The Significance of Gesture: How it is Established.[1]

Jürgen Streeck

1. Introduction

Gesture, often considered to be the "common language of all
mankind" (Quintilianus 86), the "language of nature" surviving
from the 'primitive' stage of man's evolution (Tylor 1856), is
currently receiving renewed interest. While the intense psycholo-
gical and social-psychological research on "nonverbal behavior"
emerging after World War II found gesture to be of comparatively
low interest, revealing little about psychic events, a number of
researchers have more recently begun to examine gesticulation as
an organized feature of the "process of utterance" (Kendon 1980).

Two lines of research, among others, can be distinguished. On the
one hand, gesticulation is analyzed as an as an externalization

of mental states (e.g. concepts) or as by-product of the coding process whose primary product is speech (Freedman 1977; McNeill 1979, 1985)[2].

On the other hand, researchers studying face-to-face interaction in conversation have been examining the uses of gesture in the process of communication, taking as their point of departure the issue how meaning is constructed within interaction and how gesture is treated as significant to the activities that participants are engaged in (Creider 1986; C.Goodwin 1986; M.H.Goodwin 1981; Goodwin & Goodwin 1986; Heath 1986; Kendon 1980, 1985, 1986). C.Goodwin (1986: 29) has observed that

> "if participants are to use each other's bodies as sources of information about talk they are faced with the task of distinguishing relevant body behavior from that which is not".

This paper examines some ways in which participants cope with this task. Its aim is to describe features of an organization by which the participants to some conversation establish the significance of hand-movements to the moment's talk. The organization involved is a coordination of speech, gaze, and gesture at the onset of "G-turns", i.e. turns at talk ostensibly articulated with gesture.[3]

The following transcription conventions are used:[4]

- Lines above/underneath transcripts of talk represent gaze, the line above the talk referring to the speaker, the one underneath to the listener (or to first and second speaker, when there is overlapping talk);
  - a straight line indicates that self looks at other;
  - commas indicate gaze-removal;
  - dots show gaze-shifts toward other or specified object;
  - ~~ indicates that gaze is focused upon speaker's hands.

- The extension of a gesture over a segment of talk is displayed by a labeled square bracket above the transcript (there is no transcription of the shape of the movement, only a label is given).

Additional signs representing peaks or shifts in the direction of movement are explained where they occur.

2. An Interactional Framework for Significance

Fragments (1) to (4) are taken from a conversation between two young German women. The speaker (A) is telling her friend about an avangardistic theater performance which she attended[5]. In fragment (1) she reports what the actress did during the first scene of the play.

(1)   **PEN 00:48**

  1 A <u>Und dana:ch dann hat se auf Itali<u>e:</u>nisch?</u>

  2 A <u>Aber total deklam<u>ie:</u>rt, ne?</u>

       ┌─────────── microphones ────────────────┐
       ¦   ¦
      __<i>′′′.</i> ~~~~~~~~~~~~ <i>′′.</i>_____
  3 A Und hat so zwei M<u>i:</u>krophone, so inner Hand, nich?
       ¦
  4 B   Mhm.

 (1 A And then she gave - in Italian? -
  2 A A serious recitation, you know.
  3 A And // she had these two microphones,
      in her hand like this, right?
  4 B Mhm.)

The onset of gesture in this fragment is at the beginning of a new unit of a compound turn (at line 3). The speaker's hands leave their rest position and, while they are being clenched to fists, move to positions near her shoulders (thereby coming into the listener's focal view). The configuration and spatial

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[5]<u>Penthesilea</u> by Heinrich von Kleist, directed by Robert Wilson.

position of the fists suggest that the gesture's lexical affiliate[6] is "microphones". When the speaker initiates gesticulation, she also withdraws gaze from the hearer, shifting it to her own hands. Her gaze arrives there just prior to the onset of the phoric element so, at a moment when her hands are already fully configured. She returns gaze to the listener when she utters the gesture's lexical affiliate.

This is a first observation: recurrently during the initiation of a turn which is articulated with a gesture speakers focus their gaze momentarily upon their hands. While speakers have been observed to be withdrawing gaze from the listener during the turn (Goodwin 1981a), during "G-turns" gaze is *refocused* (e.g. while the hands are leaving their rest-positions.)

