UC Riverside
Issues in Applied Linguistics

Title
Teaching the Body to Make Tea within Social Interaction

Permalink
https://escholarship.org/uc/item/129412p0

Journal
Issues in Applied Linguistics, 9(2)

ISSN
1050-4273

Author
Curley, Carleen Ann

Publication Date
1998-12-30

DOI
10.5070/L492005277

Peer reviewed

eScholarship.org Powered by the California Digital Library
University of California

Teaching the Body to Make Tea within Social Interaction

Carleen Ann Curley
University of California, Los Angeles

This article investigates the directives and responses used in a tea ceremony demonstration lesson in Japanese. It moves beyond the talk of the lesson and incorporates explanations of the gestures into the analyses. Among the responses to the directives, there are occasional breakdowns of intersubjectivity. When the teacher chooses to deal with the breakdowns, her spoken turns resemble third position repair from conversation analysis. These repair turns are accompanied by gestures, which become a critical component in the achievement of understanding within this embodied activity.

This article will investigate the organization of a tea ceremony demonstration lesson through the directives and responses used in this collaborative, multimodal activity. In particular, it will illustrate how gesture and talk complement each other within an activity that requires appropriate manipulation of specific artifacts. Within this activity gesture is both a central medium of instruction and repair, and a crucial component of what participants are explicitly monitoring in each other's behavior.

DATA

Data used in this paper was taken from a tea ceremony demonstration lesson video taped in America. The author transcribed the data following the conventions developed by Jefferson (summarized in Atkinson & Heritage, 1984), with one slight modification. In the English translation, words that are not present in the Japanese, but are necessary for understanding in the English translation, have been added in parenthesis. This section will provide an explanation of the participants and an introduction to the setting of the tea ceremony[1] lesson that will be analyzed later in this article.

THE PARTICIPANTS

There were two participants in this tea ceremony demonstration lesson. For simplicity's sake, I will address the teacher as Tomo (T) and the student as Sae (S). These two participants are 33 and 31 years old, respectively. Tomo and Sae are friends; however, in this activity, they take on the roles of teacher and student, respectively. On this day, Tomo is teaching Sae the proper way to make tea according to the Urasenke-style of the tea ceremony. Although both of these women have studied the tea ceremony in the past, they each studied a different style: Tomo studied the Urasenke-style tea ceremony and Sae studied the Omotesenke-style

Issues in Applied Linguistics ISSN 1050-4273
© 1998, Regents of the University of California
Vol. 9 No. 2, 151-178

tea ceremony. Therefore, we can assume that the participants have a certain degree of shared knowledge about the basic steps needed during the tea ceremony. The native language and primary home language of the participants is Japanese.

THE SETTING

During this lesson, the teacher and student are sitting side by side, with the teacher to the student's right (see Diagram 1). In front and a little to the left of the student is the tea box that contains the primary tools that she will need for making tea. In addition, to the right of the tea box is a thermos that contains hot water, also necessary for making tea. Throughout this activity, the participants sustain this orientation, thereby creating an F-formation[2] (Kendon, 1985). Furthermore, due to the placement of the tools, which are visible to both the student and the teacher, whenever the student is manipulating these tools, her actions are visible to the teacher. This seating configuration also makes it possible for both participants to orient to the movements that occur within this participation space.

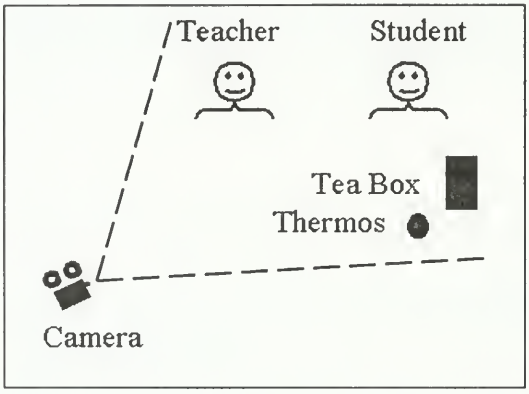


Diagram 1

THE ACTIVITY OF TEACHING TEA CEREMONY

The first example that I will present consists of the teacher directing the student to pick up the lid of the tea box, properly place her hands on it, and rotate it in preparation for placement. This sequence, as well as subsequent sequences, is taken from the first step involved in the activity of the tea ceremony — the arrangement of utensils:

Transcript 1[3]

```
12  T:  De  futa dake totte:::
        and lid  only pick up
        And picking up only (the) lid.
```

13 (0.4)

14 De migi te ga mae
and right hand SM front
(Move your) right hand (to the) front (of the lid).

15 S: Migi te ga m[ae]
right hand SM front
Right hand (to the) front (of the lid).

16 T: [Hida]ri te ga ushiro[:]
left hand SM back
(Move your) left hand (to the) back (of the lid).

17 S: [Ushir]o:
back
Back.

18 (0.3)

19 T: De, kyuujyuu do mawashi:te:,
And ninety degrees turn
And turn (the lid) ninety degrees.

20 (.)

21 De migi te ga mata mae
and right hand SM again front
Then, (bring your) right hand (to the) front (of the lid) again.

22 (0.5)

23 Hidari te ga ushiro::
left hand SM back
(Bring your) left hand (to the) back.

24 (0.6)

25 Hai. de.
yes and
Yes, and

Lines 12-14 from Transcript 1 are relevant to illustrate how gesture is critical in the achievement of understanding in this collaborative activity. In order to

better illustrate the gestures in this example and later examples, boxes have been drawn around the words that co-occur with the gestures presented in the callout boxes.

14 T: De migi te ga mae
and right hand SM front
(Move your) right hand (to the) front (of the lid).

((Demonstration of this utterance by Tomo.))

15 S: Migi te ga m[ae]
right hand SM front
Right hand (to the) front (of the lid).

((Sae moves her right hand to the front of the lid.))

16 T: [Hida] ri te ga ushiro[:]
left hand SM back
(Move your) left hand (to the) back (of the lid).

While Tomo utters line 14, she is directing Sae to carry out the action of moving her right hand to the front of the lid. This first pair part creates an interpretive framework for what should be a relevant next move or response in this activity by Sae. In addition, in line 14, Tomo quotes her own talk with a demonstration of it[4]. As she was saying, "...hand to the front," the box around the words indicates that she was actually moving her right hand as if moving it to the front of an actual lid. This gesture, which is used here as a demonstration, is illustrated by Picture 1. Here, Tomo's utterance is depicting the referent (the lid), by her movements, which are positioned in space as if she were interacting with an actual lid. Through this demonstration, Sae is able to see the movement being requested.

