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# Reenactments in conversation: Gaze and reciprocity

Discourse Studies

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## Abstract

In a reenactment, a speaker re-presents or depicts a previously occurring event, often dramatically. In this article we examine the role of gaze in reenactments in conversations from Japanese and American English. Following Goodwin in viewing a reenacted story as ‘a multi-modal, multi-party field of activity’, we show how tellers’ and recipients’ gaze during reenactments is deployed to achieve specific interactional ends. We argue that there are two layers of activities involved in doing reenacting – a) the habitat of the original event; b) the habitat of the reenacting event, including the dynamics of gaining appreciative reciprocity – and show how they are interwoven in the joint production of a reenactment.

## Keywords

conversation, English, gaze, gesture, Japanese, reciprocity, reenactments

## Introduction

A reenactment, according to Sidnell (2006), is an activity in which a speaker re-presents or depicts a previously occurring event,<sup>1</sup> often dramatically. How do people negotiate participation and jointly construct a reenactment with their interlocutors?<sup>2</sup> Our aim in this article is to examine the role of gaze in reenactments in conversations from Japanese and American English. We will focus specifically on the actions that participants are accomplishing with their gaze behavior in the course of a reenactment.

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We build on the work of Golato (2000), Koike (2005), Park (2009), Streeck and Knapp (1992), Tutt and Hindmarsh (2011), and Wilkinson et al. (2010) in focusing on the rich use of multimodal semiotic systems and the role of listeners in constructing reenactments.<sup>3</sup> In addition, four recent articles shed much insightful light specifically on gaze in reenactments. Sidnell (2006) argues that ‘the visible character of reenactments provides for the introduction of subtle shifts of footing and perspective in the course of their production’ (p. 378), and calls attention to current research on multimodality, which ‘involves examining interaction *not* for gesture, gaze, or particular features of the talk per se but for the *activities* that the participants understand themselves to (be) engaged in’ (p. 380, emphasis in original). ‘Reenactments involve the coordinated use of gesture, gaze, and talk’ (p. 378), he notes, creating ‘moments of heightened coparticipation’ (p. 390). He shows how shifts in gaze orientation during a reenactment are regularly linked to the act of performing the gaze patterns of another while enacting the other. Similarly, shifts in body positioning and gestures are also regularly linked to the act of performing the physical stance and body behavior of the other.

Sidnell then proposes that ‘gaze is a resource not only for performing the reenactment (along with gesture and talk) but also for parsing the larger telling into interactionally relevant units’ (p. 394). ‘The completion of a reenactment’, he says, which ‘coincides with a return to the immediate framework of participation – is often marked by the return of speaker’s gaze to the recipients’ (p. 382).

Goodwin (2007a), critiquing Goffman’s (1981) focus on ‘footing’ and his ‘deconstruction of the speaker’, provides a rich analysis of the ‘complex theatre’ within which strips of reported speech can occur. Although not focusing on reenactments, he calls attention to the fact that ‘a story in face-to-face interaction is a multi-modal, multi-party field of activity’ (p. 25). He shows how hearers, every bit as much as speakers, are co-participants in a spatially organized telling event, and how they are displaying their participation, tracking the trajectory of the unfolding organization of the talk for projecting their own role in it (see also C Goodwin, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1984; MH Goodwin, 1980; Goodwin and Goodwin, 1987, 1992a, 1992b, 2004).

Rossano et al. (2009) and Rossano (2012) review research on gaze orientation in the accomplishment of social action in general, focusing on participation frameworks and engagement. Of particular relevance to our endeavor here, they argue that gaze behavior is not primarily organized in terms of turn-by-turn talk, but seems instead ‘to be mainly organized in relation to sequences of talk and the development of courses of action or ongoing interactional projects’ (Rossano, 2012: 10).

Inspired by this body of research, we aim to extend these findings by examining participation and bodily comportment in reenactment environments in Japanese and English, where new issues arise with respect to the original event, the reenacting event, reciprocity, and gaze. Our data consist of video recordings of conversations among close friends and family members. We focus on three- and four-party conversations rather than two-party conversations, in order to observe how the reenactor’s gaze is distributed across multiple participants both within and beyond the reenactments themselves.

We will argue that gaze direction on the part of the ‘reenactor’ involves the highly skilled interpolation of two ‘layers’ of representation as participants build such a ‘a multi-modal, multi-party field of activity’:<sup>4</sup>

- (1) a) the habitat of the 'original' event<sup>5</sup>
- spatial dynamics
  - locations, movements, and orientation of participants as they interact
- b) the habitat of the reenacting event
- where participants are located
  - who is recruited to 'play' what roles, etc.
  - the dynamics of gaining appreciative reciprocity
  - who is likely to provide it when appreciation becomes relevant, especially for a reenactment being constructed as laughable (Rossano, 2012; Stivers and Rossano, 2010).

In this article, we discuss gaze patterns in seven instances of interactions involving reenactments from American English and Japanese which provide grounds for claiming that the use of gaze in taking on, and assigning, story-character roles in the original event often takes precedence over its use for marking the boundaries between narrated and reenacted portions in the reenacting event.<sup>6</sup>

### *The use of gaze in portraying an original event*

We begin with an extract discussed at some length in Sidnell (2006). Two couples (Michael and Nancy; Shane and Vivian) are sharing dinner, and Michael is telling a story, designed as a laughable, about his father finding a fly in his coffee at a restaurant. Relevantly, Michael's reenactment has been triggered by an animated discussion among the four participants, particularly Shane and Michael, about how they should have demanded their money back at a restaurant dinner the night before, where they'd found 'bugs' in their food. In all of our extracts, we have marked the reenactment portions of the talk with boldface.

#### (2) Fly in Coffee<sup>7</sup>

- 1 MIC: so eez (.) drinkin this cup  
 2 coffee'n there's this fly un the bottim'ee goes 'hhhhh  
 3 **JEEZIZ CHRI[ST!**  
 4 SHA: [heh-ha ha ha:[ h u h ]  
 5 MIC: [(y'know)]the whole place is  
{Figure 1}  
 6 (ghho(h)i[ng crhhh]z) 'hh He stands up 'hhh (0.2) hOh my-  
 7 VIV?: [ihh heh-eh  
 8 MIC: **WAITRISS WAITRISS** ('is [waitriss ])comes over'ee zez=  
 9 SHA: [(hah ↑hah)]  
 10 MIC: ='z a fly'n ah- ah'm **NOT payin fer none a'this uh'm not**  
 11 **payin fer none a'this.**Right? We dih °he din pay fer any  
 12 of it.°  
{Figure 2}  
 [video clip 1]



**Figure 1.** Michael looking away from Shane during reenactment.



**Figure 2.** Michael looking back at Shane as the reenactment ends.

As can be seen in the video clip and in Figures 1 and 2, Michael looks away from Shane during the reenacting event, and returns his gaze to Shane during the portions of the narration that are telling about the scene, rather than reenacting what happened.

