+2H parallel palm open prone-->
    fig                           #fig.42
```

42   43

```
17          >sim+plement des† équipements↑< vous fait-# vous+ souhaitez que
            >of the mere infrastructures< you mak- you wish that
   prG       ->+RH palm open prone--------------------+2H prone--->
   fig                                                        #fig.43
18          sur ce pa:rc↑+ y ait effectivement u- (0.2) +un usa:ge sp£ortif:£+
            on this park there would be actually a- (0.2) a use for sports
   prH               ->†
   gil                                                          £nods£
   prG               -->+                          +2H design a circle+
19          +euh::#: †j`sais pas comment on l'#dit↑ (0.3)† à::::: (.) à:
            ehm::: I don't know how to say (0.3) to::: (.) to:
   prG      +rotates hands in small movements--->
   prH            †looks on the R twd OFF-----†
   fig         #fig.44                   #fig.45
```


44   45

```
20          plus intense quoi↑ >`fin+ y ait une [vocation +sportive du parc+
            more intense right >well (that) the park would be sport oriented
21 BLO                                          [(    )
   prG                          -->+                  +beat gesture----+
```

Gilbert is selected and develops his proposal, which represents a rebuttal to the previous statement of the officer. Gilbert's proposal involves the partition ("distinction" 10) of the park for different categories of users (12), corresponding to two types of activities: *repos* (10) and *sport* (13) – the latter being precisely localized.

Prévost responds immediately (14). By beginning with (*donc↑ la proposition qu`vous faites↑*), he categorizes the previous turn as a "proposal" (14), and he projects his own formulation. But before the projection is realized, he inserts several other actions. He inserts a formulation of his own action (*pour r'formuler*

15), and he adds an account (*pour sortir de la logique simplement des équipements* 16-17, done with prone gestures, Figures 42-43). These two explicit formulations of what he is doing are interesting because they signal beforehand that the announced reformulation will not include the terms of the proposal but will change them. Moreover, on uttering *la logique* (16) he gazes to his right where the officer sits. This displays that *la logique des équipements* is something that has to be avoided at that stage, as possibly not corresponding to the institutional agenda. Actually, the officer and the facilitator himself have repeatedly stated before this episode that the issue of where to locate which infrastructures (*équipements*) was premature – postponing this topic to further meetings and further instances of decision making.

Once the operation he is doing on Gilbert's proposal is made accountable, the facilitator goes on offering a new version, which is indeed attributed to him (*vous fait- vous souhaitez que* 17). The formulation encounters several difficulties, with hitches before a first attempt (*u- (0.2) un usage sportif* 18, said with a metaphorical gesture) – which is accepted by Gilbert's nod –, and, then, with the search for an alternative, which begins with a stretched hesitation (19), an explicit formulation of the word search problem, other stretched possible prepositions, and, finally, the second version (*une vocation sportive* 20, said with a decided beat gesture). The search for a more adequate formulation is also visible in the gesture done with it. Prévost does small repeated rotating gestures with his two hands alternating in front of him (Figure 44); moreover, it is revealing that he precisely and clearly gazes at the officer (Figure 45) while doing them. This gaze to the officer shows again an orientation to an "institutionally acceptable" alternative formulation.

Gilbert does not respond – and Prévost does not request any confirmation. The discussion continues with another participant talking about children's activities.

This second instance shows how the facilitator formulating a proposal orients not only towards its original source, the previous speaker, but also towards other constraints – which are embodied by the presence of the officer at the meeting. The officer is mobilized not only as a recipient but also as a (mostly silent) "voice' that is integrated in the transformation of the proposals. The transformation itself literally "moves away" from some topics that are treated – by looking at the officer – as possibly problematic; this invitation to move away from some types of argumentation is made explicit in metaphoric expressions such as *sortons de la logique / sortons de la typologie*.

The explicit formulation of the actions done ("formulating positively", "reformulating") also shows that the precise phrasing of the proposal does matter; in the most delicate cases, it generates a search for a "better" phrasing, which involves an orientation and even a monitoring of various participants in the room: the author of the proposal, his co-authors at the same table, possible other citizens, and the officer. In this sense, the officer is both a participant belonging to the "production format" (Goffman 1981) and speaking through the action of the facilitator (who in this case is a spokesperson of the institution) and a participant belonging to the group of the recipients, who is addressed in a particular way by the facilitator. The status of the silent officer situates the institutional issues raised by the formulations of the facilitator in an interesting way.

4.2. Refusing the first proposal and searching for a polyphonic alternative

In the previous section, I have shown how the facilitator may reject specific lexical terms used by citizens to format their proposals and that this rejection is bound with a bodily orientation towards the officer sitting in the room and personifying some (often unspoken) institutional constraints. In this section, I show how the facilitator more radically refuses the proposal itself, but searches for a possible alternative – gazing again at the officer.

We join the action after two proposals have been discussed and modified. Gilbert has argued in favor of sport infrastructure (see Excerpt 10 above) and Blondin for infrastructure for children (not shown here). Now Bléran, sitting near Gilbert and belonging to the same association, is selected (1) and introduces again an argument defending an area dedicated to sport (2).

(11) parc à activités (part II)

```
1   PRE    y a c'monsieur d'abord
            there is this sir first
2   BLE    madame nava£rro tout à l'heure nous a bien rappelé qu'il
            missis Navarro a moment ago has reminded us that there
    ble                  £reads his notes---->
3          y avait trois zo:nes↑ l'esplanade↑ le fort↑ (.) et£ les douves?
