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# Constructing the Chekhovian *inner body* in instructions: An interactional history of factuality and agentivity



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## ABSTRACT

Using video-recordings from one day of a theater project for young adults, this paper investigates how the meaning of novel verbal expressions is interactionally constituted and elaborated over the interactional history of a series of activities. We examine how the theater director introduces and instructs the group in the Chekhovian technique of acting, which is based on “imagining with the body,” and how the imaginary elements of the technique are “brought into existence” in the language of the instructions. By tracking shifts in the instructor’s use of the key expressions *invisible/imaginary/inner body* or *movement* through a series of exercises, we demonstrate how they are increasingly treated as real and perceivable bodily conduct. The analyses focus on the instructor’s attribution of factual and agentive properties to these expressions, and the changes that these properties undergo over the series of instructions. This case demonstrates the significance of longitudinal processes for the establishment of shared meaning in social interaction. The study thereby contributes to the field of interactional semantics and to longitudinal studies of social interaction.

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## 1. Introduction

This study concerns the introduction and instruction of the Chekhovian acting technique and one of its main elements, the *inner body*, to a group of young adults who are participating in a community theater project as their summer job. Their job consists of learning about art and theater, engaging in a range of creative exercises, and, in the end, performing on stage. When instructing the group in bodily exercises of the acting technique, the theater director introduces the expression *invisible body* and a set of closely related, interchangeably used wordings such as *imaginary* or *inner body/movement* (or referring to body parts, *invisible head, arm*, etc.) to verbalize key elements of the technique. The words *invisible*, *imaginary*, *inner*, and *body* as such are, of course, familiar to the participants (with the possible exception of L2 speakers present in the data). Yet the

The study is part of the research project ‘Constitution of meaning in multimodal interaction’, funded by the Helsinki University Humanities Programme. Prior versions have been presented at the Work-in-Progress seminar at the University of Helsinki in November 2018, at a workshop on ‘aesthetic concepts in interaction’ at the IDS Mannheim in May 2019 and in the context of a panel on ‘longitudinal CA’ at the *iemca19*-conference in Mannheim in July 2019. We thank all commentators, two anonymous reviewers of a prior version of this paper, the colleagues from the pragmatics department of the IDS Mannheim and, in particular, Liisa Raevaara for valuable comments and criticism.

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novel collocations (*invisible/imaginary/inner body (part)/movement*) as part of the Chekhovian framework have previously been unknown to them. Their context-specific meaning is not easily inferable, as it is non-compositional; it consists of more than the sum of the individual parts. We examine the interactional and multimodal constitution of the meaning of these novel expressions in the director's instructions of the technique by analyzing how they are used and how aspects of their meaning become elaborated in the course of the exercises from the very first occasion to later uses.

Since we are interested in how an imaginary object is brought into existence, or “manipulated into being” (Keevallik, 2014), we focus on two fundamental aspects that constitute the meaning of the invisible body as a perceivable and practically relevant object: its *factuality* and the *agentive* properties ascribed to it. Over the course of leading the embodied exercises, the instructor's orientation to the invisible body changes from treating it as a product of the performers' imagination to treating it as a resource that is factual and perceivable for them and that influences their actions. We examine the verbal and embodied practices that bring the object and its variegated properties into existence, indexing at the same time how the instructor increasingly takes them to be part of the common ground shared with the participants.

The study aims to describe how linguistic meaning is established in real time, as part of the unfolding of social actions. We analyze participants' semantic work through interactional practices, and track the launching of new expressions and their later use in real time across occasions of mention. We use this procedure as a method of studying meaning in language. This study thus contributes to the emerging area of the study of meaning constitution in social interaction, ‘interactional semantics’. The analysis extends beyond local sequences, taking into account the significance of a broader interactional history for the constitution of meaning across sequences and larger activities. By adopting this analytic perspective, we show how the enrichment and change in the meaning of a set of expressions is interactionally organized over time.

We will first lay out the theoretical framework of our study (section 1.1), briefly discuss instructions of bodily action (section 1.2), and introduce our data (section 1.3). We then introduce the Chekhovian acting technique and present the first data excerpt (section 2). The analysis of the director's instructions (section 3) proceeds chronologically, showing the incremental elaboration and change of the artistic concepts.

### 1.1. Theoretical background: Interactional semantics and interactional histories

The linguistic study of talk-in-interaction has flourished over the last 25 years (for an overview, see Couper-Kuhlen and Selting, 2018). Yet while prosody and grammar have been extensively studied concerning their importance for turn-construction, action formation, turn-taking and interactional sequences, the meanings of open-class items such as nouns, verbs, and adjectives in talk have only rarely become a topic of research. This is the focus of an emerging field called ‘interactional semantics’ (Bilmes, 2015; Deppermann, 2011, 2020). Studies in interactional semantics are interested in the practices which participants in talk-in-interaction use in order to constitute and clarify the local meanings of the words and expressions they are using. Interactional practices of meaning constitution are a direct corollary of the ubiquitous indexicality of all talk (Garfinkel, 1967; Garfinkel and Sacks, 1970; Liberman, 2012). Each expression may be used in a broad range of situations to refer to an infinite number of states of affairs and may equally, depending on its linguistic, interactional, and social context, exhibit various senses. This is already evident from a short look into an ordinary dictionary. While contextual interpretation and situated inference are omnirelevant in interaction (Deppermann, 2018a), participants sometimes spend additional effort in clarifying their understandings of the local meaning of the expressions they are using. Practices to do this include, e.g., repair (Schegloff, 1992), reformulation (Deppermann, 2011), definition (Greco and Traverso, 2016; Deppermann and de Stefani, 2019), contrast (Deppermann, 2005), translation (Harjunpää, 2017), and more generally building local taxonomies of linguistic expressions (Bilmes, 2009, 2011, 2015).

