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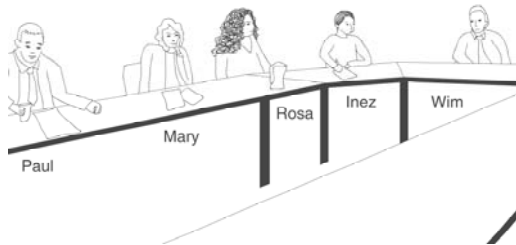
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POSITION EXPANSION IN MEETING TALK: AN INTERACTION-RE-ORGANIZING TYPE OF *AND*-PREFACED OTHER-CONTINUATION

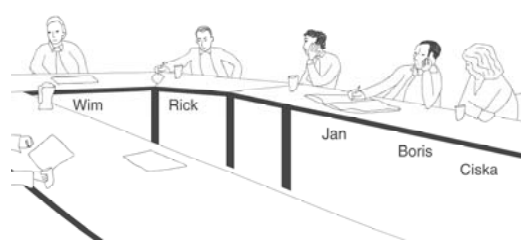
Harrie Mazeland¹ (University of Groningen)

1 Introduction: *And*-prefaced continuation of prior talk in a multi-person setting

The data used for the research in this chapter come from a small corpus of work discussions of a Dutch team of advertising managers in a big international company. Five meetings were recorded, with an average duration of 1.5 to 2 hours. Usually about 7 or 8 team members took part in the meetings, which were held every 3 or 4 weeks. The discussion was often about how to coordinate the development of marketing-communication campaigns with other groups in the company itself and with external bureaus that are hired for specialised tasks in the campaign development process.



Still 12.1. Left side of the meeting room



Still 12.2. Right side of the meeting room

If the team leader was present, he also chaired the meeting. Particularly at the beginning and end stages of an agenda item, the chair took control of the organisation of turn-taking, but large parts of the discussions were organised locally from turn to turn by the team members themselves and with the team leader as a prominent participant and the primary recipient.

¹ This paper is partially based on Mazeland (2009), and on presentations at several conferences in the years thereafter, the last on the *Activities* panel organised by Cornelia Gerhardt and Elisabeth Reber at IPrA, Belfast in July 2017. I thank Anja Stukenbrock for her comments at the MeMI-network workshop, ZIF Bielefeld 2014. I also thank Erik Spikmans for making the drawings of the video stills.

Note that the speaker of the turn in lines 5–6 also begins his turn with an *and* preface, *en 't moet-* (*and it should ...*, arrow 1). This speaker, however, is continuing his own turn (lines 1–2), whereas the speaker of the *and*-prefaced turn in lines 8–9 is linking his turn to the turn of prior speaker. Both speakers use *and*-prefacing for tying the action in their turn into a specific type of interactional organisation. The ‘same-speaker continuation’ elaborates the speaker's ‘action’; the ‘other continuation’ begins an action that contributes to the ‘ongoing activity’. In order to be able to explain this distinction, I will first discuss the *and*-prefaced continuation by same speaker in lines 5–6 (arrow 1), and then compare it with the other-initiated *and*-prefaced continuation in lines 8–9 (arrow 3).

In line 5, team leader Wim uses the *and* preface as a device for casting his turn from its outset as an extension of his turn in lines 1–2. He thereby fulfils the projection on continuation made at the end of that turn, which is produced with a pitch contour ending in a level pitch accent (cf. Selting 1996; see also Local and Walker 2012).

The same speaker may continue a possibly complete turn constructional unit (TCU) by either re-completing it with an ‘increment’, or by adding a next TCU (cf. Schegloff 1996a and 2016). The team leader's turn in lines 5–6 is not shaped as an increment in the technical sense of the term.³ It is a complete, grammatically independent sentential TCU with a recognizable beginning. However, it is clearly formatted as building on and tying to the same speaker's turn in lines 1–2.⁴ The speaker elaborates the opinion statement in lines 1–2 by

³ Schegloff (1996 and 2016) characterises ‘increments’ of a possibly complete TCU with the following features: 1) a speaker has brought a TCU to possible completion; 2) there is further talk by the same speaker; 3) the further talk is grammatically dependent of the prior TCU, i.e. it re-completes it (Schegloff 2016: 241). The continuation in lines 5–6 of Extract 12.1 does not display these features: 1) it is not designed as a (re-)completion of the TCU in the prior turn; 2) the construction of the TCU is not dependent of the lexico-syntactic structure of the TCU in the prior turn; 3) the TCU has a recognizable beginning: both the beginning of the turn, *'t moet ... (it has to ...)*, and its repaired version, *ze moeten niet ... (they shouldn't ...)*, line 5), clearly position the subject pronouns *'t (it)* and *ze (they)* in the sentence-initial position of a clause with verb-second word order. So instead of formatting his turn as an ‘increment continuation’, the speaker shapes it as a ‘TCU-continuation’ (cf. Sidnell 2012), that is, a continuation of his prior turn with another TCU.

⁴ The turn in lines 5–6 is full of design features that indicate that the speaker is building it as an extension of the action in the preceding turn of the speaker. Because it is relevant for distinguishing

exemplifying it. The *and*-prefaced continuation in lines 5–6 thus can be understood as building a ‘multi-unit action’ in a series of successive turns of the same speaker (cf. Bolden 2010).

Even before the team leader has completed his turn in lines 5–6, two other team members self-select as next speaker (lines 6–8). The organisational density of this stretch of overlapping talk clearly exemplifies the pressure that the organisation of turn-taking in a multi-person setting exerts. Boris has already begun to speak at the first-possible recognition point (Jefferson 1986) of current speaker's turn (immediately after *garagisten*, line 7), and Rick begins his turn just a beat later but still at a point at which current speaker's turn is syntactically incomplete (line 8):

EXTRACT 12.1. Detail (lines 5–10).

05 Wim: (...) ze moete niet zo zeggeh van jonges eh*e::he:heh*

between same-speaker continuation of the same action-unit and other-continuation of the ongoing activity, I list these features below:

- Prosodic packaging: the turn is prosodically structured as a unit that comprises both the prior and current turns: the final level pitch of the TCU in the prior turn (line 2) projects same-speaker continuation, whereas the final falling pitch of the TCU in the follow-up turn (line 6) marks the possible completeness of the current turn and of the overarching unit.
- Achieving cohesion with linguistic devices (cf. Halliday and Hasan 1976): The repair of '*it has to*' into *ze moeten niet (they shouldn't ...)* in the beginning of line 5 establishes referential continuity; the repaired reference form *they* ties back to the referent of *the product group* in the preceding turn (lines 1–2).
- Constructional symmetry: both TCUs are formatted as a declarative assertion stating a norm; moreover, both TCUs are shaped as a deontive modal construction with the verb *moeten* (*have to, should*).
- Elaboration and complementarity at the content level (Halliday and Hasan 1976; Levinson 2013). Stating that *they should not ... consider us as a kind of car dealers* (lines 5–6) exemplifies the more general demand in the preceding part of the turn (*the arrogant behaviour of the product group has to change*, lines 1–3). These two norms are also complementary: The team leader first asserts a general norm for a more desirable future state of affairs, and then accounts for it by asserting a specific norm about what is not acceptable in the current state of affairs.

they shouldn't say like you guys uh u:-h :uhuh

06 ons as 'n soort garagisten eh [(beh- [>gaan besch]ouwen.)]
getting to look at us uh as a kind of garagists.

07 Boris: → 1 [(ja [da's waar.)]
(yes that's right.)

08 Rick: → 2 [en 't INBOU]We van
and the incorporation of

09 extra pijnpunten [is dan] de enige weg.
extra sanctions then is the only way.