            were three zones the esplanade the fort (.) and the staves
    ble                                                  --->£
3   PRE    mh
4   BLE    donc,
            so
5   GIL    °ah ben oui ça [(   )°
            °oh well yes that [( )
6   BLE                    [déjà↑ on sait que: †on peut mettre le† la
                            [just yet we know that we can locate the the
    prH                                        †looks at OFF-----†
7          partie sport dans les douves,
            sports area in the staves,
8          (0.3)
9          °ouais°
            °yeah°
10  PRE    +pas d'problème [mais ça:↑ (.)] ça c'est un peu tôt pour
            no problem [but this (.)] this is a bit early to
    prG    +waves RH-->
11  BLE                   [ça on l`sait]
                           [we know that]
12  PRE    l`dire+ hein? [c`que +£vous êtes en train d'£nous #dire↑
            tell that right? [what you are telling us
13  BLE                   [(        )
            ->+                 +gesticulates RH palm open vert->
    ble                           £spreads hands------£and lowers head->
    fig                                                #fig.46
```


46

```
14       >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
   prH                   ↑....↑looks OFF-----↑,,,↑looks aud--->
   ble                   --->£
   fig                                        #fig.47        fig.48#
15       la prochaine fois↑
         next time about that
```


47   48

```
16 BLE   ah b[on
         alri[ght
17 PRE       [+dans la logique c'est- vous nous dites c'est un parc
             [in the logic it's- you tell us it is a park
              +beat gestures-->
18       effecti[vement qui doit a↑voi:r (0.2)↑ une vocation
         ind[eed that should have (0.2) an orientation
19 LEM?         [il faut attendre quoi pour (  )
                [we have to wait right for (  )
   prH                          --->↑looks at LEM?↑looks at aud-->>
20       à activité↓ qu`ce soit +sp£orti+:ve ou£ pour les +enfants↓+
         towards activities either sport or for the children
   prG                          -->+beat LH+              +beat RH+
   ble                             £nods-------£lowers head--->>
21 BLO   voilà
         Right
```

Bléran prefaces his turn with a quote (2-3) from Mrs. Navarro, naming the officer representing the urban planning office of the town. He also looks down at his notes, which constitute a further source of his talk. This reported speech constitutes the departure point of his plea (4, 6-7) in favor of a sports area.

Prévost responds in a dispreferred way (10); after *pas d'problème*, he goes on with the connective *mais ça:* – like in the previous Excerpt 9, line 18 – and rejects the proposal as coming "too early" (10). He then begins (in overlap with Bléran's reaction, the results of which are inaudible) to formulate Bléran by quoting him (12). Simultaneously, Bléran does a gesture of dissatisfaction and resignation, lowering his head (Figure 46), to which Prévost responds vividly (>*non non↑ non*< 14) and evokes *la logique* to be respected while gazing at the officer (Figure 47), as if accounting for a postponement of this debate (14-15), before looking back at the audience (Figure 48).

Dans la logique, repeated twice, is a quite indexical expression, which assumes its meaning by co-occurring with the gaze towards the officer and by referring in a more general (and vague) way to her previous explanations of the "logique" behind the organization of the participatory procedure.

After these accounts for rejecting the proposal as it is now, Prévost offers a new version, which he prefaces with a *verbum dicendi* (*vous nous dites* 17). The pronoun "vous" is said by looking in front of him, having most of the audience,

including Bléran, in his field of vision. This reported speech constitutes a response to Bléran rather than a report of his previous proposal. Prévost uses the expression *vocation à <u>activité</u>*, which unifies two kinds of activities, those for sport and those for children (20). These two aspects are pronounced while doing two beat gestures, one with each hand. Prévost does not precisely orient visually to the two participants here (no specific gaze orientation is recognizable), but he uses two previous arguments that were introduced by Gilbert and Bléran about sports and by Blondin about children's activities. These participants are not explicitly pointed at but are more generally represented by the two distinct beat gestures. Thus, after the refusal of Bléran's proposal, the facilitator constructs a compromise, within a formulation integrating references to the two previous suggestions. Both Bléran and Blondin respond and orient to that, Bléran by nodding on the word *sportive* (but keeping looking away) and Blondin by approving with *voilà* – retrospectively displaying that they are recognize to be the voices Prévost has combined in his "edited" version of their proposals. Again, this formulation is publicly hearable and visible as recognizing several authors and voices, not just one.

In a similar way, the proposal voiced by Lemoret in the next except is first rejected by Prévost as coming "too early" but then reformulated together with another argument, previously done by Blondin, about children's activities.

(12) logique/fin école (1811 57.43 / 58.26)

((Prévost's last written line is *ouvert aux scolaires (pour des activités)*))

```
1   LEM                       [moi c'que je vois↑ c'est des enfants qui
                              [for me what I see it's that kids who
    prW    >>writes at the board, turning his back to the room-->
2          se mettent pa- a- a- assis par terre euh sur le le terrain
           lay on on on sitting on the ground ehm on the the ground
3          de: sur le terrain de de de basket °qu'il y a là tout près°
           of: on the basket field °which is there very close°
4          parce que i`y a pas de verdure pour euh (0.5) °°pour°° (0.5)
           because there is no greenery to ehm (0.5) °°to°° (0.5)
5          °pour s'asseoir°=
           °to sit down°=
6   PRE    =mais après ‡on verra, >on verra la tonalité qu'on lui donne.<
           =but then we'll see, >we'll see the tone we want to give.<
    prW              -->‡turns and walks twd LEM's table------>
7   PRE    ce que vous semblez di‡re comme euh‡ usa‡ge he±in import±ant±
           what you seem to say as ehm an important usage right
    prW              ----->‡twd audience‡turns back to board----->
    prG                                     ±.....±LH pt board±,,,,,±
8          (0.3) c'es‡t qu'il soit ouvert aux équip-‡ enfin
           (0.3) it's that it should be open to infras- well
    prW              ->‡walks to aud-----------------‡
9          ‡aux activités hors le parc‡ c'est-à-dire euh
           to activities external to the park that means ehm
    prW    ‡turns OFF/LEM------------‡
10         +(.) ça peut être pour la gar±de+rie, ça peut être pour le
           (.) this can be for the nursery, this can be for the
    prG    +RH points to the R/BLO-----------+
    prG                                ±LH points on the L/LEM-->
11         scolaire↑ >c'est c`que vous di±tes he%in?<
           schools >is that what you are saying right?<
    blo                                  %nods--%
12  LEM    ±+oui:
           yes:
    prG      -->±+both H palm vert against aud->>
```

```
13 PRE      là on est à peu près d'accord là-d`ssus
            there we approximatively agree about that
((PRE selects the next speaker and initiates a new sequence))
```

While Prévost writes the last proposal on the board, Lemoret mentions the situation of the children not having any specific infrastructure for their activities (1-5). This is responded to in a dispreferred way by Prévost, who turns back from the board and produces a turn (6), postponing the relevance of the point mentioned (cf. extract 11, line 10) (see Mondada et al. in press).

