Embodied displacements in young German children's storytelling
Layering of spaces, voices and bodies

Vivien Heller

Bergische Universität Wuppertal, Germany
vheller@uni-wuppertal.de

This paper is concerned with embodied processes of joint imagination in young children's narrative interactions. Based on Karl Bühler's notion of 'deixis in the imagination', it examines in detail how a 19-month-old German-speaking child, engaged in picture book reading with his mother, brings about different subtypes of deixis in the imagination by either 'displacing' what is absent into the given order of perception (e.g. by using the hand as a token for an object) or displacing his origo to an imagined space (e.g. by kinaesthetically aligning his body with an imagined body and animating his movements). Drawing on multimodal analysis and the concept of layering in interaction, the study analyses the ways in which the picture book as well as deictic, depictive, vocal and lexical resources are coordinated to evoke a narrative space, co-enact the storybook character's experiences and produce reciprocal affect displays. Findings demonstrate that different types of displacement are in play quite early in childhood; displacements in the dimension of space and person are produced through layerings of spaces, voices and bodies.

Keywords: narration; displacement; depictive gestures; enactment; affect display; picture book reading; discourse acquisition

Introduction

> Wherever we use language to demonstrate on or point to the phantasy product, to point within imagination, there is an exceedingly fine play of displacements at work, a play which we adults now hardly notice. (Bühler, [1934]2011, p. 154)

In child language research, talk about absent and fictive phenomena, as it is characteristic of narratives, is usually not supposed to start before the second year of life (cf. Colletta & Pelenq, 2010; Demir, Rowe, Heller et al., 2015). Existing longitudinal research on early storytelling, however, observes that children younger than two years are already involved in narrative activities organized by their caretakers, but do not yet initiate such activities on their own (Filipi, 2017a, 2017b; Levy & McNeill, 2015). Whenever talk about past events or absent phenomena occurs, this is initiated by the caretaker who, for instance, makes events in the recent past a topic of talk (but see papers by Burdelski, Morita, and Evaldsson & Abreu Fernandez, this issue).

Our longitudinal video recordings of mother–child dyads engaged in picture book reading (Heller & Rohlfing, 2017) provides an even more nuanced picture of children's narrative skills: Some of the children in the data *initiate* storytelling activities quite early, at an age of 19 months. These narratives occur in the context of picture book reading and are related to, yet clearly go beyond what is depicted in the book. The children do not merely recount, but 'invent' a fictitious story and deploy different practices of *Deixis am Phantasma* (Bühler, [1934]2011). With this term, Bühler refers to the fact that speakers not only point to visible entities in their immediate order of perception (what he calls *demonstratio ad oculos*) but also to absent entities or 'phantasy products' (termed *imagination-oriented deixis*). The latter can be achieved in different ways, for instance (1) by 'displacing' what is absent into the given order of perception or (2) by displacing one's origo to an imagined space. From an early age on, the focal child (Ole) accomplishes both types of imagination-oriented deixis; remarkably, he does so without the caretaker having elicited a narrative. The question that arises is what kinds of verbal and embodied resources enable the child to initiate and produce narratives at such an early age.

The present case study examines this question and reconstructs how Ole, in a self-initiated storytelling activity, manages the 'fine play of

displacements' Bühler has pointed to. It focuses not only on 'language', but also on the coordination of deictic, depictive, vocal and lexical resources participants deploy to contextualize and bring about the storytelling activity. The fact that Ole undertakes two consecutive attempts to tell a fictitious event allows us to observe different embodied practices of displacement.

By reconstructing multimodal resources for evoking and referring to imagined entities, the paper ties in with previous work on the acquisition of reference (Heller & Rohlfing, 2017), which examined how young children learn to establish joint reference to objects in their immediate space of perception. Extending these findings, it shows how young children begin to refer to and talk about phenomena removed from the here and now. The study draws on multimodal narrative analysis (e.g. Goodwin, 2015; König & Oloff, 2018; Selting, 2017) and uses findings on different 'layering' effects in interaction, including voices (Bakhtin, 1981; Goodwin, 2007; Günthner, 1999), spaces (Hanks, 1990; Haviland, 1993, 2000; Streeck, 2011) and bodies (Stukenbrock, 2014, 2017), with which speakers bring about displacements to a narrated other, space and time. In analysing embodied processes of joint imagination in young children's interactions, the present study aims to contribute to research on multimodal language and discourse acquisition (e.g. Filipi, 2017a, 2017b; Levy & McNeill, 2015; Ohlhus, 2016; Rossmanith, Costall, Reichelt et al. 2014; Takada & Kawashima, this issue). It may also be relevant to the study of academic language and its precursors. In their longitudinal study Uccelli, Demir-Lira, Rowe et al. (in press) have documented that children's own early talk about non-present entities (what they refer to as *decontextualized talk*) at age three made a greater contribution to later academic language skills (at age 12) than the amount of child talk, receptive vocabulary, syntactic comprehension, or parent decontextualized talk. By showing how caretakers respond to the child's initiative and engage in embodied processes of joint imagination, the study uncovers some of the practices that facilitate extended talk about non-present entities, as it is also frequent in academic discourse.

