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CHAPTER EIGHT

REFERENCE AS AN INTERACTIVELY AND MULTIMODALLY ACCOMPLISHED PRACTICE. ORGANIZING SPATIAL REORIENTATION IN GUIDED TOURS

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1. Introduction

The notion of "space" has been of central importance to linguists from the very first days of the discipline. Indeed, in the mid 19th century, philologists developed an early interest in those language units that are commonly and conventionally said to refer to portions of space, namely place-names (or toponyms). These language units were studied in the same period by geographers, who believed to be able to reconstruct the original shape of a place by decomposing the toponym used to designate it. Ever since, both geography and philology (and later linguistics) have developed their interest on the relationship that ties language to the spatial dimension, leading to diverse conceptualizations of the notion of "space", as well as of the language units that are commonly understood to bear some sort of reference to space.

1.1. Geography

In the 19th century most geographers would conceive space as an entity with "given" topographic properties. A century later, with the rise of human geography, this view of the space as a "container", as some kind of empty receptacle in which life takes place has been challenged by more constructivist conceptualizations of space. Tuan 1977: 54 distinguishes for instance between *space* and *place*: "Enclosed and humanized space is place. Compared to space, place is a center of established values". *Space* is thus treated as an entity that can be described independently from human presence, while *place* results from human action and social interaction. This dichotomized viewpoint opposes a conceptualization of space as a "container" that may be populated by objects and actions (Casey 1997) and a constructivist definition of space, as achieved through human actions. Space is thus seen as a product of society (Lefebvre 1974). Human and cultural geographers (and certainly also others among the numerous approaches to

geography) are thus concerned with analyzing social actions that are understood to give sense to a place. Indeed, places are organized through the actions that people accomplish there: cities are structured for instance by places for working, for shopping, for dwelling etc. Human actiivities are described here from a macroscopic perspective, usually disregarding the observable fact that human action is achieved moment by moment. The accomplishment of human action on a micro level and its relationship to space will be one main topic of this paper.

1.2. Linguistics

Linguists have taken into account the spatial dimension in several ways. The "space as container" view is central in dialectology, where geographical areas are described with regard to the language varieties or dialects they "host".[1] Most of the linguistic work on spatial reference is also indebted to the "container" view of space. Typically, the problem that is addressed analyzes the language units that speakers use to refer to an object located in a given space. Jespersen (1922) provides an early description of what he terms *shifters,* i.e. those language units "whose meaning differs according to the situation" (p. 123), such as personal pronouns. However, it is Bühler's (1934) seminal work that provides the foundation for the analysis of those elements of language that speakers use to refer to an object present in the communicative situation and that are commonly called *deictics*. His notion of spatial deixis relies on the definition of an deictic centre – the *origo* – determined by three anchor points that appear in Bühler's work as *ich* ('I'), *hier* ('here') and *jetzt* ('now').[2]

Adopting a comparative approach, linguistic typology is concerned with the collection and description of referential language units. Cognitively oriented scholars aim to link referential expressions to cognitive aspects of space perception and representation (see Talmy 2000). Levinson (2003) identifies for instance three different "frames of reference" for spatial description. The *intrinsic* frame of reference is centred on the object that is being located and that may have a "front", a "back, a "head" side etc. In a *relative* frame of reference the referential language units are related to the observer: from the observer's point of view, an object may be located on his or her right side, in front, above, behind him or her etc. Finally, the *absolute* frame of reference uses "objective" referential expressions, related for instance to the cardinal points ("to the north" etc.).

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[1] However, current tendencies in dialectology seek to overcome the "container" view of space by taking into consideration people's movements (e.g. commuting employees), which are considered to be actions that structure space and that are consequential for the diffusion of language varieties (see Britain in press).

[2] For decades Bühler's work received only poor attention in the English-speaking world, where Lyons's (1997) and Fillmore's (1975) studies have been influential.

The main interest of these studies consists in the analysis of the way in which languages encode spatiality. The focus lies thus on the description of the language system and referentiality is understood as emanating from particular linguistic (grammatical) forms, such as pronouns, prepositions etc. However, if it is true that space can be considered not only as a "container" but also as a product of human action, then a more action-centred, or praxeological perspective on reference is needed. As far as spatial deixis is concerned, anthropological approaches have proven that the understanding of the social organization of language communities is central to the description of deixis. Working on Maya communities (Yucatec), Hanks (1990) has shown that it is necessary to study deixis not only as a *language* feature, but as a referential *practice*.

But space is also a product of human action in (at least) two other senses. Persons engaging in a face-to-face conversation position their bodies in ways that create a shared space of interaction. The interest in face-to-face interaction has developed in the past century in different disciplines, such as anthropology, social psychology and sociology (see Kendon 1990: 15-49). Within anthropology, the work of Gregory Bateson and Margaret Mead is often described as one of the earliest, film-based studies on the features of face-to-face interaction. Within psychology, the work of Albert Scheflen (1964) has been of central importance for the analysis of body posture during therapy sessions. While this early approach was oriented towards documenting and analyzing human behaviour on the basis of filmed material, Erving Goffman's sociological approach offers a multitude of descriptions of various kinds of interactions involving two or more parties. His notion of *focused interaction* is tightly linked to the concept of *face engagement* or *encounter* – defined as "all those instances of two or more participants in a situation joining each other openly in maintaining a single focus of cognitive and visual attention" (Goffman 1963: 89). This definition of an encounter relies on two properties that are commonly acknowledged as being central features of face-to-face interactions, namely the orientation towards a single focus of attention (or *focal event*; Goodwin & Duranti 1992) and the visual dimension of the encounter. The ways in which individuals orient to each other physically with their bodies as well as visually when engaging in a social interaction are described by Kendon (1990), who also introduced the notion of *F-formation* to explain how interacting individuals dispose themselves close to each other, orienting their bodies so as to have easy access to the others' actions (see also Clark's 1973 notion of *canonical encounter*, describing a situation in which participants are facing each other). Among social scientists, interaction is perceived as "inherently dynamic", and it is understood that "each subsequent utterance, and indeed events within a single utterance, change in subtle but profound ways the operative context of the moment" (Goodwin & Duranti 1992: 22). This observation relies incontrovertibly

on a reflexive, i.e. non-unidirectional, view of context that is also largely accepted by linguists. The continuous modification of the relevant context through interactional practices has also been observed with regard to spatial reference. But social interactions are 'dynamic' also in a very strict understanding of the term: individuals move in space as they interact. They may rearrange themselves, adopting less 'canonical' forms of *F-formations* (see Ciolek & Kendon 1980), such as *L-arrangements*, "in which the two participants stand so that the frontal surfaces of their bodies fall on the two arms of an L" (Kendon 1990: 213) or side-by-side arrangements. While Kendon (1990) describes not only how participants maintain or change their bodily arrangements in the course of social interaction, but also how the number of participants may be modified, only a small amount of research has focused on how spatiality is related to the actions that participants are engaged in (see Mondada 2005). In addition, participants may also move through space, thus evolving in a continuously changing environment and organizing their interaction according to a specific temporality that takes into account the fact that the participants are engaged in a complex activity (walking, talking, monitoring the surroundings…) and that is different, for example, from the temporality of telephone conversations. Considerations like these have driven scholars to conceptualize the *interactional space* as a praxeologically and sequentially achieved setting for interaction (Mondada 2009) that is not necessarily realized through a reciprocal orientation of the individuals' bodies, as the notion of *face-to-face encounter* seems to assume. If it is true "that there is a systematic relationship between spatial arrangement and mode of interaction" (Kendon 1990: 251), then the observation of the bodily (re)arrangements of participants who are on the move is the next natural step in the analysis of human interaction.

