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Leaning and recipient intervening questions in Mandarin conversation

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Received 20 February 2013; received in revised form 26 March 2014; accepted 31 March 2014



Abstract

In naturally occurring conversation, the recipient not only listens to the speaker, but also actively participates in the construction and negotiation of the ongoing talk. The recipient sometimes intervenes into the speaker's turn before it is brought to a possible completion, and one practice is initiating questions related to the ongoing talk. These questions have no direct contribution to the progress of the current project, and they impede the progressivity of the speaker's turn. While most research on recipient interventions focuses on the structure and function of the intervening sequences, this study examines the body movements involved in the production of the recipient interventions. Drawing on the methodology of conversation analysis and interactional linguistics, this article explores the role of body movements in the production of *recipient intervening questions* in Mandarin face-to-face conversation. A recurrent pattern of body movement co-occurs with the recipient intervening questions. That is, the recipient leans toward the speaker when initiating the question and holds the leaning body until the response is provided. Leaning visually displays the recipient's orientation to his/her question as disjunctive and disaligned with the speaker's ongoing turn and activity in progress. Holding of the lean is a resource usable by the recipient to mobilize response to the intervening questions. This study shows that leaning is relevant to the organization of the recipient intervening question–answer sequences in Mandarin conversation.

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Keywords: Leaning; Holding of the lean; Recipient intervening questions; Disalignment; Mobilizing response; Mandarin face-to-face conversation

1. Introduction

In naturally occurring conversation, the recipient is actively involved in a variety of activities. In addition to being merely a listener, the recipient may intervene in the speaker's ongoing talk by initiating questions related to the talk. Sequences involving such intervening questions can be observed in the following excerpts.

(1) (TO_SMW_neighboring county)

01 Sun: lin feng shi women xian women gebi xian.
(NAME) be our county our neighboring county
Lin Feng was, our county, our neighboring county

02 zai women xian dang guo [(XX);
in our county be ASP
in our county was...

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03 Mei:→ [gebi xian <<laughing>hai you zhe ge shuofa
[neighboring county still have this CL saying
Neighboring county, is there such a saying?

04 Sun: jiu shi women [lin xian.
just be our [adjacent county.
It's the county next to us.

05 Wen: [lin xian.
[adjacent county
The county next to us.

06 Mei: gebi xian.
neighboring county
Neighboring county.

07 ai wo faxian ni tai you chuangzaoxing le.
PRT I discover you very have creativity CRS
I find you are very creative.

In line 02, Sun's turn is still in progress. Mei initiates a question with laughter (line 03) in the middle of Sun's turn, displaying her problem in understanding and accepting the saying *gebi xian* 'neighboring county' in Sun's ongoing turns. Mei's question here intervenes in Sun's turn-in-progress.

The recipient's intervening question can also be observed in Excerpt 2. In this extract, Lin is telling Yan about her experience being asked to work on the organizing committee for an evening show.

(2) (TO_LY_evening show)

01 Lin: ta shuo ni yuanyi zuo ma wo shuo xing a mei wenti.
he say you willing do Q I say OK PRT no problem
He asked "are you willing to do this (help organize the party)?" I said OK, no problem.

02 fanzheng wo ye mei you shenme shir ma.
anyway I also NEG have what thing PRT
I didn't have other things to do anyway.

03 [(xx)yi wen?
[(xx)once ask
(When I) asked (him)...

04 Yan:→[ni renshi luo jing ma;
[you know (NAME) Q
Do you know Luo Jing?

05 Lin: luo jing dangran renshi women yuanlai zhu zai yiqi.
(NAME) of course know we originally live at together
Luo Jing, of course I know her. We used to live together.

((11 lines omitted regarding Lin and Yan's joint assessment of Luo Jing.))

17 Yan: ranhou houlai shi TA jiao wo cuichang de ni zhidao ba.
then later be 3SG ask me remind performance PRT you know PRT
Then later it was she who asked me to remind the performers, you know?

Here, in the middle of Lin's turn, Yan initiates a question requesting information about whether Lin knows a third-party (line 04) who assigned her the task of reminding the performers at the show (line 17). The question also intervenes in Lin's turn-in-progress and disrupts the progressivity of Lin's turn and telling.

The preceding questions are launched by the recipient of the ongoing talk and activity, and they intervene in the progressivity of the speaker's turn and activity. These questions are called *recipient intervening questions*.¹ The previous excerpts have shown the two types of recipient intervening questions observed in the data: other-initiations of repair that intervene in the current speaker's turn and questions seeking further information related to the current activity but impeding the progressivity of the speaker's turn. Asking a question before the speaker completes his/her turn is a delicate interactional business. The question may receive no uptake from the speaker. This article treats these questions as the locus for exploring the interactional significance of body movements to the organization of this type of question–answer sequence. It is argued that (1) leaning body movements produced in conjunction with the initiation of the recipient intervening questions embody the recipient's orientation to his/her question as sequentially disaligned with the speaker's turn and activity in progress, and (2) holding of the lean is used as a resource to hold the speaker accountable for responding and thereby mobilize responses to the recipient intervening questions.

2. Background

The first type of recipient intervening question (see Excerpt 1) is a particular type of other-initiation of repair that intervenes in the trouble-source turn. Although other-initiations of repair may come in the middle of the trouble-source turn, they more often appear *in the next turn* after the trouble-source turn (Schegloff et al., 1977) or even *after the next turn* (Schegloff, 1992, 2000), as is described by Schegloff et al. (1977):

...other initiations occupy one main position: next turn. ... other-initiations DO NOT COME EARLIER. Although trouble-source turns are often interrupted for the initiation of repair, such initiations are overwhelmingly self-interruptions by the speaker of the trouble-source turn for the self-initiation of repair, and are rarely interruptions by other-initiations. Rather, others 'withhold' repair initiations from placement while trouble-source turn is in progress. (Schegloff et al., 1977:373, emphasis the original)

But the first type of recipient intervening question in the data is usually launched while the speaker's trouble-source turn is still in progress. The sequential inappropriateness and abruptness of these questions seem to be embodied by a particular type of body movement in the data.

The second type of recipient intervening question in the data intervenes in the speaker's turn and activity in progress by requesting information related to the current activity (e.g., telling in Excerpt 2). This type of recipient intervening question is called "question-initiated oblique" by Koenig (2005).² In this type of "oblique sequence", recipients ask questions in the

¹ One reviewer points out a possible confusion in the use of "recipient" that the one who asks the question is not the "recipient" anymore, but actually the "speaker". Thus, a clarification of the use of "recipient" in this article is in order. Unless otherwise specified, the "recipient" and the "speaker" here refer to the role of the participant in the ongoing talk before the occurrence of the question. For example, Mei is the recipient of Sun's ongoing talk before she initiates the question in Excerpt 1, and Yan is the recipient of Lin's ongoing talk before her question in Excerpt 2. In addition, the "recipient intervening question" is used to distinguish it from the "speaker intervening question" which refers to the question initiated by the ongoing speaker him-/herself. The following excerpt is an example of the "speaker intervening question".

