CHAPTER 2.1

Using objects and technologies in the immediate environment as resources for managing affect displays in troubles talk

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This chapter shows how the communicative affordances of material objects in the local environments, including mobile phones and laptops, provide resources for participants to manage displays of affect during troubles talk, including potentially enacting or resisting affiliative recipiency. Specifically, we highlight embodied practices through which speakers employ such devices as an interactional resource to keep emotional displays off-record in order to preserve the ongoing action trajectory while participants negotiate affiliative work.

Keywords: multitasking, multiactivity, mobile technology, new communication technology, embodiment, affect, storytelling, troubles talk, affiliation, alignment

1. Introduction

When participants share troubles with others, they do so through extended sequences of talk (Jefferson 1988) and via actions such as complaints, reports of problematic exchanges, and descriptions of negatively-assessed behavior. As an activity oriented toward offering support and empathy, episodes of *troubles talk* overwhelmingly prefer affiliation from the recipients of such talk (Couper-Kuhlen 2012; Heritage 2011), routinely accomplished through both verbal action as well as embodied displays of emotion or affect by telling recipients (Jefferson 1988). Troubles talk thus presents a rich interactional environment for revisiting the organization of emotion as a component of social action. Yet like any other activity, troubles talk may be embedded within the concurrent production of other actions and activities. People are rarely only just talking *about* something: they talk while having coffee, watching television, or minding children. And participant engagement in these forms of *multiactivity* may thus be organized in different ways: the

:ies may run parallel or one may be treated as primary and the other second-
1d they may become variably embedded, suppressed, or foregrounded over
urse of a conversation (Haddington et al. 2014). In this chapter, we show how
mmunicative affordances (Hutchby 2001) of material objects in participants'
mments, including forms of communicative technology like mobile phones
ptops, can be interactional resources for managing the display of affect dur-
oubles talk, including potentially enacting or resisting affiliative recipiency.
ticular, we highlight the manner in which speakers employ such devices to
:motional displays 'off-record' (e.g., Ogiermann 2015) in order to preserve
1going action trajectory while affiliative work is being negotiated, thereby
tizing alignment over affiliation.

. what follows, we first review two strands of relevant research: first, on troubles
ffiliation, and emotion, and then on multi-activity, embodiment, and objects
:raction. We follow with an analysis of how participants manage emotional
ys that are off-record in terms of a pair of key sequential positions: in the act
troubles telling itself, and in how recipients affiliate with the telling in re-
2. In our analysis of both sequential environments, we attend to the ways that
ipants resort to their immediate material environment – including objects and
with communicative affordances such as mobile devices – as they deal with
:-record character of the emotional display throughout the activity of telling
1ces and how these accomplish affiliative actions (or not). This involves taking
sly how the materiality of objects in the semiotic environment (e.g., Goodwin
as well as the bodies of people engaging those objects, can be analyzed (e.g.,
ada 2019). We conclude by reflecting on the implications of this analysis.

oubles talk, affiliation, and emotion

on (1988) first refers to *troubles talk* as conversations about a trouble, prob-
r issue that negatively affects the teller's life (cf. Maynard 1988). Instances
1bles talk are thus composed of extended sequences – or "big packages," as
on (1988) also referred to them (c.f. Sacks 1992) – in which events, situations
:ople are described, negatively assessed (as in complaints; see Drew 1998),
orked on through empathic displays, advice, and so forth. Jefferson goes on
1t out that, as an extended sequence of talk, there is not one precise series of
s that comprise troubles talk per se. This is similar to other multi-unit forms
that are not organized around the adjacency pair, for instance storytellings
/andelbaum 2013) and the presentations of medical problems during acute
care visits (e.g., Robinson 2003), which often share structural and organ-

organization. First, the troubles are introduced through announcements, noticings,
or inquiries about a mutually-known ongoing problem. Second, the troubles are
elaborated upon through descriptions of events or symptoms and are often simul-
taneously supported through recipient responses. Finally, upon completion, the
sequence is brought to a close as participants make light of the trouble, invoke the
status quo, or project an ultimate optimistic outcome (Jefferson 1988).

Jefferson (1988) further noted a defining characteristic of troubles talk is not
only its so-called "tight" focus on troubles, but also displays of affiliation by tell-
ing recipients. Typically, components of the telling are receipted with affiliative
responses, and this in turn produces further "emotionally heightened talk" (428)
from troubles tellers. Affiliation entails displays of affective stance in interaction,
and is a preferred response to solidarity-seeking activities such as troubles talk,
storytelling, and news delivery (Heritage 1984; Lindström and Sorjonen 2013;
Maynard and Hudak 2008; Stivers 2008). This affective stance can be accomplished
through a range of embodied resources, including facial expressions, touch, re-
sponse cries, and bodily orientations (e.g., Ruusuvuori 2013; Goodwin and Cekaite,
2018). As Heritage (2011) notes in his discussion of reports of firsthand experience
(which includes troubles talk), recipients are morally obligated (e.g., by orient-
ing to intersubjectivity and progressivity; see Garfinkel 1967; Heritage 1984) to
affirm and affiliate with the speakers, with a further normative expectation that
affiliative responses should 'match' the affect of the preceding speaker (see also Lee
and Tanaka 2016; Couper-Kuhlen 2012). Yet this poses a problem for recipients,
who may lack the experiences, epistemic rights, or subjective resources for optimal
congruency (Heritage 2011). As Jefferson (1988) points out, troubles tellers typi-
cally and helpfully make available their affective stance in the way they initiate and
deliver talk about troubles, providing recipients further resources for coordinating
their responses.