The understanding of space and spatial descriptions as a praxeological achievement has been developed particularly within the abundant research on spatial orientation in general and on route descriptions in particular. The topic has been investigated from a cognitive viewpoint in relation with the memorization of spatial descriptions (see Klein 1982; Levelt 1982), as well as from a more interactionally oriented perspective (Klein 1979, Wunderlich & Reinelt 1982, Psathas 1986, De Stefani & Mondada 2007), that has also taken into consideration the use of artefacts, such as geographical maps (see Psathas 1979) occurring during route descriptions.

2. Reorienting in space

In this paper we will focus on the ways in which participants engaged in a touristic guided tour accomplish the transition from a *current* to a *subsequent* focus of

attention.[3] Similar questionings have been analyzed with regard to interaction taking place in museums and art exhibits (Hindmarsh & Heath 2000, vom Lehn, Hindmarsh & Heath 2001, Heath & vom Lehn 2004). In guided tours, such transitions can be achieved through spatial movement, typically when a group of tourists resumes walking after having adopted a stationary position (4.). It may also be achieved through a locally organized reorientation of the participants, whereby they reorient their bodies towards a new focus of attention without actually leaving the current location (5.). In either case, the transition from one focus of attention to the other is recurrently organized as a succession of specific actions. Firstly, we may ask ourselves how the participants organize the closing of the guide's explanatory activity[4] and thus how they collectively reorient their attention to another place or object of interest. Secondly, this transition (collective walk, repositioning of the bodies) is typically characterized by the absence of a single focal event and by the emergence of simultaneous and shifting interactional exchanges between the participants. Thirdly, at a certain point, participants have to achieve again a joint focus of attention, e.g. by adopting a stationary position. In this paper's analytic section we will be concerned only with the first step. Therefore, the excerpts that we will analyze begin with the last explanatory words the tour guide addresses to the tourists just before the transition to a new object of interest occurs.

Our analysis is based on a corpus of videotaped guided tours through the city of Naples. The excerpts analyzed here are all taken from the same tour, which lasted about 2,5 hours and where the tour director (Nina) guided a group of 7 visitors (most of which living in the Neapolitan area) through a castle located in the Gulf of Naples and a nearby quarter of the city.

3. Moving on as a group

Guided tours may be regarded as a kind of interaction in which, to a certain extent, the participants have unequal rights and obligations. Indeed, the tour guide is in

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[3] The present study is part of a larger project, entitled "La costituzione dello spazio nell'interazione. Un approccio conversazionale allo studio dei toponimi e delle descrizioni spaziali" and funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation (project no. PP001-119138) for a duration of four years (2008-2012). The project is directed by the author of this paper and profits currently from the collaboration of two team members, Anne-Danièle Gazin and Anna Claudia Ticca (Berne University). During the first year of the project, valuable work has also been accomplished by Roberta Iacoletti.

[4] For each excerpt analyzed here, we take as a starting point the guide's "explanation sequence" during which supposedly all the participants are oriented towards a single *focal event*. Spatial reorientation occurs overwhelmingly at the end of such explanation sequences.

general entitled to decide which places of interest are to be visited, how much he or she is going to say about them and thus to define the appropriate moment for walking on. As the first excerpt shows, tour guides employ specific verbal resources to initiate a collective movement in space: the group of tourists is positioned at the entry to a quarter of the city of Naples that they are about to visit. The tour guide is just giving some information about this particular quarter and about a church located nearby:

```
1) 9222vgadVP2 29:13-29:45
 1 NINA    ((...))è di stile tipicamente barocco e roccocò\ .
                 is of typical baroque and rococo style
 2         'h quindi m::: 'h diciamo principalmente^è una
              so           let's say it is mainly a
 3         chiesa del settecento\ . oc↑chei
           church of the eighteenth century . ok
 4         (0.2)
 5         'h adess°o° . [andia°mo°\
              now     .  we go
 6 CARL                 [xxxx
 7         (0.8)
 8 NINA    dimmi [tutto\      ]
           tell me everything
 9 CARL          [(purtroppo)] ve saluto che devo ʃcap[pà
           unfortunately i say goodbye because i have to leave
10 NINA                                               [AAH:::
```

The excerpt reproduces the end of an extended explanation sequence that began about six minutes earlier and during which the guide gave a general description of the quarter about to be visited (l. 1-3). The end of Nina's explanation is made recognizable through a series of verbal resources: a) the downward intonation on "settecento\" (l. 3) as well as the following micropause mark the end of a TCU (or turn-constructional unit, see Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974: 702-703); b) the subsequent "oc↑chei" (l. 3), pronounced with a rising intonation might have occasioned response tokens by the participants, as documented in other cases. In this excerpt, however, a short pause emerges at l. 4. Yet, "oc↑chei" accomplishes here also another relevant task, as it marks the transition from a current action to a subsequent action.[5] More generally, tokens like *okay* are frequently used to mark

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[5] Conversation analytic research has documented this use of English *okay* already in early works. Indeed, in her study on service encounters, Merritt 1976 : 159 notes that "the 'O.K.' can be seen to be doing some kind of 'bridging' between the verbal and the non-verbal. It anchors the non-verbal action in what has already gone on verbally, at the same time as it provides an expectation of something to follow".

action transition, which is why we have recently proposed to speak of *action markers* (De Stefani in press a) for language units used in this specific way; c) at l. 5 Nina formulates a description of the upcoming collective action, in which she uses two language units deictically, involving temporal ("adess°o°") as well as spatial deixis, through the verb form "andiam°o°\", corresponding to the first person plural in present tense.

On the basis of this first version of the transcript, we can note that at least one participant identifies at this specific moment a sequential position in which it is possible to self-select. Indeed, at l. 6 Carl overlaps Nina, who subsequently reorients her attention to this particular participant (l. 8). As shows l. 9, Carl chooses this moment to announce that he will no longer be able to follow the guided tour. In other words, through his self-selection at this very moment the participant exhibits his understanding that the previous explanation sequence has now come to an end. But while the verbal resources are of fundamental importance for the organization of actions, the transition from stationary to mobile configurations is also achieved by co-occurring multimodal practices. We will thus propose a second version of the transcript, in which we included those multimodal actions (uses of gaze, gesturing and body movements) that appear to be relevant for the phenomenon we analyze here:

```
1a) 9222vgadVP2 29:13-29:45
 1 NINA    ((...))è (di) stile tipicamente barocco e roccocò .
 2         'h quindi m::: 'h diciamo principalmente^è una
 3         chiesa del settecento\• . o#c↑chei
   still                        •1
   NINA                              #1 step back right-->
 4         (0.2)•
              •2
 5 NINA    'h  ad*ess°o°#•  . *[an•dia•°mo°\#
   still               •3        •4  •5
   NINA            -->#1 step left--------#~~~
   NINA          *............*mov gesture--*
   NINA              +withdraws gaze from group~~~
   GROUP             #starts following---#~~~
   CAMERA            #starts following---#~~~
 6 CARL                       [xxx
 7         (0.4)•(0.4)
   still         •6
```