After having rejected the proposal, Prévost continues with a *verbum dicendi* (*ce que vous semblez dire* 7). This reported speech is attributed to the pronoun "vous", which co-occurs with a gesture towards the board where the proposals are inscribed. In this way, "vous" acquires not only its reference (referring to the entire group of those doing proposals) but also its legitimacy (given that proposals are inscribed after discussion and after a collective agreement has been reached). Thus, the postposition of Lemoret's idea is promptly followed by the quote of a telling which refers not only to her but also to the entire group.

This telling is formulated (8) by mentioning first the *equip-*, promptly self-repaired into *activités*. This self-repair is done while turning towards the officer. This manifests again an institutional constraint inviting the group to avoid talking about infrastructure (cf. extracts 10 and 11). The expression *activités hors le parc* (9) is followed by the conjunction *c'est-à-dire* (9) and, thereafter, reformulated by referring to two types of activities, related to the *garderie* (10) – mentioned by pointing to the right, where Blondin is sitting – and to the *scolaire* (11) – pointing to the left, where Lemoret is sitting. Thus, as in extract 11, Prévost proposes an alternative suggestion that integrates elements coming from two previous proposals – embodied by two distinct gestures. He ends with an explicit request for confirmation (11), and both original speakers respond, Blondin with a nod (11) and Lemoret with *oui* (12). In this sense, Prévost's reformulation is able to both refer to a generic and more embodied "vous" and to unify these voices in a unique version.

These excerpts show how the facilitator may more or less radically refuse some proposals, and how he may also recycle elements of various preceding proposals in order to offer his own alternative version. This version points at different voices – of citizens but also of officers representing the institution. Interestingly, even when these pointings are quite vague and generic, they are recognized by the original speakers, who generally (although not always) align to the new version. Even more generic and allusive is the embodied orientation to the officer; it is difficult to say whether it is recognized by the audience, although it is produced to be identified by the officers themselves. Therefore, multiple voices can be mobilized in the facilitator's talk, which is addressed to multiple recipients in more explicit but also in more subtle ways, pursuing and expecting a response from some of them and silently mobilizing others. These cases show that formulations – as with other types of action – can be referred and addressed to multiple participants, inclusive of multiple authors and multiple recipients.

5. Formulating antagonistic positions in debates

As I have observed in the previous section, when controversial proposals are uttered, the facilitator may reject them, proposing that they are not adequate and eventually postponing them; he may then rephrase them by unifying various voices in a single formulation.

In this last section, I am interested in the way in which the facilitator brings together, in a single turn, various versions that are not compatible and are overtly opposed.

Just before the following excerpt, Laurencin, in favor of opening the park day and night, has argued that, in Montreal, a park opened all night has allowed reduction in juvenile delinquency by offering sport and cultural activities to the youth. Marcillac, in favor of closing the park, asks how much this initiative has cost (5). Hugol, who sits beside Laurencin, rebuts him by asking how much delinquency costs (6). I am interested in how the facilitator deals with these two opposite positions.

(13) coût de la délinquance (0212 16.17)

```
1  PRE    monsieur?
           sir?
2          (1.5)
3  MRC    on:
           we:
4  PRE    oui?
           yes?
5  MRC    on aimerait savoir le coût d'fonctionnement d'cette experience
           we would like to know the cost of the functioning of this
           experience
6  HUG    >et le coût d'la délin†quan[ce?<
           >and the cost of delinquency?<
7  LAU                            [alors la ville de montréal et la
                                   [so the ciy of Montreal and the
   prH                     †looks twd HUG/LAU---->
8         ville de lyon sont jumelées [alors (°        °)
           city of Lyon are twinned [so (°     °)
9  PRE                            [ah >attendez attendez attendez<
                                  [oh >wait wait wait<
10        vous l'direz †après °c'est bon°.
           you'll tell that afterwards °its fine°
   prH           --->†looks in front/MRC/AUD-->
11         (0.3)
11 PRE    +±-lors⤒± #(0.2)† le coût† de la-± monsi+eur #pose† le coût⤒± (.)#
           so  (0.2) the cost of th- mister asks the cost (.)
   prG    ±......±LH points at MRC--------±                ±LH Aud->
   prG    +extended RH twd HUG------------------+pt HUG------>
   prH            --->†,,,.....†looks at Hug---------†looks at aud-->
   fig          #fig.49                       fig.50#          fig.51#
```


49 looks and LH tended twd MRC, RH twd HUG

50 looks and points at HUG

51 looks at the AUD

```
12          tout l'monde entend bien↑±+ †(0.4)† le coût de: f- de+
            everybody understands well (0.4) the cost of f- of
   prG                          --->±relaxes LH but holds it-------->
   prG                          ->+relaxes RH--------------+pt HUG->
   prH                          -->†Mrc--†looks at HUG---------->
13          fonctionnement >d'une telle instal†lation<↑ et+ monsieur↑#
            functioning >of such an installation< and mister
   prG                                             ->+strong pt HUG---
            >
   prH                                   ->†looks at Hug------>
   fig                                                      fig.52#
```


52

```
14 PRE      un peu provocateur quand même hein?
            a little bit provoking nonetheless right?
15 HUG      [ben oui le [le (   )
            [well yes the [the (   )
16 ?        [((laughs))
17 PRE              [†le coût# +de la délinquance.
                    [the cost of delinquency
   prG                     ->+,,,,
   prH              --->†looks at Mrc------------->>
   fig                       #fig.53
```


53

```
18          (0.2) ±
   prG         ->±LH points at HUG------------->
19 PRE   est-ce que +finalement la délinquance coûte pas±+ plus cher
         .h:±
         doesn't finally delinquency cost more .h
   prG            ->+points at Hug---------------------+,,,,
   prG                                       -->±LH  points   at
         MRC±
20       ± (.)+ que# l'coût d'foncti+onnement?±
         (.) than the cost of functioning?
   prG   ±LH points at HUG------------------±
   prG    ...+pt HUG-------------+,,,,,,
   fig            #fig.54
```


54

```
21 MRC   ah non mai::s (0.4) répondez d'abord à la première question
         oh no but:: (0.4) answer first to my first ques[tion
22 ?     ((laughs))
```

Marcillac is selected and asks a question directly to Laurencin (5). Instead of Laurencin, Hugol self-selects, and he does not produce an answer but a counter – a question back to Marcillac (6).

