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Territories of knowledge, professional identities and patients' participation in specialized visits with a team of practitioners

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TITLE

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KEYWORDS:

Patients' initiatives, embodied practices, specialised medical encounters, doctor-patient interaction, conversation analysis.

Abstract

Objective and methods

This analysis focuses on patients' conversational initiatives during admission visits at a centre for prosthesis construction and application. Using a conversation analysis approach, the paper describes a multimodal device, which includes gaze, gestures, body movements and verbal production, which patients systematically use to introduce their conversational initiatives.

Results

The analysis shows that the device accomplishes different and concurrent interactional functions: it announces the patient's impending turn-taking and its topic, it locally constructs the object of shared attention, and it makes the referent of the patient's turn visible and accessible. Furthermore, the device legitimises the patient's contribution, constructing it as strongly grounded in the direct experience that the patient has of his body. In addition to these functions, the strength of the multimodal device is also demonstrated by its adaptability to local interactional constraints. Conclusion and practice implications

The analysis shows patients' ability to transform contingent elements, such as the immediacy and availability of their injured limbs, into interactional resources for introducing unaddressed concerns. Through the detailed analysis of patients' conversational initiatives, the study contributes to an enhancement of patients' interactional competence and an empowerment of their agency.

Patients' embodied conversational initiatives in admission visits at a centre for prosthesis application.

1. Introduction

The relevance of patient's participation in health-care processes has become increasingly evident and is a central factor for the development of a patient-centered medicine[1]. Since the late 70s, studies of doctor-patient communication demonstrated that patients' involvement is positively associated with health outcomes, as it promotes patients' acceptance of the doctors' proposals and, consequently, patients' adherence to therapy [2, 3, 4]. In the last two decades, interactional studies of doctor-patient communication contributed to enhance patients' active role focusing on patients' participation and showing that, despite the asymmetry in favour of doctors, patients can succeed in locally influencing the manner in which interactions unfold [5]. As the stages of the medical encounter [6] differ with regard to the doctors' authority (for example, the diagnosis stage is considered more authoritative than the prescription stage [7]), patients' contributions and initiatives vary accordingly. Patients' initiatives during history-taking were mainly described in terms of expanded answers to doctors' questions [8] and of bodily conduct to display symptoms and suffering to the physician's attention [9], while patients' participation in diagnostic activity was described in terms of candidate explanations of their symptomatology [10] and in terms of extended responses to doctors' diagnostic statements [11]. Finally, during the prescription phase, patients' expressions of agency were mostly described in terms of resistance to prescription [12, 13]. This paper builds on these prior studies by providing an analysis of patients' conversational initiatives during admission encounters at a centre for prosthesis construction and application. In comparison to primary care visits, these encounters are more specialised and less familiar to the patients. We present an analysis of the multimodal resources that patients use to make

conversational initiatives, focusing on a specific multimodal pattern that includes gaze, gestures, movements of the injured limb and verbal production.

Patients use this pattern to introduce their conversational initiatives across all stages of the visit, with different degrees of success. The strength of patients' initiatives varies according to the sequential location, the type of action and the degree of response they obtain [14].

The analysis shows that the multimodal device allows the patients to accomplish concurrent and

varied interactional tasks, such as announcing turn-taking and its topic, constructing locally shared attention [15] and providing evidence and authority for the patients' assertions.

2. Data and methods

Data were collected in an Italian centre specialising in prosthesis construction and application. This paper reports on a pilot study, based on an analysis of 10 visits, which has provided the basis for a larger study based on a sample of 40 additional visits. During these encounters, patients meet a multidisciplinary team composed of a chief orthopaedic technician, an orthopaedic surgeon, a physiatrist, an orthopaedic engineer and a healthcare assistant. The patient's relatives or caretakers can also be present.

Patients enter the centre after loss of a limb, primarily due to work accidents or surgery. Of the total 50 encounters, 30 were with patients with injured upper limbs and 20 were with patients with injured lower limbs. Video recordings were made with two cameras during the pilot study (10 encounters) and three cameras during the collection of the other 40 cases.

The aim of the admission visit is to determine the appropriate procedure for the patient: this approach might involve prescribing a prosthesis or a surgery, deciding the treatment and preparing the limb. The admission visit has four main phases [16]: 1) opening, 2) history-taking and physical examination, 3) prescription, and 4) closing. Because of the centre's specialisation, the reason for the visit is implied and, consequently, there is no complaint presentation. Our analysis includes only patients with upper limb amputation.