The multimodal transcription helps us understanding how language is embedded in a complex framework of embodied actions. We can see, for instance, that while Nina produces the action marker "oc↑chei" she makes a step backwards with her right foot (l. 3, fig. 1 and 2) towards the direction in which she will walk in a few

seconds, foreshadowing thus an imminent spatial movement.

| Fig. 1a-1 | Fig. 1a-2 |

Moreover, Nina's turn at line five is accompanied by an important number of multimodal actions, for instance, at the end of the word "adess°o°" (l. 5) she has achieved her first step back and commences immediately a second step. This succession of two steps exhibits Nina's incipient engagement in a mobile action (whereas one single step could be seen as a mere stationary repositioning). In addition, Nina performs what could be termed a "movement gesture" with both her hands, of which the reader can get an impression by comparing fig. 3-4. Nina's gesture is neatly fitted to her ongoing turn and allows her not only to embody the upcoming collective movement on a gestural level, but also to exhibit the direction in which the group will be heading. Finally, but not less importantly, Nina reorients her gaze, ceasing to look in the direction of the other participants (fig. 4). The withdrawal of the gaze is of central importance, as it makes the momentary dissolution of a specific kind of face-to-face interaction visible (see Goodwin 1981). In other words, by withdrawing her gaze Nina displays that she is momentarily suspending the state of focused interaction (Goffman 1963).

Nina's turn at l. 5 is visibly understood as an invitation to move on: indeed the transcript shows that the participants start to move as Nina deploys the utmost of multimodal resources (i.e. speaking turn, bodily repositioning, "movement gesture", and gaze withdrawal). This complex activity is accountable in the same way for the cameraman, who starts to move forward, as can be seen by comparing fig. 3-6. Indeed, the last video still shows that the camera is now positioned closer to the group than before.

Fig. 1a-3

Fig. 1a-4

Fig. 1a-5

Fig. 1a-6
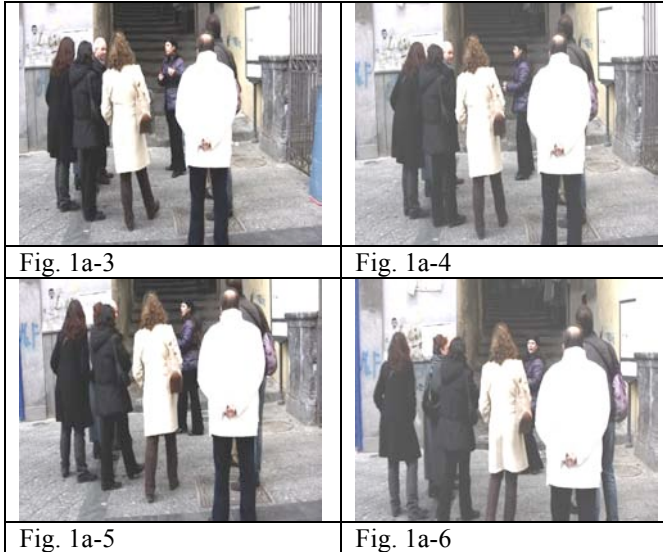
The analysis of excerpt one has shown that spatial transitions are locally achieved through multimodal practices. However, spatial transitions may not occur at any moment during a guided tour. As we have seen, they emerge when a previous "explanation sequence" is treated as complete and, reflexively, they contribute to exhibit it as complete. Evidence for this is also provided by the observation that the tour guide may combine temporal expressions such as "adesso" ('now') with verbs of movement in previous moments of her "explanation sequence" without it being understood as an invitation to proceed. Indeed, as can be seen in excerpt 2, while approaching the entry to this particular quarter of Naples, Nina already says "adesso (0.5) saliamo\" ('now we go up'; l. 2):

```
2) 9222vgadA11 99:31-100:03
 1        (19.3)
 2 NINA   allora (2.9) dunque (0.4) adesso (0.5) saliamo\
          ok           so            now         we go up
 3        (1.0) 'h per: il pallonetto di santa lucia\ (0.3)
                      through the pallonnetto of santa lucia
 4 NINA   e ə:h vi invito proprio ad osservare/ . 'h ciò che
          and   i invite you exactly to observe .    what
 5        vedremo\ ((...))
          we will see
```

What is reproduced here is the very beginning of the "explanation sequence", as the participants reach a new place of interest. Nina starts off by producing two action markers ("allora", "dunque", l. 2) that again exhibit the transition to a next action, namely from a mobile configuration to a stationary positioning of the participants. For the sake of brevity, we have not reproduced stills of the video footage, but the lengthy pauses at l. 2 and 3 hint at an intense multimodal activity: indeed, the participants are about to adopt stationary positions while orienting themselves towards Nina. The following units ("adesso (0.5) saliamo") equally contribute to the participants' reorientation towards a common focus of attention. It appears thus that the language resources that Nina employs at the beginning of her "explanation sequence" are strikingly similar to the ones that she uses at the end of it (ex. 1, l. 5). However, the sequential positions in which the two occurrences emerge and the different ways of embodying them account for the fact that in ex. 1 the participants resume walking while in ex. 2 they come to a collective standstill.

Nina uses the words "adesso saliamo" again about three minutes after the beginning of the explanation sequence, as the following excerpt shows:

```
3) 9222vgadVP2 26:03-26:23
 1 NINA    ((...)) 'h quindi avre:mo su questo lato da una
                   so we will have on this side on the one
 2          parte i pescatori e da una parte i ə::hm diciamo i
            side the fishermen and on the other side let's say
 3          servi ''h •*ades*so sa↓li*amo• per questa
            the servants now we go up thorugh this
   still                 •1                  •2
   NINA                  *....*mov gest*pointing gesture---->
 4          stradina• 'h e noterete proprio come* 'h ə:h
            tiny street   and you well note exactly how
   still              •3
                                           -->*
 5          questa >diciamo< (0.8) ə:::h (0.3) questa d- əh
            this   let's say                   this
 6          ripartizione questa dicotomia sociale 'h è proprio
            partition    this   social dichotomy   is really
 7          evidentissima è proprio 'h ə:h chiara\ ((...))
            very evident it is really     clear
```

In the light of this excerpt – where the expression "adesso sa↓liamo" appears at l. 3 – we might ask ourselves, how it is possible that it (or its equivalent "adesso andiamo") is heard as an invitation to immediately proceed in ex. 1, as a resource for coming to a standstill in ex. 2 and as a part of the ongoing explanation sequence in ex. 3. The answer to this question has at least two facets. Firstly, the sequential

framework (Sacks 1992) in which the expression occurs is sensibly different in ex. 3: indeed, it is inserted in Nina's ongoing turn in an unmarked way, while in ex. 1 and 2 we observe that preceding the formulation "adesso saliamo/andiamo" Nina produces action markers ("occhei", ex. 1; "allora", "dunque", ex. 2) that are followed by micropauses. In both excerpts pauses occur also in between the two components of the expression as well as after the movement verb. These pauses are of the utmost importance in this perspective: indeed, in ex. 1 the pause after "'h adess°o° . andia°mo°\" makes that contribution recognizable as a completed TCU with the verb form "andia°mo°" used in an intransitive way. By contrast, in ex. 3 the verb form "sa↓liamo" is immediately followed by the preposition "per", which functions as a modifier introducing the path that the group will follow. In other words, in ex. 3 "'h adesso sa↓liamo" is not exhibited, nor treated as a TCU; on the contrary, it is recognizable as a syntactic structure that projects "more to come".[6] Secondly, a comparison of ex. 1 and 3 shows that Nina employs a larger set of multimodal resources in the first case than she does in ex. 3.