In this excerpt, Min is telling Lan and Hui about his opinions on people's misunderstandings of the Relevance Theory. Min's question in line 03 is launched in the middle of his own turn-in-progress and disrupts the progressivity of the turn. Thus, it is a sequentially intervening question. But it is apparently produced by the ongoing speaker Min himself, rather than the recipients. Therefore, the term "recipient" is still necessary to be used in "recipient intervening question" to distinguish it from the "speaker intervening question" demonstrated in this excerpt.

(Relevance Theory_34:03)

- 01 Min: dajia dou shuo lijie cuo le lijie cuo le.
 everyone all say understand wrong CRS understand wrong CRS
 'Everyone says that the understanding (of the first interpretation of the Relevance Theory) is wrong,'
- 02 nei zhong dou shuo ta nei ge ta nei ge zhun-
 that kind all say 3SG that CL 3SG that CL maxim
 '(and) something like that. They all say the Maxim-'
- 03 →ni zhidao guanlian [nei ge duo dianr shi ba.
 you know relevance [that CL more a little be PRT
 'You know a little bit more about the Relevance Theory, right?'
- 04 Lan: [en.
 [umm
 'Umm.'

² I thank Christopher Koenig for sharing his manuscript with me.

middle of a speaker's multi-unit turn, seeking information related to "but not necessarily in furtherance of" the current project. Question-initiated intervention in a larger project is also documented in Italian multi-party conversation (Monzoni and Drew, 2009). Monzoni and Drew (2009) argue that the unknowing recipient's intervening question in a story is a practice implementing various activities informed by the sequential and interactional features of the specific interaction, for example, hijacking speaker's complaints through humor. These studies contribute to our understanding of the overall structure of the sequence engendered by the intervening questions and their interactional functions. But the particular sequential features of the intervening questions and the embodied movements (if any) involved in their delivery have not been explored.

The concepts of (dis)alignment and (dis)affiliation seem to be relevant to the sequential and interactional property of the recipient intervening questions. Stivers (2008) makes a distinction between (dis)alignment and (dis)affiliation in her analysis of responses to storytelling: (dis)alignment refers to the (lack of) support of the activity in progress, whereas (dis)affiliation involves the (lack of) endorsement of the speaker's stance. Thus, (dis)alignment is a sequential/structural notion, and (dis)affiliation is social/interactional. When a question intervenes between a turn-constructive unit (TCU) and the hearable next one in a multi-TCU turn or between a turn and the hearable next one in a sequence, it disrupts the *progressivity* of the talk (Schegloff, 2007:15) and disaligns with the turn and sequence/activity in progress (Stivers, 2008). This study focuses on the body movements related to the sequential (disaligning) feature of the recipient intervening questions and their function in mobilizing responses to the questions.

In exploring the body movements involved in the recipient intervening questions, this article builds on the previous work on the organizational feature of body movements (Sacks and Schegloff, 2002[1975]; Kendon, 1972, 1973, 2004) and the role of leaning in the organization of larger interactional units (Schefflen, 1964; Li, 2013). Sacks and Schegloff (2002 [1975]:137) describe the organizational pattern of body movements as "ending where they begin", and they call the same place where movements start and end as "home position".³ In separate studies, Kendon (1972, 1973, 2004) documents a similar pattern of forelimb movements, and he refers to the starting and ending position of forelimb gestures as "rest position". The discovery of the formal organization of body movements in these studies is significant in that it allows us to relate the organization of body movements to the organization of talk in interaction. Schefflen (1964, 1973) is a pioneer in making such a connection. Schefflen (1964) observes that the lean-return postural shifts correspond roughly to the structural unit of "position" (i.e., a point of view) in psychotherapeutic interaction. This study relates postural shifts to their role in interaction, i.e., in contextualizing structural units in talk. Following a similar line, Li (2013) investigates the interrelatedness between the lean-return torso movements and some larger interactional units such as multi-TCU turns in everyday Mandarin conversation. She describes that the lean-return torso movements co-occur with the beginning and completion of multi-TCU turns and actions implemented through them. Other studies of body movements in different interactional contexts include leaning in laughter-episodes (Griffitt, 2008), body posture in storytelling (Goodwin, 1984), in medical consultation (Heath, 1984, 1986), in workplace meetings (Ford and Stickle, 2012), and in second language classrooms (Mortensen, 2009).

Based on the previous research on intervening questions and body movements, this study investigates the relevance of a particular type of body movement, i.e., leaning, to the production of and response to the recipient intervening questions.

3. Data and method

The data for this study are everyday naturally occurring conversations among native speakers of Mandarin from Mainland China. The data come from 8 interactions, including four dyads and four multiparty conversations. Most of the interactions were recorded by two cameras from different angles, so that the movements of each participant are clearly visible.

The analysis of the data follows the methodology of conversation analysis and interactional linguistics which focus on the vocal/visual resources and interlocutors' orientation to them in talk-in-interaction (see Heritage, 1984b; Couper-Kuhlen and Selting, 2001). The data are selected from the non-initiating and non-terminating stage of the conversational interaction, when a state of copresence has been established. First, all recipient intervening questions in the data were singled out and formed into a new data set of 62 tokens. The questions are identified by three factors: (1) the syntactic design of the question, (2) the response from the participants, and (3) the sequential position of the question. The lexico-syntactic forms of questions in Mandarin Chinese include particle questions, WH-word questions, and disjunctive questions (including A-not-A questions) (Li and Thompson, 1981). Since Mandarin does not have subject-verb inversion in interrogatives, final question particles and prosody play an important role in identifying polar questions. For the same reason, recipient's responses to certain question-like utterances (especially the polar questions without final question

³ However, it should be noted that this organizational pattern applies to not only body movements, but also a large number of other "moves" in interaction (Sacks and Schegloff, 2002[1975]:137).

markers) also furnish us with evidence in identifying questions. Both verbal and visual responses (e.g. head nodding) to questions are considered as answers.⁴ Sequentially, the questions that are initiated in the middle of the speaker's ongoing turn (before the turn is lexico-syntactically, prosodically and pragmatically complete) are identified as recipient intervening questions. Based on a detailed analysis of each recipient intervening question token in the data, a recurrent pattern of body movement is observed. In the remainder of this article, I will examine the interactional relevance of the body movements in the production of the recipient intervening questions (section 4) and in mobilizing responses to these questions (section 5).

4. Leaning as a display of disalignment of recipient intervening questions

The recipient's response to the speaker's ongoing talk is consequential for the temporal unfolding of the turn and sequence. That is, the recipient's response may facilitate or disrupt the progressivity of the speaker's turn and activity in progress. In my data, the recipient sometimes initiates questions intervening in the speaker's talk to address a particular issue in the ongoing talk. A recurrent pattern of body movement is observed in the production of the recipient intervening question: the recipient leans toward the speaker upon initiating the question, and holds the leaning body until the response is provided.

An examination of the data shows that the recipient intervening questions are sequentially disjunctive and disaligned with the talk in progress. The concurrent lean visually displays the recipient's orientation to the abruptness of his/her question for the speaker and the disjunctiveness and disalignment of the questions. After responding to the question, the speaker often returns to the turn element that he/she left off and resumes the previous projected turn. The speaker's return to and resumption of the projected turn demonstrates that the speaker also treats the recipient intervening question as interruptive and disaligned. Finally, it is shown that the recipient's questions that are launched in sequentially non-intervening or aligned positions are not produced with leaning (Excerpt 7).