All data were transcribed using the conversation analytic transcription convention developed by Jefferson [17] to which we added special symbols for the multimodal phenomena (see Appendix). For data analysis, we adopted conversation analysis (CA) methodology. CA provides analytical tools for the systematic study of actions and activities in ordinary and institutional settings and has already led to relevant applied results in doctor-patient interaction and in other professional settings [18]. The analysis of the interactional sequences that we propose includes multimodal phenomena [19].

Subject consent was obtained from all participants according to the Italian law n. 196/2003 "Codice in materia di protezione dei dati personali", which establishes the norms guaranteeing safeguarding of persons and other subjects with regard to the treatment of personal and sensitive data. Participants' names and other references to patients' or doctors' private information have been removed or changed to make them unidentifiable.

3. Results

The analysis focuses on a specific multimodal pattern that patients use to introduce their conversational initiatives, following doctors' post-answer vocal and verbal acknowledgments (sequence-closing thirds) [20] or other embodied closure signals (reading and writing records) [21]. These conversational initiatives are post-sequence expansions [22] and constitute forms of resistance to the sequence closure.

The components of the pattern, which can occur in partial or total overlap, are the following:

- 1. looking at the limb
- 2. looking alternately at the interlocutor and at the limb
- 3. moving the limb
- 4. producing comment, assessment or description of the limb

We now propose the analysis of some extracts in which the multimodal pattern occurs, focusing on its structure and its sequential position in the conversation.

Extract 1 - 2 (0.05.53)

P: Patient

20

MA: Chief technician MB: Orthopaedic Surgeon

This extract occurs toward the end of the visit, in the prescription phase. The physician (MB) and the technician (MA) have already examined the patient's hand and explained to the patient (henceforth P) the type of prosthesis they will apply. In line 1, MB suggests physiotherapy to P.

```
01
     MB:
                 >oppure< va a
                                   un centro di
                                                  fisioterapi:a, a fare- posso anche
                            you go to a physiotherapy centre
                                                                            I can also
                                                                   to-
                 scrivere un po' di ultrasuoni in immersione un po' di fisioterapia.
02
                                   ultrasound immersion therapy some
                                                                            physiotherapy
                            some
03
                                                                          ((STARTS NODDING))
                 o[kay adeş
04
     P:
                 okay
                       non
05
     MB:
                             uno vicino
                    there
                             one close by
06
                                           [HOMETOWN]
                  [ah
                                     se a
                   ah I don't know if in [HOMETOWN]
                                                       there's
07
                             già
                                      ripreso il lavo:ro? ha già
                  have you already gone back to work have you already gone back
80
                 il la[vo:ro
                 to work
09
                       [no. non anco:[:ra.
                            not yet
                        no
10
     MA:
                                        °ho capito°
                                          I see
11
     MB:
                 forse a
                              [CITY NAME] ce n'è uno;
                 perhaps in [CITY NAME] there's one
12
     P:
                 [CITY NAME]?
13
                  (.) / ((MB NODS VERY SLIGHTLY))
14
     P:
                 sì.
                 yes
15
                 (.) / ((MB STARTS WRITING))
16
     P:
                 magari mi informo,
                                               così,
                 I might seek information
17
18
     MB:
                  (così) lo scri[vo.
                  (so)
                         I'll write it
19
                                                          non-< fondamentalmente non riesco a
     P:
                                  [>sì <perché
                                                 non-
                                   yes because I don't don't basically
                                               ^{\mbox{\ensuremath{\Lambda}}} ( (turning to M\!A on his left he raises his right hand
```

PALM UP AND LOWERS HIS GAZE ON HAND))

```
grab hold on objects because it is very sensitive in this part no and
^((P ROTATES HAND PALM DOWN IN THE POSITION OF GRABBING AND RAISES GAZE TO MA))

21 MA:
22 MA:
23 mhm°°
```

Figure 1 Figure 2

In the extract, P's initiative occurs in line 19. P volunteers the description of a symptom ("basically, I can't grab hold on objects", lines 19-20) when the prescription activity is largely initiated and introduces his initiative at the end of a sequence during which he has been involved, with the doctor (MB), in locating a suitable physiotherapy centre (lines 11-18). The activity of "searching for the centre" is clearly closed by both participants by temporarily postponing it (P: "I might seek information, so" – MB: "so I'll write it"). P then takes his turn to introduce his concern about his difficulty grasping objects with his injured hand (lines 19-20). P takes his turn while looking at the limb, the first component of the multimodal pattern that accomplishes both functions of announcing P's taking the turn and its content; second, by quickly shifting his gaze toward MA and then to his hand again ("up and lower his gaze on hand", line 19, second component of the pattern), P ensures shared attention to the limb [23]; and third, by rotating his hand in a grasping position (third component of the pattern), he shows the difficulty he is verbally describing [24] (fourth component of the pattern).