| Fig. 3-1 | Fig. 3-2 | Fig. 3-3 |

Looking at figures 1-3 that depict Nina's bodily engagement while she pronounces "adesso sa↓liamo per questa stradina", one can easily observe that the guide mainly uses gestural resources to point towards the direction in which the group will shortly move. The pointing is achieved through a rotation of the upper body, whereas the lower body remains significantly stable, with both legs oriented towards her public ("body torque", Schegloff 1998). As Kendon (1990) has shown, it is precisely through the orientation of the lower body that participants to an interaction exhibit their engagement in a *F-formation*. From this point of view, Nina exhibits her ongoing engagement in a focused interaction with the other participants. This is also visible with regard to the direction of her gaze: unlike what we have observed in ex. 1, in ex. 3 she does not withdraw her gaze from her

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[6] In ex. 2 the formulation "adesso (0.5) saliamo\" is retrospectively recognizable as an incomplete TCU, that is continued by the extension "'h per: il pallonnetto di santa lucia\" after a one second pause (l. 3).

co-participants, but continues to look successively at the members of the group.

3.1. Extended turns

On a verbal level, invitations to proceed may be formulated diversely. While in ex. 1 the expression "adesso andiamo" was designed (and treated) as a single TCU, we observe cases in which similar formulations occur within an ongoing turn, as in ex. 3. However, as excerpt shows 4, such extended turns occur also in actual transition phases:

```
4) 9222vgadVP1 52:52-53:15
 1 NINA    ((...))) 'h la propria tradizione poi . va a
                    its own tradition then . it
 2          collegarsi con le ulteriori fasi\ che è quella
            combines with the further phase which is the one
 3          appunto dell'edificazione vera e propria 'h del
            precisely of the edification proper of the
 4          castello\• .. hm/• +''h *ad•esso . a*ndiamo un
            castle             now       we go a
   stills           •1      •2         •3
   NINA                       +withdraws gaze-->>
   NINA                           *mov gest---*
   NINA                           #walks-->>
 5          po'• più ↑avanti così vi faccio vedere anche
            little bit farther so that i show you also
   stills     •4
 6          cos'altro resta 'h di queste- 'h di questa fase
            what else remains from these    from this
 7          monastica del[l'insediamento\
            monastic phase of the occupation
 8 VOXD                [e il monas°tero° xxx xxx è sempre
                       and the monastery       is still
 9          basiliano
            basilian
10          (0.8)
11 NINA     ə:h n:o\
12 VOXXD    no\
13 NINA     non è basiliano\
            it isn't basilian
```

In the above excerpt we observe the occurrence of certain phenomena that we had already noted in ex. 1a: we can see, for instance, how Nina ends the "explanation sequence" with a clear downward intonation on "castello\", followed by a micropause (l. 4). She produces thus a unit ("hm/"; l. 4) that could be followed by a response token but that also marks the transition from the "explanation sequence"

to the next relevant action. She then formulates the actual transition in an extended turn that starts – as in ex. 1 – with the words "adesso andiamo" (l. 4-7). We may note that the turn contains an account for the upcoming spatial movement ("così vi faccio vedere…"; l. 5-7). The formulation of an account is precisely what distinguishes this turn from other, similar extended turns, as the ones that we have seen in ex. 2 and 3. A further difference is relative to the tense that Nina employs in her ongoing turn: while in ex. 2 and 3 she employed the future tense ("vedremo"; ex. 2, l. 5 / "noterete"; ex. 3, l. 4), in ex. 4 she uses the present tense ("vi faccio vedere"; l. 5), explaining thus the reason for the spatial reorientation.

If we take into consideration the multimodal embedding of Nina's turn, we observe again striking similarities with ex. 1. Indeed, Nina employs an important amount of multimodal resources in close proximity to the production of the word "adesso" (l. 4). While in fig. 1 we see Nina's gestural engagement during the final moment of her "explanation sequence" (where she has focused on specific constructional features of the castle that the group is visiting), fig. 2 shows her body shortly before she produces the word "adesso". Note that her hands have returned to "home position" (Sacks & Schegloff 2002). In fig. 3 and 4 the spatial transition is clearly visible: as indicated in the transcript, Nina uses again some of the resources already observed in ex. 1, such as the withdrawal of the gaze, the "movement gesture" and, of course, the walking movement.

Fig. 4-1	Fig. 4.2
Fig. 4-3	Fig. 4-4
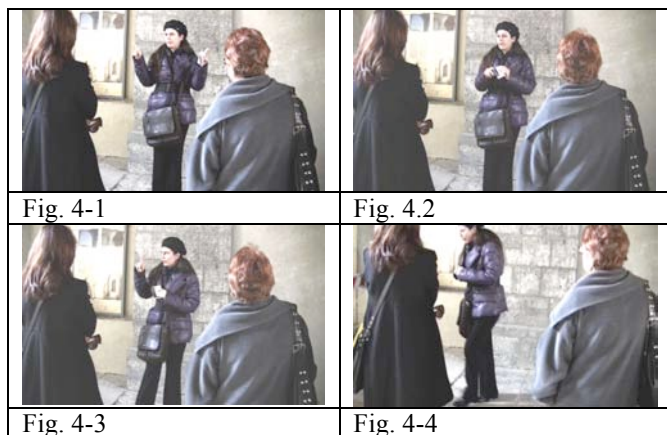
3.2. Formulating successive actions

The excerpts analyzed so far may give the impression that spatial transition phases are merely about organizing a collective movement from one place to another. This is only partly true: indeed, in our corpus we find cases in which the tour guide

formulates a series of "next" actions precisely when spatial reorientation becomes relevant. An occurrence of this practice can be found in ex. 5: the group has entered a church, about which the tour guide has just been giving some historical explanations:

```
5) 9222vgadVP2 46:50-47:13
 1 NINA    ((...)) 'h ma^anche continuamente anno dopo anno 'h
                   but also continuously year after year
 2         vengono dati duecento ducati a queste suore\ 'h
           two hundred ducats are given to these nuns
 3         proprio perché questo miracolo (0.7) 'h in maniera:
           precisely because this miracle          in a
 4         salvifica^aveva trasformato la rivoluzione in:ə 'h
           redeeming way transformed the revolution in
 5         un ən- un'ulteriore vittoria del re\ . 'h quindi .
           a       a further victory of the king .    so   .
 6         in questo senso əh:: diciamo possiamo ricordare
           in this sense       let's say we can remember
 7         questa chiesa\ . *''h >adesso ci faccia*mo *un giro
           this church             now   we make     a tour
   NINA                          +withdraws gaze~~~
   NINA                          *movement gesture-----*___*ppp~~~
                                 #walks-->>
 8         (e) vediamo l'altare< e poi andiamo °via°\
           and we see the altar and then we go away
 9         (0.6)
```