Sidnell (2006) uses this extract to illustrate his claim that ‘gaze is a resource not only for performing the reenactment (along with gesture and talk) but also for parsing the larger telling into interactionally relevant units’ (p. 394). He argues that Michael is here following

a pattern whereby speakers remove their gaze from recipients during reenactments, but return their gaze to recipients for non-reenactment portion of their telling, arguing that speaker gaze plays a crucial role in delimiting the story into its ‘narrative parts’ and its ‘reenacted parts’ (p. 392).

So what Michael is doing with his gaze is indeed reenacting what he constructs his father as having done at that moment in the original event, first looking down at his coffee, then gazing around the imaginary dining room, gazing to his left as he motions the waitress over to the table, then looking and gesturing across the table as he informs the waitress *ah'm NOT payin fer none a'this uh'm not payin fer none a'this*, nicely exemplifying what Goodwin (2007b) refers to as ‘environmentally coupled gestures’.

And indeed, at the precise moment when the punch line is finished, Michael gazes back at Shane, who has been his primary recipient for the few moments before the reenactment takes place, and who has provided a loud laugh (line 4) at Michael’s reenactment of his father going *JEEZIZ CHRIST!*. At this punch line Shane, as well as the two women, burst into appreciative laughter. We suggest that it is a recurrent appeal for appreciation at the end of a reenactment that provides a motivation for Sidnell’s (2006) observation that the ‘right-side boundary of the reenactment – which coincides with a return to the immediate framework of participation – is often marked by the return of speaker’s gaze to the recipients’ (p. 382).

As Sidnell notes, however, Michael also gazes at Shane at two other points during this reenactment; we have marked each of these with a series of ^-signs in the transcript, shown as (2’) below:

(2’) Fly in Coffee (with Michael’s gaze to Shane marked above lines 5, 6, and 8)

```

1  MIC: Good joke teller evrything so eez (.) drinkin this cup
2      coffee'n there's this fly un the bottim'ee goes `hnhhh
3      JEEZIZ CHRI[ST!
4  SHA:          [heh-ha ha ha:[ h u h ]
                    ^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^
5  MIC:          [(y'know)]the whole place is {Figure 3}
                    ^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^
6      (ghho(h)i[ng crhhhz) `hh He stands up `hhh (0.2) hOh my-
7  VIV?:          [ihh heh-eh
                    ^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^
8  MIC: WAITRISS WAITRISS (`is [waitriss ])comes over'ee zez=
9  SHA:          [(hah ↑hah)]
10 MIC: ='z a fly'n ah- ah'm NOT payin fer none a'this uh'm not
11      payin fer none a'this.Right? We dih °he din pay fer any
12      of it.°

```

Figure 3 shows Michael gazing at Shane in lines 5–6 and 8.

Extract (2’) clearly shows that Michael directs his gaze to Shane during the non-reenactment portions (or ‘narration’) of his story. Considering the habitats of both the original and the reenacting events, and the dynamics of gaining reciprocity, then, we see that Michael is using gaze to accomplish multiple tasks: as he reenacts his father in the original event, he looks down at his coffee, gazes to his left as he summons the waitress, and then looks at the table as he tells the waitress he won’t pay for the meal.



**Figure 3.** Michael gazing at Shane at *place* (line 5).

Finally, he returns to the habitat of the reenacting event and gazes at Shane for appreciation (Figure 2).

We now turn to our own collection of reenactments, in which we find a further range of gaze behaviors, including those in which gaze does not correlate with a division into narrated and reenacted parts of a story. In Extract (3), from a Japanese interaction, the reenactor's gaze is used exclusively to portray events in the original event and to solicit appreciation. Here, Emi, her husband Tai, their female friend Yoko, and their male friend Nori, are gathered around a table of snacks at Nori's home. In this extract, Emi is describing a disappointing meal that she and Tai had at Fisherman's Wharf in San Francisco; like Michael's, her telling is also designed to produce laughter. The two friends, Nori and Yoko, have not heard the story.

Prior to Extract (3), Emi has started to tell her story, saying that she asked the waiter, whom she describes as *nori no ii* 'easy to get along with, sociable, perky', for the lobster sandwich, which was the restaurant's special meal of the day. In the reenacting event, as she describes the scene, she is gazing at Yoko, sitting across from her.

As Extract (3) unfolds, we see that Emi switches between playing two characters in her story, first as herself ordering the lobster sandwich (line 4), then as the waiter saying what a good choice that is (lines 5–8), then as herself again when she gets the sandwich (lines 15–16).

### (3) Fisherman's Wharf

- |   |                                    |   |                                   |
|---|------------------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|
| 1 | E : ... weitaasan ga sugoi,        | 1 | E : our waiter was a very         |
| 2 | nori no ii hito de ne,             | 2 | perky person, so                  |
| 3 | T : ((NODS))                       | 3 | T : ((NODS))                      |
| 4 | E : ...<X dakara X> robusutaasando | 4 | E : when I said Lobster Sandwich, |
|   | tsuttara, {Figure 4}               |   |                                   |
| 5 | o,                                 | 5 | "Oh,                              |
| 6 | .. ii ne,                          | 6 | great,                            |



7	.. <b>ii ne</b> , {Figure 5}	7	<b>great,</b>
8	.. <b>sore ii ne</b> ,	8	<b>that's great!"</b>
9	mitai na [@ kanji de @],	9	something like that,
10	T [@@@@]	10	T ((LAUGH))
11	R : [@@@@]	11	R : ((LAUGH))
12	E : ... @itte.	12	E : (he) said.
13	R : [@@@@@@]	13	R : ((LAUGH))
14	E : ... [ede motte kite kureta n desu kedo@],	14	E : and he brought the plate, but
15	<b>doo mitemo</b> ,	15	"(lit.) <b>No matter how you look (at it),</b>
16	<b>kanzume:: daro kore.</b> {Figure 6}	16	<b>this's gotta be canned lobster"</b>
17	[@ mitai na kanji de @],	17	like,
18	N,R,T: [@@@@@]	18	N,R,T: ((LAUGH))

[video clip 2]

After mentioning the waiter in line 1, Emi shifts her gaze from Yoko to her husband Tai, and produces the predicate *nori no ii hito de* '(was) a perky person' in line 2. As Emi completes line 2 with final particle *ne*, she nods lightly and seeks confirmation from Tai. He immediately nods back at Emi (line 3).