Despite occurring once the sequence "searching for the physiotherapeutic centre" has been closed, P uses his turn to expand his previous negative answer to MA's question about whether he had gone back to work (lines 7-10). Indeed, the turn begins with a "yes because", followed by the description of the grasping difficulty. P's initiative obtains minimal acknowledgement (MA "mh" in lines 21-23, while MB goes on writing), withholding indication about the doctor's use of the provided information [25].

In the following extract, we show a more successful patient initiative, using the same multimodal pattern.

Extract 2 - 5 (3:56)

P: Patient

01

MC:

non ha

MB: Orthopaedic Surgeon

MC: Physiatrist

The extract occurs immediately after doctors have examined P's right arm, where the hand was recently amputated. The doctor sitting in the middle (MC) asks the question in line 1. MB is the first doctor on the left [see figure3].

°vero

((WHILE WRITING))

```
you don't have pain
                                                   do you
                  ^((P TURNS HIS GAZE
02
                                      GAZE ON DOCUMENTS AND THEN RAISES GAZE TO MC))
03
                                 inbreath) no=no=>no no<=assolutamente no.
                             nt in breath) no=no=>no no<=absolutely not
04
                              GAZE TO P))
                                          ((MC NODS AND GAZE DOWN ON PAPERS WHEN TURNING TO
                                           WRITING))
05
                  (0.6)
                     ( (P GAZES DOWN ON ARM) )
                           è guarito anche bene mi pa[:re
                 besides it recovered also well it seems to me from the
                ^ ((P APPROACHES LIMB TO HIS FACE AND GAZES AT IT))
                                                                    looks at MC looks at his arm
07
     MB:
                                 ^ ((MB raises gaze on P's Limb, interrupts writing))
08
     MB:
                                                           [ah sì
                                                                      sì.
                                                           ah yes yes
09
                 (0.6)
10
     MC:
                 sì sì
                           (effettivamente / assolutamente)
                 yes yes (actually
                                             / absolutely)
                   ((P RAISES GAZE ON MB AND THEN ON MC THAN BACK ON HIS ARM AND THEN
                     AGAIN TO MC WHO MEANWHILE HAS RETURNED TO WRITING. MC NODS BUT LOOKS
                     BACK ON THE PAPER: NO EYE-CONTACT ))
                  ((DOCTORS WRITE FOR 18 SECONDS))
```

Figure 3 Figure 4

In the example, P makes a conversational initiative producing an assessment about his limb: "besides it recovered also well" (line 6). Similar to the previous example, P's initiative occurs at the

closure of the previous sequence, in this case a question-answer sequence (lines 1-4). Indeed, the

assessment is produced while MC is filling out forms after having obtained P's answer to his

question (line 4). Filling out forms marks the end of the previous question-answer sequence and

makes the patient's initiative a post-sequence expansion.

During a pause of 0.6 seconds, while MC fills out the forms, P looks at his amputated limb, raises it

toward his head and rotates it several times while carefully examining it. Looking at the limb and

moving it, P constructs the limb as the object of a new local shared attentiveness (the fact that P is

attempting to draw the doctor's attention is confirmed by his gazing from the limb to the doctor and

then back to the limb again, in line 6) and creates the conditions for the doctors to participate in the

new assessment activity that he proposes. In this regard, MB and MC produce agreements with P's

assessment in lines 8 and 10, respectively.

The construction of the shared attention to the limb is also obtained verbally. Indeed, by referring to

the limb without using its name but the pronoun "it" ("besides it recovered also well"; in the Italian

version, even the pronoun "it" is absent), P pushes the interlocutor to look for the referent in the

immediate environment.

The following is another example of P's use of the multimodal pattern to introduce his initiative.

Even in this case, P produces an unrequested assessment about his limb during his turn.

Extract 3 - 5 (03.16)

P: Patient

MA: chief technician

MD: Orthopaedic Engineer

The extract shows one of the examinations of P's limb during the history-taking phase. The doctors

are looking at P's limb and assessing it, while P is performing some movements as requested by

MA.

01 la prono-supina[zio:ne::, (.) conserva:ta MC: the prono-supination

maintained

ON MA))

((MAKES ROTATING GESTURES WITH RIGHT HAND)) ^ ((SHIFTS GAZE FROM P'S FOREARMS

9

```
02
                                                                      un ↓po'.
      MA:
                                                     [<u>sì:</u> c'è
                                                                                            sì.
                                                     yes there is
                                                                      a
                                                                          little
                                                                                            yes
                                                                                     yes
                                                                                 ((P's GAZE DOWN ON ARM))
03
                             sì.° c'è
04
      MA:
                    (.) sì
                                                 un po'.
                                                               uhuh, va bene,
                                                                                      gra[zie.
                                                     little
                                                              uhuh
                                                                      that's fine thank you
                                    there is
                                                              ^ ( (ADDRESSING P) )
                    ((P'S GAZE ON HIS LIMB CONTINUES))
05
                                                                                                      un=
                                                                                             there's a
                                                                                            ^ ( (P RELEASES THE
                    POSTURE LEANING BACK. MEANWHILE HE MOVES THE MUSCLES OF HIS FOREARM, MAKING THE UPPER PART OF HIS
                    LIMB MOVE))
06
                                anche di-
                    =minimo
                     minimum
                                also
                    (2.0) / ((P's GESTURE CONT
07
                                              INUES, WHILE P GAZES AT DOCTORS.
                                         CROSSES HIS GAZE. P TURNS TO MA))
                    °mhm°
08
      MA:
                     mhm
09
                                 ima[hahasto ((audible outbreath))
                       wrist remained
                    ((GESTURE AMPLIFICATION: ADDRESSING MA, MOVING HIS LEFT HAND, P ILLUSTRATES THE GESTURE THAT HE
                    MADE BEFORE WITH THE AMPUTATED WRIST; THEN HE LOOKS AGAIN AT HIS LIMB))
```

```
10
                                     [°quello no
                                      ^{\circ}that
                                               no (
                     ( (AND TURNS TO LOOK AT COMPUTER SCREEN) )
11
                    (2.0) / ((P KEEPS MOVING WRIST, MA LOOKS AT LIMB AND SHAKES HEAD SLIGHTLY))
12
                      quello non::
                               isn't / doesn't (
                       that
13
      MB:
                    ((RAISES GAZE FROM DESK TO P'S LIMB))
14
                    (1.8)/(MB \text{ KEEPS GAZE ON P'S LIMBS WHILE P STOPS MOVING THE LIMB,}
                          LEANS BACKWARDS AND SMILES AT MB))
15
      MB:
                    co:me
                                            un po'
                                                         di (polso)
                                            a little of (wrist)
                    What do you mean
                    ((LEANING FORWARD ON TABLE TO REACH P'S FOREARM))
```

Figure 5 Figure 6 Figure 7 Figure 8

Following P's performance, between lines 1 and 4, doctors look at and engage in a collective evaluation of P's limb. In line 4, MA dismisses the patient, thanking him ("that's fine thank you"). MA's behaviour allows P to leave the position he was requested to take for inspection of the limb and clearly closes the doctors' evaluative activity. When MA dismisses him, P begins to release the

position, leaning back in the chair and beginning his turn in overlap with MA's dismissing turn (line 5). As in the previous examples, P introduces his initiative at the closing of a sequence, producing an assessment about his limb: "there is also a minimum of wrist remained" (lines 5 and 6). Compared to previous examples, P's initiative here is even stronger, as the prior assessing activity was performed only by the doctors and P was not involved at all, not even to answer questions. Concerning P's use of the multimodal pattern to introduce his initiative, it is interesting to note that, in this case, P locally and contingently adjusts it. In fact, when P takes his turn, he is already looking at the limb (line 2), and he consequently shifts from drawing attention to the limb (as found in the previous examples) to maintaining his gaze on the limb. The effect of "maintaining the gaze" is obtained by contrasting gaze fixation with the body movement of leaning back in the chair. The movement of the whole body makes the gaze fixation newly relevant at that moment. Thus, the three phases of the gaze component of the pattern are as follows: the maintenance of the gaze on the limb (while leaning back), the gaze shifting to the doctor (line 7), and the gaze coming back to the limb (line 9), following a pattern similar but not identical to the previous examples. This gaze-work precedes the verbal production, announcing P taking his turn and maintaining the current topic (the limb). In line 5, while gazing at his limb and delivering the assessment, P visibly moves the muscles of his forearm, thus showing what he refers to as the remaining wrist articulation, and giving evidence for his assessment. The structure of P's turn has the same format as that of the physicians' previous statements "there is...." (line 1, 2 and 4). Furthermore, the cut off of the turn "There's a minimum also of" (line 6) reflects the strong interplay between words and gestures[26]. During the silence of 2 seconds, after the "of", P shows the movement that he subsequently names as "minimum of wrist remained." The initial embodied introduction of the referent [27] has the function of encouraging the interlocutors to look at the limb and ensuring shared attention. In this case, the patient's initiative has a strong impact on the subsequent interaction as, after P's assessment, a new evaluative sequence (doctors express their disagreement with P in lines 10 and 12), including a new inspection of the limb (from line 15 on), occurs.

The following extract presents another occurrence in which P uses the same pattern to introduce his conversational initiative, but to produce a repair rather than an assessment. Even in this extract, the initial gaze component is locally adjusted to the immediate interactional context.

Extract 4- 3 (01. 08)
P: Patient

MB: Orthopaedic Surgeon

MC: Physiatrist

The extract captures an interaction in the first part of the history-taking phase, after the patient has been requested to describe the work accident that caused his impairment. In line 1, MC (the doctor in the middle (picture 9) checks P's previous narrative. MB is the first doctor on the left.

```
01
                                 nita la mano nel
                                                           pisto:ne?
                            hand was caught up in the cylinder
                                             ( (JOINTS HIS HANDS, AS IN A HOOK, AND THEN MOVES HIS RIGHT HAND AS IF
                                               HE WERE CUTTING))
02
                     =macchina stop, stava tirando:::, (0.4) <u>leg</u>no caduto male, (.) poi=
                   yes machine stop I was pulling
                                                                      wood fell badly
                    ((THE EXPLANATION IS ACCOMPANIED WITH GESTURES THAT ILLUSTRATE THE DYNAMICS))
03
                                                      ^ ( (NODS REPEATEDLY) )
04
                   =è partito pistone
                    cylinder started
0.5
                   (0.6) / (MC \text{ KEEPS NODDING AND LOWERS GAZE ON DESK TO WRITE}))
06
      MC:
                   I understand
07
                   (0.6) / ( doctors are busy with paper work. MB raises his gaze on the patient's hands for a
                   FRACTION OF A SECOND AND THEN RETURNS TO READ PROTOCOLS ABOUT THE SURGERY))
0.8
                   °cioè::,
                               (0.6)
                                      tutt'e due
                                                   le mano nella::,
                   I mean
                                      both
                                                    hands
                                                              in the
                   ^ ((P GAZES DOWN ON HIS HANDS))
                                      ^{\wedge} ( (P Touches his left fingers hand with the right hand
                                       FIRST ORIENTED TO MC WHO IS WRITING, THEN TURNING TO MB))
09
                                                                     ^ ((RAISES GAZE ON P))
      MB:
10
                   (1.4)/((P REPEATS THE GESTURE WITH BOTH HANDS TOWARDS MC WHO IS NOW LOOKING AT HIM))
11
      MB:
                   ma qui si era amputata anche la mano /((points with the pen to the right hand))
                   but here you had also the hand amputated
```

Figure 9 Figure 10 Figure 11

In line 6, the doctor (MC) produces a verbal receipt ("I understand") of P's narrative of the work accident. The sequential closure function of the "I understand" is reinforced by MC's return to filling out the documents and by the following silence (line 7). During the silence in line 7, the surgeon MB raises his gaze to P's hands, and it is at that moment that P also looks at his hands while taking his turn (line 8). Thus, when P lowers his gaze to his hands, he aligns with MB's gaze at the limb and constructs shared attentiveness. At this point, P produces his incomplete turn ("I mean both hands in the", lines 8 and 9) pointing his right hand toward the left one to show that it has also been injured.

P's turn repairs MB's reference to a single hand in his question in line 1. The link between the repair (two hands) and its repairable (one hand) is constructed and reinforced through the partial repetition, in line 8, of the doctor's turn in line 1: "so the hand was caught up in the cylinder" becomes "both hands in the". The turn containing the repair is incomplete, and its meaning remains parasitic to the turn containing the repairable. As in examples 1 and 2, P links his turn to prior talk using a conjunction, in this case "I mean" ("cioè", a typical Italian particle to initiate repair), but, in contrast with the other examples, the function of the turn's incompleteness is different. While in the previous cases, the turn's incompleteness leads the interlocutor to look for the missing verbal referent in the immediate physical environment, thus facilitating the construction of shared attentiveness, in this case the turn's incompleteness has an anaphoric function and leads the interlocutor to refer back to the previous interaction.

4. Discussion and Conclusion

4.1 Discussion

The analysis identified a multimodal device, including gaze, gestures and verbal behaviour, which patients systematically use to introduce and sustain their conversational initiatives during admission encounters at a centre for prosthesis application. The first component of the device is visual, and it consists of initially looking at the limb and then looking alternately at the interlocutor and back at

the limb. The initial gaze at the limb has the function of announcing both the patient's taking his turn and the topic (the injured limb) of the contribution, while the gaze alternation from the limb to the interlocutor and back ensures the construction of the injured limb as a local object of shared attention. P's gestures and movements following the gaze have the function of showing the relevant parts or aspects of the limb to which P's contribution refers, in order to produce evidence for P's statements or assessments. The interplay between R's assertions or assessments about the limb and its being immediately visually available helps to construct P's initiatives as based on his direct experience of the limb, hence to legitimise P's assertions and assessments. The pattern is systematically used by patients at the closure of conversational sequences that are signalled by doctors' sequence-closing thirds, both through verbal acknowledgements and/or gestural closures such as reading or filling out documents. Patients' initiatives are thus post sequence expansions that, in this particular context, assume the function of resistance to the closure of the previous sequence. The analysis of four different occurrences showed that patients use the device during different stages of the encounter and that participants can adapt the device to local constraints; in example 3, P succeeds in using the device even though he is already gazing at the limb. Moreover, in example 4, P utilises the device by aligning with the doctor's initial gaze at his hand. These variations demonstrate the stability and local adaptability of the device.

4.2 Conclusion

This detailed analysis of patients' embodied initiatives in specialised medical encounters documents patients' ability to introduce unaddressed elements or concerns despite the asymmetry of the interaction or the unfamiliarity of the encounter. The analysis demonstrates that patients are able to transform injured limbs and their immediate visual availability into interactional resources.

4.3 Practice implications

Patients' embodied initiatives in specialised medical encounters attest to the patients' need to assume an active role beyond merely responding to questions or presenting their bodies for inspection. The analysis of the ways and moments in which patients succeed in obtaining unexpected conversational spaces can help doctors in planning encounters in order to facilitate patients' conversational initiatives. In particular, the analysis shows that the moments in which doctors withdraw their attention from the patient to attend to other tasks are often favourable for patients' initiatives, and this phenomenon can lead to a change of perspective on "distraction" caused by doctors' attention to multiple activities during the encounters. Furthermore, by documenting patients' interactional initiatives, this study enhances patients' interactional competence and empowers their agency.

We confirm all patient/personal identifiers have been removed or disguised so the patient/person(s) described are not identifiable and cannot be identified through the details of the stories and/or of the transcripts and images.

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Symbols	Description
()	
(.)	Indicates a gap of less than one-tenth of a second
(0.7)	Pauses timed in tenths of a second
L	Start of overlapping talk across adjacent lines
=	No discernible interval between turns or prior words
•	Falling intonation
,	Continuing intonation
?	Rising intonation (not necessarily a question)
.hhh	In-breath
hhh.	Out-breath Control of the Control of
wohrd heh	Audible aspirations within words, including in laughter
°word°	Talk quieter than surrounding talk
WORD	Talk much louder than surrounding talk
word	Vocal emphasis
↑word↓	Marked variations in pitch in the following word/syllable
(word)	The transcriber's 'best hearing' of what is said, when unclear or uncertain
<	Indicate that the following talk sounds like it starts with a rush
<word></word>	Talk much slower than surrounding talk
>word<	Talk much faster than surrounding talk
٨	Indicates the position in which the onset of gestures, gaze or body
	movements are deployed in relation to talk in the preceding line.
(())	Text in italic in double parenthesis represent an effort to describe other
	forms conduct
\rightarrow	Indicates lines of particular interest
()	
Table 1	

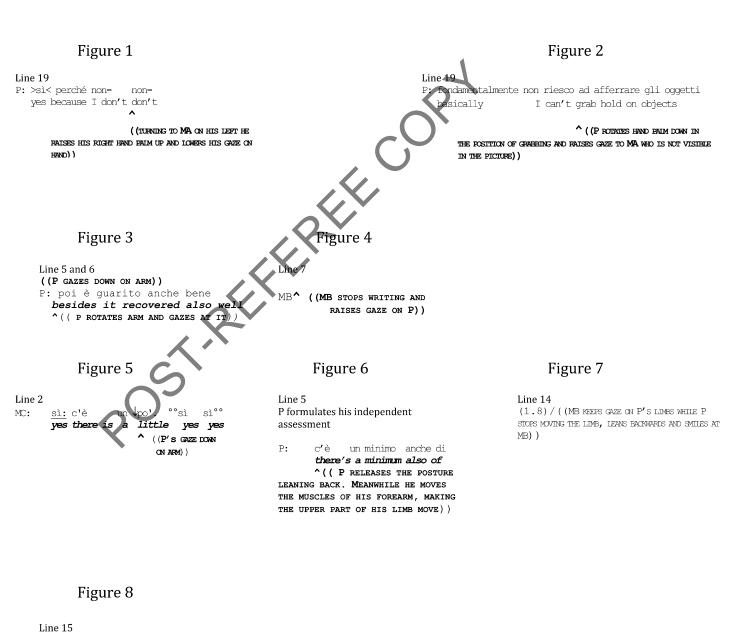
Appendix: Transcription conventions

In Table 1 below, we describe the symbols we used in the extracts. All of them – except from the (^) symbol we devised to indicate the onset of gestures and gaze in relation to talk – were conceived by Gail Gefferson [17].

Legends

co:me un po' di (polso)

what do you mean a little of (wrist)
((LEANING FORWARD ON TABLE TO REACH P'S FOREARM))



```
Figure 9
```

```
Line 8
P: °cioè::,° (0.6)
     I mean
      ^ ((P GAZE DOWN ON HIS HANDS))
```

Figure 10

```
Line 8
tutt'e due le mano
both hands
\ensuremath{^{\upred}} ( ( \ensuremath{^{\upred}} Touches his left fingers with the
RIGHT HAND))
```

```
Line 9
nella::
in the
```

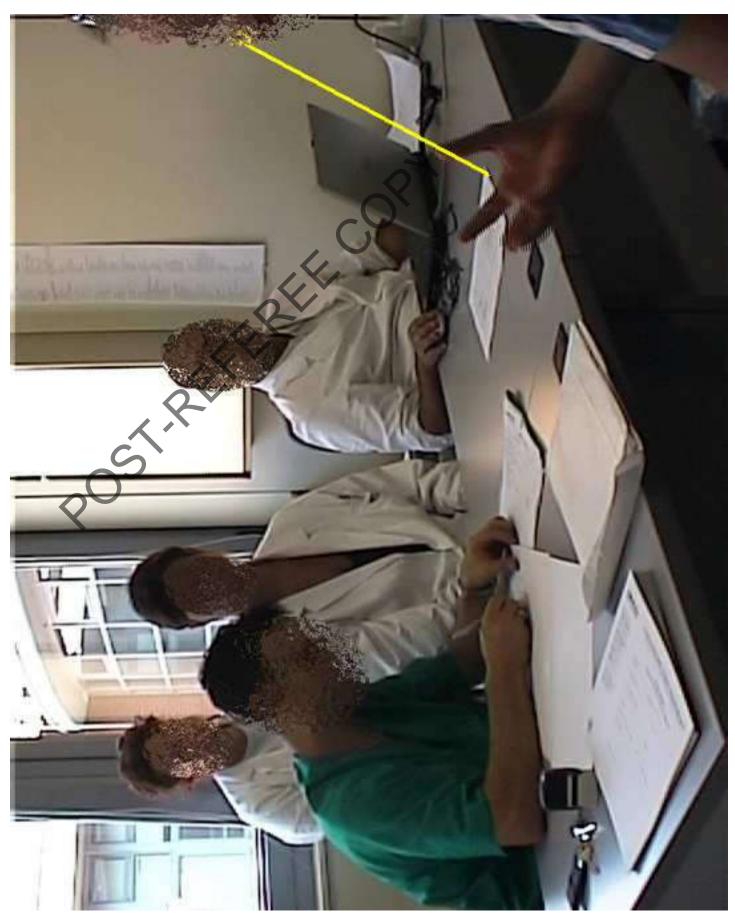


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Figure 2 Click here to download high resolution image

Figure 3 Click here to download high resolution image

Figure 4
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Figure 7 Click here to download high resolution image