After the completion of Tomo's utterance in line 14, Sae responds with the action of moving her right hand to the front of the actual lid, a move that is relevant because of Tomo's directive. Sae's action is outlined with a box in line 15 above.



Picture 1: Demonstration by Tomo of moving hand as if to front of lid.



Picture 2: Sae moving her hand in front of actual lid.

While Sae is carrying out this action, she verbally repeats the directive that Tomo gave her in line 14, as illustrated by Picture 2. Sae's verbal repetition and actual demonstration of the directive are two ways, in different semiotic fields, that Sae can use to demonstrate understanding of the teacher's request.

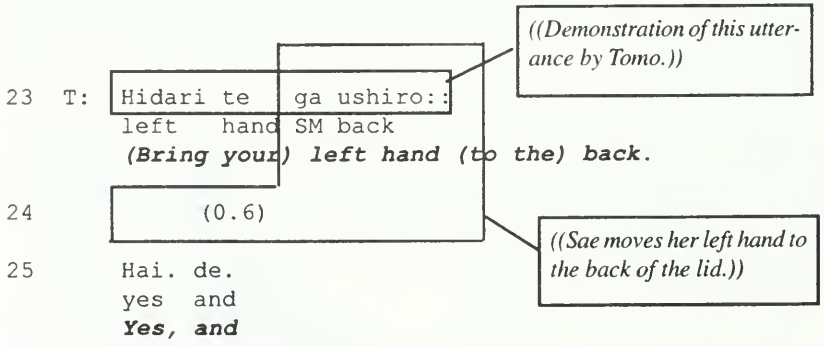
When Sae is manipulating the lid in line 15, she is doing so within the visual field of Tomo. During this time, Tomo is actually looking over at Sae, monitoring her actions. It is clear that Tomo is monitoring Sae's actions because when Sae's action and utterance near completion in line 15, Tomo begins giving the next directive, line 16, in overlap. Going on to the next part of an activity sequence is one way that a teacher can demonstrate the correctness of a student's action, which can be assessed through a monitoring of gestures.

The directives and responses continue in this segment until line 24 with the teacher and student demonstrating and/or doing the following: moving their left hands to the back of the lid, rotating it 90 degrees, and moving their right hands to the front and their left hands to the back of the lid again, as illustrated in Table 1. The text of the talk is in plain text (translated into English), but the gestures are italicized and placed in double parentheses.

During this segment, the teacher initiates a directive and the next move is for the student to perform the gesture demonstrated by the teacher. In the way that she does it, as an act that can be seen by the teacher, she displays her understanding and ability to perform the requested action. Sometimes talk accompanies Sae's displays, as in lines 15 and 17-18; however, sometimes it is through the demonstration alone, as in lines 13, 20, 22, and 24, that the Sae displays her understanding of and ability to carry out an action. The last directive/response sequence in this segment is followed by the spoken evaluation "yes" in line 25 marking that the action of manipulating the lid was correctly performed:

Line	Actor	Talk and Bodily Action
12	Tomo	And picking up only (the lid)
13	Sae	*((Picks up the lid))*
14	Tomo	(Move your) right hand (to the) from (of the lid). *((Moving her right hand as if to the front of a lid.))*
15	Sae	Right hand (to the) front (of the lid). *((Moves her right hand to the front of the lid.))*
16	Tomo	(Move your) left hand (to the) back (of the lid.) *((Moving her left hand as if to the back of a lid.))*
17-18	Sae	Back. *((Moves her left hand to the back of the lid.))*
19	Tomo	And turn (the lid) ninety degress. *((Turns her hands as if turning a lid 90 degrees.))*
20	Sae	*((Turns the lid 90 degrees.))*
21	Tomo	Then, (bring your) right hand (to the) front (of the lid) again. *((Moving her right hand as if to the front of a lid.))*
22	Sae	*((Moves her right hand to the front of the lid.))*
23	Tomo	(Bring your) left hand to the back. *((Moving her left hand as if to the back of the lid.))*
24	Sae	*((Moves her left hand to the back of the lid.))*
25	Tomo	Yes. *((Nod.))*

Table 1



In line 23, Tomo again uses gesture to demonstrate her utterance throughout

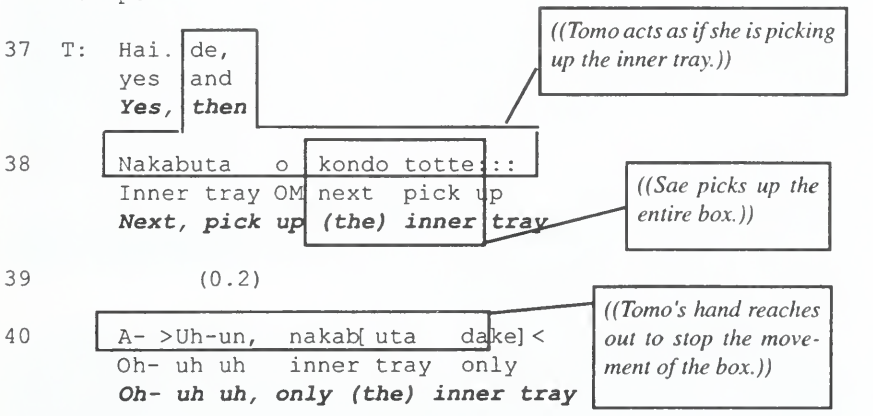
her talk by moving her left hand as if she were moving it to the back of an actual lid. In response to Tomo's utterance from line 23, Sae moves her hand to the back of the lid, as indicated by the box that starts at the end of line 23 and continues through line 24. Thus, though there is no talk responding to Tomo's directive from line 23, Sae's action displays her understanding of the directive, which, as we will see in line 25, serves as an adequate response. Sae's nonverbal response in this directive/response sequence is followed by an evaluation, as indicated by the "hai" or "yes," in line 25. A spoken evaluation is another structure that a teacher can use to mark the end of a step in the activity and display the ongoing mutual understanding between herself and a student.