However, there are additional interactional challenges in how affiliation may
not be sufficiently provided by a recipient, as well as resisted by the troubles teller.
Heritage (2011) describes how what he calls *empathic moments* may be missed or
withheld, and that this may occur in part because of a distance-involvement di-
lemma (displaying disengagement versus over-involvement) that arises when recip-
ients respecting the teller's primacy access to their experience while simultaneously
managing their own independent access (Heritage and Raymond 2005; Raymond
and Heritage 2006). The range of practices for displaying affect may be selectively
organized to deal with alignment and affiliation somewhat separately, all in service
of withholding affiliation while preserving alignment (as Stivers 2008 shows in re-
lation to nodding). Thus, when describing participants as managing emotion, we
are referring to the interactive display of affect as a socially-available resource for

term *affect* often refers to the expressive display of socially-recognisable (Besnier 1990), such as emotion, pleasure and pain (see also Stevanovic äkylä, 2012 on affect versus emotion). While affect has traditionally been as cognitive and physiological phenomena, it is also a *communicative* phe-ɔn that may be produced and elicited by speakers, and offered by recipients epburn 2004; Jenkins and Hepburn 2015). In troubles talk, the preferred 'e displays of affect may include shared emotions such as sadness, regret, ion, and so forth, as well as expressions such as sympathy and empathy. The ːd responses are often indicated by aspects of the speaker's delivery, includ-ι design and prosody, but also facial expressions (e.g., Kaukomaa et al. 2013,)15). Recipients then communicate responses, in part, through interjections ponse cries, bodily resources like facial expressions, or verbal actions like ιents, which are carefully timed and calibrated to display affiliative affective without disrupting the progressivity of the talk (Lindström and Sorjonen Even affective displays conducted in relatively low-stakes interactions, such l humorous stories, will be avoided in favor of leaving no doubt as to the ve stance of the recipient (e.g., Selting 2017). Thus, muted responses (what ɩn would call passive recipiency, e.g., 1984) to troubles could be problematic. Jefferson (1988) notes, troubles talk occurs in tension with the ongoing :ss as usual' of the interactants' lives or the wider activities into which the : is embedded. In the next section we review literature related to this com-ray of other competing business that can emerge in the midst of troubles ιuences.

Multiactivity, embodiment, and objects in interaction

ch on *multiactivity* offers an interactional approach to what is usually referred ηultitasking" (Haddington et al. 2014). Drawing partly on Goffman's (1963, :oncepts of frameworks and involvements, the term multiactivity emphasizes t that humans are rarely ever doing just one thing at a time. Rather, activities ιtinely accomplished in parallel, and participant attention may shift from ·y to secondary involvement in different activities (Haddington et al., 2014). ɩdy in its environment provide useful resources for doing this without halting ɔgressivity of the primary interaction: gaze, and local ecological features to gaze can be directed, work together to signal attention, distribute speaker ːtener roles, preface disagreement, negotiate multiple streams of activity or :sation, temporarily suspend certain activities, and so forth (e.g., Depperman Haddington 2006; Licoppe and Figeac 2018; Mondada 2014).

Similarly, interactions with material objects can also be enrolled in the service of multiactivity, as when participants use gaze or gesture to make certain features of an environment relevant across concurrent actions, such as talking while driv-ing, passing money and goods back and forth while giving coworkers instructions in institutional interactions, and so forth (see Haddington et al. 2014). Previous research has also shown that communication devices that are more mobile, such as laptops and tablets and particularly mobile phones, are frequently readily available resources that participants often keep ready-to-hand. This is often the case, given the situations in which continuous communication (or being available for it) may sometimes be necessary (as when someone is working, waiting for a call, etc.) or otherwise treated as unaccountable for certain groups or historical moments (e.g., that we may have a culture of being 'always on' and always available; see Brown, McGregor, and Laurier. 2013; Brown, McGregor, and McMillan 2014; DiDomenico and Boase 2013; DiDomenico, Raclaw, and Robles 2020; Ling and Haddon 2003; Madianou 2014). Such devices are doubly convenient, then, because they are often physically accessible to persons while also enabling access to other activities and interactions alongside or separate from participants' co-present activity (Aaltonen, Arminen, and Raudaskoski 2014; Raclaw, Robles, and DiDomenico 2016).

In troubles talk, participants' use of laughter, gaze, facial expression, and bod-ily orientation may be used to proffer or withdraw affiliation, and thus to indi-rectly disagree or to disengage with another participant (e.g., Beach and LeBaron 2002; Heath 2002; Jefferson 1988; Kaukomaa, Peräkylä, and Ruusuvuori 2014). DiDomenico, Raclaw and Robles (2020), for instance, analyze examples from in-terpersonal encounters where participants engaged in troubles talk orient to the accessibility of mobile devices in ways that manage their roles as speaker and lis-tener, attending to the current co-present speaker as the primary interactional in-volvement and managing mobile interactions and notifications when sequentially appropriate. However, there is some evidence that participants for whom the in-teraction itself becomes troubled may enroll their devices into the conversation in different ways (c.f., Raclaw, DiDomenico and Robles 2016; Robles, DiDomenico and Raclaw 2018). When participants proffer dispreferred responses to troubles talk – disaffiliating, for example, or not displaying a sufficiently convergent affective stance – local ecological resources (such as bodies and local objects) may become resources for avoiding engaging in troubles talk (for example, if doing so carries the risk of the talk becoming an argument). For this chapter, we focus on some of the systematic ways in which technological objects – specifically, mobile communica-tion devices such as laptops and mobile phones – can become part of the semiotic field (Goodwin 2007) through which participants modulate affect and affiliation.

te also that objects themselves raise important conceptual questions for
ıg how elements of the material environment get incorporated into and
ded within spates of multi-activity. Previous research has embraced the no-
technological affordances, originally posed by psychologists (see Gibson
to draw attention to how technologies can create both opportunities and
ıints for their users. More recently, the affordances perspective has been
orated into contemporary theorizing about human communication (e.g.,
s and DiDomenico 2016; Hutchby 2001) as well as used as a lens for con-
g empirical investigations of language and social interaction phenomena to
ıow participants orient to the affordances of mobile devices in the course
ɔtiating and managing everyday social actions, as well as identities and re-
hips (see also, DiDomenico, Raclaw and Robles 2020; Raclaw, Robles and
nenico 2016; Raclaw, DiDomenico and Robles 2018; Robles, DiDomenico
aclaw 2018). It is important to note that an affordance-focused approach
ot imply that any object is, *a priori*, going to be used for a certain purpose.
; participants' manipulations of objects during an encounter (whether or not
ccount for those manipulations) can shape how and in what way the object
ıes meaningful to the ongoing flow of social conduct. For example, while a
e phone may sometimes be treated by participants as a unique technological
affording communicative participation with non-present others, at other
participants may simply treat it as just another co-present object within the
ınvironment (e.g., fidgeting with it).

owever, prior research has shown that when participants *do* display an ori-
on to the technological affordances of mobile phones, the ways they do so
t and orientation to (and in fine coordination with) the normative organiza-
f talk-in interaction (e.g., turn taking, sequences of actions, see DiDomenico,
w and Robles 2020). Participants may even offer explicit accounts for their
le-related activities, such as reporting to others they are actively composing
-message response (DiDomenico, Raclaw and Robles 2020). On the other
it might sometimes be unclear whether someone is attending to their mobile
ɛck the time, monitoring for new text messages or communication via other
and platforms, enacting a mere cursory glance (Raclaw, DiDomenico and
ɛs 2018), etc. Thus, our analysis need not impose the assumption that mobile
; always consequential to an interaction, but instead relies on participants'
ɔnstrable orientations to mobile devices to retrospectively and prospectively
ɛ instances of troubles talk.

