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Multimodal organization of the sequence: embodied practices for introducing new referents

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## introduction

This paper deals with issues related to

- Sequence organization & multimodal resources
- Practices for the introduction of a new referent
- Joint attention
- Participation

Methodological points:

Multimodality and sequence organization / sequential organization

Analysis of collections as a challenge for multimodal descriptions

## Sequentiality

- Sequentiality as a general principle operating at all levels of organization: why that now?
- Sequence organization: adjacency pairs but not only

"Sequential organization" is the more general term. We use it to refer to any kind of organization which concerns the relative positioning of utterances or actions. So turn-taking is a type of sequential organization because it concerns the relative ordering of speakers, of turn-constructional units, and of different types of utterance. Overall structural organization is a type of sequential organization; by reference to its shape, some types of actions/utterances are positioned early in a conversation (e.g., greetings) and others late in conversations (e.g., arrangement-making, farewells).

"Sequence organization" is another type of sequential organization. Its scope is the organization of courses of action enacted through turnsat-talk - coherent, orderly, meaningful successions or "sequences" of actions or "moves." Sequences are the vehicle for getting some activity

Schegloff 2007: 2

## Sequentiality

• Why that now? (SS73:299; Scheo7:2)

Just as parties to talk-in-interaction monitor the talk-in-a-turn in the course of its production for such key features as where it might be possibly complete and whether someone is being selected as next speaker (and, if so, who), so they monitor and analyze it for what action or actions its speaker might be doing with it. One basic and omnirelevant issue for the participants for any bit of talk-in-interaction is "why that now" (Schegloff and Sacks, 1973:299), and the key issue in that regard is what is being done by that (whatever the "that" is). And the parties monitor for action for the same reason they monitor for the other features we investigate; namely, because the action that a speaker might be doing in or with an utterance may have implications for what action should or might be done in the next turn as a response to it. If it is doing a request, it may make a granting or a

# Sequence organization

- Adjacency pair (Sacks & Schegloff, 1973)
  - 1PP
  - 2PP
- Complexifications (Schegloff 2007)
  - Pre-sequence
  - 1PP
    - Inserted sequence
  - 2PP
    - Post-sequence
- Other patterns

# Sequence organization

#### Sequence studied here:

- PART\_A: First turn
- PART\_B, C, D: Response in second turn (« OH »)
  - Conditions for the action to progress: responses in second position
  - These responses can be placed in a sequential slot (verbal responses)
     but can also happen along the turn (embodied responses)
- PART\_A: Third turn

### Sequence studied here: A first example



Luc is commenting about the situation of the garden in general. ==> He suddenly points to a butterfly (argus), and then says something about it

## Multimodal resources

- Multimodality
  - (gesture, gaze, head movements, facial expressions, body posture, movements...)
- Two kinds of temporality: simultaneous and successive
  - Various simultaneous flows of conduct, with their specific temporalities
  - Sequential organization: projections, normative expectations, responsiveness
- Embodied action does not constitute a different organization that would escape from sequentiality!

## Reference

- Reference as a big topic in linguistics (interface syntax/pragmatics/prosody)
- BUT: mostly not interactional and not multimodal Within CA:
- place reference Schegloff, 1972
- person reference Sacks & Schegloff, 1979; Schegloff, 1996, Ford & Fox, 1996,
- topicality Sacks, 1992, Button & Casey, 1985; Mondada, 1995, 2002;
- syntax and reference –De Stefani, 2010, Pekarek Doehler,
   2011
- deixis Goodwin, 2000, Hindmarsh & Heath, 2000, Mondada, 2005;

## Joint attention - Tomasello

- Capacity of infants to *follow* and to *share* the adult's gaze
  - Recognition that the adult is lintentionally and purposedly) looking at something in particular
  - joint attention is not the same as visual orientation in the same direction (both can attend to different things 105)
  - It supposes monitoring of each other's attention to the entity (106)
  - Apes turn their head in the same directions than others (Haith, Hazen, Goodman, 1988) but this is not yet joint attention
- Capacity to direct the other's gaze
- The establishment of joint attention as related to the attribution of intentions, theory of mind (I know that you are looking at the same thing as I)
- (Tomasello, 1995 in Moore / Dunham J.A.)