The sequence that I just presented is an example of a situation in which the participants engaged in joint collaborative action use talk, coordinated gestures, and body orientation to display understanding throughout. Now I will show how a breakdown in intersubjectivity can arise as a practical problem in this collaborative activity and how understanding is negotiated through the use to talk and gesture.

THE NEGOTIATION AND ACHIEVEMENT OF UNDERSTANDING

The next sequence occurs subsequent to the sequence presented above, in which Tomo has just taken Sae through the process of picking up the lid, manipulating it, and placing it on the floor. In this sequence as well, Tomo and Sae are still involved in the placement of the tools. Tomo is instructing Sae to pick up the inner tray in preparation for placement:

Transcript 2



41 S: [A- g] omen na[sai] =
*Oh- **excuse me***

((Sae returns the box to its original position.))

42 T: [hai]
yes
Yes.

43 S: =nakabuta dake?
inner tray only
Only (the) inner tray?

44 T: Hai.
yes
Yes.

((Sae picks up and places the inner tray.))

45 S: Hai.
yes
Yes.

46 T: De, mannaka ni oite:
and middle in put
And, put (it) in (the) middle (between the lid and the box).

Throughout this activity, as illustrated in the previous section, Tomo is monitoring Sae's actions by gazing at her hands and evaluating them in terms of correctness.

The teacher demonstrates an evaluation of correctness by moving on to the next step in the activity. She does this in two ways. First, she uses the verbal evaluation "hai" or "yes" to mark that the action in the activity was correctly performed. Second, she progresses the activity to the next step by using the lexical item "de" or "and." In the omitted lines prior to line 37 of Transcript 2, Tomo had been explaining to Sae how to properly place the lid on the floor in the "hangakari" position. This was followed by Sae actually placing the lid on the ground. This action of placing the lid on the ground is the action that is being evaluated during the first part of line 37. When Tomo says, "Hai." or "yes" in this line, she is evaluating the correct completion of Sae's prior action.

After the completion of this action has been publicly established, Tomo moves on to the next action in this activity — that of picking up the inner tray. The progression of the activity is marked by the connector "de" or "and." "De" is used as an announcement of moving on to the next stage in an activity. By moving on to the next stage, the "de" can display an analysis of the correct completion or projected completion of the student's activity. This usage of "de" has a similar function to the "and" presented by Heritage and Sorjonen (1994). They explored how

'and' linked question/answer pairs in a series. They then presented an analysis of how 'and' can help achieve "a form of continuity or coherence ... across this [a] group of questions ... across a series of adjacency pairs," (p. 4). Although the adjacency pairs that I am dealing with in the present study are directive/response adjacency pairs rather than question/answer ones, the usage of 'and' as a way of sustaining coherence across sequences still applies to these data. Furthermore, each usage of "de" progresses the activity further.

The teacher demonstrates a lack of correctness by stopping a line of action in progress in order to deal with any trouble of telling, hearing, or misunderstanding that has been displayed by the student. Starting with the "de" in line 37 and continuing through line 38, Tomo directs Sae to pick up the inner tray. Her demonstration of this coincides with the talk in lines 37 - 38, as illustrated by the box on Transcript 2. However, in line 38, after hearing only the word "inner tray" and the accompanying object marker, Sae picks up the entire tea box, also illustrated in Transcript 2. This demonstration is Sae's response to both the talk and demonstration by Tomo in lines 37-38. By picking up the entire tea box, Sae displays an incorrect understanding of the object mentioned in line 38, which she was instructed to pick up. However, if you observe the gesture that Tomo displays in lines 37-38 (see Picture 3) and the gesture that Sae uses at the end of line 38 to carry out the directive (see Picture 4), they look the same. This display of misunderstanding becomes an excellent example of the limitations of gesture alone in the instruction of an embodied activity.

In fact, in the following line, the words disambiguate the gesture, illustrating how words and gesture must both be used to clearly demonstrate what needs to be done in this lesson. During line 38, Tomo is gazing at Sae's hands. Shortly after Sae picks up the entire tea box, Tomo corrects the incorrect action in line 40 by telling her again to pick up the inner tray. However, in this line, she tells her to pick up only the inner tray. This utterance is known to conversation analysts as third position repair[5]. This action consists of the following components:

```
40  T:  A- >Uh-un,  nakab[ uta    dake] <
        Oh- uh uh   inner tray  only
            Oh-     uh uh     only (the) inner tray
```

Repair initiator | Rejection component | Repair proper

Line 40 starts with a repair initiator "A-" or "Oh" and is followed by a rejection component. These two components are followed by the repair proper, which is a specification of the trouble source from line 38, indicating that she should only pick up the inner tray, rather than the entire box (which includes the inner tray). While uttering line 40, Tomo reaches out to stop the movement of the tea box (see Picture 5). Thus, in addition to her verbal repair of the trouble source, she attempts to halt the action in progress. Stopping the activity in progress by stopping move-



Picture 3: Demonstration by Tomo of picking up the inner tray.

ment is one resource that a teacher can use to prevent further development. This is in contrast to the example above when the teacher used "de" or "and" to progress the action.

Upon hearing this repair, Sae returns the box to its original position (throughout lines 41-42) and demonstrates an understanding of her incorrect action through an apology in line 41, which occurs in overlap with her action of moving the box back to its original position. By not completing the activity, she, as the student, indicates her awareness that the action she was in the process of performing was incorrect. Then, she requests clarification of what she should do in line 43. Sae then launches her action (line 44) of picking up the inner tray upon completion of her clarification request in line 43. Upon seeing that Sae is in a course of action that coincides with the request, i.e. to pick up the inner tray, Tomo continues on with the next line of action in line 46. By continuing, we can conclude that what Tomo is doing when gazing at Sae's hands is monitoring for correctness or lack of correctness: she stops to correct the action if the student incorrectly carries it out, as in line 38, visibly displaying that a repair is in progress, and she continues with the activity once it has been is carried out correctly, as in line 46.



Picture 4: Sae picks up the entire box



Picture 5: Tomo reaches out and stops movement of tea box.