10 Boris: [precies!]
exactly.

Both overlapping speakers design the beginning of their turns so as to make them recognizable as a next turn that is responsive to the action in current turn. But each of them also makes his turn from its outset analyzable as tying into different types of sequential organisation. Boris shapes his turn (arrow 2) as the second-pair part of a sequence that is organised as an adjacency pair (cf. Schegloff 2007). He agrees with prior speaker's opinion statement, *ja da's waar* (*yes that's right*, line 7). The components of his turn are projectably brief. The turn-initial agreement token *ja* has a transient prosodic profile, and the routine correctness statement *da's waar* (*that's right*) is possibly complete after its second syllable. Boris not only claims limited turn space, the action he does in his turn may also close the sequence.

‘action’; rather, it contributes to the ongoing ‘activity’ of developing an argument in the course of a decision-making discussion. The speaker uses *and*-prefacing as a device for framing the action in his turn as a next step in the ongoing course of action.⁵

And-prefacing is thus one of the ways through which speakers in a multi-person setting solve the problem of how to cast their next turn from its outset as a locally fitting contribution to the ongoing interaction. They use it for tying back to their own prior turn (same-speaker continuation), or for linking to the turn of another speaker (other-continuation). I first discussed a case in which prefatory *and* is used by the same speaker for building a ‘multi-unit action’ in a series of subsequent turns, and then looked at another case in which ‘*and*-prefacing’ frames next speaker’s turn as a continuation of the ongoing ‘activity’. However, a second speaker may build a cross-speaker multi-unit action through *and*-prefacing their next turn. I will examine this type of *and*-prefaced other-continuation in the next sections.

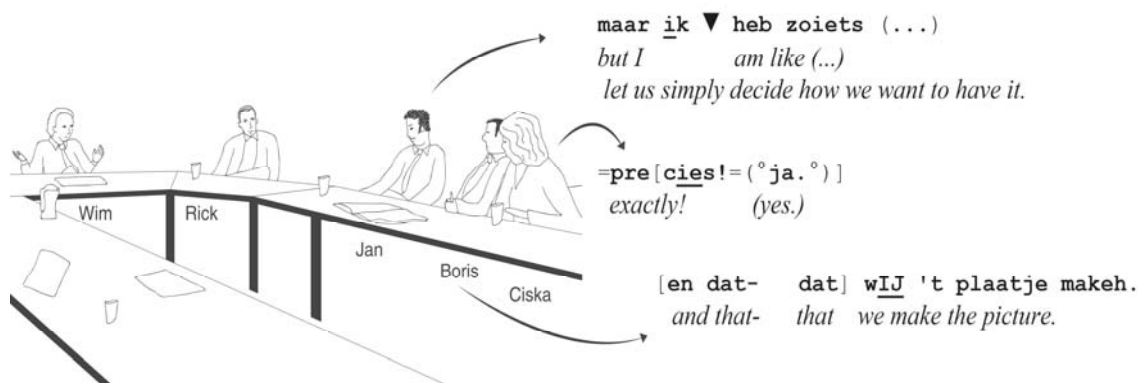
2 Position expansion: Building a multi-unit action through *and*-prefaced other-continuation of the prior speaker’s opinion statement

The focus of this paper is on a type of *and*-prefaced other-continuation I call ‘position expansion’. See Extract 12.2. The team discusses a problem relating to whether a particular external bureau should be included in a project group that is responsible for the initial design of marketing-communication campaigns. Wim (the team leader) has just reported that the executive board of the company is not in favour of hiring the bureau early in the campaign development process. He has also indicated that he understands their position, albeit with some reservation. He then invites his colleagues to give their opinions. Jan — a senior advertising manager — is the first one to respond (line 1).

⁵ Heritage and Sorjonen (1994) describe a similar use of *and*-prefacing for *and*-prefaced questions. Such questions do not link the turn to the prior turn, but link the question-answer sequence it is launching to the preceding question-answer sequence as a next step in an ‘activity’ that develops as a series of question-answer sequences.

EXTRACT 12.2

1. Jan: maar ik heb zoiets laten wij gewoon bepalen hoe wij 't willen hebben.=
but I have something let we just determine how we it want have
but I am like let us simply decide how we want to have it.
2. Cis: =pre[cies!=('ja.°)]
exactly! (yes.)
3. Bor: → [en dat- dat] wij 't plaatje makeh.
and that- that we the picture make.
and that- that we make the picture.



Still 12.3. Still taken after the first two words in Jan's turn, after *maar ik ▼*... (*but I ...*, line 1 in Extract 12.2).

The still's position in the ongoing turn is marked with “▼”. Wim's arms-spreading is the post-completion hold of a gesture he began towards the end of the turn preceding the turn in line 1, in which he invited his colleagues to give their opinion (see Section 2.3).

Jan's opinion statement — *but I am like let us simply decide how we want to have it* (line 1) — takes a stance that is opposite to the position of the executive board that Wim has reported. Two of Jan's colleagues immediately express their support for Jan's position (see Still 12.3). Ciska with *precies. (ja.) (exactly (yes))* and Boris with *en dat- dat wij het plaatje maken (and that- that we make the picture)*. Both responses do agreement with Jan's statement, albeit in a different way: Ciska makes a correctness assessment (*exactly*, line 2), whereas Boris continues the opinion statement of prior speaker (*and that- that we make the picture*, line 3).

The interactional impact of each of these responses is also different: See the continuation of the interaction in Extract 12.2a below. Ciska's response is not taken up, which is probably also due to the fact that Boris overlaps her turn. Boris's reaction is taken up,

however. It is treated as a move in its own right, an action that immediately gets the agreement of Jan, *jah* (yes, line 5), and Ciska, *jA:h* (yes, line 6).

EXTRACT 12.2a. Continuation of the interaction in Extract 12.2.

3. **Bor:** en dat- dat wIJ 't plaatje makeh.
and that- that we make the picture.
4. [(°>heb ik lie]ver d[an zij 't doen.°<)]
(is better than when they do it.)
5. **Jan:** → [ja[h.
yes.
6. **Cis:** → [jA:h.] [dat- ik vind dat] dus ook.
yes that- I feel that PRT_{SO} too.
yes. that- I feel that the same way too.

Boris's reaction to Jan's opinion statement moves the transition space of prior speaker's turn one turn ahead and it occasions a shift in the local distribution of sequential expectations over participants. The other participants now respond to the opinion statement of Boris. Both Jan (the originator of the position he himself now agrees with) and Ciska (who initially started to agree with Jan's opinion statement) now do agreement with Boris. Jan's initial opinion statement is pushed into the background and Boris's addition to it now gets the responses that had already been made conditionally relevant in prior speaker's turn (cf. Schegloff 1968).

Note also that Ciska continues her response in a way that incorporates the statements of both prior speakers. She makes an explicit assertion of agreement, *ik vind dat dus ook* (*I feel that the same way too*, line 6), in which she refers to the statements of both speakers as a unit, that is, as something that can be referred to with the demonstrative pronoun *dat* (*that*). In the second instance, Boris's other-continuation of Jan's opinion statement is taken up as the second part of a multi-unit action that has the turn with Jan's statement as its first part.

I call Boris's response, *en dat- dat wij het plaatje makeh* (*and that- that we make the picture*, line 3), a 'position expansion'.⁶ A next speaker coordinates an agreeing *and*-prefaced

⁶ It is perhaps useful to make a remark about terminology. I am using the notion 'position' as a 'structural' notion to refer to a slot in an ordered sequence of actions. 'Sequential position' is different from 'turn location' (cf. Levinson 1983, Schegloff 2007). 'Next position' is a slot for a fitting next action in a sequence of actions; 'next turn' refers to the location of a turn in a series of turns. 'Next turn' may coincide with 'next position', but this is not always and not necessarily the case. I talk about 'position expansion' if the next speaker incorporates their response into the sequential position

opinion statement with the opinion statement in the turn of prior speaker and builds a multi-unit action from it by combining his action with prior speaker's action. He thereby buys himself into the sequence-initial position that prior speaker created and his turn now gets — at least in the first instance — the response(s) that prior speaker's action made conditionally relevant. See figure 12.1.