Emi quickly drops her gaze from her recipients as she begins her reenactment of the waiter with an interjection *o* 'oh' in line 5; this gaze pattern is in accordance with Sidnell's observation (2006). Again, just as Sidnell predicts, Emi returns her gaze to her recipients as she exits from this part of her reenactment, saying *mitai na kanji de* 'something like that' in line 9; as, to the left side of her body, her hands 'become' the waiter scurrying off towards the kitchen.

Following a spurt of general laughter, in lines 10, 11, and 13, Emi continues to gaze at Yoko as she describes the lobster sandwich arriving. Then, in line 14, she drops her gaze down to her own hands, palms up, which take the shape of the sandwich plate she sees in the original event, and in lines 15–16 she reenacts her own reaction to the imaginary lobster sandwich as the punchline of her story: *doo mitemo, kanzume:: daro kore*. 'This's gotta be canned lobster'. Emi's reenacted portion, represented in boldface, is produced in one coherent prosodic contour (Ono, 2006; Ono and Suzuki, 1992), and is clearly identifiable as a reenactment, due to the fact that it displays the features of an emotionally charged utterance, manifested through her use of the 'VOX' features of lengthened vowels, exaggerated prosody, and higher amplitude (Du Bois et al., 1993), especially on the word *kanzume* 'canned food.' It also has a predicate-initial constituent order, ending with a demonstrative *kore* 'this' which Ono (2006) calls an 'emotively motivated' constituent order (see also Ono and Suzuki, 1992). As soon as she starts her reenactment with *doo mitemo* 'no matter how you look at it' (line 15), she drops her gaze to her raised left hand, which loosely forms the shape of a can. As she says @*mitai na kanji de @* 'like' in line 17, she looks up and gets appreciative laughter while gazing at Yoko, then Nori, and back to Yoko during lines 17 and 18.

In this extract, then, we see that, as with Michael in (2) in the reenacting event, while Emi does gaze away from her recipients during her reenactment, and return her gaze when she is not reenacting, such an observation can be enriched by considering what it is in the original event that she is reenacting: crucially, her gaze 'away from the



**Figure 4.** Emi looking at menu (line 4 *robusutaa*).



**Figure 5.** Emi being waiter (line 7 *ii ne*).



**Figure 6.** Emi looking at sandwich (line 16 *kanzume::*).

recipients' is not in the same direction in the three parts of the reenactment. As herself ordering the lobster sandwich in line 4, her gaze is to a space in front of her (Figure 4), arguably as if she is looking at a menu. As the waiter in lines 5–8, she gazes down and off to her right (Figure 5), specifically towards the imaginary couple (Emi and Tai) seated at his table. As Emi herself reacting to the imaginary lobster sandwich, her gaze is down at her left hand, which is in the shape of a can in line 16 (Figure 6).<sup>8</sup>

Further, Emi's gazing pattern is similar to that of Michael in (2) in that she does not recruit anyone else to take on a role in her story; when she looks at her recipients, she is out of reenactment mode. Until the end of the story, when she gazes at both Nori and Yoko, Emi looks exclusively at Yoko, who is sitting across from her and who keeps her gaze on Emi during the duration of the extract. Further, Emi is reenacting an event in a restaurant, using her own hands for the scurrying waiter and the imaginary sandwich plate. What we see, then, is that Emi uses her own body to accomplish multiple tasks, just like Michael in (2).

Finally, as for the dynamics of gaining appreciative reciprocity, we notice that Emi looks at Yoko and Nori right after the punch line (lines 17–18), but not at Tai, because Yoko and Nori are her two 'unknowing' recipients.<sup>9</sup> However, Tai is fully aware of the humorous social role of her story in this interaction, having experienced firsthand the event that she is reenacting (Glenn, 2003; Holt, 2010); thus all three recipients burst into laughter as soon as Emi finishes her punch line.

### *The use of gaze in reenactment*

So far, the two extracts we have considered have illustrated a reenactor using gaze to portray the original event rather than the reenacting event. We turn next to an instance where the reenacting event takes precedence in the reenactor's use of gaze. Here we see how 'directed gaze . . . serves to enlist particular coparticipants to serve as characters in a reenacted scene' (Sidnell, 2006: 396).<sup>10</sup> The three women in this conversation live together in an apartment which is above a coffee shop where all three of them work. Jennifer is telling Bonnie and Teresa about a 'guy', whom she took to be mentally somewhat challenged, who wanted her to give him a cup of coffee before the shop opened at 7:00 am.

#### (4) **Til Seven o'Clock**

1 J: .hhh and um,  
 2 (0.2)  
 3 then he's like Well-  
 4 **I know you're not open yet,**  
 5 **but I would really just want a cup of coffee.**  
 6 I'm like,  
 7 (0.6)  
 8 **Alright, but you still have to wait til**  
 9 **se(h)ven o(h)clock.**  
 10 all: @@@

[video clip 3]





**Figure 7.** Jennifer gazing at Bonnie (line 4).



**Figure 8.** Jennifer gazing at Teresa (line 5).



**Figure 9.** Jennifer gazing into mid-space (lines 4, 5 and 8).

she begins the reenactment of the guy's request in line 5 *but I would really just want . . .*, once again with entreating prosody and raised eyebrows. As she utters the end of the guy's request, *a cup of coffee*, she once again checks to see if Bonnie is gazing at her, and again finds Bonnie gazing at the ashtray. Projecting her punch line, then, in line 6, as she shifts to reenacting herself, she formulates her own quotative introducer *I'm like*, and gazes into mid-space, and then moves her gaze to Teresa, whom she knows to be displaying reciprocity, as she reenacts her response to the guy.

We find again that Jennifer's gaze pattern can be understood in terms of the habitats of the original event and the reenacting event, and the securing of reciprocity for appreciation. Why, unlike Michael in the coffee story, does Jennifer, throughout the reenactment portions of her story, gaze at first one, then the other, of her recipients? First, in the original event, in contrast to Michael's story in (2), Jennifer is reenacting a one-on-one encounter. This one-on-one encounter, furthermore, involves a [request: refusal] adjacency pair. An informal examination of our video data suggest that, depending on what is being requested, and in the absence of distractions, such sequences might normally involve the requester and the refuser gazing at each other, especially in the case of a requester who, as in this instance, is making a potentially face-losing entreaty, with very low deontic authority and very high contingency.<sup>11</sup>

Second, in the reenacting event, Jennifer, playing two roles, alternately tacitly assigns Bonnie and Teresa the roles of the customer and herself-as-coffee-shop-clerk. Michael, in contrast, is only playing the role of his father and assigns his recipients only the role of diners in the restaurant. So whereas Michael's gaze reflects his father looking down at the fly in his coffee and at other participants in the reenacted story, here in Extract (4) Jennifer is playing the roles of both the guy and herself in her reenactment, having only each other to look at, as the only two characters in the story.