ANALYSIS OF AN EXTENDED SEQUENCE

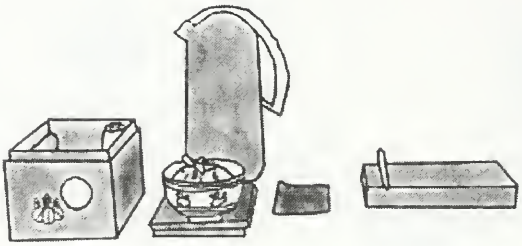
In this section, I will illustrate how gesture is a central medium of instruction and repair in an extended sequence that deals specifically with how the hand should be positioned in relation to an object when making tea.

The next sequence, also, is within the first step of the tea ceremony — placement of utensils. Here, Tomo will be instructing Sae to pick up the *onatsume* and put it on the lid (which is on the ground). An *onatsume* is a lacquer box containing tea powder used for making Japanese thin tea. Because this word is highly cultural, there is no adequate English translation for it. Therefore, I will use the Japanese word onatsume throughout to refer to the utensil in Picture 6.

The analysis of Transcript 3 will focus on the repair that occurs in this activity at a point when Tomo is directing Sae to take the onatsume out of a small pouch that is inside the tea bowl. After Sae takes the onatsume out of the tea bowl, she is to place it in the center of the lid. At the beginning of this sequence, the tools are in the configuration illustrated in Picture 7 (which displays them from the student's perspective). By the end of the analysis, it will be clear how systematically the teacher and student collaborate as they negotiate the meaning of the task at hand in order to proceed with the next step of the activity. The transcript for this segment is as follows:



Picture 6: *Onatsume* - a lacquer tea box.



Picture 7: Lay-out of the tools.

Transcript 3

105 T: De, mata musumibe o migi te de
and next knot OM right hand with

106 hipparimasu
pull
And next, pull the knot (of the small pouch that was inside the cup) with (your) right hand.

107 S: °Migi te de°
right hand with
With (my) right hand.

108 T: Hai.
yes
Yes.

109 (0.8)

110 De zenbu tokemasu kara
and all untie after
And after untying (it) all,

111 (1.4)

112 De, shizuka ni onatsume o (0.8) migi te de
and quietly lacquer OM right hand with

113 yappari todashite,
again take out
Quietly take out (the) "onatsume" (from the tea bowl) with (your) right hand again.

114 De, futa no mannaka ni oite kudasai
and lid POS center in put please
And please place (it) in (the) center (of the) lid.

115 E, a, kotchi no futa desu ne
e- a- this POS lid COP FP
Oh, u- this lid.

116 S: H[ai
yes
Yes.

117 T: [Hai
yes
Yes.

118 (0.4)

119 [De, a. onatsume wa]
AND oh tea box TM
And oh. the lacquer box…

120 S: [(°Mannaka de ii desu ka°)]
middle OK COP Q
Is the middle OK?

121 T: Ee. k- koo iu fuu ni
yes k- this say way
Yes. Like th- this.

122 Tyotto i- tyotto ii desu ka
a lit- a little good COP Q
Ma- may I?

123 S: Hai
yes
Yes.

124 T: Koo iu fuu ni nanka tsukamu n desu.
like this filler grasp N COP
Grasp (it) like this.

125 Ano,
well
Well,

126 S: Hai
yes
Yes.

127 (0.4)

128 Kakaru yoo ni
cover like
(So that my hand) covers (the tea box)?

129 T: Hai
yes
Yes.

130 (0.5)

131 Yubi o koo, hitosashiyubi o tatete
finger OM like index finger OM stick out
Stick out (your) finger, (like your)
index finger.

132 (0.5)

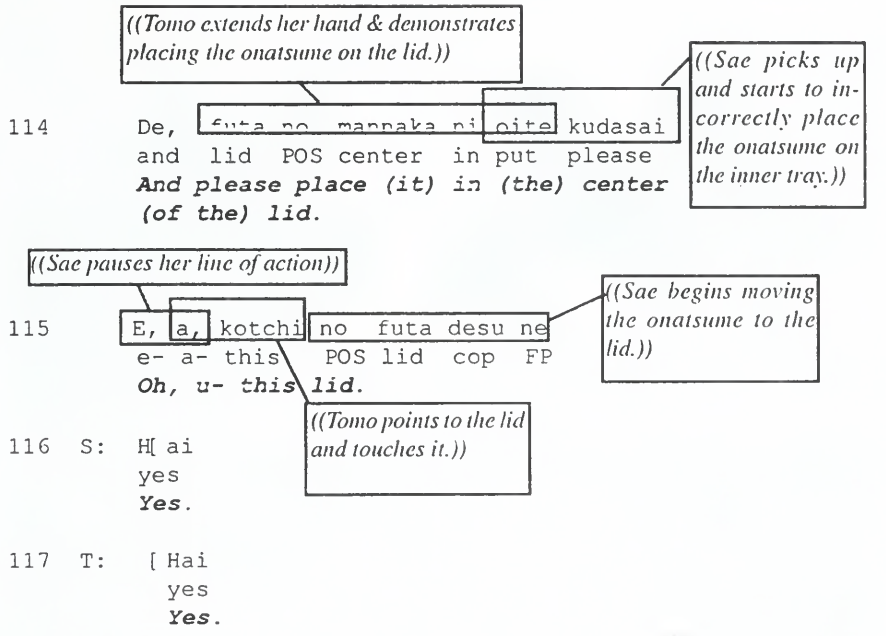
133 Hai
yes
Yes,

134 Soo iu fuu ni ue kara tsukan de
that say way top from grab and
Grasp (it) up from (the) top like that.

135 Mannaka ni oite kudasai
center in put please
Please put (it) in (the) center.

In lines 105-113 Tomo directs Sae to take the onatsume out of the small pouch that is inside the tea bowl. It is necessary for the student to pick up the onatsume because the next step in the activity is to place it in its appropriate location. Lines 105-113 progress unproblematically, as indicated by the talk of the teacher, who goes on to each next step with the connector "de" or "and." She moves on from line 113 after having the student pull the knot of the small pouch, and pick up the onatsume quietly with her right hand.

In contrast to lines 105-113, the next two lines indicate a problem and begin the negotiation of understanding between the teacher and the student:



114 De, futa no mannaka ni oite kudasai
and lid POS center in put please
And please place (it) in (the) center (of the) lid.

