

1 **Doing participation: non-players participating in video**  
2 **gaming**

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4 **1 Introduction**

5 Participation in interaction is not a categorical  
6 straightforward engagement but rather an interactional  
7 achievement and a locally accomplished practice (cf.  
8 Goodwin/Goodwin 2004). Additionally, the focus on multi-  
9 activity and/or multi-tasking in the last decade has  
10 highlighted the possibility of being engaged more or less  
11 simultaneously in different activities and therefore, of  
12 showing different and simultaneous practices of participation.  
13 Despite the large number of interactional studies dealing with  
14 participation framework in different settings, the construction  
15 of “spectatorship” has been less explored. In our data of  
16 French videogame interactions, some of the co-present  
17 participants are not playing. In most of our settings, friends or  
18 family members take turns in playing. The non-players might  
19 then engage in other activities (getting food or drinks,  
20 reading, chatting with other non-players) while they watch  
21 the game and become spectators.

22 By looking more closely at what they do as spectators and  
23 how these different actions are related to the gaming activity,  
24 we want to explore what spectating means in this case. We  
25 follow an interactional approach and show that and how  
26 spectating is an interactional achievement. The first part of  
27 our analysis highlights how the participants establish the role

28 of spectator whilst at the same time doing social relationships.  
29 The second part focuses in more detail on the local  
30 multimodal accomplishment of participation as spectator and  
31 on different embodied practices.

## 32 **2 Spectators in interaction**

33 So far, media linguistics research on spectators has mostly  
34 focused on the unilateral reception of media contents. Few  
35 studies took into account the interaction between spectators  
36 and the way they appropriate media content or use media  
37 interactively (cf. Holly/Püschel/Bergmann 2001; Gerhardt  
38 2006). These studies draw on recordings of viewers  
39 (spectators) *watching* television together and *interacting*  
40 simultaneously with each other. Videogame interactions in  
41 our data are similar to these spectating interactions in several  
42 ways:

- 43 • The participants focus on a screen and a large part of  
44 their interaction is related to what happens on screen.
- 45 • The participants are engaged in at least two different  
46 types of activities: watching and interacting.

47 They differ in that some of the participants directly intervene  
48 in the screen events (players) while others do not (non-  
49 players). This has direct consequences on the activities of  
50 *watching* and *interacting*. The non-players

- 51 • watch the screen as well as the players who act on the  
52 screen;
- 53 • cannot act directly in the game, but they can interact  
54 with the players and indirectly influence what happens  
55 in the game.

56 From an interactional analytic point of view, Goffman (1981)  
57 detailed social situations and the participation framework  
58 with regard to gatherings and encounters, ratified and  
59 unratified participants, overhearers and eavesdroppers. While  
60 ratified participants have the right to participate completely  
61 in the social encounter and the interaction, unratified

62 participants do not, even if ratified participants might tolerate  
63 their presence and their listening.

64 Television viewers are generally considered as ratified  
65 participants, because television discourse is produced and  
66 designed for them (cf. Bell 1984; Dynel 2011). Spectators in  
67 videogames have only recently started to be the focus of  
68 research (cf. Lin/Sun 2011; Downs et al. 2014), mostly in the  
69 context of live streaming (cf. Kaytoue et al. 2012, Schmidt/  
70 Marx in this issue), where they are also considered as ratified  
71 participants (cf. Recktenwald 2017 drawing on Dynel 2014).

72 In our data, the situation is slightly different because  
73 players and non-players share the same physical environment  
74 and they alternate between playing and watching.

75 Categorising participants as ratified or unratified does not  
76 allow for a fine understanding of how players and non-  
77 players interactively organise their social encounter, how  
78 they co-construct the participation framework (cf.  
79 Keating/Sunakawa 2011; Pirainen-Marsh 2012), how they  
80 display engagement in the gaming interaction, whether they  
81 are players or not. Spectating is an “interactional matter, i.e.,  
82 it is achieved moment-by-moment as a matter of  
83 participation with the current player” (Tekin/Reeves 2017:  
84 10). The right to comment the game, to intervene as a non-  
85 player and even to achieve the “status” of a co-player is  
86 constantly and locally negotiated by all participants (cf.  
87 Olbertz-Siitonen/Piirainen-Marsh/Siitonen in this issue).

88 *Spectating* involves *watching*, a particular practice of  
89 *seeing*. From an interactional point of view, seeing has been  
90 described as “situated activity” (Goodwin/Goodwin 1996),  
91 “embedded in the activity one is engaged in” and “organised  
92 through the precise and fine coordination of the participants’  
93 conduct” (Nishizaka 2000: 121). Players might turn their gaze  
94 to different parts of the screen, but they only *see* what is  
95 “relevant to the development of the current activity and  
96 oriented to by the participants as a part of their activity in  
97 progress” (Nishizaka 2000: 113). If *seeing* in this sense is  
98 rather evident for players, since they are engaged in the  
99 activity of playing, it is not taken for granted for non-players,  
100 who need to *watch* the game and the gaming activities.  
101 *Watching* can therefore be considered as a primary form of

102 engagement and a way of constructing presence.<sup>1</sup>  
103 Tekin/Reeves (2017: 9) argued that “‘seeing’ done as a matter  
104 of spectating is not only about observing the movement of a  
105 player’s feet”. In other words, by watching the game, non-  
106 players *see* movements as movements in the game, *see* the  
107 avatars’ actions as emerging actions in the ongoing game and  
108 *see* their co-participants as players or co-spectators. They  
109 thus construct themselves as spectators and display this  
110 participation framework through their embodied actions.

111 In this paper, we will outline how non-players become  
112 spectators and ratified participants and demonstrate how  
113 spectatorship is achieved through different forms of  
114 participation and how participants do spectatorship while  
115 simultaneously enacting social relationships.

### 116 3 Methodology and corpus

117 The data are part of the research project “Ludespace:  
118 Videogame spaces in France”.<sup>2</sup> It consists in authentic and  
119 natural videogame situations involving a different number of  
120 participants. Gaming is not elicited: Participants play the  
121 game of their choosing whenever, however long, and with  
122 whomever they want.

123 The dataset contains 20 hours of videogaming in 8  
124 different situations. In nearly all situations, the participants  
125 are partly players, partly non-players. We identified as non-  
126 players individuals who are not (currently) playing a given  
127 game but who are physically present. We distinguish them  
128 from players, who are actively involved in the game, even if  
129 they temporarily stop playing (but eventually come back to  
130 the game).

131 We analyse 3 different gaming situations chosen because of  
132 their different yet prototypical constellations:

- 133 • **Tomb Raider: Underworld** (Eidos Interactive, 2008),  
134 on Wii (Nintendo, 2006): *Tomb Raider* is a single player  
135 action-adventure videogame developed by Crystal

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1 We consider presence as “presence-process”, as “the fruit of constant work on the part of actors in order to participate in situations on various different modes” (Licoppe 2014: 98).

2 Funded by the French Research Association ANR, 2011-2014.



- 136 Dynamics. It is presented in third person perspective,  
137 where the player takes control of Lara Croft. The  
138 recorded session is 90-minute long and involves one  
139 player. The player's wife is sitting beside him on the  
140 sofa.
- 141 • **Dance Central** (MTV Games, 2010), on Kinect  
142 (Microsoft, 2010) XBox 360 (Microsoft, 2005):<sup>3</sup> *Dance*  
143 *Central* is a dance videogame, developed by Harmonix  
144 and compatible with the Kinect sensor. It offers thirty  
145 songs and five playing modes. In our data, the  
146 participants play in the "Perfom It!" mode where one  
147 single player dances to routines in the game. They take  
148 turns in dancing, the three non-players are sitting on the  
149 sofa, watching the player dancing. The whole session  
150 last about 15 minutes.
  - 151 • **Dragon Ball Z Budokai Tenkashi 3** (Atari, 2007), on  
152 PlayStation 2: *Dragon Ball* is a fighting game where the  
153 players embody avatars, chosen from 23 characters at  
154 the beginning of the game. The recorded session  
155 involves five participants. Two players are playing in  
156 "Dual" mode (one against the other) with split screen.  
157 During the 50 minute gaming session, the five  
158 participants take turns, with two participants playing  
159 while the other three remain present, sitting in front of  
160 the screen.
- 161 The following table summarises the gaming sessions with  
162 their specificities.