Teaching and learning contexts, in particular, create the need for elaborate practices of meaning constitution, when new words and expressions with meanings unknown to novices are used. In our case, the key terms of the acting technique are used over a series of instruction rounds during one day of training. We are interested in the interactional history (Deppermann, 2018b) of the local constitution of meaning of these expressions within the ensemble of lay actors and their director, that is, within an emerging community of practice (Lave and Wenger, 1991; Hazel, 2017).<sup>1</sup> In contrast to the usual focus of conversation analytic studies, the perspective on meaning-constitution is not confined to individual sequences, but extends across them to explore how later instructional sequences build on prior sequences that are not adjacent. We thus adopt a longitudinal approach (see Pekarek Doehler et al., 2018) by analyzing the elaboration and change of meaning of the expressions across interactional sequences and activities in an encounter.

By tracking this interactional history, we reconstruct the trajectory of the emergence and shift in publicly displayed meanings, accomplished by the participants through their talk and embodied action (Deppermann, 2018b). An integral part of this methodological approach is to begin the analysis from an early (ideally, the very first) occurrence of the focal expression in the community of practice and track all subsequent ones. By virtue of this study design, we can analyze how the participants' use of an expression builds on their uses of the same expression on prior occasions. We can thereby identify how participants build and use common ground (Clark, 1996) concerning their assumptions about their shared understanding of the key expressions. The approach allows for an empirical, conversation analytic reconstruction of how social meanings emerge, instead of relying on speculation about which kinds of experience and knowledge may be crucial for participants'

<sup>1</sup> Theater rehearsals have been studied from a longitudinal perspective in terms of how the composition of a social encounter in a scene, to be represented on stage, is rehearsed and develops through series of repetitions and modifications (Hazel, 2018; Norrthon, 2019).

understandings of the expressions in focus. Common ground is thus both a concern and a resource for the participants. It is continuously emerging, as the turns and actions that build on it are recipient-designed by reference to the shared interactional history, assuming common ground and at the same time creating it.

In this study, we examine how the ascription of two basic semantic properties, factuality and agentivity, to the invisible body changes over the course of the instructed exercises. According to philosophical ontology, a state of affairs that obtains is factual (Meinong, 1978[1902]: 101; Wittgenstein, 1922: §1). States of affairs are described by propositions. The attribution of *factuality* depends on the speaker's perspective, as Oakshott-Taylor (1984: 122) points out: "Factuality thus concerns the extent to which the propositional content of a sentence (or sentence fragment) conforms with the speaker's perception of the world." Attribution of factuality entails that speakers commit themselves to the truth of the proposition. In the current study, we understand factuality as a property that is assigned to a state of affairs by descriptive practices (Bergmann, 1991). The participants in our data come to treat "invisible" objects as factual in the sense of talking about them as a shared, perceivable reality.

*Agentivity* is a core feature of the conceptualization of events. According to Dowty (1991), a prototypical agent is characterized by volition, sentience, movement, causative force upon other entities, and independent existence (idem: 562). In the context of an event, an agent thus has an impact on other entities, the 'patients'. In the theory of semantic roles (Fillmore, 1977; Primus, 1999), the agent therefore is often identified with the (transitive) subject, a link that, however, does not always hold (Duranti, 2004). Here we are interested in how the participants ascribe agentive properties to the 'invisible body', that is, how they describe it as initiating, guiding, and affecting the performer's actions, or vice versa, and how these properties are linguistically indexed, developing and building on the interactional history.

### 1.2. Prior studies on instructions of bodily actions

In recent years, the study of instructions of bodily action has become an important field of research in conversation analysis. The settings studied include surgery (Mondada, 2014; Zemel and Koschman, 2014), cooking (Raevaara, 2017), crocheting (Lindwall and Ekström, 2012), sports (Råman and Haddington, 2018), and driving lessons (De Stefani and Gazin, 2014; Deppermann, 2018c). Studies on instruction have also focused on artistic practices, such as dance classes (Keevallik, 2013, 2015), playing musical instruments (Stevanovic, 2017), singing (Reed and Szczepek-Reed, 2013), orchestral conducting (Weeks, 1996; Veronesi, 2014; Sunakawa, 2018), and theater rehearsals (Schmidt, 2014). Video-recordings make it possible to examine how verbal instructions intertwine with embodied instructional practices and how (primarily) embodied responses to verbal actions are organized.

In multimodal instructions of embodied actions, a range of verbal and embodied means can be used to convey the correct (or sometimes the unwanted, incorrect) execution of the action. Verbal practices, such as directives and explanations, can combine with bodily and gestural demonstrations to highlight locally relevant aspects of embodied conduct (Goodwin, 1994). The bodily response by the recipient counts as evidence of understanding and, in contexts of learning, of appropriating new skills, which can be further shaped by corrective instructions (e.g. Lindwall and Ekström, 2012; Råman and Haddington, 2018; Rauniomaa et al., 2018). In this study we consider how the choice of linguistic expressions in multimodal instructions is intertwined with the organization of the chain of subsequent activities.

### 1.3. Data: Art-making as a summer job

The study builds on nearly 60 hours of video-recordings from the "theater summer job" project produced by the Kiasma theater in collaboration with the city of Helsinki. The summer job project was organized from 2011 to 2016 as part of an urban art festival. Young adults, ages 18 to 25, were hired as summer job workers for a period of six weeks. Their job included exploring contemporary art and artistic working methods, and ultimately, participating in a stage performance. Each summer, the director invited one or two collaborating artists from other fields of art, such as visual arts or dramaturgy. Together they composed the final performance from materials created by the participants.