Theoretical framework

Displacements to a narrated other, space and time

Pointing to and talking about phenomena that are spatiotemporally distant or even fictitious enables narrators to achieve one of the central purposes of storytelling: sharing one's experiences and imaginations with others. To

achieve this, however, it is not enough that the narrator displaces himself to a past or imagined scene. In order to enable the recipients to co-participate in personal experiences or imaginations, the narrator needs to in a sense 'take them along' by performing the displacement in an observable and recognizable way. Displacements are thus an interactive achievement. The participants jointly have to establish a context in which the recipient can understand that the narrator's utterances refer to the past or to an imaginary world. Likewise, they have to display to each other when this frame of reference should no longer be in force. Conceptualizing narratives as a communicative genre (Bergmann & Luckmann, 1995; Günthner, 2011; Quasthoff, Heller & Morek, 2017), the present study assumes that participants draw on socially established and culturally sedimented practices to deal with the interactive problems that displacements entail. These practices involve genre-specific sequential organization as well as linguistic and embodied resources.

With regard to the sequential organization of narrative activities, Hausendorf and Quasthoff (2005) demonstrate that interlocutors orient themselves to 'jobs' (i.e. organizational tasks that have to be interactively fulfilled in the joint achievement of a narrative). The introductory jobs help the participants to coordinate the transition from the here and now to the narrated world. The first job, *establishing relevance for a particular topic* that might provide the ground for launching a narrative (Kern & Quasthoff, 2005) is a sequential prerequisite for 'hooking up' a story (Quasthoff et al., 2017). *Topicalizing an event* establishes the tellability of an event. 'Story prefaces' (Sacks, 1995) are a common device for prospective tellers to get a 'ticket' (Sacks, 1972) for telling a story and for holding the floor until its closing (Goodwin, 2015; Mandelbaum, 2013; Sacks, 1972). The actual constitution of a narrative space is achieved after the preparatory jobs by *elaborating a course of events* (Hausendorf & Quasthoff, 2005; Quasthoff et al., 2017), which usually requires a multi-unit turn or 'big package' (Sacks, 1995, vol. II, p. 354; Selting, 2017) by the teller (or multiple tellers). Often, the elaboration entails a dramatization, as a 'replaying' (Goffman, 1974) or 'reenactment' (Sidnell, 2006; Thompson & Suzuki, 2014) of the event. In this way, the teller makes the climax of the story recognizable and solicits relevant evaluations and affiliative responses (Cekaite & Björk-Willén, 2018; Selting, 2017; Stivers, 2008) from the recipient. A final job is the organized return to the here and now accomplished within the *closing* and *transition*.

Tellers can deploy specific verbal (e.g. time and place descriptions, local

and temporal deictics) as well as spatial and bodily resources to manage the transition to a narrative space. To describe how these resources are used for different kinds of transpositions, I draw on Bühler's notion of *Deixis am Phantasma* (Bühler, [1934]1999), translated as 'deixis in the imagination' or 'imagination-oriented deixis' (Bühler, [1934]2011). Bühler distinguishes three modes of deixis among which the *demonstratio ad oculos* (i.e. referring to phenomena in the immediate spatio-temporal surroundings) constitutes the primary mode. *Anaphoric expressions* constitute the second mode; they enable speakers to point to referents that have been introduced before. As a third mode, imagination-oriented deixis enables speakers to point to absent or imagined entities. This requires the participants to establish an alternative indexical ground. Bühler ([1934]2011) distinguishes three subtypes of deixis in the imagination, two main types (which constitute the focus of the present paper) and an intermediate type.[1] The distinction between the two main types can be illustrated with reference to a parable Bühler uses: 'either Mohammed goes to the mountain or the mountain comes to Mohammed' (ibid., p. 150). In the first subtype ('the mountain comes to Mohammed'), the speaker refers to absent entities as if they were present and integrates them within the immediate order of perception: 'what is absent is summoned into the present space' (ibid., p. 157). The participants thus 'see' something imagined before their minds' eye (ibid., p. 150). The second subtype ('Mohammed goes to the mountain') entails that the speaker displaces his *origo* (i.e. the 'here-now-I system of subjective orientation'; ibid., p. 117) to an imagined space. From there, he refers to imagined phenomena and locates them relative to his position in the imagined space. This type implies that the speaker takes his tactile body image with him and thus becomes connected with the imagined optical scene. Conceptualizing displacements as interactive achievements, Bühler assumes that the hearer similarly displaces himself and gets involved in the narrated course of events.

The two types of deixis in the imagination entail the organization of physical and conceptual spaces. By arranging their bodies and other material resources in their immediate surroundings, the participants establish their *interactional space* (Haviland, 1993, p. 26; Mondada, 2013) and constantly adjust it for the activity they are engaged in. Through verbally and visually referring to places, persons and points in time, a *narrative space* (Haviland, 1993) is discursively established. This narrative space can be 'laminated over the immediate interactional space, importing