Around 1 year

Social referencing, imitative learning, intentional communication

Gaze alternation and attempts to direct the other's gaze

Extended periods of coordinated joint attention

Protodeclaratives

# Tomasello 1995

	9 Months	12 Months	
Following Attention			
Gaze Following	[conditioned gaze follow]	Spontaneous gaze follow	
Joint Engagement	[passive joint engagement]	Coordinated joint engagement	
Following Behavior			
Social Referencing	[conditioned emotions]	Social referencing	
Imitative Learning	[emulation]	Imitative learning of	
	<b>,</b>	symbols, actions on objects	
Directing Attention		•	
Declaratives		Declarative pointing (w/ gaze alternation	
		Symbol use	
Directing Behavior		·	
Imperatives		Imperative pointing (w/ gaze alternation)	

## **Participation**

- Turns at talk are recipient-designed (SSJ 1974)
- If recipients are not participating, turns might be modified accordingly and adjusted to these contingencies (Goodwin, 1979) --> turns are interactive products, being constantly and reflexively tuned to the actions/absences of actions of the participants
- Embodied participation (Goodwin 1995)
- Interactional space (Mondada, 2009)

## Reference: an interactional account

#### Referential practice require

- Monitoring the attention of others and adjusting to it in real time
- Directing, instructing the attention of others
- Projecting a response, Adjusting to the absence / minimal/full response

## Analysis: collections

#### Two approaches in CA:

- Focus on an episode which is analyzed in depht, in all of its aspects: single case analysis. In this case, the aim is to take into account the diversity of aspects in order to understand how interaction and action are specifically organized in that fragment.
- Focus on a series of cases, which are analyzed for a single phenomenon: analysis of collections. A collection is defined by the systematic recurrency of a complex pattern, characterized in terms of sequential environment, specific resources used and actions implemented.





# Exc. 2

- A: Regardez / regardez + SN les: / les piverts
- B: change of state token « ah »
- A: developement of something about the *piverts*



## Exc. 2 / mumo transcription

```
(3/15.25 piverts)
((le groupe marche après avoir remarqué un arbre soutenu par deux béquilles))

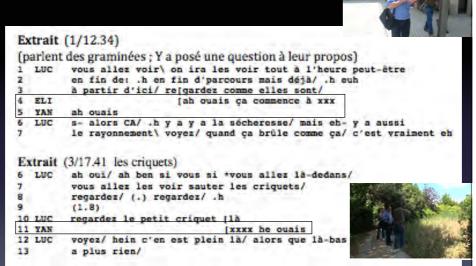
1 JEA alors celui-là il est assisté hein/
   jea
           >>marche sur le chemin-->
                                                          Co-participants' attention is still
          >>reg l'arbre soutenu-->
   yan (
                                                         on the previous object
   eli
          >>reg Jea-
           >>quitte le chemin et se dirige vers un arbre-->
   luc
   ELI
           [oué:/
   LUC
           [oui mais r'gardez/ r'gardez [1**es:
                                             [quand même hein
   ELI
                                                **pointe-->>
   luc
   LUC
           regardez les *pi[verts/*
                        [(c'est un cetri+sier?) #
-->* *se tourne v le groupe-->
   YAN
   luc
                                            -->+reg Luc en s'arrêtant-->
   yan
   eli
                                        --->treg Luc-->
                                                          Co-participants' attention is
   LUC
           regardez les pi + verts/
                                                          progressively focused on the
   jea
                         --> ≠ reg-->
                                                          new object
           (0.2)
10 YAN
           ah [oui
              [ça aussi/ on imaginerait pas qu'y a des pi[verts ici/
11 LUC
12 ELI
                                                               [oui
```

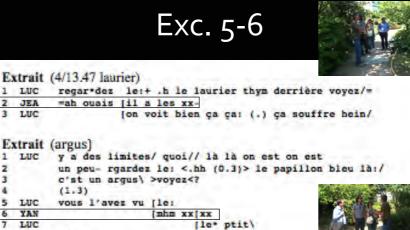


## Establishing a collection

 Collections are crucial to demonstrate the that participant's actions are methodical (Sacks, Garfinkel < ethnomethodology), i.e. systematic