The data have been provided courtesy of the research project 'Art as work and working tool' (Ihalainen in prep.; Malaska, 2016; Raevaara acc.; Savijärvi and Ihalainen (acc.); Visakko, 2020, in press; see also <http://urbduuni.fi/in-english/>). Day-long sessions were video-recorded once or twice a week with three cameras. For our study, we use video-recordings from 2016 with six actual participants. The two artists collaborating with the theater director and the researchers and research assistants sometimes also took part in the exercises.<sup>2</sup>

We have identified in the data all instances of exercises in which the instructor uses the expressions *imaginary*, *invisible*, and *inner* applied to body or movement. We delimit our focus in this paper to the first of three sessions. During this session, on the ninth day of the summer job, most of the basic components and applications of the Chekhovian technique are introduced and practiced. Most of the time the director is the only person speaking, whereas the recipients engage in the bodily tasks in

<sup>2</sup> Pseudonyms are used for the participants in the transcripts. However, at their own request, the real names of the professional artists are mentioned: "Maria", the theater-maker and director, is Elina Izzarra Ollikainen, "Mikko" is the visual artist Sauli Sirviö, and "Aki" is the dramaturgist Are Nikkinen.

silence. The participants do not verify mutual understanding turn-by-turn, nor is there only one correct way of grasping the technique.<sup>3</sup>

## 2. The Chekhovian method in practice: How to coordinate invisible movement

The inner body acting technique was created by Michael Chekhov (1891–1955), a Russian actor and theater director, who emigrated to the UK, and later to the US (Chamberlain, 2018: 1–36). While his teacher at the Moscow Art Theatre, Konstantin Stanislavsky, preferred a realistic approach to theater and acting and considered the actor's access to their own psychobiographical experiences and emotions to be key for acting, Chekhov insisted on the primacy of the body as a source of creativity and expression (Chekhov, 2002). He was influenced by Rudolf Steiner's anthroposophical writings. He applied Steiner's idea of a transcendent "higher self" in describing actors' creative capacity to reach forms of expression that enable them to transcend their personal level of emotions and concerns (Daboo, 2007); actors can inspire an impression in the audience by building on archetypal sensations, which are held to be universally shared through bodily experience.

The Chekhovian technique involves a tight connection between somatic and sensory phenomena and imagination. The actor is said to *imagine with their body* (Chekhov, 2002; Zinder, 2007). Even if aspects of the technique might be regarded as mysterious, it has been proven efficient and trainable (Chekhov, 2002; Chamberlain, 2018: 37–88; Petit, 2010; Zinder, 2007). The effects of the imagination materialize in the actor's body through neurophysiological and psychological processes. They allow the actor to "discover and embody a different physicality and psychology, related to that of the character" (Daboo, 2007), which is conveyed to the audience. In the rehearsal process, performers engage in specific physical movements in order to explore their "inner" effects. On stage, they do not actually perform the movements but only invoke the discovered sensorial and symbolic qualities as a way to express and sustain a character. The inner body exercises are designed to facilitate the participants' awareness of how psychological and emotional states are connected to physical sensations, and how the former can be invoked by the latter.

The character of the technique bears consequences for the social organization of its training. The action of imagining with one's body is not directly accessible to an observer, and its successful execution cannot be simply displayed by a correct physical performance or by demonstrating knowledge or understanding of the concepts. The exercises focus on private actions and on the conscious experience of one's bodily processes, such as sensing one's movement and balance (proprioception) and internal physical processes (interoception).

Mental images and embodied metaphors are used in many methods of instruction (e.g. Keevallik, 2014 on holding an imaginary, immaterial ball in couples dancing; Stukenbrock, 2017 on fighting an imaginary assailant in self-defense training), including mental practice in sports (e.g. Daboo, 2007). In the Chekhovian technique, the relationship between imaginary and physical action is a key principle in the technique itself and in the vocabulary used for its instruction. Talking about imaginary objects is a way to name something that actually happens in the body, and therefore, the phenomena referred to as imaginary are not strictly immaterial. The practical problem for the instructor and participants during the exercises is how to coordinate the imaginary actions and the related private, bodily sensations by means of publicly shared, interactionally organized talk and action.

In the first session of the Chekhovian *inner body* acting technique, Maria, the theatre director, leads a set of exercises for the group in a large rehearsal space. Before launching the exercises, she announces that the group will now approach the 'world of Chekhov'. She gives a general characterization of the technique in terms of its physicality and use of imagination.

(1) U369\_00:31-01.20 Introduction of Chekhov's acting technique<sup>4</sup>  
 01 Maria: ja ↑>tänään me< mennään kohti (0.3)  
 and today we go towards (0.3)  
 02 tshəhəvɪn #maailmaa#,  
 the world of Chekhov  
 03 (1.0)  
 04 Maria: .h ja: (0.7) ↑tshəhəvɪst sellanen sana ettäh  
 .h and (0.7) about Chekhov such a word that  
 05 >eli nyt nää harjotteet mitä mä< teen? (0.2)  
 so now these exercises that I do (0.2)  
 06 nää voi vaikuttaa tosi (0.5) @|hörhöil|tä@,  
 these may seem really (0.5) weirdo  
 07 (.) sitä nää ehkä on|kin (0.2) mut >nää ei oo  
 (.) that's what these perhaps are (0.2) but these are not  
 08 siis< suinkaan mun itseni (0.2) kek|simiäh (.)  
 by any means invented by myself  
 09 v(h)aan t(h)otanoinniin ää (.) Anton tshəhəvɪn  
 but umh (.) Anton Chekhov's  
 10 veljenpoika mi|hail tshəhəv kehitti tällasen  
 nephew Michael Chekhov developed this kind of

<sup>3</sup> In subsequent papers, our focus will be on how the participants display their interpretations of the *inner body* as a creative bodily technique over the rehearsal process.