that space's cardinal directions but substituting for the here-and-now a narratable there-and-then' (ibid., p. 26). It can then be populated with protagonists; this can be achieved, for instance, by verbal denotations that are coordinated with pointing gestures (Haviland, 1993, 2000) or by depictive gestures (Streeck, 2008). With such 'acts of placing' (Clark, 2003; Haviland, 2000) or 'depositing' (Streeck, 2008) the protagonists of a story can be virtually inserted and anchored in the narrative space which is at the same time evoked and kept present in the participants' imagination. In the course of the telling, the narrator can repeatedly point or refer to these entities and thus establish global coherence (Gullberg, 2006; McNeill, 1992; Müller, 2003). Different terms have been used for the layering of spaces: 'lamination' (Haviland, 1993, 2000), 'decentring' (Hanks, 1990) and 'blending of spaces' (Liddell, 2000). In addition to the layering of spaces, narrative activities can also involve layerings in the dimension of time and person. A 'layering of voices' (Bakhtin, 1981; Goodwin, 2007; Günthner, 1999) entails that the narrator acts as a 'sounding box' or 'animator' (Goffman, 1981) of the protagonist's words and voice. Likewise, a 'lamination of bodies or corporeal frames' implies that 'the narrator's body functions as animator of the protagonist's body movements, muscular tension, gestures, gaze and facial expression. It displays the bodily behaviour of which someone else, the protagonist of the story, is to be considered author and principal' (Stukenbrock, 2014, p. 87). Participants use such layerings to index affective stances and make the reconstructed event interpretable and emotionally accessible to their recipients. Layerings are thus a crucial resource for evoking emotional involvement (Günthner, 2011; Haviland, 1993) as a prerequisite for sharing experiences.

The practices described here provide resources for competent tellers to project and interactively coordinate a displacement to a narrative space. It has not yet been established, however, if and how toddlers bring about such transpositions. The following section summarizes central findings on storytelling in early childhood.

Story-telling and transpositions in early childhood

Research on the acquisition of narrative competence has mostly focused on children older than 2;6 years, an age when children have available basic linguistic resources and produce utterances beyond two words. Previous studies have demonstrated that the production of a narrative requires the child to recognize global sequential implications (Hausendorf & Quasthoff,

2005) and to structure narrative big packages (i.e. establish global coherence) (e.g. Ervin-Tripp & Küntay, 2010; Filipi, 2017a; Kern & Quasthoff, 2005; Ohlhus, 2016). Other studies have examined how children use and mark different voices within their narratives and thus produce a layering of voices (see above). For instance, Wolf and Hicks (1989) show that by the age of three, English-speaking children consistently indicate movement between different voices through pronouns and prosody. Only by age six to seven, do children explicitly contextualize figurative speech by metadiscursive framing devices such as verbs of speaking (Hickmann, 1993).

Recent research has focused on the function of gestures in narrative talk. Graziano (2014) shows that from age four on, children deploy pragmatic gestures (i.e. gestures that embody communicative functions), to visualize the narrative structure. Whereas four-year-olds use 'palm presentation gestures' (Kendon, 2004) together with discourse markers to mark the beginning of a narrative, six-year-olds also mark a new episode or the completion of a narrative (Graziano, 2014; also see Ohlhus, 2016). In general, the use of representational[2] and pragmatic gestures seems to be linked to the increasing ability to structure narratives.

Another function of gesture in narrative is the introduction of new referents and the maintenance of reference. New referents can be introduced by producing a pointing gesture in the first mention of a referent; subsequent repetition of the gesture then serves to reactivate the referent. Alamillo, Colletta and Kunene (2010) do not observe this anaphoric use of pointing gestures or successive occurrences of gestures that track the same referent within a story unit or episode (so-called 'gesture anaphoric chains') before six years of age. Extending these findings, Cristilli (2014) shows that children of this age, like adults, also deploy representational gestures for tracking reference.

Examining naturally occurring narratives in a father–child dyad as the child ages from 1;5 to 2;9 years, the study by Levy and McNeill (2015) is one of the few that addresses the development of early storytelling (also see Filipi, this issue). The authors report the first interpretable narrative at 1;5. It is usually the adult who initiates a narrative sequence by asking about events in the recent past. The child's contributions are thus mainly reactive and restricted to 'simple referring-and-predicating constructions'. From two and a half years on, the child coordinates gestures and verbal resources in a way that new aspects are highlighted and the thematic progression is advanced. Levy and McNeill refer to this kind of narrative

representation as 'catchments' (i.e. sequences of gestures that 'embody threads of visuospatial imagery that run through a discourse'; ibid., p. 54). Cekaite and Björk-Willén (2018) show that teachers' ways of organizing storytelling as an affectively valorized activity facilitate children (ages one to five) to coproduce the main thread of the story through bodily repetitions and multimodal enactments of upcoming story segments.

To sum up, gestures – deictic, depictive and pragmatic ones – serve important functions for narrating, ranging from introducing referents and referent-tracking to establishing narrative coherence and marking narrative structure. Building on and extending this research, the present study examines bodily, vocal and verbal resources and practices that enable young children to anchor reference in a narrative space. The analysis focuses on the first narrative attempts of a child at the age of 19 months. Up to this point of time, the communication between Ole and his caretaker was related to objects, persons and activities in the immediate spatio-temporal context.

Data and method

The analysis is based on video recordings of interactions between Ole (19 months old) and his mother. Ole represents a 'typical' child of a larger corpus that includes 18 German-speaking dyads living in the surroundings of the German city of Bielefeld. Each family was visited at home once every six weeks (12 data points), as the children aged from 9 to 24 months. Each time, two different activities were videotaped, free play and picture book reading. For the latter activity, the dyads were given a picture book that contained individual photographs that were not part of an overarching story (instead, they showed, for example, a child on a swing or a tiger on a dinosaur). Typically, caregivers and children were sitting on the floor, and the camera was placed in a fixed position.