In the current data, there are mainly two types of recipient intervening questions: other-initiations of repair and questions seeking further information related to the ongoing activity. The two types of recipient intervening questions are both produced with leaning body movements. The recipient intervening questions as other-initiations of repair and the concomitant lean are first demonstrated by Excerpt 3. This excerpt is taken from a conversation among three graduate students studying in the same program at a university in China. Hui and Lan are chatting with Min about his possible research directions.

(3) (TO_HLM_discourse analysis)

01 Min: lingwai wo wo gei ziji de dingwei jiu shi shuo;
besides I I give self ASSC position just be say
Besides, the (research direction) I have planned for myself is,

02 wo yi fangmian keyi chao lilun zou;
I one aspect can toward theory go
on the one hand I can focus on theory,

03 ling yi fangmian chao yupianfenxi;
other one aspect toward discourse analysis
and on the other hand, I can do discourse analysis.

04 liang bian dou nong.
two sides all do
(I can) do both.

05 danshi jiu shi yihou
but just be future
But it's just in the future,

06 Hui:→ [ni (.) DANshi ni shuo ni shuo yupianfenxi jiu shi topic nei ge ma;
[you(.) but you say you say discourse analysis just be topic that CL Q
But by discourse analysis you mean "topic"

⁴ Compared to questions, answers are not always easy to identify (cf. Sacks, 1992:49).

07	→ haishi biede dongxi. or other stuff or other stuff?
----	--

08 Min: biede dongxi jiu xiang discourse.
other stuff just like discourse
Other stuff, like discourse.

09 jiushi nei ge(.) jiu shi yupianfenxi zhe ge da lei.
just be that CL just be discourse analysis this CL big category
It's just discourse analysis, the big category.

10 Hui: ((head shaking)) ni (-- bu xing;
((head shaking)) you NEG OK
You, (it's) not OK.

11 ni bu neng xiang zhe ni you haojige fangxiang.
you NEG can think DUR you have many direction
You can't think that you have many directions.

12 [ni xianzai
[you now
You now...

13 Min: [en bu shi.
[Umm NEG be
Umm, no,

14 bu shi wo shi shuo YIHOU xueshu dingwei;
NEG be I be say future academic position
no, I was talking about the academic direction in the future.

This excerpt begins with Min's announcement about the directions he would like to pursue in his research (lines 01–05). While Min's turn is still in progress in line 05, Hui initiates a question in lines 06 and 07, asking for clarification of the meaning of *yupianfenxi* 'discourse analysis' in Min's turn. The contrastive conjunction *danshi* 'but' at the beginning of her question (line 06) seems to display Hui's problem in understanding and accepting⁵ Min's turn, which projects Hui's incipient disagreement. In addition, Hui's repair initiation is in the form of a disjunctive question connected by *haishi* 'or' (lines 06 and 07). According to Li and Thompson (1981:532), disjunctive questions in Mandarin present the recipients with a choice of two (or more) possible answers. Hui's disjunctive question here presents two candidate answers, but they are not of equal preference status: one being the preferred answer, and the other the dispreferred. Min's response with the dispreferred answer (*biede dongxi* 'other stuff' in line 08) immediately triggers Hui's overt disagreement both vocally (*bu xing* 'not OK') and visually (head shakes) (line 10). The disjunctive question here appears to be designed as a setup by Hui for her incipient disagreement.

Here, Hui's question is sequentially disjunctive and disaligned. At the beginning of this sequence, Min foreshadows a larger project implemented through a multi-TCU turn: the two possible research directions (lines 01–04), and a further clarification about his future research direction (projected by the contrastive conjunction *danshi* 'but' in line 05). The *danshi*-prefaced TCU not only indicates that the current announcement is still in progress, but projects the possible shape of the turn, i.e., something different from the previous research directions. However, Hui launches her question (line 06) immediately after *danshi* 'but' in Min's turn, when the continuation of the announcement has been projected and the turn is clearly in progress. Thus, Hui's question impedes the progressivity of the current announcement, and is sequentially disaligned with the current turn and activity in progress. In addition, both Hui and Min orient to the question as disaligned. As Hui launches the question (line 06), she produces a sharp lean toward Min (Figs. 1 and 2). She temporarily holds the lean until the response is provided (Fig. 3), and then moves her body back to home position (Fig. 4). Hui's lean stands out

⁵ The problem of not only understanding but also accepting the trouble source in some other-initiations of repair is brought to my attention in my personal communication with Margret Selting on other-initiations of repair. I am indebted to her and Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen for this notion and this term. However, any errors related to its usage in this article are all mine.

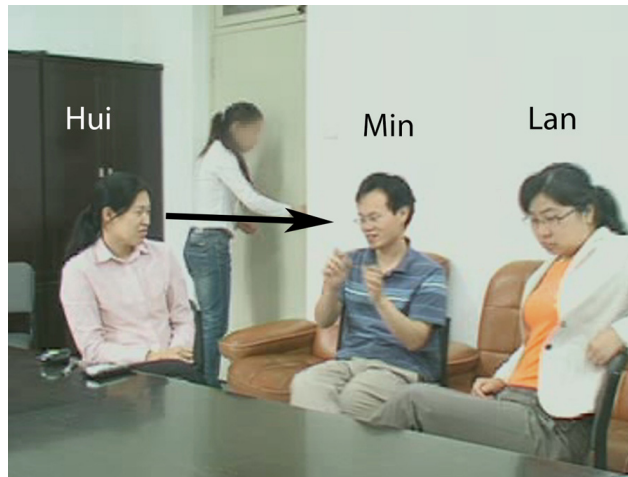


Fig. 1. Hui's body in home position before the initiation of her question in line 05.



Fig. 2. Hui leans toward Min when initiating her question in line 06.

from the established physical arrangement of the participants. The intrusion of Hui's body into the physical organization of the current interaction seems to visually display her orientation to the question as intrusive and disaligned with the current turn and activity in progress. The speaker Min also treats Hui's question as disaligned. When Hui starts up (line 06), Min's turn is still in progress (line 05) and he is also gesticulating (Fig. 1). Min holds his gesture throughout Hui's question (Figs. 2



Fig. 3. Hui holds her leaning body while gazes away in line 07.



Fig. 4. Hui's body returns to home position upon the receipt of the response in line 09.

and 3). The hold of his gesture visually displays Min's intention of holding his turn (Schwitalla, 1979; Streeck, 2009) and retrospectively marks Hui's question as interruptive and disaligned. Also, after Hui's disagreement (lines 10 and 11), Min rejects the grounds for Hui's disagreement that he was actually considering discourse analysis as his research direction in the future (line 14). It seems that he was about to clarify this in line 05 with the same word *yihou* 'future' which was interrupted by Hui's question. But he returns to this point after the repair sequence by repeating the word *yihou* 'future' with stress (line 14). The return to and resumption of his previous turn also renders retroactively Hui's question claimably and complainably interruptive (Schegloff, 2002) and disaligned with his prior turn and activity in progress.