3. Methods

Participants were recruited from three US universities across five years with in-
formed consent, comprising hundreds of hours of data as part of separate research
projects investigating naturally-occurring talk. Our analysis draws on 31 examples
from 14 recordings among US university students in which participants interact
with some portable technological device during sequences where some troubles are
introduced and topicalized. We focused on 15 cases of the 31 examples in which
troubles talk also involved interactional trouble (involving dilemmas around how
to interact or respond; Tracy 1997) with managing affective displays both in the
course of the troubles telling as well as recipients disaligning, disaffiliating, and/or
disagreeing responses. We examined these instances to see how participants may
orient to local objects and other features of their environment (through touch, eye
gaze, or body position) in the course of these moments of interactional trouble.
In particular, we attended to how participants orient to mobile communication
devices such as cell phones, smart phones, tablets, and laptops. We transcribed all
our examples using Jefferson's (2004) transcription system attending to the broader
semiotic field of space and embodiment in line with Goodwin's (2007) approach.
We also incorporated the multimodal notations developed by Mondada (2014)
to attend to the precise practices and timings of participants' embodied conduct
(embodied conduct is indicated with bold text). Extracts were analyzed using mul-
timodal ethnomethodological conversation analysis, with a focus on the sequential
accomplishment of situated actions.

The analysis that follows focuses specifically on how mobile devices – and in
some cases the mediated content visible on these devices' display screens – are
used to manage affect displays during troubles talk. We show that visible engage-
ment with these devices is a resource for producing affect indirectly or 'off the
record' which, we argue, allows participants to manage accountability for putative
emotions.

4. Analysis

In the remainder of the chapter, we present an analysis of three cases that show
how aspects of participants' material environment, especially laptops and smart-
phones, become consequential to the display of affect and affiliation in the con-
text of troubles talk. Specifically these cases will focus on (1) how troubles tellers
indicate the sort of affect display that would be preferred and position recipients
to do so; (2) how troubles recipients enact preferred affect displays using verbal

l non-verbal resources; (3) how troubles recipients may be treated as resisting ;ferred affect displays (and therefore not fully affiliating), as when troubles tell- pursue a preferred response; and (4) the role mobile device use (including the evant technological affordances) may play in this process.

In the first subsections, we begin by looking at how troubles tellers withhold -record displays or formulations of affect, thereby allowing troubles-telling re- ›ients to do the inferential, affective work that is necessary to advance the telling urse of action. Next, we consider what happens when recipients do not provide ›rmatively expected presentations of affect and thereby treated as disagreeing or ›t sufficiently affiliating.

ı Providing for affect in recipiency

ıe first two examples highlight how participants use devices and device-mediated ›ntent to manage affect displays. Specifically, as the troubles teller modulates affect, ıey offer the recipient the opportunity to independently display affect and thus fliliate even more strongly with the troubles teller. In Extract 1, Molly (MOL, em- ›died conduct indicated by $) and Cara (CAR, embodied conduct indicated by *) ˙e seated on a bed in one of their bedrooms; Molly has an open laptop that primar- y remains on her lap throughout the interaction and a mobile phone that is near ˙nough to be accessible, but never made visible to the camera. Cara's laptop is re- ›rding the interaction – it is located in front of them and Cara occasionally checks ıe recording process – and she has her mobile phone ready-to-hand (in Cara's ase this is occasionally visible). Molly has been describing her troubles with a male ˙riend to whom she had previously confessed romantic feelings. This confession ıappened via BlackBerry Messenger (BBM), used as an instant messaging service ˙hich can be accessed via both mobile phones and computers. This friend, Greg, ˙ejected Molly's advance and denied having any romantic feelings for her. Various ›oints in this interaction suggest that Molly is unhappy about Greg's repudiation of ıer feelings, and doubly unhappy with Greg pretending that nothing is wrong and ısking for help with homework. In a conversation prior to this recording, Molly ıad shared the BBM messages with Cara, the other participant in the recording. During the interaction, Molly appears to read one of these messages aloud from ›ne of her devices, with Cara being a recipient to this reading. In Extract 1, Molly's ›rientation to the available device as a resource to support her own enactment of a 'facts only' troubles telling allows her to convey the presumably emotionally-laden context while actively resisting "giving off" (Goffman 1967) overt displays of her emotional stance toward these matters.

Extract 1. "So much nicer"

```
170   MOL:    *.hhh if you like me::
      mol    >>looking down at computer-->
      car     *looks at camera, looks left off screen-->
171          (.) >oh no *he said< (0.5) *
      car            -->*looks at camera*looks at Molly-->
172          what we're doing is #*ha:ving fun=when we
      fig                          #fig 1
      car     -------------------->*looks down to the right*
```
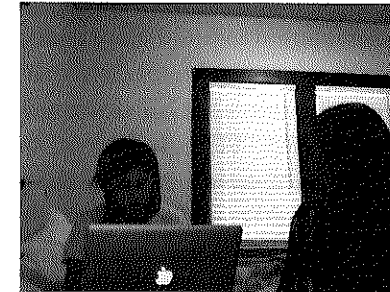

Fig. 1

```
173   MOL:   hang ou:t we ha:ve fun *that's $all that it is*#
      car                           *looks at Molly, places hand on
                                    and torques body toward Molly'
      mol                           -->$looks at Cara-->
      fig                                            #fig 2
```


Fig. 2

```
174   MOL:   if that's not cool with you then $sorry$.
      Mol                                     $smile-like mouth$
175          (1.0)
176   MOL:   i[s what he said
177   CAR:    [ya made it sound $so:: [*much nicer
      mol                       $smiles------------------>>
      car                              *smiles------------>
178   MOL:                             [huh huh huh huh=
179   CAR:   =hyeh hyeh
      mol    -->$looks down at laptop, smiling-->>
```

lolly reports Greg's BBM message, she enacts sustained direction of her eye
and monotonic prosodic production, as well as repair at line 171. Building on
and Clift (2006) on reported speech, Molly's prosody is suggestive of reading
message directly or at least formulating her report as though it is a direct quo-
n (see Holt and Clift 2006). As the report progresses, Molly maintains her gaze
rd the laptop while Cara looks toward the camera (Figure 1).