- 11 >näyttelijäntyön< tekniikan, (1.2) joka on hyvin  
*acting work technique (1.2) that is very*
- 12 fyysiinen, (0.3) siin lähe(te)tään: lähetään niinku  
*physical (0.3) in it one starts one starts like*
- 13 keho #ede#llä (0.2) #tekemää asioi#ta? (.) .hh  
*body first (0.2) to do things (.) .hh*
- 14 ja >totanoinniin< ↑tshhehovin yks hh perusajatus  
*and so uhm one basic idea of Chekhov*
- 15 on se = otetaanpa< (0.2) symmetrine ympyrä?  
*is that = let's take (0.2) a symmetrical circle*
- 16 (3.2)
- 17 Maria: jahh (0.7) yks ↑perus- perusajatus +on se et  
*and (0.7) one basic basic idea is that*  
 mar +moves hands along body->
- 18 meil on kaikillah (.) tänmeiän oman kehon sisällä?  
*we all have (.) inside of this body of our own*
- 19 =>(0.8) <näkymätön kuvitteellinen> (.) keho.+ = tulkaa  
*(0.8) an invisible imaginary (.) body = just come*  
 mar -->+
- 20 vaan siis ympyrään eim- ei tarvi- ↑tuu tänne  
*here in a circle we don- don't need- come here*
- 21 mun lähelle@ (0.6) hhehhe .hhh totanoinni (0.2) .h  
*close to me (0.6) hhehhe .hhh uhm (0.2) .h*
- 22 et +tä- on (.) ↑tän meiän ke- meiän↑ kehon sisällä  
*so th- there is (.) inside this our b- our body*  
 mar +moving hands up/down along body and gesturing->
- 23 =>on< (.) on kuvitteellinen keho; (0.2)  
*there is< (.) is an imaginary body (0.2)*
- 24 millä me voidaan tehdä ihammitä ↓vaan? (0.3)  
*with which we can do whatever (0.3)*
- 25 se voi tehdä ihammitä vaan .h ja on tärkeätä et  
*it can do whatever .h and it is important that*
- 26 =>se kuvitteellinen keho joka on tääl meiän kehon sisällä  
*the imaginary body that is here inside our body*
- 27 (.)+ .h se voi myös poistuu meiän kehon+ ↑ulkopuolelle (.)  
*(.) .h it can also leave outside our body (.)*  
 mar ->+swipes hand twd right----- +moves hands, gesturing->
- 28 nii että (0.2) meil on siihen yhteyks (0.4)+  
*so that (0.2) we have a connection to it (0.4)*  
 mar ->+
- 29 =>siihem meiän kuvitteelliseen #kehoon#.  
*to the imaginary body of ours*

Maria anticipates that the participants may find the exercises eccentric ('weird', l. 6) but accounts for them as being part of an established acting technique that is particularly physical. While explaining one of the 'basic ideas' of Chekhov (l. 14–15), Maria cuts off her turn to engage in preparations for the bodily activity, inviting the group to form a circle. Her shift from verbally explaining the idea to setting up the physical task, from the very first moments, manifests the general nature of the instruction: although the initial introduction involves conceptual and historical information, elements of the technique will be conveyed by means of embodied action.

Maria portrays the imaginary body, on the one hand, as an instrument in the participants' use by saying 'we can do anything' (l. 24) with it, but on the other hand, she says the body itself 'can do anything' (l. 25), seemingly acting by its own force. Yet the imaginary body always has a (not yet defined) connection to the performer's physical body. This explanation anticipates the richness of the properties that will later be unfolded and attributed to the imaginary body. At this initial point, however, it is merely referred to as an imaginary or a 'thought' construct, not yet as a reality that the participants share and subscribe to. The first mention at line 19 describes the body both as *näkymätön*, 'invisible' and *kuvitteellinen*, 'imaginary,' and the later ones only as 'imaginary' (l. 23, 26, 29). The term *sisäinen keho*, 'inner body' will occur only later, in the last excerpt to be analyzed. We will now move on to unraveling how verbal practices are used in the course of the bodily exercises to construct the invisible body as a resource for creative bodily action.

<sup>4</sup> Multimodal transcriptions follow the conventions of Mondada (2018; see [https://franzoesistik.philhist.unibas.ch/fileadmin/user\\_upload/franzoesistik/mondada\\_multimodal\\_conventions.pdf](https://franzoesistik.philhist.unibas.ch/fileadmin/user_upload/franzoesistik/mondada_multimodal_conventions.pdf)).

### 3. Interactional history in one day: Instructing the basics of the *inner body* technique

In what follows, we track Maria's use of the key expressions over the instructions, analyzing how the bodily exercises and their verbal instructions mutually characterize elements of the technique. In particular, we examine the changes in the factual and agentive properties attributed to the invisible body in the instructor's utterances, as in the use of the verb *kuvitella* 'imagine', demonstrative and possessive determiners, and lexical choices.

#### 3.1. Physical and imaginary body parts: The first exercises

Immediately after the initial introduction, Maria launches the first exercise. The exercise involves turning the head to the right, then back to the center, and emphasizes the distinction between the invisible and the actual physical body.

(2) U369\_1.21-2.00 Physical and invisible head

- 01 Maria: .hh ↑kokeil#laan#. (0.5) .mts tehään tämmöne et  
 .hh let's try (0.5) .tsk let's do this kind (of a thing) that
- 02 seisotaan suoranah?  
 ((we)) stand straight
- 03 (4.7)
- 04 Maria: hyvä? (0.6) ja (.) sitte (0.4) öaa (.) käännetään  
 good (0.6) and (.) then (0.4) uhm (.) ((we)) turn
- 05 iham meidän omaa (0.4) fyysistä päätämme? (.) ↓oikealle?  
 our very own (0.4) physical head (.) to the right
- 06 (1.4)
- 07 Maria: nyt nähdään mitä siel on? (0.8) ki- käännetään  
 now ((we)) see what there is (0.8) t- ((we)) turn
- 08 pää keskelle.  
 head to the center
- 09 (1.0)
- 10 Maria: =>nyt ↑kuvitellaan et meillä ois semmonen näkymätön päjä  
 now imagine.PASS that we.ADE have.COND DEM3.ADJ invisible head  
 now let's imagine that we would have a kind of/like an invisible head
- 11 tämä meidän pään siäällä, (0.3)+(0.1)# .h joka voisi h (0.3)  
 DEM1.GEN 1PL.POSS head.GENinside REL can.COND  
 inside of our head (0.3) (0.1) .h that could h (0.3)  
 +RH vertical palm still-><sup>5</sup>  
 #Fig. 1a/b