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3 This video game device allows players to physically embody the controller to interact on the console. With this device, the player uses his body to animate and advance his avatar in the actions of the game.

Doing Being...	a couple	friends	a supporter
Excerpt n°	1	2	3
Game	Tomb Raider: Underworld	Dance Central	Dragon Ball Z
Console	Wii	Kinect X Box 360	PlayStation 2
Participants	1 player 1 spectator	1 player 3 spectators	2 players 3 spectators
Mode	individual	individual	individual
Screen	1	1	2

163 **Table 1:** The gaming sessions analysed with its particularities.

164 We used the methodology of multimodal conversation  
 165 analysis (CA thereafter), which focuses on the organisation of  
 166 interaction by drawing on ethno-methods, practices  
 167 developed by the participants to mutually display their  
 168 understanding of what they are doing (cf. Sidnell/Stivers  
 169 2013).

170 Previous studies on videogames have shown the  
 171 importance of fine-grained sequential and multimodal  
 172 analyses of gaming activities and interaction with other  
 173 participants in and outside the game (cf. Reeves/  
 174 Greiffenhagen/Laurier 2017). If the notions of presence and  
 175 participation of players and their avatars have already been  
 176 investigated from a CA perspective (cf. Baldauf-Quilliatre/  
 177 Colón de Carvajal 2015; 2019), non-players have been the  
 178 focus of less research. Tekin/Reeves (2017) who, in addition  
 179 to their analysis on different ways of being a spectator,  
 180 highlighted that video game designers and developers take  
 181 into account spectators' experience.

182 Through its methodology and reflection on transcription  
 183 and transcribing, CA allows for the detailed description of the  
 184 embodied actions of players and events in the game  
 185 (including the avatars' movements) taking place  
 186 simultaneously. We used the transcription conventions

187 developed for French interactions<sup>4</sup> by the ICAR research lab,  
188 as well as Mondada's (2018; 2019b) recent conventions for  
189 silences and multimodality. We adapted them to our data and  
190 research questions by using video clips and screenshots to  
191 highlight movements and simultaneous actions (cf. Schmitt  
192 2016; Laurier 2019).

193 The data involves different levels of embodied activities:  
194 (1) the game events and the avatars' movements, including in-  
195 game information (scores, help, etc.), visible on the screen, (2)  
196 the controlling activities of the players (movements on the  
197 controller, body movements for the Kinect device) and (3) the  
198 embodied interaction between players and non-players  
199 (including verbal turns as well as embodied actions). The  
200 three dimensions follow different temporalities, but they are  
201 interrelated. Transcripts which integrate all this are rather  
202 complex and quickly become illegible. We therefore  
203 generally use thumbnail images for on-screen activities and  
204 Mondada's conventions for the interaction. However, when  
205 the participants' interaction is mostly silent, we simply use  
206 thumbnail images or graphic transcripts.

207 We propose two different types of data presentation,  
208 depending on the angle for analysis. In section 4, we present  
209 the different configurations of the three gaming interactions  
210 in terms of non-players' participation practices. For this, we  
211 focus on a longer extract and analyse the way in which game  
212 development (including in-game actions and controlling  
213 actions), watching, commenting, gazing, body movements of  
214 players and non-players, and spatial environment are  
215 intertwined. In this section, we do not draw on a detailed  
216 sequential analysis, our data are therefore presented with  
217 graphic transcripts, video clips, and (simplified) transcripts of  
218 verbal interaction. The main purpose of this section is to  
219 show how non-players become spectators and  
220 simultaneously enact specific relationships. Section 5 is a  
221 detailed sequential analysis of specific moments from the  
222 longer transcripts, in order to show the fine-tuned temporal  
223 organisation of the interaction. This section draws on a  
224 detailed multimodal transcription (cf. Mondada 2018) with  
225 thumbnail images, highlighting different embodied practices

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4 ICOR convention: [http://icar.cnrs.fr/projets/corinte/documents/2013\\_Conv\\_ICOR\\_250313.pdf](http://icar.cnrs.fr/projets/corinte/documents/2013_Conv_ICOR_250313.pdf)

226 with regard to the local multimodal accomplishment of  
227 participation.

#### 228 4 Ways of spectating

229 In this section we illustrate three ways of spectating, drawing  
230 on the practices used by non-players to engage in the gaming  
231 activities and the way they enact social relationships: doing  
232 being a couple, doing being a group of friends, doing being a  
233 supporter. These practices are related to the gaming situation,  
234 e.g. the type of game, the number of participants, the spatial  
235 configuration etc. They also show the close relation between  
236 the way non-players establish the role of spectators and the  
237 way they construct social relations.

##### 238 4.1 Doing being a couple

239 Our first extract shows a situation where one person (Greg)  
240 plays *Tomb Raider: Underworld*, on a Wii-console for the  
241 first time (Fig. 1). The extract comes from the very beginning  
242 of the game: Greg sits on the sofa and starts playing, while his  
243 wife Lucie sits beside him, doing something else on a tablet.  
244 The videoclip I for extract 1 lasts 01:04.<sup>5</sup>



245  
246 **Figure 1:** Tomb Raider game session on Wii.

247 Greg's avatar is placed in front of the door. Greg and Lucie  
248 are co-present, each occupied with a different activity. The  
249 spatial configuration allows both of them to stay informed  
250 about the other's activities and their development while  
251 following their own activity. No one else is present in the  
252 room. At the beginning of the extract, Lucie alternatively

<sup>5</sup> You can examine the full videoclip I [here](#).

253 focuses on her tablet (I/ 00:12, 00:19, 00:33, 00:45<sup>6</sup>) and  
 254 Greg's screen (I/ 00:09, 00:18, 00:28, 00:38, 00:47).

255 She fluently engages in and disengages from the gaming  
 256 interaction through her gaze, briefly and loudly reading an  
 257 instruction appearing on the screen (I/ 00:33, 00:38, 00:45).  
 258 After several unsuccessful attempts by Greg to advance  
 259 further in the game (and to open a door), Lucie maintains her  
 260 engagement in the gaming interaction and delivers several  
 261 suggestions and corrective instructions (I/ 00:58 to 01:04).