As this Extract unfolds, the accuracy of the previous mediated interaction
eated as relevant to the current conversation, as Molly appears to directly
rt the exact words from the interaction rather than paraphrasing. The laptop
ugh which the verbatim messages can be obtained are treated as acceptable
urces for – rather than distractions from – the conversation. Furthermore, by
ating to the 'facts of the matter,' Molly is able to produce an apparently-neutral
bjective stance toward her situation (Edwards 2007) as though she is 'merely
rting' her interaction with Greg. Additionally, Molly's visible attention to
e devices requires her to additionally manage her gaze with her recipient to
ntially (1) indicate to Cara at what points a reply would be relevant as well as
risibly disattend to relevant contributions from Cara. Cara has largely been
ng forward during the interaction up until this point, and only occasionally
ting her head slightly or shifting her eye gaze toward Molly. But as Molly reads
portion of the message from Greg, Cara shifts her body, head and shoulders
ard her (Figure 2).

While Molly's monotonic production (lines 170–174) of Greg's message pre-
s it as 'being read,' it also allows Molly to convey an on-record affect-neutral
ce given how prosody can be used to convey emotion (e.g., Freese and Maynard
8; Goodwin and Goodwin 2000; Selting 1994). It can be presumed that Molly's
ce toward this situation is decidedly *not* neutral, and thus her 'doing reporting'
es across as ironic, as seen in Cara's later assessment of the reading at line 177.
It is notable that before this explicit on-record stance, the falling intonation at
174 marks a discernable point of intonational (and grammatical) completion to
lly's turn, but is followed by a second of silence. Although a recipient response
us relevant at this point, Cara does not produce one. In line 174, Molly then
es her mouth as if to begin to smile and produces the increment *is what he said*,
latter which recompletes the prior unit to further pursue recipient uptake as
l as closes the reported speech activity (cf. Peräkylä and Ruusuvuori 2012). Soon
r, in partial overlap, Cara begins producing an assessment of Molly's reading of
message in line 177 (*ya made it sound $so:: much nicer*) while Molly's smile-like
sed mouth widens into a clearly visible smile at Cara's *so* and she comes in with
athy laughter at *much* (line 179), possibly ratifying Cara's 'analysis' of her reading
he message, which is joined by Cara's laughter in line 180.

The embodied orientation Molly gives towards her device, and the reading
it, provide further resources for parceling out visible clues to any possible em
tional displays throughout the sequence: eye contact can be distributed betwe
and around the reading of the text message rather than expected more consistent
throughout a verbal summary of it. That Molly's management of these visibiliti
such as eye contact and gaze direction is less than normative, and possibly eve
designedly resistant, is suggested here and in subsequent interactions by the wa
in which Cara appears to solicit further context from Molly through Cara's bodi
engagement and gaze solicitation and her assessment of Molly's reading of the te:
while in other examples we see attributions of what emotions Cara takes Molly
be feeling, but obscuring. This allows Cara to shoulder the burden of the affe
display in a way that may be ratified or not by Molly. However, though indeed
later segments across the full recording it is Cara who provides affect--upgraded a
sessments, extreme case formulations, and subsequently direct advice--in respon
to Molly's trouble, she is not very successful at it here. Though Molly's modulate
affect gives Cara the opportunity to read and produce the affect of the situation of
Molly's behalf, doing 'good friend' involvement in the trouble, she needed a bit
prompting to do so.

4.2 Managing disagreement

The next Extract takes place more than ten minutes later in the same record
conversation discussed in the prior section. The completion of Molly's troubl
telling is delayed during the middle of the recording in which Cara suspen
recipiency by initiating her own troubles telling. Throughout Cara's telling abo
her recent break-up, there are overt disagreements between the participan
regarding whether Cara's behavior with her ex-boyfriend is appropriate. Th
laminates the troubles-sharing as a whole with interactional challenges in tl
situated co-present talk, as Molly and Cara have been managing the disaffiliati
implications of their disagreements. In Extract 2, Cara reinitiates her own troub
by proposing a solution to the question of how she will respond to Greg over tl
instant message service. In the next Extract below, Cara solicits a description
what Molly will say to Greg, which leads to a disagreement about the conte:
of her message and its possible consequences. Here the laptop in front of Mol
provides a resource for her to avoid providing direct affective displays in respon
to Cara's disagreement, thereby suggesting disagreement while not disrupting tl
progressivity of the talk.

Extract 2. "You cannot hook up with him"

```
173   CAR:   Yeah what're you gonna say
174   MOL:   $I'm just gonna sa::y          $.he
      mol    $shifts gaze from CAR to laptop$
175   MOL:   $I'm just gonna be like                    $(.)
      mol    $hand to hair, shifts gaze to CAR, gesturing$
      car    *pulls hair back--->
176   MOL:   *on Thursday night I was *really drunk.    *(0.8)
      car                  *glances at laptop*
177   MOL:   #a:nd yeah I told ^you that I liked you^ and I'm
      fig    #fig 1
      car                    ^leans on bed          ^
```


Fig. 1

```
178   MOL:   not gonna lie like those are my feelings but like that
179          doesn't mean that I have to like (.)*act on
      car                                        *sits back up -->
180   MOL:   it and $I just like *got really insulted with your
      mol          $gestures-->
      car                      -->*
181          respo:nse and then we didn't talk the rest of the
182          weekend and I haven't seen you since Monday$
      mol                                              -->$
183          and then you think that since we have something due in
184          a class that we have together? that you could just
185          like IM me and use me because I went to class and you
186          didn't? and I'm just gonna like say like I'm not
187          expecting anything *(.) but like    *
      car                       *sets down drink*
188   MOL:   we have to like come to a common: (.) like
189          (1.0)
190   CAR:   conclusion=
191   MOL:   =*Yeah (1.0) like we could hook up and like
      car    *scratches face-->
192          [have (  )]
193   CAR:   [No    *n:]o n:o.
      car         -->*
194   CAR:   yo- you can[not=
195   MOL:             [hhh
196   CAR:   =hook up with him again
197   MOL:   .hhh
```

```
498   CAR:   $because-  *>#I need to blow my nose<$
      mol:   $pulls hair back-------------------$
      car               *gets up, walks out of frame-->>
      fig             #Fig 2
```