As Kendon (1967) has noted, gaze in social interaction operates in two interrelated ways. One the one hand, gazing is a way of taking in information. On the other hand, a person's gaze also provides information for others: by gazing one not only 'looks' but also 'shows', most generally 'where one's mind is at'. In this sense, gazing functions like pointing.

The turn at line (3) comprises two phrases (<u>hat so zwei Mikrophone</u>, <u>so inner Hand</u> - 'had these two microphones', ' in her hand like this') which are separated as distinct components of the turn by 'comma'-intonation. The second is added once the speaker has looked at her hands. This second descriptor displays the speaker's analysis of the gesture: that her hands represent not so much the microphones (as the first occurence of <u>so</u> suggests), but the way in which they had been held by the actress. A slight change in the ongoing construction of the sentence renders it more appropriate to a gesture already underway.[7]

The two successive descriptions are each linked to the gesture also by <u>so</u>, a syntactically flexible unit which serves phoric purposes at various places (e.g., in conjunction with indefinite nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, etc.). Here, on its <u>second</u> occurence, it indicates 'in this manner'.

Speakers, then, not only look at their hands while engaging in gesticulation. They also use the information gained by looking at the gesture in subsequent talk (e.g., by adding a further component to the turn, as is this example). Linguistic units

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[6]The term is adopted from Schegloff 1984.
[7] For a related discussion See Freedman 1977.

included in their utterances (e.g., phoric adverbs, demonstrati-
ves, etc[e]) leave traces of the gesture and also *point* to the
hands, i.e., to the ongoing process of manual representation.
Hand-gestures thereby become integrated parts of the turn-under-
construction, semantically, syntactically[9], and interactionally,
i.e. in terms of the parties' orientations.

Fragment (2) is from the same conversation (occuring only about
30 seconds later than (1)). (o indicates completion of one full
circle; index-finger is poiting down.)

(2)   PEN 01:22

```
              _____ circles ___o_____o___
          ¡
          ¡
1    ,,,,,,,,,,,..~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~,,.._____
  A  .hhh Da si:nd- ham se im Krei:s rumgegang?

     _____o_____o_____o_____o_____

2    _____
  A  Sind so ungefähr zwanzig Leute, Männer und Frauen, in

     _____o_____
                   ¡
                   ¡
     _____
     normaln Klamotten?
```

(1 A This time they were- (had) walking around in circles?
 2 A Like about twenty people, men and women with
     ordinary clothes?)

While she is constructing the turn, the speaker draws seven
circles in the air, her index-finger pointing downward. The
lexical affiliate is Kreis ('circle') (or im Kreis rumgegang

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[e]Discussing this in a similar environment, C.Goodwin (1986: 32)
 points out that it "explicitly tells the recipient that he
 will have to find something beyond the talk itself if he is to
 understand the talk in the way in which the speaker indicates
 that it should be understood".

[9]In that the content coded by the hands is represented by a
 phoric place-holder in the sentence.

('walking in circles'). While the gesture begins well before its speech affiliate, its first circle is completed during the production <u>of</u> the affiliated item (<u>Kreis</u>); gesticulation and talk are thereby aligned.

The speaker shifts her gaze to her hands when there is break in the sentence's ongoing syntactic construction - ([<u>si</u>:nd - ham se], at line 1), a self-correction[10] which misfires at the syntactic level. (An auxiliary agreeing with the main verb is replaced by one not in agreement.) The speaker returns gaze to the listener while uttering the gesture's affiliate (as she did in fragment (1)).

The listener also withdraws her gaze from the speaker's face and refocuses it upon her hands (at line 1).

```
            _____ circles ___o_____o___
           |
1 A .hhh Da si:nd- ham se im Krei:s rumgegang?
  B > _____,,,.~~~~~~~~~,,.._____
```

The listener's gaze arrives at the speaker's hands just prior to the onset of the affiliated lexical unit and is returned just after the unit's completion. While the speech affiliate is produced, the listener adopts the orientation proposed by the speaker[11] For a brief, though methodically highlighted moment, speaker and listener share an orientation to the hand.

Close examination of interactional sequences thus reveals that participants have organized ways of displaying for one another where, if not in the talk itself, information can be gained to fully understand the talk. One of these ways orients to gesture. Using it the parties establish manual action as a significant component of representation.

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[10]See C.Goodwin 1980 for an analysis of the role of phraseal breaks in the solicitation of listener attention.

[11]Goodwin 1981b discusses instances of soliciting shifts in focus.