262 What we see here can be described making reference  
 263 Schegloff/Sacks' (1973) "continuing state of incipient talk"<sup>7</sup> or  
 264 Goffman's (1981) "open state of talk"<sup>8</sup>. In CA, it has generally  
 265 been associated to *lapses*. Lapses can be treated by  
 266 participants as a relevant cessation of talk, an allowable  
 267 development of silence and a conspicuous absence of talk (cf.  
 268 Hoey 2020). While Hoey's analyses mainly concern the local  
 269 understanding of lapses in an ongoing interaction, in this  
 270 section we focus on a larger perspective, considering the  
 271 whole interaction or at least, longer sequences of activities.  
 272 The extract shows how Lucie constantly engages in and out  
 273 of Greg's gaming, how the engagement develops from short  
 274 gazes (lasting less than 3 seconds, I/ 00:09, 00:18), to rather  
 275 short verbal monitoring (I/ 00:33, 00:38, 00:45), developed  
 276 multimodal proposals, complex question-answer sequences  
 277 (I/ 00:58), and then back to silence and disengagement. At the  
 278 beginning of the extract, Lucie's constant changes in gaze  
 279 direction make her seem available and accountable for her  
 280 co-participant Greg. Previous research on seeing as social  
 281 accomplishment has mostly highlighted the co-construction  
 282 of particular *elements* of seeing (what? where? how? who?  
 283 etc.), here we are interested in Lucie's gaze and verbal turns  
 284 as *display of engagement* in Greg's activity. The extract  
 285 illustrates a non-player's shift of attention and therefore, her

6 Moments in video clips are referenced by the number of the clip (roman figure), followed by the exact time code.

7 "Persons in such a continuing state of incipient talk need not begin new segments of conversation with exchanges of greetings, and need not close segments with closing sections and terminal exchanges." (Schegloff/Sacks 1973: 325). Incipient talk occurs for instance among "members of a household in their living room, employees who share an office, passengers together in an automobile, etc." (Schegloff/Sacks 1973: 324-325).

8 "[P]articipants having the right but not the obligation to initiate a little flurry of talk, then relapse back into silence, all this with no apparent ritual marking" (Goffman 1981: 134-135).

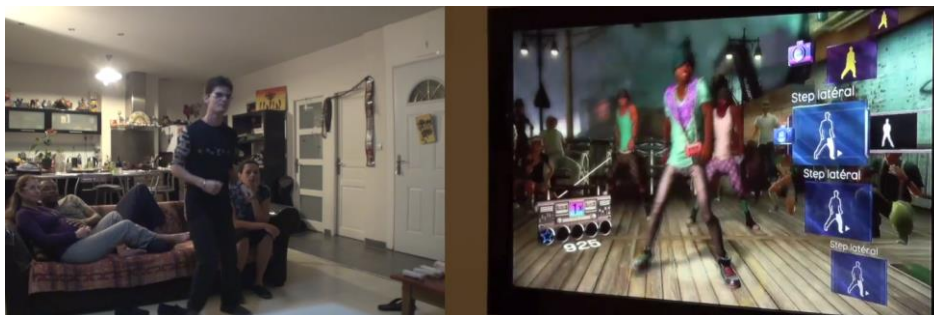
286 oscillating engagement as a spectator. It also orients to the  
 287 embodiment of engagement practices in interaction: Lucie’s  
 288 suggestions are preceded by several moments of silent forms  
 289 of engagement in Greg’s gaming.

290 If silences highlight the optionality of talk in certain  
 291 situations, they have also been shown to be part of an  
 292 ethnomethodological co-construction of specific  
 293 relationships. Through their constant alternation between  
 294 talk and silence without any particular signs of re-opening or  
 295 closing the interaction, Lucie and Greg also orient to their  
 296 relationship as “on-going accomplishment” (Garfinkel 1967),  
 297 as “doing being a couple” (Isep 2014).

#### 298 4.2 Doing being friends

299 The situation is different in excerpt 2, where four friends are  
 300 playing different games. Our example comes from the music  
 301 rhythm game *Dance Central* using the Kinect motion  
 302 peripheral (Fig. 2). The game consists in imitating the dance  
 303 movements of an avatar. Thus, the shared activity is watching  
 304 the performance of the player.

305 In the excerpt, Dom has just finished his performance. He  
 306 reconfigures the song for Lucas, who is about to start and sits  
 307 down on the sofa. Vero and Lea are already on the sofa,  
 308 waiting for Lucas to start. Lucas is standing between the  
 309 spectators and the screen. So he can see the screen but not  
 310 his friends, while they can easily see him *and* the screen.  
 311 Videoclip II for extract 2 lasts 00:52.<sup>9</sup>



312  
 313 **Figure 2:** Dance Central game session on Kinect.

314 If Dom, Lea and Vero want to participate in the gaming  
 315 interaction, they need to do it vocally since they are not in

<sup>9</sup> You can examine the full videoclip II [here](#).



316 Lucas' visual field. Simultaneously, Dom, Lea and Vero can  
317 more easily display to each other whether they are  
318 participating in the gaming interaction. They also can form  
319 ephemeral groups by orienting their bodies to one another  
320 (cf. Baldauf-Quilliatre/Colón de Carvajal subm.).

321 In contrast to excerpt 1, even though there are also periods  
322 of longer silences, the spectators do not constantly shift  
323 between engagement and disengagement from the spectating  
324 activity. During Lucas' entire performance, they maintain  
325 their focus on the player and his performance with different  
326 types of comments, demonstrations and instructions, gaze  
327 and body orientation. For example, Vero, who does not much  
328 participate vocally, displays her engagement through a rather  
329 fixed position, her upper body bent forwards, her gaze fixed  
330 on the screen (II/ 00:11).

331 The excerpt ends with a complex teasing sequence (II/  
332 00:37 to 00:51) where Lea und Vero form an ephemeral group  
333 by looking at/turning their gaze to each other and creating  
334 rapport with laughter.

335 If the situation in excerpt 1 is characterised by a continuing  
336 state of incipient talk and by engagement constantly  
337 alternating between the gaming interaction and a concurrent  
338 activity, excerpt 2 displays a continuous engagement in  
339 spectating. Dom, Lea and Vero watch Lucas' performance as  
340 they might watch a movie: Their posture on the sofa/couch is  
341 relaxed, looking at Lucas and the screen without staring at  
342 them. *Watching a movie* has been described as particular  
343 type of interaction, concerning the accomplished actions as  
344 well as the organization of interaction (cf. Holly/Püschel/  
345 Bergmann 2001). Holly/Baldauf (2001) characterised it as  
346 empractic (i.e. embedded in other activities), observing and  
347 receptive. This means that participants interact with regard to  
348 the principal activity and depending on it. Their actions  
349 organise, appropriate, interpret, categorise and evaluate what  
350 they see, they assure comprehension or display amusement  
351 (cf. Klemm 2000) and therefore contribute to the social  
352 organisation of the group.

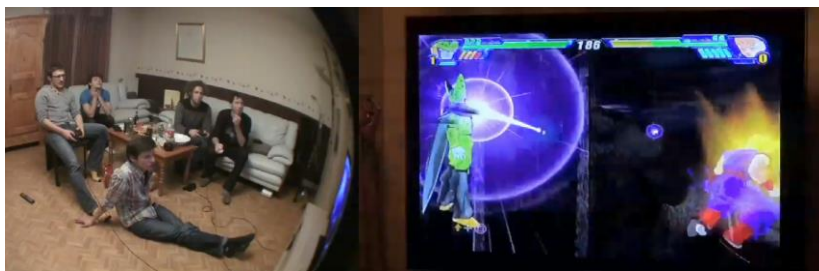
353 A similar observation was made by Reynolds (2017) for  
354 training sessions where teammates watch powerlifting  
355 exercises. He showed that watching the lift and encouraging  
356 the lifter is not only used to create a particular relationship  
357 between the two participants directly involved in the

358 interaction, but also orients “to a collective shared  
359 experience, with an emphasis on the collectivity of this  
360 experienced moment” (Reynolds 2017: 114).

361 In a similar way to teammates in Reynold’s data, Vero,  
362 Dom and Lea watch Lucas’ performance and comment on  
363 what he is doing. Consequently, they establish a joint  
364 orientation (cf. de Stefani 2014) to particular aspects and  
365 orient to a collective experience including all four of them.  
366 By doing so, they categorise themselves as being part of a  
367 group of friends.