Fig. 2

```
499   CAR:   because when someone does something so horrible? Like
500          that? like I'm sorry that's fucking horrible it's lik
501          you don't treat a person that way
```

This interaction continues to evince some of the embodied practices descr
earlier. For example, we see that Molly's visible orientation to her laptop as a i:
actional resource is noticeable enough that Cara subsequently orients to the la
(line 476) and then even physically positions her body to co-orient to it alonɡ
Molly (line 477, Figure 1) by moving almost down to her elbow and facinɡ
computer screen alongside Molly. Cara only moves out of this position wh
becomes clear that Molly is not orienting to the laptop because of its content
sits back up in her prior position, on the end of the bed, bodily facing outwarɪ
with head and shoulders oriented to Molly. This embodied shift in Cara's con
supports the potential relevance of the affordances of such portable devices for
reporting and visually supporting different communicative activities (cf. Raɪ
Robles, and DiDomenico 2016).

During Molly's subsequent description of her potential text-based resp
to Greg beginning in line 474, Molly and Cara re-establish mutual gaze and I
orientation, and as Molly describes her envisioned response message furtheɪ
gestures and seems to re-enact the earlier electronic exchange for Cara begin
in line 476. Since the message itself will be delivered via text and not in fac
face conversation with accompanying embodiment, Molly's presentation (cc
earlier reports) conveys not just the literal content of the message but also s
display (for Cara) of her affective stance toward her message and toward Greg.
more affiliative sequence seems to close with a collaborative completion (Lɛ
2004) in lines 476–490, but Molly, after receipting this with minimal agreeɪ
(line 491) expands with a further turn describing the hypothetical message

a treats as problematic. Next, Cara displays strong disagreement with Molly by rrupting Molly in line 492 with three repeated *no* commands followed by the mmand *you cannot hook up with him again* (lines 492, 493, 495). Molly orients he dispreferred nature of this advice-type injunction (c.f., Shaw and Hepburn 3) with laughter and smiling (lines 494 and 496) followed by ducking her head l pulling her hair back (line 497, Figure 2).

As evidenced throughout our larger collection, participants can manipulate ious material and embodied semiotic resources available to manage their in- ocutors' access to what is ordinarily used to 'read' emotions, perhaps especially ensitive or delicate moments of an interaction. In this particular instance, the sitioning of Molly's head, gaze, and hair obscures full access to her face and r affective embodiment that it might display. However, the laptop is a special ource in this regard for a number of reasons. Perhaps because the laptop itself communicative device with access to visual semiotic content and other inter- ions, it is treated differently throughout the conversation, and Cara's orienta- n to it treats it as potentially problematic, or solicits its relevance, or pursues ention in apparent competition with it. The laptop becomes accountable here rlier in the recording, Cara asked what she was doing on the laptop, and Molly d her homework).

For Molly, however, the laptop is a technological device with affordances that can ract from her co-present involvement to some degree, more so than say, the need pull one's hair back, the withdrawal of mutual gaze, or the cough that requires ip of water (none of which are treated as problematic by the co-participant). By eraging the presence and conventional use of the laptop, Molly is able to appor- n aspects of her bodily comportment and facial expressions in ways that manage at access Cara has to potential affective displays. This keeps Molly's possible iotions implicit and allows Cara the opportunity to formulate what Molly might feeling, which Molly may then confirm or deny. Thus, with Molly avoiding the play of her own affective stance towards the core troubles being reported, there ems an even greater normative pressure for Cara do some affiliative work as a cipient to the telling.

; Pursuing more affiliation

e previous cases have shown some ways in which technology and multi-modal miotic resources may shape the communication and interactional management affect. In the next example, the participants visibly attend to their mobile phones roughout the co-present interaction. Danny (DAN, embodied conduct indicated @), Elva (ELV, embodied conduct indicated by &) and Lucy (LUC, embodied

a chair and sofa facing a television, and each has access to a mobile phone that in-hand, or on a lap or placed on nearby furniture; Lucy also has a laptop with reach. The fact that a television program is also playing throughout provides a other source of displayed disattending from the ongoing talk. The only orientati to the television is through eye gaze, whereas engagement with the mobile phon recurs in a more involved way throughout (see DiDomenico, Raclaw, and Robl 2020 for discussion of how triadic interaction may involve demands for recipien that are not evenly distributed). At the start of the recording the three participants Danny, Elva and Lucy – have been discussing a mutually-known heterosexual co ple and doing a bit of light-hearted joking their relationship and how 'in love' t man is with the woman. Danny makes the more serious comment *it kills me…wh am I gonna find someone like that?* Though delivered in the same joking fashion the prior talk, Danny's comment indexes a more serious and personal trouble a potentially invites some form of sympathy. However, with almost no pause, Lu merely carries on the ongoing conversation with Elva, and thereafter Lucy and El orient to each other while Danny temporarily withdraws (see Figure 1); after th point, and while Elva and Lucy continue, Danny attends to her phone, displayi less verbal and nonverbal involvement in the interaction.

Figure 1.

Lucy then asks a question to which Danny has some access to an answer, but whi Elva does not, providing an opportunity for Danny to re-enter the conversation. is at this point that Danny launches a new complaint on the theme of the woman the relationship, who is a casual friend of theirs. It is notable that almost as soon Danny is recognizably launching into an extended telling, the affect of her interlo utors is ambiguous. Elva and Lucy display less affiliation as Danny talks and, ov the course of Danny's telling, attend more closely to their phones (see Extract Fragment 1, Figure 1). Though Danny works to package her telling in the form concern for or sympathy with the target, her interlocutors orient to the telling a complaint, and this may be why they (one in particular) resist fully affiliating joining in (see also: Mandelbaum 1991).