The listener's behavior during the production of a G-turn is partly shaped by the location of the action in his perceptual field. This is evident from fragment (3).

(3)   PEN 04:15-II

```
              ____,,..~
1 A Sie stand unten?
  B _____


            skirt
      ,_____,_____,
      ,        ,        ,
   ~~~~~~~~~~~~~,.._____
2 A Mit som weißn Rock nur?
  B _____,,..~~~~~~~~~~~~,,


            top
    ,_____,_____,
    ,            ,            ,
   _____
3 A (---)Obenrum hatte se nichts an?
  B .._____
       opens mouth    swallows


   _____
4 A Mit dem Rücken zu den Zuschauern.
  B _____
       frown              release
```

(1 A She stood down below?
 2 A In this white skirt only?
 3 A Up here she had nothing on?
 4 A With her back turned to the audience.)

While frequently listeners are able to observe the speaker's manual activity while focusing upon the speaker's face, in this sequence (at line 2) the speaker's hands perform their action outside the listener's perceptual field. The listener shifts gaze *away* from speaker's face, thereby maintaining focus upon gesture.

The speaker's gaze is shifted to her lap (where the gesture is performed) just as the gesture starts, the shift occuring along with locative <u>unten</u> ('down below'), which incidentally also indicates the direction of the gaze-shift. The listener shifts her gaze in the same direction, just after the phoric unit <u>som</u> ('such a', 'this' - <u>so</u> fused with the indefinite dative article <u>einem</u>), retaining it there while the gesture-affiliated noun-phrase <u>weißn Rock nur</u> is produced (at line 2). Then speaker and listener simultaneously return gaze to each other's faces.

The listener's enhanced attention to the turn continues during subsequent components. Her involvement shows on her face where successive reactions to the 'delicacies' she is being told can be noticed, reactions potentially bearing upon the further shape of the speaker's turn: when she learns that the actress wore a white skirt <u>only</u> (<u>nur</u>, at line 2), her mouth drops. Then she swallows and frowns (line 4). Upon hearing that the actress had her back turned to the audience, her face lightens up.

In the final fragment of <u>Penthesilea</u> to be discussed here, the gesture involved functions not only in a descriptive fashion. By virtue of its placement in relation to the successive components of a turn in a sequence, the hand-movement also projects an upcoming change in the *type of talk* (::: indicates that the gesture is 'frozen'.)

In this fragment (at lines 3 to 6) the speaker makes an attempt to 'interpret' a scene of the play before describing it; she gives an 'abstract' characterization. She is not satisfied, however, with the category she has chosen and cuts it off (<u>metaph</u>- at line 3). The speaker then embarks on a search for a better characterization. She displays that she is searching by scanning the scene above the interaction, an area contrasting with the listener's face, her own hands, and 'middle distance' as alternative foci of gaze. The mental journey does not reach its destination: the speaker recycles the word <u>metaphysisch</u> ('metaphysical'), marking it by laughter, and subsequently (at line 4) expresses that her search remains without success. Abandoning the word-search the speaker thus also abandons the activity within which it operated, the 'interpretation'. She then goes on to procede with her report.

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(4)   PEN 04:15-I

1 A Dritte Szene wa:r- <u>o</u>hne Worte.
2 A Fing erst ohne Worte an.

                                    _____<search look>____
    _____,,..¦
3 A Das war dann irgendwie so::- (----) mphh sehr metaph-
  B _____

      _____¦...._____
4 A uhhm najam-metaph(h)ysisch,
  B _____

                  scraps
      _____¦_____
  > ¦
    _____
5 A w(h)eiß a(h)uch n(h)ich.
  B _____

          scraps
    _____¦_____::::::::::::::::___

    _____,,,...~~~~~~~~~~~~~~,,..
6 A .hhhhh Hatten se so:::- (--) Fetzen?
  B _____

      ____¦
          ¦
    _____
7 A Von::- (--) Fo:tos?
  B _____

(1 A The third scene was- without words.
 2   It first started without words.
 3   It was somehow like- (----) mphh very metaph-
 4   uhm well metaphysical,
 5   I d(h)on't k(h)now either.
 6   They had (--) these scraps?
 7   Of (--) photographs?)

At line (5) the gesture is differently affiliated with the talk of the moment than in the previous examples and contributes to the moment's understanding in a different way. While the speaker's voice is still busy bringing the search to a premature closing, her hands are already engaged in the activity that comes next, 'describing'. The lexical affiliate of the hand-movement is <u>Fetzen</u> ('scraps') and does not occur until at the end of the next sentence (at line 6).

This sentence is the first portion of a new piece of the report. The gesture is part of it, but intially appears prior to it, at a place where it indicates that reporting is 'coming up'. The gesture thus not only projects lexical information but also foreshadows the type of linguistic activity in which the speaker is about to engage in when the present one comes to an end. The gesture is a pivot between two subsequent types of linguistic action, indicating to the listener that, while the one for which attention had been requested ('interpretation') is no longer available (and no longer relevant), a different one is 'in the making'; continued listener-alignment is requested and will be rewarded.

The sentence into which the gesture then enters (at line 6) is the first in a series of two descriptions (of objects for which no ready-made lexical category appears to be available).