After a rejected attempt by Laurencin to give some extra information (7-10), Prévost summarizes the debate. He is looking in front of him, covering a large part of the audience and Marcillac; he points with the left hand at Marcillac and with the right hand at Hugol (48). After the connective -lors (12), Prévost begins immediately with a formulation (*le coût de la-* 12) but suspends it. His gaze is shifting to Hugol, although his left hand is still pointing to Marcillac. This body torque (Figure 49) does not really allow us to know which perspective is taken by Prévost in this incipient formulation. He seems to orient to this problem, since he suspends the beginning of the utterance and introduces a source and a *verbum dicendi* while he points at Hugol and looks at him (Figure 50). But he suspends again the progressivity of his formulation by addressing the audience (Figure 51), looking at the entire room in front of him, and doing a gesture towards them, for a parenthesis precisely addressing the problem he is facing in attributing one or the other argument (13). This is visible in the self-repairs of the resumed version (12) too, while he quickly looks at Marcillac and then focuses on Hugol.

The second part of the argument (*et monsieur* 13) is clearly oriented to Hugol, who is looked at and pointed at vigorously by Prévost while leaning towards him and categorizing the idea as *provocative* (Figure 52). When Prévost utters the topic of Hugol's question, he looks at Marcillac (Figure 53). Thus, the person looked at can be either the author or the (polemical) addressee of the question.

After having attributed an argument to each of the authors, Prévost formulates Hugol's question (19-20) by pointing at him as the author then at Marcillac as the recipient; for the final part of the question – the comparative element – Prévost

double points at Hugol (20, Figure 54) while still looking at Marcillac. This last body torque points towards the author while facing and looking at the recipient. This configuration is understood in this way by Marcillac, who rebuts it by requesting an answer to the "first" question (21).

In this case, the facilitator uses his body to spatialize the terms of the debate (Mondada 2013), making visible for the audience various authors and opposed arguments. Spatialization and embodiment reconstruct within one formulation the antagonistic positions of the debate.

A similar configuration is observable later during the same meeting.

Before the excerpt begins, Laurencin has stated that there are basically no problems of security or crime in town; he has just admitted that there is one neighborhood where there is some danger. Responding to the latter point, Callier has counter-argued that that neighborhood is not violent, and Laurencin has proposed to speak instead of insecurity. Finally, both agree that there is no crime or security issue. At this point, Prévost offers a formulation summarizing the debate:

(14) violence versus insécurité (0212 21.20)

```
1  PRE     d'accord. † (0.2) o†ké? # †c'est clair‡ c'que disai:t?
           okay       (0.2)    okay  is it clear what said
   prG     >>RH tensed twd LAU------>
   prG     >>RH tensed twd CAL----------------‡LH pt index to CAL->
   prH     >>gaze in front†CAL†looks AUD----------->
   fig                             #fig.55
```


55

```
2          (0.2)
3  PRE     mademoiselle?
           the miss?
4          (0.4)
5  PRE     elle dit †+l- (.) là elle+ dit c'est †pas d'la† violen:ce
           she says t- (.) there she says it's not violence
   prH         -->†looks at LAU------------†,,,.....†looks at AUD->
   prG         ->+moves RH------+RH tensed----->
6          là-†bas? c'est+ un sentiment plutôt d'insé+cu[rité hein?
           over there? it's rather a feeling of insecu[rity right
   prH     ->†looks at CAL------------------------------>
   prG            ->+moves LH------------------+RH tensed->>
7  CAL                                               [mh mh mh
8  PRE     c'est ça qu'vous† dites.
           that's what you are saying.
   prH     .            -->†looks AUD->>
           (0.5)
```

At the beginning of his turn, Prévost is tending his arms towards both participants involved in the debate (Figure 55). Prévost's formulation of Callier's intervention is accounted for by his orientation to the understanding of the audience (1) and, therefore, by his putative prevention of a problem of understanding.

The argument is attributed to her (5) by the use of a *verbum dicendi* at the turn beginning. The reported speech begins with a spatial deictic (*là* 5), which co-occurs with a slight movement of the right hand, tensed towards Laurencin, who is also looked at. Laurencin is pointed at as one source of the debate while Prévost negates what Callier attributes him (*c'est pas d'la violen:ce* 5); Callier is looked at, and the left hand tensed toward her moves slightly when Prévost utters the category that he attributes to her (*sentiment plutôt d'insécurité* 6). This first opposition is completed by a particle soliciting Callier's confirmation (*hein?* 6) – and she responds positively (7). Prévost closes the sequence by reaffirming her authorship (8).

In this case, contrary to the previous one, the perspective adopted in the formulation is unilateral – although its embodiment points towards the two poles of the debate.

6. Discussion and conclusion

In this paper, I have examined various sequential environments in which a facilitator "reformulates" what has been said by citizens during brainstorming sessions in which they are invited to make proposals for an urban project. My analysis focused on the multiple recipients, authors, and voices that are manifested in a verbal and embodied way in these formulations.

6.1. The description and categorization of the actions studied

The practice studied in this paper could be described with many terms; the facilitator tells again, echoes, repeats, rephrases, reformulates, revoices, etc. In the analysis, I have been interested in the *emic*, locally occasioned formulation of his actions (by himself) and the verbs he uses, often as *verba dicendi*, are to "reformulate", "summarize", and "formulate". The fact that he frequently formulates his action displays sensitivity within the local context – suggesting a strong link between his action, its format, and the institutional setting (namely the democratic participatory procedure going on).

But this action is not only explicitly *accounted* for by him by means of its topicalization in explicit formulations – it is also done in an *accountable* way, exhibiting and making visibly recognizable what he is doing through the way he is doing it. In this respect, the embodied formatting of his action is crucial; it makes clear for everybody that he is not speaking on his behalf but on the behalf of the citizens. He presents himself as a "sounding box" – almost in a literal sense since he "amplifies" the (lower) voice of the citizens. Of course, he does more than that, but this is how he multimodally builds the accountability of his action. The facilitator – similar to the journalist studied by Clayman (1992, 2007) – achieves his "neutrality" (does "doing being neutral") by exhibiting the fact that he is speaking on behalf of the significant others that are the citizens (interestingly, he does not

do the same thing when he speaks on behalf of the institution while looking at the officers in a discrete way).