#### 368 4.3 Doing being a supporter

369 Excerpt 3 illustrates a third type of configuration. Five friends  
370 are sitting around a coffee table and playing different types of  
371 games, including the fighting game *Dragon Ball Z* where two  
372 players fight each other through avatars of their choosing  
373 (Fig. 3). In this extract, Rod and Max are playing, the three  
374 others are non-players, watching them. Max and Ben are  
375 sitting side by side on the sofa, Cel is sitting in the armchair  
376 and Rod on a chair, all four around the coffee table, able to  
377 focus on the screen as well as on each other. By contrast, Xav  
378 is sitting on the floor, in front of the screen, with his back to  
379 Rod and Cel. He can easily be seen by his friends but he  
380 cannot see Rod and Cel, and has even difficulties seeing Max  
381 and Ben.<sup>10</sup>



382

383 **Figure 3:** Dragon Ball Z game session on PlayStation.

384 Throughout the fight, the four friends comment, assess,  
385 encourage and instruct the players nearly constantly. Lapses,  
386 such as those found in excerpt 1 or even excerpt 2, are not  
387 frequent. The excerpt starts with several sequences where  
388 Xav instructs and encourages Rod.

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<sup>10</sup> You can examine the full videoclip III [here](#).

389 Xav cannot see how Rod manipulates the console (Fig. 3)  
390 but deduces it from the actions and movements on the  
391 screen. When Rod wins a fight due to Xav's instructions, Xav  
392 turns around and initiates a sequence with Cel about his role  
393 as a "coach" (III/ 00:14). He then faces the screen again and  
394 announces his "support" of Max from now on, as Max is  
395 underdog now (III/ 00:20). Several sequences of instructions  
396 follow.

397 While extract 2's spectators were watching a movie, in  
398 extract 3, Ben, Xav and Cel are *watching a match* between  
399 two parties and they support one of them. Whom they  
400 support is negotiable and depends on the situation; the  
401 spectators can transfer their support whenever they judge  
402 that is warranted by a new development. Similarly to  
403 Gerhardt's (2006) description of "watching football on  
404 television", watching a competitive videogame can be  
405 described as *community of practice* (Wenger 1998) where  
406 particular ways of doing things emerge. Videogame spectators  
407 show their expertise, by displaying precise knowledge,  
408 independently from what they actually see on the screen. For  
409 example, Xav deduces from the avatar's movements how Rod  
410 uses the controller and asks him to accomplish other, more  
411 efficient actions indicating which buttons or combinations of  
412 buttons to press (III/ 00:02 to 00:06, 00:08). He positions  
413 himself explicitly as a "coach" who holds the knowledge and  
414 the rights to instruct and assess Rod. At the same time, the  
415 spectators "picture themselves on the terraces" (Gerhardt  
416 2006: 137) in a similar way to Gerhardt's football game  
417 spectators. Xav and Cel display their support (e.g. by  
418 instructing, assessing or encouraging), show engagement and  
419 emotional involvement (e.g. by their body orientation to the  
420 screen) and even discuss their supporting in front of the  
421 players, Rod and Max (III/ 00:12 to 00:22).

422 The spectators' interaction in this excerpt can partly be  
423 described as "doing being a supporter". Xav is not only  
424 watching and commenting a movie, he defines himself as  
425 "coach" and "supporter" and therefore orients to another  
426 type of watching. His posture is validated by the players who  
427 comply with his instructions. Even if Cel and Ben do not join  
428 Xav's supporting position in this excerpt, they act similarly at  
429 other times during the match (e.g. the excerpts discussed in  
430 Baldauf-Quilliatre/Colón de Carvajal 2019; 2020) and they

431 show their engagement in the gaming activity with their  
432 continued body orientation to the screen (Fig. 3).

#### 433 4.4 Discussion

434 The three extracts show three different configurations of  
435 game type/genre, spatial configuration and engagement of  
436 non-players as spectators. The various participation practices  
437 depend in part on this configuration and the affordances of  
438 the game, and in part on how these affordances construct this  
439 configuration.

440 While a slow problem-solving approach is possible in a  
441 first-person adventure game such as *Tomb Raider*, fast  
442 decision-making is necessary in a fighting game such as  
443 *Dragon Ball Z*, which precludes longer discussions and  
444 explanations. A single-player game allows for the observation  
445 of one participant's actions, when a multiplayer game makes  
446 it possible to support different teams. Engagement can be  
447 enacted through different modalities in situations where non-  
448 players and players can see each other. However, when this  
449 is not the case, engagement needs to be expressed verbally  
450 and/or vocally. Different non-players can interact as  
451 spectators or might even form ephemeral groups, but for a  
452 single non-player, the only possible interaction is with the  
453 player(s). Additionally, engagement in other parallel activities  
454 means that orientation and engagement are distributed  
455 between activities, while more involvement as spectator is  
456 expected of non-players who are not otherwise occupied.

457 On the other hand, their constant focus on the gaming  
458 activities, displayed through body posture, gaze and verbal  
459 turns, non-players position themselves as co-players (cf.  
460 Olbertz-Siitonen/Piirainen-Marsh/Siitonen in this issue),  
461 while their shifts in attention show a fluctuating engagement  
462 in the gaming session. The accumulation of directives and  
463 encouragement sequences, as well as a high temporality,  
464 construct an emotional way of spectating. This is in contrast  
465 with a slower temporality with suggestions or (longer)  
466 explanations. The negotiation of epistemic stance and status  
467 also contributes to configure the participation framework. By  
468 displaying an epistemic stance and claiming the rights to  
469 display it (as with technical directives about controller use),  
470 non-players also claim the rights to participate in the gaming

471 activity. This can take the form of, the rather late appearance  
472 of a verbal turn, (e.g. a suggestion given after several  
473 unsuccessful attempts) or a visible doubt shown in the turn  
474 design indicates a lower claim on epistemic authority and a  
475 different positioning of the spectator.

476 In the three extracts analysed so far, non-players do  
477 different things and categorise themselves differently, and  
478 yet, they all watch the game and claim spectatorship. Lucie's  
479 and Greg's interaction in extract 1 can be described as way of  
480 "doing being a couple". The interaction of the three  
481 spectators and player Lucas in extract 2 can be understood as  
482 "doing being a group of friends". The three spectators in  
483 extract 3 act as supporters and the interaction between  
484 spectators and players in this extract can be categorized as  
485 "doing being a supporter".

## 486 **5 Embodied practices of spectators' participation**

487 In this section, we focus on the local co-construction of non-  
488 players' embodied practices to show engagement and the  
489 interaction between spectators and players. We present a  
490 detailed sequential and multimodal analysis of several  
491 moments of the three extracts, which highlights the fine-  
492 tuned temporal and multimodal construction of non-players'  
493 engaging in the gaming activities and their displays of  
494 participation. Since the different ways of spectating reveal  
495 different practices, we divide this section into three parts  
496 which correspond to the three larger extracts.

### 497 5.1 Co-construction of alternating engagement (Extract 1)

498 With the first extract, we focus on the co-construction of  
499 non-player's engagement as spectator and the way player and  
500 non-player interactively construct their shifts of attention  
501 from two individuals each focused on their own activity, to  
502 an interaction between player and co-player.

503 The extract starts with a rather long silence (33 sec.) where  
504 different non-vocal actions succeed one another (see 4.1).  
505 During these 33 seconds of silent play, Lucie observes Greg's  
506 unsuccessful actions and makes her seeing accountable by  
507 the constant changes of gaze direction as well as by the  
508 different duration of gazing. Greg keeps making the same



509 movements but fails to reach the desired outcome in the  
510 game. When he raises his arms again, producing a  
511 vocalisation for the first time, this could be understood as a  
512 trouble alert (cf. Kendrick/Drew 2016). However, Lucie does  
513 not offer assistance, she turns back to her tablet and displays  
514 monitoring. Trouble alerts “do not establish a normative  
515 obligation on Other(s) to provide assistance” (Kendrick/Drew  
516 2016: 8), but they “solicit the attention” (Kendrick/Drew  
517 2016). In other words, Greg solicits Lucie as co-player and  
518 she displays her understanding but does not offer help (I/  
519 00:36 to 00:41 “raise the Wii’s remote controller”).