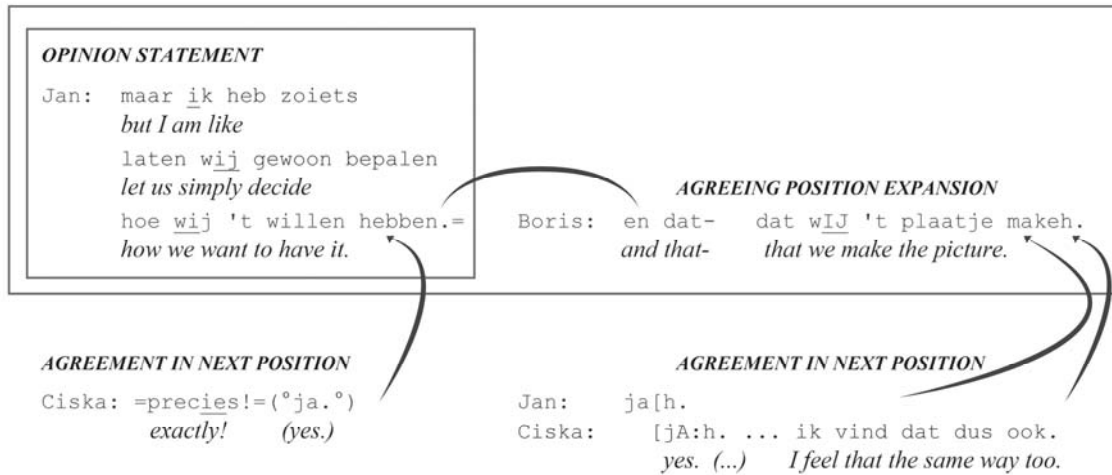


Figure 12.1: Attempt to visualise the difference between doing agreement in next position and doing agreement after position expansion.

Position expansion is not a very frequent phenomenon in the meeting data corpus. In about 3.5 hours of the data, I found 6 to 7 candidate cases. However, the device seems so special that it is worth examining it more thoroughly. In the next sections, I will first present two more cases of position expansion (Section 2.1) and then describe its features in more detail (Sections 2.2–2.6).

2.1 Similar cases

The extract below (12.3) comes from a long discussion episode in which Paul argues against team-leader Wim's preference to not include a specific media agency in the first stages of the campaign development process. In lines 1–2, Paul concludes a longer argument by stating the preferability of a certain type of external expert over the current advisors (lines 1–2), and then

created by the prior speaker's action; he or she re-instantiates the sequential position established by the action it is responsive to.

adds an account for his position in lines 3–4. His colleague Rick subsequently agrees with Paul's assessment by adding another account for this position (lines 6–7).

EXTRACT 12.3

1. Paul: ik denk dat je dan vEe:l beter, (0.4) 'n Peter XXX,
I think it is much better then to have a Peter (surname),
2. of 'n Peggy YYY of 'n Lena ZZZ aan tafel kunt hebb^{eh}, (0.3)
or a Peggy (surname) or a Lena (surname) around the table,
3. •hh die in ieder geval 'n bijdrage zulle^h hebben
who at the least will contribute
4. [°in zo'n meeting.°
to such a meeting.
5. Jan: [°ja.° ((*whispers*))
yes
0.3

6. Rick: →en misschien anderen prikkelt
and perhaps stimulates others
7. om ook hun mo[nd nog 's open te doen.
to open up their mouth too.

8. Jan: [(°jah!°)
yes!
0.2
9. Wim: °daarom.°
therefore.
0.2
°ja.°
yes

Rick's *and*-prefaced other-continuation of prior speaker's turn does position expansion. He adds his account to prior speaker's account in lines 3–4. His action also changes the local participation framework: Jan and Wim react to Rick's turn, and they do not explicitly connect to Paul's turn; see Jan's *jah!* (*yes*, line 7) and Wim's *daarom* (*therefore*, line 8).

Extract 12.4 documents a third case. Ciska's contribution in lines 1 and 4 is part of a multi-turn discourse unit (cf. Houtkoop and Mazeland 1985) in which she presents a list of features of a plan for another set-up of the process for developing marketing-communication

campaigns. The list is not ready yet, as can be seen from the projection of continuation that is signalled with rising intonation at the end of the TCU in line 1 (cf. Selting 2007). Another participant nevertheless takes over. After having agreed with Ciska's statement with *precies* (*exactly*, line 2), Rick continues through position expansion: *en bij voorkeur in harmonie* (*and preferably in harmony*, line 3).

EXTRACT 12.4

1. Ciska: en dat alle middeleh- (0.4) hun- hun rol kunnen spe:leh,=
and that all (advertising) means- can be put into action,
2. Rick: =°precies.°
exactly.
0.5
- | | |
|---|--|
| 3. Rick: → EN [>BIJ VOORKEUR IN HARMONIE.
and preferably in harmony. | [NOU DAN ZIJN WE AL 'N HEEL] END.
well then we are already a lot further. |
|---|--|
4. Ciska: [en dat (er 'n) maximale s[ynergie is.]
and that (there is) maximum synergy.
0.3
5. Boris: h[m↓h[m.
6. Wim: [jah.
yes.
7. Rick: [en dan zie[n we wel waar (°de-)
and then we'll see where (the-)
8. Ciska: [ja:h.
yes.

Similar to the other cases, the position expansion in Extract 12.4 effectuates a permutation of the distribution of local conversational and sequential roles over participants. The team members now do reciprocity of the action in Rick's turn: Boris, *hmhm* (line 5), and Wim, *jah* (*yes*, line 6), are the first ones to do agreement with it, and briefly after their alignment, at a 'post-continuation onset' position (Jefferson 1986), Ciska herself joins them as well, with *ja:h* (*yes*, line 8).

The position-expansion turns in Extracts 12.2–4 are *and*-prefaced other-continuations of prior speaker's turn. The speaker supports an oppositional statement of prior speaker by adding another statement to it. The result is a multi-unit action that is accomplished in a series of two successive turns of different speakers.

In the following sections, I look more closely at the features of position expansion. First the grammatical design of the position-expansion turn (Section 2.2), then its activity

context (Section 2.4), and finally the ways participants manage the shift in the local participation framework that position expansion effectuates (Section 2.5).

2.2 The grammatical design of position-expansion turns

Position expansions have specifiable lexico-syntactic features. They are *and*-prefaced and the conjunct after the connective is constructionally dependent on a grammatically specifiable unit type in prior speaker's turn.

The connective *en* (*and*) frames the unit it is beginning as a continuation of the unit it is being tied to. The speaker adds the action in their turn to the action in prior turn in such a way that it rescales the space for prior speaker's action unto a space for a compound action unit. This is not only achieved through the grammatically dependent format of the position-expansion unit — see the discussion of constructional dependency below — but also through the use of the preface *and*. Without prefatory *and*, the speaker's contribution would be heard as doing something other than position expansion, for example, doing an understanding check or making an other-correction (cf. Lerner 2004). *And*-prefacing seems to be a necessary design feature of this type of next-speaker other-continuation.⁷

⁷ My claim that *and*-prefacing is a necessary feature of the design of position-expansion TCUs is possibly contradicted by the fact that, in the case of the position expansion in Extract 12.2, the speaker treats the *and* preface as a 'dispensable', that is, as an element that may be omitted when a speaker produces the same talk one more time (cf. Schegloff 2004):

EXTRACT 12.2. Detail.