Finally, in terms of appreciation, given that Jennifer designs her narrative to be a laughable story with a punch line, she must make sure she'll have an 'appreciator' as the punch line approaches; since she has not found Bonnie returning her gaze, she designates Teresa as her appreciator, gazing at Teresa as she plays herself responding to 'the guy'.

A further example comes from our Japanese data. The habitat of Extract (5) is the same as that of (3); here Yoko is telling the others about what she had done on an ice-skating outing in Finland when her then seven-year-old son had fallen down, lost his front tooth, and cut his mouth.

#### (5) Ice Skating

- |   |    |  |  |
|---|----|--|--|
| 1 | Y: | <@ de, finrando de maeba nakushi? @>               | Y: and, (he) lost his front tooth in Finland you know. |
| 2 | Y: | [sorede @@@]                                       | Y: and ((LAUGH))                                       |
| 3 | E: | [[@@@]@@@]   | E: ((LAUGH))   |
| 4 | T: | [@]  | T: ((LAUGH))   |
| 5 | Y: | ... sorede,  | Y: and   |
| 6 | :  | ... <b>ya: kawai soo</b> toka itte,<br>{Figure 13} | (I) said "Oh poor thing"                               |
| 7 | :  | <b>koori de hiyashimasho!</b><br><br>{Figure 10}   | : "Let's cool it down with ice!"                       |
| 8 | E: | [[@@@]]  | E: ((LAUGH))   |

- 9 Y: [toka itte] ((GRABBING ICE)) Y: (then I) did like this  
 10 <@kooari atsumete% ((pretends to grab some  
 11 ((THROWING GESTURE))toka itte ice)) and ((throwing  
 kuchi ni irete @>, gesture)) put some in  
 his mouth (like this),  
 {Figure 11}
- 12 E: [@@ sonna aho na. E: that's insane.  
 13 <% e::! %> @@] no way!  
 14 Y: [@@@@] Y: ((LAUGH))  
 15 **kore wa [hiyashite (I) said,**  
 16 N: [@ cough] N: ((COUGH))  
 17 Y: ((RUBBING GESTURE)) **arai-** Y: "Let's cool it down and  
 wash (the blood) off"  
 {Figure 12}
- 18 **aracchaimashoo]** toka itte @@@ ((LAUGH))  
 19 @ sonomama kooari de arai @@@ ? so (I) went ahead  
 and washed it off with  
 some ice, you know?
- 20 T: e: @@ T: oh no!  
 21 Y: [@@@] Y: ((LAUGH))  
 22 E: [itai itai ita [i].] E: ouch, ouch, ouch.  
 23 N: <@ [hi]... de @> N: that's terrible  
 24 Y: <@ moo suggoi naite. @> Y: (he) cried like crazy.

[video clip 4]

Yoko's reenactment is similar to Michael playing his father in 'Fly in Coffee' in (2), in that she is only playing one character, in this case herself taking care of her son on the ice. In other words, it is not like either Emi in (3), reenacting both the waiter and herself with her lobster sandwich, or Jennifer in 'Til Seven o'Clock' in (4), taking on the roles of both herself and 'the guy' who wanted a cup of coffee.

Throughout the 'orientation' to her story (Labov and Waletzky, 1967) in lines 1–4, Yoko is leaning back on her hands and gazing first at Nori and then to Emi. Her reenactment begins at line 6, with *ya kawaiiso toka itte*, '(I) said "Oh poor thing"'. At the beginning of line 7, she leans slightly forward, apparently looking somewhere between Emi and Tai, and says *kooari de hiyashimasho!* 'Let's cool it down with ice'. As she comes toward the end of line 7, Yoko looks downwards to her right and gestures as if grabbing some ice on the skating rink (see Figure 10).

At line 11, making a throwing gesture with her right hand, Yoko says *toka itte kuchi ni irete* 'put some in his mouth (like this)' (Figure 11).

As she moves from her ice-grabbing gesture, with her gaze down to her right, to the ice-throwing gesture, Yoko moves her gaze to Emi, directly across from her. Perhaps in response to Yoko's gazing at her, while all the participants have been laughing throughout the reenactment, it is only Emi who gives appreciative and empathetic reactive tokens assessing Yoko's ice-throwing reenactment at lines 12–13:

- 12 E: [@@ sonna aho na. E: that's insane.  
 13 : <% e::! %> @@] : no way!

Right after Emi's response *sonna aho na* 'that's insane' at line 12, Yoko nods, laughing, gazes at Emi again, and looks slightly down. In lines 15–18, Yoko, still laughing,



**Figure 10.** Yoko scooping up ice (line 7).



**Figure 11.** Yoko throwing ice at her son's mouth (line 11).

says *kore wa hiyashite* 'Let's cool it down' as she looks somewhere between Tai and Emi, and begins to make a circular rubbing gesture to her left but with her right hand (Figure 12). As she continues this circular gesture, she says *arai- arachaimashoo toka itte* '(I) said, "Let's wash (the blood) off".' in line 18; she appears to be gazing first at Tai, then clearly at Nori.

With the rubbing gesture, then, Yoko gazes successively at all three of her recipients, who are all laughing with her. At this point, Yoko returns her gaze to Emi, and each recipient, still laughing, then responds:

Tai in line 20: *e*: 'oh no'

Emi in line 22: *itai itai itai* 'ouch, ouch, ouch'

Nori in line 23: *hi ... de* '(that's) terrible'





**Figure 12.** Yoko rubbing ice on her son's mouth (line 17).

Throughout the reenactment, all three recipients have been mostly gazing at Yoko, though Nori and Tai have occasionally looked down or off to the side. Emi has been the only recipient to keep her gaze on Yoko (Figure 13); she has, moreover, also been the most visibly appreciative with her laughter and her feedback in lines 12–13.

In this extract, then, we see again that Yoko's reenactment reflects a delicate interplay between the two habitats that we are arguing shape the gaze behavior of reenactors and the dynamics of reciprocity and appreciation.

In her narrative, Yoko reenacts only one character, herself, taking care of her son at the skating rink. Like Michael reenacting his father calling the waitress over to his table, and Emi constructing the waiter above her and to her right, Yoko constructs her son to her left as she scoops up the imaginary ice and throws it at his mouth.



**Figure 13.** Emi's gazing and appreciating (end of line 6).

With regard to the habitat of the reenacting event, we cannot exactly say whether Yoko looks away from the recipients, as Sidnell predicts: she seems to be looking somewhere between Emi and Tai when she is in the first reenactment in lines 6–7. Then she gazes at all three of her recipients as she’s rubbing the ice onto her son’s face (lines 15–18), but she recurrently gazes at Emi, the person directly opposite her at the square table. In other words, Yoko does not seem to shift her gaze away from her recipients during her reenactments.