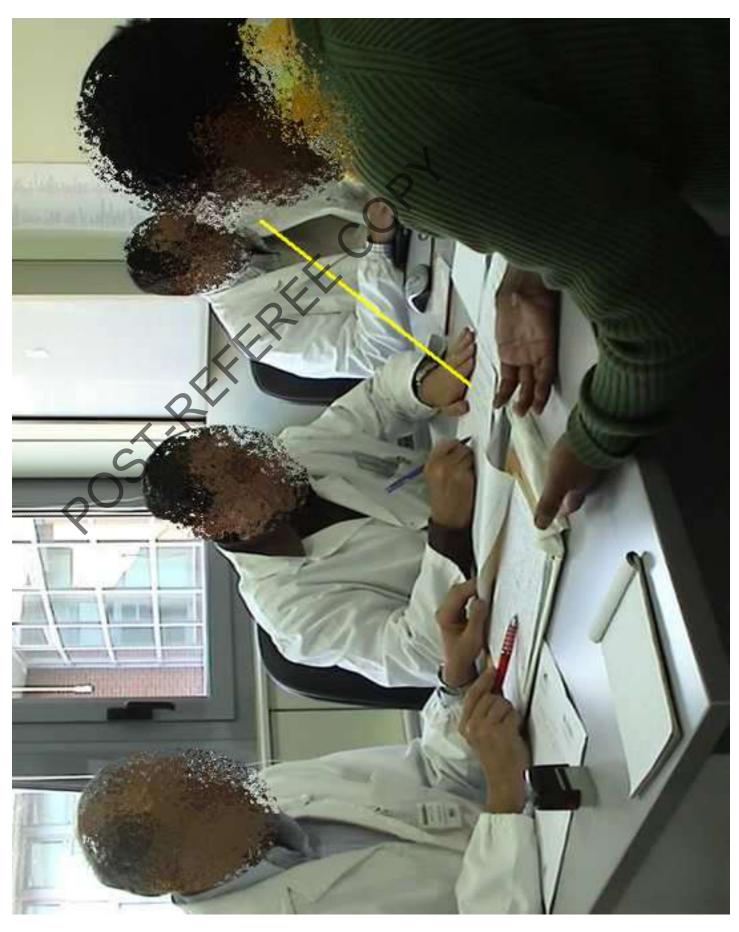


Figure 9 Click here to download high resolution image



Figure 10 Click here to download high resolution image

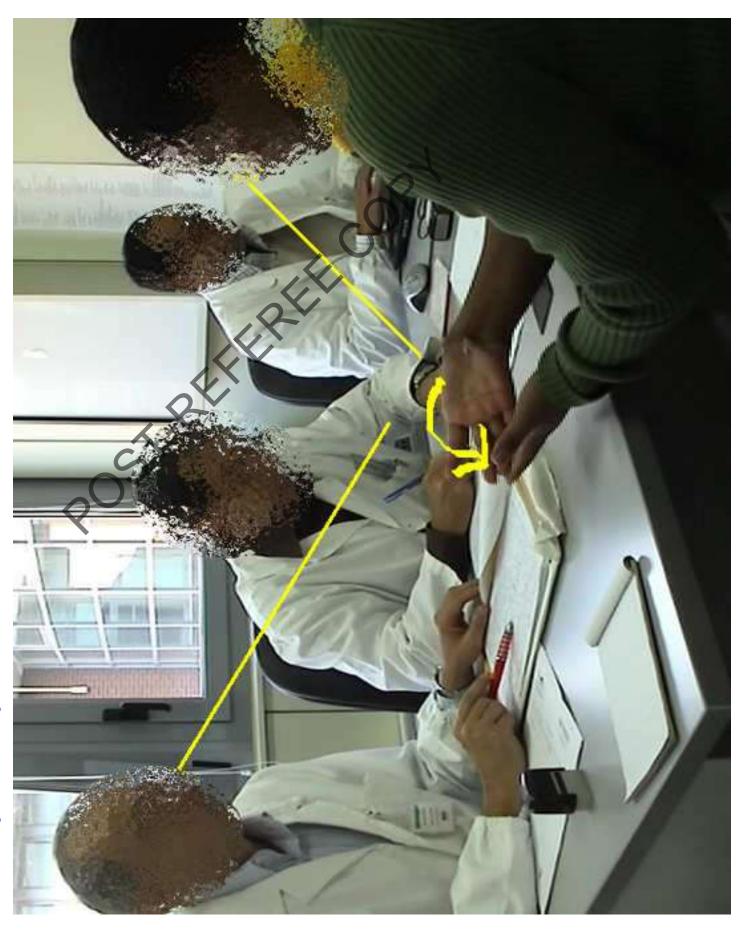


Figure 11 Click here to download high resolution image