mar  
fig



Fig. 1a=

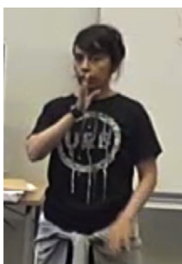


Fig. 1b

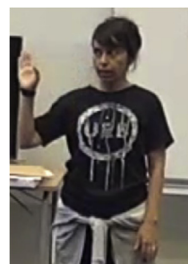


Fig. 2

- 12 kääntyy+äh (0.4) oikealle?+ (1.2)+(0.2) lähtee #Ensin  
 turn.INF right.to start/depart first  
 turn (0.4) to the right (1.2) (0.2) start(s) first  
 ->+RH moves right- - -+still- +RH swings from center to right->  
 #Fig. 2 #Fig. 3

mar  
fig



Fig. 3

Fig. 4

Fig. 5

Fig. 6

- 13 **liikkeelle.** # (0.1) + (0.5) + ja meitä oma #pää seuraa sitä,#  
 move.ALL and 1PL.POSS own head follow.3SG it.PAR  
*moving (0.1) (0.5) and our own head follows it*  
 mar ->+still+RH swings center to right-----+RH still->  
 fig #Fig. 4 #Fig. 5 #Fig. 6
- 14 =>(0.7) **sej** +jälkee se meidän näkymätön pää # siirtyy +keskelle?  
 DEM3.GEN after DEM3 1PL.POSS invisible head move.3SG center.to  
*(0.7) after that the invisible head of ours moves to the center*  
 mar ->+LH swings from right to center-----+hands still->  
 fig #Fig. 7
- 15 # (0.1) + (0.2) ja meitä oma pää +seuraaa #sitä#.  
 and 1PL.POSS own head follow.3SG DEM3.PAR  
*and our own head follows it*  
 mar ->+RH to center-----+hands still->>  
 fig #Fig. 8 #Fig. 9

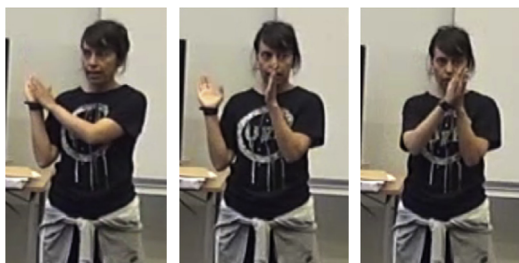


Fig. 7

Fig. 8

Fig. 9

- 16 (0.7)  
 17 Maria: #tää on# (.) mielikuvitusta? (.) kaikki luomine om  
*this is (.) imagination (.) all creation is*  
 18 mielikuvitusta. (0.6) okei? (.)  
*imagination (0.6) okay? (.)*  
 19 =>elikkä (1.0) näkymätön pää lähtee?  
*so (1.0) invisible head goes*

The first exercise consists of using the imaginary body while turning one's head towards the right and back to the center position. The instruction is delivered in two phases. First, Maria shows the physical movement sequence, explaining the steps simultaneously as the whole group engages in jointly turning their heads to the right and back (l. 4–8). After this, she adds the movements of the imaginary body (*nyt*, 'now', l. 10–15). She depicts the movements of the physical and imaginary head with hand gestures (Figs 1–9). At this point, the participants are just watching.

The physical body is treated as known, whereas the invisible body is treated as something created here and now. Maria portrays the invisible body part as a non-factual, hypothetical product of the imagination in forming the directive with the verb *kuvitella* 'imagine' and using conditional mood (*ois* have.COND) for the verb in the possessive clause ('let's imagine that we would have a kind of/like an invisible head' l. 10). The proadjective *semmonen* DEM3.ADJ, translated as 'a kind of/like an', projects an approximate categorization of the new referent (Helasvuo, 1988: 92; Vilkuna, 1992: 132–135; Hakulinen et al., 2004: §1411), in this case, the 'invisible head.' This initial framing projects that the rest of the turn – the description of the invisible movements, which is in itself done in indicative mood (l. 12 *lähtee*, 'starts/leaves'; l. 14 *siirtyy*, 'moves/dislocates'),

<sup>5</sup> RH = right hand, LH = left hand.

until the end of the demonstration (l. 15) – is to be understood as hypothetical. At line 14, the lexical mention of ‘our invisible head’ is preceded by the determiner *se* that ties back to its earlier introduction at line 10 (Laury, 1997; Vilkuna, 1992), treating the imaginary object as recognizable based on prior talk and invoking its earlier placement in the kinesphere,<sup>6</sup> on the right side of the body (Fig. 4). By contrast, the reference to ‘our own head’ (l. 13, 15) rests on its inherent recognizability. At the end (l. 17–18), Maria again stresses that what they are doing is in the realm of the imagination and creativity. In sum, the non-factual status of the invisible body is maintained by presenting it as a mental construct that is shared only at a verbal level.

The agentivity of the invisible body is portrayed as twofold by the intransitive verbs describing its movement: the first one is agentive (l. 12 *lähtee*, ‘departs/starts moving’<sup>7</sup>), whereas the second one (l. 14 *siirtyy*, ‘moves/dislocates’) makes the subject less agentive and instead marks it as experiencing a change – such verbs in Finnish have been described as reflexive-passive-automotive (Kulonen-Korhonen, 1985: 297; Räisänen, 1988: 22; Hakulinen et al., 2004 §333–334). The movement of the physical head, instead, is described with the agentive, transitive verb *seuraa*, ‘follows’ with the invisible head as its complement (*sitä*, ‘it’, l. 13, 15).

The movements of the invisible body are presented as having a specific timing and direction in relation to the actions of the physical body, while the demonstration of the movements occurs under the hypothetical framing of the whole instruction – hence they are presented as non-factual. The invisible body is attributed some type of agentivity, as it moves first and the physical body follows its movement, yet the agentive dynamics of their relationship (e.g. what makes the physical body follow the invisible body and how) are not specified.