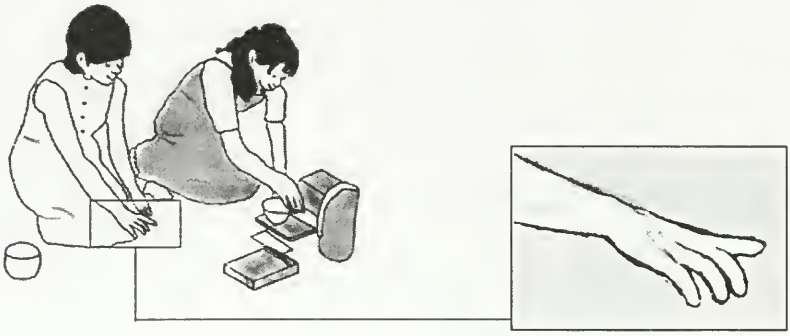
115 E, a, kotchi no futa desu ne
e- a- this POS lid cop FP
Oh, u- this lid.

116 S: H[ai
yes
Yes.

117 T: [Hai
yes
Yes.

In line 114, Tomo tells Sae to please place the *onatsume* on the center of the lid. When Tomo does this, she deploys a first pair part within a directive/response sequence. Here we will see that this first pair part is critical because it defines a relevant framework within which the student must carry out the given order. Furthermore, as she gives this directive initially, Tomo extends her hand and demonstrates putting the *onatsume* on the lid (see Picture 8 for the actual position of the participants and the enlarged version of Tomo's hand demonstration during line 114). Tomo's utterance and action in line 114 have publicly established an understanding of the normative action, which will later allow Tomo to use this standard to evaluate Sae's actions. Again, note that Sae is manipulating the tools in a participation space that is accessible to Tomo. This is relevant because during line 114, Tomo's head (see Picture 8) is turned towards Sae's hands as she monitors her actions. More will be said about this later. As detailed in Transcript 1, following this directive by the teacher, a response is relevant by the student. During the last part of line 114, as highlighted by the callout box in the transcript, Sae takes the *onatsume* from the pouch and starts to put it on the inner tray. Here, her response is displaying an incorrect understanding of the prior utterance because she is putting the onatsume on the inner tray just above the tea bowl, rather than on the lid, as the teacher had instructed (refer to Picture 7 for the configuration of the tools).

From Line 115, we can see that Tomo has been monitoring the actions of Sae. First, the utterance in line 114 allowed Tomo to analyze Sae's actions in terms of whether or not they were fulfilling the directive of placing the onatsume on the



Picture 8: Tomo demonstrates placing the *onatsume* on the lid.

lid. The repair in line 115, an evaluation of the visible performance of the student, demonstrates that the teacher has been monitoring. Furthermore, since this is an embodied manipulation of the onatsume, monitoring is the only way to evaluate the correctness of the student's action. During this part of the sequence, Tomo's head is turned towards Sae. While Sae is carrying out this incorrect action, Tomo responds with a correction:

```
115  T:  E,  a, kotchi no  futa desu ne
         e-  a- this   POS lid  COP  FP
             Oh, u- this lid.
             Repair initiator  Repair proper
```

In this sequence, line 115 starts with the repair initiator "Oh-". This repair initiator is critical to the organization of this activity because it stops the line of action that is being carried out by the student. When Tomo utters the repair initiator, Sae pauses her movement: she had started setting the *onatsume* down on the inner tray, but she does not bring that action to completion, as illustrated in Picture 9.

The repair proper in this segment begins with the deictic term "kotchi." In the talk, this deictic term serves to specify the trouble source (specifying "lid" with "this lid"). Also, by using the deictic in her talk, Tomo explicitly focuses attention on a phenomenon in another semiotic modality. This deictic term is accompanied by a pointing gesture (see Picture 9), which serves to specify the actual object that Tomo is referring to, i.e., the lid rather than the inner tray. After this deictic gesture has been launched, Sae moves the *onatsume* from its problematic position on the inner tray to its correct position on the lid (see Picture 10), now providing an



Picture 9: Sae pauses her action and Tomo points to the correct location

unproblematic response to the directive from line 114 instructing her to place the *onatsume* on the lid.

This sequence approaches its close when Sae acknowledges the repair, both by uttering "hai" in line 116 and by correctly responding to Tomo's directive from line 114. When Tomo provides an evaluation, in line 117, of the adequacy of Sae's action[6], the sequence ends.

As the sequence progresses, it becomes evident that line 114 is still a trouble source:



Picture 10: Sae brings the *onatsume* to the correct location.

114 De, futa no mannaka ni oite kudasai
and lid POS center in put please
And please place (it) in (the) center (of the) lid.

115 E, a, kotchi no futa desu ne
e- a- this POS lid COP FP
Oh, u- this lid.

116 S: H[ai
yes
Yes.

117 T: [Hai
yes
Yes.

118 (0.4)

119 [De, a. onatsume wa]
AND oh tea box TM
And oh. the lacquer box…

120 S: [(°Mannaka de ii desu ka°)]
middle OK COP Q
Is the middle OK?

121 T: Ee. k- koo iu fuu ni
yes k- this say way
Yes. Like th- this.

122 Tyotto i- tyotto ii desu ka
a lit- a little good COP Q
Ma- may I?

123 S: Hai
yes
Yes.

124 T: Koo iu fuu ni nanka tsukamu n desu.
like this filler grasp N COP
Grasp (it) like this.

125 Ano,
well
Well,

126 S: Hai
yes
Yes.

127 (0.4)

128 Kakaru yoo ni
cover like
(So that my hand) covers (the tea box)?

```
129  T:  Hai
         yes
         Yes.
```

Although this sequence is much more complicated than the sequences I analyzed above, I will argue that it follows the same patterns of repair in talk-in-interaction.