Altogether, the recordings of Ole and his mother comprise ten and a half hours. Based on detailed inventories of Ole's and his mother's activities, 93 sequences (covering 42 minutes) were transcribed in Elan (Lausberg & Sloetjes, 2009). The transcription follows the notation conventions of *Gesprächsanalytisches Transkriptionssystem 2* (Couper-Kuhlen & Barth-Weingarten, 2011). It depicts participants' verbal, non-verbal (e.g. pointings, depictive gestures, gaze) and paraverbal actions (e.g. accentuation, pitch movement, loudness) in their sequential order. Square brackets indicate overlaps and simultaneous speech, and vertical bars mark parallel

verbal and visual action (Selting, 2013). Syllables in bold print indicate when the nucleus (Kendon, 2004) of the gesture is performed. Additionally, stills from the video were included in the verbal transcript and temporally aligned with the emerging verbal utterance.

In our data, the sequence analysed here represents Ole's very first spontaneous involvement in a storytelling activity. It is based on a picture in the book that was already familiar to him, showing a tiger on the back of a dinosaur. None of the participants, however, had ever used this picture to make up a story; instead, the reading routine had focused on the labelling of the depicted phenomena. In contrast to developmental research that is largely based on elicited narratives, the present study thus examines a telling that is initiated by the child and provides a detailed analysis of how the participants accomplish different types of deixis in the imagination. Drawing on the methodology developed by conversation analysis (Sacks, 1995), linguistic research on narratives (e.g. Günthner, 2011; Quasthoff, 2001; Selting, 2017) and multimodal analysis (Mondada, 2013; Stukenbrock, 2014, 2017), it examines the ways in which visual as well as vocal and verbal resources are coordinated in shifting the origo away from the participants' actual space of perception to an imaginary spatio-temporal domain within which the speaker can orient his interlocutor's attention to physically absent entities. For the description of gestures, the analysis largely draws on a heuristics proposed by Streeck (2008) that encompasses a set of heterogeneous depictive practices. Visual, vocal and verbal *resources* are analysed as multimodal surface realizations of the semantic-pragmatic *devices* by which participants cooperatively accomplish the narrative *jobs* (cf. Hausendorf & Quasthoff, 2005; Quasthoff et al., 2017).

Analysis

For the analysis, the narrative sequence is divided into three sections. This division follows the caesura marked by participants themselves within the interaction. First, the participants establish joint reference to the objects depicted in the book and accomplish a variant of the *demonstratio ad oculos*. In the first telling, Ole uses a hand gesture to 'pick' a tiger depicted in the book up off the page and make it a protagonist of an imagined event. This resembles Bühler's first type of imagination-oriented deixis ('the mountain comes to Mohammed'). The second type ('Mohammed goes to the mountain') can be observed when Ole, in a retelling of the

story, displaces himself from his actual phenomenal sphere, embodies the protagonist and enacts his experiences.

Establishing joint reference to objects depicted in the book

The analysis starts at the point at which Ole and his mother begin to talk about the picture showing the dinosaur and the tiger. They establish joint reference to the entities depicted in the book; their activity thus resembles what Bühler terms *demonstratio ad oculos*. Although this first mode of deixis does not form the main focus of the analysis, the beginning of the sequence is described here because it antecedes Ole's breaking of the routine and helps to understand how he initiates an imagination-oriented deixis. Extract 1 begins with Ole turning the page; both participants have already established visual perception as a relevant resource (Heller & Rohlfing, 2017; Stukenbrock, 2015). Pointing with his left index finger (in the transcript: lif) to an animal that was introduced as a 'tiger' or 'baby tiger' in previous interactions, Ole vocalizes '!E!O' (Figure 1).

Extract 1: Establishing joint reference to a depicted object

```
01    M    ((turns page))
02    O    |!E!O; (1.8)              |
            eo
           |((lif points to tiger)|
```
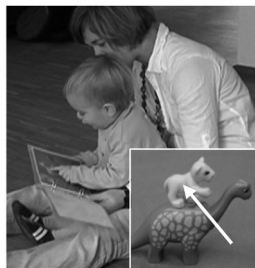

Figure 1

```
03         |DAS;                                    |
            that
           |((points to tiger, turns head towards M))|
```


Figure 2

```
04   M   [<<whispering> was ist DAS;>]
                         what is that
05   O   [((lif moves to dino))      ]
06       |!DI!no;                    |
             dino
         |((lif points at dino))|
```


Figure 3

```
07   M   <<☺> n DIno;
              a dino
08       geNAU:::;>
             exactely
09   O   <<☺> DI:no:;>
              dino
10   M   n DIno;=
             a dino
```

Ole's first utterance is not clearly intelligible; possibly, his '!E!O' imitates the tiger's roaring. Still pointing to the tiger, he produces the demonstrative pronoun 'DAS' (line 3: 'that', Figure 2), which he temporally coordinates with leaning backwards and turning his head towards his mother. With this, he establishes a 'domain of scrutiny' (Goodwin, 2003, p. 73) or search space (Stukenbrock, 2015, p. 37), in which the co-participant should look for a target. Usually, the mother initiates the search for a target with a *Where is X?* or *What is that?* question (Heller & Rohlfing, 2017; Tarplee, 2010). By producing one component of this question ('that') at the sequential position in which the question usually occurs, Ole establishes a conditional relevance for labelling the object. The mother, however, does not fulfil the conditional relevance; with her syntactically expanded reformulation of the question (line 4) she gives the turn back to Ole. In overlap, Ole moves his index finger to the dinosaur and locates a new target (Figure 3). With '!DI!no;' (line 6), he verbally identifies the referent (Heller & Rohlfing, 2017; Stukenbrock, 2015). Deploying a smile voice, the mother first repeats the label (syntactically expanding it with an indefinite article, line 7) and then confirms it (line 8). Both the label and its confirmation are reiterated one more time (lines 9–10). This way, participants have collaboratively established joint reference to an animal depicted in the book.