Extract 3. "So annoying" Fragment 1

```
01   DAN:   like (0.2) he said he would^ wait for her. (0.2)
     luc                             ^picks up phone-->
02   DAN:   jus:t^ (0.5) and >she (can/could) do &whatever  &
     luc:     -->^
     elv                                        &rolls eyes&
03   DAN:   she wants< &over there.  &*Cuz he knows that
     elv              &gazes at DAN &types into phone
     luc                            *gazes at phone while smiling-->
04   DAN:   (1.2) it's >like their   *expe:rience &or:
     elv                                          &gazes at phone-->
05   DAN:   ^what[ever.  ]
     luc    ^shifts position with phone, gazes betw. phone,DAN,TV-->
06   ELV:       [has she] been hooking up with &people?
     elv                                  -->&gazes at DAN
            (0.4)
07   DAN:   .hhh &not really:, >I think she's like< (.) made out with
     elv         -->&
08   DAN:   peopl::e (0.2) here and there.
09          (0.6)
10   DAN:   &>BUt nothing:.<=(S-She) hasn't like (.) #gone home with
     elv    &interacts with phone-->>
     fig                                            #fig 1
```



```
     Fig. 1
11          anyone.
12   ELV:   Mhm.
13          (2.0)
```

As Danny re-enters the conversation and initiates a new sequence about this couple (line 1), Lucy primarily orients to her phone (though some of her gaze direction and smiling, while brief or not directed to Danny, could be displaying some recipiency). Elva takes up primary recipiency, for instance by displaying her affective stance through her eye roll (line 2), gazing at Danny (in between gazing at and interacting with her phone: lines 3, 4, 7, 11) and at one point producing an acknowledgement token (line 12). Elva's only substantive contribution is a clarification or question (line 6), which is canonically understood in the literature to be a minimal response that declines affiliation (Heritage 2011). After this minimal acknowledgement token (see Schegloff 1982) in line 12, Danny recompletes the telling, presumably to pursue

Extract 3. "So annoying" Fragment 2

```
13          (2.0)
14   DAN:   But- >I'm LIKE< SO nervous: for her:,
15          (1.0)
16   DAN:   like Kim (such a bachelor/since I saw her)
17          (0.2)
18   LUC:   Why:.. With guys?
19.         (0.4)
20   DAN:   ju[st like,]
21   LUC:     [or   wh]at.
22          (0.6)
23   DAN:   in general¿ Cuz she's been (1.0) drinking s:o much l
24          >where she like< (0.5) does stupid things and
25          >will like< run away from you or
26          won't answ[er  you::,         ]
27   LUC:             [yeah she's always] done that though.=
28   DAN:   =yeah #@like she's always done it &but like (0.4)
     fig         #fig 1
     dan         @supplicating gesture-->
     elv:                                   &gazes at DAN-->
```



```
     Fig. 1
29   DAN:   you can't do @that if you're
     dan                -->@gazes at TV-->>
30   DAN:   in a foreign country: ya know,
31          (0.6)
32   ELV:     &does she still: (.) is she still talking to Ben,
     elv:   -->&gazes down at phone-->>
33          (1.0)
```

Danny recompletes her telling with a description of a feeling, which once receives no recipient uptake (line 14). As she attempts to expand on the so her purported affect, Lucy finally responds but, as Elva did earlier (previous line 6), does so with a minimal information-seeking question that does not a

nes 18 & 21). Furthermore, her turn is initiated with *why* which demands an account for either Danny's nervousness in line 14, or the description of Kim in line 16. Then Danny attempts to account for her perspective, the account is rejected by Lucy in line 27 as 'not news.' In addition to the potentially ambiguously-attentive activities from Lucy and Elva, and their minimally-designed recipient responses, e also see Danny soliciting uptake (Extract 3, Fragment 2, Figure 1) at line 28 as he attempts to counter Lucy's rejection. Her turn ends at line 30 with the tag *ya now*, which invites agreement, but receives neither agreement nor even a response oken from either interlocutor. Elva re-enters the conversation at line 32, once gain with a question that is topically related to the prior talk (it's about the same erson), but does not display agreement or receipt of the prior turn at line 32. We ee this produces some interactional trouble (Tracy 1997), with silence at line 33.

Extract 3. "So annoying" Fragment 3

```
34          (1.0)
35   DAN:   What?
36   ELV:   &is she still talking to Ben,
     elv    &gazes at DAN-->
37   DAN:   she slept ther::e Sunday: night.=
38   ELV:        =euw.& [( )
     elv           -->&gazes at phone
39   LUC:   that's so awkward,
40   DAN:   [(       )]
41   ELV:   [I saw him] at Chipotle, (.) it was just like (.) no:.
42   DAN:   She's just like (.) &I don't even care at this point,
     elv                    -->&gazes at DAN-->>
43          (0.2)
44   DAN:   for me:, I even said to her I was like (0.4) do I think it's
45          a smart idea, (0.2) no:: [(like )]
46   ELV:                            [=Δhe's ] such an asshole=
     luc                             Δgazes at phone
47   DAN:   =he- (0.2) >&I was like< (0.6) you don't trust him: (0.4)
48   DAN:   because of what he's done in the past (.) like you're never
49          -->&gonna trust him.
     elv        &gazes at phone-->
50          (0.2)
51   DAN:   >I was like< but honestly: (.) at this point (.) I'd rather
52          &you just like (0.4) either date him? or don't date
     elv    -->&gazes at DAN-->
53   DAN:   him.=Like (0.4) make up your mind (.) like,=
54   ELV:       =&Ye[ah. ]
     elv    -->&gazes at phone-->
55   DAN:       [sto:]p (0.2) contradicting yourself. Sto:p (0.4)
56          saying one thing doing another thing like, (1.0) it's (0.4)
57          getting so: annoying. And it's like (.) emotionally draining
58          for us (.) to have to deal with it. (0.2)
59   ELV:   What'd she say.
60          (0.2)
```

```
62          (0.2) >but I don't even-< she doesn't even know what sh
63          wants to do. (°what she doesn't even°)
64          (0.3)
65   ELV:     &I know.
           -->&gazes at DAN-->
66          (0.2)
67   DAN:   >I'm like< (.) well it's really fucking annoying becaus
68          #(0.4)
     fig    #fig 1
```