```
            scraps
            _____|_____::::::::::::::::___

            _____,,,....~~~~~~~~~~~,,..
6 A .hhhhh Hatten se so:::- (--) Fetzen?
  B  _____


       ____|
            |
7 A V̲o̲n::- (--) F̲o̲:tos?
  B  _____


(6 A They had (--) these scraps?
 7    Of (--) photographs?)
```

When the speaker offers this first description, supplying it in two separated chunks of talk, she moves her gaze to the gesture

(while saying <u>so</u>), and freezes the motion of the hand. Gesticulation and speech are thereby recoordinated. From now on, during the second description, the hand-movements are performed simultaneously to the linguistic components to which they attach.


```
     _____ size _____¦¦_____ cut-up _____¦
   ¦                                             ¦
   ¦
_____,,,...~~~~~~
8 A Also vergrößerte (---) zerschnippelte Fo:tos?
  B _____


   ¦_ width __¦¦_____ height _____

   ~~~~~~~~~~~,,.._____
9 A So in diesem Forma:t? .hh (----------)
  B _____,,..~~~~~~~,,.._____
```


(8 A Well, blown up, cut-up photographs?
 9   Like about this size?)

There has been an extensive discussion about the placement of gesture relative to talk (Creider 1978; Dittmann 1972; McNeill 1979; Kendon 1980; Schegloff 1984). While it has been observed that movement peaks commonly occur with stressed syllables – accents marking cores of "idea units", as McNeill (1979) suggests – many gestures, e.g. iconic ones, frequently *precede* their affiliated units of talk.[12]

In this fragment we have observed a shift from pre-positioning to concurrent placement of gesture. By shifting the type of place- ment, the speaker also brings about a change in the task that the continuing motion pattern achieves: at line (5), the gesture invites the listener to *disattend* the talk of the moment – making it irrelevant by proposing a shift in focus; at line (8)

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[12]While McNeill (1979), among others, has given this type of placement a psycholinguistic explanation - attributing it to different cognitive demands upon manual and linguistic coding -, Schegloff (1984) has suggested that through this placement of gesture, a "projection space" for upcoming talk is achieved.

the gesture becomes part of a single, coherent, focused repre-
sentation.

This change of placement-*type* can be accounted for in terms of
the organization of repair[13]. While the pre-positioned segment of
the gesture-phrase (at lines 6 and 7) foreshadows and accompanies
a description, the concurrently placed segments (at lines 8 and
9) are produced along with a reapir action performed upon that
description. One set of descriptors (<u>Fetzen von Fotos</u>, 'scraps of
photographs'), is replaced by another (<u>vergrößerte, zerschnip-
pelte Fotos</u>, 'blown-up, cut-up photographs'), the conjunction
<u>also</u> ('that is') linking the description and the repair. Concur-
rently placing gesture while a new unit of talk is produced to
achieve a 'better description' may thus be a placement-type
designed to the tasks of repair.[14]

In all of these fragments an interaction framework has been
observed through which gesture is established as a significant
communicative event. The framework is established by the
speaker's 'pointing' - and thus orienting the listener - to the
moment's manual activity. The speaker not only initiates a
movement, but visible attends to it, while she also aligns her
talk to the motion. The listener, by overtly adopting the
speaker's orientation, can indicate to her that she is
understanding the talk within an appropriate frame.

Within a framework for significance, gestures can be significant
in a variety of ways.[15] In the following sections the framework's
operation in two distinct usages of gesture is examined, in a
'manual narrative' and in 'meta-pragmatic usage'.