This interactive achievement of establishing reference resembles Bühler's ([1934]1999) *demonstratio ad oculos* (pointing to visible entities). There is an important difference, however: Whereas the picture book provides a search space that is physically and perceptually present, the target exists only as a depictive representation (a photograph of a toy animal, which itself is a replica of a real tiger). Interactive and imaginative work is thus required to make the target 'present' (e.g. by verbal labels, descriptions and depictive gestures). Since this type of deixis is distinct both from pointing to present and pointing to imagined entities as described by Bühler, I refer to it as *pointing to depicted entities*.

Expanding the here and now and laminating an imagined space over the visual field of the picture book

The next part of the sequence shows how Ole breaks the labelling routine and initiates talk about a fictitious event. Therefore, he summons something that is only depicted in the book into the given order of perception. This way of referring to absent entities corresponds to Bühler's first type of imagination-oriented deixis. Extract 2 starts with the mother initiating a second labelling cycle by asking 'und (.) das da Oben' (line 11: 'and that up there') and simultaneously pointing at the tiger which has not been labelled yet. Ole, however, does not align with this request and instead launches a story.

Extract 2: The picture book as a spatial anchor for the narrated event

```
11   M    =und (.) [|das da              |              ] Oben,
           and that up there
                   |((lif point to tiger))|
12   O             [|ah;                              |]
                   |((lif points to tiger, stays there))|
```


fig. 4

fig. 5   fig. 6

```
14   M    WER ist da aufm [ <<dim> rücken vom          |dino;>                  |]
          who is there on the back of the dino
                                                      |((gazes at O's if))|
15   O                    [|bum                        EI:N;                   |]
                           thud                         a/small
          ((lh downwards,  |back of hand against body, points next to D.))|
```


fig. 7   fig. 8

```
16   O    [|bum;                    |]
          |((lif points next to D.))|
17   M    [((nods))                 ]
18        ja wenn der rUnterfällt dann macht der BUM;=
          yes if he falls down     then he makes a thud
19        [=hm_hm, ]
20   O    [((nods))]
21        (1.0)
```

Overlapping with the mother's question Ole points to the tiger (Figure 4) and produces an interjection (line 12: 'ah') that displays his attention to the new object. His finger remains on the picture; yet instead of simply labelling the tiger, he *topicalizes* the animal in a different way: Ole utters the expressive interjection '!BOA!;', with which he displays surprise and admiration. This affectively charged topicalization of the protagonist serves to stress the tellability (Ochs & Capps, 2001) (i.e. the affective meaning and significance of the event). Simultaneously, Ole moves his hand upwards (Figure 5). Within the movement, he transforms the deictic gesture into a cupped hand, which seems to 'lift' the tiger out of the book (Figure 6). Through this multimodal action, Ole invites the recipient to see his hand as a placeholder for the tiger (i.e. to *imagine* the tiger instead of looking at him in the picture book). The hand becomes a symbol for the referent and deploys a depictive practice that Streeck (2008) refers to as 'modelling'.

For modelling, a body part – here it is the hand – is used as a token for an object. As Streeck observes, the 'hands can be held still, forming a plastic gesture, a thing-like embodiment of a thing. Or they can move, simulating the motions of the object that the hands represent' (ibid., p. 202). This way, the hand can evoke phenomena that are absent or only exist in the imagination. In the present example, the modelling duplicates the tiger, which is now represented twice, on the picture and in Ole's hand. With this act of placing (Clark, 2003; Haviland, 2000), Ole directs his mother's visual orientation to his own representation of the tiger. The mother, however, poses a *wh-* question, thus initiating another labelling cycle (line 14). Overlapping with this, Ole already begins to *elaborate* a course of events.

By moving his hand upwards, Ole first represents the tiger's position that is depicted in the book. This way, he evokes a narrative space, in which his hand can demonstrate events that are not depicted in the book: the tiger's fall. The downward movement shows the tiger's trajectory. Then the back of Ole's hand touches his own belly (Figure 7); by temporally aligning the self-touch with the onomatopoetic expression 'thud' (line 15), Ole creates another multimodal gestalt that depicts how the tiger hits the ground. While bringing his hand towards the picture book, Ole again transforms his hand into a deictic gesture, with the left index finger pointing at an 'empty' space next to the dinosaur (Figure 8). Together with the simultaneous 'EI:N;' ('a/small') this multimodal gestalt instructs the recipient to envision the tiger on the ground next to the dinosaur – a space on the picture where actually nothing can be seen.

The picture in the book has thus become a *stage for joint imagination*. Therefore, the participants had to reorganize the perceptual order associated with the picture book. The book is not used anymore as a search space for visually available phenomena, but as a stage for imagined events. Put another way, the participants do not (primarily) point to visible objects *in* the book, but to fantasy products *by means of* the book. To understand the final deictic gesture, the mother, as a recipient, needs to laminate an imagined scenery over the real picture. The result is a *layering of space* in which two sceneries are blended: some of the elements of the depicted scene in the book – the spatial coordinates and the dinosaur are two of these – shine through whereas other elements such as the tiger are faded out and displaced to another location. For the *closure*, the mother marks the outcome of the events that have been depicted both gesturally and vocally by repeating the onomatopoetic expression 'thud' (line 18). Through

nodding and reformulating the outcome (lines 17–19: 'yes if he falls down then he makes a thud'), she demonstrates her understanding of Ole's multimodal depiction of the event.

To sum up, Ole has depicted a succession of events with a 'complicating action' (Labov & Waletzky, 1967) or 'breaking of plan' (Quasthoff, 2001) and a closure. He has thus produced core elements of a narrative. Furthermore, he managed to establish the affective meaning and thus the tellability of the event. For the realization of each of these semantic-pragmatic devices, a gesture and a verbal or vocal resource were temporally coordinated, which are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1 Multimodal resources for first type of imagination-oriented deixis.

Pragmatic–semantic devices	Gestural resources	Vocal, verbal resources
Locating the tiger on the back of the dino	Pointing to object in the book	ah;
Representing the tiger outside the book, establishing its affective meaning	Modelling	!BO:A!;
Depicting the fall of the tiger	Modelling	thud
Locating the tiger on the ground	Pointing at a laminated space	EI:N;
Marking the end	Pointing at a laminated space	thud

Although none of the semiotic resources Ole uses is intelligible in itself, he aligns them in a way that the recipient can imagine the narrated course of action. Ole's cupped hand embodies the tiger and enacts[3] events that are not depicted in the book. The depicted scene of the book is first expanded and then laminated with an imagined scene. Yet the narration is still anchored in this visible context: a deictic gesture to the tiger in the book serves as the point of departure and another deictic gesture to the imagined place of the fallen tiger serves as the endpoint of the narration (Figure 9).

Figure 9

Ole's narration thus resembles the first subtype of deixis in the imagination where something absent is summoned into the present order of perception. Through modelling, the origo of the tiger is displaced from the picture to the here and now of the participants who retain their tactile

body image together with their optical orientation within the actual order of perception and integrate what they imagine into it. Yet in contrast to Bühler's first type of deixis in the imagination, the imagined phenomenon is not completely absent but available as a picture. Ole does not summon the tiger into the present order of perception but rather grasps it (DeLoache, Pierroutsakos, Uttal et al., 1998) or picks it up off the page; and it is returned to the picture, though to a new place. Thus, Ole's first narrative is still anchored in the visible context of the picture book. Accordingly, his gaze remains focused on the picture while he depicts an imagined scene with his hand. In the ensuing retelling, the modelling gesture again serves as an important resource, now, however, to reestablish a narrative space in which Ole himself slips into the role of the tiger.

Transposition to an imagined scenario

Extract 3 shows how Ole suspends the labelling routine reinitiated by the mother. This constitutes the prerequisite for reconstituting the narrative space and retelling the story (extract 4). Subsequent to Ole's first narrative the mother tries to reinitiate the labelling routine. Stressing the copular verb and the modal particle *denn* in her *wh-* question (line 22), she establishes a conditional relevance for labelling the tiger. This implies that a strong appreciation of the story – surprise about or pity towards the fallen tiger – remains absent.

Extract 3: Suspending the labelling routine

```
22   M   wer IST |das                     | denn;=
             who is that
                  |((lif points to tiger))|
23           [=ist das ein kleiner (-) BAby|tiger?              |]
               is that a small baby tiger
                                           |((gazes at O's hand))|
24   O   [ei einer (-)        |(NEni)       |                   ]
           a (sm)all               (neni/baby)
                               |((rh cupped))|
```
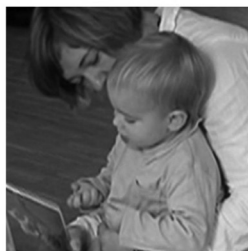

Figure 10

```
25        |NEI:N;                         |
           no
          |((rh cupped, gazes at picture))|
26        |(N)EI:N;                              |
           (n)o
          |((quickly moves rh, still cupped, to the side))|
```


Figure 11

```
27        ((lifts cupped hand))
```

In overlap with the mother's polar question (line 23) Ole labels the tiger 'ei einer (-) NEni' (probably: 'a small baby'). Temporally aligned with the accented syllable, Ole produces a modelling gesture (Figure 10), now using his right hand (in the transcript: rh). Together with the label, the depictive gesture again shifts the mother's perception away from the tiger depicted in the book towards an imaginary tiger in Ole's hand. Holding this gesture, Ole says 'NO' and then quickly moves the modelling hand to the side (Figure 11). With this pragmatic gesture that Streeck (2011, p. 192; also see Kendon, 2004, p. 158) refers to as 'moving things aside' speakers can convey that a topic or activity shift initiated by the co-participant is irrelevant for the communicative project pursued by the speaker. This way, the gesture 'makes room' for something else to follow. The suspension of the labelling routine is thus contextualized by a bundle of multimodal resources, verbally by the emphatic and repeated 'NO', gesturally by the change of the hand and the pragmatic gesture. Slightly lifting the gesture, Ole projects that instead of labelling what is depicted in the book, further talk about the events around the tiger (who is still present in his hand) should follow. This also instructs the mother to hold back further questions and to make no further reference to the picture book.

In the unfolding of the sequence (Extract 4), Ole displaces his origo to the imagined scenario and, together with his mother, co-enacts the tiger's feelings. This kind of displacement constitutes an instance of Bühler's second type of deixis in the imagination ('Mohammed goes to the mountain').

Extract 4: Retelling with dramatizing co-enactment

```
28   O   |(R)U(N)ter;               |
         (d)own
         |((rh downwards, rotating))|
```


Figure 12

```
29       nann;
         (th)en
30   M   ja::,
         yes
31   O   nann !AU!a;
         (th)en boo-boo
32   M   der macht dann AUa wenn der rUnterfällt;
         he has boo-boo then when he falls down
33   O   <<f, shouting> !O:!le:,>
34   M   ja [und dann ruft der <<wailing> !O!le;]
         yes and then he shouts           ole
35   O      [((rH rubs leg))                       ]
```


Figure 13

```
36   M   [HILF mir;>             ]
          help me
37   O   [<<wailing> NI aua:;>]
                    knee hurting
38   M   <<nodding, wailing> ich hab am KNIE aua:-=
                            my knee is hurting
39       =geNAU;
          exactly
40       <<wailing> ich hab am KOPF aua:- (--)
                    my head is hurting
41   O   |DIno:;             |
         |((points to dino))|
```

Figure 14

```
42   M    das ist der DIno:;
          that is the dino
43   O    ((turns page))
```

With his next move, Ole returns to the point when the tiger is falling down by using the local adverb 'down' and moving the modelling hand downwards (Figure 12). This way, the fall is depicted a second time, this time, however, within a smaller gesture space. The endpoint of this event is now marked verbally, with 'nann' (interpreted by the mother as 'dann' – 'then', line 32) and the onomatopoetic expression 'aua'. Only then, Ole's right hand returns to its 'home position' (Sacks & Schegloff, 2002; or 'rest position', see Kendon, 1980) and thus marks the ending of this episode. Again, the recipient documents her understanding through a syntactically expanded reformulation (line 32). Ole has thus produced an immediate retelling (Heller, Morek & Quasthoff, 2015) in which he deployed a smaller gesture space and increasingly drew on verbal resources such as onomato-poetic expressions as well as local and temporal adverbs. The reconstituted narrative space now provides the springboard for a dramatic enactment.

Therefore, the participants gradually displace their origos to an imagined space. The origo, together with the tactile body image of the speaker is transposed to the narrated scene. Yet the displacement not only relates to the dimension of space but also to the personal dimension (Stukenbrock, 2014). Ole as a narrator has projected himself both into the narrated space and into the narrated other. The tiger as the main character, or 'figure' (Goffman, 1981), of the story is now neither located on the picture nor in Ole's hand. Instead, Ole himself embodies the tiger and stages the action of the drama from the 'character viewpoint' (McNeill, 1992). This is achieved by (a) a layering of voices and (b) a layering of bodies. First, a shift in loudness and voice quality brings about a change of footing (Goffman, 1981, p. 126f.); phonetic and prosodic cues thus contextual-ize that his utterance is to be understood as animated speech (line 33:

'!O:!le;'). The effect of this layering of voices is that the speaker can act as a 'sounding box' (Goffman, 1981) of the protagonist who now calls Ole for help. Joining in, the mother contextualizes the tiger's cry for help with a verb of speaking (line 34: 'and then he shouts'), thus still taking an 'observer viewpoint' (McNeill, 1992). At the same time, Ole, again from the character's viewpoint, rubs his leg (Figure 13) that in the narrative space represents the tiger's leg (line 35). This way, he transforms his corporeal frame into that of the protagonist and animates his bodily displays. Like the animated speech, the gestures are instantiated from the vantage point of the narrator's displaced origo (i.e. the personal origo of the tiger). The performative use of bodily resources produces a second layering effect that Stukenbrock (2014, p. 87) calls 'amination of corporeal frames' or bodies in which Ole aligns his body with the body of the imagined tiger. Deploying the first-person pronoun 'me' in her second call for help, the mother now also enacts the incident from the tiger's perspective. Ole's enactment has thus occasioned an 'empathetic insertion' whereby listeners can 'vicariously reexperience what took place' (Goffman, 1974, p. 504). The climax of the enactment is thus co-produced by both participants animating the tiger's plaintive cries (lines 37–38, 40).

The quick succession of turns and the sequence of culminating and affiliative affect displays (Cekaite & Björk-Willén, 2018; Selting, 2017) creates a 'moment of heightened coparticipation' (Sidnell, 2006, p. 390) and shared affectivity. The *closing* of the sequence is again initiated by Ole who resumes the voice of the narrator (line 41) and 'brackets' the narrative sequence by reusing the expression that initiated it: 'DI:no;'. By pointing to the depicted dinosaur in the book (Figure 14) Ole accomplishes the transposition from the narrative space back to the here and now. The mother confirms the closing of the narrative by reformulating the final bracket (line 42), whereupon Ole turns the page (line 43).

In his retelling, Ole not only described a series of actions; by enacting the event from the perspective of the protagonist, he enabled both himself and the recipient to experience the tiger's feelings. This occasioned a stronger engagement of his recipient who now co-produced the dramatic climax of the story. Ole thus designed the retelling in a way that joint imagination *and* shared affectivity were achieved. Note that in comparison with the first telling, Ole deployed more lexical resources. The latter receive their meaning both from the enactment as well as from the synsemantic context. For a summary, see Table 2:

Table 2   Multimodal resources for second type of imagination-oriented deixis.