Several features in the instruction accentuate the distinction between the physical body and its imaginary counterpart, which appears to serve the pedagogical function of clearly delineating the imaginary components as the focus of the exercise. First, the distinction is highlighted by the terms used to refer to the physical and imaginary body parts. Maria uses a marked, seemingly overexplicit referential specification *iham meitä omaa fyysistä päättämme*, ‘our very own physical head’ (l. 5) and ‘our own head’ (l. 13, 15), which highlights the contrast between the physical head and the intangible, imaginary body part. The director’s use of the marked categorizations conveys that her references to the body parts are not to be understood in the usual way (Levinson, 2000: 33). Instead, it indexes an alienation of the body parts, which invites a more conscious perception of the movements that the participants usually perform without focused awareness.

Second, the director underscores the distinction between the familiar, physical body part and the imaginary one by delivering the instruction in two parts (l. 4–8, l. 10–15). Her parsing the delivery into smaller segments enhances the recognizability of the constituent parts of the instructed action (Byrne, 2006; Lindwall and Ekström, 2012; Rauniomaa et al., 2018; Răman and Haddington, 2018; see also Kendon, 2004: 158–159). The use of the invisible body is a particularly unattainable activity: In addition to being new to the participants, it is a largely invisible procedure in which the person makes use of, by definition, intangible resources (Petit, 2010: 16). In instructing the turning of the ‘physical’ head before the invisible one, Maria draws attention to the additional, new reality by contrasting it with known, regular body movements. Moreover, her coordination of the verbal reference to the body parts (‘own physical head,’ ‘invisible head’) and their movements (indicating when and in what direction the former ‘follows’ the latter) with corresponding gestures (Figs 1–9) draws attention to and helps the participants identify the relevant components (Lindwall and Ekström, 2012: 31) of the imaginary action.

After the demonstration, Maria launches the joint execution of the entire movement sequence (l. 18–19). She announces the first movement of the ‘invisible head’ simply in indicative mood. The use of this expression is thus one step closer towards treating the imaginary element as commonly known. However, the utterance comes right after Maria’s generic reminder that this is all imagination, which informs the interpretation of the actions as imaginary.

In this first exercise, the presence of the invisible body is suggested rather than expected. Each mention of the invisible body is preceded by a separate clause that frames its imaginary status (l. 10; also l. 17–18). Imaginary action is clearly distinguished from physical action through the parsing of the instruction and lexical choices. Later excerpts will show that this emphasized distinction between the physical and invisible body is only a strategy used at the initial stages of instruction.

After the participants have tried the head exercise on their own for a while, Maria instructs a similar exercise with another body part: arms.

- (3) U369\_04:50–05:45 Physical and invisible arm  
 01 Maria: *hyvä?* (0.8) *kokeillaan sama kädellä* (0.4)  
           *good (0.8) let’s try out the same with arm (0.4)*  
 02       *ravistakaa pois toi teidän pää;* (0.2) *t(h)a(h)i*  
           *shake away that head of yours (0.2) or(h)*  
 03       *kes- pääkeskittyminen?* (0.2) *kokeillaan sama*  
           *con- head concentration (0.2) let’s try the same*  
 04       *kädellä* (.) *nostakaa ihan teidän oma* (.) *fyysinen*  
           *with arm (.) lift your very own (.) physical*

<sup>6</sup> In Laban’s analysis of movement (Laban, 2011[1966]), kinesphere refers to the space that is within the reach of the person’s limbs without changing how the weight of the body is supported.

<sup>7</sup> *Lähtee* is interpretable either as a non-finite verb form in the verb complex ‘could start’, built on ‘could’ at l. 11, or as an independent verb in indicative form, ‘departs/starts’. A similar ambiguity occurs in ex. 3 at l. 16, where it is possible to regard *menee* ‘to go’ and *nousee* ‘rising up’ either as non-finite verbs in a verb chain (with the preceding *lähtis* start/leave.COND being regarded as a catenative verb) or as independent verbs in indicative form. The ambiguous status of these verbs, accompanying a gestural demonstration of the movements, could be regarded as symptomatic of the upcoming shift from a hypothetical to a factual description of the actions of the invisible body.

- 05 oikea kätenne ylös.(.) †tsha (0.6) °käsi meni° ylös?  
 right arm up (.) TSUWH (0.6) arm went up
- 06 (0.5) ihan tälle >ylös ylös<.  
 (0.5) really like this up up
- 07 (1.1)
- 08 Maria: joo? (1.2) ihan ku viittaisitte; (.) ja (.) alas.  
 yes (1.2) like you had your arm up to speak (.) and (.) down
- 09 (0.9)
- 10 Maria: tehään sama vasemmal kädellä †tsuk (.)  
 let's do the same with the left arm TSJUKH (.)
- 11 vasen käsi menee,  
 left arm goes
- 12 (2.1)
- 13 Maria: #ja alas#. #  
 and down
- 14 (1.0)
- 15 Maria:=>†sit kuvitellaa et täst oikeest kädest lähtis h#  
 then imagine.PASS that DEM1.from right.from hand.from start.COND.  
 then let's imagine that from the right arm would start h

fig

#Fig. 10

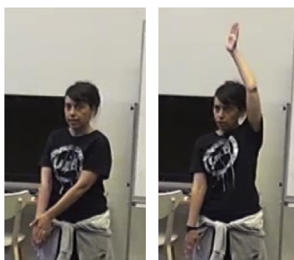


Fig. 10

Fig. 11

- 16 =>(0.7) menee teiän<sup>8</sup> †näkymätön käsi (.) nousee ylös  
 go.INF 2PL.POSS invisible arm rise up  
 (0.7) to go your invisible arm (.) rising up
- 17 dzzzzzzzzzz-zz #(0.4) ja teiä oma käsi seuraa sitä?  
 DZZZZZZZZZ-ZZ (0.4) and your own arm follows it
- fig #Fig. 11
- 18 (0.2)+(2.4) °ja° sit ku se on tullu sinne †ylös  
 (0.2)(2.4) and then when it has come there up
- par +participants start, one by one, to raise their arms->>
- 19 =>ni se (.) kuvitteellinen käsi lähte- kä- (.)  
 the (.) imaginary arm sta- ar- (.)
- 20 käsi lähtee alas ja teiä oma käsi seuraa sitä.  
 arm starts to go down and your own arm follows it

