



Reenactments during tellings: Using gaze for initiating reenactments, switching roles and representing events

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ABSTRACT

In this paper, we draw on German dyadic face-to-face conversations among friends in order to examine the interactional functions of gaze in reenactments, i.e. “re-presentations or depictions” (Sidnell, 2006: 377) of previously experienced or imagined events. Firstly, we show that reenactors use several different gaze patterns depending on whether the depicted original event is dialogic or non-dialogic. Secondly, we compare the use of different resources for initiating reenactments and switching roles during reenactments with regard to the interactional function of the different alternatives. Specifically, we describe a multimodal practice for switching characters during reenactments that are designed to invite laughter. In sum, the findings add to our knowledge about the various communicative functions of gaze in social interaction.

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1. Introduction

In conversation, participants recurrently produce reenactments, i.e. “re-presentations or depictions” (Sidnell, 2006: 377) of previously experienced or imagined events. Based on the work of Goffman (1981), (Goodwin, 2007) and Goodwin and Goodwin (1992), and following Sidnell (2006: 377), we understand reenactments as a multimodal “situated activity system”. In contrast to the purely linguistic focus of the concept of “reported speech” (Holt, 1996, 2000) or “reported dialogue” (Günthner, 1999a), reenactments have a multimodal character (cf. Sidnell, 2006: 379 for this distinction). They involve the coordinated use of different modalities, such as gesture (particularly “referential gestures” illustrating a person’s “behaviour and actions”, Müller, 1998: 110, our translation), gaze, facial expression, and talk, including prosodic resources (cf. Couper-Kuhlen, 1999; Günthner, 1999a, 2002a, 2002b; Klewitz and Couper-Kuhlen, 1999), in order to holistically depict a character’s behaviour in a past or imagined event (cf. Goffman, 1974 on the animation of figures in storytelling; Ehmer, 2011 on the contextualisation of animated speech; Streeck, 2002 on “body quotations”; Stukenbrock, 2014: 87 on the “lamination of corporeal frames” in reenactments; the contributions to Streeck et al., 2011 and Deppermann and Streeck, 2018 on how different semiotic resources are integrated in embodied interaction). Furthermore, it has been shown that reenactments go beyond depicting a human’s verbal behaviour. They can involve animations of thoughts (cf. Selting, 2010) as well as written texts (Günthner, 1999a), and they sometimes represent non-human entities, such as dogs or even drains (Ehmer, 2011: 198–208).

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Reenactments often occur within storytelling (cf. König and Oloff, 2018; Zima and Weiss, 2020 for an overview of research on multimodal aspects of storytelling; regarding the relevance of gaze for storytelling more specifically, cf. Zima, 2017; Rühlemann et al., 2019). All the examples in Sidnell (2006) and in Thompson and Suzuki (2014) involve reenactments that occur as part of tellings (cf. also M. H. Goodwin, 1990: 244–279 on “enacting” others’ talk in storytelling). Correspondingly, all the examples discussed in the present paper focus on reenactments within tellings as well, which constitute the most common sequential environment for reenactments in our data.

Sidnell (2006) identifies two different functions of gaze in reenactments. Firstly, the reenactor uses gaze direction when acting not as him- or herself, but as a character in order to perform where somebody else was looking. Secondly, he claims that speaker gaze is a resource for “parsing the larger telling into interactionally relevant units” (Sidnell, 2006: 394), more precisely for distinguishing between the parts of the telling that describe and the parts that reenact what happened. According to Sidnell (2006: 382), gazing away from the co-participants marks the beginning (“left-side boundary”) of a reenactment, whereas turning gaze back to the participants indicates its completion (“right-side boundary”). Concerning this observation, the question arises of whether reenactors in our German dyadic conversations use the same methods for marking the boundaries of a reenactment.

Thompson and Suzuki (2014: 817) argue that the reenactor’s use of gaze in reenactments involves “the highly skilled interpolation of two ‘layers’ of representation”. The first layer is “the habitat of the ‘original’ event” (Thompson and Suzuki, 2014: 818), referring to the previously experienced or imagined event being reenacted; the second is the “habitat of the reenacting event” (p. 818), referring to the here and now or, in Sidnell’s (2006: 382) words, to the “immediate framework of participation”. Regarding the reenacting event, Thompson and Suzuki emphasise the importance of the reenactor’s “appeal for appreciation at the end of a reenactment” (p. 820), which recurrently involves the speaker gazing to the recipient who is most likely to provide appreciative feedback at the end of the reenactment. This appeal for appreciation, they argue, “provides a motivation for Sidnell’s (2006) observation” that speakers often return their gaze to the recipients at the end of a reenactment (Thompson and Suzuki, 2014: 820). In the analyses of our own examples we will use Thompson and Suzuki’s terms, ‘original event’ and ‘reenacting event’, to refer to these two different layers of activity.

So far, gaze behaviour in reenactments has only been studied in multi-party interaction, but not in two-party conversations. Thompson and Suzuki (2014: 817) explicitly motivate their focus on three- and four-party conversations with an interest in “how the reenactor’s gaze is distributed across multiple participants both within and beyond the reenactments themselves”. In order to complement the picture, we focus on two-party conversations, exploring how the number of participants influences the use of gaze in reenactments. In this respect, we are specifically interested in the assignment of characters in the original event to recipients in the reenacting event. While reenactors have several options for assigning a certain role to one of the recipients in multi-party conversations, there is only one “warm body” (Sidnell 2006: 396) available to stand in for a character of the original event in two-party-settings. Is this difference reflected in the reenactor’s gaze behaviour?

In our study, we are interested specifically in reenactments of original events that comprise not just a single utterance, but a sequence of turns by different characters (cf. Ehmer 2011: chapter 4.3 on “fictionalisation”; Arita, 2018 for an analysis of reenacted sequences in Japanese). In these cases, the reenactor faces the task of having to assign more than one role to the co-participants (or to the surrounding space) and, from a different perspective, to switch roles during the reenactment. Thus, another important question we will focus on is how role switches are accomplished in reenactments re-presenting original events that involve two or more turns-at-talk. How do different resources, such as quotatives, prosody and gaze, contribute to this task?

On the other hand, as indicated above, there are original events that do not involve dialogue,¹ but an animation of somebody’s non-verbal behaviour or thoughts. Are such differences between the original events reflected in the design of reenactments in dyadic interaction, particularly concerning the use of gaze?

For our work, the articles by Sidnell (2006) and Thompson and Suzuki (2014) that specifically focus on the role of gaze in reenactments provide the main points of reference. As Thompson and Suzuki (2014) did not find any differences between the gaze patterns in reenactments in American English and Japanese interaction, we are quite confident that any differences that might become apparent between our observations and findings in the previous literature on reenactments should not be due to language-specific or cultural factors.

Our contribution builds on and extends previous observations on the functions of gaze in reenactments in several ways. In Section 2, we describe the data and our methodological approach. In Section 3, we analyse the gaze behaviour in reenactments, particularly the speaker’s use of gaze with regard to the nature of the event being reenacted. In Section 4, we describe a multimodal practice for switching roles during reenactments that are designed to invite laughter. Section 5 summarises and reflects the central findings.

¹ The term ‘dialogue’ is ambiguous, oscillating between the meanings ‘exchange of turns-at-talk’ and ‘two-party conversation’ (cf. Auer 2016). We use this term in its etymological sense, i.e. to refer to any type of verbal interaction between two or more participants.

2. Data and method

In research on eye gaze in interaction (cf. Kendon, 1967; Goodwin, 1981; Rossano et al., 2009; Rossano, 2012a, 2012b), a new line of research is becoming established that makes use of mobile eye-tracking technology in order to analyse gaze behaviour at a fine-grained level of detail (cf. e.g. Auer, 2021; Bröne and Oben (eds.), 2018; Kendrick and Holler, 2017; Stukenbrock, 2018; Stukenbrock and Dao, 2019; Weiss, 2018; Zima et al., 2018). Following a multimodal conversation analytic approach (cf. Mondada, 2013), the present paper is intended as a contribution to this growing body of research.