3. Achieving a 'Manual Narrative'

The following instances are from a conversation between two
Japanese speakers. The part from which they are taken - a series
of remembrances of car-accidents - is a 3:45 min. chain of
'manual discourse' by the two speakers. Gesticulation here

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[13]See Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks 1977.
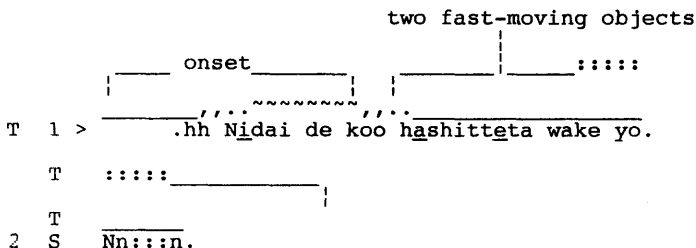[14]I thank Conny Müller and Karin Seidel for bringing this to my
attention.

[15]Uses of gesture are discussed in Kendon (1985).

reaches a high degree of iconic explicitness[16]. Once the topic is recognized, chains of events can easily be detected from the movement of hands: cars sliding and spinning around, heads bumping (and still showing scars).

But while, after the fact, the chain of movements, flowing into one another, appears to represent a single coherent story line, the relevance of gestures to the moment's talk is established unit by unit by the parties. The pattern through which this is done is evident in fragment (5). (Analysis focuses upon speaker's actions. :::: indicates 'freeze'.)

(5)   JPN 3/12:54

                          two fast-moving objects
                                      |
              _____ onset_____ |_____|_____ :::::
            | | | |
            |_____,,.. ~~~~~~~~~,,.._____
T   1 >   .hh Nidai de koo hashitteta wake yo.

    T   :::::_____
                          |
                          |
    T   _____
2   S   Nn:::n.

(1 T   And so we- go in two cars.
 2 S   Mhm.)

At line (1) speaker withdraws gaze from the listener as she begins a new segment of speech; when her gaze arrives at her hands, she changes the direction of their movement. At the juncture she includes koo in her utterance. Koo is a phoric unit similar to German so[17], orienting the listener to sense made by things other than talk. Then she carries out the gesture, in a swift forward motion, at the same time returning gaze to her

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[16]A test has shown that the topic of this conversation is easily decoded from the gestures; four out of five students in a sample of 80 correctly identified what the talk was about.

[17]Satomi Ogawa's German translation is 'so'.

listener. The sense here made by the gesture is 'speed' and 'parallel movement', things not yet to be gleaned from the talk.[18] The speaker freezes the motion near the completion of her turn and holds her hands in their exposed position as long as the listener produces a response (at line 2). She then returns them halfway to their rest-position.

In fragment (6) the unit <u>hora</u> ('look'), built into the turn while the speaker's gaze is focused upon the hands, is an explicit instruction to the listener to also shift the focus of her attention. The gesture involved is a segment of an extended "gesture phrase" (Kendon 1980) and begins from a "cocked position" (Schegloff 1984). (> < indicates a shift in the direction of movement.)

(6)   JPN 3/14:02

```
                        pendulum
                           |
    __:::::::::____|____><__
    ,,..~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~ ..
1  T > Michi no hora koo- ne?


   T   ___
2  S   Nnn.
                        pendulum
                           |
    ____><_____><__><___><_____><_____
                                             |
T  3 > Hito ga ne- (.) koo toottari suru yoona toko, ato hora
```

(1 T On the road, look, like this.
 2 S Hm.
 3 T The people and- like where people walk along, the place, look...)

_____

[18]Two turn-units later the speaker recycles the description, at the same time giving a second gestural display of the race.

The movement here emerges from a frozen 'sculpture' arrived at near the completion of the previous motion-unit. After bringing her right hand in a position before her trunk where it can hang down and be seen, the speaker performs pendulum movements depicting 'people walking along'. Talk and bodily action are joined in a single representational activity.

The single-focus activity, then, is achieved in two steps. First, a framework of attention is established, and then the representational action is carried out. (On other occasions both tasks are achieved by a single compound move.) This pattern of body motion and speech is assembled again and again throughout this talk about car accidents, establishing the significance of gesture "case by case"[19].

4. A Meta-Pragmatic Use of Gesture

We have seen that a gesture achieves its function partly by virtue of where in the talk it is placed. So far, we have only examined instances of iconic gestures, gestures providing images of entities and properties in the objective world. In the following example, the speaker's body-motion provides images for *talk* . Initially it is pre-positioned; subsequent units are enacted concurrently with affiliated units of talk.