Pragmatic–semantic devices	Gestural resources	Vocal, verbal resources
Depicting the fall	Modelling	(r)U(n)ter; (down) nann; (then) nann !AU!a; (then boo-boo)
Calling for help		<<f, shouting> !O:!le;>
Enacting the pain	Rubbing the leg	<<wailing> + NI aua:;> (knee hurting)
Marking the closing	Pointing at a laminated space	Dino:;

In our data, this sequence represents Ole's first narrative. Note that all organizational jobs constituting narrative sequences as well as the displacement were initiated by Ole himself. The structural frame for the telling was thus not established by the mother but by Ole himself. Furthermore, Ole could not simply rely on what was shown in the picture book since the latter merely depicted a constellation of two animals. Yet he used the static depiction in the book as a springboard for a telling (i.e. for transforming the figures depicted in the book into acting protagonists of a story). Having said this, it should be stressed that the narrative could not have been accomplished without the mother attentively observing and interpreting Ole's multimodal utterances and accompanying him into the narrative world.

Conclusion

Displacements in space, time and person are one of the main constituents of narrating. The present paper has argued that early narrative development can be conceptualized as the process of gradually coming to grips with different dimensions of displacement. Examining a narrative interaction between Ole when he was 19 months old and his mother, the present study demonstrated that children start to explore different dimensions and ways of displacement much earlier than previously thought. In his self-initiated narrative, Ole accomplished displacements in the dimensions of space and person, but not yet in the dimension of time. Although the narrated event exhibited an internal chronological order, Ole did not anchor the event within a temporal frame. This might be because displacements in time rest

more heavily on verbal resources (temporal adverbs, the use of different tenses) than displacements in the other dimensions do. Another reason might be that an anchoring in the dimension of time was simply not necessary: displacements in the dimensions of space and person were sufficient to elicit the mother's co-participation in the telling. This demonstrates that the two types of deixis in the imagination do not necessarily need to involve displacements in all three dimensions (cf. Stukenbrock, 2014).

The displacement in the *dimension of space* was accomplished in different ways and involved exploring the use of different conceptual spaces. In his first narrative attempt that resembled Bühler's first subtype (Extract 2), Ole expanded the here-and-now by laminating an imagined scene over the visual field of the picture book. By using a hand gesture to 'pick' a depicted character up off the page and involving it in an imaginary event, Ole produced a layering of space in a visible and observable way. Two resources were essential for this achievement: the creative use of the picture book and the depictive practice of modelling (Streeck, 2008). The latter enabled the narrator to place and anchor a character in a narrative space, which was at the same time evoked and kept present in the participants' imagination. In the retelling, modelling served to reconstitute the narrative space and thus provided a springboard for a dramatizing co-enactment of the tiger's fall that now entailed a displacement of the narrator's origo to the imagined space.

In the retelling (Extracts 3 and 4), Ole also accomplished a displacement in the *dimension of person*. This dimension seems to be essential for Bühler's second subtype of deixis in the imagination. In order to slip into the role of a protagonist and tell an event from his point of view, the narrator needs to kinaesthetically align his body with the imagined body and animate the character's voice. Ole relied on visual, vocal and verbal resources to produce such a lamination of voices and bodies. This occasioned an 'empathetic insertion' (Goffman, 1974) on the part of his recipient and resulted in an embodied process of joint imagination and reciprocal affect displays (Selting, 2017; Stukenbrock, 2014).

To sum up, the study has shown that different kinds of layerings and displacements are in play quite early in childhood. The findings also indicate, however, that they entail challenging tasks children only gradually come to master. I would like to argue, therefore, that further examining the ways children come to coordinate different dimensions of displacement and the resources they recruit to produce different kinds of layering, could

be a promising avenue to follow in the study of early storytelling and, more generally, multimodal discourse acquisition. Describing in detail the interplay of both bodily and verbal resources seems to be decisive for understanding how children come to master the 'fine play of displacements' that are at work in narrating.

About the author

Vivien Heller is professor in German linguistics and their didactics at Wuppertal University. She received her PhD in linguistics from Dortmund University on genre repertoires and argumentative discourse practices in families and classrooms. Her research interests include embodied and interactive resources in (language) learning, classroom interaction, and interactive processes of inclusion/exclusion. Recent publications focused on the interplay of gaze and epistemic stance-taking in children's collaborative reasoning, epistemic ecologies in the classroom and academic discourse practices.

Notes

1 The intermediate case refers to the fact that speakers can indicate the direction in which an absent thing, e.g. a building, is located. In this case, 'the mountain and Mohammed both remain where they are' (Bühler, [1934]2011, p. 152).
2 Different terms have been developed for representational techniques in gesturing, for instance 'iconic' (McNeill, 1992), 'representational' (Kendon, 2004; Müller, 2003) or 'depictive' (Streeck, 2008) gestures. Streeck uses the term depiction to emphasize that the understanding of representational techniques does not rely on a similarity between the posture or movement of the hand and the entity it refers to. The present study adopts this term.
3 Since Ole's narrative is based on a fictitious scenario, I use the term enactment instead of reenactment.

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