Maria's announcement of trying out 'the same' (l. 1) constructs similarity with the prior exercise and invokes all the elements in it, despite the differences entailed by using the arm instead of the head. The structure of the instruction is similar to that of the prior exercise: Maria begins by leading the participants through the regular, physical movement sequence, everyone doing it at the same time (l. 1–13), and then provides a multimodal demonstration where she adds the imaginary arm movement (l. 15–20). Again, she gesturally demonstrates the physical and imaginary movements and their temporal ordering (Figs 10–11). However, in this case the participants do not wait for her to launch the actual task but already start moving during Maria's demonstration (l. 18). This early response shows that the second round of the exercise builds on the earlier one as common ground. The participants anticipate the next relevant action and display their understanding of how to use the imaginary body by slowly moving their arms up and down.

As in excerpt 2, the imaginary movement is framed explicitly as imagined (l. 15 *kuvitellaa*, 'let's imagine') and marked as hypothetical (l. 15 *lähtis*, 'would start'). Moreover, the wordy distinction between 'your actual own physical right arm' (l. 4–5) and 'your invisible arm' (l. 16) is maintained. However, in the earlier instruction (ex. 2, l. 10–11), the imagining concerned the *existence* of an invisible head, which was explicitly instructed in a clause of its own before its actions were described. Here, by contrast, the instructed imagining concerns the *actions*, and it occurs in the same clause with the mention of the invisible arm ('from the right arm would start (0.7) to go **your invisible arm**' l. 15–16). Another change is that having an invisible arm is now treated as a given, through the use of possessive pronouns. In fact, in this second exercise, references to the regular body

<sup>8</sup> The pronouns translated as *you* in Maria's turns are all 2nd person plural forms (*te*), which she uses to address the whole group.

part and its invisible counterpart are done similarly in that they both involve possessive determiners (l. 16 *teidän näkymätön käsi*, ‘your invisible arm’; l. 17 *teiä oma käsi*, ‘your own arm’), rather than the demonstrative determiners used earlier<sup>9</sup> The distinction of the bodies is still maintained by Maria describing the physical arm contrastively as the performer’s ‘own’ (*oma*).

In the second exercise, the imaginary movement is thus instructed in a largely similar manner as in the first exercise. Yet, the exercise demonstrably builds on the earlier occasion in terms of the embodied routine, and the specific way of using the imagined, invisible body is treated as a given to a higher degree.

The second exercise is then expanded to add an energetic aspect to the invisible body:

- (4) U369\_6:13–6.35 Radiation
- 01 Maria: sit lisätään tähän vähän päälle? (0.5) ↑kuvitellaan  
 then let's add a little bit on this (0.5) let's imagine
- 02 =>nii et se (.) kuvitteellinen keho lähtee ylös? (1.4)  
 so that the (.) imaginary body starts to go up (1.4)
- 03 ja teiä oma keho< käsi jatkaa ylös seuraa sitä?  
 and your own body< arm continues up follows it
- 04 =>(0.3) mut teiän ku↑vitteellinen käsi jatkaa.  
 (0.3) but your imaginary arm continues
- 05 (0.4)
- 06 Maria: >se on semmonen maailman pisin< käsi joka voi  
 it is like/a kind of world's longest arm that can
- 07 jatkaa niinku sitä säteilyä tavallaan tai (0.6) venymistä  
 continue like the radiation sort of or (0.6) stretching
- 08 (0.4) katon läpi taivaan läpi avaruutee asti.  
 (0.4) through the ceiling through the sky until space

The continuation of the exercise with the arms is framed as a further layer (‘let’s add a little bit,’ l. 1) to what was already established. Now the movement of the imaginary body gains an energetic property, *säteilyä* ‘radiation’ (l. 7), which is an essential part of the technique (Petit, 2010: 18, 21). Maria introduces the expression in an utterance that specifies the instruction of how the arm ‘continues’ (l. 4) the movement. She now calls it ‘the radiation’ (using the determiner *siitä*) but formulates the reference as tentative by the hedge *tavallaan*, ‘sort of’ and the use of an alternative expression *tai venymistä*, ‘or stretching’, reflecting the fact that the concept has not been mentioned and cannot be taken for granted. ‘Radiation’ entails a change in the relationship between the physical and imaginary body because instead of moving in separate, successive trajectories, they now simultaneously orient in one direction. After the physical upward movement reaches its end point, the imaginary arm should continue its movement beyond the physical limits.

Maria again frames the movement of the invisible body explicitly with *kuvitellaan nii et*, ‘let’s imagine so that’ (l. 1–2) and *se (.) kuvitteellinen keho*, ‘the (.) imaginary body’ (l. 2). The determiner *se* DEM.3 ties back to earlier talk about having an imaginary body, rather than assuming it to be part of the body. The framing also has in its scope the subsequent mention ‘your imaginary arm’ (l. 4), which in itself presents the existence and possession of such an arm as assumed. This excerpt as well as excerpt 3 show how Maria frames the introduction of each new layer of the capacities of the invisible body (new body part in ex. 3; the ‘radiation’ property in ex. 4) with a directive that explicitly invokes the imaginary status of the body (part) and its movements.

The instruction also includes a description of the metaphysical properties of the imaginary body in terms of movement and spatial dimensions (l. 6–8). This exercise thus conveys, in greater detail, what was initially portrayed as the capacity of the imaginary body to do ‘anything’ (in ex. 1), while maintaining a connection to the physical body.