In the above excerpt we can see how Nina develops her "explanation sequence" by providing information about the church that the group is visiting (l. 1-5). The closing of the explanation sequence is achieved by producing a TCU that does not provide any empirical information ("quindi . in questo senso əh:: diciamo possiamo ricordare questa chiesa\"; l. 5-7). On the one hand it makes a very general statement on the "recallability" of the church that exhibits Nina's orientation towards the closing of the explanation sequence,[7] on the other hand it reintroduces the group as an actor – through the use of the first person plural in subject position ("possiamo ricordare"; l. 6). This part of Nina's turn ends with a downward intonation on "chiesa\" (l. 7), followed by a micropause. Nina continues with an audible inbreath and produces a turn component that announces three successive actions, introduced by the temporal adverb "adesso", namely "facciamo un giro" (l. 7), "vediamo l'altare" (l. 8) and "andiamo °via°\" (l. 8). We may start with

---

[7] This observation is consistent with Holt & Drew's 2005 findings according to which moving from the formulation of empirical details to a more general level (through "figurative summaries") is one way of closing down the topic at hand.

observing that the pronunciation of "adesso" is again accompanied by an intense multimodal activity: indeed, Nina retracts her gaze from the participants, performs a "movement gesture" and starts to walk – deploying thereby the same resources that we have observed in the preceding excerpts. From the perspective of turn structure, we may note that the initiation of the spatial transition occurs while Nina produces "'h adesso", very much like in the previous excerpts. The formulation of the projected actions is done through a three items list: the succession of the actions that Nina describes is sensible, among other things, to the setting in which the current interaction takes place. Indeed, she starts with a (spatially) rather vague formulation – by using the Italian formulaic expression "facciamo un giro". We can see here Nina's orientation towards the fact that the group is currently in a closed environment, more precisely in a church: indeed, Nina has started delivering her "explanation sequence" very soon after having entered the church, in the proximity of the main entrance. At this point of the visit, the members of the group have not yet had the time to experience the church through spatial movement. From this point of view, Nina's invitation to "do a tour" exhibits her orientation not only towards the "common" way of visiting a church, but also towards the very moment – within the ongoing interaction – in which she formulates that proposal. The subsequent projected action introduces a specific object, the altar, as a possibly common focus of attention ("vediamo l'altare"; l. 8). It is only in the third position of the list that Nina employs the verb "andiamo" (in the first person plural), that we have observed in the excerpts 1 and 4 right next to the temporal adverb "adesso". In this case, the verb is followed by what could be termed an intensifier ("°via\°"), which is pronounced with a remarkably lower volume. The question that arises is how this detached position of "andiamo °via°" can be accounted for with regard to the previously analyzed excerpts. We may start off by observing that through the detachment from "adesso", the verb "andiamo °via°" is placed in turn final position. This is actually a recurrent position in cases in which the transition phase is formulated as a recognizably delimited TCU (as in ex. 1). But placing "andiamo °via°" at third position is a sensible thing to do also from another viewpoint: indeed, while the first two projected actions are to take place inside the church, the third action is related to the collective leaving of the building. In other words, while the first two actions describe a spatial movement within the same frame of activity – namely visiting a church – the third action orients towards the closing of that activity and to the continuation of the guided tour through the streets of Naples. This transition, from "inside" to "outside", but also from "visiting a church" to "visiting a quarter of Naples" is exhibited precisely also by the use of the intensifier "°via°" (l. 8).[8]

---

[8] Interestingly, Jefferson 1990: 80 observes that three-part lists may accomplish "a three-step movement from one topic to a next". In the excerpt that we have analyzed here, we observe

4. Spatial short-range reorientations

As the last excerpt has shown, in guided tours spatial reorientations may also occur within the same frame of activity. The spatial movement that is yielded by these orientations concerns most frequently smaller distances, and is often limited to repositionings of the participants' bodies or of body parts. However, the organization of the turns that participate in such short-range reorientations appears to be complex, differing significantly from the turns are constructed when participants shift from a stationary *F-formation* to a mobile configuration, as we have observed in the previous section of this paper.

4.1. "*se*"

Let us start again with a basic transcription a phase in which the whole group reorients towards a new focus of attention. Nina is about to explain that the castle the group is visiting has been rebuilt and modified several times in the course of the centuries and that during this process ancient architectural structures have been systematically integrated in posterior reconstructions of the building:

```
6) 9222vgadVP1 38:03-38:34
 1 NINA    ((...)) 'h e quindi molto probabilmente reimpiegano
                    and so   very  probably    they reemploy
 2          numerose strutture di questi:: di questa villa/ ''h
            numerous structures of these   of this   villa
 3          e li trasformano 'h o perlomeno li traspo:rtano 'h
            and they transform them or at least transport them
 4          əh per le strutture che a loro >servono
               for the structures that are useful to them
 5          naturalmente< però le sale per tutto quanto
            naturally     for the rooms and for everything
 6          infatti 'h se voi vi affacciate/ . qu↓i↑: . 'h
            indeed    if you look over     . here .
 7          . al di sotto/ TROverete/ (2.0) °non so se si vede°
            . below      you will find    i don't know if one
                                                       can see
 8          'h ci sono delle colonne .. 'h [eh
               there are columns
 9 ROSA                                    [sì=
                                            yes
10 NINA    =dei ro[cchi di colonne\ ecco questi rocchi di&
```

a similar movement on an action level, from "actions taking place within the church" to "leaving the building".

```
                  column drums        now  these column
11 ROSA           [°sì°
12 NINA   &colonne non sono altro ch↓e↑: 'h i resti della
          drums are nothing else than the remains of the
13        villa di lucullo\ ((...))
          villa of lucullus
```

Up to line 5 the tour guide is engaged in an "explanation sequence" that resembles the ones that we have observed in previous excerpts. Indeed, Nina can be seen to deliver information about the place where the group is currently located. Note that at lines 4 and 5 Nina formulates a list with three entries (all introduced by the preposition "per"), that ends with the *generalized list completer* (Jefferson 1990) "per tutto quanto". This way of structuring her turn-at-hand exhibits her orientation towards the end of her current activity. Indeed, the continuation of the turn shows that she orients towards a more "participative" way of doing a guided tour: line 6 starts with the word "infatti" that is typically employed to confirm what has just been said and to add further information. Moreover, as the present excerpt shows, Nina uses it as an action marker that exhibits the transition from the action of "providing information" to another action, that is yet to be defined at this point. The following turn items formulate the next action: with the words "'h se voi vi affacciate/" Nina invites explicitly the participation of all members of the group, through the use of the second person plural pronoun (which could also be omitted in a pro-drop language such as Italian), and most notably by adopting an *if/then* format in combination with a verb that projects a specific action to be accomplished by her co-participants. While *if/then* structures have been analyzed in the past (see Lerner 1991) as occurrences of compound turns, in which the first part of the turn (*if...*) projects that there is "more to come", we can see here that they can also be used not only to exhibit that the turn-at-hand is to be completed and thereby to display ongoing speakership. In the data analyzed for this paper, "se"-initial TCUs are recurrently used by the tour guide to project a next relevant action of the whole group, and more precisely a reorientation towards a new focal event. Note that the "se"-part of the compound turn (or "preliminary component" according to Lerner 1991) comes to a temporary end with the verb "affacciate/", that is produced with an upward, non-terminal intonation. After a micropause, Nina produces a turn extension consisting in the local deictic "qu↓i↑:" (l. 6), that is again designed with an upward intonation, as well as with a lengthened vowel. A further suspension of the turn (micropause, audible inbreath) is followed by yet another spatial description ("al di sotto/", l. 7), after which Nina initiates the second part of the *if/then* formatted turn with the verb form "TROverete/" (l. 7). The first syllable of the verb is produced with a higher volume: it is precisely this volume shift that makes the preceding spatial descriptions hearable as extensions of the "se"-component of Nina's turn. Note that Nina uses the verb "TROverete/" in the

future tense, exhibiting in that way that the projected collective action has not been completely performed at this point. On the basis of this transcript, we might indeed assume that during the following two second pause (l. 7), the group members reposition themselves around a new focus of attention. As far as the syntactic structuring of Nina's turn is concerned, we may note that the following units are only partially in line with what has been projected. The two second pause (l. 7) is followed by "°non si se si vede°", a "nonfinal turn component" (Lerner 1991: 447) that is marked as an insert not only through the reduction of the speech volume, but also through the use of the third person singular pronoun ("si") as opposed to the previously employed second person plural "voi". At l. 8 Nina formulates the actual continuation of the structure initiated by the verb "TROverete/". Indeed, "'h ci sono delle colonne" could be heard as the second part of the compound turn (*if/then*), ending with a description of the object on which Nina draws the other participants' attention ("delle colonne"). However, Nina has modified significantly the trajectory of her turn on the following levels: she has a) replaced the verb *trovare* 'to find' with the (existential) verb form *esserci* 'to be (there)'; b) switched from future to present tense; c) abandoned the second person plural and adopted an impersonal formulation. We can reasonably assume at this point that this reorientation of the syntactic trajectory does not occur in a haphazard way. As the following multimodal analysis shows, it is indeed contingent with the spatial reorientation that the participants are performing at the same time.

6a) 9222vgadVP1 38:03-38:34
```
 1 NINA     ((...)) 'h e quindi molto probabilmente reimpiegano
 2          numerose strutture di questi:: di questa vil↑la ''h
 3          e li trasformano 'h o perlomeno li traspo:rtano 'h
 4          əh per le strutture che a loro >servono•
                                                    •1
 5          naturalmente< #perə le sale• #per tutto +quanto#•
                                        •2           •3
                                               +......+-->
   NINA                  #step left foot#step right foot #
 6          +infatti 'h se voi #vi affaccia#te/• . qu↓i↑:•+
                                              •4        •5
   NINA     -->+gaze downwards----------------------------+
   NINA                        #step left foot#
 7          . 'h . al di sotto/• #TROvere•te/ #(2.0)• °non so se
   COAT                          #............#walks-->
                               •6        •7        •8
 8          si vede°• 'h #ci sono delle •colonne .. 'h [eh•
   COAT              -->#bends body towards focused area-->>
                       •9                  •10          •11
 9 VOXD                                                 [sì=
10 NINA     =dei ro[cchi di colonne\ ecco questi rocchi di&
```

```
11 VOXD           [°sì°
12 NINA    &colonne non sono altro ch↓e↑: 'h i resti della
13         villa di lucullo\ ((...))
```

Looking at the way Nina uses her body in this excerpt, we notice that she starts to make steps – exhibiting thus a spatial reorientation – towards the end of line 5, as she stops providing information about the current location. In this way she brings her body in a position that will allow her subsequently to embody the direction in which her co-participants are invited to orient their attention. This movement (fig. 1-3) allows Nina to start directing her gaze to her left (fig. 3), towards an area that is located below the floor on which the participants are standing.

| Fig. 6a-1 | Fig. 6a-2 | Fig. 6a-3 |

Subsequently, while producing the first part of the *if/then* structure (l. 6), she exhibits the orientation of her gaze even more explicitly, while at the same time positioning herself closer to the focused area (fig. 4-5). Having structured the relevant space for her ongoing turn in that way, she retracts her body and initiates the second part of the *if/then* structure. Fig. 6 reproduces the positions of the participants' bodies just before the unit "TROverete/" occurs: note that at that moment at least two of them, a young man with a bag and an elderly man in a coat (henceforth named "Coat") next to him, probably do not have a visual access to the projected focus of attention.

| Fig. 6a-4 | Fig. 6a-5 | Fig. 6a-6 |

In fact, Coat will start to move shortly, bringing himself in a position that allows him to have a visual access to the area that Nina is talking about (fig. 7-9). This spatial repositioning is perceived by Nina, who directs her gaze to the man at the very beginning of his spatial reorientation (fig. 7). We can thus see how Nina's turn

structure is sensitive to her monitoring of Coat's incipient spatial movement. Not only does she wait two seconds before continuing her turn – allowing thus Coat to complete his repositioning – but she also relates with her insert ("°non so se si vede°", l. 7-8) to possible problems in gaining visual access to the area she has just presented as relevant for her talk.

| Fig. 6a-7 | Fig. 6a-8 | Fig. 6a-9 |

Moreover, she continues the projected turn only at a point in which Coat's spatial rearrangement is visibly coming to an end (fig. 10-11). At this point, all participants are positioned in a way that (from Nina's point of view) they supposedly have visual access to the area situated below the floor. It is precisely at this moment that Nina uses the existential expression "ci sono" and subsequently introduces the referent "delle colonne", the latter expression being produced only when all co-participants are oriented towards the area where that referent is located (l. 8).

| Fig. 6a-10 | Fig. 6a-11 |

We can thus explain Nina's replacement of the verb "TROverete" by the verb form "ci sono" as an occurrence of self-repair which takes into account the spatial rearrangement of the participants that has occurred in the meantime. The contingent dimension of talk-in-interaction emerges very clearly from this analysis: participants are constantly monitoring the activities of their co-participants and construct their turns in a sequentially, environmentally and praxeologically sensible and sensitive way.

The use of "se"-initial compound TCUs in reorientation sequences occurs with a

certain consistency in our corpus.[9] We add a further excerpt that illustrates how this specific turn format is used as a resource for achieving a collective reorientation. The group is still standing at the same location, and the guided tour has been going on for another 11 minutes as Nina draws the attention of the visitors to an area located at the opposite wall to that where they are currently looking at:

```
7) 9222vgadVP1 49:01-49:27
 1 NINA    'h siamo ad un piano estremamente inferiore 'h
               we are at an extremely inferior plane
 2         rispetto al piano da cui proveniamo . vedete . ''h
               compared to the plane we come from . you see .
 3         ci vojono delle scale . ma le scale sono un:ə
               you need stairs . but the stairs are a
 4         aggiunta moderna\ . ''h perché\ . #poi . *se#
               modern add-on . because .      then .  if
   NINA                                        #step left#
   NINA                                        *......*turn ges*
 5         #vi +girate/ .. guardate/+ (2.4) >vedete< '''h ..
               you turn over .. look      (2.4   you see
   NINA    #walks-->
   NINA        +gaze to floor-------+
 6         •*questo .. è#• il piano# .. di camminamento• . del
   still   •1      •2                               •3
               this  ..  is the walking .. plane . of the
   NINA             -->#stabilization#
   NINA    *pointing gesture-->
   NINA                +.........+gaze to group-->
 7         castello\+
           castle
   NINA          -->+~~~
 8 ???     mhm=
 9 NINA    =hm/* (0.5)*(0.6) *che (0.9) si trova in linea conə
                              that (0.9) is      in line with
   NINA     -->*_____*......*pointing gesture-->
10         il piano di camminamento . hm/*
               the walking plane
   NINA                               -->*
```

The first lines of the excerpt reproduce the explanations that Nina is giving just before the reorientation occurs (l. 1-4). Her observation according to which the stairs are a modern add-on (l. 3-4) is followed by a pause, an inbreath and the formulation of the question word "perché\", produced with a falling intonation (l. 4). While Italian "perché" – just as English "why" – is typically used in interaction as a first pair part, we observe it recurrently also in explanation sequences.[10] In these cases – just as in ex. 7 – it is not used/treated as a unit that projects some sort of completion from another speaker. It rather projects that further information about a statement that has just been made is going to be delivered by the same speaker.[11] Indeed, in ex. 7 the unit "perché\" is followed by a turn continuation by the same speaker, after a micropause (l. 4). However, Nina does not continue by producing the additional information that she has projected by saying "perché\", but initiates a spatial reorientation. She does that by employing similar resources to those that we have observed in ex. 6: Nina produces first the unit "poi" that is preceded and followed by micropauses and that can be seen to function here as an action marker. Subsequently, she formulates a "se"-initial TCU yielding a movement verb ("se vi girate/", l. 4-5).[12] However, the "se" component is not followed by a syntactically dependent *then* component. Instead, Nina produces two perception verbs in the second person plural ("guardate/"; "vedete/") in a turn that contains several lengthy pauses and inbreaths. As the gray transcription lines show, Nina is actually walking from one side of the location to the other while she produces this part of her talk. Arriving in proximity of the object that she is going to focus on, Nina continues her talk with the local deictic "<u>ques</u>to" that she pronounces with a stress on the first syllable (l. 6). Although she does not produce a syntactically depending *then* component, Nina achieves a pragmatically and praxeologically fitted continuation, with the existential expression "<u>ques</u>to è" (l. 6), followed by the name of the object on which she draws her co-participants' attention. Note that the deictic "<u>ques</u>to" occurs at a moment in which the common orientation of the group towards the new focus of attention is not yet fully achieved (fig. 1).

---

[10] Note that in Italian the words *why* and *because* are both expressed by "perché".

[11] Although we have not done a systematic analysis of "perché", we believe the prosodic design of that unit is crucial for its treatment as a first pair part (thus making other-speaker's response relevant; upward intonation) or as a unit projecting more talk to come by the same speaker (downward intonation).

[12] Note that Nina represents the "turning" movement iconically through a circular hand gesture right before pronouncing the word "girate".

| Fig. 7-1 | Fig. 7-2 | Fig. 7-3 |

This observation seems to contradict a widely diffused understanding of deixis, according to which deictic reference is only possible, understandable, etc. when all parties share visual access to the object of reference. The use of "questo" at this specific moment shows that the deictic expression – as well as the co-occurring pointing gesture – is rather used as a resource that allows for the constitution of a shared attention towards an object. The designation of the object "piano .. di camminamento" (l. 6) occurs instead only when the shared focus of attention has been established.

4.2. Verbal and gestural pointing as a resource for reorientation

Formulating an "se"-initiated TCU is of course not the only resource that tour guides may employ to reorient the visitors attention. The last excerpt shows a different way of organizing reorientation, in which gestural and verbal pointing practices play an important role. The extract starts while Nina is still engaged in an explanation sequence:

```
8) 9222vgadVP1 59:04-59:33
 1 NINA    ((...)) 'h quello che r:esta• #invece dell'antica#
                        what    remains insted of the ancient
   stills                                    •1
   NINA                              #left foot back----#
 2         strut#tura *sono  # 'h *la riproduzione della::• 'h
           structure    are        the reproduction of the
   stills                                    •2
   NINA        #ri foot back#
   NINA             *...........*pointing le hand-->
 3         ə:h del tetto che^è appunto a doppio spiovente in
           huh of the roof that is precisely double-pitched in
 4         le#gno/ ''h# abb#iamo j archi •come vi ho
           wood         we have the archs as i have told
   stills                             •3
   NINA     #sidestep ri foot#
   NINA                 #left heel lifted-->
5          det*to a sesto* ac*uto/# 'h e    *poi• questi
```

```
          you as ogives                 and then these
   stills                                      •4
   NINA    -->*_____*   *............*pointing ri hand->
   NINA    -->#step left foot----#
   NINA                       #step ri foot#~~~
 6         affre•schi\
           frescos
   stills        •5
 7         (1.5)•
   stills        •6
 8 NINA    hm/ [''h
 9 ???         [mhm
10         (0.3)
11 NINA    questi affreschi• ə- questa- in questa piccola
           these frescos       this- in this small
   stills                  •7
12         monofora\
           arched window
13         (0.5)•*(0.3)*(0.6)
   stills        •8
   NINA       -->*_____*
14 NINA    qui su di lato\• (0.6) 'h che ə- uno di questi
           here up on the side (0.6) cause oone of these
   stills                  •9
15         appunto è un profeta\ 'h °quindi° è molto probabile
           precisely is a prophet   hence it is very probable
16         che: dovevano esserci 'h ə:h g- >doveva< esserci il
           that there had to be         had to be the
17         messaggio tipico diciamo del:ə 'h delle chiese::
           typical message let's say of the of the churches
18         °m-° di ordine gotico ((...))
           of the gothic order
```

The structuring of Nina's talk at lines 1 and 2 is syntactically recognizable as what has been called a pseudo-cleft construction: as has been amply documented in a recent PhD thesis (Müller 2006) this syntactic configuration is frequently used to organize long turns of talk, so called "big chunks". In the case discussed here, Nina produces a three item list – where the singular items are all introduced by audible inbreaths (l. 2, l. 4, l. 5): the first two items (l. 2-5) refer to features that Nina has just been talking about to her co-participants ("come vi ho appena detto", l. 4-5). In contrast, the item that occupies the last position in the list is presented as a new object, that the participants had not yet talked about so far. The newness of the referent is construed a) through a specific turn organization, b) through a precise sequential structuring and c) by embedding the turn at hand in a multimodally complex course of action. As for turn structure, note that the item "questi

affreschi\" is recognizable very early as the "last" item, even before it is actually produced. Indeed, the words "e poi" (l. 5) project the mention of some "last" item, as they introduce the upcoming unit in a markedly different way with respect to the way the previous referents have been mentioned. Note also that Nina uses the deictic/demonstrative "questi", which does not presuppose but rather elicit the reorientation of the co-participants' gaze directions, as we have already observed in ex. 7. Finally, the turn ends with a downward intonation on "affreschi\" (l. 5) that is exhibited as conclusive. In fact, the sequential structure of what follows contributes to display the "affreschi\" as a new common focus of attention: at l. 7 a 1,5 second pause occurs that not only contrasts with Nina's preceding, continuously extended turn (l. 1-6), but that has also to do with the spatial rearrangement that Nina's co-participants are about to accomplish at that moment. Moreover, at l. 8 Nina formulates an acknowledgement request ("hm/") that is immediately followed by an appropriate second pair part ("mhm"; l. 9). Subsequently, Nina extends her turn by recycling the referential expression "questi affreschi" (l. 11) and goes on adding further information about that specific object (l. 11-18). The analysis of the multimodal practices that the participants accomplish in the course of this excerpt will allow us to show that they are precisely fitted to Nina's verbal productions. Comparing fig. 1-3, we notice that Nina starts very early to orient her body towards the "new" referent that she will introduce shortly: indeed, she does so while talking about the first to units of the list:

| Fig. 8-1 | Fig. 8-2 | Fig. 8-3 |

Just before introducing the third, "new", item of the list, Nina starts performing a pointing gesture (l. 5) that she will maintain during a considerable amount of time (until l. 13). Some of the participants can be seen to actively monitor Nina's movements, as they start to turn their bodies in the direction of Nina's incipient pointing gesture (fig. 4), while others are disattending. However, as soon as Nina pronounces the deictic (or demonstrative) "questi" (l. 5), most of the participants start repositioning their bodies (fig. 5-6). This is perhaps most notable in the case of the lady in the foreground of the video stills. Again, the lengthy pause occurring at l. 7 has to be explained with the intense spatial reorganization in which the participants are currently engaged:

Fig. 8-4	Fig. 8-5	Fig. 8-6

Once the participants display a collective orientation towards the area that Nina is still pointing to, she resumes her turn by recycling the referential expression "questi affreschi" and subsequently locates the referent within another object, for which she uses the technical term "monofora\" (a small arched window). This way of describing the referent "affreschi" makes a further repositioning of the participants relevant: indeed, as the fig. 7-9 show, some of the visitors direct their orientation very clearly to the frescos located on the window's side. Again, this reorientation accounts for the lengthy pause occurring at l. 13 during which Nina withdraws her pointing gesture. Interestingly, Nina produces the following spatial description – which locates the frescos "su di lato\" (l. 14) – only after having retracted the pointing gesture. Nina manifestly treats the situation at hand as reflecting the maximum attention that she can get at this very moment: indeed, she now starts incrementing her turn by providing more empirical information on the frescos (l. 14-18), going thereby over to an explanatory activity.

Fig. 8-7	Fig. 8-8	Fig. 8-9

5. Discussion

The above considerations reveal the advantages of a multimodal approach to the analysis of language in interaction. Multimodal resources, such as gaze, gesturing and the use of the body have proven to participate in a crucial way to the accountability of the tour guide's actions. Moreover, it is through multimodal practices that Nina's co-participants display their understanding of her actions. However, the organization of spatial transition appears also to be sensitive to the way in which the participants treat/interpret the activity at hand. The analyses developed in section 3 (*Moving on as a group*) show that in cases in which the

spatial movements collapse with a transition to a new activity, short TCUs (such as "adesso andiamo") are produced and immediate transition occurs (ex. 1). In these cases the formulation of the spatial movement is recognizable as a single TCU that is typically preceded by action markers and followed by a pause. Contrasting with these occurrences, we have also analyzed excerpts in which spatial reorientation occurs within the same frame of activity, where the "new" focal event is presented by the guide as linked in some way to the previous one (ex. 4, ex. 5): in these cases the TCUs that initiate and accompany the spatial transition may be extended. From a linguistic viewpoint, a possible upshot of these observations concerns the differential treatment of the temporal adverb "adesso" and verbs of movement (in present tense) such as "andiamo" and "saliamo". Indeed, in ex. 1 these elements are employed with a maximal degree of deicticity: "adesso" corresponds to what is generally called "the moment of utterance"[13] (as can be seen by the fact that the group starts moving right away) and "andiamo" relates to the spatial transition that the participants are about to perform. In ex. 2 and 3 "adesso" is manifestly used in a different way: it does not relate to the moment of utterance (or "encoding time" in Fillmore's 1975 terms), but to a projectable and thereby projected upcoming moment. In other words, the difference between "adesso" as used in ex. 1 and the same word used in ex. 2 and 3 is not explainable (as can often be read) by evoking different possible time-spans that temporal adverbs may relate to, rather the form "adesso" in ex. 2 and 3 seems to point to another, yet close, point in time. A similar point can be made about the use of the present tense for the movement verb in ex. 1-3, where "andiamo" or "saliamo" is not always used to refer in the same way to the "present" time of action. Without developing further this problem, which is beyond the scope of this paper,[14] we note that multimodality appears to be of central importance not only for the accomplishment of spatial reorientation but also for the temporal structuring of the interaction, most notably for linking temporal expressions (such as "adesso", but also verb tenses) to the *hic et nunc* of the ongoing interaction.

Section 4 (*Short-range transitions*) has dealt with another kind of spatial reorientation, in which participants do not dissolve a common focus of attention in order to resume walking, but remain within the same frame of activity: indeed, while providing information about the location at hand, Nina has to reorient recurrently her co-participants' attention to visually accessible objects (that thereby become "objects of interest"). She does so by using specific verbal resources that are sensibly different from the ones analyzed in section 3. Indeed, more complex turn configurations are employed, such as compound turns of the *if/then* kind (ex.

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[13] For a criticism of this notion, as well as for an alternative model of temporal structures in language, see Klein 1994.

[14] See Klein 1994, von Stutterheim, Carroll & Klein 2003 for a thorough problematization of time expressions in language

6, 7), but also inserts (ex. 6, 7). Moreover, turn incrementation – after lengthy intra-turn pauses – is clearly more often used in turns that contribute to achieving a short-range reorientation. In these cases, turn increments may consist in self-repairs by which Nina displays her continuous monitoring of her co-participants spatial reorganization (ex. 6). Finally, we have noticed the differential use that Nina makes of deictic resources: while she may use both verbal ("qui", "questo") and gestural spatial deixis to elicit a reorientation of her co-participants bodies, allowing thus for her "perception to be perceived", as Hausendorf 2003 puts it (ex. 6, 7, 8), in other cases, elements like "questo" (ex. 6, l. 10) or "qui" (ex. 8, l. 14) occur when the participants already share a common focus of attention. In these cases they seem to exhibit less "deicticity", but more "anaphoricity". This observation accounts indeed for the possibility, provided by numerous languages, to use spatial deixis as demonstrative pronouns.[15]

The analyses presented here have shown how talk-in-interaction unfolds moment-by-moment, providing opportunities for changes on different levels: explanation sequences may be closed down, the number of participants may change, etc. While these continuous adjustments have largely been investigated, most notably within conversation analysis, modifications affecting the positioning of the participants in the spatial environment have not yet been thoroughly explored. The analysis of mobile configurations and the ways in which language use is sensitive to changes in the spatial environment are thus of central importance for future explorations in human interaction.

Transcription conventions

/ \	rising or falling intonation of the preceding segment
↑ ↓	rising or falling intonation of the next segment (dotted underline)
.	short pause (< 0.2s)
..	medium pause (< 0.4s)
…	long pause (< 0.6s)
(1.5)	timed pause in seconds and tenths of seconds
[ ]	beginning and end of overlap
xxx	inaudible segment
( )	dubious hearing
((cough))	transcriber's comments
< >	start and end of a segment to which a transcriber's comment applies
&	latching
=	contiguous utterances

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[15] See Etelämäki 2009 for an interactional account of Finnish spatial deictics and demonstratives.

video	stress
EXtra	high volume
doMAni	middle-high volume
°opera°	low volome
:	stretching of prior syllable
par-	cut-off
^	liaison
'h	inbreath
h'	outbreath
ˇ	glottal stop
ca^{hh}sa^{hh}	pronounced laughing

+	delimitate a participant's gaze description
*	delimitate a participant's gesture description
#	delimitate a participant's gaze description body movements
....	gaze/gesture/movement preparation
__	gaze/gesture/movement withdrawal
----	gaze/gesture/movement maintained
-->	gaze/gesture/movement continues across subsequent lines
-->>	gaze/gesture/movement continues until after the excerpt's end
•	indicates the segment of talk presented in a screen shot

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