In the previous section, I addressed the trouble Sae had in placing the *onatsume* in the correct location. In this section, I will again deal with repair on the trouble-source segment in line 114; however, the repair dealt with here is repair of the manner of holding the *onatsume*. Recall that Picture 8 above was taken at the point when Tomo was telling Sae to put the *onatsume* on the lid (line 114). During this time, the demonstration of her hand embodyed the way in which this activity should be carried out (see Picture 8 for an enlarged sketch of Tomo's hand position); however the utterance itself only explicitly directed Sae on where to place the *onatsume*. Although the talk and the gesture mutually elaborate one another, here, the words and the gesture alone are not enough to define the features of the gesture that are relevant. In this sequence, from the second half of line 115 until the "tyotto i-" in line 122, Sae is moving the *onatsume* from its incorrect position on the inner tray to its correct position on the lid. However, as Sae is engaged in this activity, Tomo indicates that further problems have arisen. In line 119, Tomo again utters a repair initiator, "a." or "oh," which marks that there is a problem. This utterance, in which Tomo initiates repair, is produced in overlap with an understanding check by Sae. However, while Tomo is initiating repair, her hand is moving towards the onatsume. In line 121, Tomo briefly acknowledges Sae's prior utterance with the "ee" or "yes," but then adds an increment to the repair utterance that she began producing in line 119. During line 121, when Tomo resumes her repair segment, she puts her hand between Sae's hand and the *onatsume*:

```
121  T:  Ee. k- koo  iu  fuu ni
         yes k- this say way
          Yes. Like th- this.
```

((Tomo moves her hand to the onatsume.))

However, Sae does not remove her hand. At line 122, Tomo begins asking permission to gain control of the onatsume. When she starts her utterance, Sae's hand is still lingering on the onatsume (see Picture 11). Within this utterance, Tomo cuts off her talk in progress and restarts. It is at the restart that Sae removes her hand from the onatsume, allowing Tomo to gain control of the object in question:



Picture 11: Sae's hand remains on the *onatsume*.

122 T: Tyotto i- tyotto ii desu ka
a lit- a little good COP Q
Ma- ***may I?***

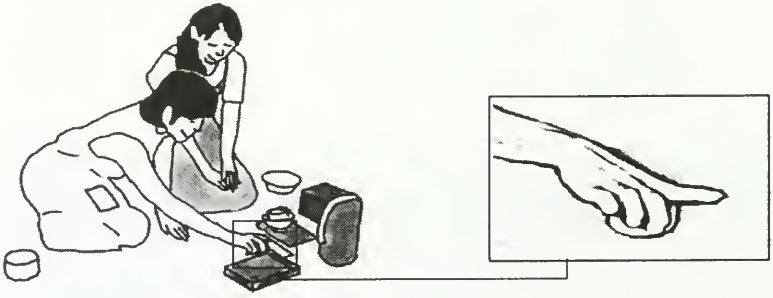
((Both Tomo & Sae's hands are on the onatsume.))

((Sae removes her hand & Tomo gains control of the onatsume.))

In line 124, Tomo picks up the *onatsume* from the lid and demonstrates how to hold it (see Picture 12) while instructing Sae to "grasp (it) like this."

124 T: Koo iu fuu ni nanka tsukamu n desu.
like this filler grasp N COP
Grasp (it) like this.

((Tomo demonstrates how to hold the onatsume.))



Picture 12: Tomo demonstrates the correct way to hold the *onatsume*.

This utterance and embodied action locate the repairable — Sae's incorrect way of grasping the onatsume. Picture 13 illustrates Sae's incorrect way of grasping the onatsume in line 114 - 122. According to Schegloff (1992), another "type of operation used by repairers to recast the trouble-source turn may be termed 'explanation'" (p. 1312). The third position repair proper that occurred in lines 119, 121, and 124 appears to be this type of repair. Only here, the explanation is an embodied presentation of what the teacher expects of the student. In line 125, Tomo stops her demonstration and explanation of the trouble-source and puts the onatsume back down on the lid:

125 T: Ano, well ***Well,*** *((Tomo puts the onatsume back on the lid.))*

126 S: Hai yes ***Yes.***

127 (0.4)

128 Kakaru yoo ni cover like ***(So that my hand) covers (the tea box)?***

Upon the completion of this, Sae acknowledges the repair in line 126 and seeks a confirmation of understanding in line 128. It is after uttering this line that Sae moves her hand to approach the onatsume again:

129 T: Hai yes ***Yes.*** *((Sae moves her hand to approach the onatsume.))*

Here we can see that through demonstration and explanation, the teacher provided resources in a sequentially appropriate manner to achieve intersubjective organization within this interaction.



Picture 13: Sae's initial way of holding the *onatsume*.

The segment analyzed above continues as follows:

```
130  T:      (0.5)

131      Yubi   c  koo, hitosashiyubi o  tatete
         finger OM like index finger  OM stick out
         Stick out (your) finger, (like your)
         index finger.

132          (0.5)

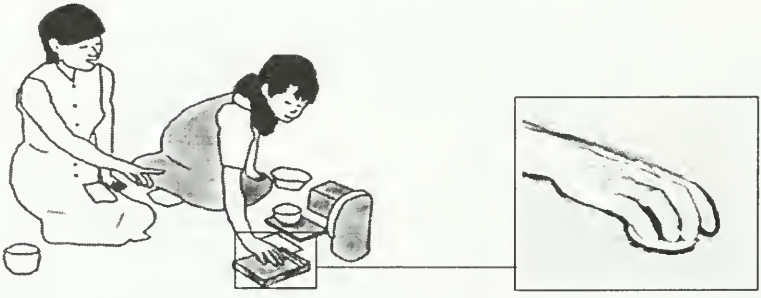
133      Hai
         yes
         Yes,
```

This segment of the transcript is critical because two instances of repair from this sequence converge in these lines.

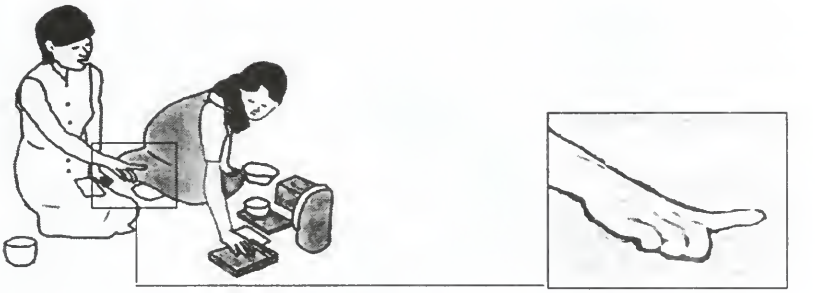
During the 0.5 second pause in line 130, Sae, who has been approaching the *onatsume*, grasps it (see Picture 14) by covering the whole object with her hand. This way of grasping resembles the way in which Tomo grasped it in Picture 12, covering it with her hand, rather than only grasping it with her fingertips (as illustrated in Picture 13). Although this way of grasping approached the model that Tomo demonstrated, it still triggered another instance of third position repair.