Further, even though Yoko, like Jennifer in (4), gazes at her recipients during the reenactment portions of her telling, unlike Jennifer, she does not assign any of the recipients to take on her son’s role; she puts the imaginary ice on the mouth of her imaginary son to her left, between Nori and herself. Placing her bleeding son right next to her without facing him presumably does not capture her bodily position in the original event, but we suggest that it is fully appropriate for the sake of ‘presenting’ what she did for the appreciation of all the recipients in the reenacting event.<sup>12</sup>

In terms of the dynamics of gaining appreciative reciprocity, Yoko most frequently gazes at Emi, who has been the most visibly involved of the three recipients throughout the telling, and upon whom Yoko therefore focuses most of her gazing.

### *Gaze and minimal reciprocity*

Extract (6) shows a gaze pattern in which the reenactor exclusively takes the role of someone addressing her in the event being reenacted. This time, unlike the extracts we have so far examined, she does not construct her story as laughable, and unlike our previous extracts as well, her story is very short, the ‘reported speech’ being only one two-clause turn. Her reenactment is accordingly ‘light’, with attenuated gestures and prosody, which occupy a narrower range of motion and pitch respectively than we have seen in the extracts so far. Here, four women friends are sitting around a table of snacks. The extract



**Figure 14.** Four women friends in (6).

features Keiko and Ine, both on the right, as shown in Figure 14. During the entire extract, Taiko, on the left, is peeling and eating a tangerine, exhibiting minimal reciprocity. As this extract begins, in lines 1–2, Keiko is looking at to her right and Taiko across from her as she informs them that she’s been enjoying eating fresh bamboo shoots recently, as shown in Figure 14:

## (6) Farmer

1	K:	watashi wa, mo=, takenoko,	K:	I really love to eat bamboo
2		saikin, da:isuki de sa:.		shoots recently.
3	T:	ara, soo.	T:	oh, yeah?
4	K:	takenoko taberu tabini,	K:	whenever (I) eat bamboo shoots,
5		are o omoidashite ne.		(I) remember that time.
6		ano koro wa [taishite],		at that time, (it was not) very-
		{Figure 15}		
7	I:	[yappa], watashi,	I:	now I realize that I am very
8		[souiu ten dewa shiawase da]wa.		lucky.
9	K:	[@@@@@]	K:	((LAUGH))
10	I:	nooka no hito ga,	I:	the farmer in (my) neighborhood
11		hyaku en kin'itsu de dete sa,		comes out to sell vegetables,
				all priced 100 yen,
12	K:	un.	K:	yeah.
13	->I:	(0) ima tottekita n da kara,	I:	"(I) have just picked (these),
14		okusan, oishii yo,		so madam, (they are) very tasty"
		{Figure 16}		
15		tte iwarete sa,		(I) was told (by the farmer).
16	S:	... (.1) un.	S:	yeah.

[video clip 5]

In lines 4–5, Keiko first looks into mid-space, and starts to tell about bamboo shoots evoking memories for her. At line 6, Keiko looks down at her plate, and exhibits several dysfluencies. Keiko’s bodily compartment makes it clear that she is not going to continue, perhaps due to the fact that she hasn’t had any feedback from Taiko or Sakae. Keiko’s turn at line 6 is projectably heading towards neither prosodic nor grammatical completion. Ine, looking at her plate, has reached for a tangerine and begins to peel it (Figure 15).

In line 7, as Keiko’s telling begins to trail off, Ine, in overlap, proffers a new topic with the story preface *yappa, watashi*, ‘now I’. At this point, Ine is continuing to peel her tangerine and gazing at no one. During Ine’s line 7–8, *souiu ten dewa shiawase dawa*. ‘realize that I am very lucky’, Keiko chuckles, looks at Ine briefly, then looks down at the snacks in front of her. She returns her gaze to Ine, and makes no attempt to keep her turn, in effect ceding the turn to Ine (line 9), whose story preface has provided her with the floor.

In lines 10–11, Ine begins her small story as she continues to look at, and peel, her tangerine: *nooka no hito ga, hyaku en kin'itsu de dete sa*, ‘the farmer in my neighborhood comes out to sell vegetables, all priced 100 yen.’. At this point Keiko provides a reactive token *un* (line 12), and in lines 12–14, Ine does her reenactment of the farmer, *ima tottekita n da kara, okusan, oishii yo* ‘(I) have just picked these, so madam, (they) are very tasty’. Her voice quality changes to take on a slightly entreating tone, and she uses the morphosyntax typically associated with a local small farmer’s talk to a female customer in a casual sales transaction.<sup>13</sup> She turns and lowers her head in a slightly deferential way,



**Figure 15.** Keiko talking, Ine peeling tangerine (line 6).

gazes indeterminately at a point roughly between Taiko and Sakae, and with her right hand she stops peeling her tangerine and makes an entreating gesture (Figure 16), lightly beating her right hand on the syllables boldfaced in (7):

(7) *ima tottekita n da kara, okusan, oishii yo* ‘(I) have just picked (these), so madam,(they are) very tasty’

In line 15, as Ine utters her post-reenactment quotative *tte iwarete sa*, ‘(I) was told (by the farmer)’, with a continuing intonation, she seems to shift her gaze from mid-space to Taiko very briefly, but Taiko is still occupied with peeling her tangerine. Then Ine looks at her own raised right hand. Her prosody and eye gaze in line 15 are associated with turn continuation rather than turn completion, and are treated by her recipients as such. Sakae, after a slight pause, is then the only recipient to provide a hearable appreciation, a minimal reactive token, that is, the continuer *un* ‘yeah’. Both Sakae and Keiko continue to gaze at Ine during the pause marked at the beginning of line 16. After this, the talk moves on to Ine’s comment that vegetables at supermarkets cannot compare with the fresh ones she can get from her farmer neighbor.

We see a number of new features of gaze behavior in this extract. First, Ine is playing only one character in the original event. Her use of gaze is thus strikingly unlike that of Jennifer in (4); there we saw that Jennifer used gaze to reenact a two-party adjacency pair, assigning each of her recipients in turn to play the role of one of the parties. Here in (6), Ine’s gaze into mid-space as she reenacts the farmer’s entreaty reflects the fact that she is not assigning the role of herself as the potential customer to any of her recipients in the reenacting event.

In the reenacting event, Ine’s gaze to mid-space can also be seen to reflect the fact that reciprocity is minimal: all her recipients are engaged with peeling and eating fruit, which takes their gaze away from her and towards their hands, leaving her with no gazing recipient.

Finally, as we have seen, appreciation for this reenactment is also minimal. Unlike the laughable instances we have examined so far, Ine neither seeks nor gets highly engaged reciprocity, let alone appreciation. The story is offered, and visibly oriented to, as a passing



**Figure 16.** Ine reenacting the farmer (lines 13 and 14).

contribution to ‘a continuing state of incipient talk, in which the participants are committed to co-presence by an event structure not shaped by the interaction itself’ (Schegloff, 2007: 26).