The episode is taken from a conversation between three elderly Ilokano women gossiping in front of their house in a village of Northern Luzon. The main speaker (C) reports from a wedding where she was a sponsor. She presently reports (and quotes) how she scolded the bride - for ridiculing her husband in front of the guests.

The gesture in this fragment is a compound enactment which we provisionally labeled *counting* . 'Counting' combines an open-palm facing the speaker - the "base movement" - and acts of pointing

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[19]See Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974 for a discussion of organizations operating on a case by case basis.

to the palm or of grasping single fingers of the extended hand.[20]
The unit, enacted for the first time at lines (9)/(10), is then
repeated four times (at lines 11, 12 - 13, 15, and 16.) Only the
first three cycles will be examined. (o indicates the approximate
movement peak of a point.)

(7)   ILO 11/08:37

```
3  C   HaanKA aguy-uya::w. (.)
4      Ta isu ti nakaikama:ngam.
5      Isu ti nakaikawaam.
       (.)
6  B   Mhm. Mhm.
7  C   Haanka aguy-uyaw, anako.
                        |
                        |
8  B                    Ti a:-

9  B   Apay uy-uyawenna ket isu ti kinayatna.
              |
10 C          Agla:lo sa-
   C   _____,,'··· ~~~~~~~~~~~~~~,,'··_____
              |_____|
                          |
                          |
                      counting


                  counting
                     |
         _____o___|_____
         |                 |
         |   ~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~
         ,,,'···
11  C    m.hhh Aglalo, apok, kunak.


   (3 C Don't you put him down.
    4   For he's the one you're already related to.
    5   He's the one you already got used to.
        (.)
    6   Don't you put him down, my child.
                               |
    8 B                    The (a-)
    9 B Why does she put him down if he's the one she wanted.
                            |
   10 C              Especially (sa?)-
   11 C Especially, my child, I say.)
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[20]The enactment is a highly emblematic one among speakers of
Ilokano; individually or jointly its components work in a
variety of ways in Ilokano conversation; Hartge & Streeck
1988.

Gesticulation is initiated (at line 10) when the speaker begins to move, in a succession of steps, from replaying the conversation to listing the guests who were there when the bride ridiculed her spouse (see below). The listing may or may not be part of the reported speech. At the beginning of her utterance the speaker lifts one hand, focuses her eyes on it, moves the trunk in a forward-shift, and points to the palm.[21]

The first and second units are produced with the word aqlalo ('especially', at lines 10 and 11) - which alerts to the heightened salience of a subsequent unit of talk. Again the gesture is not semantically affiliated with the ongoing utterance; it projects a list which the speaker is going to produce (at lines 12 and 13, see below). While she says 'especially' (lines 10 and 11), the speaker's hands thus display the structure of the talk that she will begin if she gets the turn. This is pragmatic, rather than semantic, affiliation.
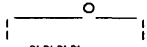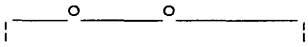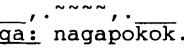
Note that the first unit of 'counting' is enacted along with an interruption. C interrupts B who has just begun to show her appreciation of the last part of the story ('what's she putting him down and he's the one she picked'). By interrupting C - and by interrupting her in this fashion - C makes it known that there is more to it - aggravating circumstances, more than one.

C moves out and withdraws her hand while B talks her sentence to its end.

While she herself is still talking, then, B already can gain some sense of what the talk will be like that is waiting to be attended by her, once she completes her turn. The gross posture-shift - and the stereotyped shape of the motion - enable her to recognize the 'Gestalt' although she is not looking at C.

B deals with the proposed new participation framework in two successive steps. Near the completion of her utterance, she shifts her gaze to C (at line 9), relinquishing the speaker-role. Then (at line 11), when C begins the second enactment, she focuses it upon her hands. (^ indicates middle-distance look.)

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[21]Here gaze-direction features as part of the overall enactment 'counting': focus upon the hands is recurrently sustained throughout a unit (see lines 11-13).

```
     >   ^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^.....  _____
9  B    Apay uy-uyawenna ket isu ti kinayatna.
10 C            Agla:lo sa-
             |_____|
                         |
                     counting


    B >   ,,....~~~~~~~,,..---------
11 C    m.hhh Aglalo, apok, kunak.
    C       |_____|
                    |
                counting
```

The listener thus ratifies the new framework of attention.

The speaker (C) then procedes to produce the first list.