520 Until then, Lucie has focused alternatively on her tablet  
521 and the gaming screen. Her glances back and forth make it  
522 possible for her to follow on-screen events, assess Greg’s  
523 movements (as well as their tempo) and display monitoring  
524 without observing the player constantly. Meanwhile, Greg  
525 focuses on the screen and behaves as an individual player  
526 without explicitly responding to Lucie’s glances or verbal  
527 turns. Nevertheless, he makes his trouble visible (thanks to  
528 trouble alerts and embodied displays of trouble such as  
529 repeated movements) and therefore, indicates his awareness  
530 of Lucie’s spectating, and creates an opportunity for her to  
531 assist him and take part in the gaming activity.

532 After having read the on-screen instructions, Lucie shifts  
533 her focus of attention back to her tablet, leaving Greg to  
534 continue his attempts (I/ 00:43 to 00:46). However, she does  
535 not focus on the tablet for long (2.5 sec.) and soon orients  
536 again to Greg’s gaming. She monitors his unsuccessful actions  
537 by opening a teasing sequence (I/ 00:45 “it’ll frustrate/upset  
538 you I guess ((laugh))”), turning her gaze from the tablet to the  
539 screen during the turn. Gaze shifting within the turn has been  
540 analysed as providing evidence for the fact that “participants  
541 frequently attend to multiple visual fields simultaneously”  
542 (Goodwin 2007: 56). In this case, Lucie’s gaze shift also  
543 clearly displays her availability for assistance.



544 ((--- omitted transcript ---))  
545 08 LUC @vas-y//  
546 go on  
547 greG @lowers hands Fig.4



548  
549 **Figure 4**

550 09 @ (0.8)  
551 greG @raises hands and controller  
552 10 @ (5.2)  
553 greG @gesture's stroke Fig. 5  
554 11 @ (0.6)  
555 greG @lowers hands and controller-->



556  
557 **Figure 5**

558 12 LUC \*rapide @j` pense \*  
559 quick I think  
560 lucG \* quickly lowers her right hand Fig. 6\*  
561 greG -->@hands on knee-->



562  
563 **Figure 6**

564 13 \* (1.0)  
 565 lucG \* quickly lowers her right hand-->  
 566 14 LUC faut\* qu`@t` ailles plus @rapidement/  
 567 **you need to go more** **quickly**  
 568 lucG --> \*  
 569 greG -->@raises hands and controller@stroke  
 570 15 @ (0.2) @ (1.1)  
 571 greG @ quickly lowers hands @hands on knee  
 572 16 #@ (0.7)  
 573 lucR @vers GRE-->  
 574 scr #door opens Fig. 7



575

576 **Figure 7**

577 From this point, Lucie's gaze is focused on the screen for the  
 578 next 17.8 seconds. While Greg keeps moving, Lucie produces  
 579 a second turn which is interpreted by Greg as encouragement  
 580 to continue (cf. Baldauf-Quilliatre/Colón de Carvajal 2020):  
 581 He keeps on doing the same movements in the same slow  
 582 way (l. 8-11, Fig. 4 and Fig. 5).

583 Lucie then repairs her previous turn by formulating a  
 584 corrective instruction which she enacts by accomplishing a  
 585 rapid arm movement (l. 12-13, Fig. 6, I/ 00:59)). In the  
 586 following turn, she insists on the correction by rephrasing it  
 587 in a more explicit way (l.14). Greg complies and the door  
 588 opens (l. 14-16, Fig. 7, see also I/ 01:02 to 01:04).

589 Once the problem is solved, Lucie and Greg continue their  
 590 discussion "out of the game" before turning back to their  
 591 respective activities (not shown in the transcript).

592 The detailed analysis of the extract provides evidence for  
 593 the *co-construction of spectating*. Initially, Lucie follows  
 594 Greg's gaming activities (by glancing up and down from her  
 595 tablet to the screen) without showing engagement as co-  
 596 player. Greg for his part acts on his own, disengaging thereby  
 597 from interaction, focusing on the screen. Gradually, Lucie  
 598 displays her availability for interaction with longer gazing and  
 599 vocal turns, while Greg makes his trouble visible through  
 600 trouble alerts and embodied displays of trouble. When Lucie  
 601 shows higher engagement in the interaction, shifts into a  
 602 participation framework as co-player and opens a corrective

603 instruction sequence, Greg also engages in the interaction  
 604 with Lucie a co-player by complying with her suggestion,  
 605 even though his gaze remains focused on the screen. In the  
 606 last part of the extract (not shown), both participants are  
 607 similarly engaged in interaction. They are no longer involved  
 608 in their individual activities but interact without  
 609 accomplishing other activities simultaneously and look at  
 610 each other. At the end of the extract, Greg focuses again on  
 611 the screen and continues playing while Lucie turns back to  
 612 her tablet. By shifting their gazes away from each other, they  
 613 both display their changes in participation framework and  
 614 their momentary disengagement from interaction.

## 615 5.2 Co-construction of ephemeral groups (Extract 2)

616 The analyses of the second extract focus on two aspects: (a)  
 617 the non-players' co-construction of specific forms of  
 618 engagement; (b) the co-construction of ephemeral groups.

619 While we have shown in the previous section how players  
 620 and non-players co-construct engagement and  
 621 disengagement in the gaming activity, this extract shows how  
 622 the non-players and the player co-construct particular forms  
 623 of engagement in a situation where the engagement of the  
 624 non-players seems to be established already.

625 At the beginning of the extract, Lucas starts dancing and  
 626 Dom and Lea analyse *in situ* the dancing movements which  
 627 have to be produced in real time, synchronised with the  
 628 avatar on the screen. They initiate four instruction-sequences  
 629 (l. 18, 20, 23, 27), produced in particular positions with regard  
 630 to Lucas' temporal alignment with the on-screen avatar.

631 ((--- omitted transcript ---))

```
632 16 LEA <[po po po #po po po po/          ] ((en rythme))>
633      po po po  po po po po/ ((in rhythm))
634      scr      #lucas moves his legs while his avatar
635              only moves his shoulders Fig. 8
```



636

637

**Figure 8**

638

639

640

641

642

643

644

645

646

17 (0.5)  
 18 DOM atten:ds/  
 wait/  
 19 (0.5)  
 20 DOM maintenant/  
 now/  
 21 # (3.4)  
 scr #lucas' steps are not synchronised with the  
 avatar's Fig. 9



647

648

**Figure 9**

649

650

651

652

22 LEA #droite/ (0.6) gauche\ yes::\ (0.5)  
 right/ (0.6) left\ yes::\ (0.5)  
 scr #lucas synchronises with his avatar at the end of  
 lea's turn Fig. 10



653



654

Figure 10

655

656

657

23 LEA #ça y est c'est parti/  
that's it let's go/  
scr #lucas is synchronised with his avatar Fig. 11

658



659

Figure 11

660

661

24 # (2.8)  
scr #lucas becomes unsynchronised again Fig. 12

662



663

Figure 12

664 25 LEA pas trop vite//  
665 not too fast

666 None of the different instruction sequences was requested by  
667 Lucas. By offering the instructions, Dom and Lea display that  
668 they are *watching* the game, which means that they are  
669 watching Lucas *and* the avatar on screen. Lucas accepts the  
670 instructions as such by displaying an attempt to accomplish  
671 the instructed action (waiting, starting again) or to correct it  
672 (following the rhythm and going in the correct direction). By  
673 instructing Lucas, Lea and Dom also display expertise,  
674 indicating that they know (better than Lucas) what to do, that  
675 is, how to move and therefore how to play. This means that  
676 they position themselves not only as ratified participants  
677 having the right to *watch*, but also as fully ratified participants  
678 having the right to *contribute* to the progression of  
679 interaction, to reveal their knowledge (cf. Heritage 2012;  
680 2013). Simultaneously, they frame the player as somebody  
681 who requires assistance, a position which is accepted by  
682 Lucas himself.