6.2. What do formulations do in the public participatory meeting

Formulations (Heritage/Watson 1979) have been studied in various settings (like psychotherapy sessions, meetings, news interviews, etc.; Antaki et al. 2005; Barnes 2007; Clayman 1993; Deppermann 2011; Drew 2003). The interactional job they do is context specific as well as specific to the activity and to the sequential environment in which the formulation is produced.

In the setting studied in this paper, a participatory democratic meeting, the formulation by the facilitator of citizens' proposals acquires a "political" sense and bears political issues. One the one hand, formulating is sometimes explicitly accounted for as treating *hearing* problems (relative to the ambient noise, hush hushes, overlaps, by- and cross-play, etc.) as well as for pre-empting possible problems of *understanding* (relative to complex turns but also to possibly confused and confusing ones). In these cases, it is legitimated by addressing and managing the basic conditions securing participation in a larger group, that everybody hears and understands the others. On the other hand, the *accountability* of the action done by the facilitator is mostly achieved without any *account*; his way of listening to the citizen making a proposal and then turning to the remaining portion of the room, operates a visible change in the participation framework and in the corresponding interactional space. Most proposals are produced by the citizens in a lower voice by gazing at the facilitator – and not in a louder voice addressed to the totality of the room. The facilitator turns to the room and his formulations are produced with a powerful voice directed to the entire group. Thus, what is accountably done by the facilitator is a *publicization* of the proposal – is a re-addressing of the citizen's turn/idea/action to the other citizens, making the proposal available and shared. This is the basis for the discussion that follows and which is supposed to exhibit and build some agreement or to spot disagreements. In this sense, the formulation is crucial for organizing the participation to the interaction considered as a political process establishing public positions, affiliated or disaffiliated to.

Thus, in the way in which the practice of formulating is multimodally achieved, it is accountably and recognizably done as an important piece of the participatory democratic process.

6.3. What is done by the formulation

As shown by the empirical analyses, the formulating turn is not homogeneous; it expresses several voices and orients to several recipients. Its formatting i) depends on the sequential environment in which it is achieved (namely, as an immediately next turn or as a more distant following turn), ii) mobilizes a diversity of resources constituting different multimodal gestalts, and iii) and addresses different participants while achieving different types of actions.

i) Sequential environments

I began the analysis on the basis of the simplest sequential format because the proximity between the "source" and the "reformulation" makes their relation accountable and recognizable. This format is the following:

Format 1 (see § 2)

1. the facilitator initiates a new sequence and selects a citizen;
2. the citizen makes a proposal;
3. the facilitator formulates the proposal, using recurrent formats, either prefacing it by "donc" and adding a request for confirmation at the end (§ 2.1) or explicitly formulating the action done ("reformulating" a "proposal") and using reported speech (§ 2.2).

In this case, the formulation is recognizable as such because of its position *next*, after the proposal of the citizen. This is oriented to by the participants, who are able to scrutinize the formulation in relation to its source and possibly repair it.

This is also observable by contrast in cases in which the initial formulation becomes an "idea" when it is treated after an intercalary turn or sequence.

Format 2 (see § 3)

1. the facilitator initiates a new sequence and selects a citizen;
2. the citizen makes a proposal;
3. the proposal is commented on/responded to in affiliative (§ 3.1)/disaffiliative (§ 3.2) turns;
4. the facilitator formulates the previous proposal in a synthetic way as an "idea".

This format shows that the formulation is sensitive to the distance from the original proposal; "distance" here means that other contributions have been made, which enrich but also transform the original, changing its trajectory. "Distance" is not a mere measure of words or time but is treated sequentially; over distance, other voices are possibly expressed, transforming an "individual" proposal into a collective thought. Moreover, through turns at talk, the sequential implicativeness of the first turn is also transformed.

Format 3 (see § 4)

1. the facilitator initiates a new sequence and selects a citizen;
2. the citizen makes a proposal;
3. the facilitator rejects either the terms of the proposal (§ 4.1) or the proposal itself (§ 4.2);
4. the facilitator finally proposes a new formulation integrating different voices.

In this format, the facilitator treats the lexical choices or the proposal itself as not fitted with/adapted to/conforming with/acceptable for the activity. This rejection of the initial words and arguments is achieved by bodily orienting to the town of-

ficer in charge of the urban planning and the participatory procedure while mentioning him – treating the officer as the personification of institutional constraints, which are nonetheless never made explicit. Next, the facilitator re-elaborates the proposal, and more or less radically the proposal itself, by combining in his formulation different proposals/voices in a new version that is often (but not always) agreed upon by the initial speakers.

Hence, the formulation of the proposal can integrate various voices, which can be treated either as compatible and convergent, like in the previous format, or as explicitly antagonistic, like in the last format studied here.

Format 4 (see § 5)

1. a debate is going on and antagonistic positions emerge;
2. the facilitator formulates the debate in one single turn.

In this case, and contrary to the previous ones, the multiple voices integrated in the formulation are not compatible, not transformable into a unique version; the version given portrays them as opposed and reconstructs this opposition.

These sequential environments show that formulations are sensitive to their position and to the previous action they are treating; this concerns how the initial proposal has been responded to by the co-participants (in an affiliative/disaffiliative way, in a convergent/antagonistic way) and how it has been treated by the facilitator himself (tacitly accepted/rejected). When a proposal is agreed upon, the recognition of the unique voice of its "author" is straightforward; when a proposal encounters disagreement, more voices are encapsulated in the successive versions that will be offered.

ii) Multimodal resources and multiple voices/recipients

Formulations are crucially implemented in a multimodal way. The formulating of turns of the facilitator contain numerous *verba dicendi* that refer to some previous talk that is being reported and often explicates the speaker who is being quoted and refer to the formal 2nd person ("vous"); this not only clearly displays that what is being done is reporting and reformulating but also the source of what is reported.

Nonetheless, the reference to various voices and various recipients is more finely achieved in the emergent details of the facilitator's embodied conduct. Not only gestures but also all of the parts of the body are mobilized in the progressive production of a distributed turn:

- the *gesture* - often pointing (with different hands' positions);

- the *gaze* and *head orientation*;

- the direction of the *movements* within the room, turning to the board and walking from the board to the center of the room or towards some particular participant;

- the movements and torsions of the *torso* and, notably, body-torqued positions.

Some of these ways of addressing to a recipient are more *publicly visible* than others. A quick glance to the officer is a movement that can probably be seen by

his recipient but not necessarily by the other participants. An insistent pointing is seen by everybody and has a strong public character. Hence, different regimes of accountability are practically achieved, orienting either to citizens of a democratic meeting or to officials as backers.

The refomulator can mobilize different parts of his body to refer to different types of participants and recipients, in various forms of *body-torque* (Schegloff, 1998):

- the "author" or "source" of the proposal, who in some cases can be a spokesperson (speaking on behalf of her table) or can turn to other co-authors (especially if they are sitting at the same table; in this case, there can be revisions of who is the author and on behalf of whom the initial speaker was making his or her proposal);

- other participants having expressed a proposal too, before the one currently discussed, who can be mobilized particularly in composite polyphonic formulations – where various sources and voices are assembled by the facilitator to offer a compromise/a conciliatory version;

- the (silent) voice of the officer and, through her, the (silent) voice of the institution, which I have shown that the facilitator orients to during particularly delicate formulations, possibly contradicting some putative position of the administration or the policy makers;

- other co-participants having expressed their support or their critique, affiliating or disaffiliating with the author;

- the global audience, constituted by the remaining co-present citizens.

These different entities are the recipients of different types of action (see *infra iii*). Their diversity shows how the group of co-present participants in the room is constantly and dynamically re-shaped through the identification of different voices, actively solicited for producing confirmations, agreement, and responses. This shows that the participants of this kind of social interaction do not constitute a unique "party" – in a simple bipartition between current speaker *versus* audience. There is indeed a party in these episodes, constituted by the group of the participants who are the recipients of the publicization of the proposal and who are treated in an undifferentiated way. But the delimitation of this party may change constantly, given that some participants will be specifically pointed at as authors, co-authors, opponents, experts, etc. This shows the complexity and dynamic evolution of the participation frameworks characterizing this kind of meeting.

iii) A diversity of recipient-oriented actions

This multiplicity of recipients and their finely distinctive segmentation, configuration, and distribution in the room – where spatial distribution matters too (cf. Mondada 2013) – are the addressees of a multiplicity of different actions.

- The global audience (constituting a "party") is the addressee of the *publicization* of the initial proposal. The facilitator orients to its hearing and understanding of the proposal. But he also orients to the next steps of the procedure; once made by a citizen, a proposal is collectively discussed and submitted for

general agreement. In this process (not examined here in its totality – but see Mondada 2011, 2012, 2013, in press for some analyses), the exact formulation of the proposal is (both interactionally and politically) important because it represents the basis of the work of collective elaboration from which a general agreement (or disagreement) is built. This is also visible in the cases in which the facilitator rejects the way in which a proposal is formatted and redirects its formulation.

- The original author is the addressee of *requests for confirmation* (responding to their monitoring of the ongoing reformulation), by which the reformulating action of the facilitator is publicly submitted to the scrutiny of the author and to possible corrections (indeed very scarce – but see extract 5). Requests for confirmation are initiated at various sequential positions, mainly a) in the course of the reformulation, b) in inserted sequences (see extract 5b for good examples), and c), most visibly, just before completion (this is the case of almost all the excerpts). Generally the responses are positive.

- The original author is also the addressee of gestures (pointing with a presenting open supine hand) and referential forms ("monsieur", "madame", "mademoiselle" / "vous" + *verba dicendi*) that *recognize, credit, and display the authorship* of what is being reported. The recipients of these actions are in fact two, the global party of the audience to whom the author is explicitly presented and displayed and the author him/herself, who is recognized and credited as such.

There is a form of hierarchization between these actions; for instance, requests for confirmations, checks, and crediting are done in a way that skillfully inserts them within the ongoing activity of publicizing, which remains the main one – with a preference for the progressivity of the latter.

   The multimodal organization of the facilitator's formulations exhibits him speaking on behalf of the citizens and, thereby, "doing being a professional". This self-presentation is centered on his professional morality and, more particularly, on his neutrality and legitimacy – as they are locally and accountably achieved. Through formulations, however, the facilitator performs various tasks. On the one hand, he expresses, recognizes, and publicizes the citizens' concerns. On the other hand, he also orients towards the constraints of the institution, organizing the debate and managing the urban planning; this orientation is embedded in him checking whether contributions are adequately formatted with respect to the official agenda, and formulating them in such a way as to secure that they constitute an adequate, acceptable, and relevant basis for the next action in the procedure – the public discussion and agreement about proposals. In this, the facilitator addresses both citizens' and institutional concerns. These different constraints are made relevant here and now within embodied orientations towards a diversity of voices co-present in the room. These voices are distributed in space and not equally treated. The assembly of citizens is overtly addressed in a publicly visible way; authors of proposals may be more or less recognized as such; and officers are addressed with a quick lateral gaze, in a way that is much less visible to the assembly. Citizens respond and correct while officers never respond to these furtive glances.

6.4. Consequences for the conceptualization of recipiency, participants and parties

The analyses reported in this paper provide empirical, detailed evidence of the complexity of recipiency and participation in social interactions within larger groups.

The practice studied – formulating a previously uttered turn – constitutes a perspicuous environment in which multiple recipiency is locally achieved by the speaker, thanks to verbal and embodied resources – that is, in a way that is audibly and visually displayed for the recipients.

Interactions in larger groups are still scarcely studied. Existing research has emphasized the importance of a "mediated" turn-taking system to deal with them (Heritage/Clayman 2010). Within this system, a chairman, facilitator, or spokesperson, mediates between the speaker and the remaining participants, constituting an audience. Thus, this system is characterized by three parties: the speaker, the mediator, and the audience. In an important paper, Schegloff (1995) demonstrates that the turn-taking model "organizes the distribution of talk not in the first instance among persons, but among parties" (1995:33). Often, a party is constituted by a single person, but, sometimes, persons can be grouped together, not because of extra-interactional criteria but "by virtue of interaction-specific contingencies and conduct" (1995:33). This latter possibility is important to consider for the analysis of several turn-taking issues. Schegloff (1995) mainly focuses on key issues dealing with overlap.

The notion of "party" is often taken for granted by descriptions of "multi-party" interactions. Consequently, the way in which a "party" is locally configured, oriented to, and recognized by the participants themselves *in situ* remains understudied. Interesting contributions to this issue come from studies of actions done in front of large parties – such as political assemblies and also audiences at auctions – where a focus on a party constituted by a single person is achieved in the midst of a larger group constituting until then a unique "party". This is the case of the identification of one or more next speakers or bidders within a larger audience (Heath 2012; Heath/Luff 2013; Mondada 2013). In this paper, I further contribute to this discussion by showing how the constitution and moment-by-moment configuration of parties is achieved by participants' contingent and emergent conducts in interaction. More specifically, I show that a "party" is not a stable entity but a changing one, resulting from the constant scrutiny of the participants, taking into account the detailed form of their participation in the current action in order to constantly re-assemble, re-articulate, and re-structure a possible party into more parties. Orientation to multiple recipiency does exactly that.

The issue of multiple recipiencies also casts some light on the distinction between *recipient* and *addressee.* The speaker distinguishes various persons whom he *addresses* (in the cases studied, the previous speaker and author, other co-authors and supporters, the remaining audience, the bystanding officer, etc.). They are not uniformly addressed; some are publicly addressed (this is the case of the author and the audience), and others are only visually addressed (this is the case of the officer). While not only the addressed participants but also all the others participants are *recipients* of these actions, they might be specifically targeted (for example, they are explicitly considered in the public address of an author, who is

addressed in a public way that shows him or her as being the author for the others *versus* the orientation to the officer is not being publicly exhibited).

This stratification of recipients is crucially achieved thanks to a diversity of multimodal affordances of the resources used. While pointing is visible for everybody – such as in crediting an idea by pointing to the author, publicly done for everybody – gazing (especially a quick gaze) tends to be visible to the person gazed at in a more private way (though this might be overseen by others).

More broadly, this analysis can be also seen as a contribution to the analysis of phenomena of *polyphony*. The orientation towards multiple recipients achieves, bodily and verbally, the orchestration of a diversity of *voices* in interaction, which are pointed at, recognized, alluded to, and sometimes even explicitly quoted. Thus, the study of these formulating practices sheds some light on what Volosinov and Bakhtin called polyphony from an interactional perspective, showing the interest for analysts to look at social interaction to understand the way in which it is multimodally achieved, moment-by-moment. Although current analyses of polyphony are generally practiced within other disciplines and paradigms – such as literature for example – and the relation between Conversation Analysis and Bakhtin is generally not made, a possible connection is indicated by Goodwin (2007:29). He states that Goffman was inspired by his reading of Volosinov while elaborating on his model of footing. Volosinov, through Goodwin's reading, powerfully speaks of words as shared territory (2007:31) and shows how multiple voices inhabit individual speaker's utterances. This generated in Volosinov and Bakhtin an interest in reported speech and other practices showing laminations of voices in the text of a single author, rather than in multi-party social interaction, considered by them as less interesting (2007:32). Goodwin's work constitutes a proposal to go beyond both traditions; it reveals the polyphonic dimension of single turns treated not in isolation but in relation to their sequential environment and considered not as purely linguistic structures but as multimodal practices, reflexively built within the moment-by-moment production integrating the embodied responses of hearers and addressees.

The analyses offered in this paper contribute to this reflection on polyphony in interaction. They show the productivity of not limiting the study of multiple voices in texts or in monological talk. They encourage considering them a) as they emerge in social interaction – where these voices are not only quoted or referred to but also critically respond and reflexively inform the way they are treated – and b) as they are multimodally implemented – in ways that holistically merge linguistic phenomena like formulations and reported speech with embodied orientations. This also sheds some light on the political issues of polyphony – echoing Volosinov's concern with political hegemony and heteroglossia. The analyses conducted in this paper show how, in a political debate, the orchestration of different voices manages, implements, and ultimately achieves matters of democracy (respecified here as the transparent – publicly audible and visible – expression and re-voicing of citizens' voices) and institutionality (respecified here as the less transparent – less visible and silent – orientation towards the constraints of the institutional agenda).

Acknowledgements

7. References

Antaki, Charles / Barnes, Rebecca / Leudar, Ivan (2005): Diagnostic formulations in psychotherapy. In: Discourse Studies 7(6), 627-647.

Antaki, Charles / Leudar, Ivan / Barnes, Rebecca (2007): Members' and analysts' interests: "Formulations" in psychotherapy. In: Hepburn, Alexa / Wiggins, Sally (eds.), Discursive Research in Practice: New Approaches to Psychology and Interaction. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 166-181.

Barnes, Rebecca (2007): Formulations and the facilitation of common agreement in meetings talk. In: Text & Talk 27(3), 273-296.

Bilmes, Jack (2008): Generally speaking: Formulating an argument in the U.S. Federal Trade Commission. In: Text & Talk 28(2), 193-217.

Clayman, Steven (1990): From talk to text: Newspaper accounts of reporter-source interactions. In: Media, Culture and Society 12(1), 79-104.

Clayman, Steven (1992): Footing in the achievement of neutrality: the case of news interview discourse. In: Drew, Paul / Heritage, John (Eds.), Talk at Work. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Clayman, Steven (1993): Reformulating the question: A device for answering/not answering questions in news interviews and press conferences. In: Text 13(2), 159-188.

Clayman, Steven (2007): Speaking on behalf of the public in broadcast news interviews. In: Holt, Elizabeth / Clift, Rebecca (eds.), Reporting Talk: Reported Speech in Interaction. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Clayman, Steven / Heritage, John (2002): The News Interview: Journalists and Public Figures on the Air. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Deppermann, Arnulf (2011): Notionalization: The transformation of descriptions into categorizations. In: Human Studies 34, 155-181.

Deppermann, Arnulf / Blühdorn, Hardarik (2013): Negation als Verfahren des Adressatenzuschnitts: Verstehenssteuerung durch Interpretationsrestriktionen. In: Deutsche Sprache 41, 6-30.

Deppermann, Arnulf / Schmitt, Reinhold (2009): Verstehensdokumentation: Zur Phänomenologie von Verstehen in der Interaktion. In: Deutsche Sprache 3/08, 220-245.

Drew, Paul (2003): Comparative analysis of talk-in-interaction in different institutional settings. In: Glenn, Pillip J. / LeBaron, Curtis D. / Mandelbaum, Jennifer (eds.), Studies in language and Social Interaction. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum, 293-308.

Goffman, Erving (1981): Forms of Talk. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Goodwin, Charles (1979): The interactive construction of a sentence in natural conversation. In: Psathas, George (ed.), Everyday Language: Studies in Ethnomethodology. New York: Irvington Publishers, 97-121.

Goodwin, Charles (2007): Interactive footing. In: Holt, Elizabeth / Clift, Rebecca (eds.), Reporting Talk: Reported Speech in Interaction. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 16-46.

Goodwin, Charles / Goodwin, Marjorie H. (1990): Interstitial argument. In: Grimshaw, Allen D. (ed.), Conflict Talk. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 85-117.

Goodwin, Charles / Goodwin, Marjorie H. (2004): Participation. In: Duranti, Alessandro (ed.), A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology. Oxford: Blackwell, 222-244.

Gülich, Elisabeth / Kotschi, Peter (1983): Les marqueurs de la reformulation paraphrastique. Cahiers de Linguistique Française 5, 305-351.

Gülich, Elisabeth / Kotschi, Peter (1995): Discourse production in oral communication: A Study based on French. In: Quasthoff, Uta M. (ed.), Aspects of Oral Communication. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, 30-66.

Heath, Christian (1986): Body Movement and Speech in Medical Interaction. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Heath, Christian (2012): Dynamics of Auction. Social interaction and the Sale of Fine Art and Antiques. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Heath, Christian / Luff, Paul (2007): Ordering competition: The interactional accomplishment of the sale of art and antiques at auction. In: British Journal of Sociolology 58, 63-85.

Heath, Christian / Luff, Paul (2013): Embodied action and organisational interaction: Establishing contract on the strike of a hammer. In: Journal of Pragmatics 46(1), 24-38.

Heritage, John (1985): Analyzing news interviews: Aspects of the production of talk for an "overhearing" audience. In: van Dijk, Teun Adrianus (eds), Handbook of Discourse Analysis (Vol. 3) Discourse and Dialogue. London: Academic Press, 95-119.

Heritage, John (1998): Conversation analysis and institutional talk: Analyzing distinctive turn-taking systems. In: Čmejrková, Světla / Hoffmannova, Jana / Müllerova, Olga / Světlá, Jindra (eds.), Dialoganalyse VI (Vol. 2). Tübingen: Niemeyer, 3-17.

Heritage, John / Clayman, Steven (2010): Talk in Action. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Heritage, John / Watson, Rodney (1979): Formulations as conversational objects. In: Psathas, George (ed.), Everyday Language: Studies in Ethnomethodology. New York: Irvington, 123-162.

Holt, Elizabeth / Clift, Rebecca (eds.) (2007): Reporting Talk: Reported Speech in Interaction. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Houtkoop-Steenstra, Hanneke (2000): Interaction and the Standardized Survey Interview. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hutchby, Ian (1995): Aspects of recipient design in expert advice-giving on call-in radio. In: Discourse Processes 19(2), 219-238.

Jefferson, Gail (2004): Glossary of transcript symbols with an introduction. In: Lerner, Gene H. (ed.), Conversation Analysis: Studies from the First Generation. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 13-31.

Kendon, Adam (2004): Gesture: Visible Action as Utterance. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Markaki, Vassiliki / Mondada, Lorenza (2012): Embodied orientations towards co-participants in multinational meetings. In: Discourse Studies 14(1), 31-52.

Mondada, Lorenza (2007): Multimodal resources for turn-taking: Pointing and the emergence of possible next speakers. In: Discourse Studies 9(2), 195-226.

Mondada, Lorenza (2009): Emergent focused interactions in public places: A systematic analysis of the multimodal achievement of a common interactional space. In: Journal of Pragmatics 41, 1977-1997.

Mondada, Lorenza (2011): The interactional production of multiple spatialities within a participatory democracy meeting. Social Semiotics 21(2), 283-308.

Mondada, Lorenza (2012): Der Interaktionsraum der politischen Diskussion: Eine Fallstudie zu einer partizipativen Bürgerversammlung. In: Hausendorf, Heiko / Mondada, Lorenza / Schmitt, Reinhold (Hg.), Raum als interaktive Ressource. Tübingen: Narr, 89-139.

Mondada, Lorenza (2012): The dynamics of embodied participation and language choice in multilingual meetings. In: Language in Society 41, 1-23.

Mondada, Lorenza (2013): Embodied and spatial resources for turn-taking in institutional multi-party interactions: The example of participatory democracy debates. In: Journal of Pragmatics 46, 39-68.

Mondada, Lorenza (in press): An interactionist perspective on the ecology of linguistic practices: The situated and embodied production of talk. In: Ludwig, Ralph / Mühlhäusler, Peter / Pagel, Steve (eds.), Language Ecology and Language Contact. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mondada, Lorenza / Svensson, Hanna / van Schepen, Nynke (accepted): "Why that not now": Participants' orientations towards several organizational layers in social interaction. Bulletin VALS/ASLA.

Pomerantz, Anita / Denvir, Paul (2007): Enacting the institutional role of a chairperson in upper management meetings: The interactional realization of provisional authority. In: Cooren, Francois (ed.), Interacting and Organizing. London: Erlbaum, 31-52.

Raymond, Geoffrey (2004): Prompting action: The stand-alone "so" in ordinary conversation. In: Research on Language and Social Interaction, 37(2), 185-218.

Sacks, Harvey (1992): Lectures on Conversation [1964-72] (2 Vols.). Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Sacks, Harvey / Schegloff, Emanuel A. / Jefferson, Gail (1974): A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking for conversation. In: Language 50, 696-735.

Schegloff, Emanuel A. (1995): Parties and talking together: Two ways in which numbers are significant for talk-in-interaction. In: ten Have, Paul / Psathas, George (eds.), Situated Order: Studies in Social Organisation and Embodied Activities. Washington: University Press of America, 31-42.

Schegloff, Emanuel A. (1998): Body torque. Social Research 65(3), 535-586.

Schmitt, Reinhold / Knöbl, Ralf (2014): Zur multimodalen Repräsentation des Anderen im eigenen Verhalten. Mannheim: Institut für deutsche Sprache. http://ids-pub.bsz-bw.de/frontdoor/index/index/docId/3239.

Prof. Dr. Lorenza Mondada
Universität Basel
Französisches Seminar
Maiengasse 51
CH - 4056 Basel

lorenza.mondada@unibas.ch