```
          |_____O_____O_____
          |
          ~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~
12 C    Ni: ak- ni::: baket Itang, kumarek.


        _____O_____|
                               |
        ~~~~~~~~,,,....._____
13 C    Apo, 'dda pay da Loli::ta.

    C   ___
14 B    Wen.
```


(12 C The (ak-) the: old Itang, my co-sponsor.
 13   Lord, even Lolita and folks were there.
 14 B Yes.)

The enactment 'counting' here displays the listing of
individuals . Another item - <u>Rodrigo</u> (line 15, below) - is then
added to the list along with another enactment of 'counting', and
subsequently kinship-terms are listed defining Rodrigo's relation
to the speaker.

This list is constructed in much the same fashion as the one at
lines (12) and (13).

```
        ┌──────o───┐
        │          │
        ┌ ┐,,·· ~~~~ ,,··┌────┐
15  C   Ni Rodri:go:. (---)
    B   ,,·~~~~,,··--------


        ┌─────o───────o──────────┐
        │                        │
        __,,··~~~~~~,,··────────────┐
16  C   Kaanakak, anak ti kasinsinko.
    B   _____,,···~~~~~~~,,··__


        ___,·~~~~,·___
17  C   Nga: nagapokok.
    B   _____
```

Rodrigo is the speaker's <u>kaanakak</u> ('nephew', 'associated with her child'), <u>anak ti kasinsinko</u> ('child of her cousin'), <u>nga nagapokok</u> ('who is her grandchild').

By constructing these lists, the speaker adds further components to a complaint about the bride, at the same time designing the complaint for the audience. By choosing <u>kumare</u> - 'co-sponsor' (at line 12) - as a category to identify one of the witnesses (and thereby herself), she also offers her listener a basis for building a more involved response than the one she has previously given, which had only been a somewhat formal modification of the speaker's talk ('why does she put him down if he's the one she wanted', at line 9). The listener in her subsequent talk also self-identifies as a <u>kumare,</u> and reveals her view of what has happened. The talk during which the gestures are initiated and performed is thus produced in the pursuit of more involved interaction.

In this episode, compound units of gesticulation, comprising a posture shift, hand-movement, and gaze-direction, are affiliated with successive units of linguistic *activity* . The first enactment of the unit - and the first recycle - occur prior to the action, along with the pivot-word <u>aglalo</u>, 'especially'. While the word - and the posture-shift - solicit attention, the speaker's hands show pragmatic features of the talk for which it is solicited.[22]

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[22]On other occasions only components of the unit are enacted, e.g. the 'look into the open palm' which gives an image for 'reading'. It is frequently linked to beginnings of new story-segments; see Hartge & Streeck 1988.

5. Conclusion

In this paper a distinction has been made between significant and insignificant body-behavior. A distinction between insignificant and significant gestures was originally proposed by G.H.Mead (1934) who suggested that gestures become significant when the organism becomes conscious of, i.e. recognizes, them[23]. Gestures are external representations, accessible to self and other, affording self and other opportunities to reflect themselves and each other. They involve more than - and may not primarily serve - the expression of individual intent. From this perspective it seems worthwhile to examine in close observational detail how in sequences of interaction the gestural mode is employed in a structured fashion by the parties - rather than attributing the meaning of gesture-units to the speaker's putative mental events (a procedure followed by many lay and professional analysts).

The analysis has presented parts of an interactional mechanism by which speaker and listener in conversation make gesticulation significant to their talk, and thereby distinguish it from insignificant body movement. The mechanism involves a shift in the attentional frame of the interaction, e.g. from 'talk only' to 'movement and talk'. The shift is proposed by the speaker and can be ratified by the listener. It is an organized transition between two modes of symbolic representation. While the transition can be achieved in a succession of steps (a shift is proposed and the gesture is then carried out with a new unit of talk), a gesture's significance can also be established by a single compound action, one component being the gesture, other components alerting to it.

Within a framework for significance, a gesture can be significant to the talk in a variety of ways, depending in part upon where in the talk it is placed. Many of these uses are still largely unexplored.

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[23]According to Mead (1934: 79) "the interpetation of gestures is not, basically, a process going on in a mind as such, or one necessarily involving a mind; it is an external, overt, physical, or physiological process going on in the actual field of social experience."

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