683 Shortly after this extract starts a jocular teasing sequence  
684 (cf. Günthner 1996; Haugh 2016) where the three non-players  
685 laugh at Lucas who is still struggling with synchronization.  
686 The sequence starts with Lea initiating a smile in line 36, then  
687 collectively, they burst into laughter. The laughing follows the  
688 worsening asynchronisation between Lucas' and his avatar's  
689 movements (II/ 00:25 to 00:37). Lucas starts clapping his  
690 hands asynchronously with the avatar (red lines on the  
691 avatar's arm and fixed score on 925; Fig. 13).

692 ((--- omitted transcript between lines 25-35 ---))

693 36 DOM %xx  
694 leaG %smiles  
695 37 VER ((laugh))#% [<((laugh)) (0.2)% ((laugh)) (4.5)>]  
696 38 LEA [((laugh)) ]  
697 39 DOM [((laugh)) ]  
698 leaR %towards LUC %  
699 scr #lucas is unsynchronised Fig. 13





700

701

Figure 13

702

703

704

705

706

707

708

709

710

711

712

```

40 LEA [ouais/]
      yeah
41 DOM [clap ]
      clap
42 VER <((laugh)) (0.3)>
43 DOM clap
      clap
44 LEA #[((laugh))] <((laugh)) (0.7)> [((laugh))]
45 DOM [clap ] [clap ]
      clap clap
scr #lucas is still unsynchronised Fig. 14

```



713

714

Figure 14

715

716

717

718

719

720

721

722

723

724

```

46 LEA %t` es à contre temps fouais://
      you `re out of sync yeah
      leaG %looks at LUC and raises her thumb-->
      verR fto LEA
47 LEA #%[((laugh)) (2.9)>]f%
48 VER [((laugh)) ]
      verR f
      leaR %to VER %
scr #lucas is still unsynchronised, mutual gaze
      between lea and ver

```

725



726

**Figure 15**

727

49 DOM (go on)

728

50 # (0.8)

729

scr #lucas is synchronised with his avatar Fig. 16

730



731

**Figure 16**

732

51 LEA yeah:\

733

yeah

734

735 While the three non-players engage in shared laughter for a  
736 while (l. 37-48), they do not coordinate their laughing with  
737 gaze. Nevertheless, the collective laughter displays a joined  
738 positioning with regard to Lucas' performance: The three  
739 non-players act as a group distinct from the player who is  
740 framed/identified as the subject of mockery. Christmann (cf.  
741 1996: 62-63) has argued that early shared laughter in mockery  
742 sequences is due to shared knowledge and shared basic  
743 convictions. When Dom, Lea and Vero burst into laughter  
744 together rather early during Lucas' performance, they claim a  
745 non-serious intent (cf. Haugh 2016) and mutually display their  
746 shared positions and knowledge about Lucas' dancing. Thus,  
747 they create an ephemeral group, excluding Lucas.

747

748 Simultaneously, Dom opens an instruction sequence

748

749 involving Lucas and himself (l. 41, 43, 45). He claps his hands

749

in sync with Lucas' avatar and verbalises his action ("clap", l.

750 41, 43, 45). In this way, he indicates the action to be done by  
 751 Lucas, but also the precise moment when it needs to be  
 752 accomplished. In spite of Dom's indications, Lucas' hand  
 753 clapping remains asynchronous (red lines on the avatar's arms  
 754 and legs and fixed score (Fig. 14, II/ 00:42 to 00:46). Dom is  
 755 thus involved in two sequences: verbally and through gesture  
 756 in the instruction sequence with Lucas, and by facial  
 757 expressions (he continues smiling after the outburst of  
 758 laughter) in the teasing sequence with Lea and Vero.

759 Line 46, Lea initiates another sequence, explicitly  
 760 addressed to Lucas. She constructs her turn as a positive  
 761 assessment, accompanied by a hand gesture (raised thumb),  
 762 looking at Lucas (Fig. 15). In contrast to Haugh's (2016: 129)  
 763 findings that "in the case of jocular mockery a return to  
 764 serious talk is positioned as properly due in next position",  
 765 Lea does not return to serious talk, but continues teasing.  
 766 Despite the explicit address, Lucas is still treated as an  
 767 "object". Furthermore, during Lea's turn, Vero starts turning  
 768 her gaze to Lea, and Lea looks back at Vero (Fig. 15). Both  
 769 burst out into laughter. By laughing together and reciprocally  
 770 orienting their gazes towards each other, Vero and Lea  
 771 construct a moment of intimacy and of amusement (II/ 00:46  
 772 to 00:50).

773 Amusing has been described as one of the principal actions  
 774 in which spectators are involved (cf. Klemm 2000).  
 775 Television viewers as analysed by Klemm are "between their  
 776 own four walls" and thus "unobserved" by the object of  
 777 amusement (Klemm 2000: 189, our translation), which allows  
 778 them to act differently than if they could be heard by their  
 779 "object".<sup>11</sup> In our data, Lucas cannot see the spectators, but he  
 780 can hear them. Even if he is positioned as the "object" of  
 781 amusement, he is present and can potentially respond to the  
 782 mockery. In the extract, he does not produce an answering  
 783 turn, but he continues playing and smiles. At the very least he  
 784 does display rejection, but more probably signals his  
 785 acceptance of the mockery (cf. Haugh 2014).

786 Nevertheless, laughing ends soon and line 51, Lea turns  
 787 back to more serious talk by acknowledging Lucas'  
 788 performance as correct ("yeah") after he has synchronised his

<sup>11</sup> Though this does not mean that moral implications are suspended (cf. Klemm 2000: 190).

789 movements with the avatar, indicated by the yellow lines and  
790 an increasing score (Fig. 16, II/ 00:50 to 00:52). Following  
791 Haugh (2016), this turn displays not only a return to more  
792 seriousness, but also a shift in the participation framework:  
793 The ephemeral group of spectators is disbanded and the  
794 initial configuration of the interaction between player and  
795 spectators is restored.

796 The different overlapping sequences illustrate the  
797 dynamics of the participation framework. While the player is  
798 engaged in the gaming activity and in some sort of interaction  
799 with the avatar, the non-players interact with the player and  
800 thus construct their spectatorship interactively, but they may  
801 also interact among themselves, more or less excluding the  
802 player who can hear them but is not treated as a participant.  
803 In our extract for instance, Lucas also laughs silently,  
804 indicating somehow his participation in the jocular mocking,  
805 even if he is not treated as a participant by Lea and Vero, and  
806 even when he is engaged in another participation framework.  
807 Non-players as well can interact simultaneously in different  
808 participation frameworks, with other spectators *and* with the  
809 player. In all these cases, players and non-players use  
810 different multimodal resources for displaying participation, as  
811 we discussed for Dom.

### 812 5.3 Coaching (Extract 3)

813 While section 5.2 has shown how non-players can position  
814 themselves as active spectators and co-players, with this  
815 positioning validated by the player, this section focuses on a  
816 particular form of spectating, namely, coaching. Extract 3 is  
817 characterized by a specific gaming configuration: Two  
818 players are present and playing against each other. In section  
819 4.3 we showed that the game is watched like a football match  
820 – the non-players display their support for one of the players.  
821 In this section, we analyse in detail how this support is  
822 constructed interactively and what it means to coach a  
823 videogame player.

