

Intercorporeal Phantasms: Kinesthetic Alignment with Imagined Bodies in Self-Defense Trainings

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Abstract: My paper illuminates a dimension of intercorporeality that has hitherto been neglected: imagination as a genuinely human capacity to displace ourselves from the actual phenomenal sphere, to communicate with and about absent phenomena and to embody and incorporate them in our involvement with the world and with others. Based on corpus of 12 hours of video recordings of self-defence trainings for girls, the paper examines the enactment and imagination of intercorporeality in jointly created scenarios of danger and assault.

Theoretically, the paper integrates two different frameworks that both offer parts of the answer I am going to argue for, the concept of intercorporeality on the one hand, and deixis theory on the other hand. Whereas the concept of intercorporeality is concerned with the question of mutual incorporation as a prereflexive interactive phenomenon independent of or below the level of conscious representation, deixis constitutes the unavoidable link between language, my body and the body of the other, between representation and interaction. In taking deixis as a linguistic anchor, my paper strives to bring grammar to the analysis of intercorporeality. Revisiting deixis in the light of intercorporeality allows us to begin thinking about deixis as a grammatically sedimented way of integrating perspectivity and subjectivity as intersubjectively and intercorporeally created embodied phenomena.

Keywords: joint imagination, deixis, intercorporeality, multimodal conversation analysis

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1. Introduction

The following paper examines the enactment and imagination of intercorporeality in a very particular setting: self-defence trainings for girls. It illuminates a dimension of intercorporeality that crucially implies and draws upon human imagination as our ability to displace ourselves from the actual phenomenal sphere, to communicate about, but also to interact with absent phenomena, to embody and incorporate them in our co-involvement with the world and with each other. Significantly, aligning intercorporeally with imagined bodies is based upon our experience of intercorporeality with sensuously co-present bodies we can touch, smell, hear, see and taste just as much as our own bodies can be touched, heard, seen, smelled, and tasted etc.

The focus of my paper is not primarily concerned with first-order intercorporeality. Instead, it explores imagined intercorporeality as an accomplishment (Garfinkel 1967) that draws upon and presupposes the prereflexive, embodied knowing that we have acquired from

birth on during innumerable intercorporeal exchanges as "schemes of ways of being-with-another" (Stern 1998: 300) that feed our imagination and make it intercorporeally more "real". This "implicit relational knowing" (Stern 1998: 300) provides a more immediate, embodied access to imagined situations, an access not unlike the kind of *empathetic insertion* that the sociologist of face-to-face interaction, Erving Goffman, sees at work in *replayings*:

"A tale or anecdote, that is, a replaying, is not merely any reporting of a past event. In the fullest sense, it is such a statement couched from the personal perspective of an actual or potential participant who is located so that some temporal, dramatic development of the reported event proceeds from that starting point. A replaying will therefore, incidentally, be something that listeners can empathetically insert themselves into, vicariously reexperiencing what took place." (Goffman 1974: 504)

What does *empathetic insertion* – the ability whereby listeners can "vicariously reexperienc[e] what took place" (Goffman 1974: 504) – imply? How is it brought about? What are the linguistic and bodily resources destined to invite or induce empathetic insertion in interaction? Let us first note that our ability to insert ourselves empathetically into non-present events is not restricted to the past, but can also concern anticipated future, conditional or even entirely fictitious events (Goffman 1974: 506). This is crucial for the data in question where dangerous scenarios are *pre-played* and hopefully remain hypothetical for the participants. Instead of the term *re-playing* as it was coined by Goffman, I will draw upon the conversation analytic concept of *reenactment* as it is used in multimodal analyses of conversational activities concerned with the narrative reconstruction of past events (Sidnell 2006; Thompson 2014). However, since the events in my data are simulated and therefore fictitious, I will avoid the prefix *re-* and speak of *enactments* only.

To investigate the above raised questions, I draw upon two different frameworks that both offer parts of the answer I am going to argue for, the concept of *intercorporeality* (Froese/Fuchs 2012; Fuchs/De Jaegher 2009; Meier/Streeck/Jordan, this volume) on the one hand, and deixis theory on the other hand. Whereas the concept of intercorporeality as proposed for example by Fuchs/De Jaegher (2009) is concerned with the question of *mutual incorporation* as a prereflexive interactive phenomenon independent of or below the level of conscious representation, deixis constitutes the unavoidable link between language, my body and the body of the other, between representation and interaction. Deixis is grammar, but it is much more than that: It is the way in which intercorporeally shaped practices of joint orientation have sedimented into grammatical structures that in turn incorporate and reflect the (inter)corporeal frameworks of their emergence, construct and (re)create those frameworks moment-by-moment in actual use.

In taking deixis as a linguistic anchor, my argument strives to bring grammar to the analysis of intercorporeality. At the same time, it re-examines the peculiarities of deictically created imagination in face-to-face communication when viewed in the light of intercorporeality as a genuine approach to human interaction. My paper expands the theoretical framework of deixis put forward by Bühler (1934/65, 2011) and sheds some light on the actuality of his theory in the light of intercorporeality as a concept that has emerged within the larger and heterogeneous framework of embodiment theories (Ziemke/Zlatev/Frank 2007).

I will argue that deixis invites co-participants to share a contextually created and context-creating perspective, albeit not in terms of joint attention and shared cognition alone, but as an embodied experience that implies leaving the third-person or observer's perspective and entering a first or second person perspective (Fuchs/DeJaegher 2009; Meyer/Streeck/Jordan this volume) in a deictically and intercorporeally co-imagined and co-constituted situation.

2. Deixis and (con)joint imagination

In general, both deixis, i.e. verbal pointing encoded in the grammatical system of languages, and gestural pointing are conceptualized as resources that bring about *joint attention* (Diessel 2006; Eriksson 2009; Goodwin 2003; Stukenbrock 2009, 2015; Tomasello 2008). Multimodal research on deixis (Eriksson 2009; Goodwin 2003; Hindmarsh/Heath 2000; Streeck 2002; Stukenbrock 2008, 2009, 2010, 2015) has shown that using and understanding deictics in human communication implies taking perspectivity not solely as a cognitive task, but as an embodied accomplishment requiring a reciprocal moment-by-moment attunement of talk, gestures, gaze, body movements etc. of the participants in the interactive field (Goodwin 2007).

More than that, deixis can also serve to bring about *joint imagination* (Stukenbrock 2014b, 2015) – in a unique way that is central for the problem of how language and grammar bear upon the topic of intercorporeality. It needs to be emphasized that in this paper, joint imagination is not conceptualized in a mentalistic way as a purely cognitive operation requiring a third person model to be constructed in imagination and projected upon the imagined scenario, but as an experiential, embodied process of joint imagination and (con)joint displacement. By tying the analysis of intercorporeality and joint imagination to verbal deixis, grammar is integrated into the analysis of intercorporeality. Using the term *joint imagination* instead of *collaborative imagining* (Murphy 2005) allows me to work with a consistent set of terms when referring to different, but closely related accomplishments: participants interactively establishing co-orientation to visible phenomena on the one hand (*joint attention*) and to imagined phenomena on the other hand (*joint imagination*).

The analysis is grounded in deixis theoretical thought that goes back to the German language psychologist Karl Bühler (1934/65, 2011). His framework can be used to examine joint attention to visible entities as well as joint imagination of non-present phenomena. In contrast to approaches with a strong cognitive focus such as mental space theory (particularly blending theory), Bühler's theory offers a phenomenological perspective that is compatible with a micro-analytic approach to human interaction as a situated activity system (Goffman 1961; M. H. Goodwin 2006). The concept of *Deixis am Phantasma* (deixis in the imagination) developed in his theory affords an analytic understanding of what happens when participants shift between perceptual and imagined spaces, and takes perspectivity as a constitutive part of our embodied experience of being in the world. Its relevance for a study of the imaginative side of intercorporeality lies in the fact that Bühler's theory is fundamentally non-logocentric, grounded in the body, the senses and particularly in the central role that he attributes to (reciprocal) perception.

The concept of *Deixis am Phantasma* offers fruitful points of connection to the notion of *passive* or *decentered incorporation* as described by Fuchs/De Jaegher (2009) in their account of moments of fascination with another person (e.g. watching an acrobat performing a *salto mortale*). In those moments, "the object or person by whom we are fascinated becomes the external source of the vectors or field forces that command our body" so that "the centre of the 'operative intentionality' of our own body shifts to towards the other" (Fuchs/De Jaegher 2009: 474).¹

In deixis theoretical terms, this idea is captured by Bühler's notion of *origo displacement* in *Deixis am Phantasma*. Bühler conceptualizes our ability to leave our immediate, embodied self as a transposition or displacement of our "here-now-I system of subjective orientation" or *origo* (Bühler 2011: 117) to an imagined domain. He develops the notion of a "tactile body image" (Bühler 2011: 146; *Körpertastbild*, Bühler 1934/65) or "corporeal frame" (Hanks

¹ Note that *operative intentionality* is a concept that goes back to the phenomenologist Edmund Husserl (*fungierende Intentionalität* in German, cf. Husserl 1973: 146) and describes our lived body as being kinaesthetically oriented in and towards the space that emerges from its movements.

1990: 218) which can be understood as our sense of an embodied self grounded in space, perception, loco-motion, sociality and interaction. It also serves to capture how we orient ourselves in imagined situations by displacing ourselves not only cognitively, but by taking our "present tactile body image" (Bühler 2011: 153) to an imagined domain so it becomes connected with the imagined phenomena therein.

Central for this process are linguistic expressions which belong to the deictic field of human language (*Zeigfeld*) (Bühler 2011: 117). According to Bühler, linguistic expressions belong either to the *symbolic field* (*Symbolfeld*) or to the *deictic field* (*Zeigfeld*) of language. Whereas expressions in the symbolic field "function as symbols and are fulfilled and made definite [...] in the synsemantic field" (Bühler 2011: 95), expressions in the deictic field are made definite within in the situational context and depending upon the momentary position of the speaker with regard to the three dimensions time, place, and person. These dimensions constitute a coordinate system of subjective orientation generally held to be structured egocentrically (for a different view see Hanks 1990). The zero-point of this coordinate system is called *origo*; it defines the I-now-here-center of the speaker's subjective orientation within the deictic field. The speaker's subjective orientation is grounded in the body, it is embodied, corporeal, or – so to speak – in the flesh.

Bühler distinguishes three modes of pointing: 1.) *demonstratio ad oculos et ad aures*: i.e. pointing to visible phenomena in the immediate surroundings, 2.) *anaphora*: pointing to elements in the context of speech, and 3.) *Deixis am Phantasma*: pointing to absent phenomena available only in the imagination. *Deixis am Phantasma* requires the displacement of the indexical ground (Hanks 1990; Levinson 2004) or *origo* (Bühler) into an imagined domain. Here, we "deal with the situative phantasy products, the imagined objects, on and to which 'pointing' takes place within the imagination" (Bühler 1934/2011: 150). These have to be related to spatiotemporal coordinates other than the immediate space of perception within which our body currently dwells.

Three sub-types of *Deixis am Phantasma* are distinguished. In the first type, the speaker refers to absent phenomena as if they were present and locates them within the immediate space of perception. The participants imagine something absent as being transposed within the actual order of perception. The second type works the other way around: The speaker displaces his *origo* to an imagined space and takes up a certain perspective within that space. From there, he refers to imagined phenomena and locates them relative to his own position in the imagined space. The third type constitutes an intermediate case. The immediate space of perception is expanded imaginatively to include a liminal phenomena on the border between presence and absence. This case will not be considered here (for an account of the third type cf. Stukenbrock 2015).

My analyses focus on the first and second types of *Deixis am Phantasma*. They represent those instances of embodied deictic practices that are grounded in the emerging activities of enacting dangerous scenarios. The participants can populate the surrounding space with non-present entities (first type), or they can construct an imagined space and endow that space with properties that resemble perceptual, spatial, and interactional configurations that exist in "real space" (second type). In both cases, participants can be observed to verbally and bodily interact with their constructs as if they were there, coordinating to and with them (for a distinction cf. Fuchs/DeJaegher 2009) and thereby constituting an intercorporeal relationship with those phantom phenomena. This can be done because we have an inherent, sedimented embodied "feel for" those entities from innumerable interactions with them in our lived lives.

To illustrate the difference between the first and the second type, Bühler tells a parable: "To put it in the manner of a parable, either Mohammed goes to the mountain or the mountain comes to Mohammed" (Bühler 1934/2011, 150). Whereas in the first type, the imagined phenomenon "comes to us, that is, into the given order of actual perception, within which it can

be localized, though not quite 'seen'" (Bühler 1934/2011, 150), the opposite occurs in the second type where Mohammed goes to the mountain: one is displaced in imagination abruptly, suddenly to the imagined place, one sees what is imagined in front of one's mind's eye from a certain reception point which one can identify and at which one is situated in imagination" (Bühler 1934/2011, 151).

Situatedness in imagination crucially implies taking one's tactile body image (Bühler 2011: 146; *Körpertastbild*) along and inhabiting it in the imagined scene. This is understood as an interactive process in which the hearer – intercorporeally – joins in with the speaker and "is similarly 'displaced' himself" (Bühler 2011: 153) so that both get involved in a process of shared displacement of *tactile body images* and the creation of "harmony between the person guiding [i.e. the speaker, A.S.] and the person being guided [i.e. the addressee, A.S.]" (Bühler 2011: 153).

3. A note on data and methodology

The empirical analyses are based on a corpus of 12 hours of video recordings of self-defence trainings for 12- to 16-year-old girls taught in different secondary schools in Germany. Access to the field was provided by a student who worked as an assistant to the self-defence trainer and was also part of the research team who collected the data. The courses took place in the school gym and were recorded over a time span of several weeks. Each session lasted 90 minutes. About 60 minutes were dedicated to learning and practicing self-defence techniques. In the remaining 30 minutes, the group discussion concentrated on aspects of self-confidence (*Selbstbehauptung*). The sessions as a whole were intended to heighten the girls' awareness of potential dangers, to increase self-confidence and to familiarize them with basic self-defence techniques.

Phases of physical exercises alternated with phases in which the trainer gave further instructions, offered suggestions for improvement, and discussed related aspects with the group. The course concept included elements of mindfulness (*Achtsamkeit*), and aimed at an integration of bodily, cognitive and emotional self-reflection into self-defence techniques. The course was alternatively taught both by a man and a woman; special sessions were dedicated to practicing self-defence techniques on a male guest wearing protection clothes and serving as a robust dummy for a maximal mobilization of physical energy against an aggressor.

Since the project deals with physical aggression of men against young women, the vulnerability of the human body (and the female body in particular), the relationship between the sexes, self- and other-positioning with respect to gender are prominent themes. Thus, intercorporeality becomes relevant in a very physical, immediate sense, concerning questions such as what are the affordances and constraints of one's living body (being tall, strong, small, weak, fast, slow, female, male, having embodied memories of prior dangerous experiences etc.) in relation to the way in which potential future dangers are best encountered.

In the sessions, the participants' imagination is mobilized as a resource to simulate different aspects of potentially dangerous situations in the safe environment of the gym. The simulations include the imaginative construction of relevant places (dark streets, bus stops, etc.), participation frameworks and participant roles (aggressor, victim, bystander, etc.), bodily configurations in both stationary and mobile situations as well as verbal and physical actions in problematic encounters. The activities undertaken by the participants in this particular setting provide a great number of instances for the multimodal study of deictic practices that constantly shift between the here-and-now of the participants and imagined scenarios beyond the actual surroundings of the gym.

The distinction between "real" and "imagined situations" is important not only from a deixis-theoretical perspective (cf. Bühler 1934/65), but it is also particularly acute for the partici-

pants themselves. For them, it is a fundamental difference between factually becoming the victim of a veritable physical assault or simulating such a situation in a controlled way. Participants know and display the fact that actions such as hitting and kicking are done in the hypothetical mode and therefore in a safe space of suspended or reduced consequentiality. Experience is gained through the enactment of certain situational components, courses of actions and events in a safe space and through systematic training of vocal, verbal and physical self-defence techniques.

The participants do not permanently remain in the imagined situation. Instead, they rebuild it again and again, they interrupt it, transform it, step in and out of it to reflect on how they are doing what they are doing and what they have been experiencing. Thus, they continuously shift between the imagined intercorporeal domain and the immediate intercorporeal reality of the here-and-now in the gym.

4. Empirical analyses

The following analyses concentrate on the trainer. Among the dominant activities undertaken by the trainer, enactments and explanations are intertwined in a specific way. Whereas the enactments comprise the simulation of dangerous encounters in different life-world scenarios, the staging of different emotional, cognitive and physical states and the demonstration of alternative coping strategies available to the victim, the explanations function as a commentary on the performances. Sequentially, there are three ways in which the trainer's explanations relate to her performances: they can be pre-positioned, post-positioned or they can go along with the emerging bodily performance. When switching back and forth between explanation and performance, a change of footing (Goffman 1981) occurs which indexes and frames the way in which the subsequent utterance or action is to be understood. However, the simultaneous occurrence of performative and explicative components requires the distribution of resources among the different activities and a contextualization of which resources go along with which activity and role.

Additional factors make things even more complicated: The data contain performative sequences in which the trainer enacts the bodily practices both of the victim and of the aggressor within a situation conceptualized as an intercorporeal whole. Different footings come into play simultaneously and have to be organized accordingly. The effect consists in a layering of voices, a layering of bodies or corporeal frames and a layering of spaces (real and imagined). I will present two examples, one in which the trainer performs the role of the victim, and a second one in which she enacts the role of the aggressor.

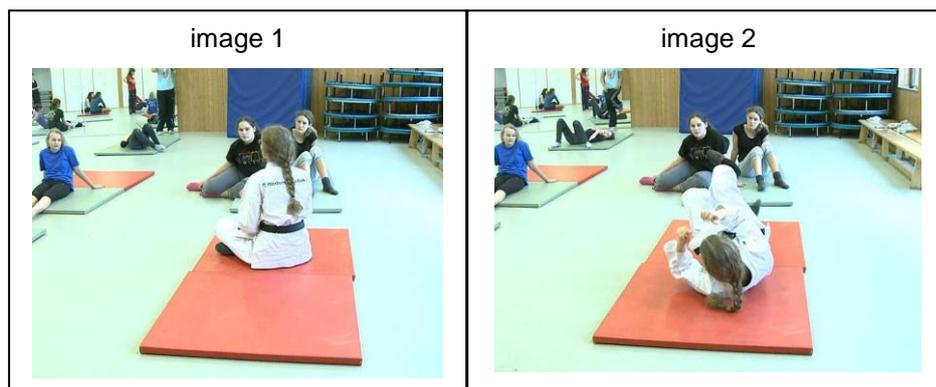
4.1. *Enacting the victim*

The first analysis focuses on how linguistic and bodily practices (particularly gaze, movements of the hands, arms, torso, legs, and feet) are deployed by the trainer to enact the victim and simultaneously evoke an aggressor in a relief-like manner. The enactment draws upon and creates a complex multimodal performance format in which the intercorporeal aspects of the harmful encounter are foregrounded.

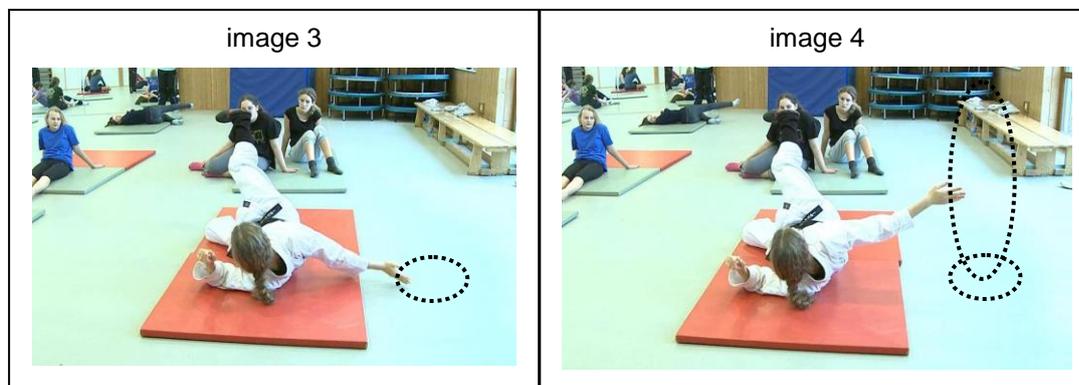
In the sequence, the trainer is alternately explaining and enacting how to behave in a situation in which the victim is already lying on the ground with the aggressor trying to get at the victim from different angles. Her central point is that whereas the aggressor has to go a long way to get round a kicking victim, the victim can profit from this fact by turning quickly round on the back to cover the same amount of outer space while making use of a small inner radius. Thus, the shared interactional and intercorporeal space has different affordances for acting out antagonistically oriented body moves for the participants.

The sequence as a whole contains a large amount of deictic expressions covering the dimensions of personal (l. 1: "ihr"/you; l. 6, 16: "ich"/I; l. 6: "mein"/my; l. 3, 11: "der"/that one), temporal (l. 3: "jetzt"; present tense), spatial (l. 3: "hier"/here; l. 4, 11: "da"/there; l. 7, 12: "da rüber"/over there), and modal (l. 1, 13: "so"/like this) deixis. They serve in different ways to build the emerging imagined space and the intercorporeal aspects of the scene that the trainer gradually constructs, shapes and transforms by means of verbal and visual resources. My analysis focuses on deictic expressions used gesturally. They bear the main stress of the intonation phrase and require some kind of visible bodily practice to be disambiguated. Deictic expressions and bodily practices (gaze, gesture, body movements etc.) are conceived of as constituting a multimodal *Gestalt* (cf. more extensively Stukenbrock 2015).

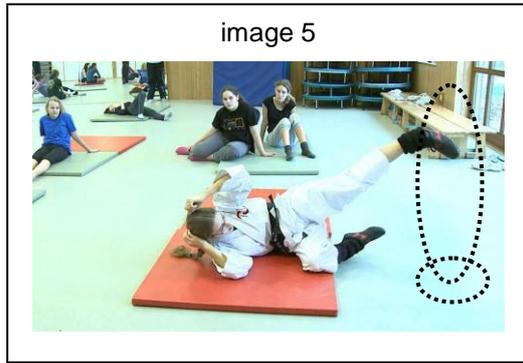
Extract 1 (MM_C3_00:19:37-19:54)



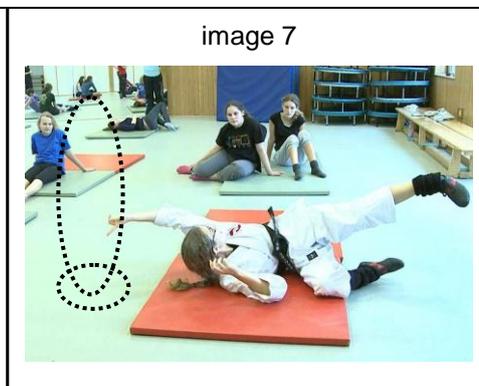
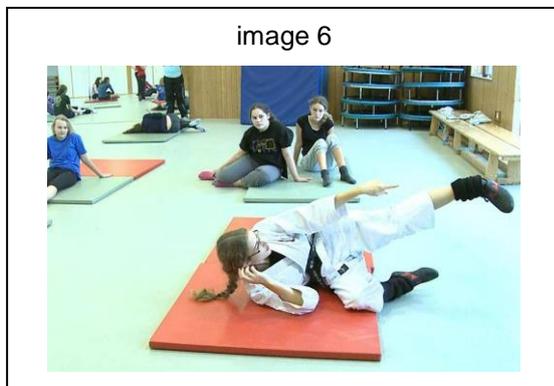
01 T: also ihr liegt **SO:** da,
 part. you are lying there **like this**
 02 (0.4)



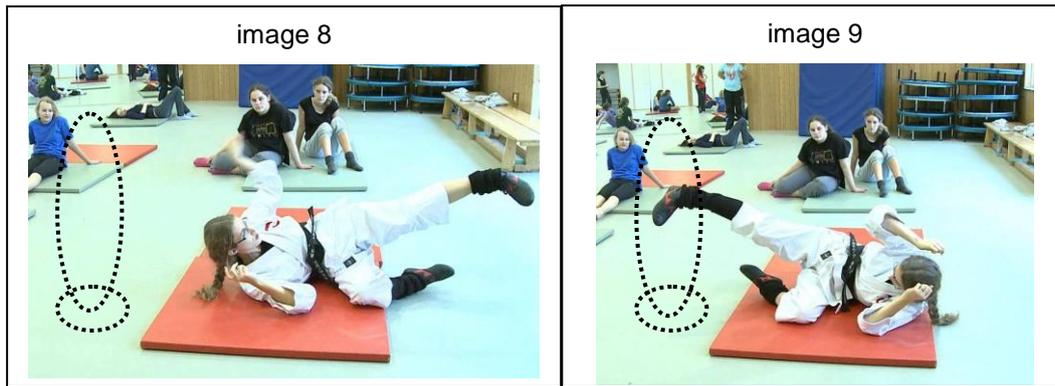
03 dE:r is jetzt **HIER,**
 he is **here** now
 04 =un stEht jetzt genau **DA,**
 and is now standing right **there,**
 05 (0.2)
 06 dann muss ich ja nUr mein BEIN anziehen;
 then I only need to pull back my leg



- 07 und Einmal **da RÜber**.
*and once **over there***
- 08 S: (...)
- 09 L: das NÄchste wäre hundertACHTzig grad.
the next thing would be 180 degrees
- 10 (0.2)



- 11 der is von **DA**,
*he has run from **there***
- 12 **DA RÜber** gelaufen;
over there



13 <<acc> Entweder **SO** rum oder SO rum-
 14 either **like this** or **like this**
 14 =völlig eGAL,>
 doesn't matter
 15 (0.4)
 16 ich nehm SCHWUNG,
 I get going
 17 (0.4)
 18 **ZACK;**

The trainer is sitting on a mat with most of the girls likewise placed on their mats and looking at her (image 1). She is still grounded in the actual space of perception, the gym, and so are her co-participants. They are in focused interaction. As she starts a new utterance, the trainer begins to move from explanation to performance by letting her torso drop backwards, moving her arms and hands protectively over her head, drawing her bent legs up in a self-protective manner (image 2) and inviting the girls to imagine themselves in the demonstrated position (l.1: "also ihr liegt SO: da."/part. you are lying there like this). The stressed modal deictic *so* (like this) works as a request for the addressees' visual attention to be accorded to the simultaneously emerging bodily displays of the speaker. It "serves as a 'flag' that alerts the interlocutor that there is extralinguistic meaning to be found" (Streeck 2002: 582) in the speaker's bodily behavior (cf. also Stukenbrock 2010, 2014a, 2015). And more than that, it invites the girls to not only watch, but to mobilize their embodied imagination to join in, to co-participate in the emerging interchange between victim and aggressor.

The trainer establishes an imagined space within which she enacts the role of the victim not just for the girls to witness from a third person perspective. Instead, she asks them to simultaneously put themselves in the position of the victim, to imagine lying on the floor in a helpless body posture. The present tense and the plural address deictic "ihr" (you) serve to make the imagined scene more vivid and immediate for the girls. Simultaneously, the trainer's performing body serves as an intercorporeal frame onto and into which each of the girls can project her own bodily imagination of being a victim in the selfsame situation. When they actually displace themselves in the position of the trainer who enacts the victim, they not only entertain a specific intercorporeal relation with the trainer, but they also enter into an intercorporeal encounter with the aggressor, they inhabit – qua projection of their own felt corporeal frame into the visible one of the trainer – that encounter from the embodied position of the victim. The observer's or third person perspective is thus transformed into an imaginary first person intercorporeal access to the situation.

The trainer, while embodying the demeanor and perspective of the victim and thus assuming the victim's origo in the imagined space, continues to give explanations and therefore partly remain grounded in the here-and-now space of the gym within which she interacts face-to-face with the girls, not with the aggressor.

Bodily performing and verbally explaining, she constitutes a multi-layered intercorporeal, interspatial and intertemporal interface between her own body and the figure of the victim, between her own body and that of each of the girls who are invited to project themselves into her as she is projecting herself into the victim, and thus also between the body of each girl and the embodied figure of the victim. Note that one girl is actually imitating the trainer's movements, going along with them, inhabiting them and conjoining in every single move that emerges step-by-step as the trainer enacts different parts of the self-defensive technique that is to be learned and incorporated by the students in upcoming partner exercises. In images 3 and 4, we can see the girl in the far back of the gym pulling her right leg up to go along with the trainer's kicking movement, and after an observational pause (image 5), doing the movement over again (image 6).

Right from the beginning, the trainer's performance constitutes a complex role mixing in which bodily resources are used to enact the role and perspective of the victim within a deictically created imagined space whereas verbal resources are uncoupled from the deictic displacement and the bodily performed role. Instead, the trainer's speech provides on-line explanations of what is going on in the emerging enactment and uphold the original origo within the participants' actual space of perception.

The scenario is further developed as the trainer introduces an aggressor whom she refers to with the demonstrative pronoun "dE:r"/that one (l. 3) and deictically places in the imagined space. She utters a proximal adverb "HIER"/here (l. 3) and performs a pointing gesture (image 3) to her right hand side, thus constructing an imagined interactional and intercorporeal space between the victim and the aggressor who is imagined to be very close by.

The trainer then goes on to specify the exact location of the aggressor in the imagined space (l. 4: "und stEht jetzt genau DA"/and is now standing right there). Not only is he allocated a precise position on the horizontal plane (image 3), but also in the vertical dimension (image 4). The intercorporeal dimension of the encounter between the victim lying on the ground and the upraising body of the aggressor is thus structured according to the embodied perspective of the victim. Bodily, the trainer continues to assume the origo or the hypothetical victim, verbally, however, she acts as a teacher who describes and explains how the encounter is to be imagined.

This mixing of observer viewpoint (verbal commentary) and character viewpoint (bodily enactments) (cf. McNeill 1992) and a corresponding uncoupling of linguistic and embodied origo is continued as the trainer describes the self-defensive moves to be carried out in such a situation (l.6-7) and also performs those moves (image 5). She pulls back her leg and produces a kick at the imagined aggressor, directing her leg and foot exactly to where she has previously located him. The leg movement functions both as a pointing gesture which spatially disambiguates the local deictic "da RÜber"/over there (l. 7) and as an iconic movement embodying key qualities (speed, force, dynamics) of a self-defensive kick. As such, it also intercorporeally embodies the (imagined) aggressor being (in a double way) agonistically resonant both with the victim's own antagonism and her opponent's antagonism.

The kick is grounded in the imagined space and tied to the displaced origo of the trainer's embodiment of the victim. Note that the first person pronoun ("ich"/I) in the speaker's utterance (l. 6) is used generically here. The speaker does not refer to herself, but to the category of the victim, and to what any victim should do in this situation.

The threatening scenario is then transformed by a range of local deictics and a verb of movement (l. 11/12: "der ist von DA, // DA RÜber gelaufen;"/he has run from there/ over there) which construct a change in the micro-ecology of the interactional space between victim and aggressor. By running around the victim, the aggressor poses a new threat to her body that has to be met with anew. To disambiguate the spatial reference of the deictics and identify the exact location of the aggressor's positional change, the trainer produces two pointing

gestures the first of which designates the point of departure and the second specifies the target of the aggressor's movement.

Interestingly, the trainer switches from the present to the perfect tense (l. 11-12: "der ist von DA, DA rüber gelaufen"/he has run from there over there) and thus presents the positional change of the aggressor as a move that is already completed by the time the victim becomes aware of it. What is the effect of this staging of an sudden "fait accompli" in the imagined encounter? It gives rise to a feeling of unforeseenness and evokes central qualities of the intercorporeal "feedback/feed-forward cycle" (Fuchs/De Jaegher 2009: 474) that is constitutive of the situation and confronts both aggressor and victim with unexpected changes that alter the trajectory of already anticipated next actions, abort projections and initiate new trajectories.

Whereas starting and end point of the aggressor's movement are spatially relevant, the trainer explicitly makes clear that the path he has taken is irrelevant for self-defensive moves needed to counteract the new threat (l. 13-14). Here, her origo is for a moment both bodily and verbally grounded in the here-and-now space of the gym as she can be heard and seen to explain, comment on and evaluate what is relevant for the imagined situation. As such, it also (re)invites the first person perspective of her students who have deictically been oriented to dwell in the imagined space in the role of the victim.

After the comment, the trainer once more instantiates the embodied perspective of the victim and again mixes the instructor's and the victim's role. She begins describing what has to be done in the case of an aggressor running around for a side attack (l. 16: "ich nehm SCHWUNG,"/I get going) and what she in fact also does at the very same moment, namely, rolling her body over and performing another forceful kick with her leg (image 9). The kick is directed at the new location to where the aggressor has moved in the imagined space. Just as the kick reaches its peak, the trainer articulates the onomatopoeic expression "ZACK" (l. 18) which is frequently used in comic strips. Evidently, the expression is not articulated by the victim in the imagined situation. It is not part of the course of action performed by the trainer in the role of the victim. Instead, it belongs to the trainer's on-line comment of her doings. However, what it does convey in the light of the intercorporeal feedback/feed-forward cycle between victim and aggressor is a moment of "gaining points" on the part of the victim who has met the aggressor's sudden change of trajectory with an equally unexpected return or counterblow.

The trainer has to put on stage and animate both the victim and the aggressor. This can only be done by some kind of relief-like intercorporeal relationship between the victim's vulnerability and the aggressor's hurtfulness in the way in which their personal territories, boundaries and bodies interact, intersect and mutually incorporate each other. Just as the victim incorporates the aggressor in the trainer's enactment of the victim, so does the aggressor incorporate the victim in her subsequent embodied performance of his moves. This will be focused on in the following analysis.

4.2. Enacting the aggressor (MM_C3_00:23:14-23:42)

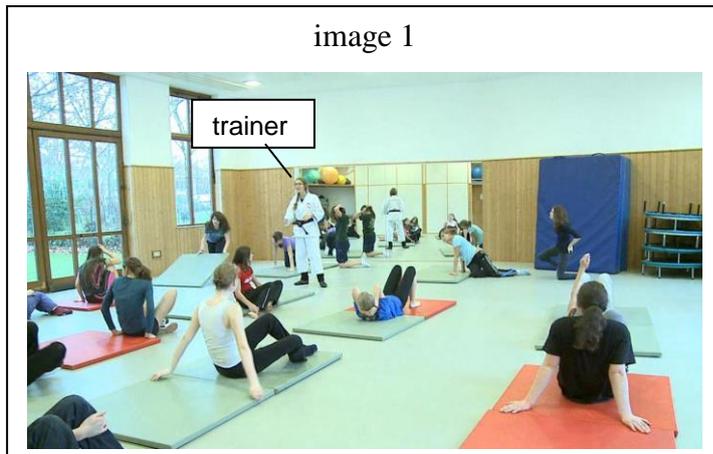
In the second example, the trainer is dealing with the complementary role: the aggressor. Since aggressor and victim are intimately intertwined, she first has to construct a scenario with a victim before she can actually proceed to embody the aggressor.

The sequence starts with a typical instance of Bühler's first type of *Deixis am Phantasma*. The trainer uses a deictic term in coordination with a set of bodily practices to make part of the surrounding space of perception relevant and to place an imagined entity there. The sequence occurs at the juncture between two different activities. The girls were doing an exercise where they were lying on the mats and performing kicks to their left and right at an imag-

inary aggressor where they practiced what the trainer had explained and demonstrated to them before (see extract 1).

After they have finished, the trainer proceeds to give the girls follow-up instructions for a partner exercise. The task is to practice the same movements with a partner who enacts the aggressor. More precisely, the trainer is trying to make clear to the girls how they ought to perform the role of the aggressor in their upcoming partner exercises. Her instructions foreground the lack of realism in the students' previous enactments, the low degree of embodied aggression, muscular tension, threat and danger potential of the movements etc. The issue of realism thus concerns core features of intercorporeality in forced encounters of violence, power and subjugation that challenge the girls' self-defensive resources in an existential way.

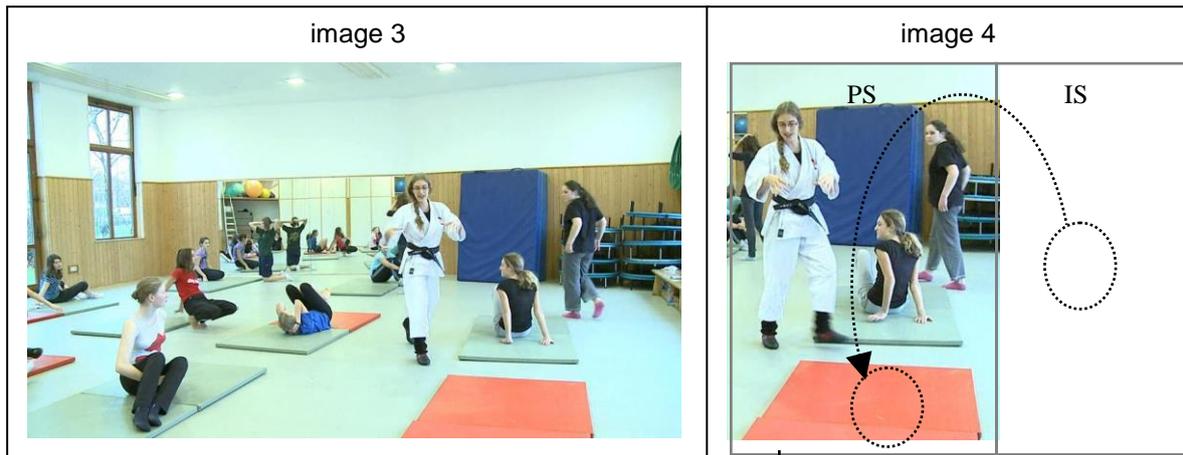
Extract 2 part 1: *bringing the victim in (MM_C3)*



01 T: und wir machen die **AN**greifer-
and we are going to make the aggressor
02 jetzt mal_n bisschen reaLISTischer,
now a bit more realistic
03 (0.8)
04 das HEISST,
that means



05 =<<acc>also meine **VOR**stellung ist,>
part. my imagination is



06 jetzt **HIER** ist **das** Opfer ja?
 now here is the victim right

The trainer introduces a new phase by announcing that the aggressor ought to be performed more realistically than before (l. 1-2). She is at the far end of the gym facing the girls (image 1). During the pause (l. 3), she starts moving towards the middle of the room heading for a free mat. While walking, she commences a new turn (l. 4: “das HEISST”/that means). The reformulation indicator (Gülich/Kotschi 1987, 227) projects an explanation that will clarify what she considers to be a realistic performance of an aggressor. She explicitly refers to her imagination (l. 5: “also meine VORstellung ist”/part. my imagination is) and thus frames the following as hypothetical and imaginary. This new footing (Goffman 1974, 1981) is just as relevant for the verbal part of her utterance as it is for its visible bodily component, i.e. her pointing gesture.

Next, the trainer constructs a space and populates it with an imaginary victim. She locates it with a proximal deictic (Z. 6: “jetzt **HIER** ist das opfer ja?”/now here is the victim, right?) in combination with a pointing gesture, while her gaze is spatially aligned with the gesture. These resources all work together in the on-line construction of an imagined scenario anchored in the spatial ecology of the gym. Temporally, this emerges as follows: The trainer is still moving when she utters the local deictic “**HIER**”/here (l. 8). It carries the prosodic stress of the intonation phrase and is used gesturally (cf. Fillmore 1997): A pointing gesture or some other kind of visual cue is needed to disambiguate the meaning of the deictic form. Thus, the pointing gesture that the trainer is about to perform is strongly projected by the verbal deictic. Note that the trainer's arms are in a position that also foreshadows further forelimb movement.

The pointing gesture is performed with both arms and hands (images 2-3). The hands are brought into an open hand palm down form (Kendon 2004; McNeill 2000) (image 3) and then moved downwards. In the trajectory of this movement, the palms are directed at an empty mat on the floor right in front of the trainer where she comes to a halt (image 4). In line with her gesture, her gaze is also directed at the empty mat where she can see, in imagination, the body of the victim.

She places the imagined victim on the mat and also orients her entire body towards it, starting with the positioning of her feet and reaching all the way up to her torso, head, and gaze – embodying an observer's perspective in the imagined scenario. Verbal and visual resources – i.e. a deictic term (the local deictic *hier/here*), directional body movement, posture and orientation of the torso, pointing gesture, and an ostensive display of gaze orientation – all work together in bringing the victim in, locating “her” in the spatial surroundings of the gym and thus projecting an interactional space within which the intercorporeal encounter between vic-

tim and aggressor can take place. The trainer makes use of the spatial ecology of the gym and its local arrangement with mats to anchor an imaginary victim on an empty mat in front of her.

Although this is an instance of *Deixis am Phantasma* where the target cannot be found within the actual space of perception, the similarities between this case and cases of pointing to visible entities (*demonstratio ad oculos*) are striking. We can observe that the *domain of scrutiny*,² in this case the sub-space defined by the mat, has to be picked out and made relevant just as in *demonstratio ad oculos*. However, in *demonstratio ad oculos*, both the domain of scrutiny as well as the target of a pointing act (the *demonstratum*), are perceptually accessible. In the present case, however, only the domain of scrutiny is perceptible. It is delineated by a visible object, the spatially anchored, perceptually accessible mat. Whereas the domain of scrutiny is materially anchored and made visible by the empty mat, the *demonstratum* (the ghost victim) is not. It has to be imagined by the participants. According to Bühler's theory on deixis, this sequence exemplifies the first type of *Deixis am Phantasma*.

As we will see, however, though the *demonstratum* is not materially, physically, bodily there, it can nevertheless be acted upon. Like the dagger in Shakespeare's *Macbeth* that comes before the protagonist's mind's eye in a way that he feels compelled to coordinate to and grab it,³ so do victim and aggressor in our example emerge as figures to coordinate with – and even more, to coordinate with one another (for a distinction between *coordination to inanimate objects* and *coordination with agentive co-participants* see Fuchs/De Jaegher 2009).

After the imagined victim has been deictically placed on the mat, she constitutes an established, albeit “invisible” entity that can be referred to and acted upon in the course of the activities to come. In what follows, the trainer uses the once-established shared imagination of a victim to show how to act out the role of the aggressor: First, she gives a negative example of how the aggressor should not be embodied, and then contrasts this with a positive example of how the aggressor's violence, his threat to the victim's territorial boundaries and bodily integrity should ideally be performed in the upcoming partner exercise.

When the trainer moves from explaining to enacting the negative and positive example, a change of footing occurs. In deixis-theoretical terms, she displaces her *origo* into another entity. This mechanism of displacement or *origo transposition* defines the second type of *Deixis am Phantasma*. In our example, it builds upon the first type that has been used to bring an absent agent in, the imagined victim.

2 Goodwin (2003) introduces the term domain of scrutiny and clarifies that a pointing act does not automatically locate a target, but rather specifies “a region where the addressee should begin to search for something that might count as a target”. That the distinction between domain of scrutiny for the region to be scrutinized for a possible target and the target or *demonstratum* itself is relevant can be seen in repair sequences when participants work out the problem of a very dense domain of scrutiny and the addressee's inability to find the *demonstratum* therein (cf. Stukenbrock forthcoming).

3 *Macbeth* II, 1, 33: "Is this the dagger, which I see before me, / The handle toward my hand? Come, let me clutch thee:- / I have thee not, and yet I see thee still. Art thou not, fatal vision, sensible / To feeling, as to sight? or art though but / A dagger of the mind, a false creation, / Proceeding from the heat-oppresed brain? / I see thee yet, in form as palpable / As this which now I draw."

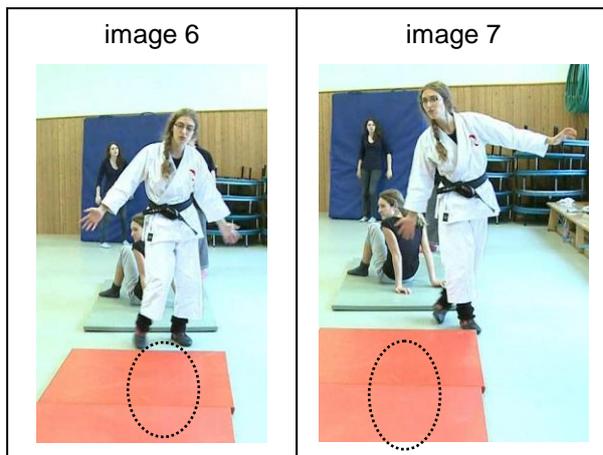
Extract 2 part 2: embodying how the aggressor should not be embodied (MM_C3)

05 T: =<<acc>also meine VORstellung,>
thus my imagination



06 jetzt HIER ist das **OP**fer ja?
now here is the victim right

07 ihr mAcht dann nicht SO-
you don't then go like this



08 (1.0)

09 <<acc>sondern ihr versUcht da wirklich irgendwie DRAN zu
kommen;

10 but you try to really get at it somehow

11 also deutet das mit den ARmen an;
meaning to hint at it with the arms

12 dann müsst ihr nicht Unten so nah DRAN,>
then you don't have to get so close down there

13 aber SO,
but like this

14 und dann HIER RUM,
and then around here

15 un=nochmal HIER,
and again here

16 un=dann=nochma=SO,
and then again like this

17 und (.) dann nochmal WEIter;

17 *and then again some more*
 und irgendwie SO; ja?
 like that somehow right
 18 verSUCHT mal;
 just try
 19 da DRAN zu kommen;
 to get at it

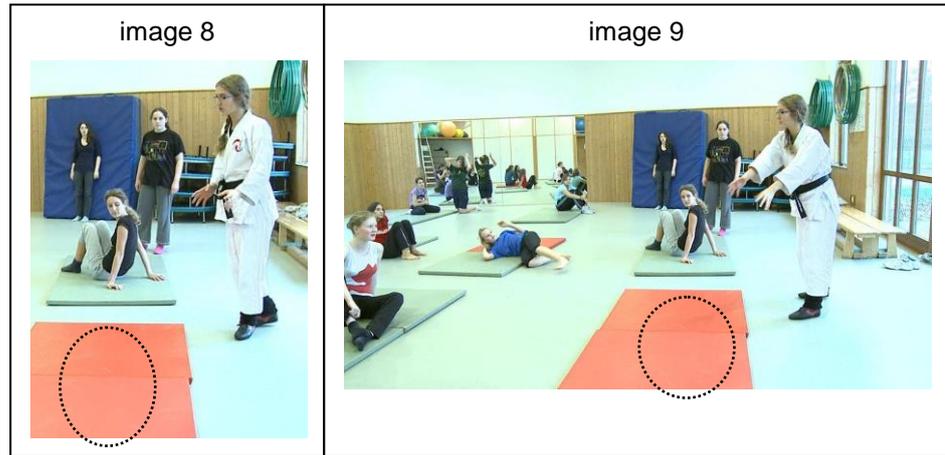
After the trainer has placed the imagined victim on the empty mat, she uses the projected interactional space for subsequent demonstrations. When her gaze returns to the addressees, she continues to keep both hands in the open hand palm-down position (image 5), thus holding the victim in place and contextualizing that she will still be relevant.

Introducing the sequence with the modal deictic “SO”/like this (l. 7), she first enacts how the girls should not perform the role of the aggressor.⁴ She displaces herself into the role of the girls and caricatures the way in which they should not displace themselves into the role of the aggressor – respectively, how they have previously performed the aggressor without being very realistic. During the pause in line 8, she changes the muscular tonus of her entire body. She leans forward, lets her shoulders droop, bends her knees and opens both arms sideways with open hands and palms facing outwards in a gesture of helplessness (image 6). The feet are not placed firmly on the ground, but perform stumbling movements (image 7). The whole body falls out of balance and embodies insecurity and cautiousness rather than a strong-willed attack. The trainer's caricature of a weak person with little energy and strength indicates that such a performance will not do in a role-play that demands a threatening, violent male aggressor.

It must be noted that the teacher's displacement goes beyond a simple shifting of her *origo* into the generic role of the aggressor. Instead, it also includes a displacement into the girls as bad performers of the aggressor in the partner exercise. Thus, the displacement into the role of the aggressor constitutes a second-order displacement resulting from a first-order displacement into the girls. The trainer is shifting her *origo* in several ways. This results in intricate multi-layered displacements when she enacts the role of the aggressor and constitutes complex intercorporeal relationships that will be examined in more detail further on.

Before she enacts the positive example, the trainer returns to the here-and-now and explains to the girls what is expected of them in the upcoming exercise. The *origo* is shifted back to her I-now-here-center of subjective orientation (image 8). Again, she deictically refers to the imagined victim on the mat (l. 9: “da ... DRAN”/there at) and simultaneously stretches out her arms towards its location (image 9):

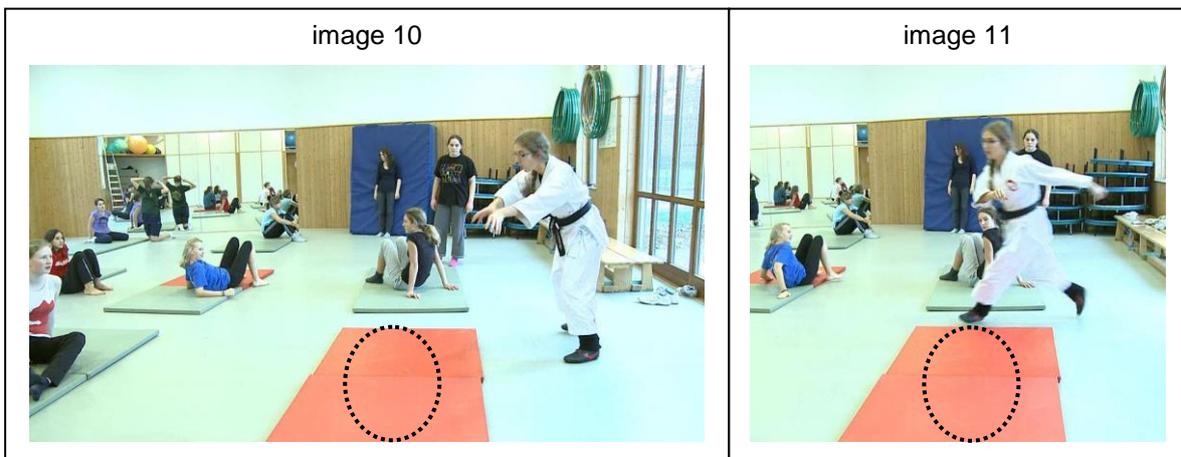
⁴ For a systematic analysis of the multimodal usage of the German modal deictic “so” cf. Barske/Golato 2010; Streeck 2002; Stukenbrock 2010, 2014a, 2015).



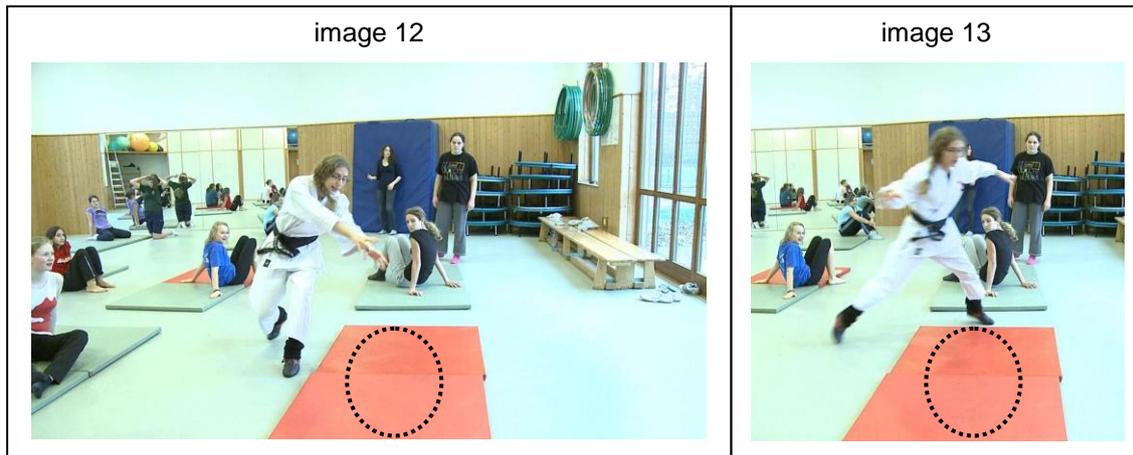
09 <<acc>sondern ihr versUcht da wirklich irgendwie **DRAN** zu kommen;
 10 *but you try to really get at it somehow*
 11 also deutet das mit den ARmen an;
meaning to hint at it with the arms
 12 dann müsst ihr nicht Unten so nah DRAN,>
then you don't have to get so close down there

Extract 2 part 3: embodying how the aggressor should be embodied

Then the trainer enacts the positive example: She slips into the role of the aggressor, embodies his threatening body posture, performs his movements of attack and thus demonstrates how the girls should embody the role of the aggressor:



12 aber **SO**,
but like this
 13 und dann **HIER RUM**,
and then around here



14 un=nochmal **HIER**,
and again here

15 un=dann=nochma=**SO**,
and then again like this

16 und (.) dann nochmal WEIter;
and then again some more

17 und irgendwie SO; ja?
like that somehow right

18 verSUCHT mal;
just try

19 da DRAN zu kommen;
to get at it

Once again, the trainer introduces the performance with the modal deictic “SO”/like this (l. 12). Used gesturally, its function ranges from contextualizing iconic gestures that indicate a visually accessible quality of an object or action, to introducing multimodal performances done with the speaker’s entire body (cf. Streeck 1995, 2002; Stukenbrock 2010, 2014a, 2015). In our sequence, the modal deictic is followed by gesturally used local deictics (l. 13: “HIER RUM”/around here; l. 14 “HIER”/here). They are accompanied by body movements directed at the spatial location of the imagined victim (images 12-13).

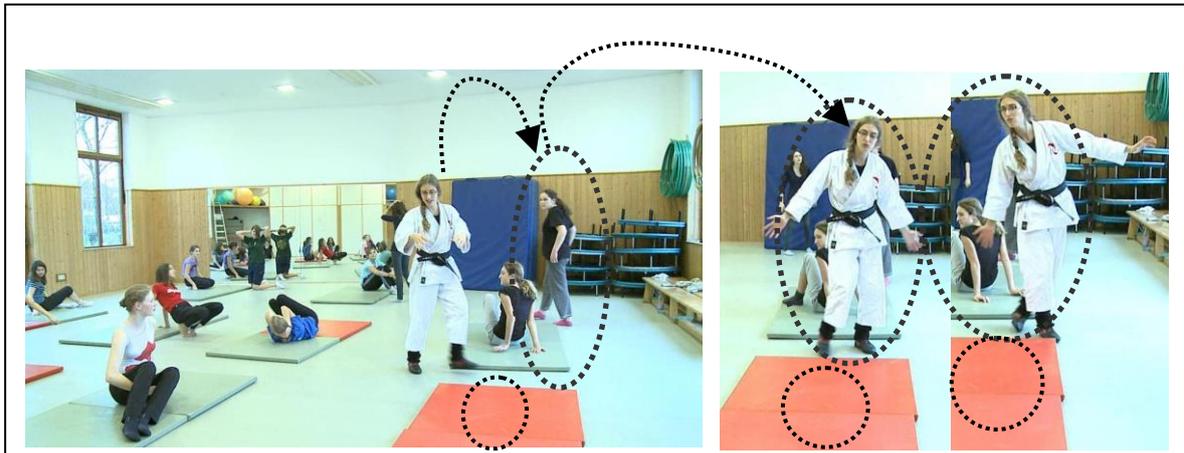
The trainer does not entirely slip into the role of the aggressor, but remains partly in her own role as a teacher explaining what she is doing. While she enacts the role of an aggressor who is attacking an imagined victim on the floor, she comments on-line on her bodily performance, thus mixing different roles at the same time. This *role mixing*, which already occurred when she enacted the negative example, is made possible by the fact that multimodal resources can be distributed among different roles such that on the verbal level, the trainer can continue to speak from her own perspective, whereas on the level of her bodily performance, she can slip into the role, corporeal frame and perspective of a male aggressor.

I will draw on Goffman's concept of *lamination* or *layer of frames* (Goffman 1974: 82, 156ff.) to describe this multimodal instantiation of different frames of reference for different *origines* as a *layering of corporeal frames*. In the example, the trainer performs the role of the aggressor while simultaneously providing her students with verbal instructions, both of which have different *origines*. She is thus simultaneously anchored in the here-and-now of the gym and in the imagined situation.

The analysis has shown that multiple transitions between spaces of perception and spaces of imagination occur. These transitions go along with and are partly brought about by changes between different deictic modes, namely between *demonstratio ad oculos* and different types of *Deixis am Phantasma*. The most notable observation, however, concerns the fact that multiple *origines* can come into play simultaneously. In our example, the trainer first produces a

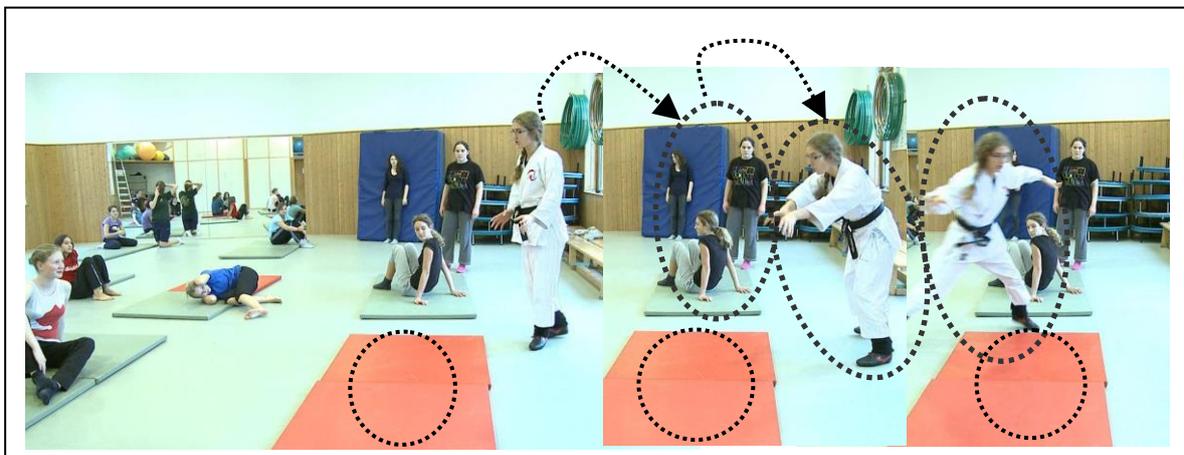
pointing act that constitutes the first type of *Deixis am Phantasma* and integrates an imaginary victim in the surrounding space of perception by locating “her” at a specific place in the gym. Later, this collaboratively imagined victim constitutes the spatial anchor for actions whose performance relies on deictic displacements which constitute the second type of *Deixis am Phantasma*. These multiple displacements and origines are represented in the following illustration:

negative example:



07 ihr mAcht dann nicht SO-
 you don't then go like this

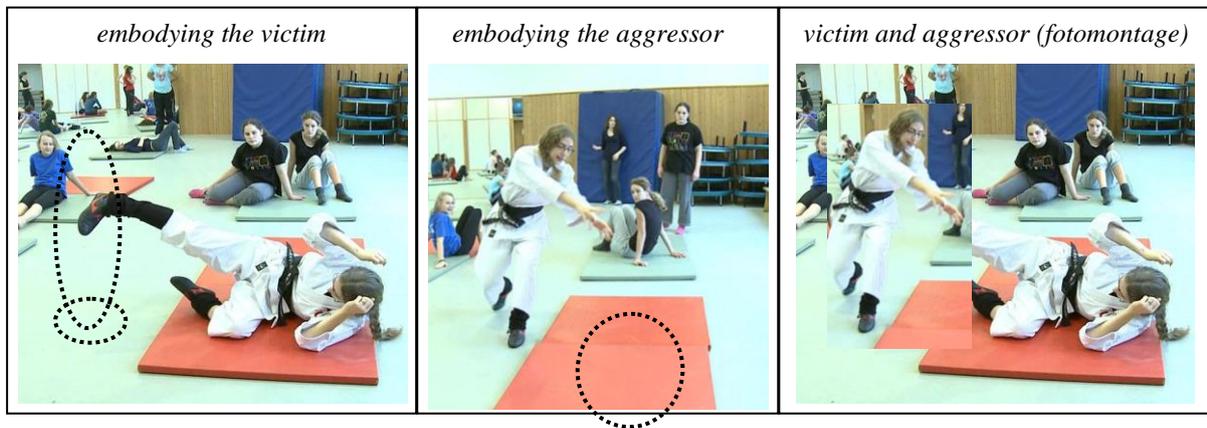
positive example:



12 aber SO,
 but like this

The multiple embedding of different *origines* does not only lead to a layering of corporeal frames, but to a layering of the respective spatial frames of reference and thus a *layering of spaces*. This *layering* or *lamination* (Goffman 1974; Haviland 2000) of spaces challenges our notion of clearly defined boundaries between perception and imagination. It both reflects and constitutes a subtle interplay between perception and imagination which emerges in the ongoing interaction without being overtly marked or consciously noticed. Laminated spaces are created, upheld, modified by multimodal actions which can comprise verbal deictics, gaze, spatially-oriented (pointing) gestures, body movements, and full-fledged enactments.

Looking at the enactment of the victim (extract 1) that required a complementary intercorporeal bringing-to-life of the aggressor, and the inverse enactment of the aggressor (extract 2) that required an intercorporeal projection of the victim in the shared interactional "fight" space", the intercorporeal dimensions of both enactments become tangible in a very vivid manner:



When the trainer enacts the victim, she also has to bring the aggressor to life; inversely, when she performs the role of the aggressor, she likewise has to tie his actions intercorporeally to the imagined victim. In both cases, she uses her own body and bodily micro-practices to put both victim and aggressor and the shared interactional cycle of attack and self-defence on stage: an intercorporeal "pas de deux" of violence and fight. In this "pas de deux" of violence, the forces of the interactants are directed in opposite directions. Whereas the aggressor is trying to get *at* the victim, to attack (< French *attaquer*, Italien *attacare*) her and to narrow the intercorporeal space down in centripetally oriented moves, the victim, on the opposite, is oriented centrifugally, fighting to keep the aggressor off, to increase the intercorporeal space and to end the encounter altogether.

5. CONCLUSION: *Deixis am Phantasma* and intercorporeality-in-imagination

The analysis of *Deixis am Phantasma* both as a form of intercorporeal imagining and as imagining intercorporeality has shown that the lamination of corporeal frames, spaces, and events is one way in which intercorporeality becomes relevant as a phenomenon *sui generis* – here concretely in pre-played scenarios of assault and self-defence. Not only when acted out in partner exercises do these scenarios become intercorporeal, they also assume an intercorporeal quality in imagination when the students 'observe' the trainer enact intercorporeal encounters between victim and aggressor. They do not wholly remain in the observer perspective. Instead, the practices of *Deixis am Phantasma* invite them to leave the third-person perspective and "empathetically insert themselves" (Goffman 1974: 504) into the imagined scenario. When mobilized to embody a situational vantage point and to imaginatively (con)join in the enacted pas-de-deux de violence between aggressor and victim, imagination feeds upon the corporeal and intercorporeal knowledge deeply rooted in the flesh.

Note that in the sequences not investigated here (cf. Stukenbrock in prep.), namely in the exercises that follow the trainer's demonstrations, intercorporeality-in-imagination as it is mediated by the trainer's solo performance of those *pas-de-deux de violence* is later put to practice by the girls themselves. They then actively incorporate and act out both the role of the

aggressor and that of the victim, thus creating and experiencing materially the bodily actions of both, a process which then again enables them to progressively integrate not only the imagined, but also the bodily felt other into their own intercorporeally constituted self-defending corporeal selves.

Deixis as a grammaticalization of the intercorporeal aspects of copresent interaction and with its concomitant *Phantasma*-creating potency is a unique way in which intercorporeality of various sorts, real and imagined, with different degrees of a participant being simultaneously "here" and "there", ego and alter, is created. It can be argued, then, that deixis in interaction not only establishes joint attention and shared cognition, but also creates intercorporeal points of contact for a sociocentric lamination of corporeal frames allowing for an embodied form of joint imagination. This constitutes not just a meeting of minds in a cognized object, but creates intercorporeality-in-imagination: in the first place, because what the participants in the data imagine are intercorporeal encounters in a very material, physical way; and secondly, because they participate in a form of joint, conjoined imagining since they all create the scenario from the same deictically ordained vantage point – one that needs to be embodied in imagination, filled with the participants' tactile body images. This, in turn is intercorporeally mediated by the trainer who stages the mutual incorporation of victim and aggressor in their intimately intertwined *pas-de-deux de violence* and who, in doing so and commenting on-line upon it, instantiates several *origines* and enters different intercorporeal relationships at the same time. As the analysis has shown, deictic practices play a crucial role in bringing this about.

The idea put forward in this article allows us to begin thinking about deixis as a sophisticated, grammatically sedimented way of building perspectivity not just as a cognitive phenomenon into our language, but of integrating perspectivity and subjectivity as intersubjectively and intercorporeally created embodied phenomena. With regard to the theory of deixis, I would like to argue that instead of giving up the notion of egocentricity altogether and replacing it by sociocentricity (cf. for example Hanks 1990), sociocentricity should be thought of as being built into egocentricity. Deixis can thus be conceived of as a grammatically sedimented form of bodily anchored subjectivity (egocentricity) that is from the outset designed for and derived from intersubjectivity and intercorporeality-in-interaction.

This could also be envisaged as the road to be taken from the up to date strong if not exclusive focus of intercorporeality research on prereflective states to more sophisticated ways in which language and with it representation, reference, and grammar also come (back) into play.

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