In our recordings of dyadic conversations, both participants wear SMI-eye-tracking glasses, enabling us to exactly retrace the participants' gaze behaviour while interacting with each other. The glasses contain three video cameras each, one recording a large part of each participant's visual field and two further cameras tracking the movements of the participant's pupils. From these latter recordings we get a *tracking cursor* that shows each participant's gaze focus within the field of vision. Additionally, a camcorder with an internal microphone, placed on a tripod at a distance of approximately two meters from the participants, recorded the interaction. Afterwards, we used the programme *Adobe Premiere Pro CC* to synchronise the two eye-tracking recordings and the recording from the external camcorder and to arrange them on a split screen.

The co-participants, who were students at the time, are friends and know each other well. They were sitting opposite one another at a table, that is, in a “vis-a-vis arrangement” (Kendon, 1990: 213), with no objects placed on the table. They were asked to talk to each other just as they always do, but we recommended talking about books or movies in case the conversation gets stuck. The participants used this advice to extensively talk about the last films they saw and therefore, most of the time, re-narrated films or told each other about funny encounters and other events they experienced, often making use of reenactments. Our collection comprises 51 instances of reenactments from two dyadic conversations.² Based on the audio recording, the eye-tracking recordings and the video from the external camcorder, we analysed each instance for the gaze behaviour of the reenactor and the recipient, the verbal and prosodic design of the reenactment, accompanying gestures, and the recipient's reaction to the reenactment.

The multimodal transcription follows the notations for gaze transcription used by Rossano (2012b) and Weiss and Auer (2016). Apart from gaze, we included stills of the eye-tracking recordings at various points in the transcript (the exact position is marked by a subscript). The participant's gaze behaviour is notated above the verbal transcript lines. Circles including the speaker abbreviations mirror the sitting arrangement of the participants. The reader can imagine looking at the participants from a third person perspective, sitting at a right angle to them. In the gaze transcription symbols, *double arrows* represent looking at another participant, whereas *single arrows* represent looking at the background. *Double-sided* double arrows illustrate mutual gaze between the participants. A *single-sided* double arrow represents one participant looking at another participant (who is not gazing back). The direction of a single arrow shows the gaze direction of the participant from his or her perspective. A single arrow from speaker A to the left means that speaker A is gazing to the left, past the other participant sitting across from him. Curled brackets beneath the gaze transcription symbol mark the boundaries of the various gaze constellations. When a gaze pattern lasts for more than one transcription line, the curled bracket is left open at the end of the line and continues in the next line. It stretches until the next gaze constellation begins. Bold lines in the transcript mark the relevant phenomenon (reenactment) which will be the subject of the analysis.

3. Gaze and the nature of the original event

Thompson and Suzuki (2014) have shown that reenactors use gaze differently in “portraying an original event” (p. 818), in reenacting a “one-on-one encounter” (p. 827), and in reenacting “non-face-to-face original events” (p. 835). In the first case, the reenactor does not recruit the recipients to take on a role, but recurrently looks away to different directions in order to depict where the character was looking at in the original event (p. 824). In the second case, i.e. reenactments of a face-to-face, one-on-one encounter, speakers not only perform a role themselves, but can assign the roles of interlocutors to the recipients by looking at them while reproducing a turn-at-talk of the original event (p. 827). In both of their examples involving non-face-to-face original events, Thompson and Suzuki (2014: 837) show that the reenactor “designates neither recipient to play a role in her story”, but rather gazes away from the recipients “into mid-space” (p. 840).

In our data, too, we find differences between the gaze patterns employed by the reenactor depending on the nature of the event being reenacted. However, as the following examples demonstrate, the crucial point that seems to influence the

² All examples were identified as reenactments by the first author, then discussed with the second author, who agreed in almost all the cases. The remaining unclear examples were excluded from the collection.

speaker's gaze behaviour in our two-party vis-a-vis arrangement is not the question of whether the original event involves an episode of *face-to-face interaction*, but rather whether it involves a *dialogue* more generally.

In addition to exploring the relationship between gaze patterns and the type of original event being reenacted, the analyses in this section will also reflect on the parsing function of gaze (cf. Sidnell, 2006) with regard to the left and right boundary of the reenactment.

3.1. Non-dialogic original events

In this section, we present the gaze pattern recurrently associated with reenactments of non-dialogic events in our collection. These events often involve animations of the behaviour, attitude or thoughts of a character. The use of gaze in these examples, which we refer to as 'non-dialogic pattern', is similar to those described in Sidnell (2006) and the cases of "portraying an original event" in Thompson and Suzuki (2014). In these reenactments, the speaker typically gazes at the recipient during the quotative introducing the reenactment, gazes away from the recipient during the reenactment itself, and returns his gaze back to the recipient when the reenactment ends, or shortly before. This pattern holds for 10 out of 11 instances of non-dialogic reenactments in our data.

Our first example shows a non-dialogic reenactment.³ Speaker A is talking about a film (*Warm Bodies*, 2013) that he was told about. Therefore, his knowledge is limited to "report, hearsay or inference", which Pomerantz (1980) calls a "Type 2 knowable".

(1) "Zombie", tt07 ((00:21:52–00:22:13))

832 A: da geht_s um so ZOMBies schEinbar?
it's about like zombies apparently?

833 (–)

834 um so_n ZOMbie,=
about a zombie,

835 =der isch in der HAUPTperson?
who is the main character?

836 (---)

837 U:nd–
a:nd–

838 (---)

839 du bIsch (.) [du hörstsch] immer seine geDANKen und so;
you are (.) you always hear his thoughts and so on;

840 B: [((räuspert sich))]
((clears his throat))

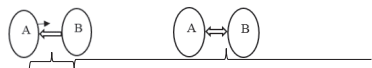
841 A: (–) [dann lAU]fen die immer so RUM scheinbar?
(-) and then they always walk around apparently?

842 B: [hm_hm,]

³ Transcription of gestures is based on Mondada (2019):

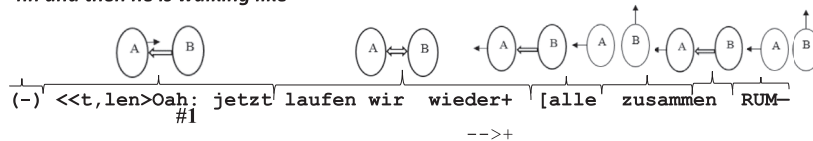
++ beginning and end
 preparation
 — apex is reached and maintained
 ,,, retraction

Only speaker gestures in the context of reenactments relevant for our analysis are transcribed. As the gesture in Example 1 (reenactment of walking) starts and ends promptly, there is no preparation and retraction phase in the transcript.



843 A: °hh und dann LÄUFT +der so-
+swings arms-->

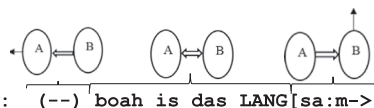
°hh and then he is walking like-



844 (-) <<t, len>Oah: jetzt laufen wir wieder+ [alle zusammen RUM-
#1 -->+

(.) <<low, slowly>oah: now we are again all walking around together-

845 B: [((lacht durch Nase))
((laughs through nose))



846 A: (--) boah is das LANG[sɑ:m->
(--) boah is this slow->

847 B: [((bursts into laughter))



848 A: (.) <<lachend>und Sohoho,>
(.) <<laughing>and sohoho on,>

849 B: ((lacht laut)) °hhh
((laughs loudly))

In lines 832–841, Speaker A delivers background information leading to the climax of the story in the form of a reenactment in lines 843–846. The main character – a zombie – wanders around, while the viewers can hear his thoughts (line 839). Speaker A displays these thoughts in a reenactment (lines 844 and 846: *Oah: jetzt laufen wir wieder alle zusammen RUM- (--) boah is das LANGsa:m- / oah: now we are again all walking around together- (-) boah is this slow-*). As the zombie's (non-articulated) thoughts animated in this extract cannot be addressed to anybody, the reenactment is non-dialogic. The zombie's thoughts are delivered with a deeper pitch, elongated vowels, and a slower speech rate, compared to the quotative introducing the reenactment (line 843: *°hh und dann LÄUFT der so- / °hh and then he is walking like-*) and the rest of the narration. Additionally, speaker A uses an effect that can also be observed in the following examples of reenactments, namely the “lamination of corporeal frames” (Stukenbrock, 2014: 87): He employs his own body as “animator” (Goffman, 1981) of the zombie's bodily behaviour. He mimetically displays the way the zombie walks by swinging his arms back and forth (cf. “character viewpoint” gesture, McNeill 1992: 119, Bressemer et al., 2018; cf. also “physiographic” gestures, Efron, 1972 [1941], Tuite, 1993), when beginning to reenact the zombie's thoughts (cf. still #1; symbol ‘#’ is aligned with verbal transcript).