824 The excerpt begins with several instruction sequences. All  
825 three non-players are watching the game and display their  
826 engagement as spectators non-verbally. Xav and Cel show a  
827 particular engagement since they address verbal turns to one  
828 of the player, Rod. While Max' on-screen avatar is getting



829 stronger and stronger (Fig. 17), in preparation of an attack  
830 against Rod's avatar, Xav produces a technical instruction  
831 addressed to player Rod – he should activate a particular  
832 button on the controller “with xxx down arrow” (l. 2).  
833 Simultaneously, Cel produces an unintelligible turn which  
834 seems to be addressed to Rod as well (he touches Rod's arm  
835 during his turn, l. 3). Xav and Cel thus show their engagement  
836 in the game through different productions addressed to  
837 player Rod who is preparing his avatar for a particular in-  
838 game action, namely, the “super ray of death” (Fig. 18).

839 01 ROD \$t` es relou:::// hein\ °t` es\  
840           **you're annoying aren't you you're**  
841       Amax \$gets stronger Fig. 17



842

843 **Figure 17**

844 02 XAV \$%[avec xxx] flèche du bas\  
845           **with xxx down arrow**  
846 03 CEL [xxx ]  
847       celG \$touches ROD's arm  
848       Arod %prepares for "super ray of death" action  
849       Fig. 18-->



850

851 **Figure 18**

852 04 (0.4)  
 853 05 XAV nan là/ tu flèches/ euh:\% normal là  
 854 **nah here you (press) arrow uhm normal here**  
 855 Arod %  
 856 06 XAV c'est flèche du bas %\$(2.0) éloigne toi vite//  
 857 **it's down arrow (2.0) get away quickly**  
 858 Arod %gets stronger Fig. 19a  
 859 Amax \$prepares for "super  
 860 kamehameha" action -->  
 861 Fig. 19b



862

863 **Figure 19a**



864

865 **Figure 19b**

866 07 XAV prends à \$côté\\ prends prends à [côté]//&  
 867 **go sideways go go sideways**  
 868 08 CEL [xx ]  
 869 Amax \$  
 870 09 XAV %joli::::\  
 871 **nice**  
 872 Arod %avoids attack Fig. 20  
 873 10 MAX pu/tain:\  
 874 **fuck**





875

876 **Figure 20**

877 This preparation lasts nearly a second. During this time, Xav  
 878 directly analyses the clues available on Rod's screen, he  
 879 adjusts his instruction and explains to Rod that he is not using  
 880 the correct button: He is using the "normal arrow" instead of  
 881 pressing the "down arrow" button ("no here/ you (press)  
 882 arrow/ uh:\ normal here it's down arrow", l. 5-6). Rod then  
 883 modifies his action on the controller. He stops his "super ray  
 884 of death" action to get stronger (Fig. 19a), the split screen  
 885 showing the two players' views switches to Max' screen and  
 886 focuses on the preparation of his attack (III/ 00:02 to 00:07).  
 887 Indeed, Max's avatar has finished his transformation and is  
 888 now preparing an attack against Rod's avatar (the "super  
 889 Kamehameha"; Fig. 19b). Once again, Xav directly analyses  
 890 the information on Max' screen, and quickly proceeds with a  
 891 new instruction addressed to Rod so that he can protect  
 892 himself from the imminent attack: "move away quickly take  
 893 aside take take aside" (l. 6-7). Very quickly, Rod accomplishes  
 894 the instructed action (Fig. 20) and avoids the attack. There is  
 895 very little delay between Xav's instruction and Rod's  
 896 execution on the controller and so, his avatar manages to  
 897 avoid the attack. Xav assesses the result very positively with a  
 898 prosodically marked "nice" (l. 9) while Max assesses it  
 899 negatively (l. 10).

900 In contrast to what happens in extract 2, where the three  
 901 non-players laugh together, each non-player (Xav and Cel)  
 902 focuses exclusively on the interaction with Rod – they do not  
 903 interact together. Xav displays an obviously high engagement  
 904 in the gaming activity through his provision of finely tuned  
 905 technical instructions and positive assessments. Dom and Lea  
 906 also gave very precise instructions and acknowledged the

907 successful compliance to their instruction. At the same time,  
 908 they always claimed non-seriousness. In this extract, Xav  
 909 shows no claim of non-serious intent: He is entirely focused  
 910 on the screen, with unchanging body posture and facial  
 911 expressions – he does not laugh or smile. The players display  
 912 seriousness in their gaming too, as indicated by their position,  
 913 their facial expressions, and Max' negative assessment of  
 914 Rod's successful counter.

915 With his serious instructions and assessments addressed to  
 916 one of the two players, Xav accomplishes coaching actions  
 917 (cf. Partington/Cushion 2013). This categorisation can be  
 918 confirmed by the following turns: Xav turns back to Cel (Fig.  
 919 21), forming an ephemeral group of two and verbalises his  
 920 self-categorisation as “coach” (l. 13), to which Cel responds  
 921 with laughter.

922 11 (...)   
 923 12 CEL <((laugh)) (2.0)>   
 924 13 XAV @j` fais vraiment le coach/ hein\  
 925 **I'm really being a coach aren't' I**   
 926 xavG @turns to CEL--> Fig. 21



927

928 **Figure 21**

929 14 CEL =<((laugh)) (0.7)>   
 930 15 @(1.1)   
 931 xavG @turns back to the screen-->>   
 932 16 CEL le mec en face/ il a trop la mort\  
 933 **the guy on the other side he's so dead**   
 934 17 ? xx   
 935 18 #(1.9)   
 936 scr #max's health bar is lower



937

938 **Figure 22**

939 19 XAV allez max// (..) xx il a moins de vie//  
 940 **come on max xx he has lower health**  
 941 20 mainte[nant faut sup]porter max\  
 942 **now we have to support max**  
 943 21 MAX [ouais ]  
 944 **yeah**

945 Even if Xav's self-categorisation is not explicitly confirmed  
 946 by another participant, there are no signs of rejection or  
 947 doubt. Besides, Cel's laugh line 14 could be understood as a  
 948 form of acknowledgement.

949 Nevertheless, by turning back (Fig. 21) and looking at Cel  
 950 who laughs right after the assessment turns, Xav creates an  
 951 interactional space between Cel and himself. He shows his  
 952 understanding of Cel's prior laughing (l. 12) as a response to  
 953 his prosodically marked assessment and as an invitation to  
 954 open an encounter between the two of them. In a similar way  
 955 to Lea and Vero in extract 2, Cel and Xav co-construct an  
 956 ephemeral group of spectators, excluding the other present  
 957 players and non-players. Mondada (2013) pointed out how  
 958 participants transit from one activity to another by  
 959 reconfiguring the interactional space and modifying the  
 960 participation framework. By turning back, Xav transits from  
 961 the activity of "coaching" player Rod to initiating an exchange  
 962 with non-player Cel about what he is doing. Although this  
 963 ephemeral group lasts only 1.3 seconds, it provides an  
 964 opportunity to report and negotiate different analyses of the  
 965 game.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> This has been analysed by Mondada (2012) for gamers. Our analyses provide evidence that non-players act in a similar way.

966 Immediately after this short sequence among spectators,  
967 Xav turns back to the screen (l. 15) and it becomes apparent  
968 that Max's avatar is losing health points (Fig. 22). Xav  
969 comments the new situation with an encouragement  
970 addressed to Max.