In the instance of repair illustrated above, the third position repair that Tomo uses to correct the repairable is: "And oh, the laquer box"; "like th- this"; "grasp (it) like this" (as seen in lines 119, 121, and 124). While she uttered this, she also provided a demonstration of the action she was expressing verbally (see Picture 12 above). However, this repair utterance becomes the trouble-source in the next instance of third position repair.

The way of grasping that Sae uses in Picture 14 is a sequentially relevant



Picture 14: Sae grasps the *onatsume* by covering it with her hand.



Picture 15: Sae gazes over at Tomo's demonstration of the trouble source.

response to Tomo's utterance in lines 119, 121 and 124. However, it appears as if this way of grasping also indicates an incorrect understanding. Since a demonstration of Tomo's utterance is what Sae needs to do in order to carry out the directive, the only way that Tomo can assess the action for correctness or lack of correctness is through visual monitoring. Tomo is displaying that she is monitoring the actions of Sae in a number of ways. First, the participation framework allows Tomo to have access to Sae's actions, and throughout this section, Tomo is gazing at Sae's hands as she manipulates the *onatsume*. Also, she initiates another repair in order to correct the positioning of Sae's hand before she goes on to the next step in the activity. During line 131, Tomo tells Sae specifically to "stick out (your) finger, (like your) index finger."

The only one of Schegloff's (1992) four features of repair that it contains is the repair proper, which in this case is an explanation of the trouble-source turn. Of all of the features of third position repair, this is the one most likely to be present. At the "koo" in line 131, Sae, who had been looking down at her own hand handling the *onatsume* now shifts her gaze to Tomo's hand (see Picture 15). This is evidence that the utterance up to this point, "yubi o koo," was not enough for Sae to locate the repairable. In this instance, it is the gesture that makes this utterance transparent (see the enlarged sketch of the hand gesture in Picture 15) and allows Sae to locate the repairable. While Tomo is in the process of telling Sae to stick out her index finger, Sae sticks out her index finger in the correct position (see Picture 16). The way Sae is correctly grasping the *onatsume* with her index finger pointing out displays her understanding of the third position repair that Tomo uttered in line 131. During the pause in line 132, Sae holds her hand in the correct position until Tomo's confirmation of her corrected action in line 133. From these lines, it is clear that the different semiotic modalities, such as talk, deictics, and gesture, mutually elaborate each other. And in some cases, all of these fields are relevant to the constitution of action within talk-in-interaction.

When Sae carries out the action of picking up the *onatsume* and placing it on the lid (rather than the inner tray) using the correct hand position, she is displaying



Picture 16: Sae correctly grasps the *onatsume*.

her understanding of the activity in progress. Now, the utterances in lines 134-135 are the lines that move the activity of repair back into the activity of placing the tools. By moving on in an activity, the teacher accepts what has been done and no longer keeps the student in a position to be redoing the activity in question:

```
134  T:  Soo  iu  fuu ni ue  kara tsukan  de
         that say way    top from grab    and
         Grasp (it) up from (the) top like that.

135      Mannaka ni oite kudasai
         center  in put  please
         Please put (it) in (the) center.
```

This move back into the activity of making tea is done in a systematic way. First, now that Sae has her hand in the correct position on the *onatsume*, she repeats her response to the directive that she was given in line 114. She does this by re-picking up the onatsume and re-placing it in the center of the lid while Tomo is uttering line 134. In the utterance at line 134, Tomo acknowledges that Sae's hand is correctly positioned by the change in deixis. To illustrate, in lines 121 and 124, when Tomo was demonstrating how to hold the object, she said the following utterances:

```
121  T:  Ee. k- koo  iu  fuu ni
         yes k- this say way
         Yes. Like th- this.

124  T:  Koo  iu fuu ni nanka  tsukamu n desu.
         this say way   filler grasp   N COP
         Grasp (it) like this
```

In these utterances, Tomo is demonstrating how the object should be grasped, and when doing so, she uses the deictic reference "koo" or "this." This deictic term focuses the attention onto Tomo and highlights what should be done. However, when Sae is correctly grasping the onatsume, Tomo's utterance shifts to "soo" or "that":

```
134  T:  Soo  iu  fuu ni ue  kara tsukan  de
         that say way   top from grab   and
         Grasp (it) from (the) top like that and

135      Mannaka ni oite kudasai
         center  in put  please
         Please put (it) in (the) center.
```

In this way, she is displaying her acceptance of the way that Sae is holding the onatsume. The use of "that" focuses the attention on Sae and establishes that Tomo finds that action to be correct.

The activity resumes in the same way which it stopped. In fact, by juxtaposing lines 114 (the line just before the repair sequence started) and 135 (the line that ended the repair sequence), the resumption of the activity of making tea becomes even more apparent:

```
114  T:  De,  futa no mannaka ni oite kudasai
         and  lid  PM center  in put  please
         And please put (it) in the center of the lid.

135  T:  Mannaka ni oite kudasai
         center  in put  please
         Please put (it) in the center.
```

This verbal parenthesis sets off the repair sequences in this segment. That is, the activity that was interrupted by the repair sequences gets re-initiated with the same words. And, in fact, following this politeness marker, "kudasai," in line 135, which systematically marks the end of one step of the activity, Tomo proceeds with the activity of directing Sae to take out and arrange the tools.

CONCLUSION

According to Austin (1962), a directive is an utterance designed to get someone to do something. Directives are essential elements within talk and interaction because they help organize the bodily actions that accompany the talk. Through the current analysis, I illustrate how directives, used in conjunction with gestures,

are critical in organizing the actions of the student.

One of the earlier themes in research on directives involved coming to an understanding of what constituted a directive. In order to investigate this question, researchers, such as Labov & Fanshel (1977), began to analyze directives within different speech acts. However, this line of study was soon replaced by researchers investigating directives embedded within sequences. For example, M. H. Goodwin (1990) analyzed the sequential placement of directives within stretches of talk among African-American children in order to determine how directives contributed to social organization. Wootton (1997) focused primarily on one child's requests and directives, including imperatives within sequences, in order to illustrate verbal activity that emerged from and constituted a collaborative socialization process between a child and her parents. Regardless of the goal for studying directives, it is important to note that "directives are best understood as actions embedded within a larger field of social activity," (M. H. Goodwin, 1990, p. 73).