2. Ciska: =pre[cies!]
 exactly!

3. Boris: → [en dat-] dat wɪl 't plaatje makeh.
 and that- that we make the picture.

Boris starts his turn in overlap with the second syllable of Ciska's response turn (lines 2–3). He halts its delivery at the end of its second word, *en dat-* (*and that-*, line 3), but immediately restarts it free of overlap after Ciska has completed her response (cf. Schegloff 1987). Although Boris recognizably recycles the same turn-beginning as the one he just abandoned — compare *en dat* (*and that*) and *dat* (*that*) in line 3 (cf. Local et al. 2010) — he leaves out the *and* preface from his restart. Schegloff's explanation for this type of dispensable is that the sequential environment to which the speaker was initially tying their turn has changed (Schegloff 2004). The indispensability of an element is evidence

A position expansion builds on the prior speaker's turn by exploiting its grammatical features in a symbiotic way (cf. Goodwin 2013). The dependency relationship is not only established by the interplay of next-positioning, turn-initial tying, and topical elaboration, it is also particularly visible in the TCU's grammatical design. The unit with the position expansion has a lexico-syntactic format that is constructionally dependent on the grammatical format of the TCU in prior speaker's turn. The position expansion in Extract 12.2, for example, has the shape of a subordinate clause: *en dat- dat wij 't plaatje maken* (*and that we make the picture*, line 3 in extract 12.2). The clause has verb-final word order, ending in *maken* (*make*), which is the typical position of the finite verb in subordinate clauses in Dutch. The complementiser *dat* (*that*) ties the clause loosely into the sentence frame that prior speaker has used for presenting his opinion, the quotative frame *maar ik heb zoiets ...* (*but I am like ...*); see Figure 12.2.

Jan:

maar ik heb zoiets
but I am like

▶ laten wij gewoon bepalen hoe wij 't willen hebben
let us simply decide how we want to have it.

Boris:

en
and

▶ dat wij 't plaatje maken.
that we make the picture.

Figure 12.2: Constructional dependency of the dependent clause in Boris's TCU in line 3 of Extract 12.2

Boris's *dat wij 't plaatje maken* (*that we make the picture*, line 3 of Extract 12.2) can be embedded into the quotative frame Jan has used. It retroactively transforms the statement in prior speaker's turn into the first item of a list for which current speaker provides the second item.⁸ By shaping his contribution as a dependent clause, the speaker of the position-

for it being a constitutive feature of the action in the repeated TCU; see, for example, Bolden (2010: 15). I am not sure whether its dispensability is evidence for the reverse claim.

⁸ The type of quotation that Boris attaches to the quotative frame, *ik heb zoiets ...* (*I am like ...*), differs from the one that Jan used in his turn. Whereas Jan formats the quote with his opinion statement as a direct reported 'thought' (*let us simply decide how we want to have it*, line 1 of Extract 12.2), Boris casts his addition as an indirect quote (*and that- that we make the picture*). A speaker who uses direct reported speech also takes responsibility for the precise wording of the quotation; indirect reported speech does not carry this claim. Boris's use of indirect speech may be a technique for attributing the primary authorship of their shared opinion to Jan.

expansion turn designs his response as grammatically subsumed under the constructional framework that prior speaker has set up.

The grammatical designs of the position-expansion TCUs in Extracts 12.3 and 12.4 display similar types of constructional dependency. The position expansion in Extract 12.3 is designed as a relative-clause increment (cf. Couper-Kuhlen and Ono 2007). It also has verb-final word order — a feature of relative clauses in Dutch — but its grammatical subject is left out. It has a 'zero subject' which has to be retrieved from the relative-clause increment in prior speaker's turn (cf. Oh 2005,⁹ Ono and Thompson 1997); see Figure 12.3.

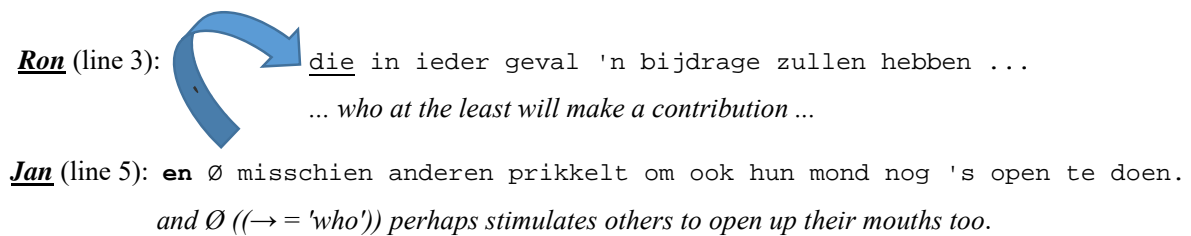


Figure 12.3: Constructional dependency of the relative clause increment in Jan's turn in line 5 of Extract 12.3

Extract 12.4 shows yet another type of constructional dependency:

EXTRACT 12.4. Detail.

1. Ciska: en dat alle middeleh- (0.4) hun- hun rol kunnen spe:leh,=
and that all means- their- their role can play,
and that all (advertising) means- can be put into action,
 (...)
- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>3. Rick:→ EN [>BIJ VOORKEUR IN HARMONIE.
 <i>and with-a-preference-for in-harmony.</i>
 <i>and preferably in harmony.</i></p> | <p>[NOU <u>DAN</u> ZIJN WE AL 'N HEEL] END.
 <i>PRT then are we already a whole step</i>
 <i>well then we are already a lot further.</i></p> |
|---|--|
4. Ciska: [en dat (er 'n) maximale s[nergie is.
and that (there a) maximal synergy is.]
and that (there is) maximum synergy.

The position expansion itself is constructed as a series of two idiomatic prepositional phrases,

⁹ Oh (1996) shows that zero-anaphora constructions may be used as a practice for maximising the connectedness between successive clauses (Oh 1996: 831), and that the avoidance of a subject reference term casts the current TCU as designed "to be tied to prior talk as a fitted continuation of it" (Ibid.: 837).

the first one modifying the second:

[*bij voorkeur*] [*in harmonie*] / [*with-a-preference-for*] [*in harmony*]

Without the connective, this construction could be integrated as an adverbial into the structure of the unit it is being tied to. It is parasitic upon its structure and meaning:

en dat alle middelele- hun- hun rol kunnen spelen, + bij voorkeur in harmonie.
and that all (advertising) means can be put into action, + preferably in harmony.

Note, by the way, that Ciska — the speaker of the position-expansion's host turn — also expands her own turn with an *and*-prefaced continuation, *en dat we ('r 'n) maximale synergie is (and that we (there is) maximum synergy*, line 4 in Extract 12.4). This continuation is also constructionally dependent on the sentential framework set up earlier in her turn.¹⁰ The constructional similarity of the position-expansion turn and prior speaker's continuation of her own turn nicely illustrates the kind of chameleonic 'disguise' with which next speaker must equip a position-expansion turn in order to have it pass as a continuation of the action in prior speaker's turn.

The type of constructional dependency may thus vary. In Extracts 12.2 and 12.3 different types of subordinate clauses are embedded at different levels into a sentence frame of prior speaker's turn, and in Extract 12.4 the expansion is done with an adverbial increment of a subordinate clause in prior speaker's turn. All expansions have in common that they are

¹⁰ Ciska created the organizational space for a larger project in a multi-unit turn by establishing an open framework for a list of items: *maar wij gaan kijken van-* (*but we are going to look like ...*; see line a in Extract 12.4a below). The particle *van* after *kijken* (*look*) is frequently used after verbs of saying or thinking as an opener for a typifying quotation in Dutch (cf. Mazeland 2006). The problem items themselves are shaped as a series of dependent clauses (indirect *how*-questions in lines a–b in Extract 12.4a below, and a series of *that*-clauses in lines 1 and 4 of Extract 12.4):

EXTRACT 12.4a. Context of Ciska's series of *en dat ...* (*and that*-)clauses in lines 1 and 4 in Extract 12.4).