971 Interestingly, this encouragement of the player is followed  
972 by an explanation concerning the spectators' "strategy": now  
973 that Max's avatar has not much health left / lower health (l.  
974 19), he needs to be supported (l. 20). Supporting (and maybe  
975 coaching) a player fluctuates, depending on the players'  
976 situation in the game, and it is negotiated among spectators.  
977 Spectators become engaged participants in the game,  
978 interacting more or less constantly with the players, and  
979 additionally, they form ephemeral groups among themselves  
980 to exchange about positions and analyses. As spectators, they  
981 occupy a particular, proper role in the gaming interaction:  
982 They ensure the gaming's progress, excitement and fun.

#### 983 5.4 Discussion

984 The previous sections (5.1-5.3) have detailed different  
985 embodied practices used by the non-players/spectators  
986 which are related to the ways of spectating described in  
987 section 4: alternating engagement and disengagement, jocular  
988 mockery and coaching. It has also shown that spectators may  
989 not only interact with players, but also with other spectators,  
990 in different ways.

991 All described practices are characterized by a finely tuned  
992 temporal adjustment with regard to the gaming activities. This  
993 adjustment has already been described for the interaction  
994 among players (cf. Mondada 2013), but it is also true of  
995 spectators, not only concerning instructions, proposals,  
996 assessments or encouragements addressed to players, but also  
997 concerning sequences among spectators.

998 Through gaze, body posture, monitoring or similar  
999 "scaffolding" actions (Tekin/Reeves 2017), spectators display  
1000 a general interest in the gaming activities, which signals to  
1001 players that they might recruit them for assistance. The  
1002 alternation between engagement and disengagement can thus  
1003 be seen as constant signs of "possible engagement".  
1004 Proposals, instructions, assessments, encouragements or  
1005 other help offers are produced with regard to the temporality

1006 of the game and make a claim of knowledge which is  
1007 negotiable.<sup>13</sup> By claiming and displaying expertise, spectators  
1008 become co-players as they directly participate to the  
1009 progression of the game's trajectories.

1010 A large repertoire of multimodal resources is used to  
1011 participate in different activities simultaneously. Sequences  
1012 involving a spectator and a player are perceptible by other  
1013 players and spectators who can join the interaction or who,  
1014 as players, can adjust their gaming strategy to the strategies  
1015 deployed in these sequences. Spectators may also guide the  
1016 player and, at the same time, share their positions and  
1017 analyses with other spectators using gaze, facial expressions,  
1018 laughter etc. Through gaze and body posture, they construct  
1019 overlapping interactional spaces which allow for participation  
1020 in the gaming activity as well as forming ephemeral groups  
1021 with other spectators.

1022 In spectator-spectator interactions as well as in spectator-  
1023 player interactions, spectators can claim more or less serious  
1024 intent. Through jocular mockery as in extract 2, spectators  
1025 indicate non-seriousness, to which players can respond in  
1026 different ways. Coaching, as in extract 3, involves a more  
1027 serious way of spectating. Nevertheless, by transferring their  
1028 support to another player depending on the progression in  
1029 the game, spectators also show that their coaching is less  
1030 serious than coaching in sports interaction (cf. Colón de  
1031 Carvajal 2016).

1032 If our focus is on non-players/spectators, the detailed  
1033 sequential and multimodal analyses indicate that spectating  
1034 and non-players' engagement in the gaming activities is co-  
1035 constructed. Players can simply accept the assistance offered  
1036 by spectators and follow their instructions, acknowledge their  
1037 claim of knowledge, or display efforts to continue playing in  
1038 their (own) way. They might also recruit the assistance of  
1039 spectators, through trouble alerts, embodied displays of  
1040 trouble, or requests. Even if they do not explicitly display  
1041 trouble, they can show their needs by accepting a generic  
1042 help offer for instance, in extract 3, Max accepts Xav's offer  
1043 to support him from now on, effectively recruiting him for  
1044 further assistance.

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13 Even if all our extracts in this paper show an acceptance on the players' part, we could also observe rejections elsewhere in our data.



1045 Players can become the object of spectators' interaction, as  
1046 in the case of jocular mockery in extract 2. In that case, they  
1047 are not expected to respond directly, but they might still take  
1048 part in the interaction by accepting the moral implications (cf.  
1049 Haugh 2016) and joining the laughter or not.

## 1050 **6 Conclusion**

1051 While the organisation of participation in videogaming has  
1052 already been analysed as far as the players' actions are  
1053 concerned (cf. Keating/Sunakawa 2010; Piirainen-Marsh  
1054 2012; Mondada 2012; Baldauf-Quilliatre/Colón de Carvajal  
1055 2020), less research has focused on co-present non-  
1056 players/spectators and their participation in the gaming  
1057 activities (cf. Tekin/Reeves 2017). The aim of our paper was  
1058 to bridge this gap and describe three different "ways of  
1059 spectating", namely, doing being a couple, doing being  
1060 friends, and doing being a supporter. These three ways of  
1061 spectating correspond to specific realities, such as the  
1062 number of participants (players and non-players) and their  
1063 relations prior to this interaction, the type of game, the spatial  
1064 configuration in the room etc., but they are above all  
1065 practices which are locally accomplished and interactionally  
1066 negotiated. Our argumentation has been twofold: on the one  
1067 hand, describing these three ways of spectating, and on the  
1068 other hand, describing a selection of embodied practices used  
1069 to achieve them.

1070 By bringing into focus these practices, we want to highlight  
1071 the interactional accomplishment of spectatorship. In other  
1072 words, it might be possible to categorise players and non-  
1073 players in videogame interactions, but *being a spectator*  
1074 cannot be defined in this way. The role of a spectator is  
1075 complex, as different ways of spectating are co-constructed  
1076 by all participants, related to the ecological context in a way  
1077 which is far from straightforward.

## 1078 **7 Acknowledgement**

1079 The authors are grateful to the ASLAN project (ANR-10-  
1080 LABX-0081) of Université de Lyon, for its financial support

1081 within the program “Investissements d’Avenir” (ANR-11-  
1082 IDEX-0007) of the French government operated by the  
1083 National Research Agency (ANR).

## 1084 **8 Appendix**

### 1085 8.1 Conventions for verbal transcription: ICOR Convention<sup>14</sup>

1086	<b>Text in bold</b>	translation
1087	Text in grey	information concerning events on the screen, 1088 avatars’ or players’ actions
1089	[ ]	Overlapping talk
1090	/ \	Rising or falling intonation
1091	° °	Lower voice
1092	:::	Lengthening of the sound or the syllable
1093	p`tit	Elision
1094	trouv-	Truncation
1095	xxx	Incomprehensible syllable
1096	=	Latching
1097	( )	Uncertain transcription
1098	(( ))	Comments
1099	&	Turn of the same speaker interrupted by an 1100 overlap
1101	(.)	Micro-pause
1102	(0.6)	Timed pause

### 1103 8.2 Multimodal convention (Mondada 2018):<sup>15</sup>

1104	§ §	Gestures and descriptions of embodied 1105 actions
1106	§ §	are delimited between two identical symbols
1107	£ £	(one symbol per participant) and are 1108 synchronized with corresponding stretches of 1109 talk

14 See [http://icar.univ-lyon2.fr/projets/corinte/bandeau\\_droit/convention\\_icor.htm](http://icar.univ-lyon2.fr/projets/corinte/bandeau_droit/convention_icor.htm)

15 See [https://franzoestik.philhist.unibas.ch/fileadmin/user\\_upload/franzoestik/mondada\\_multimodal\\_conventions.pdf](https://franzoestik.philhist.unibas.ch/fileadmin/user_upload/franzoestik/mondada_multimodal_conventions.pdf)

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1110	#	Screen events, is indicated with a specific
1111		symbol showing its position within the turn
1112		at talk
1113	-->	The action described continues across
1114		subsequent lines
1115	-->>	The action described continues after the
1116		excerpt's end

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