Fig. 1

```
69   DAN:   she'll sit there soberly and be like (.) I don't
70          wanna talk to him I don't want anything to do with him,
(.)
71          and when she's drun:k she does:,
72   ELV:   Yeah.
73          (0.3)
74   DAN:   and I was like if you tru:ly didn't- (0.2) (weren't)
75          over someone, (.) and y- >didn't want anything to do
76          with them< ^even when you were ^drunk like (1.0)you would
     luc            ^sets phone down     ^
77   DAN:   [text (them/that.) ] [Ya kno:w?]
78   ELV:   [yeah             ] [Yeah     ]
79          (1.5)
80   LUC:   ^Does he still hook ^up with like (.) #^other girls.
     luc    ^picks up laptop -->^holds laptop-->>
     fig                                         #fig 2
```


Fig. 2

```
81          (0.2)
82   DAN:   nyeah I don't know:. I think like he's like been trying
83          (0.5) kinda like ^get her ba- >not like get her back< bu
     luc                     --> ^opens laptop
```

```
DAN:    like he's just like (1.0) I think he would talk to her (.)
        if she would talk to him? Type of thing?
        (0.5)
DAN:    Bu:::t
        (1.5)
DAN:    I really don't kno:w
```

:er the silence on line 34, Danny displays trouble with understanding the prior
k with the open-class repair initiator *what* (line 35), and Elva repeats her interrog-
ve in the next turn. Elva is directing gaze to Danny at this point and once Danny
ovides an answer to her question, Elva negatively assesses the information with an
ective response cry (line 38) while redirecting her gaze back to her phone. This
:ms to provide an opportunity for Lucy to re-enter the conversation, as she offers
;eneric assessment (*so awkward* line 39) and then Elva initiates a new sequence
it shifts the attention from the woman who has so far been the primary target of
: talk, to this other boy (not her boyfriend) and his unsuitableness: his character
:ejected and negatively assessed (lines 43, 46, 47, 49). It is at the point that Danny
.ce again shifts attention to the woman's behavior that Elva withdraws gaze (line
): it is hearable that Danny is working up to a complaint about the woman rather
an continuing the project of complaining about Ben. From line 53 Danny begins
formulate *her* problem about the non-present third party target of the complaint,
esenting frustration with the woman's indecisiveness. Though Lucy has with-
awn again, Elva is aligning with Danny's course of action, providing minimally
sponding with aligning and potentially-affiliative tokens, and proffering another
formation-seeking question (lines 54, 59, 65, 72). It is notable that she does not
filiate with Danny's attempts to formulate the problem as shared among them
nes 57–58) as this is when Elva responds with an information-seeing question
.ere affiliation would be expected (line 59). It is only at line 67 that Danny makes
:r complaint explicit and upgrades her affective display with a strong assessment,
id the pause following is also simultaneous with Elva and Lucy's reorientation to
eir mobile phones (line 68 and Extract 3, Fragment 3, Figure 1).

Though Elva provides alignment with Danny's telling at the point of comple-
on (line 65), and again in line 72, there is no further uptake for about a minute
id a half. Lucy then resumes her participation in the conversation, having put her
ione down in line 76 (though perhaps only preparatory to picking up her laptop,
hich she does mid-turn – see Extract 3, Fragment 3, Figure 2), but once again does
) with an information-seeking question that resists affiliation (line 80). As Danny
sponds, Lucy opens her laptop (line 83, Figure 2), projecting future activities and
:her involvements; Danny's talk then progresses in increments that orient to the
.ck of uptake while still offering opportunities for expansion that her interlocutors
) not take up (lines 82–89).

In this interaction, we see shifts in the participation framework (Goffman 198
that are partly afforded by the devices available. By keeping their mobile phones vi
ibly available, Elva and Lucy display themselves as open and available to attendii
to their phones (as devices through which communication with others is alwa
incipiently possible). This is not to say they are intentionally keeping their phon
to 'do' distraction or account for less involvement and affiliation, but the devices b
come another way of "doing being ordinary" (Sacks 1992) and therefore being le
open to seeming actively be 'doing not supporting Danny's view.' In other wore
interacting with these devices is acceptable in the course of interactions, rath
than automatically treatable as 'distracted' or 'ignoring.' Thus, different display
degrees of involvement, affiliation or affect can be produced as though passive]
participants keep their reservations or divergent views off the record, and Dan:
is provided little reason to make such stances publicly observable. This examr
shows how the distribution of recipiency allows participants to 'pass off' prima
recipiency so that the troubles teller can still tell the trouble and the action can si
be done, preserving progressivity.

It should be noted that the mere presence of mobile phones were not alwa
treated this way by participants, and our analysis did not assume this *a priori*. F
example, in another Extract from our collection depicted below (Figure 2), one pa
ticipant has her phone in her hand throughout the entire exchange, intermitten
shifting her gaze between her phone, straight ahead towards the current speak
and to the third co-participant:

Figure 2.

However, she does not interact with the phone once the troubles telling becom
the primary activity of the conversation: she only glances at her phone infrequent
she joins the conversation at appropriate moments and with direct eye conta
with her interlocutor when doing so; she provides agreeing, affiliative turns; a:
the troublers teller not only aligns with her contributions, but does not seem
pursue other responses at any point. Thus, from an interactional perspective, '
have sought to examine these troubles talk actions carefully and with attention

low participants themselves treat the others' orientations to the troubles tellings nd to anything else in the environment.

In these analyses we have examined how participants' environments, and espe-ially at-hand portable communication devices, provide local resources for man-iging the alignment that allows for the next actions in a sequence, while dealing vith particular moments of disaffiliation (and sometimes disagreement) that might itherwise derail or unwantedly expand the troubles talk. The next section reflects in these findings.

. Discussion

in the examples described, participants orient to features of their environment, including technological devices and their content, as resources for managing del-cate activities (especially troubles talk) and the particular actions therein, such is delivering and receiving complaints, and assessing one another's conduct. In these interactions participants both *thematize* or make explicit some trouble (an irgument with a friend, mistreatment by a romantic interest, and feelings of sad-less); while also *displaying* their readiness for certain sorts of uptake, in this case iffect displays, at certain stages, for instance, sympathy, support, or affiliation with complaints. However, too-overt an emotionality (and too obvious a demand for a certain response) could be problematic: emotion display can be vulnerable, and peers do not typically have the deontic rights to make demands of each other (see Ruusuvuori 2005; Stevanovic and Peräkylä 2012). Thus, the subjectivity of partici-pants' stake in these matters is attenuated through *how* they produce these activities.