- a. Ciska: → *maar: wij gaan kijkeh van- (.) •h hoe zou 't goed zijn.*
 but we are going to look like- how would it work well.
- b. *en hoe komt de communicatie optimaal tot zijn recht,=*
 and how does the communication take full advantage,
- (...)
1. *en dat alle middelele- (0.4) hun- hun rol kunnen spe:leh, (...)*
 and that all (advertising) means- can be put into action,

and-prefaced and formatted as a constructionally dependent expansion of a grammatically specifiable unit type in prior speaker's turn.¹¹

The constructional dependency on prior speaker's turn is crucial for the social relationship the speaker of a position-expansion turn retroactively establishes with prior turn. Through designing their turn as a continuation of the lexico-syntactic structure of a unit in prior speaker's turn, current speaker ties their turn in such a way to prior speaker's turn that the resulting unit is structured as a single sentence. In a lecture in 1965, Harvey Sacks explained why the cross-speaker production of a sentence can be a device for showing group membership. A sentence is a prototypical instance of the kind of thing that can be done by a single person, and because of this it is able "to be a way that some non-apparent unit may be demonstrated to exist" (Sacks 1992: 145). The division of a sentence into parts that are produced by consecutive speakers enables the second speaker in the series to present the thing s/he is doing as something s/he is doing together with prior speaker (Ibid.: 147). The ways a next speaker exploits the linguistic resources provided by prior speaker for constructing a next turn thus may be instrumental to the local management of social organisation.

The kind of group the speaker of a position-expansion turn shows him/herself to be a member of has to be determined by considering the local environment of use. It depends particularly on the kind of action prior speaker is doing and current speaker's relationship with prior speaker with respect to the issue at hand. I will explore this in the next section.

2.3 The activity context of position expansion

We know it is not just the form that makes the action, it takes a specific environment of use to turn utterances of the shape described in the preceding section into a vehicle for doing

¹¹ Note that the three cases of position expansion I have described in detail tie to a syntactic frame in the host turn that is shaped as a 'complement-taking predicate' (Thompson 2002): *maar ik heb zoiets van ...* (*but I am like ...*) in Extract 12.2, *ik denk dat ...* (*I think that ...*) in Extract 12.3, and *maar wij gaan kijken van ...* (*but we are going to look like ...*) in Extract 12.4. These kinds of matrix-sentence frames may host a variety of embedded clauses, often in ways that are more loose than prescriptive grammatical rules allow or predict (see also Günthner 2008; Verhagen 2005). I don't know whether this is accidental or whether it is a systematic feature of the host turn that facilitates the occurrence of position expansion.

position expansion (cf. Schegloff 2007, Levinson 2013, Mazeland this volume). The position expansions in the meeting data are done in the course of decision-making discussions (cf. Button and Sharrock 2000, Huisman 2001, Kangasharju 2002, Van der Schoot and Mazeland 2005, Asmuss 2012, Stevanovic 2012). They occur after and in response to an oppositional position-taking statement of another team member. That is, position expansion is done in a multi-person discussion in an 'agreement-relevant environment' (Lerner 1996: 310).

In Extract 12.2, for example, the team discusses the problem of whether a specific external bureau should be included in a project group that is responsible for the initial design of marketing-communication campaigns. Jan's opinion statement proposes an alternative for the solution that the team leader is in favour of, and Boris's position expansion provides support for his colleague's counter-position.

The position expansion in Extract 12.3 is from the same episode, about 8 minutes later in the discussion. Rick's position expansion is an agreeing statement in support of Paul's critical assessment of the bureau that team leader Wim prefers. In Extract 12.4, the host turn of the position expansion is a clarification of an aspect of a plan that has come under scrutiny in the preceding discussion. So all position-expansion speakers affiliate with a potentially controversial position-taking statement in prior speaker's turn.

But it is not just the local sequential context that triggers position expansion. The instances in my data display an orientation to an 'organisational agenda' (Boden 1994: 155ff.) that the speaker of the position expansion shares with the speaker of the host turn. Even before the delivery or the turn with the position expansion, the two speakers already form a 'collective' with respect to the issue that they take a stance on. In Extract 12.2, for example, Jan (the speaker of the host turn) and Boris (the speaker of the position-expansion turn) are together responsible for the marketing-communication campaigns of a specific product category in the company. The other advertising managers in the meeting are responsible for other product categories. Later in the meeting, Jan even mentions that he had been talking with Boris about a related issue earlier that morning. The speaker of the position-expansion turn and the speaker of the host turn are members of the same task-based association and they share an organisational agenda that becomes manifest in the position-expansion sequence. Rick and Paul (Extract 12.3) share a function-based general responsibility. Each of them shows his task-based responsibilities and his epistemic authority with respect to the issue at hand. In Extract 12.4,

position-expansion speaker Rick steps in for Ciska when she is defending a plan they have prepared together.¹²

The correlation between task-based membership in the same collective and doing position expansion is not an automatic mechanism, however (cf. Schegloff 1991). The speaker of the host turn and the speaker of the position-expansion turn may activate the local relevance of their shared organisational agenda in one or more brief *pre-exchanges* (cf. Kendon 1977) that run parallel to the public discussion. Boris and Jan, for example, have a brief exchange of gazes during the interaction that immediately precedes the position-expansion sequence in Extract 12.2. Before taking up the challenge of the team leader to provide a better alternative for the policy he is in favour of (lines 1–4 in Extract 12.5), Jan has created a wordless understanding with Boris about their shared concerns by seeking his attention. See particularly lines 4–5 in Extract 12.5 below, in which Jan's and Boris's respective gaze directions are also noted:

EXTRACT 12.5. Activity context of the interaction in Extract 12.2. Line 7 = line 1 in Extract 12.2.

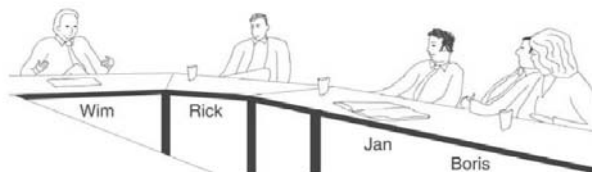
1. Wim: mAAr:- tenzij iemand, TENZIJ IEMAND- (.)
but unless somebody, UNLESS SOMEBODY
2. DAar nu, >n 'n 'n< 'n salomonsoordeel over kan uitsprekeh
can make a- a- a Solomon's judgment about that now,
3. en mij 'n hē:l hēlder, (0.8) plaatje kan uittekeneh_ °dan-°)
and can draw a very clear picture for me (then-)

	[▼ still 12.4a	[▼ still 12.4b
4. Wim:	dan [▼ ben ik [daar graag [sta ik daar graag voor open.[▼ <i>then I will be very I am very open to that.</i>	
Jan:	[Jan turns head in a 30°-angle toward Boris -----	
Boris:	[Boris turns slightly toward Jan -----	
	[▼ still 12.4c	
5. Wim:	(neem ik 't-)][sluit]ik 't] [▼ in mijn <ar:men:.> <i>(I'll take it-) I will embrace it with both arms.</i>	
Jan:	-----] [looks again at Wim -----	
Boris:	-----] [looks again at Wim -----	

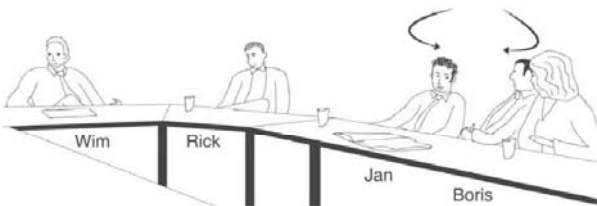
6. 0.4

¹² In this section I will focus on giving detailed evidence from the position-expansion sequence in Extract 12.2. Comparable evidence from the cases documented in Extracts 12.3–4 is only hinted at.

- 7/1. Jan: maar ik heb zoiets laten wij gewoon bepalen hoe wij 't willen hebben.=
but I am like let us simply decide how we want to have it.
- 8/2. Ciska: =pre[cies!=('°ja.°)]
exactly! (yes.)
- 9/3. Boris: [en dat- dat] wIJ 't plaatje makeh.
and that- that we make the picture.



Still 12.4a



Still 12.4b



Still 12.4c

Stills 12.4. Gaze direction of Jan and Boris during the turn prior to the position-expansion sequence (lines 4-5 in Extract 12.5). Still 12.4a: Jan and Boris look at Wim. Still 12.4b: Jan and Boris exchange a brief sideward mutual-understanding look. Still 12.4c: Jan and Boris look again at Wim.