#1: (22:07) Speaker A during the first syllable of the reenactment. “Character viewpoint” gesture (McNeill 1992: 119) depicting the walking zombie.

The reenactor parses his representation through his gaze directions. The transcription of the participants' gaze behaviour above the verbal transcript shows A gazing at his recipient during the quotative in line 843, then averting his gaze to the right at the beginning of the reenactment in line 844 (i.e. the left-side boundary of the reenactment). Shortly afterwards, he establishes a brief mutual gaze with B, and then again shifts his gaze away to the left. Only at the last reenacted TCU (line 846) does he gaze back to the recipient and establish eye contact, projecting the end of the reenactment. This observation is in line with [Thompson and Suzuki's \(2014\)](#) observation that speakers tend to already gaze at the recipient before the end of the reenactment, inviting an affiliative response. The recipient (B), who already starts chuckling earlier during A's representation (line 845), bursts into laughter after A's establishing of mutual gaze and before the reenactment ends (line 847). The reenactment ends with A joining in and both participants laughing together (line 848), which shows that A treats B's response as appropriate and desirable.

In this example, the speaker's reenactment is accompanied by extensive use of gesture. However, as the speaker does not look at his hands in the reenactment, his gaze aversion does not seem to be used to direct the recipient's attention to the gesture. Here, speaker gaze does not function as a contextualisation cue that the gesture will be relevant to the recipient's understanding of the speaker's action, as can be the case with depictive gestures (cf. [Streeck, 1993, 2009](#); [Müller, 1998](#); [Hayashi, 2005](#)). Instead, gaze and gesture seem to be coordinated to fulfil a mimetic function as part of the reenactment as an integral activity (cf. also [Sidnell, 2006](#): 402–404 for discussion). Moreover, as the examples in the following section underline, gestures during reenactments do not automatically go along with a speaker's gaze aversion.

Example (1) confirms [Sidnell's \(2006\)](#) parsing argument at the left-side boundary. In addition, going beyond Sidnell's observation, our eye-tracking data uncover short glances from the reenactor to the recipient during the reenactment in order to monitor the latter's behaviour (cf. M. H. [Goodwin, 1980](#), C. [Goodwin, 1981](#) and [Stukenbrock, 2012, 2014](#) on addressee monitoring). These glances seem to have an interactional effect, as can be seen in Example (1), where the recipient starts to laugh through his nose directly after a brief period of mutual gaze resulting from the reenactor's gaze allocation towards him (line 845). In this case, therefore, monitoring the recipient seems to elicit feedback – i.e., laughing through the nose – which provides an early display of appreciation for the reenactment. Moreover, comparable to [Stivers' \(2008\)](#) observations on nods in mid-telling as “preliminary displays” (p. 38) of affiliation, the recipient's laughing in the middle of the reenactment, long before it becomes recognisably complete, projects an affiliative response towards the end of the reenactment.

3.2. Dialogic original events

We now turn to the reenactments that reproduce a dialogue in the original event, which are associated with gaze patterns that differ from those in reenactments of non-dialogic original events. In this section, we present examples that involve quotatives to introduce the reenactment ($n = 30$), dialogic reenactments initiated without quotatives ($n = 10$) will be discussed in Section 4.

While the non-dialogic gaze pattern we identified corresponds to [Sidnell's \(2006\)](#) observations, the two common gaze patterns we found in dialogic reenactments both differ from Sidnell's pattern. The first pattern, which we refer to as ‘dialogic pattern 1’ ($n = 14$), constitutes precisely the opposite of what Sidnell found: The reenactor looks away from the recipient during the quotative, and gazes at the recipient during the reenacted talk of the original event. In the second pattern, which we call ‘dialogic pattern 2’ ($n = 12$), the speaker looks at the recipient during the quotative, then gazes away from the recipient at the beginning of the reenacted segment of talk, but immediately afterwards redirects his gaze to the recipient for the remaining part of the reenactment. The four remaining cases, which will not be discussed in the present contribution, follow a different pattern. In these examples, the reenactor permanently gazes at the recipient throughout the quotative and the reenactment and seems to rely on prosodic means to mark the beginning of the reenactment (similar to the prosodically marked role switch in Example 4 below).

Transcript (2) comes from two speakers discussing the film *Django Unchained* (2012). Speaker A is re-narrating a scene where Dr Schultz buys new clothes for the former slave Django. During his narration, A reenacts a conversation between Django and Dr Schultz, re-playing both characters. The reenactment in this extract shows the ‘dialogic pattern 1’: The speaker averts his gaze in the descriptive segments (usually quotatives introducing the reenacted segments of talk), and gazes at the recipient during the reenacted talk.

(2) “Blue frilled thing”, tt07 ((00:10:02–00:10:22))

327 A: und die erste SZene,
and the first scene,
328 da kriegt er: äh neue Sachen?
there he gets uh new things?

observer's perspective (cf. lines 333–339), inviting the recipient to imagine the film's "next scene" and eliciting laughter (line 338).

Speaker A marks the two characters with different modalities. With regard to prosody, Django's question in line 330 is designed with a surprised tone, which is slightly breathy and pressed. Dr Schultz' voice, meanwhile, has a deeper onset and a pitch change upwards. The subsequent representation of the frilled suit is carried out with A's 'normal' voice. Here, like in the following examples, the reenactor uses the technique of "layering of voices" (Bakhtin, 1981; Günthner, 1999a): He deploys prosodic resources to indicate that "several voices are superimposed onto one utterance" (Günthner, 1999a: 696), the voice of the reenactor and of the reenacted character. Importantly for the analyses in this paper, this technique of "staging" an animated character's utterance is used, among other functions, to "contextualize" it as part of the "storyworld" and to "differentiate between the quoted characters" (Günthner, 1999a: 704).

In addition to the prosodic design, A's gaze parses the narration and the reenactment into its segments, but in a pattern contrary to Sidnell's (2006), which we call the 'dialogic pattern 1': A gazes away during the quotatives, i.e. the descriptive parts of the narration, and gazes at the recipient during the reenacted segments. In line 329, at the end of the quotative (*dann sa SAGT er so; / and then he sa says like;*), the speaker gazes to the left and shifts his gaze back to the recipient at the beginning of the first reenacted segment in line 330 (i.e. the left-side boundary), establishing mutual gaze during his depiction of Django's question. Immediately after the question, A again averts his gaze from his recipient, while introducing Dr Schultz' turn with a quotative (*un dann sAGt der (.) sagt der WALTZ. ⁴ / and then says the (.) says Waltz.*). He gazes to the left and subsequently upwards above B's head. Just before Schultz' confirmation in line 332, the reenactor establishes mutual gaze, and again dissolves it after *und dann* (and then, line 333), while entering the climax of the narration from line 333 onwards.

The speaker's gaze – in combination with his gestures (cf. still #2) and his use of prosodic resources – allocates the roles of the characters in the original event to his recipient and himself in the current conversation. Therefore, B serves as the character of Dr Schultz during Django's question in line 330, and as Django in Schultz' answer in line 332.⁵ When A averts his gaze during the descriptive phases, B is not only the recipient of the story being told, but also becomes a viewer of the scene in the film. A emphasises the descriptive parts by using gestures. First, using both hands, he employs a "PL gesture" (Kendon, 2004: 265), "in which the open hand with palm up is moved laterally" (cf. still #2), reaching the gesture's apex exactly at the beginning of the animated speech and starting to retract it precisely at its end. This gesture's meaning is related to "withdrawal" and can be observed, for example, in response to situations "for which no solution can be offered" (Kendon, 2004: 265). This seems to be the case for Django, the reenacted character in our example, who is astonished by the opportunity to choose his own clothes, which is also indicated prosodically by the breathy and pressed design of the animated speech (line 330). Secondly, he uses a mimetic gesture depicting "riding" (cf. still #3).



#2: (10:07.425) Speaker A at the beginning of the reenactment. "PL gesture" (Kendon 2004: 265) depicting the character's astonishment.

Let us now turn to another example of a dialogic reenactment, taking place approximately two minutes before the above Example (2), in which the film *Django Unchained* is already the topic of the conversation. This example differs from Example (2)

⁴ Note that 'Waltz' refers to the actor Christoph Waltz, who plays the character Dr Schultz in the film.

⁵ One may argue, as one reviewer indicates, that the re-allocation of gaze to the recipient in line 332 could be related to addressee monitoring at narrative juncture, and not necessarily to role assignment. While we believe that the precise timing of gaze allocation to the recipient just before delivering a segment of animated speech in lines 330 and 332 provides evidence for our argument, we do not think that the two interpretations are mutually exclusive. It seems possible that re-allocating gaze to the recipient additionally fulfills a monitoring function.



#3: (10:15.259) Speaker A, mimetic 'riding' gesture.

in the fact that the interlocutors of the original event are not engaged in a face-to-face conversation. As a closed saloon door separates the two reenacted characters (Dr Schultz and the Marshal of the town in the film *Django Unchained*), they do not have a visual channel during their dialogue. However, in Examples (2) and (3) the same gaze-pattern can be found, indicating that non-face-to-face original events do not necessarily come along with the speaker gazing "into mid-space" (Thompson and Suzuki, 2014: 840). However, note that the original event in Example (3) is somewhat closer to face-to-face interaction compared with the long-distance phone call analysed by Thompson and Suzuki (2014), as the marshal is portrayed as gazing towards the saloon door as part of the spatial and addressee deictic anchoring of his action. In fact, gazing into mid-space would make no sense in this reenactment – the marshal's request (line 257: *kommen sie RAUS*; / come out;) cannot be imagined with gazing elsewhere than towards the addressee, or, more precisely, the door as the obstacle that has to be overcome.⁶

(3) "Marshal", tt07 ((00:08:26–00:08:43))

255 A: der MARshal stEht da,
the marshal is standing there,

256 °h und SAGT so;
°h and says like;

257 ja: kommen sie RAUS;=
yeah: come out;=

258 =sie haben EIne chAnce,
=you have one chance,

259 kommen sie RAUS;
come out;

260 (dann ER so;)
(then he's like;)

⁶ We would like to thank one of the reviewers for pointing this out to us.

- 261 <<h,behaucht>>und sIe sind+SICHer dass-
 #4
 +.....+RH vertical palm gesture-->
 <<high, breathy>>and you're sure that-
- (A) (B) (A) (B)
- 262 (.) die mEute+ uns nicht erSCHIESST,>
 ----->+,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,>
 (.) the mob will not shoot us,>
- 263 <<dim/softening>>blabla+blablabla?>
 /,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,>+
- (A) (B) (A) (B)
- 264 und dAnn (-) sagt der MARshal;
 and then (-) the marshal says;
- (A) (B)
- 265 ä:hm (.) ((schluckt, schnalzt)) <<t>ja_jA verSPROChen,>
 u:hm (.) ((swallows, produces a click)) <<low>yes yes I promise,>
- 266 blablabla-
- 267 und dann gEhn sie halt RAUS,
 and then they go out,
- 268 UNbewaffnet so?
 like unarmed?
- 269 (-) und du dEnkst dir schon so WHAT?
 (-) and you think like what?
- 270 B: ((lacht))
 ((laughs))

The reenactment in Example (3) includes three segments: The Marshal requests Dr Schultz (and Django) to come out of the saloon (lines 257–259: *ja: kommen sie RAUS;=sie haben EIne chAnce, kommen sie RAUS; / yeah: come out;=you have one chance, come out;*), then Dr Schultz checks back (lines 261–263: *und sIe sind SICHer dass- (.) die mEute uns nicht erSCHIESST, / and you're sure that- (.) the mob will not shoot us,*) which is confirmed by the Marshal in line 265 (*ja_jA verSPROChen, / yes yes I promise,*). All segments are introduced by quotatives (lines 255–256: *der MARshal steht da, °h und SAGT so; / the marshal is standing there, °h and says like;* line 260: *(dann ER so;) / (then he's like;)* and line 264: *und dAnn (-) sagt der MARshal, / and then (-) the marshal says,*).

The speaker designs Dr Schultz' voice in slightly breathy, higher tone. Additionally, he raises his arm in an iconic, “vertical palm” gesture during his reenactment of Schultz (cf. still #4), indicating the protagonists “wish that what is being done by the interlocutor should be halted” (Kendon, 2004: 251; cf. also Streeck, 2009: 193f.; Bressem and Müller, 2014: 1597f.). The Marshal's voice has a slightly lower pitch.



#4: (08:32) Speaker A during the second segment of reenactment. “Open Hand Prone (‘vertical palm’ VP)” gesture (Kendon 2004: 251).

A's gaze behaviour is similar to that introduced in Example (2), that is, it corresponds to the 'dialogic pattern 1': During the first quotative in lines 255–256, the speaker gazes above B's head. He then lowers his gaze to the recipient at the beginning of the reenactment of the Marshal, thereby marking the reenactment's left-side boundary. During the second (not perfectly intelligible) quotative in line 260, the speaker – deviating slightly from the 'dialogic pattern 1' – still gazes at the recipient, as well as during the reenactment of Dr Schultz' question in lines 261–263. Finally, during the third quotative in line 264, A gazes to the left and then downwards, and back to the recipient after a hesitation phase, while reenacting the Marshal's answer in line 265. Note that the reenactment – comparable to Example (2) – is not designed to invite laughter from the recipient (there is laughter in line 270, but not immediately following the reenactment), but rather provides background information and paves the way to the climax of the telling (not displayed in the transcript).

Again, the combination of quotatives, gaze, gesture and prosody serves to allocate the various roles of the original event. In the first reenacted segment, A re-plays the Marshal, while B is allocated the role of Dr Schultz. In turn, A plays Dr Schultz in the next segment, talking to the Marshal, whose role is now allocated to B, and so forth.

The following extract (4) provides additional evidence for the observation that speakers gaze at the recipient when reenacting non-face-to-face dialogic original events. In this example, Speaker A narrates a scene from the film *Flight* (2012). The main character, William Whitaker, is a pilot whose plane has technical problems after flying into turbulence. Whitaker decides to turn the plane upside down in order to prevent it from crashing. While he is turning the plane upside down, Whitaker is in contact with ground control via the radio on board. Therefore, we do not have face-to-face-communication in the original event. As can be seen in lines 1276–1279 and lines 1291–1297, Speaker A mainly gazes at his recipient during the reenactments of Whitaker and the staff at ground control.

(4) “Upside down”, tt07 (00:33:37–00:34:10)

1275 A: WEISS und dann- (-)

you know and then-

1276 [und dann (.) sagt] die Bodenkontrolle so; (-)

and then (.) says the ground control like; (-)

1277 <<h,behaucht>WAS machen sie,=
<<high, breathy>what are you doing,=

1278 =WAS machen sie,> (..
=what are you doing,> (.)

1279 <<f,t,creaky>ja: wir drehen den vogel UM;> °h
<<loud, low, creaky> well: we turn the bird around;> °h

1280 [haha, und dann (.) JE:TZT-]
haha, and then (.) no:w-

1281 B: [(lacht durch Nase))
(laughs through his nose))

1282 A: und dann (.) DREhen se halt so langsam weil er halt-
and then they like slowly turn around because he's like-

1283 des dIng fliegt halt immer nach UNTen,
this thing is like always flying down,

1284 und wenn er halt UNter (); (-)
and when he's like under (); (-)

1285 B: öhö::;

1286 A: und dann (.) macht er halt ne ROLle?
and then (.) he's like doing a roll?

1287 (-)

1288 und DANN, ((schmatzt))
and then, ((smacks his lips))

1289 (--)

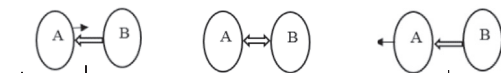
1290 äh flIEgen se halt auf_m KOPF,
uh they like fly on their heads,



1291 und dann FUNKT er halt wieder so--
and then he radios again like-



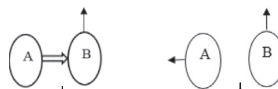
1292 jA: (.) wir wir äh: (-) sinkflug verHINdert,
we:ll (.) we we uh: (-) descent prevented,



1293 äh:: wir flIEgen jetzt in BAUCHlage;
uh:: we're flying in prone position now;



1294 un_DANN so; (.)
and then like; (.)

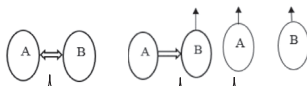


1295 <<all>+entschÜldigung+sagten+sie gerade+[sie fliegen in BAUCHlage?>
 #5 #6
 +.....+--1---+,,/,/,/,/,/,/,/,/,/,/+,

1: Iconic 'radio' gesture

<<fast>excuse me did you just say you're flying in prone position?> (-)

1296 B: [((lacht)) °hh
 ((laughs))

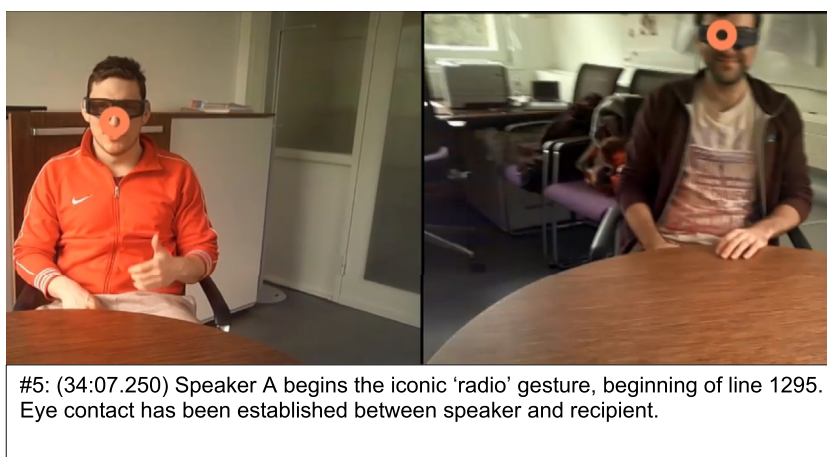


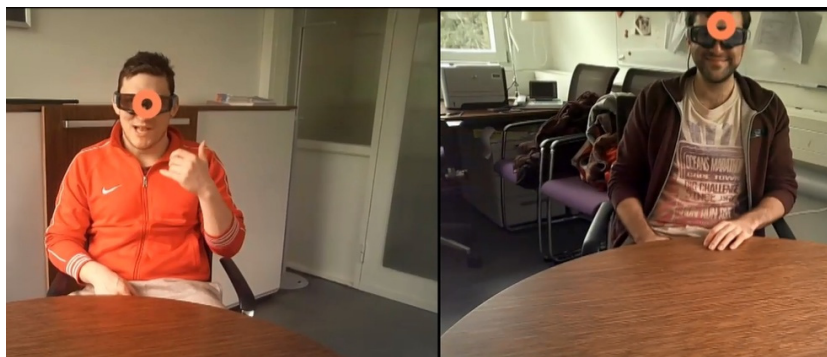
1297 A: <<creaky>J: :A,> haHA-
 <<creaky>y::es,> haha-

Example (4) provides two reenactments that challenge the assumption that a speaker only gazes at the recipient when reenacting face-to-face original events (cf. Thompson and Suzuki, 2014). The reenacted character talks to ground control via a radio and therefore has no possibility of establishing eye contact. However, there is a dialogue in the original scene, which suggests that the sole presence of a dialogue in the original event can lead the speaker to gaze at the recipient during his reenactment.

In line 1276, Speaker A introduces the reenactment with a quotative (*und dann (.) sagt die Bodenkontrolle so; /* and then *(.)* says the ground control like;). He alternates his gaze between the recipient and the background until he reaches the last two syllables of the quotative (*-le so / -ol* like), where he establishes eye contact with his recipient. At the beginning of the reenactment in line 1277, Speaker A shifts his gaze to the left and then quickly re-establishes mutual gaze with B. This gazing away at the beginning of a reenactment functions as another way of parsing the quotative and the beginning of the reenactment (see the following Example 5 for a more detailed analysis of this 'dialogic pattern 2'). Speaker A now speaks in the role of the ground control officer. Three syllables into the reenactment, Speaker A gazes at his recipient and holds the mutual gaze with B until he reaches the final syllable of the reenactment (cf. line 1279), where he averts his gaze and looks down. In the first reenacted turn (lines 1277 and 1278), the speaker uses his gaze to allocate the role of Whitaker, who is being asked a question by ground control, to his recipient, although ground control and Whitaker are not engaged in a face-to-face-dialogue in the original event. The repetition of the question as well as its delivery with slight breathiness and higher pitch contextualises the ground control officer's nervousness. The second reenacted turn (line 1279) consists in Whitaker's response to ground control. Interestingly, in contrast to Example (3), the switching of roles is neither marked by a quotative, nor by gaze, but only by a shift in pronoun (line 1278: *sie* / you vs. line 1279: *wir* / we) and by prosodic means: Whitaker's response is designed with higher intensity, a slightly creaky voice and lower pitch register compared to ground control's preceding question. Klewitz and Couper-Kuhlen (1999) also report on the use of prosody for marking reported speech in English conversations, sometimes in the absence of quotatives projecting it. Their finding seems to be similar to our observation with regard to the use of changes in pitch register, loudness and voice quality to contextualise different figures.

The second part of the reenactment in Example (4) is introduced in line 1291. Note that, during this second part, the speaker averts his gaze from the recipient from time to time during phases of dysfluent speech (see detailed analysis below), a well-known phenomenon described in previous work on gaze behaviour in interaction (cf. Kendon, 1967; Weiss and Auer, 2016). Speaker A explicitly verbalises the non-face-to-face situation in the original event by announcing the reenactment with *und dann FUNKT er halt wieder so-* / and then he radios again like-. With *er* / he the speaker is referring to the pilot Whitaker, who is now talking to ground control. During the quotative, he holds the mutual gaze with his recipient. He maintains eye contact until the end of the first word of the reenactment in line 1292 (*jA: / we:ll*), and averts his gaze at the beginning of a hesitation phase, which is marked through the repetition of *wir* / we, an elongated hesitation marker and a pause. While entering the fluent phase (*sinkflug verHindert, /* descent prevented,), he again establishes eye contact with the recipient, allocating the role of ground control to him, but shortly afterwards, the speaker averts his gaze when reaching the next hesitant phase (end of line 1292/beginning of line 1293: *-dert- äh:: wir / -ted- uh::* we). After this, he shifts his gaze back to the recipient until the end of line 1293, where he leaves the role of the pilot Whitaker. The next quotative in line 1294 introduces the role of ground control (*un_DANN so; /* and then like;). During the last syllable of the quotative, Speaker A establishes eye contact with his recipient and keeps looking at B for the most part of the following reenactment (line 1295). Stills #5 and #6 show the accompanying iconic gesture when reenacting the ground control staff that talk to Whitaker over the radio.





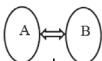
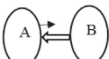
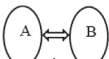
#6: (34:07.605) Speaker A reaches gesture's apex while reenacting the part of ground control in mutual gaze with the recipient (line 1295).

With this multimodal reenactment, the speaker on the one hand allocates the role of Whitaker to his recipient by gazing at him for most of the reenacted speech, while on the other hand he uses gesture to emphasise that they are talking via radio in the original event. In line 1295, as the ground control's understanding check becomes projectably complete, the recipient starts to laugh and simultaneously averts his gaze from the speaker. Shortly after the recipient gazes away from the speaker, the speaker also averts his gaze and completes the reenacted understanding check in overlap with B's laughter (line 1296). In line 1297, Speaker A switches roles from ground control to Whitaker. Just as in line 1279, the switching of roles is achieved without inserting a quotative that explicitly introduces Whitaker's role. However, unlike the switch in 1279, which is solely marked by prosodic means, the speaker parses the role switch in 1297 by both prosodic means and his eye movements. With the beginning of Whitaker's reenacted speech, he re-establishes mutual gaze with B, and keeps looking at him until the end of the reenactment (line 1297: *J*: :A, / *y*:es.). This second part of the reenactment (lines 1291–1297) serves as evidence that – although there is no face-to-face situation in the original event – speakers gaze at their recipients during the reenactment of a dialogue for large parts, even with multiple switches of roles.

Examples like (3) and (4) suggest that, at least in dyadic data, the relevant premise regarding gaze direction during reenactments is not the **face-to-face arrangement in the reported scene**, but more generally the **presence of a dialogue in the original event**. However, it seems appropriate to view the distinction between face-to-face and non-face-to-face original events as a continuum rather than a binary opposition. As we have seen, Example (3) shares more characteristics with a face-to-face encounter than with a technically mediated, long-distance telephone call. Nevertheless, in the examples presented above, the function of gaze cannot be iconic, i.e. depict that the speaker of the original event was looking at a co-participant (as suggested by Sidnell, 2006 and Thompson and Suzuki, 2014). Instead, the speaker's gaze towards the recipient in the reenacting event seems to signal on an indexical level that the reenactment represents dialogic talk, i.e. talk directed at a (non-visible) recipient in the original event, as compared to, for instance, animated thoughts (Ex. 1), which are not directed to anyone and are usually associated with the reenactor averting his gaze from the recipient.

The following Example (5) illustrates the second common gaze pattern that we found for reenactments of dialogic events, which we refer to as 'dialogic pattern 2'. It resembles the case described for non-dialogic events in Section 3.1, as the reenactor gazes at his recipient during the quotative introducing the reenactment, and then averts his gaze at the left-side boundary to signal the beginning of the reenactment (in combination with other modalities). However, in the case of dialogic original events, after the short gaze aversion in the beginning of the reenacted segment of talk, the reenactor quickly shifts his gaze back to the recipient allocating the role of the second participant in the original event to the recipient of the current interaction. The 'dialogic pattern 2' therefore provides an alternative to the 'dialogic pattern 1' described earlier: In both patterns, the reenactor uses gaze towards the recipient in order to allocate the roles of a dialogic original event to the recipient and himself. This pattern was already referred to in the analysis of the first part of the reenactment in Example (4).

(5) “Energy”, tt11 ((00:37:18–00:37:37))

- 683 A: der der erzÄhlt halt totale SCHEISse,
he he is like talking total shit,
- 684 und hat eigentlich toTale gEgenteilige Ansichten wie !SIE!
 eigentlich hat?
and actually has totally opposite views than she actually has?
- 685 °h (.) von so von enerGIE: und so wEiter,
 °h (.) of like of energy and so on,
- 686 sie is halt total so enerGIE funktionIert und so wEiter?
she is like totally like energy works and so on?
- 687 °h und die hAm sich dann über enerGIE erzÄh äh geRedet,
 °h and then they were like telling uh talking about energy,
- 688 
 und der MEINte dann;=
and then he was like;=
- 689  
 =<<t,gepresst>energie is totaler BULLshit und so;>
 #7
 =<<low, pressed>energy is total bullshit and so on;>
- 690 (.) allein DES schon;
 (.) only this;
- 691 wo ich dann dEnke so HALlo?
where I think like hello?
- 692 °hhh und dann is er wohl GROSS,
 °hhh and then he apparently is big,
- 693 und tätowIERT überAll,
and has tattoos everywhere,

Speaker A is complaining about a former female friend's new male acquaintance, the latter having different opinions from her (cf. Günthner, 1999b, 2000; Selting, 2010, 2012 on “complaint stories”). It quickly becomes obvious that A does not approve of him. In lines 685–686, A tells B about his former friend's belief in *energy*. In line 688, A introduces a reenactment with a quotative (*und der MEINte dann; =* / and then he was like;), representing the new acquaintance's contemptuous statement with respect to the girl's opinion about energies: *energie is totaler BULLshit* / energy is total bullshit. The reported speech is followed by the approximation marker *und so* / and so on (line 689), which indexes the relatively low degree of faithfulness to the original wording reported in the reenactment (cf. Günthner, 1997: 231). The reenactment displays a dialogue between the acquaintance and a friend of his, who again is friends with Speaker A (whom he told about the acquaintance's statement). Speaker A makes use of prosodic means (cf. Günthner, 1999a, 2002a, 2002b) and of bodily resources to communicate his negative assessment of the new acquaintance: He is talking in an aggressive, pressed, deeper voice and pulls the corners of his mouth downwards in a contemptuous way (cf. still #7). At the same time, the pragmatic status of the reported utterance (it accomplishes a challenge in the original event) provides an account for his negative stance towards the acquaintance.

While introducing the reenactment in line 688, A gazes at his recipient and holds eye contact until the beginning of the reenacted speech. He then marks the left-side boundary by gazing to the right, changing his mouth formation and lowering his voice (cf. still #7):



#7: (37:30.670) Speaker A during *energie*. Gaze aversion at the beginning of the reenactment and 'contemptuous' facial expression, imitating the attitude of the person being reenacted.

However, in contrast to non-dialogic reenactments, shortly afterwards the reenactor redirects his gaze back to the recipient, establishing mutual gaze with him. This serves to allocate a role to the recipient, as another person was present in the original event, while he himself plays the role of the acquaintance. With his gaze shift to B, B becomes the friend who listened to the acquaintance's contemptuous remark. This difference in gaze behaviours between reenactments of dialogic and non-dialogic events can therefore be explained by the presence or absence of an addressee in the original event.

Let us summarise the observations in Section 3. Firstly, concerning the relationship between gaze patterns and the nature of the original event, our analysis supports previous findings (cf. Sidnell, 2006) with regard to non-dialogic reenactments (cf. Ex. 1). When representing a non-dialogic original event, reenactors typically look away from the recipient in the beginning of the reenactment and turn their gaze back to the recipient towards the end of the reenactment ('non-dialogic pattern'). However, the support our data provides for Sidnell's (2006) parsing argument is less strong with regard to the right-side boundary of the reenactment. In our examples, speakers tend to gaze at the recipient even before the reenactment ends, inviting appreciative feedback (cf. Thompson and Suzuki, 2014).

Secondly, our Examples (3) and (4) call into doubt, at least for dyadic interaction, Thompson and Suzuki's (2014: 840) claim that gazing "into mid-space" during the reenactment occurs in reenactments of original events that are not episodes of "face-to-face" interaction. In our examples of original events that are dialogic, but do not involve face-to-face interaction (e.g. a pilot talking to a person in the control tower by radio, Ex. 4), the reenactor does not gaze into mid-space, but looks at the recipient, assigning a role to the recipient and following the same gaze pattern as in reenactments of face-to-face encounters. Therefore, it seems that the gaze behaviour in the reenactments in our data depends on the question of whether the original event is dialogic or non-dialogic, and not on whether it involves a face-to-face arrangement or not.

Thirdly, speaker gaze was shown to serve as one resource among others to mark the left-side boundary of a reenactment, supporting Sidnell's parsing argument with regard to the beginning of a reenactment. In our data, two patterns could be observed that fulfil this function. The speaker can gaze away from the recipient on the quotative and turn his gaze back to the recipient in the beginning of the reenactment ('dialogic pattern 1'). Alternatively, the speaker can look at the recipient during the quotative, gaze briefly away in the beginning of the reenactment, and immediately turn his gaze back to the recipient ('dialogic pattern 2').

Fourthly, in dialogic original events that comprise more than one turn, reenactors face the task of having to switch characters and to make this switch recognisable for the co-participant. We observed that for this purpose, reenactors have different options. They most commonly accomplish this task multimodally, combining the use of quotatives, gaze, gestures and prosody in order to mark a switch of characters (cf. Ex. 2 and 3). However, it is also possible to only use prosodic means to indicate a switch of roles (cf. Ex. 4). Whether the occurrence of mere prosodic marking is fostered by certain factors – such as the reenacted type of next action in the original event⁷ – remains to be determined by future research.

4. Reinforcing the performative character of a reenactment: switching roles without quotatives

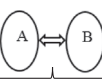
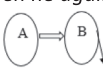
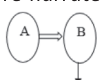
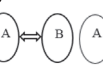
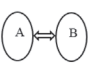
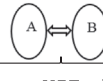
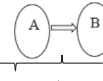
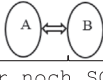
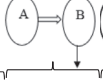
So far, we have mainly focused on extracts in which the reenacted segments are introduced by quotatives in combination with prosodic and bodily resources, including specific gaze-patterns. However, initiations of reenactments and role switches can also be accomplished without quotatives ($n = 10$), a method we refer to as 'performance pattern' (on "performance" and "performative" aspects of reenactments, cf. Goffman, 1974; M. H. Goodwin, 1990; Kotthoff, 1999, 2008; Golato, 2000; Günthner, 1999a, 2000; Ehmer, 2011; Stukenbrock, 2014). While all reenactments seem to have a performative nature, we argue that the method described in this section can increase a reenactment's performative and dramatic character, regularly eliciting laughter from the recipient.

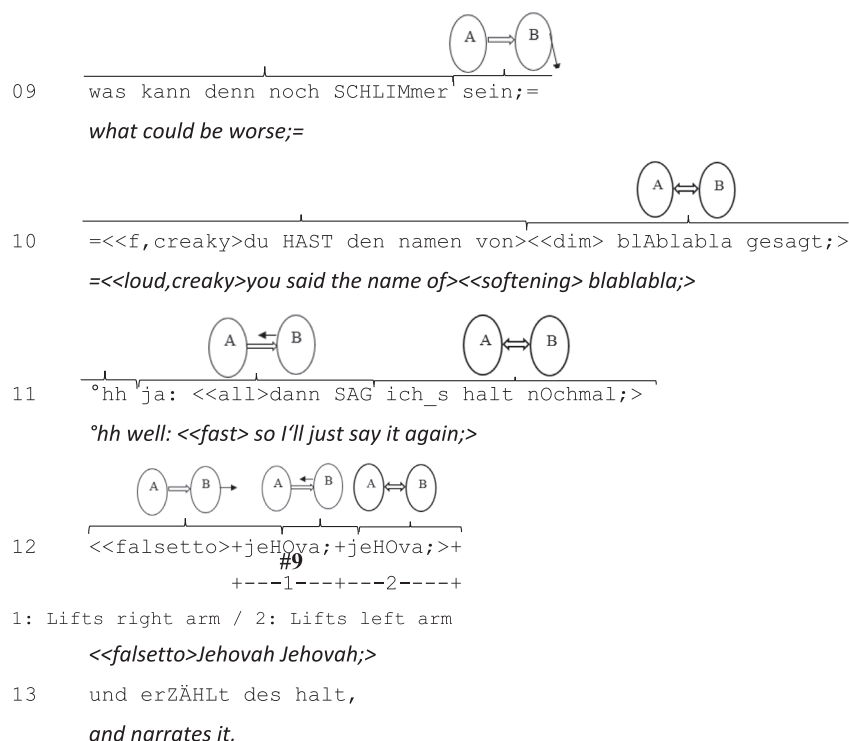
⁷ One might hypothesise that multimodal marking could be less relevant for switches that are strongly projected because they occur at a point within the reenacted sequence at which a following action is conditionally relevant, which is the case for Whitaker's response following the only prosodically marked switch in our Ex. 4, line 1279.

The following Example (6) illustrates the ‘performance pattern’. In this particular example, the reenactment as such is introduced with a quotative as well as the use of gaze, gestures, and prosody, however the role switches during the reenactment are not marked verbally through quotatives, but rather only by other resources, including gaze direction. In our collection, 9 out of 10 examples correspond to the gaze pattern described below.

Speaker B narrates the plotline of the film *Monty Python’s Life of Brian* (1979) to his recipient A. He talks about a scene where a man is sentenced to death for calling out the name of Jehovah. Just before being stoned, the convict has to confess his sins to the crowd witnessing the stoning. Extract (6) begins at this point. Speaker B now reenacts the scene where the convict reports the story of his crime, but is interrupted by the leader of the stoning.

(6) “Jehovah”, tt11 ((00:05:28–00:05:44))

- 01 B:  und dann hat er nochmal NACHerzählt;
and then he again re-narrated;
- 02     
<<h,hell>ich sagte z ich saß mit meiner frau zum Abendessen,
<<high,light>I said t I was having dinner with my wife,
- 03 sag dieses stück hEilbutt sei gerade GUT genug für jehOva;>=
said this piece of halibut is just good enough for Jehovah;>=
- 04 
=<<t,f,creaky>+AH:[+::;>
#8a/b
+....+points-->
=<<low,loud,creaky>ah:[::;>
- 05 A: [(bursts into laughter, continues to laugh throughout the extract)]
- 06 B:  
(.)<<t,f> du hast es schon WIE+der getan;+
----->+,,,,,,,,,,,,,+
(.)<<low,loud>you did it again;
- 07 
+du machst+Alles +nur noch SCHLIM+mer->
+.....+points+,,,,,,,,,,,,,+
you’re only making things worse->
- 08  
°h SCHLIMmer?
°h worse?



The reenactment comprises a face-to-face dialogue between the convict and the leader of the stoning. Additionally, a crowd is present in the original event, but does not participate in the dialogue. As in the Examples (1) and (4), the reenactment elicits laughter from the recipient (cf. line 05). The reenactment involves five segments. It is introduced by a quotative in line 01 (*und dann hat er nochmal NACHerzählt; |* and then he again re-narrated;). In line 02, the convict, who is referred to as “he” in line 01, begins to tell his story to the crowd (cf. line 02–03). Then B switches roles to the leader of the stoning, who interrupts the convict (line 04: *AH::;*) and accuses him of “doing it again” and “making things worse” (cf. lines 06 and 07). In line 08 and 09, the convict takes over and counters: *SCHLIMmer? was kann denn noch SCHLIMmer sein;* (worse? what could be worse;). Then the leader repeats his accusation in line 10 (you said the name of blablabla;), which is followed by another counter in lines 11 and 12 by the convict: *ja: dann SAG ich_s halt nOchmal; jeHOva jeHOva;* (well: so I'll just say it again; Jehovah Jehovah;).

Speaker B switches roles multiple times and marks the switches with eye gaze, gesture and prosody: During the quotative in line 01, he gazes at the recipient. At the left-side boundary of the reenactment (beginning of line 02 when taking on the role of the convict), B gazes to the right, but – comparable to ‘dialogic pattern 2’ – gazes back to the recipient shortly afterwards. His tone is designed with a light voice, shifting to falsetto voice several times, sounding rebellious. From here on, the role switches are accomplished without quotatives (cf. Klewitz and Couper-Kuhlen, 1999; Ehmer, 2011 on the use of prosodic resources in the absence of quotatives; Stukenbrock, 2014 who shows that bodily resources can fulfil the function of quotatives). When changing into the role of the leader, B gazes away from the recipient to the right and downwards and performs two similar successive pointing gestures to this location (line 04/07, cf. still #8), creating a “layering of spaces” (Stukenbrock, 2014: 71, cf. also Hanks, 1990; Haviland, 2000; Liddell, 2000; Schmitt and Deppermann, 2010; Ehmer, 2011; Stukenbrock, 2012) and assigning the (imagined) convict a location in space. Using an “Index Finger Extended Palm Down” gesture to point at the imagined figure as if he was visibly present singles him out as “an object to be individuated in contrast to other objects” (Kendon, 2004: 208) – as someone having re-committed a severe crime. As part of this reenactment, it is obvious that the function of this pointing gesture is to support and reinforce the leader's accusation on the verbal level (line 04: *AH::;* *du hast es schon WIEder getan; |* ah you did it again;).⁸ Additionally, speaker B lowers the tone of his voice and produces the leader's talk with increased volume.

⁸ Müller (1996: 200–201, 209) discusses this “accusing” function of pointing gestures and refers to Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* for observations concerning its use in court.



#8: (05:35.206) Speaker B in the role of the ‘accuser’, apex of an “Index Finger Extended Palm Down” gesture (Kendon 2004: 208), (8a): external perspective, (8b): perspective from eye-tracking camera.

While reenacting the leader accusing the convict, B keeps his gaze directed to the right (cf. still #8b). When switching to the convict again in line 08, he gazes downwards and then back to the recipient, establishing mutual gaze. At the transition relevance place of line 09, and the beginning of line 10, he looks to the right again and performs the same pointing gesture, thereby marking the role switch to the leader accusing the convict. Finally, in the last reenacted segment (line 11), he gazes to the left, then to the recipient, and lastly alternates his gaze from right to left while mockingly singing *jeHOva jeHOva*; in falsetto voice. He lifts his right arm when uttering the first *jeHOva* (line 12 and still #9), then his left arm in the same way when repeating *jeHOva*, deploying a “character viewpoint” gesture (McNeill, 1992: 119) to portray the convict’s “mocking dance”.



#9: (05:43.912) Speaker B in the role of ‘convict’. Apex of first mimetic gesture illustrating the “mocking dance”.

In summary, speaker B uses a “blended space” (Liddell, 2000) for his reenactment. While playing the role of the leader of the stoning, he directs his gaze to the right (i.e. to the left of speaker A). Thereby, the imagined convict is “projected onto a physical location” (Liddell, 2000: 347). While reenacting the convict, he overwhelmingly gazes at the co-participant, assigning the role of the leader to him. Therefore, he parses the segments of the reenactment and at the same time distinguishes and stylises the two characters with the use of eye gaze, gesture and prosody – and without using quotatives.

The most interesting switch is in line 04, as the leader of the stoning was not introduced to the story before the beginning of the reenactment. This role switch (just like all the following ones) is not effected with a quotative, which preserves the immediacy of the leader’s reaction to the word “Jehovah” in the original event. The leader is “created” ad hoc through the combination of gaze direction, a pointing gesture, and prosodic stylisation (cf. Günthner, 1999a, 2002b), which leads the recipient to burst into extended laughter (line 05) as a “display of amusement” and of “shared affectivity” (Selting, 2017: 3). Subsequently, the rapidity of the competitive exchange of turns between the convict and the leader is portrayed with the non-use of quotatives and the use of bodily and vocal resources, depicting the original event as realistically as possible and increasing the comic effect. The recipient acknowledges this humorous performance by laughing throughout the reenactment (cf. line 05).

All the reenactments of our collection that follow this ‘performance pattern’ are treated as “laughables” (Ford and Fox, 2010), that is, are associated with laughter from the recipient. It seems, therefore, that indicating switches of roles without quotatives, i.e. by using prosodic and bodily means including gaze direction, lends itself particularly to reinforcing the performative character of a reenactment and to invite laughter. In our dyadic interactions, this always involves a “layering of spaces” (Stukenbrock, 2014: 71), as shown in Example (6). Although reenactments that involve quotatives can be designed to

invite laughter as well (cf. Examples 1 and 4), initiating reenactments and switching roles without using quotatives seem particularly apt for staging a “drama” (Goffman, 1974; Günthner, 1999a; Stukenbrock, 2012), as this method approaches the real-time sequential trajectory of the original event, depicting the immediate succession of turns. This way of reproducing the original event approximates both the real-time embodied conduct of the reenacted characters and the specific temporality, i.e. the “on-line” character, of language use in interaction (cf. Auer, 2009, 2015; Linell, 2009). It generates greater immediacy and evokes a dramatic effect.

5. Conclusion

In our analysis of reenactments in German two-party interaction, we identified a systematic relationship between gaze and the nature of the original event. In contrast to Thompson and Suzuki (2014), we found that the reenactors' gaze behaviour is organised according to the presence or absence of a dialogue in the original event, irrespective of whether it involves a face-to-face arrangement or not. In our examples of original events that are **dialogic**, but do not involve face-to-face interaction (cf. Ex. 3 and 4), the reenactor does not gaze into mid-space (as predicted by Thompson and Suzuki), but looks at the recipient, following the same gaze pattern as in reenactments of face-to-face encounters. Our data therefore suggests, at least for dyadic conversations in German, that the factor ‘dialogicity’ (rather than ‘face-to-face setting’) in the original event is the key to how gaze is used. While previous studies rightly emphasise that the central function of speaker gaze in reenactments is to depict where somebody else was looking, that is, they argue in favour of an iconic function of gaze, we additionally identified an **indexical function of gaze** in reenactments: By looking at the recipient in the reenacting event, reenactors can also index that the reenacted segment of talk is directed at a recipient in a non-face-to-face original event. As visual access to each other is impossible in these original events (cf. Ex. 3 and 4), the reenactor's gaze behaviour, in contrast to reenactments depicting face-to-face encounters (cf. Ex. 2 and 5), cannot be considered iconic (i.e. depicting that the character of the original event was actually looking at a co-participant) in the respective cases.

The ‘**non-dialogic pattern**’ we described, i.e. looking away from the recipient in the beginning of the reenactment and turning gaze back to the recipient towards the end, corresponds to the gaze pattern observed in previous work on reenactments (cf. Sidnell, 2006). In these cases, speakers use their gaze to represent the gaze direction of a person in the original event. Regarding the ‘non-dialogic pattern’, we additionally observed the use of addressee monitoring for inviting early displays of affiliation (cf. Ex. 1).

In reenactments of dialogic original events, we found two alternative gaze patterns, both of which differ from Sidnell's pattern. They are characterised by the reenactor looking at the co-participant during the reenacted talk, assigning a role of the original event to the recipient in the reenacting event. In the first pattern, which we referred to as ‘**dialogic pattern 1**’, speakers gaze away from the recipient on the quotative and look back to the recipient in the beginning of the reenactment. In the second one, the ‘**dialogic pattern 2**’, the speaker looks at the recipient during the quotative, gazes briefly away in the beginning of the reenactment, and immediately looks back to the recipient. It is therefore possible for a speaker to initiate a reenactment of a dialogic original event whether or not s/he is looking at the recipient at a certain moment in time. Given the different levels of interactional organisation that gaze can be involved in – e.g. turn-taking, sequence management, and repair – which might be relevant for a speaker's gaze behaviour immediately prior to a reenactment, these two different patterns provide the speaker with a certain flexibility regarding the timing of initiating reenactments.

Regarding the accomplishment of role switches in reenactments of original events comprising two or more turns-at-talk, we observed that reenactors often deploy multimodal resources, combining quotatives, prosody, gaze and gestures. While in multi-party interaction, reenactors can mark role switches by gazing alternately at different participants of the reenacting event in order to assign different roles to them, this method obviously cannot contribute to marking role switches in dyadic interaction. Instead, reenactors in dyadic interaction seem to make use of stable prosodic and gestural means in order to mark and stylise the different characters and make the switches between them perceivable. This becomes especially apparent in the use of solely prosodic resources to mark a role switch (cf. Ex. 4). On the level of gaze, the role the speaker is currently not reenacting, respectively, is regularly assigned to the (sole) recipient of the reenacting event by gazing at him during each of the multiple reenacted turns.

Moreover, we described a performance practice that invites a display of amusement in the form of laughter by the recipient. This practice involves bodily and vocal means, but no quotatives, to switch between the characters of the original event. It comprises a gaze behaviour we called ‘**performance pattern**’, i.e. shifting gaze between the recipient and a surrounding space or between two different surrounding spaces, assigning constant roles to them. This practice depicts the real-time production of turns-at-talk and their bodily enactment by the co-participants of the original event, achieving a dramatic and humorous effect and regularly eliciting laughter. Gaze is mainly used to parse the changing of roles which are reenacted (cf. Ex. 6). Parsing is supported by the extensive use of gesture and voice alternation. Reenactments that are designed in this way contrast with reenactments that do not evoke laughter, but rather provide the background of the narration leading up to the climax (cf. Ex. 2 and 3) or portray the reenactor's negative stance towards the reenacted character as part of a complaint story (Ex. 5). In these cases, the ‘dialogic pattern 1’ and the ‘dialogic pattern 2’, involving quotatives and role switches that are parsed by the speaker gazing away and gazing back to the recipient, are used. Importantly, however, there are also reenactments accompanied by these gaze patterns that mobilise laughter (cf. Ex. 4). The crucial difference between these gaze patterns and the ‘performance pattern’, therefore, is that the patterns involving quotatives can be used for interactional tasks that do not evoke laughter, whereas the performance pattern in our data is always associated with laughter by the co-

participant (cf. Ex. 6). These different gaze patterns in reenactments with different functions can be seen as support for Rossano's (2012a) findings that gaze behaviour is linked to **interactional activities**: The 'performance pattern', gazing alternately at the recipient and into the background or towards two different background spaces to allocate roles, is treated as making laughter relevant. On the other hand, reenactments that are not designed to invite laughter, but are used to deliver background information or to express one's stance in a complaint story – are associated with 'dialogic pattern 1' and 'dialogic pattern 2', which allocate various roles represented in the original dialogic event to the sole recipient.

Conflict of interest

No conflict of interest was involved in this work.

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