What we have seen so far is gaze behavior in reenactments which reveals a systematic orientation to the habitat of the original event, the habitat of the reenacting event, and to the dynamics of gaining appreciation. We have seen a range of ways in which gaze is used by participants, both tellers and recipients, as they jointly construct a reenactment. In (2), we see Michael in reenacting his father’s reaction to the fly in his coffee carrying out two actions with his gaze: (a) he uses gaze to depict where his father in the original event was looking as he looks at the fly in the cup, then at the waitress, and then at the table of food which he claims he is not going to pay for; (b) as a corollary, with his gaze serving this function during the narrated portions of his story, he gazes at Shane, his designated recipient, during the non-narrated portions to achieve mutual gaze (Haddington, 2006) and solicit appreciation. Similarly, in (3), we have seen Emi’s gaze behavior reflecting gaze in the original event, as Emi plays herself ordering from the menu, then the waiter looking down at the couple at the table, then herself again gazing at the disappointing lobster sandwich. As with Michael, during the non-narrated portions of her story, she also gazes at her designated recipient Yoko, for appreciation, and at the punchline, she gazes at all three recipients to join in the laughter her story has produced. Extract (4) reveals a somewhat different gaze pattern; here Jennifer uses gaze to alternately designate each of her two recipients as one of the characters in her story, as well as to share the laughter at the punch line. Extract (5) shows Yoko’s gaze operating in the habitats of both the original event and the reenacting event; she gazes down at the ice and her son, but also at her recipients as the story progresses, and she seeks and gets laughing appreciation as it approaches completion. Finally, (6) provides further support for our demonstration of how reenactors’ gaze is used to accomplish the joint construction of a reenactment. Ine’s non-directed gaze depicts the farmer’s minimal, attenuated, low-deontic constructed turn in the original event; it enables her to contribute her story, without any engaged reciprocity, as part of the larger activity of commenting on the pleasures of fresh produce, and to acknowledge the minimal reciprocity of her otherwise-occupied recipients.

### Gaze and reenactment in non-face-to-face original events

Our remaining illustrations involve two cases in which the original event was not a face-to-face interaction, addressing the gaze and bodily behavior of reenactors in these two situations: 1) the original event is a phone conversation; 2) the original event involves reading written language. In both cases, we note that the original event involves people who could not see each other; we will see that the reenactor's gaze reflects this fact in a strikingly similar way in these reenactments.

In Extract (8), Jennifer is telling Bonnie and Teresa about the (pre-web-cam) long-distance phone conversation she'd had with her boyfriend the evening before, in which she had found it hard to end the call. The extract begins with Bonnie's question to Jennifer in line 1, *so have you talked to Sammy lately?* We focus on Jennifer's response to Bonnie's follow-up *how was that* in line 7.

#### (8) Sweet Dreams

- 1 B: so have you talked to Sammy lately?  
 2 (0.6)  
 3 J: mhm talked to him yesterday.  
 4 (1.6)  
 5 B: really?  
 6 (0.5)  
 7 B: [how was that].  
 8 J: [yeah  
 9 J: it was good but then,  
 10 (1.5)  
 11 uh I kind of like,  
 12 (0.2)  
 13 drew out the goodbye,  
 14 for a long time. {Figure 17}  
 15 (0.5)  
 16 and I was like ((CLEARS THROAT))  
 17 (0.7)  
 18 (T): ((LAUGH))  
 19 (0.4)  
 20 J: I was like **Okay**, {Figure 18}  
 21 **sweet dreams**, ←a1  
 22 he's like **Okay**,  
 23 **you too**, ←a2  
 24 I'm like,  
 25 (0.7)  
 26 **Talk to you soon**, ←b1 {Figure 19}  
 27 he's like,  
 28 (0.4)  
 29 **Okay**,  
 30 and I'm like, ←b2  
 31 (0.7)  
 32 **mm% I love you:**,  
 33 B: ((RAISES HEAD AND INHALES))  
 34 J: he's like **I love you too**: {Figure 20}  
 35 J: a(h)nd then,  
 36 (0.3)  
 37 I'm like **See(h) you(h) la(h)ter** {Figure 21}

38 he goes **Okay**,  
 39 and he just hangs up.  
 40 and% I% [we hadn't said bye: yet. {Figure 22}{Figure 23}  
 41 T: [Oh  
 42 B: o[h.  
 43 T: [mmmm,  
 44 (0.6)

[video clip 6]

In this extract, Jennifer's reenactment and her gaze movements are exquisitely coordinated with each other. She gazes at Teresa at the beginning of her first reenactment of herself, and at Bonnie at the beginning of her second reenactment of herself. From then on, she gazes into mid-space, until she 'comes out of' reenactment mode and closes with a 'conclusion', at which point she glances first at Teresa and then at Bonnie.



**Figure 17.** Jennifer gazing into mid-space (lines 9–19).



**Figure 18.** Jennifer gazing at Teresa (line 20).



**Figure 19.** Gazing at Bonnie (line 26).

Jennifer has been gazing at Bonnie until she begins telling her story at line 9. As she answers Bonnie's *how was that*, with *it was good but then*, she begins to gaze ahead into mid-space, holding this gaze position until she begins the actual reenactment in line 20.

Throughout the reenactment sequence, she adopts a 'sing-song' voice for the respective turns of herself and Sammy. Notably, she gazes at each recipient as she reenacts the first two closing-implicative adjacency pairs in the original phone call. As she reenacts the first adjacency pair, a1-a2 on the transcript, at the precise beginning of the reenactment of her own turn, *Okay, sweet dreams*, Jennifer brings her gaze to Teresa, who is at least facing her, though we can't be sure she meets Jennifer's gaze.

As Jennifer finishes reenacting adjacency pair a1-a2 and moves to the next adjacency pair, b1-b2, she drops her gaze from Teresa to mid-space. And again, just as she begins reenacting her own next turn *Talk to you soon*, she brings her gaze to Bonnie, who is also gazing at her.

Now, having secured both recipients' gaze, Jennifer proceeds to play out the rest of her reenactment, from lines 26–38, gazing into mid-space (Figure 20). Both Bonnie and Jennifer are still gazing at her.

At line 39, as she concludes the story, with *and he just hangs up*, Jennifer starts to laugh (Figure 21), gazes quickly at Bonnie (Figure 22), and then at Teresa (Figure 23).