Although Jan and Boris are both looking at team leader Wim for most of the time during his turn in lines 1–5, they have a brief exchange of other-directed sideways glances during the final parts of Wim's turn in lines 4–5. Without fully looking at one another, their peripheral vision enables them to signal some joint concern or shared stance with respect to the ongoing course of action. See Stills 12.4–6 and the detailed transcription of both participants' gaze direction during this part of Wim's turn in Extract 12.5.

The position expansion does not come out of the blue. It is prepared in a pre-exchange of reciprocal gazes the moment Jan makes himself recognizably available for becoming the recipient of Boris's counter-gaze. As members of the same group with respect to the issue at hand, they re-activate and (re-)confirm the relevance of their shared organisational agenda in an exchange of mutually visible sideways glances. When Jan subsequently takes up the team leader's challenge to provide a better solution, he does so in an activity context in which both he and Boris are already prepared to enter into the discussion with the team leader as a 'party'. Boris's position expansion is not just a self-initiated ad hoc demonstration of being a member of the same collective; rather, it is prepared in a pre-exchange by the members of that collective during the final parts of the turn that triggered Jan's oppositional statement. In extract 12.4, we see something similar. Ciska has several times searched for and tried to meet Rick's gaze in the TCUs preceding the unit that then gets position expansion by Rick.

In conclusion, it is not only the direct sequential environment that is characteristic of position expansion. A speaker does this action in response to an oppositional opinion statement of a co-participant in the course of a decision-making discussion. The speaker of the oppositional move forms a collective with the speaker of the position expansion with respect to the issue at hand, and both participants may activate the relevance of this relationship in a pre-exchange in the run-up to the position-expansion sequence.

2.4 The impact of position expansion

Position expansion has specific interactional consequences. It re-organises the participation framework within the ongoing course of action and it re-distributes the local configuration of sequential relevancies as to what should be done first and by whom. In Extract 12.2, for example, both Jan — the originator of the sequence with the position expansion — and Ciska do agreement with Boris's position expansion. After this, Ciska accounts for her affiliation with Jan and Boris's position with an argumentation of her own (see lines 6–8 in Extract 12.6).

EXTRACT 12.6. Continuation of Extract 12.2.

3. Boris: en dat- dat wIJ 't plaatje makeh.
 and that- that we make the picture.
4. [(°>heb ik lie]ver d[an zij 't doen.°<)]
 (is better than when they do it.)
5. Jan: [ja[h.
 yes.

6. Ciska:→ [jA:h.] [dat- ik vind dat] dus ook.
 yes. this- I feel this the same way PRT too.
7. → wij zijn de klant en als wij graag willen
 we are the customer and if we very much want
8. dat XXX 'r bij is, dan •hh u:h
 that ((name bureau)) participates, then u:h

The modification of the participation framework that Boris's position expansion has effectuated turns out to be transient. Its impact is in the hands of the participants themselves. It does not prevent other participants from taking the role of primary speaker. After Ciska's turn, other team members also step in with their own arguments.

The organisational impact of position expansion may be exploited more drastically, however. The permutation of local participation-framework roles that position expansion effectuates may be used by the speaker of the position-expansion turn as an opportunity for taking over the role of primary speaker. This is the case in Extract 12.4. After Rick has stepped in for Ciska with a position expansion, he completely usurps the role of the defender of the plan they have presented together as a team. See lines 7–14 in Extract 12.7 (the continuation of the interaction in Extract 12.4).

EXTRACT 12.7. How the interaction continues after Rick's position expansion in Extract 12.4 (line 3).

1. Ciska: en dat alle middeleh- (0.4) hun- hun rol kunnen spe:leh,=
 and that all (advertising) means- can be put into action,
 (...)
3. Rick: → EN [>BIJ VOORKEUR IN HARMONIE. [NOU DAN ZIJN WE AL 'N HEEL] END.
 and preferably in harmony. well then we are already a lot further.
4. Ciska: [en dat we ('r 'n) maximale s[ynergie is.]
 and that we (there is) maximum synergy.
 0.3
5. Boris: h[m↓h[m.
6. Wim: [jah.
 yes.
7. Rick: → [EN DAN ZIE[N we wel WAar °dit-
 and then we'll see PRT where this-
8. Ciska: [ja:h.
 yes.
9. 0.2

10. Rick:→ >misschien is dat straks wel helemaal niet meer 'n discussie.<
perhaps this won't be an issue at all later on.
11. dus dat- (0.2)
so then-
11. Ciska: °neeh [dat denk (ik)°]
no this I think ()
12. Rick:→ [dat zien we dan] wel.
this we'll handle later on then PRT
13. (.)
14. maar dat is ook typisch zo'n werkgroep die (...)
but this is also typically the kind of work group which ...

Rick uses position expansion as a starting point for taking over the role of primary speaker. Although Ciska continues her turn simultaneously with Rick's position expansion (lines 3–4) and none of them resolves the overlap by abandoning their turn (cf. Schegloff 2000), Rick comes out as the winner (see lines 7–14). The other participants make his turn continuations consequential for the subsequent talk (cf. Lerner 1996: 315). Ciska's continuation is not taken up, and eventually she too aligns with Rick's role of primary speaker and resigns to the reversal of organisational roles (lines 8 and 11). One almost gets the impression that Rick reduces Ciska's contribution to just the animator of their joint plan, positioning himself as its real author and originator (cf. Goffman 1981). Although position expansion per se only accomplishes a transient shift of the local participation framework, the speaker of the position-expansion turn may thus exploit the shift by extending the reconfiguration of the local participation structure over a longer stretch of talk.

2.5 Properties of position-expansion turns

So far, we have discussed the following properties of position expansion:

Environment of use

- (i) the sequence occurs in the course of a decision-making discussion in a multi-person setting;
- (ii) the position expansion is a response to an agreement-relevant oppositional opinion statement;
- (iii) the speaker of the host turn and the speaker of the position expansion share an organisational agenda with respect to the issue at hand;

(iv) the local relevance of the shared organizational agenda may have been activated in a pre-exchange;

Grammatical format

(v) the position expansion is *and*-prefaced;

(vi) it is constructionally dependent on the grammar of the unit in the prior turn that it is tying to;

Sequence-organisational impact

(vii) position expansion changes the local participation framework. It moves the next-action constraints set by prior speaker's opinion statement one turn ahead. The other team members respond to the turn with the position expansion.

Two more properties also have to be stated explicitly, otherwise they may go unnoticed because of their self-evidence:

Placement

(viii) the turn with the position expansion should be preferably contiguously placed after the first possible completion point of its host turn;

Action type and content

(ix) the speaker of the position-expansion turn does the same type of action with respect to the same issue as prior speaker did.

The placement constraint (viii) is a turn-taking specification of the sequential-position property (ii). See again Extract 12.2: Boris places his response to Jan in overlap with Ciska's response.

EXTRACT 12.2. Detail.

1. Jan: (...) laten wij gewoon bepalen hoe wij 't willen hebben.=
let us simply decide how we want to have it.
2. Ciska:→ =pre[cies! (°ja.°)]
exactly!
3. Boris:→ [en dat- dat] wIJ 't plaatje makeh.
and that- that we make the picture.

Had his turn come later, Boris would have run the risk of it no longer being heard as a response to Jan. By starting his response in overlap with the very beginning of Ciska's response turn and before its first possible completion point (cf. Sacks et al. 1974), the speaker

of the position-expansion turn places his turn so that it locates the action in prior speaker's turn as its target.

The other property is an action constraint with a topical dimension. In order for a next turn to be understood as a position expansion of prior speaker's turn, it is not sufficient for next speaker to elaborate on the content of prior speaker's turn, nor for next speaker to do the same kind of action as prior speaker. Next speaker is recognizably coordinating an *and*-prefaced unit with a unit in prior speaker's turn in which he continues the action of prior speaker and talks about the same issue prior speaker is talking about. In Extract 12.2, for example, Boris makes an opinion statement (*that we make the picture*, line 3) about the same issue that prior speaker has made a statement about (*let us decide how we want to have it*, line 1).¹³ He is not just elaborating on the content of prior speaker's turn by adding another proposition to it; rather, he is adding the same kind of action as prior speaker did with respect to the same issue.

2.6 Comparison with *and*-prefaced formulation of prior speaker's talk

Comparison with yet another type of *and*-prefaced other-continuation shows that the list of properties in the previous section is not yet sufficient. See Extract 12.8 below. Boris has agreed to contact an external bureau about a delayed advice report. Wim then makes a suggestion about how to handle this (lines 1–4), both with respect to how to account for the request (lines 1–2) and regarding the deadline for complying with it (line 4). Boris's *and*-prefaced addition in line 6 mentions another aspect of the arrangement, namely, that the bureau should also be present at the presentation of the advice report. This point had already been touched upon earlier in the discussion. By reminding him of it, Boris articulates something that Wim did not include in his suggestion but which was "claimably inferable" from the preceding talk (cf. Bolden 2010):

¹³ "Make the picture" is an idiomatic expression for making a plan; it has likely acquired that meaning on the basis of metonymic reasoning (cf. Lakoff and Johnson 1980). Boris clearly talks within the same activity scenario that Jan's statement is about. Note also that Boris's statement has the same topic referent as Jan's statement, *wij* (*we*).

EXTRACT 12.8. *And*-prefaced formulation of the prior speaker's talk

01 Wim: ik zou maar zeggeh dat HIJ eh dat wij vindeh
I would PRT say that he- uh that we are of the opinion
02 dat we dat moete hebbeh nu.
that we have to get it now.
03 0.2
04 en dan- (.) vandaag nog.
and then today already.
05 0.5
06 Boris:→ °en aanwezig zijn bij die presentatie.°=
and be present with that presentation.
07 Wim: =ja.
yes.
08 0.2
09 °absoluut.°
absolutely.

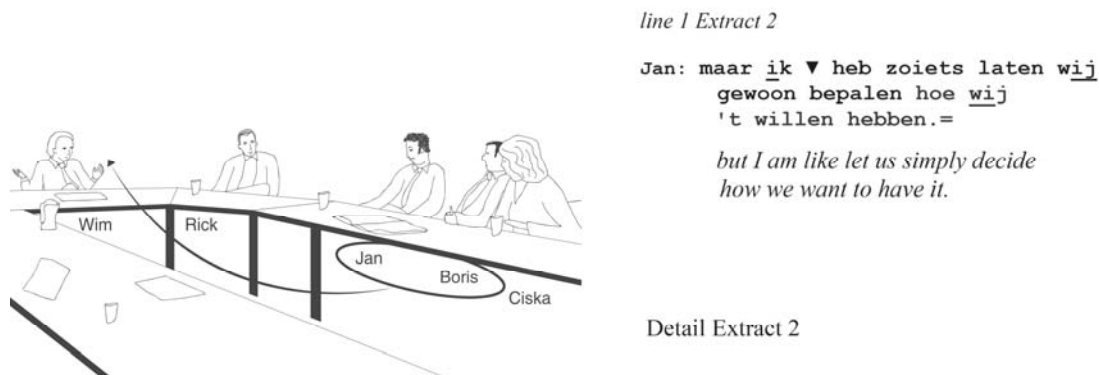
Although Boris's *and*-prefaced other-continuation in line 6 has a couple of properties that also hold for position expansion — apart from being *and*-prefaced, it is constructionally dependent, on topic, and next-positioned — it is clearly not a position expansion. Boris's other-continuation occurs in a different type of activity context from the one described for position expansion. But some of its properties shed further light on what makes an *and*-prefaced other-continuation a position expansion.

Bolden (2010) calls a next-speaker repair such as Boris's *and*-prefaced other-continuation in line 6 an '*and*-prefaced formulation' of prior speaker's talk. Speakers use this for an inquiry about something that is within the epistemic domain of prior speaker, and because it is addressed to prior speaker, the formulation works as a request for confirmation (lines 7–9).

The action that a speaker conveys with an *and*-prefaced formulation differs from position expansion with respect to both the kind of distribution of knowledge that it assumes and its directionality of address. Whereas *and*-prefaced formulations are about the addressee's epistemic domain (cf. Bolden 2010), position expansions are typically within the epistemic domain of both the speaker of the host turn and the speaker of the turn with the expansion. The speaker who does position expansion is adding something that is shared knowledge, that

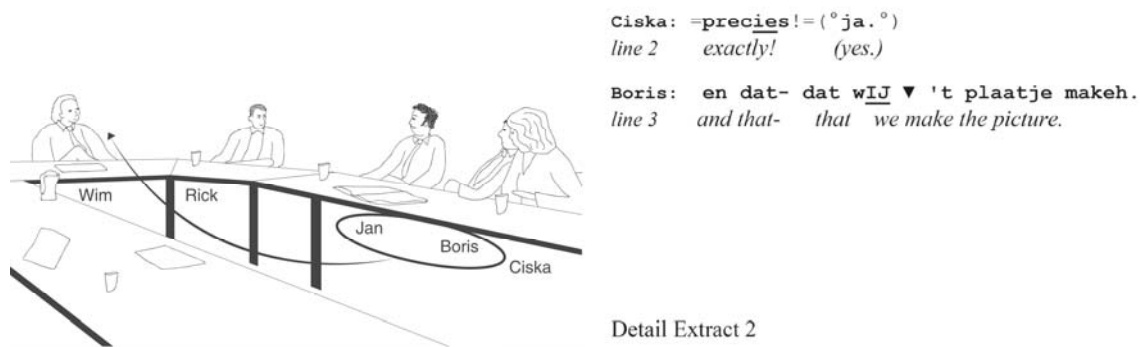
is, he is acting in line with the organisational agenda he shares with prior speaker (see item (iii) in the list of properties above).

Second, contrary to Boris's *and*-prefaced formulation in Extract 12.8, position expansion does not reverse the directionality of address of its host turn (see Lerner 2004 and Sidnell 2012). Jan's objection in Extract 12.2, for example, is directed at team leader Wim, with the other team members as co-hearers,¹⁴ and Boris's next turn has the same directionality. He addresses his turn to the team leader as well (see Stills 12.7 and 12.8 below). The other team members, including the speaker of the turn he is linking to, are co-hearers. Although this is a feature that initially seemed self-evident to me when considering an action that recycles the sequential position of prior speaker's action, this is nevertheless something I had not noticed before contrasting position expansion with Bolden's (2010) *and*-prefaced formulations. If the speaker of an *and*-prefaced other-continuation changes the direction of address of the host turn, he would be doing another type of action.



Still 12.7. Still taken after the first two words in Jan's opinion statement (*but I am like let us simply decide how we want to have it.*), right after *maar ik ▼* (*but I ...*, line 1). ▼ indicates the exact moment of the still in the speaker's utterance. Jan's gaze remains directed at Wim during his turn.

¹⁴ I don't think the term 'overhearer' is appropriate for this way of addressing turns in the meeting setting, therefore I have chosen to use the term 'co-hearer' as a type of recipient that is different from the 'primary recipient'.



Still 12.8. Still taken after *wij* (*we*) in Boris's position-expansion turn (line 3). Boris has his gaze directed toward Wim.

So property (iii) should be modified as follows:

- (iii) the information provided in the position expansion is within the epistemic domain of both the speaker of the host turn and the speaker of the position expansion; both participants share an organisational agenda with respect to the issue at hand.

And the following feature should be added to the list of properties of position expansion:

Participation framework

- (x) the position expansion maintains the directionality of address of the host turn; it is also directed at the original primary recipient of prior speaker's turn.