The previous two studies mentioned focused on the talk that occurred within contexts containing directives. However, the current study extended beyond the talk to include other ways of displaying how directives helped achieve understanding. In particular, I looked at how gestures became a key element when giving a directive in an embodied activity.

As with any instructional situation, when a directive is given, there is always the possibility of problems that need to be repaired. This article has also looked systematically at third position repair that occurred within this embodied activity and how it was used to correct responses to directives that demonstrated trouble in telling, hearing, or understanding. Again, gesture was a critical element used when dealing with the trouble source. Therefore, this study has revealed that even though these data were taken from an activity that is highly cultural in Japanese society, the talk-in-interaction that takes place within this activity is made up of generic features that are relevant to interaction.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my thanks to Charles Goodwin and Marjorie Harness Goodwin for their help throughout the development of this article. They tirelessly read through all of my previous drafts, leading to what I hope is a better overall paper. I would also like to acknowledge Makoto Hayashi and Naomi Iwai for the help I received from them in the initial stages of the transcription, translation and analysis of these data. As a non-native speaker working with Japanese data, their native-speaker input was invaluable. Finally I would like to thank two anonymous ial reviewers for their insightful comments which prompted me to rethink and rework some of the sections of this paper.

APPENDIX A: GRAMMATICAL ABBREVIATIONS

COP	Copula
FP	Final Particle
N	Nominalizer
OM	Object marker
POS	Possessive marker
Q	Question marker
QT	Quotative particle
SM	Subject marker
TM	Topic marker

NOTES

[1] The tea ceremony is one of the most traditional activities present in Japanese culture. The basic notion behind the tea ceremony is simplicity and purity. Since many aspects of the tea ceremony were developed in Zen temples, Zen beliefs helped shape the foundation of tea ceremony teaching (Tanaka & Tanaka, 1998). However, during the Edo period (1603-1868), the types of temae, or the way of making and serving tea, increased. The three basic concepts of temae are arrangement, purification, and calmness of mind. For example, arrangement encompasses setting down the objects one at a time, so as to allow enough time for the guests to admire the beauty of the arrangement (Tanaka & Tanaka, 1998, p. 131).

Although many different types of temae have developed, there are a set of fundamental steps that occur in all types: arrangement of utensils, wiping the utensils, warming the tea whisk and tea bowl, making the tea, washing the bowls and the whisk, wiping the tea scoop and replacing the utensils. Thus, through this brief history behind the tea ceremony, it is clear that this activity is governed by a very strict set of prescribed practices.

[2] According to Kendon (1985), "An F-formation may be said to arise whenever two or more individuals agree to position themselves in such a way that their transactional segments overlap, thereby establishing a space between them to which they have equal access. This space is an area over which all participants exercise control and for whose maintenance and protection from internal and external disturbances all are responsible," (p. 239).

[3] For a list of the abbreviations used in the gloss, see Appendix A. Also note that in the translation, words in parentheses indicate words that are not present in the Japanese but have been added in an attempt to make the English translation better reflect the Japanese.

[4] Clark and Gerrig (1990) argue that "Quotations are demonstrations that are component parts of language use," (p. 769). Throughout this lesson, Tomo used demonstrations to quote her speech. It is Clark and Gerrig's notion of quotation as demonstration that I refer to.

[5] According to Schegloff (1987, 1992), the definition of third position repair is as follows. One participant, A, produces a turn at talk. The next participant, B, produces a sequentially appropriate next turn that displays his/her understanding of the first turn. However, this turn reveals that speaker B has misunderstood the turn that he/she is responding to. In the next action, speaker A may choose to address this problem of misunderstanding by dealing with the trouble source from the first turn. One common form that a third position repair takes is, "No, I don't mean X, I mean Y."

Third position repair consists of four main components:

- a repair initiator (usually "no" or "oh" or a combination of the two)

- an agreement or acceptance component (the element most likely to be absent)
- a rejection component
- the repair proper (the element most likely to be present).

When multiple components occur in one turn, they generally appear in this order. For a more detailed explanation, see Schegloff (1992).

The most common component, the repair proper, takes on a number of different forms. The repair proper can merely consist of a "clearer" repetition of the trouble source, such as repeating the trouble source with more emphasis through sound stretches, additional stress, and intonation drops. However, this form of repair is quite uncommon. The more common operations that make up the repair proper are:

- "I mean" plus a contrast
- "I mean" plus a reformulation of the trouble source
- A specification
- An explanation

This review of third position repair is critical to the current analysis because the form of the turns that the teacher uses to correct the problems in telling, hearing, or misunderstanding resemble third position repair turns.

[6] It is unclear to me here whether Tomo is actually acknowledging Sae's completion of the action or acknowledging the fact that Sae acknowledges that she misunderstood the directive.

REFERENCES

Atkinson, J.M. & Heritage, J. 1984. (Eds.) *Structures of Social Action*. Cambridge: Cambridge University press.

Austin, J. L. (1962). *How to do things with words.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Clark, H., & Gerrig, R. (1990). Quotation as demonstration. *Language, 66*(4), 764-805.

Goodwin, M.H. (1990). *He-said-she-said.* Bloomington, IN: Indiana Press.

Heritage, J., & M. L. Sorjonen. (1994). Constituting and maintaining activities across sequences: And-prefacing as a feature of question design. *Language in society, 23*, 1-29.

Kendon, A. (1985). Behavioural foundations for the process of frame attunement in face-to-face interaction. In G. Ginsburg et al (Eds.), *Discovery strategies in the psychology of action* (pp. 229-251). London: Academic Press.

Labov, W., & Fanshel, D. (1977). *Therapeutic discourse: Psychotherapy as conversation*. New York: Academic Press.

Schegloff, E. A. (1987). Some sources of misunderstanding in talk-in-interaction. *Linguistics, 25*, 201-218.

Schegloff, E. A. (1992). Repair after next turn: The last structurally provided defense of intersubjectivity in conversation. *American Journal of Sociology, 97*(5), 1295-1345.

Tanaka, S. & Tanaka, S. (1998). *The Tea Ceremony* (Rev. ed.). Tokyo: Kodansha International.

Wootton, A. J. (1997). *Interaction and the development of mind.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.