What we see here, then, is a complex interplay of gaze and language in jointly accomplishing reenactment, participation, and reciprocity. First consider the habitat of the original event, which in this case is a phone conversation. Jennifer's 'portrayal' of this situation is strikingly different from her portrayal of herself in the coffee shop in (4) 'Seven o'Clock'; there, using a pronounced gaze pattern, she designates each of her recipients in turn to take the roles of herself and the 'guy' who wanted to come into the coffee shop before it opened as they faced each other outside the coffee shop. Here, in contrast, reenacting an original event in which relative spatial positions of the participants is irrelevant, she designates neither recipient to play a role in her story, and carries out most of the reenactment with her eyes fixed in mid-space in front of her. We take this to be a direct reflection of the fact that, unlike in (4), the participants in this phone call were not visible to each other.





Figure 20. Jennifer gazing into mid-space (line 34).



Figure 21. Jennifer starting to laugh (line 37).



Figure 22. Jennifer gazing at Bonnie (*hadn't said*, line 40).



**Figure 23.** Jennifer gazing at Teresa (bye, line 40).

As for the habitat of the reenacting event, as in (4), Jennifer is sitting between her two recipients, which necessitates visually noticeable head and eye muscle movement to engage them each in turn. However, we also note that her story is not being constructed as a laughable; she is rather reconstructing a sad moment from the previous day's phone call. Though she laughs at the end, it is a laugh more of regret and embarrassment than of shared mirth, and her recipients' faces express sympathy rather than the kind of punch line-induced spontaneous burst of laughing that we saw with the participants in (2), 'Fly in Coffee', (3), 'Fisherman's Wharf', and (5), 'Ice Skating'.

In terms of the dynamics of gaining appreciative reciprocity, after doing much of her reenactment with a gaze directed to neither of her recipients, Jennifer returns her gaze to each of them at the end of the reenactment for appreciation of her plight.

Our final illustration concerns a speaker reenacting an event involving written language. Again, the participants in the original event, the letter writer and the letter receivers, are not visible to each other. Maureen and Abbie are visiting the home of Terry and Pam, and Terry is discussing a recent visit from Pam's 10-year-old nephew, who stayed with them for five weeks several months earlier.

(9) **Never Bored**

- 1 Terry: (.) and he just sent a thank-you card,  
 2 it was so cu[te].  
 3 Abbie: [oh did he::,  
 4 (0.3) ((TELEPHONE CONVERSATION IN BACKGROUND))  
 5 Terry: **you might not believe this, {Figure 24}**  
 6 **but I was never bored,**  
 7 **not [wɪn]- (hh) hhuh huh [huh huh huh huh huh]<sup>14</sup>**  
 {Figure 25}  
 8 Abbie: [aw::: ]  
 [video clip 7]

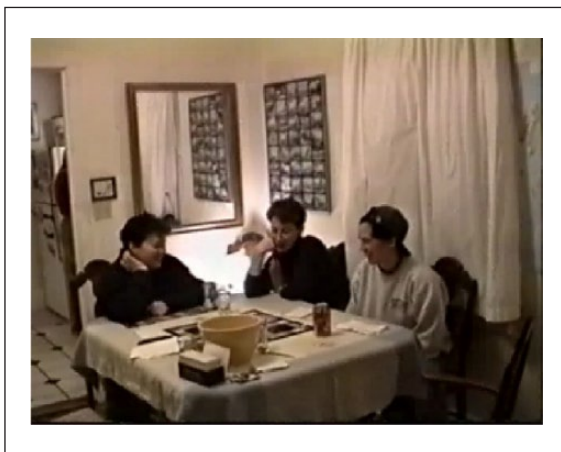
At lines 1–2, as Terry introduces the story, she is gazing at Maureen. From the perspective of the habitat of the reenacting event, as Terry reenacts what the thank-you card said, her pitch drops and the words are delivered with a monotone, as if she were reading in the nephew's voice, and her gaze during the reenactment is directed to neither of her interlocutors, but straight ahead into mid-space (Figure 24). Her essentially motionless body position during this reenactment also contributes to the impression that what is being reenacted is not an event, but rather something static, as a text.

Just at the punch line of her reenactment (lines 6–7), *I was never bored, not [w^ɪn]-....*, she moves her head slightly, and after the first syllable, she starts to laugh without completing the word *once*. As she eases out of the reenactment, she turns her gaze to Maureen (Figure 25).

What is Terry's gaze doing in this extract? As Sidnell predicts, she gazes at her recipient, Maureen, as she gives the background to her reenactment in lines 1–2, and again at



**Figure 24.** Terry reenacting the letter (line 5).



**Figure 25.** Terry turning gaze to Maureen right after *not [w^ɪn]-* (line 7).

the end of the reenactment in line 7. But her gaze away from her recipient during the reenactment is not just away from them, it is visibly and motionlessly straight ahead as she reenacts the words of the letter.

Here again, we argue that Terry returns her gaze to a recipient precisely at this point because, as she finishes reenacting the letter, the problem of portraying the contents of the letter having been resolved and she is now free to turn her gaze to her recipients. Her chuckling displays that recipients' appreciation becomes relevant, which both Abbie and Maureen now provide: Maureen laughs and Abbie smiles and says *awwww*.

## Discussion and conclusion

With data from our Japanese and American-English conversations, we have explored the ways in which participants engage with each other in constructing reenactments. In line with much research in conversation analysis revealing mundane conversations as joint achievements, we have provided evidence that both reenactors and recipients in reenactment events are involved in moment-by-moment monitoring of their own and each others' behaviors and orientations to their multiple roles as a reenactment unfolds.

Returning to our claim in (1) at the beginning, we suggested that gaze direction on the part of the reenactor involves the highly skilled interpolation of two 'layers' of representation:

- (10) a) the habitat of the original event
- spatial dynamics
  - locations, movements, and orientation of participants as they interact
- b) the habitat of the reenacting event
- where participants are located
  - who is recruited to 'play' what roles, etc.
  - the dynamics of gaining appreciative reciprocity
  - who is likely to provide it when appreciation becomes relevant, especially for a reenactment being constructed as laughable

The extracts we have shown are representative of our collection; we have identified a practice in which reenactors alternate between the habitats of the original event and the reenacting event, recurrently deploying gaze to weave these two habitats together. As they reenact the original event, they use gaze to portray the gaze of the participants in the original event, as we saw, for example, in 'Ice Skating', where Yoko gazes at her son as she puts ice on his mouth. We have also seen that in the reenacting event, reenactors use gaze as a resource to visually designate their recipients to stand in for characters in the original event, as Jennifer does in 'Til Seven o'Clock', designating Bonnie and Teresa to alternately stand in for herself and 'the guy' as recipients at the coffee shop. They use gaze as well to seek reciprocity and appreciation for their stories; for example, Terry gazes at Maureen and Abby as she finishes 'reading' the nephew's thank you card in 'Never Bored'.