3 Discussion and conclusion

The speaker of a position-expansion turn shows him/herself to be a member of a group (see Section 2.2). Second speakers also use other practices such as incrementing or collaborative completion for demonstrating that they form some kind of group with prior speaker. They do so with utterance types that are also constructionally dependent on prior speaker's turn and that are addressed to the original recipient(s) of the turn that is continued (see the discussion of this latter feature in Section 2.6). Technically, position expansion is not a type of increment, nor a type of collaborative preemptive completion by another participant. The main technical difference between position expansion and increments (cf. Schegloff 2016 [2001]; Couper-Kuhlen and Ono 2007; see also notes 3 and 4) is that the speaker of a position-expansion turn shapes their contribution as a TCU continuation of prior speaker's turn, and not as an increment continuation (cf. Sidnell 2012). That is, a position expansion is not formatted as a grammatically fitting 'recompletion' of the TCU in prior speaker's turn.

re-issues his own complaint by answering the question through which it was initially delivered (*that is (really) not possible*, line 9). It is as though Oliver's increment has not changed the response space of the turn it is expanding.

Position-expansion turns, on the other hand, are not formatted as 'loose ends'. They begin with a tying device, the *and*-preface. By beginning a turn with prefatory *and*, a speaker projects that he is going to add a unit of some type to a unit of the same type in the preceding interaction. Although the design of position-expansion turns is also grammatically dependent on prior speaker's turn, the turns begin with a turn-initial operator that frames the upcoming TCU as an equivalent continuation of a similar type of unit in prior speaker's turn. And although the unit after the turn-initial connective in position-expansion turns is not recognisably formatted as a 'beginning' either — compare the complementiser *dat* (*that*) in Extract 12.2 or the zero subject in a subordinated clause in Extract 12.3 — recipients look for the type of unit current speaker is 'adding' his turn to as a second conjunct because of the turn-initial operator. In the case of position expansion, the most likely candidate for this is the unit in which prior speaker makes the same point as current speaker. This is even the case for Rick's non-clausal position-expansion in Extract 12.4, *en bij voorkeur in harmonie* (*and preferably in harmony*, line 3). Position-expansion turns continue prior speaker's action with an action of the same type; they don't modify prior speaker's action by incrementing its terms.

Technically, position expansion is also different from collaborative completion (cf. Lerner 1991, 1993, 2004). A speaker who does position expansion adds a next turn to prior speaker's possibly complete turn, whereas collaborative completion is a method for entering into the turn-space of current speaker in a way that makes it recognizable as a candidate completion of the ongoing, still incomplete turn (Lerner 2004: 227–228). See Extract 12.10. Ciska has just started to make a summary assessment of the argument she developed before, with chair Wim as her primary recipient (line 1). But before she can complete the turn, her colleague Mary takes over and finishes the turn by preemptively producing her version of the kind of completion projected in the TCU-so-far (line 2).

EXTRACT 12.10. Collaborative completion.

- Ciska:
dus in feite hebben we dat soeper loo:p, (0.8) team:,
so in fact have we that super loop team
so, actually, this super loop team is
- Mary: → **n**ie meer **n**o:dig.
not more needed

- not needed anymore.*
- 0.4
3. Ciska: → **denk ik, niet meer zo heel hard nodig.**
 think I not more so very urgently needed
 I think, not so urgently needed anymore.
- (.)
4. Wim: °**neeh.**°
 no.
- 0.5
5. Ciska: **niet voor dat in ieder ge[val.**
 not for this at least.
6. Wim: **[kan ik me best heel goed**
 I can understand that
7. **bij voorstelleh ja.**
 very well yes.
- 0.3
8. Ciska. **jah.**
 yes.

Mary delivers a predicate kernel that fits the completion projection of the current speaker's turn-so-far and in line with the direction of the preceding discussion.¹⁵ "By producing a version of what had been projected as a part of the prior speaker's turn" (Lerner 2004: 225), the speaker of the anticipatory completion 'co-constructs' the action the original speaker has begun. A position-expansion speaker, on the other hand, is not co-constructing the prior speaker's action but adding the same type of action to the possibly complete turn of the prior speaker.¹⁶

The result of position expansion is a cross-speaker multi-unit action in which the speaker of the second part joins the speaker of the first part to make a point as a collective. The second speaker does the same type of action as the prior speaker, with respect to the

¹⁵ Mary's collaborative TCU-completion in line 2 of Extract 12.10 exploits the projection that is based on the current speaker's use of a verb form from the set Dutch verbal expression [*nodig*_{ADJ} *hebben*_{VERB}] / *have a-need-for* + complement. The speaker of the anticipatory completion provides the [adjective + complement] part of this multi-word verb construction.

¹⁶ Note that the original speaker of the turn-so-far in Extract 12.10 does not treat the proffered completion as a display of understanding or agreement with the action underway. She does not confirm or reject it. Instead she does a 'delayed completion' of her own turn (Lerner 2004: 238) that deletes the anticipatory completion of her colleague from the interactional surface (line 3). It restores the conditional relevance of a response to the action in her turn (see lines 4–8 in Extract 12.10).

issue at hand. S/he thereby recycles and re-instantiates the sequential constraints and expectations that the speaker of the first part had already established. The other participants respond in the first instance to the conditional relevance of the second speaker's action, making their reaction contiguous with the action in the immediately preceding turn (cf. Sacks 1987). However, a recipient may also treat the actions of both prior speakers in the second instance as a unit, by formulating them as a single opinion statement, as in Extract 12.2.

What does a speaker gain by continuing the prior speaker's turn with a position expansion? One has to go back to the activity context of each specific case in order to be able to get an idea about this. In Extract 12.2, for example, Boris does position expansion on a turn in which the prior speaker makes an opinion statement that is opposed to the policy the team leader is defending. By doing agreement with the prior speaker through position expansion, he supports prior speaker's position and starts building a coalition. Eventually, after a long and complicated discussion, this coalition will persuade the team leader to withdraw his support for the contested policy.

But position expansion is just one of several methods for agreeing with the position taken by the prior speaker. In Extract 12.2, for example, we see that Ciska is also taking part in the alliance, but she does so first by affirmation and then by making an agreeing position statement of her own. The difference with position expansion, however, is that its speaker takes part in the coalition as a member of the same group as the originator of the sequence. Position expansion thus differentiates between various kinds of members and 'parties' within the coalition. Its speaker is or claims to be more closely associated with the leading discussant with respect to the issue at hand.

Doing position expansion is perhaps also based on the scarcity of opportunities for claiming co-ownership of the position brought forward by the speaker of the host turn. A co-participant might do more than just do agreement or provide support with the position taken by the prior speaker. They might want to claim a kind of co-authorship. For example, because they contributed to an earlier discussion about the issue at hand with the speaker of the host turn as the other member of the collective (this is the case for Extracts 12.2 and 12.4), or because the speaker of the position expansion competes in one way or another with the prior speaker with respect to who has primary or sufficient epistemic authority (which may be the case in Extract 12.3). But in a multi-person and perhaps also multi-party setting such as a meeting, one of the few types of environments in which this can be done immediately,

publicly, and without extra effort is within the sequential position that prior speaker has created. Position expansion is a method for dealing with this scarcity.

Position expansion is an action with which a speaker makes an agreeing opinion statement in response to prior speaker's opinion statement in a multi-person setting in such a way that it takes over the sequential relevancies established in the prior speaker's turn. The action effectuates a re-organisation of the local participation framework and demonstrates its speaker's claim to be in a group with the prior speaker with respect to the issue at hand. This type of multi-layeredness is partially comparable with, for example, how an action like telling a next story event may also count as a 'resumption' at the level of the organisation of sequential progression of the interaction (cf. Mazeland and Huiskes 2001). If the description proffered in this paper is 'on target', position expansion might be an example of a set of multi-layered interaction-reorganizing actions that still await description in action formation research (cf. Schegloff 1996b; see also Levinson 2013). The exploration of its features points to the importance of examining the 'relative positioning' of turns — that is, to look at the ways a speaker ties his/her turn to prior speaker's turn — in order to understand how a speaker is doing what they are doing.

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