# Exc. 3-4





# Exc. 7

voilà/ et l'au- et l'autre mâle qui q- <.hh (0.4)> qui

(is ont dù s'battre

[et là et là [on xxxx

```
Extrait 6 (3/20.31 libellule) regardez + interactionnel
  LUC
         >regardez regardez regardez<
         (1.3)
  ELI
        oh une libellule (.) non c'est ça?
  YAN
5
  LUC
         oui/ vous allez en voir plein là t[out à l'heure\
  YAN
                                             [c'est raire/
```



1 LUC

2 JEA

3 LUC

5 LUC

6 YAN

10

LUC 8

LUC

11 LUC 12

13 YAN

14 JEA

15 LUC

Extrait (argus)

(1.3)

(0.2)

(0.2)

>tiens/<

vient [eu[h

[ou[i:

### A first characterization of the sequence

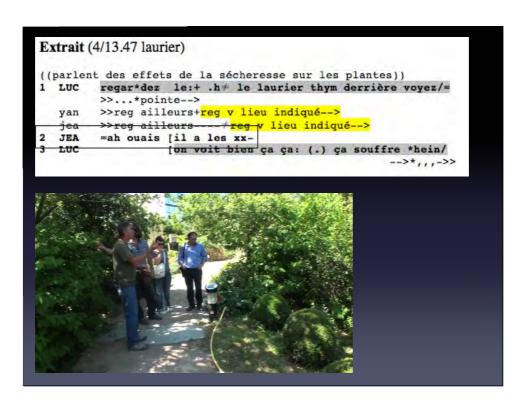
- 1. Regardez + o / Regardez + art / Regardez + SN
- 2. Change-of-state token (« ah »)
- 3. New proposition; developement of description
- ===> taking into consideration a more complex
   picture (multimodal transcription) ========>





```
Extrait 4 (3/17.41 criquets)
((Luc vient de parler de la gestion différenciée du jardin))
1 YAN et et: on l're- et on l'voit réellement/
         (0.2)
 YAN
         [xxxx]
         [ah oui >oui oui</
4 LUC
5 (0.4)
6 LUC ah oui/ ah ben si vous si *vous allez là-dedans/ #
                                    *entre dans la verdure--->
                                                          fim. 1
         vous aller les voir sauter les criquets/
8
       > regardez/ (.) regar*dez/ .h #
                          -->*se penche-->
  im
         t (1.8)
tavance v Luc ->
  eli
10 LUC - regarder le petit criquet [lan
                                    [xxxx +eh ouais
                                          +avance->
12 LUC voyez/: hein c'en ≠est plein là/# *alors* que là-bas+ y
                                        ->*,,,,,*debout--->
  yan
   eli
                            ≠s'éloigne, souriant à la caméra-->
#im.4
   jea
   im
13
         a plus rien/
         (0.4)*
```

```
Extrait cep3-12.28 argus
((LUC parle des interventions douces sur le jardin, sans insecticides))
       1 2
 LUC
elya
  jea
        c'st* un argus\ >voyez<? # ->*pointe-->
3
         (1.3)
5 LUC
6 YAN
         vous l'avez vu [le:*
                      [mhm xx[xx*
-->*,,,,*
[le* ptit]
7 LUC
         (0.2)
        >t*iens/<
9 LUC
         *pointe->
10
11 LUC
        voilà/% et l'au- et l'autre mâle qui q-* <.hh (0.4)> qui
  jea
            ->%se retourne--->>
        vient [eu[h
13 YAN
              [ou[i:
14 JEA
15 LUC
                [et là et là [on xxxx
[is ont dû s'battre
```



#### A second characterization of the sequential pattern

- 1.— The discontinuities within Luc's turn adjust to the ongoing conduct of the participants; projections are launched but what is projected is delayed, waiting for the embodied alignment of the recipients; recipients progressively align with the posture invited to by « Regardez »
- 2.— Change-of-state token (« ah ») occours when the coparticipants have adopted the adequate bodily posture and seen what Luc show them
- 3.— Luc monitors what they do and see, as soon as they have identified the referent, he elaborates its description

## Differentiation of two patterns

#### Pattern 1

#### • Regardez + le SN

• Ah oui

• Independent clause

#### Pattern 2

- Voyez + le SN
- Ah oui
- Related clause

Hybrids (voyez + independent clause)

## Pattern 2

```
Extrait 7 (2/1.45 amélanches)
             VOyez/ eh on en parlait tout à l'heure\
7 LUC
            les amélaniches/
             (0.6)
10 YAN
             ah :: [ :: /
11 ELI
12 LUC
             | ah c'est xx | avec lesquelles on fait lerrr.h
13
           et c'est quoi ça?
c'e[st comestible?
14 JEA
16 LUC
              [le chutney\
Extrait 8 (3/13.34 graines)
1 LUC
           >vo!yez/<
(1.0)
3 LUC
            voyez les:/ on pr- on parlait des des des abris pour les
            insectes\ alors/
6 LUC vous avez des: (0.3) ces ces graines là
7 *(0.3) <.hhh (0.3) > .h (0.2)
           qui sont (0.6)

ah c'est quoi [°ca°?]
[.hh
8 LUC
9 JEA
10 LUC
11
            (0.2)
           qui sont/ perforées par les oiseaux/ (.) pour manger/
les insectes (.) qui sont dedans\
12 LUC
```

```
Extrait 7 (2/1.45 amélanches)
1 LUC
          VO•yez/1 eh ≠on en parlait tout à l'heure\
            ·pointe--->
              -->1reg fruit pointé par Luc-->
   yan
   eli
                     #se tourne v Luc-->
2
          les •amél•an: ≠ches/
           ->*,,,,*
                    --> # reg arbre->
   eli
3
          (01.6)1
   yan
          ->1...1
4 YAN
          !a * # h :: [ :: /
          !touche le fruit-->
          •palme ouverte v le haut -->
   luc
5 ELI
6 LUC
                 [ah c'est xx
          avec lesquelles on fait · le:::.h
                              -->
         (0√.3)
          ->√
  iea
          ∆et c'est quoi∆ ça?
8 JEA
          Δ.....Δpointe v un autre objet-->>
          c'e[st comestible?
9 YAN
10 LUC
             [le chtut∆ney\∆
                  treg v où pointe Jea-->>
jea
11
                    -> A,,,, A
          (0.3)
```

```
Extrait 8 (3/13.34 graines)
1 LUC >vo*!yez/<
              *pointe->
          !reg v haut de l'arbre->
!reg v haut de l'arbre->
!reg v haut de l'arbre->
(0.2) *(0.8)
->*pointe en se tournant v feuillage->
   eli
   luc
   LUC voyez les:/ on pr- on parlait des!! des des^abris!! pour!! les
   eli
                                                  lls'approche----!!
                                                                             11s'approche->
   yan
          insectes\ alors/
   LUC vous avez des: || (0.3) ces* ces graines | là/
                       -->*cueille---*
                                                          freg graine -->
   yan
                         ->11
          *(0.3) <.hh! (0.3)> .h (0.2)+
   luc *montre-->
                        !reg graine-->
   eli
                                            +s'approche-->
8 LUC qui sont*: <(0.6)
-->*tend la graine-->
9 JEA °ah +c'est qu*+oi° [°ça°?
10 LUC
   luc
            ->+....+prend la graine-->
   jea
11 (0.2)
12 LUC qui sont/* perforées par les oiseaux/ (.) pour manger/
          les insectes (.) qui sont dedans
```

## Back to the 2 patterns

- 1. Introduction of the referent
  - With Regardez vs Voyez
- 2. Response establishment of a common focus of attention
- 3. Developement of the referent
  - In an independent vs dependent clause

#### Independent vs dependent clause in the 3rd turn

- Pattern 1 introduces and develops the referent in two separate clauses
- Pattern 2 does it in one complex clause, incrementally produced
- ==>
- Syntactic choices // situated and embodied adjustments to the ecology of action
  - Pattern 1 --> transient referent, difficult to see, unstable
  - Pattern 2 --> stabile referent, visible, graspable in a continuous way

## Regarder vs voir

- 1. Regardez
  - --> instructing vision, reorienting the bodies
  - // more unstabile, transient, flying objects
- 2. Voyez
  - --> the place to look at is already established, participants are already bodily oriented towards it
  - // more stabile objets
- · Cases in which both verbs are used
  - Regardez > Voyez (vs \*Voyez > Regardez)

```
Extrait cep3-12.28 argus
c'st* un argus\ >voyez<? #
          ->*pointe-->
        (1.3)
       vous l'avez vu [le:*
 LUC
  YAN
                    [mhm xx[xx*
                    -->*,,,*
[le* ptit]
  LUC
        (0.2)
       >t*iens/<
         *pointe->
       (0.2)
       voilà/% et l'au- et l'autre mâle qui q-* <.hh (0.4)> qui
11 LUC
  jea
          ->%se retourne--->>
       vient [eu[h
13 YAN
            fou[i:
14 JEA
              [et là et là [on xxxx
                         [is ont dû s'battre
15 LUC
```

# Concluding complements

 How to relate this pattern with the existing literature?

## Introducing a new referent

- Enormous literature about the syntactic resources to introduce a new referent (for French see Lambrecht, 1987, 1994)
- Presentatives, existential constructions
  - (y avoir), clivées (il y a un X qui)
  - V perception (voir)
  - voilà
- Clefts (c'est le mec que / qui...)
- Pseudo-clefts (ce qui est marrant c'est ...)
- Left dislocation, hanging topic...

The choice among/ the use of these forms has been discussed in terms of general cognitive and pragmatic functions

# Reference has been mainly explaned in cognitive terms

### Cognitive definition of

- Centre of attention, saillance, focus
- Accessibility, identifiability, accessibility of the referent

## Lambrecht (1994: 184)

#### Principle of separation of Reference and Predication

• Selon Lambrecht, le locuteur ne peut pas en même temps introduire le référent et le développer en prédiquant quelque chose sur lui. C'est ainsi qu'il rend compte des constructions présentatives et des détachements. La motivation de ce principe est pragmatique et cognitive : cette distribution facilite à l'oral le travail de production du locuteur aussi bien que de réception/décodage de la part de l'auditeur. Autrement dit, les référents qui ne sont pas encore actifs doivent être d'abord activés dans les représentations cognitives des interlocuteurs, dans une clause extérieure à celle qui prédiquera ensuite quelque chose sur eux et qui enrichira ainsi ces représentations

This principle is convergent with the squential pattern found in the data; however, it gives and exclusive cognitive, individual explanation for it

# Towards an interactional approach

- Joint attention as interactionally established
- Referents as publicly recognized
- Topics as responded to by the recipient

Here are some convergent findings in the literature, taking into consideration sequential patterns similar to ours

But they don't integrate multimodality

## Geluykens 1992:39

- · Left Dislocation and introduction of a referent
- Basic scheme:
- -Stage 1: (speaker A) REF + optional Elaboration
  - -Stage 2: (speaker B) Acknowledgment of REF
  - -Stage 3: (speaker A) PROP
- Complex cases:
- (17) A: yes I see . yes . yes  $[\partial:m]$  . one other thing Sam  $[\partial:m]$  /De! laney # a Ca/ nadian # \*((who))/graduated #\*
  - B:  $*(([\partial]$  where did you\* put those things just one)). let me put this in my bag ((or)) I'll ((walk away without it)) --
  - A: [∂:m] -- De/laney's the Ca: 'nadian . 'student [re/HN 'member #] # /last N'year#
  - B: mhm
  - A: [ô:] he /should have had his . dissertation `in # ((at the)) be/ginning of `May # (...) (S.1.1.5.2)
- (18) -Stage 1: REF + Elaboration (speaker A)

  - -Stage 2: Failure to acknowledge (speaker B) -Stage 3: Second attempt at REF (speaker A)
  - -Stage 4: Acknowledgment of REF (speaker B)
  - -Stage 5: PROP (speaker A)

## Geluykens 1992:41

In most of the cases, however, there is no 3-turn sequence,

but a unique proposition:

Its explanation can still refer to a 3-turn format:

	ref-intro	other LDs	TOTAL
intervening turn	26	01	27 (23%)
intervening pause	47	08	55 (47%)
pause- & turnless	17	18	35 (30%)
total number of LDs	90	27	117 (100%)

Table 4: occurrence of pauses/turns in LDs.

B: before I forget about it in the chatter # . [ $\partial$ :] you re/ $\underline{H}$ -member # the [\dartheta:m] - / what do you 'call it # [\dartheta:m] -- / cricket 'commentary # . there was a "/'manu'script . of 'that # . (S.7.1.a1.11)

A more accurate transcription, in interactional terms, of (22) would be something along the lines of (23):

- 1: (...) the  $[\partial:m]$  what do you call it  $[\partial:m]$  -- cricket commentary
  - 2: . (pause)
  - 3: there was a manuscript of that .

We will thus regard the pause as a (non-verbal) stage in its own right, a stage which is similar to the verbal acknowledgment-stage discussed earlier.

## Ford & Fox 1996

 Securing reference & participation before to go on

```
Curt: Did you know that guy up there at oh- what the hell is
   his name used to work up at (Steeldinner) garage did their
3 body work.for them.
          (1.5)
5 Curt: Uh:::ah,
          (0.3)
7 Curt: Oh:: he meh- uh,
          (0.7)
9 Curt: His wife ran off with Bill McCa:nn.
          (3.2)
11 Curt: You know who I'm talking about,
12 Mike: No:,
          (0.5)
14 Curt: Oh:: shit.
           (0.7)
 16 Curt: He had. This guy had, a beautiful, thirty two O:lds.
```

Line 16 « he had » secures the gaze by Gary, « this guy had » is addressed to Mike - who is not yet gazing at Curt

1996: 162: old vs new information is not the only relevant aspect for reference the structure of participation and diversity of addressees is as much important

Cf. Goodwin 1979

## Introducing a new topic

3 ways of introducing a new topic -> one of them is

#### News announcements

- 1 A: announcement
- 2 B: topicalizer
- 3 A: development of the news announced

Button & Casey 1985

(16) (Heritage:III:1:5:3)

Edgerton: Now look (.) im-uh Ilene has just pushed a note

in front'v my fa:ce,

→ Joan : Ye:s?

Edgerton : Ten pou: nds,

(17) (W:PC:1:MJ:(1):21)

Jenny : Ani: ta came: u oh: they oll

Marian : came over all'v them =

Marion : Did the: y, Oh: good:d. - hh Jenny :

Jenny : Juus (0.2) came 'euhr for a cuup a'tea in the

ahftinoon.

(18) (Heritage: V:2:6:3)

Ilene : I've jus' got u - I've jus' been getting suh-uh

buying uh doing my shoppin;g

→ Joyce : You ha:ve

Ilene : An' getting the various bits of biscuits'n stuff

« With the production of the topicalizing response a warrant is established for the news announcer to go on in next turn and elaborate on their previously announced news. » (1985: 24) --> beginning of a new topic

> Topicalizer vs just news confirmation (in the latter case, no elaboration follows in 3rd position)

### Summary 1

- In the cognitive-pragmatic literature, Principle of separation of reference and predication (Lambrecht)
- In the interactionist-CA literature, sequential patterns showing that first reference has to be established and recognized, before talk to go on (Geluykens, Ford & Fox, Button & Casey)
- In Ford & Fox relying on Goodwin's analyses gaze and recipiency is taken into consideration

## Summary 2

- Here, a collection integrating within a systematic sequential pattern the methodic use of multimodal resources shows the embodied work reference crucially relies on, both on the side of the speaker and of his coparticipants
- Adjustment of syntactic and lexical choices to the local ecology as well as to the coordination and monitoring of the other's conduct
- Tomasello's account for joint attention remains largely based on cognition and intention; here we show evidence of the coordination work that is needed to achieve joint attention + its systematic sequential organization
- . Regardez SN Voyez SN
  - + walking
  - + body position
  - + pointing
- ı. Al
- + approaching
  - + looking at (monitoring)
- 3. Development dep / indep

# Thanks for your attention!



# Part of this paper has been published as

 Lorenza Mondada (in press 2012). Organisation multimodale de la parole-en-interaction : Pratiques incarnées d'introduction des référents, Langue Française