We have seen evidence from the multimodal coordination of gaze direction and bodily behavior during reenactments to support our argument that what is being reenacted, how the participants are arranged in the reenacting event, and how the reenactors and their recipients organize and monitor their engagement in the reenactment all play intertwined

roles in the reenactment of events. We have shown how reenactments constitute a rich arena for investigating ‘a recognizable structure of activity within which different modalities are integrated so as to constitute a coherent course of conduct’ (Sidnell, 2006: 380).

Finally, we suggest that our study has cross-linguistic and cross-cultural implications. While the cross-cultural study of gaze is in its infancy, Rossano et al. (2009) do find significant differences with respect to gaze behavior in question–answer sequences across three speech communities (1: Italians of northern Italy; 2: speakers of Yeli Dnye, a language isolate spoken on Rossel Island, a remote island off Papua New Guinea; and 3: speakers of Tenejapan Tzeltal, a Mayan language spoken in an indigenous community in the highlands of southern Mexico). They note that ‘we cannot expect a full understanding of gaze in interaction without . . . a wider analysis – question-answer pairs, for example, constitute a very different sequential environment if compared with storytellings’ (p. 189). Their study suggests a need for further research across cultures in comparable sequence and activity types. Although Japanese and English are typologically very different languages with quite different morphosyntactic resources for doing reenactments, our study finds, across a wide collection of reenactments, that the interactional aspects of opening, jointly constructing, appreciating, and closing reenactments are strikingly similar for these two cultures. We may speculate on the possibility that these two speech communities share more than do the three studied by Rossano et al., but we will not pursue that speculation here. We look forward to further research probing just how extensive such similarities might be across speech communities around the globe.

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### Notes

1. Reenactments of hypothetical events occur as well, but the majority of the reenactments in our collection dramatize previous events, and these will be the focus of this article.
2. These researchers specifically explicate the rich use of multimodal semiotic systems and the role of listeners in constructing reenactments. The research in this article also builds on Goodwin (1979, 1981, 2006, 2007a), Haddington (2006), Kendon (1967), Rossano (2012), and Streeck (1993), whose focus is on gaze in interaction.
3. Sign language researchers have used the term *constructed action* to refer to a signer’s use of various parts of her body (e.g. head, torso, eye gaze) to depict the postures or actions of a character (Aarons and Morgan, 2003; Liddell and Metzger, 1998; Metzger, 1995, among others). Wilkinson et al. (2010), in their discussion of speakers with agrammatic aphasia re-presenting previous events, use the term ‘enactment’. We appreciate and build on their embracing of the bodily-visual aspects of ‘reported speech’, and choose to follow Sidnell in using the related term ‘reenactment’.
4. See also Goodwin (2013: 11–12) on ‘the laminated organization of human action’; he

suggests that ‘the term lamination will be used to describe a set of different semiotic fields organized as layers of diverse resources’.

5. As much of the literature on ‘reported speech’ makes clear, the event being reenacted can be an imagined or hypothetical event, rather than one which actually happened. However, we use the term ‘original event’ to avoid the similarity between the designations ‘reenacted event’ and ‘reenacting event’.
6. As with other phenomena in linguistic patterning, there are degrees of reenactment-hood: some instances are easily recognizable as reenactments, due to distinct voice quality, exaggerated gestures, and so forth, while others are quite attenuated and less easily distinguished from surrounding talk. The extracts we bring to support our claims in this article are all relatively clear instances.
7. In Extract (2), we have kept the transcription used in Sidnell (2006). For transcription conventions found in our other extracts, please see the Appendix.
8. Emi’s playing more than one role in her reenactment is highly reminiscent of the visible role and perspective shifts reported on in research on storytelling in sign languages (see especially Janzen, 2012, on ‘mentally rotated spaces’; as well as e.g. Lee et al., 1997; Metzger, 1995; Rayman, 1999). A number of the extracts we examine here also exhibit this common feature of reenactments.
9. See Goodwin (1979, 1981, 2007a), on gaze and ‘knowing’ versus ‘unknowing’ recipients. See Heritage and Raymond (2005, 2012) and Raymond and Heritage (2006) on general implications of recipients’ epistemic states in talk-in-interaction.
10. This instance is thus similar to Sidnell’s (2006) extract (10), ‘Jeopardy Question’ (p. 395).
11. See Wootton (1981, 2005), Curl and Drew (2008), Kent (2012), and Thompson et al. (in press).
12. This is, of course, entirely analogous to the oft-noticed feature of constructed dialogue in general, that it tends to reflect the contingencies of the current reporting situation rather than capture verbatim the speech in the original event (Bakhtin, 1984; Clift, 2006; Goffman, 1981; Tannen, 2007).
13. Various lexical features of lines 13–14 convey the casualness typically associated with a male small greengrocer’s sales talk. For example, Ine has him using the vocative *okusan* ‘madam’, a casual form of address for a higher-status woman, literally meaning ‘married woman’, instead of the more formal version *okusama*. In addition, she has the greengrocer using the plain form of the predicate *oishii* without attaching a formal-style copula *desu*, even though he is talking to a person with power: his potential customer. The combination of the plain form and the particle *yo* is associated with male speech in ‘non-polite, informal speech (i.e., intimate speech)’ (Makino and Tsutsui, 1986: 545).
14. We take the truncated word, which sounds like *one* (indicated in IPA as [wʌn]), to be the beginning of *once*.

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## Appendix: Transcription conventions

Each line represents a prosodic unit

,	continuing intonation	!	exclamatory intonation
.	final intonation	(( ))	transcriber's notes
...	pause	=	latching
..	very brief pause	:	lengthening
<X X>	unintelligible	-	truncated unit
[ ]	overlap	hh	out-breath
<@ @>	laughing voice quality		
@	laughter		
underline	extra stress		
%	glottalization		
.hh	inbreath		

## Author biographies

Sandra A Thompson is a Research Professor of Linguistics at the University of California at Santa Barbara, USA. She specializes in interactional linguistics, specifically considering the role of patterns of everyday conversational discourse in shaping morphosyntactic, prosodic, and bodily-visual regularities, and her published work draws on interactional data from English, Mandarin, and Japanese. She has co-edited *Interaction and Grammar* with Elinor Ochs and Emanuel Schegloff (1996, Cambridge University Press). Her book with Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen and Barbara Fox, *Grammar and everyday talk: Building responsive actions* is in press with Cambridge University Press.

Ryoko Suzuki is a Professor at Keio University, Japan, teaching English and Linguistics. Her research interests include the grammaticization of utterance-final pragmatic particles, the status of 'clause' in Japanese and English, and the nature and emergence of linguistic units in everyday talk. She has co-edited *Historical Changes in Japanese: With Special Focus on Subjectivity and Intersubjectivity* as a special issue of *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* (2007) with Noriko Onodera, and *Subordination in Conversation: A Cross-linguistic Perspective* (2011) with Ritva Laury.