The sequential disalignment of the recipient intervening questions as other-initiations of repair and the concurrent leaning body movements can also be observed in Excerpt 4. This excerpt is the continuation of Excerpt 2. Here, Yan is telling Lin about her experience working for the organization of the evening show. This interaction begins with a joint assessment by Yan and Lin about their common acquaintance Luo Jing who also worked on the organizing committee of the show.

(4) (TO_YL_the grudge)

01 Yan: Luo Jing zhe ge ren;
(NAME) this CL person
Luo Jing this person

02 Lin: yiban(-) bu zenmeyang.
so so NEG good
(is) so so, not so good.

03 Yan: en.
umm
Umm.

04 [ranhou houlai shi TA jiao wo cuichang de ni zhidao ba.
[then later be 3SG ask me remind performance PRT you know PRT
Then later it was she who asked me to remind the performers, you know?

05 Lin: [ta gen liuliu liang ren you (--) ta gen liuliu you guojie;
[she with (NAME) two person have she with (NAME) have grudge
She and Liuliu held, she and Liuliu held a grudge against each other.

06 henduo ren (dou you) wenti.
many people all have problems
(She has problems) with many people.

07 [suoyi-
[thus
Thus

08 Yan: → [NIUNIU hai you guojie a.
 [(NAME) still have grudge PRT
She held a grudge against Niuniu?

09 Lin: LIUliu.
 (NAME)
Liuliu.

10 Yan: ou: liuliu.
 oh (NAME)
Oh, Liuliu.

11 Lin: suoyi wo gen ta ye ? (bu).
 thus I with her also ? (NEG)
Thus, I am not ... with her either,

12 yinwei wo gen Liuliu hao shi zhongrenjiezhi de.
 because I with (NAME) good be well-known PRT
because everyone knows that Liuliu and I are good friends.

In this sequence, Lin informs Yan that Luo Jing and Lin's best friend Liuliu held a grudge against each other (line 05). Yan initiates a question with a partial repeat of Lin's turn followed by the final particle *a* (line 08). In her question, Yan changes the name of Lin's friend (from Liuliu to Niuniu) and adds an adverb *hai* 'still' (line 08). The adverb *hai* here indicates that Yan orients to Lin's prior informing as something out of expectation (Lü, 1980:254),⁶ based on her knowledge of Lin's friends. A partial repeat with the final particle *a* as repair initiation has been described to perform 'negatively valenced interactional work', such as projecting doubt, challenge and disagreement (Wu, 2006). Here, the partial repeat with the final particle *a*, the use of *hai*, and her surprising facial expression (Fig. 6) seem to work together to indicate Yan's problem in not merely understanding but also accepting or believing Lin's turn. But Lin's repair (line 09) and Yan's receipt with the change-of-state token *oh* (line 10) (Heritage, 1984a) register retrospectively that Yan misheard Lin's previous turn. After telling Yan about the grudge between Luo Jing and her friend Liuliu (line 05), Lin projects an extended turn by offering another piece of information about Luo Jing (line 06) and a possible comment prefaced by *suoyi* 'thus' (line 07). Yan's repair initiation displaying her surprise and disbelief about Lin's ongoing turn (line 08) intervenes in and disrupts the progressivity of Lin's extended turn. Therefore, Yan's question here is sequentially disjunctive and disaligned with the current turn and activity in progress.

In addition, both participants display orientation to the disalignment of the question. Yan's leaning body movements embody her orientation to the question as disaligned. At the beginning of the sequence, Yan and Lin sustain a vis-à-vis arrangement of their body⁷ (Fig. 5). But when launching her question, Yan starts to move her upper body and her head toward Lin (Fig. 6). Yan's leaning body breaks the established spatial arrangement between her and Lin. The lean appears to be a bodily enactment of Yan's orientation to her question as sequentially interruptive and disaligned with the ongoing talk. Yan holds her lean during her question and Lin's response. Then she moves her body back to home position while producing the receipt of Lin's response (Fig. 7). Lin also attends to Yan's question as interruptive and disaligned. After her repair (line 09) and Yan's receipt (line 10), Lin repeats the TCU element *suoyi* 'thus' (lines 07 and 11) interrupted by Yan's repair initiation, and resumes her report (lines 11 and 12). The repeat resumption of the interrupted TCU is a technique used by Lin to retrospectively mark her preceding report as still in progress and Yan's question as disruptive and disaligned.

The previous excerpts have exemplified the first type of recipient intervening question in the data, i.e., other-initiation of repair, and the recurrent leaning body movements. In the data, these questions are usually used by the recipient to indicate problems in understanding and accepting/believing the prior talk by the speaker, and to perform some sort of interactionally disaffiliative work such as predisagreement (Excerpt 3) and projecting doubt/disbelief (Excerpt 4). They regularly intervene in the speaker's ongoing turn and impede the progressivity of the projected turn and activity in progress. A type of body movement recurrently co-occurs with the production of the recipient intervening question. That is, the recipient leans toward the speaker when launching the question, and holds the leaning body until the response is

⁶ According to Lü (1980:252–254), the adverb *hai* is mainly used to express certain mood (*yuqi*) or emotion (*ganqing*). When it is used to express emotions, *hai* can indicate out-of-expectedness, blame or sarcasm, and rhetorical questions (Lü, 1980:254). In this excerpt, *hai* appears to express Yan's surprise toward and the "out-of-expectedness" of Lin's turn.

⁷ That is, Yan and Lin are physically situated opposite to and facing each other.



Fig. 5. Yan's body in home position before the initiation of her question in lines 06 and 07.



Fig. 6. Yan leans toward Lin and produces a facial expression displaying her surprise when initiating her question in line 08.



Fig. 7. Yan's body returns to home position upon the receipt of the response at the end of line 10.

provided. The recipient's leaning body intrudes into the "joint transactional space" (Kendon, 1990) and the physical arrangement established between the interactants. This bodily intrusion embodies the recipient's orientation to his/her question as intrusive and disaligned with the ongoing talk.

Although leaning in the preceding excerpts co-occurs with the recipient intervening questions that are disaligned and disaffiliative, it also appears in affiliative recipient intervening questions. This type of question is usually produced in the middle of a speaker's larger project (such as storytelling and recounting a past experience) in the pursuit of further information related to the project. Excerpts 5 and 6 are two cases in point.

Excerpt 5 is taken from the same conversation as Excerpt 4. Prior to this excerpt, Lin told Yan that she went back to her ex-boyfriend's place to pick up her stuff and overheard him talking on the phone with his new girlfriend.

(5) (TO_YL_chatting on the phone)

01 Lin: ranhou renjia liao liao liao liao de meiwanmeiliao;
then they chat chat chat chat CSC endless
Then they went on and on (on the phone),

02 liao de KE happy le.
chat CSC very happy CRS
talking very happily.

03 ranhou wo shoubuliao le-
then I NEG stand CRS
Then I couldn't stand it anymore.

04 [((hand gesture of knocking at the door))

05 Yan: → [tamen liao shenme Thema ne; [they chat what topic Q What topic were they talking about?

06 Lin: xia liao;
nonsense chat
(They were) talking nonsense.

07 (0.9)

08 ranhou shuo you liao xi yifu you liao shenme dongxi de.
then say also chat wash laundry also chat what thing PRT
Then (they) talked about doing laundry and things like that.