In addition to resources such as prosody, embodied resources allow partici-pants to further modulate or ambiguate affect displays and provide opportunities for recipients to do affective work and potentially produce less affiliative, or even disaffiliative, responses. This keeps affect off the record in a way that allows partic-ipants to manage the *interactional* trouble that may arise when troubles talk is not sufficiently affiliative: specifically, the sequence can move forward (showing overall preference for the alignment for progressivity of talk: Stivers 2008) even in the face of affiliation problems or even disagreement. It also makes it easier for participants to close troubles-telling sequences or transition to a new topic or return to the ongo-ing business at hand. The rich semiotic environments in which participants interact, combined with their embodied resources, offer various ways of downplaying affect and, therefore, affiliation. However, in the examples examined in this chapter, the availability and technological affordances of devices such as mobile phones and laptops offered participants a kind of plausible side-involvement. As discussed in

the first Extract the mere presence of such devices does not mean, *a priori*, that t devices will have a particular function--we can only say that they are available use in some way. Furthermore, as mentioned, it is always possible to reduce affi displays and withhold full affiliation without such devices. However, it is nota that, in the absence of any orientation to nearby devices, but where similar wi drawal occurs in a way that stays off-record and evades becoming a problem its participants were nearly always (in our data) involved in a concurrent activity some kind (with or without digital devices).

In face-to-face conversation where talk is the primary activity, and the purp of conversation itself is not a serious investigation of the interlocutors' potent problems with one another, it becomes far more accountable and conflict-implicat to turn one's body away or avert gaze. Because mobile devices index potential already-relevant ongoing activities--homework assignments, university-rela tasks, information-seeking opportunities, and of course, potential conversati with non-present third parties--they provide participants with an intelligible me to withhold or manage affect. Although this certainly may become accountable our data it very rarely occurred. It was also not the case that the simple preser of or occasional orientation to a device was treated as insufficiently emotive affiliative (as in the last example mentioned in the analysis).

Troubles talk is characterized by 'heightened' affect and a demand for af iation (Jefferson 1984), but participants may not always be fully on board w complying. Sometimes it is desirable to shift the burden for affiliating; other tir there may be various reasons people resist affiliating, particularly with potenti: face-threatening (Goffman 1967) activities such as complaints (c.f., Mayn; 2013) (which comprise many of our examples, as well as all of those illustra in this chapter); and withholding a fitted display of affiliation may also be a v of producing one's own independent access to or stance toward the source of reported trouble (e.g., Drew and Walker 2009; Raymond and Heritage 2006). Stivers (2008) has shown, even when affiliation is not displayed, alignment w the progress of the interaction will typically be preserved. Mobile communicat devices, and their communicative affordances, are a useful resource through wh participants can manage affect in such a way as to make it ambiguous and impli and while this may do potential damage to the affiliation, it does not seem to terfere with alignment and the trajectory of talk overall. In fact, it can even prov useful transitions between topics, shifts away from possible troubles expansic and accounts for moving between activities.

Conclusion

ı this chapter, we have analyzed how aspects of embodiment, including technolog-al objects, may be resources for managing how emotion is produced as affiliative ɔr modulated to be less so) during troubles talk. We are not suggesting that the bjects themselves are necessarily what is important, but rather, examining what articipants do with them among other features of the environment, and how par-cipants treat some things (e.g. mobile phones) as 'needing attention' while other pects (such as passing persons, television, sounds) are ignored or only attended ı passing. Thus environments provide differential resources (the passing car does ot potentially ask for engagement as might a text message), but will also be differ-ntially attended to *as resources*, and selecting such orientations is an interactional ɔccomplishment (Schegloff 1995), particularly when it is done at points where af-ɔctive recipiency is preferred.

As a social action, making emotion available is a practice for making "possible n interactive organization of *co-experience*" (c.f. Goodwin and Goodwin 2001 ɔmphasis in original]). Troubles talk is an opportunity for co-experience, and ıdeed prefers that participants overtly demonstrate reciprocity (even going so far s to voice the 'thoughts' of interlocutors' descriptions of events to which recipi-nts may have had no access whatsoever) (e.g., Selting 2010). Thus, to *not* perform ongruent affective recipiency is potentially accountable unless there is something ı the environment which may serve to modulate that accountability.

This analysis furthers our understanding of how participants enact – and pro-ide for the enactment of – recipiency in troubles talk, how affect and affiliation re preferred in different ways, and the role that objects in the environment may ake on in the course of developing the troubles-talk activity. Troubles talk is a ısefully-complex activity for examining these types of contingencies in interaction. ᵗuture research could further explore how environments and objects are enrolled n emotion displays, how emotion displays are treated as preferred in different ways cross recipients, and how different kinds of delicate or fraught conversations can be ısed to highlight how participants deal with these types of interactional concerns.

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CHAPTER 2.2

Shared affective stance displays as preliminary to complaining

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In this chapter, we examine how vocal and non-vocal affective displays a acted in concert when moving into the delicate action of complaining. V cifically analyze complaining about third parties in the institutional situ: performance appraisal interviews. Reciprocal affective displays contribu organization of the activity of complaining, specifically, to the building c understanding in relation to the appropriateness of complaining activity relevancy of affiliating with complaining. To finish, we discuss the role o tive displays as managing social relational aspects of institutional interac with some methodological problems of analyzing emotion in interactio

Keywords: emotion, affect, stance, delicacy, complaining, complaints, performance appraisal interviews, action formation, action recognition, institutional interaction

1. Introduction

Emotion is an omnipresent feature of interaction (cf. Goffman 1961) but it explicitly displayed through words and grammar. Rather, it is regularly ble through combinations of vocal and non-vocal cues, such as subtle ch facial expression, gesture, and prosody (Goodwin, Cekaite, and Goodw Ruusuvuori and Peräkylä 2009). This renders emotion a challenging targe! ysis. Within the conversation analytic tradition, knowledge on sequential tiveness with regard to spoken interaction concerning affect has accumul comparatively less is known about the relevancies evoked by non-spoken r affect displays, and how these relate to spoken interaction. There are pros(terns that are treated as displaying some specific emotion, though these h: