Instruction Receipt in Face-to-Face Interaction

Carmen Taleghani-Nikazm
University of Texas at Austin
Department of Germanic Languages

Andrea Vlatten
University of Oregon, Eugene
Department of Germanic Languages & Literatures

This paper investigates the role of gesture in instruction giving and in instruction receiving during a cooking lesson. Gestures and embodied actions are not *entirely a speaker's phenomenon but are oriented to and also used by listeners as well. We will focus primarily on the recipient and his/her orientation to verbal and embodied instruction giving.*

Instructions are broken down into smaller sequences (Wright & Hull, 1990). This paper analyzes three relevant next actions which can follow the instruct turn: (1) embodied instruct receipt tokens (head nod); (2) embodied repetition of the embodied instruct; and (3) repair.

In general, an embodied action can be coined as an "embodied instruct". And once understood as such by all participants, it is available to all participants in subsequent sequences. Thus an embodied gesture can "travel" from one participant to another.

INTRODUCTION

In this paper we will focus on an instructional setting, namely, a two-hour long cooking lesson. There are three interactants: one English monolingual, one English-Persian bilingual and one Persian monolingual. We will show that in this instructional setting, gestures are not only a speaker's phenomenon as described by Schegloff (1984) but are also used by the listeners. Moreover, we will show that if one gesture has been coined as an iconic gesture in its context of interaction, it is available to the other coparticipants in subsequent talk and, it can be used by other participants., We also found that embodied actions can be used in order to display or claim understanding of instructions, or they can be used in order to specify a trouble source in repair.

When giving instructions, speakers usually divide the entire task into smaller steps. These steps are then sequenced according to the temporal order in which a coparticipant is to carry them out (Wright & Hull, 1990). In her research on the delivery and receipt of instructions given over the telephone, Goldberg (1975) found that each instructional sequence consists of an *instruct* and *receipt* pair. For the receipt turns, she was able to define a variety of types. In our videotaped face-to-face interaction we found slightly different categories than the ones established by Goldberg. This comes as no surprise since face-to-face interaction is different

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from telephone interaction in that the participants have visual access to each other and their actions. Furthermore, because of the possibility of simultaneous actions and because of access to visual elements, "projection of a possible next" does not only take the form of projecting the next (verbal) turn but can also take the form of projecting the next *non-verbal action*. This is especially important for our setting: While not all participants share the same languages and thus do not have access to each other's verbal messages, they all have access to the ongoing activity (cooking) as well as each other's gestures. This visual information is used by the interactants to project possible next verbal or non-verbal actions.

In this article we will focus only on those categories that have at their core embodied actions, that is those instruct turns which are followed by verbal embodied receipt tokens, embodied repetition of the embodied instruct, and verbal repair initiation combined with gestures.

EMBODIED INSTRUCT RECEIPT TOKEN

Often, after a speaker has uttered an instruct turn, the coparticipant produces an instruct receipt token (Goldberg, 1975; Schegloff, 1982; Jefferson, 1984; Goodwin, 1986; Condon, 1986; Beach, 1993) such as *okay, mm hm* or *alright.* There are also embodied instruct receipt tokens such as head nods with which the recipient acknowledges and claims understanding of the instruct-turn, thus bringing the sequence to closure. Following the recipient's head nod, the instructor or the translator starts a next instruct turn. Thus, the instructor or translator orients to the head nod the same way she orients to a vocal receipt token. In segment 1, Andy nods his head (line 6) following Miriam's instruct turn.

Segment 1:
Embodied instruct receipt token: Head nod

1		D:	in bargo bâyad beshoreh âroom âroom bâz bekon keh pâreh
			he has to wash this leaf slowly slowly open so it won't
2		D:	nasheh
			tear
3			(0.8)
4		D:	[bebin indjoori
			[*see like this*
			[
5		M:	[you have to-wash those leaves,
			A nods
			__|__
			| |
6	→		(0.2)

7 M: and separate them very slowly

Head nods can also co-occur with verbal receipt tokens. In our data we found that the choice of the verbal receipt token (either *okay* or *mm hm)* seems to depend on the intonation contour of the instruct turn. *Mm hm* occurs after continuing intonation and *okay* occurs after terminal intonation of the instruct turn. Head nods are not sensitive to this distinction. They can occur with both types of verbal receipt tokens as the following segment shows. In the literature of such tokens the interaction between intonation and the choice of verbal token has not been studied before. Further research needs to be conducted to investigate whether this relation is a general phenomenon or specific to our data.

Segment 2:
Instruct receipt tokens: Head nods in combination with verbal tokens

1 M: >°okay°< u-she lets it b:-boil, and cook a little

2 bit. its-should be well done,

A nods
__|__
| |

3 → A: [°mhm°
[

4 M: [it should just be cooked when you're (0.5) yeah test

5 it and then u::h you have to let rice to boil and be

6 half cooked.

7 (0.5)

8 M: and then you drain it,

9 (0.5)

10 M: and add it to the meat.

A nods
__|__
| |

11 → A: okay

In lines 1 and 2 as well as in line 10, Miriam utters instruct turns. In line 2, the instruct turn has continuing intonation, and Andy produces the receipt token *mhm*. This receipt token is accompanied by an embodied receipt token, i.e. a head

nod. In line 10, Miriam's instruct turn is uttered with terminal intonation, and Andy produces the instruct receipt token *okay*. This *okay* is accompanied by a head nod. This data segment displays nicely, that head nods are not sensitive to the intonation contour of the instruct turn.

In general, we have seen from the last two segments that head nods can either stand alone or they can accompany *mhm*s and *okay*s. In all cases this turn completes the instruct-receipt sequence and speakers move on to the next action.

EMBODIED REPETITIONS OF THE EMBODIED INSTRUCTS

We have also found that the instructor/speaker performs embodied actions while producing the instruct turn. We found this type of behavior with both the instructor Delshad and with the translator Miriam. The meaning of a particular gesture becomes apparent in relation to the actual context in which it is performed (Streeck & Knapp, 1992; Streeck, 1993). We have noted that once a speaker produces an embodied action for a specific referent, subsequent speakers can use the same embodied action later on in their own talk. Thus, the speaker and coparticipant(s) coin an embodied action in joint achievement as an "embodied instruct." Gestures of this type have been called "iconic gestures" by Streeck and Knapp (1992).

In the following data segment, the referent of the gesture is the pot in which Delshad has just put the *dolmeh* (stuffed grape leaves). Delshad is the only one working with the pot while Miriam and Andy refer to it with their gestures.

Segment 3:
Embodied repetition of the embodied instruct: Pot

M & A turn back to the stove M wipes her hands all three turn to the table
D pours liquid over dolmeh,
M and A watch

```
                  __|__          _|_          _|_
                  |   |          | |          | |
1                 (0.8)          (0.8)        (6.4)
```

D grabs pot by handles,
D looks down on pot

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                  _|_
                  | |
2                 (0.5)
```

D wiggles the pot then stops

3 → D: bebin ino takoon midii,
look you shake this

4 M: mm hm

D wiggles the pot

5 → D: .hh barâye inkeh âb ha:mejaye in bereh
therefore the water goes everywhere over

M brings arms forward in front of her chest
M makes two-fisted wiggling movements
M gazes at A
M stretches fingers
•M shifts gaze at her hands
D holds pot by handles
D moves hands away from pot , with pointed index fingers freeze
A makes two-fisted wiggling movements

6 → M: .hhh so you- (.) sh:ake it a little bi:t •let the: uh sa

(M) makes a circle
•M shifts gaze at A
M makes circle with right hand on left palm
(D)the movement
D takes the small pot with her left hand

7 M: (.) go •everywhere inside you know in between those dolmas

8 A: mm hm

D points with right index finger to the pot in her hand
M makes two-fisted wiggling movements
•M glances at her hands and back to A

9 → M: [but •jus- (0.2) a little bit
[

10 D: [.hh be-

In this segment, Delshad produces the instruct turn at lines 3 and 5. The onset of the embodied action can be found in line 2, where Delshad grabs the pot by its handles. The next step is the embodied action of wiggling the pot. This "wiggling" occurs shortly before she produces the lexical affiliate *takoon (shake)*. Just like the English verb *shake*, *takoon* does not specify how this shaking action is to be performed. That is, there is no specification as to whether the pot is to be shaken from left to right, or up and down. Since the coparticipants have access to the same visual field, Delshad specifies how the pot is to be shaken with the embodied action (line 3 and 5 of the transcript).

In line 6, Miriam translates Delshad's instruct turn of line 3 into English. Her verbal translation is accompanied by an embodied action. She, too, is producing a "wiggling" movement, however, she is not holding the pot in her hands; she is operating in an imaginary world. During these wiggling movements, her hands are fisted as if she *were* holding the pot. In addition, her wiggling movement seems to be mimicking. Miriam's embodied action occurs shortly before the lexical affiliate (Schegloff, 1984) (line 6). That is, the embodied action serves both in Farsi and in English as a specifier of action.

In line 6, Andy, the recipient of the instruction starts to repeat the embodied action shortly after Miriam has begun with the wiggling movement (line 6). That is, Andy starts to perform the "wiggling" movement at the moment when Miriam produces the lexical affiliate *shake*. Miriam and Andy complete the embodied action at the same time.

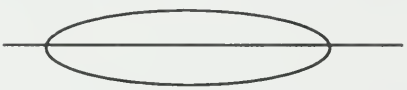
This shows that listeners can also produce gestures while another person is talking.

In lines 9 and 10, Miriam repeats part of her instruction, and again she produces the wiggling gesture. This segment shows nicely how a gesture can be coined and how it then can then travel from one participant to another.

REPAIR

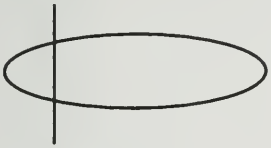
Our last segment displays a specific type of repair initiation (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974; Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977), namely, an understanding check. Of particular interest here is that the understanding check is performed both verbally and non-verbally. Moreover, it is the *gesture* that specifies the trouble in understanding the instruct turn, and it targets both the verbal and non-verbal elements of the instruct turn. In this segment, Miriam describes how to prepare stuffed eggplant. In some Mediterranean dishes, the eggplants are cut lengthwise (see display 1), each half is emptied out and then filled with meat.

Display 1



For this particular Iranian dish, however, the eggplant is cut vertically, slightly below the stem (as shown in display 2) and only the body (i.e. the right part) is emptied out and filled with meat.

Display 2



Miriam, who is explaining how to prepare the Iranian eggplant dish, does not make this distinction clear at the beginning of the instruction and it becomes the trouble source later in the transcript (see segment 4). In other words, the trouble source for Andy is how the eggplant should be cut (horizontally or vertically).

Segment 4:
Repair: Understanding check

M holds her two cupped hands on top of each other she repeats this gesture 4 times (see Figure 1 below)

M holds her left hand in a cupped position and moves her right hand in a circle within her cupped hand

1 M: and put the stem you know the head back because they g-

M moves her right hand away from cupped hand (see Figure 2)

2 get the head out of it [first

[A moves his right hand away from cupped hand (see [Figure 3)

3 A: [oh okay so they [(0.2) get

4 M: [yeah

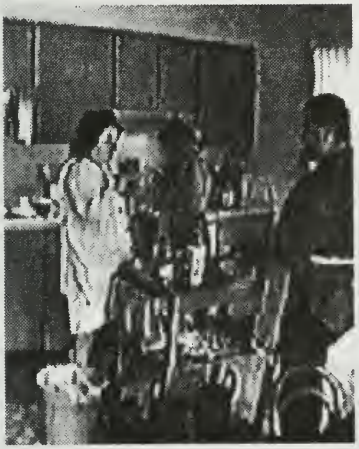
5 A: the middle out of it

			M moves her right hand away from her left cupped hand
			__|_____
			| |
6		M:	then [they get the middle OUT, [then
			[[A holds left palm up and slides
			[[right hand over left hand (see Figure 4)
			[[___|____
			[[| |
7	→	A:	[aha [not cut it.
8			(.)
9		M:	no the [middle of it.
			[
10		A:	[o:h okay okay
			M left hand in cupped position in front of her face (see Figure 5)
			• M glances quickly at her cupped hand
			_____|_____
			| |
11		M:	•it it (.) turns into like a little bag
12		A:	a:h okay=

Figur e 1

Figure 2

Figure 3



Figur e4

Figur e5

In line 1, Miriam explains how the eggplant is assembled after having been filled. In her explanation she holds both of her hands in a cupped position and moves them toward each other (picture 1). She does so four times in quick succession. Miriam's cupped hands visualize the object she is talking about, namely the filled eggplant. Each hand is one half of the eggplant, her left hand is the lower part or body of the eggplant and her right cupped hand is the head of the eggplant. Through her gestures, Miriam shows how the eggplant must have been cut before (compare display 2 and picture 1). Miriam then states that the body of the eggplant had been

emptied out before and that head and body are now re-assembled (lines 1-2). Again, gestures accompany her words: while uttering *they get the head out of it first* (lines 1-2), she makes a circular movement with her right hand within her left cupped hand and pulls her right hand away from her left hand (see picture 2). In line 3, Andy produces a change-of-state token (Heritage, 1984) followed by an instruct receipt token *okay* and a verbal transformation of the instruct turn (Goldberg, 1975) thus claiming to have understood the instruction. While producing the verbal transformation of the instruct turn, Andy also produces a transformation of Miriam's gestures: he holds his right hand in a cupped position and pulls his left hand away from his right hand. His gestures are far bigger and quicker than Miriam's and they are less precise (see picture 3). Again, this gestural transformation shows Andy's claim of having understood Miriam's instruct turn. Miriam repeats Andy's transformation in line 6. In partial overlap with Miriam's turn in line 6, Andy produces an understanding check in line 7, uttering *not cut it* combined with a gesture: He slides his right hand horizontally over his left extended hand (see picture 4). This gesture in combination with the talk marks as a trouble source the information Miriam has not specifically given, namely, how and where to cut the eggplant. It is interesting that verbally, Andy only utters the action itself, namely, the cutting (line 7), but *how* the action of cutting is performed is displayed with gestures. By holding his left palm up and sliding his right hand over the left hand, Andy's hand movements display his understanding of how the action is not to be performed. In line 9, Miriam treats Andy's utterance and gesture of line 7 as an understanding check by confirming his interpretation of her instructions and by repeating her previous turn of line 6. She then gives yet another description of what the eggplant looks like using the metaphor of a *little bag* and by holding her hand in a cupped position (see picture 5). In line 12, Andy produces another change-of-state token and the receipt token *okay* thereby claiming understanding of the instruct. The participants then move on to the next instructional sequence (not shown in the transcript).

In sum, this segment shows two interesting aspects of the use of gestures: first, repair can target gestures as trouble sources, and second, gestures can also accompany repair initiators and in this function they seem to specify the trouble source.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, let us summarize briefly what we have presented in this paper. We found that:

(a) embodied actions are not only a speaker's phenomenon but are also performed by interlocutors.

(b) gestures can "travel" from one speaker to another. In other words, sometimes gestures are coined for specific referents and these gestures are then available to other speakers in later turns.

(c) with regard to the instructional setting, gestures displaying or claiming understanding can stand alone or in combination with verbal utterances.
(d) the specific embodied actions which can be relevant after an instruct turn has been uttered are

1. an embodied receipt token, i.e. a head nod.
2. an embodied repetition of an embodied instruct and
3. repair, namely, an understanding check.

As mentioned in the introduction, this paper has focused on the embodied interaction in an instruction giving setting. However, instructions can also be followed by other verbal and non-verbal turns, such as: (1) compliance with the instruction; (2) instruction receipt tokens; (3) full repetition of the instruct; (4) partial repeat of the instruct turn; (5) receipt token and partial repeat; or partial repeat and receipt token; (6) transformation of the instruct; and (7) repair. We will discuss these receipt tokens in a separate paper.

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Carmen Taleghani-Nikazm is a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Texas at Austin. In her dissertation, she analyzes politeness in Persian and German face-to-face interaction from a conversation analytic perspective. Her research interests are: Persian and German telephone interaction, gestures, native and non-native speaker interaction.

Andrea Vlatten is Assistant Professor in the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures at the University of Oregon. Her research interests are: reported speech, storytelling, modal particles, native and non-native speaker interaction, and gestures.