09 Yan: [((sigh))

10 Lin: [ranhou jiu qiao le qiao menr.
[then just knock PFV knock door
Then (I) knocked at the door.

11 Yan: en.
umm.
Umm.

12 Lin: ranhou ranhou wo yi qiao menr Billy jiu jiao ma.
then then I once knock door (NAME) just bark PRT
As soon as I knocked at the door, Billy started barking.

This sequence begins with Lin's telling that she overheard her ex-boyfriend talking on the phone with his new girlfriend (lines 01 and 02). The conjunction *ranhou* 'then' in line 03 indicates the continuation of her telling. In the *ranhou*-prefaced construction (line 03), *wo shou bu liao le* 'I can't stand it anymore' appears to project the continuation of the current telling. Although there is no lexical marker such as *yinwei* 'because', the causal adverbial interpretation here is accomplished through the frequent use of the "two-part" construction (Lerner, 1991) *wo shou bu liao le, jiu...* 'I can't stand it anymore, so (I)...' in Mandarin.⁸ The continuation of Lin's turn is also projected prosodically through the final level pitch movement

⁸ It is not uncommon in Mandarin that adverbial relationships between two clauses are not marked overtly, but inferred by interactants in specific situational contexts (Li and Thompson, 1981:641; Chao, 1968:104). The "final component" of the two-part construction is produced after the intervening Q-A sequence in line 10.



Fig. 8. Yan's body in home position before the initiation of her question in lines 03 and 04.

("-" at the end of line 03) as well as visually through her gesture (line 04). Upon the completion of line 03, Lin starts to move her hand and produces a "door knocking" gesture (Fig. 9). This gesture projects not only the continuation of the telling, but also the possible content of the incipient talk (see Schegloff, 1984; McNeill, 1992; Streeck and Hartge, 1992). Thus, the lexico-syntactic, prosodic and visual features of Lin's turn-so-far strongly indicate that the current turn and telling is still in progress. However, here, Yan launches a question asking for additional information on the topic of their talk (line 05), and the question impedes the progressivity of Lin's turn and telling. Thus, the question is sequentially disaligned with the current turn and the telling activity in progress. Lin's repeat resumption of the 'compound TCU' with *ranhou* 'then' (line 10) and her telling provides evidence that she treats Yan's question as interruptive and disaligned.

Again, the recipient intervening question here is produced with the same type of leaning body movement. Yan moves her upper body toward Lin when she initiates the question (Figs. 8 and 10), and holds her leaning body (Fig. 11) until the response is provided (Fig. 12). The lean again appears to be related to the particular sequential position of the question. Sequentially, Yan's question impedes the progressivity of Lin's projected multi-TCU turn, and is disaligned with the turn and telling. The lean into the established joint interactional space displays Yan's orientation to her question as abrupt and inappropriately positioned in the sequential context, and disaligned with the turn and activity in progress.

In addition, being initiated in the middle of Lin's telling, Yan's question may or may not receive uptake (see Tannen, 1984:83–84). Yan gazes away after the first TCU of Lin's responding turn, while still holding her leaning body (line 07, Fig. 11). The *extended hold* of the lean seems to be used as a resource by Yan to increase Lin's accountability for an elaborate response. Consequently, Lin provides an elaborate response with more detailed information to Yan's question (line 08). The function of the holding of the lean in the pursuit of response to the recipient intervening question will be discussed in section 5.

It should be noted that Yan's question here is affiliative despite its sequential disalignment. Asking fast-paced questions related to (and usually overlapping or latching with) the speaker's talk is described as one characteristic of



Fig. 9. Lin's hand gesture indicating her turn continuation in line 04.



Fig. 10. Yan leans toward Lin when initiating her question in line 05.



Fig. 11. Yan holds her leaning body while gazing away in line 07.



Fig. 12. Yan's body returns to home position and her facial expression upon the receipt of Lin's elaborate response at the end of line 09.

“high-involvement style” in conversation (Tannen, 1984). By asking for additional information about a detail of the story, Yan displays her high involvement and interest in Lin's story. Yan's sigh and her facial expression (Fig. 12) upon the receipt of Lin's response audibly and visually display her empathy with Lin. That is, Yan's question displays her support of Lin's stance and affiliation with Lin.



Fig. 13. Hai's body in home position before the initiation of his question in line 06.

Excerpt 6 provides another case where the lean co-occurs with the sequentially disaligning but interactionally affiliative recipient intervening question in the middle of a telling. This excerpt is from a conversation among four friends studying in Germany. Lei will return to China soon, and Yin and Qin are discussing who is qualified to be the sponsor for Lei's visa application to visit them in Germany in the future. In this sequence, Qin is telling the other three participants about his experience inviting his friend from China to visit him and being the sponsor for her visa application.

(6) (TO_HLQY_visa application)

01 Yin: ni yong shenme zuo jingji danbao ne;
you use what as economic guarantee PRT
What did you use for financial sponsorship?

02 Qin: wo jiu bu gou a.
I just NEG enough PRT
Mine wasn't enough.

03 Yin: dui a.
right PRT
Right.

04 Qin: wo jiangxuejin dangshi cai 700 kuan qian;
I scholarship at that time just 700 dollar money
At that time, my scholarship stipend was only 700 euros (a month).

05 ranhou wo qu le.
then I go CRS
Then I went there (the embassy).

06 ranhou ren shuo-
then people say
Then they said,

07 Hai:→ei yao duoshao qian;
INT need how much money
Ei, how much money was needed?

08 Qin: dangshi hen di;
at that time very low
It was very low at that time.

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09 danshi SHUO nei [ge shuo-
at that time say that [CL say
At that time, (they) said, that...

10 Hai: [ba bai.
[eight hundred
Eight hundred?

11 Qin: qi bai ba-
seven hundred eighty
Seven hundred and eighty.

12 Hai: ou<<laughing>qì bai ba->
oh seven hundred eighty
Oh, seven hundred and eighty.

13 ni jiu shao le bashi ou a;
you just lack PFV eighty euro PRT
You were only 80 euros short.

14 Qin: en.
umm
Umm.

((7 lines omitted regarding Lei's seeking confirmation of the amount of funding required and the type of visa that Qin's friend applied for.))

22 ranhou wo dangshi qu.
then I at that time go
Then I went there at that time.

23 ranhou ren jiu shuo-
then person just say
Then they said,

24 ni cai qi bai yi me wo dangshi.
you just seven hundred ten PRT I at that time
"you only had seven hundred and ten euros (a month)", which was the stipend I had at that time.

25 ta shuo ni zhe bu GOU a.
3SG say you this NEG enough PRT
He said "your funding isn't enough".

26 zhe keneng hui bei juqian na.
this possible will BEI reject PRT
"The visa application may be rejected."

After the initial question–answer sequence (lines 01–03), Qin starts to tell his experience in the German embassy for his friend's visa application (lines 04–06). Qin's turn-so-far in line 06 strongly projects the continuation of the current turn (with a direct speech) and the telling. But here, Hai initiates an *ei*-prefaced question in the middle of Qin's turn and telling, asking for the information about the specific amount of funding required for the sponsor (line 07). *Ei* has been described to be an "interruptive marker" in Mandarin conversation (Wu, 1997), and the *ei*-prefaced question intervenes in Qin's turn-in-progress and disrupts the progressivity of his telling. Thus, Hai's question is sequentially disaligned with the turn and telling in progress. While launching the question, Hai moves his body noticeably forward toward Qin (Figs. 13 and 14). Upon receiving the response, he moves his body back to home position (Fig. 15) while producing the receipt of the response (line 12). Hai's lean again appears to display his understanding of the question as disruptive and disaligned with Qin's turn and telling in progress. That Qin resumes his telling (lines 22 and 23) by repeating the TCU elements interrupted by Hai's question in line 06 provides compelling evidence that Qin also treats Hai's question as interruptive and disaligned.

However, Hai seems to display his affiliation with Qin through asking the intervening question. In the previous discussions, Qin considers himself eligible to be the inviter and sponsor for Hai's future visa application. As evidence, Qin



Fig. 14. Hai leans toward Qin when initiating his question in line 07.



Fig. 15. Hai's body returns to home position upon the receipt of the response at the end of line 12.

recounts his experience having successfully invited a friend to Germany. Through asking for further information about the specific amount of the funding required by the embassy (line 7), Hai displays his attention to and interest in Qin's story. The lexico-syntactic design of Hai's comment in line 13 (with *jiu* 'just, only' showing emphasis) seems to display his understanding and support of Qin's stance that he should be qualified as the sponsor (with *only* 80 euros short). Thus, Hai's intervening question appears to display his affiliation with Qin, despite its sequential disalignment.

Excerpts 5 and 6 have demonstrated that the recipient leans toward the speaker when he/she launches the question in the middle of the speaker's larger project/activity such as a telling. The lean embodies the recipient's orientation to his/her question as intrusive in the sequential context and disaligned with the current turn and activity in progress. But the recipient intervening questions seem to be affiliative in that the recipient shows his/her rapport with the speaker and support of the speaker's stance through the question. Thus, leaning seems to be associated with the sequential disalignment of the recipient intervening questions rather than the disaffiliative (or affiliative) interactional work they perform. For example, in the data, the recipient intervening questions as other-initiations of repair are usually used to accomplish disaffiliative actions such as pre-disagreement (Excerpt 3) and projecting doubt/disbelief (Excerpt 4), but those asking for further information about a story appear to be affiliative, displaying the recipient's empathy with and support of the storyteller (Excerpts 5 and 6). Yet both types of recipient intervening questions are produced with leaning.

The previous excerpts have shown that leaning recurrently co-occurs with the production of the recipient intervening questions. By contrast, the non-intervening questions produced by the recipient do not involve leaning. Excerpt 7 provides a case in point. In this excerpt, Fan and Ran are talking about the economic development of countries and regions in Asia.

(7) (TO_FR_Four Asian Tigers)

01 Fan: hanguo shi meiguo fuchi de me.
South Korea be US support PRT PRT
South Korea is supported by the US.

02 suoyi ta jingji zhi suoyi xianzai neng zheme tengfei.
thus 3SG economy why now can this developed
That's the reason why their economy is so developed now.

03 dui ba.
right PRT
Right?

04 na shi meiguo de bangzhu me.
that be US ASSC help PRT
That was due to the help from the US.

05 Ran: <<sigh> ai ya>.
INT
Ai ya.

06 Fan: yazhou si xiao long a.
Asia four little dragon PRT
The Four Asian Tigers.

07 (1.2)

<p>08 Ran:→ na si xiaolong lai zhe. which four little tigers PRT Which are the Four Asian Tigers?</p>
--

09 Fan: taiwan;
Taiwan
Taiwan.

10 Ran: xinjia[po];
Singa[pore]
Singapore.

11 Fan: [Xianggang.
[Hong Kong
Hong Kong.

12 hanguo;
South Korea
South Korea.

13 xinjiapo.
Singapore
Singapore.

14 Ran: a: you hanguo.
ah have South Korea
Ah, there's South Korea.

The excerpt begins with Fan's comments on the reason for the economic development of South Korea (lines 01–04). Ran responds to Fan's claim with a sigh and an interjection token *aiya* (line 05). Ran's exclamation response seems to be triggered by the contrast between the economic development of China and that of South Korea (i.e., "with the help from the US"). Ran thereby displays his agreement and affiliation with Fan. Upon the receipt of Ran's response, Fan produces a summarizing figurative expression (line 06). Figurative expressions in this type of sequential context are usually used as



Fig. 16. Ran's body in home position before initiating his question in line 07.

a device for closing up and moving away from the current topic (Drew and Holt, 1998; Holt and Drew, 2005). The figurative expression here and the subsequent 1.2 pause (line 07) strongly indicate the possible closure of Fan's comment and the sequence. After the pause, Ran initiates a question asking for further information about the "Four Asian Tigers" (line 08). Ran's question here is launched at the possible completion of the current turn and sequence, and it treats Fan's comments as complete. Therefore, the question is sequentially non-intervening and aligned with the (completion of the) current project.

Interestingly, no leaning appears in the production of the non-intervening question here. At the possible completion of Fan's comment (at the end of line 06), Ran's body is in home position (Fig. 16). When initiating his question, Ran still keeps his body in home position (Fig. 17), and he maintains the same body posture throughout the entire question–answer sequence (lines 08–14) (Fig. 18). There is no noticeable body movement involved in the production of Ran's sequentially non-intervening/aligned question. This example provides further evidence that leaning is related to the (disalignment of the) recipient intervening questions.

In this section, I have examined cases in which leaning co-occurs with the recipient intervening questions. Through physically leaning and intruding into the established joint interactional space, the recipient visually displays his/her orientation to the question as sequentially disjunctive and disaligned with the speaker's turn and activity in progress. With the lean, the recipients in the previous excerpts have all received response to their intervening questions. That is, the speaker opts to respond to the recipient intervening questions, despite their obstructive and disaligning nature. In the preceding excerpts, the recipient not only leans forward upon initiating their questions, but also holds their lean until the response is provided. Thus, holding of the lean seems to be related to the response. It is the second argument of this article that holding of the lean is used as a resource to mobilize response to the recipient intervening questions.



Fig. 17. Ran keeps his body in home position when producing his question in line 08.



Fig. 18. Ran's body still in home position upon the receipt of the response in line 14.

5. Holding of the lean as a resource to mobilize responses to recipient intervening questions

In face-to-face conversation, participants are continuously involved in a variety of bodily movements, such as movements of articulators, gaze shifts, gestures, head movements, etc. The issues for us analysts as well as the participants themselves are what movements are relevant to the organization of actions at the moment, and 'why that now'. The action of asking a question itself makes a response conditionally relevant (Schegloff and Sacks, 1973). However, the situated sequential status of the intervening questions affects the way that it is designed and treated. When a question intervenes in the turn and activity in progress, it may not be attended to and be disregarded. Leaning embodies the recipient's understandings of his/her lack of entitlement to initiate the question 'here and now' and anticipates contingencies related to the response to the question. In addition to the social action performed in a turn, other turn-design features may also increase the speaker's accountability for responding, such as interrogative lexico-syntactic form, prosody, gaze and epistemic asymmetry (Stivers and Rossano, 2010). In the current data, *holding* of the lean seems to be used as another resource to *hold* the speaker accountable for the response and to enhance the likelihood of receiving responses to the recipient's sequentially ill-fitted question. By contrast, when the recipient is fully entitled to ask the question 'here and now' (as in Excerpt 7), he/she may not need to make the additional effort to lean and hold the lean to solicit response to the question.

In this section, I will present three pieces of evidence to show that holding of the lean is relevant to the response. First, the recipient and the speaker treat the holding of the lean as relevant to the response. Second, other participants in multi-party conversations orient to the holding of the lean as relevant to the response. Finally, holding of the lean may or may not co-occur with gaze; thus it has distinct role in response mobilization.

5.1. Recipients and speakers orient to the holding of the lean as relevant to responses

Excerpts 3–6 in the previous section have shown that leaning tends to co-occur with the initiation of the recipient intervening questions, and the recipient holds his/her leaning body until the response is provided. That the recipient holds the lean until the response is provided shows that both the recipient and the speaker treat it as relevant to the response. Excerpt 8 is another case in which the recipient holds his leaning body for an *extended* span of time until the response is provided. This excerpt is from the same conversation as Excerpt 6. Yin and Hai went kayaking together and they are telling the other two participants about their kayaking trip. This excerpt begins with Lei's inquiry about the place where they did kayaking.

(8) (TO_HLQY_kayaking)

01 Lei: ni shi zai(.) wuhan piao de shi ba.
 you be in Wuhan kayak PRT be PRT
You did kayaking in Wuhan, right?

02 Hai: [ying shan;
 [Ying mountain
Mount Ying.

- 03 Yin: [MEI: you wuhan you shenme hao piao de chANG jiang a.
[NEG have Wuhan have what good drift PRT Yangtze River PRT
No. There's no place for kayaking in Wuhan. (You mean) the Yangtze River?
- 04 changjiang you shenme hao piao de;=
Yangtze River have what good drift PRT
It's no fun kayaking on the Yangtze River.
- 05 Lei: =dui a;
right PRT
Right.
- 06 wo xiang yaoshi chang JIANG [piao de jiu hui bu lai le;
I think if be Yangtze River [drift CSC then go NEG come PRT
I thought if it were on the Yangtze River, you wouldn't be here now.
- 07 Hai: [(danshi)yingshan(-)YING shan jiu shi yi zuo shan;
[but Ying Mountain Ying Mountain just be a CL Mountain
But Mount Ying is a mountain.
- 08 dagai jiu shi:(--SI [bai:.
about just be four [hundred
It's about four hundred...
- 09 Lei:→[yingshan zai nei ge
[Ying Mountain in which CL
Mount Ying is in which,
- 10 →[neige chengshi fujin;
[which city nearby
near which city?
- 11 Yin: [yi qian duo (zonggong);
[one thousand more (all together)
The total height is one thousand (meters).
- 12 Hai: nayou zheme gao;
NEG this high
It's not that high.
- 13 Yin: huanggang.
huanggang
Huanggang.
- 14 Lei: huanggang a: (-) hebei a.
Huanggang PRT Hebei PRT
Huanggang, Hebei (province).
- 15 [HUbei (.) hubei.
[hubei hubei
Hubei (province).
- 16 Hai: [shi shuyu wuyi shan MAI de: yi:yu fenzhi;=
[be belong to Wuyi Mountain range ASSC one branch
(Mount Ying) belongs to a part of the Wuyi Mountain range.



Fig. 19. Lei's body in home position before initiating his question and Hai's gaze aversion and gesture in line 08.



Fig. 20. Lei leans toward Hai and Yin when initiating his question in lines 09 and 10.

Here, Hai reports on the height of the mountain where they did kayaking (line 08). But he seems to have difficulty remembering the height of the mountain and is searching for the correct number, which is indicated by the verbal hitch, the gaze aversion and the hold of gesture (Fig. 19) (Goodwin and Goodwin, 1986). The design of Hai's turn-so-far strongly projects the continuation of his report on the height of the mountain. But Lei initiates a question in the middle of Hai's turn asking for the information about the location of the mountain (lines 09 and 10). He leans forward while launching the question (Fig. 20). Lei's question interrupts Hai's turn and his word search. But unlike Excerpts 3–6, Lei's



Fig. 21. Lei holds his leaning body during Yin and Hai's discussion in lines 11 and 12.



Fig. 22. Lei's body returns to home position upon the receipt of the response in line 14.

question receives no immediate uptake. Hai and Yin are still involved in the discussion on the height of the mountain (lines 11 and 12). Lei *holds* his leaning body position during Hai and Yin's entire discussion (Fig. 21) until his question is answered (line 13, Fig. 22), which displays their orientation to the holding of the lean as relevant to the response. Through the extended hold of his lean, Lei holds the speakers accountable for the response to his question.

5.2. Other participants orient to the holding of the lean as relevant to responses

In multi-party conversation, in addition to the recipient and the speaker, other participants also orient to the holding of the lean as relevant to the response to the recipient intervening questions. For example, other participants may not only monitor the recipient's leaning body, but also *manipulate* it to negotiate turns. The following example is a case in point. Excerpt (9) is the continuation of the conversation in Excerpt (8). Hai is describing the waterfalls in the mountain where he and Yin did kayaking (lines 01–04).

(9) (TO_HLQY_waterfalls)

01 Hai: pubu dou hen zhai;
waterfall all very narrow
The waterfalls were all very narrow.

02 jiushi shanJIAN qishi shi.
just be creek actually be
(They were) actually creeks.

03 Yin: dui.
right
Right.

04 Hai: ranhou:: ranhou you xie po du ranhou you xie zhei ge;;
then then has some steep grade then has some this CL
Then, (they) were a little bit steep, and a little bit.

05 Qin: shanjian shi shenme yisi..
creek be what meaning
What does creek mean?

06 Lei:→ <<all,f>shui qing bu qing> shui qing bu qing;
water clear NEG clear water clear NEG clear
Was the water clear? Was the water clear?

- 07 Qin: ((pulling Lei's body back and pushing it to the side))
- 08 Yin: shanjian(-) [shanjian jiu shi;
creek [creek just be
A creek is,
- 09 Hai: [san dian shui pang yi ge jian zi.
[three points water radical one CL jian character
(It's written as) a water radical with the character "Jian".
- 10 Qin: wo ZHIdao shenme yisi a.
I know what meaning PRT
I know (how to write it). (But) what does it mean?
- 11 wo shi jingchang jiandao.
I be often see
I often see the word.

After Hai describes the waterfalls in the mountain, Qin initiates a question about the meaning of *shanjian* "creek" (line 05). Immediately after Qin's inquiry, Lei launches another question about the creek (line 06). Lei's question delays the possible uptake of Qin's immediately preceding question. Lei leans toward Hai while producing the question (Figs. 23 and 24). Facing the two juxtaposed questions from different participants, Hai's attention seems to be attracted by Lei's leaning body as is indicated by his gaze at Lei (Fig. 24), and it is more likely that Lei's question be responded to. At this moment, Qin starts to pull Lei's leaning body back and push it to the side (Fig. 25). Qin's pulling and pushing of Lei's leaning body



Fig. 23. Lei's body in home position before initiating his question in line 05.



Fig. 24. Lei leans toward Hai when initiating his question in line 06.



Fig. 25. Qin pulls Lei's body back and pushes it to the side and Hai shift his gaze at Qin in line 07.

provides compelling evidence that he also *treats* Lei's lean as *relevant* to the response from Hai. He intends to cancel the response relevance of Lei's question by eliminating Lei's leaning body. After Qin pulls Lei's leaning body back, Hai and Yin start to respond to Qin's question (lines 08 and 09). Consequently, Lei's question in line 06 is disregarded. That is, when the (hold of) leaning body is revoked, there is no response to the question.

5.3. Gaze and holding of the lean in recipient intervening questions

Having explored the function of holding of the lean in the pursuit of response to the recipient intervening questions, I will now discuss the relationship between gaze and (holding of the) lean in this particular sequential context. It can be seen from the previous examples that the recipients' lean is usually in conjunction with their gaze at the speaker. Gaze can be used as a resource to indicate that a response is expected (Kendon, 1967; Heath, 1986), to pursue responses (Rossano, 2006) and to select next-speaker (Lerner, 2003). Thus, one may argue that the speaker may attend to the recipient's gaze rather than the leaning body. There are two pieces of evidence to show that the holding of the lean has its distinct role in pursuing responses in this specific type of question–answer sequence. First, the recipients hold their leaning body the entire time until the response is provided, but their gaze is not always sustained. They may temporarily gaze away before the appropriate response is provided, and the holding of the lean can stand alone in the pursuit of response. For example, in Excerpt 3, Hui gazes away temporarily during her question in line 05, while her leaning body is still being held (Fig. 3). In Excerpt 5, after the initial minimal response from Lin (line 06), Yan temporarily gazes away (line 07), but she still holds her leaning body (Fig. 11) until Lin provides the more elaborate response to her question (line 08). Second, leaning always co-occurs with the *initiation* of the question, whereas gaze may already exist *before* the question. For instance, in Excerpts 3, Hui gazes at Min *before* the initiation of her question (Fig. 1), and the gaze still exists *after* the completion of the question–answer sequence (Fig. 4). In Excerpts 6 and 8, Hai and Lei also sustain their gaze at the speakers before and after their questions are answered (Figs. 13, 15, 19 and 22). Excerpt 4 also shows that the mutual gaze has been established and maintained before Yan's question (Fig. 5). In these examples, leaning seems to be the only noticeable change of bodily behavior concurrent with the initiation of the question. The coordination between the holding of the lean and the response to the question provides strong evidence that the holding of the lean can be used as a resource for pursuing response, independent of gaze.

This section has provided interactional evidence for the interrelatedness between the holding of the lean and the response to the recipient intervening questions. These questions may have the risk of receiving no uptake due to their sequential disalignment. The holding of the lean is used as a device for fetching the speaker's attention and holding the speaker accountable for the response. Therefore, holding of the lean seems to be used as a resource to mobilize response in the specific sequential context.

6. Conclusions

This study has examined the recurrent body movements in the production of recipient intervening questions and their interactional significance in Mandarin face-to-face conversation. When initiating the recipient intervening questions, the recipient leans toward the speaker and holds his/her leaning body until the response is provided. The recipient intervening questions impede the progressivity of the speaker's ongoing turn and activity. The leaning body appears to be a visual display of the recipient's orientation to his/her question as disjunctive and disaligned. There are two types of recipient intervening questions in the data: other-initiations of repair and questions asking for further information related to a larger

project/activity. When used as other-initiations of repair, the recipient intervening questions usually accomplish disaffiliative actions such as predisagreement and projecting doubt/disbelief. But when recipient intervening questions are used to seek further information related to a telling, they seem to display the recipient's empathy and support of the speaker's stance, i.e., affiliation with the speaker. Therefore, leaning appears to be associated with the disalignment of the recipient intervening questions. However, being produced in the middle of the speaker's turn, the questions may or may not receive uptake. In the data, the recipient holds his/her lean toward the speaker until the response is provided. The holding of the lean seems to be a visual resource usable by the recipient to mobilize and pursue response to the intervening questions.

The findings in this study have implications for our understandings of the organization of body movements and its relatedness to the organization of the temporal unfolding of situated interaction. First, the study has demonstrated that the recipient's leaning embodies the disalignment of the question in relation to the speaker's current talk. Participants sustain a spatial and orientational relationship through maintaining the 'joint transactional space' between them, and this forms what [Kendon \(1990\)](#) calls an 'F-formation'. Participants are always 'accountable-in-a-place' ([McIlvenny et al., 2009](#)). The physical intrusion into the joint transactional space through leaning visually embodies the intrusion of the question into the contiguity between elements of the speaker's current talk. [Couper-Kuhlen \(2004\)](#) has described the prosodic features that mark disjunction in talk. The present study shows that the recipient employs not only vocal resources (e.g., lexico-syntactic and prosodic) but also visual resources, i.e., the leaning body, to signal the disjunctiveness and disalignment of the intervening questions. Second, the findings in this study provide evidence for the significance of the body in the organization of face-to-face interaction. Talk contains multiple semiotic systems that are of alternative properties ([Goodwin, 2000:1492](#)). Body movements are usually produced simultaneously with the vocal delivery of an utterance in conversation.⁹ Therefore, it seems problematic to claim any (distinct) function of body movements in the organization of interaction. This is a delicate issue to tackle, yet not entirely impossible. For example, in this study, it has been shown that the recipients *hold* their leaning body *after* the delivery of the question until the response is provided. Other participants also pull the recipient's leaning body back to prevent the question from being answered. These examples have shown that leaning may stand alone and the participants display *distinct* treatment of leaning as relevant to the response.

However, the focus on the body in this study is not to undermine the significance of other resources in interaction. It is hoped that the present study will shed some light on our understanding of the interrelatedness between the body and the organization of interaction.

Appendix A

The transcription conventions of GAT-2 (Gesprächsanalytisches Transkriptionssystem 2) ([Selting et al., 2009](#)) used in this article:

(.)	micro-pause
(-), (→), (→→)	short, middle or long pauses
(1.0)	pauses which are or more than 1.0 second
ACcent	primary or main accent
::	prolongation or stretching of the sound just preceding them
<<coughing>>	accompanying paralinguistic and non-linguistic actions over a stretch of speech
<<all>>	allegro, fast
<<f>	forte, loud
((head nods))	description of an action
–	level final pitch movement
;	falling to mid final pitch movement
.	falling to low final pitch movement
?	cut-off with glottal closure or syllable onset with glottal closure

Appendix B

ASP	aspect marker
ASSC	associative
BA	a pretransitive marker
BEI	a passive marker

⁹ With the exception of the conversations conducted in sign languages.

CL	classifier
CRS	currently relevant state
CSC	complex stative construction
DUR	durative aspect
INT	interjections in speech
NEG	negatives
PFV	perfective aspect
PRT	particle
Q	question marker

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