Maria instructs the participants to raise their arms without actually naming the body part but by referring to the ‘imaginary body’ as going up (l. 2). She repairs this in line 3 (*keho< käsi*, ‘body< arm’), using the latter expression also in line 4. The oscillation between the lexemes seems to anticipate the shift that is about to occur in the conceptualization of the inner body: The initial, simple distinction between an individual body part and its imaginary counterpart (rehearsing their successive movements) will be replaced by a more holistic way of anticipating and/or extending bodily conduct in the sensorial domain in order to endow the bodily conduct with specific qualities.

Due to reasons of space, the exercise that occurs immediately after this will not be shown. The participants perform a sequence of movements with their whole body, sending ‘all energy’ into six directions (see Petit, 2010: 38–40) in a way similar to the ‘radiation’ upwards in excerpt 4. “Sending energy” is another way in which the inner movement can reach beyond the physical limits of the body.

Over the course of the exercises, the character of the imaginary body is elaborated in terms of the kinds of actions it can be used for and the ways in which it can be connected to the physical body. Throughout this process, the presence of the invisible body increasingly starts to be presupposed instead of being verbally invoked with appeals to the participants’ imagination in each exercise. This shift is clearly made in the next excerpt, from an exercise that consists of using the invisible body to perform an “opening” movement.

<sup>9</sup> The demonstrative pronoun *se* is followed by the mention of ‘imaginary arm’ at line 19, but this is not a determiner use. It clarifies the pronominal reference after three subsequent occurrences (l. 16–19 *siitä*, *se*, *se*).

## 3.2. From body movements to social encounters

We now move to investigate the activity at a point after Maria has explained and shown the participants how to perform opening and closing movements (Chekhov, 2002: 6), and the group has been practicing them. The exercise involves first taking a “closed” position, squatting down, curled up, with one’s feet in a parallel position (Fig. 12), then “opening” by standing up with feet apart, while simultaneously making a wide curve with one’s arms and spreading them to the sides in an upright pose (Fig. 13).



Fig. 12



Fig. 13

The instruction of the physical and imaginary movement is again parsed into two phases, but here they are spread on a much larger time span than in the earlier excerpts. The instruction of the physical opening movement is followed by lengthy practice, while the use of the imaginary body in this movement is only added as a reminder, shown in extract 5.

## (5) U371\_04:25-05:05 Opening movement

- 01 Maria: *niin* (0.4) *aa* (0.8) *äskem* mitä tehtiin  
so (0.4) um (0.8) what we just did
- 02 *harjote- harjotteita* nii on *↑hirmu tärkeätä*  
the exer- exercises so it is terribly important
- 03 *että ET- hh te ette* *↑koskaan lähe vain avaa#maan#.*  
that don't hh you don't ever start just to open
- 04 (0.8)
- 05 Maria: =>*vaan teiän pitää* *↑aina kuunnella* *teiän*  
but you must always listen to your
- 06 =>*näkymätönt keho* *↑se lähtee aina* *ENSin?* (0.3)  
invisible body it goes always first (0.3)
- 07 *ja te seuraatte sitä.* (0.6) *eiks nii.*  
and you follow it (0.6) right
- 08 (0.8)
- 09 Maria: *.hh elikä* (0.2) *mä kuuntelen täällä et*  
*.hh so* (0.2) I listen here that
- 10 =>*o↑kei,* (0.7) *nyt mun näkymätön keho* +<*lähtee*>  
okay (0.7) now my invisible body goes  
mar +opens->
- 11 (*ja*) *mä seuraan sitä,* (0.2) *mä seuraam* *mä seuraam*  
and I follow it (0.2) I follow I follow
- 12 *mä seuraam* *mä seuraam* *mä seuraam* *mä seuraam*+  
I follow I follow I follow I follow  
mar ->+stands still->
- 13 *mä seuraa* *ja se* *↑jatkaa;* (.) *.hhh*  
I follow and it continues (.) .hhh
- 15 *mä en pysty jatkaa* +*eteenpäi*< (.) *mä lähen sulkee*  
I can't continue forward (.) I start to close  
mar ->+closes->>
- 16 =>*↑näkymätön keho*< *lähtee sulkee*< (.)  
the invisible body starts to close (.)
- 17 *mä seuraam* *mä seuraam* *mä seuraam* *mä seuraam*;  
I follow I follow I follow I follow

When Maria first launched the larger exercise of opening (not shown), she described it as trying to ‘get a feel of the body’s energy,’ and as observing what the opening movement ‘invokes in oneself.’ In the current excerpt, she instructs this in terms of ‘listening’ to the inner body and movement (l. 5, 9). Her expanded turn involves a negative contrast: The opening should never be done as ‘just opening,’ (l. 3) but instead, the participants ‘must always listen’ (*pitää aina kuunnella*) to their invisible body (l. 5–6). The advice of what not to do invokes the positive counterpart, and possibly implies that she is producing the instruction as a response to what she has observed the novices doing. With the turn-final tag question *eiks nii* (l. 7) she

appeals to the recipients' knowledge of the correct way of doing the exercise, showing that this is regarded as common ground. (The participants do not produce responses, but they are visibly attentive to her talk.)

Whereas in the earlier excerpts the participants were instructed to imagine the invisible body, here they are treated as able to sensorially perceive it (hence, presupposing its existence), and be influenced by it by 'listening' (l. 5, 9). The use of possessive pronouns (*teidän*, 'your' PL, *mun*, 'my') in the references to the invisible body, as well as the adverb *aina*, 'always' (l. 5, 6, 10) treat it as a given, factual part of bodily conduct.

The active role of the mover in experiencing and observing the invisible body is highlighted by Maria's multimodal enactment of the phases of the exercise in the first person (*mä kuuntelen*, 'I listen', *mä seuraan*, 'I follow' l. 9->). The deictic expressions of time and space (e.g. 'here,' 'now') invite the recipients to share the experiencer's vantage point in the joint imaginary scenario (Stukenbrock, 2017). Moreover, the coordination of talk and bodily conduct illustrates the extension of the invisible movement beyond physical limits. Maria stops the opening movement and stands still from line 12 on, while the continuation of the turn portrays the inner body as still moving (l. 13). By means of the enactment, she demonstrates how attuning to one's sensations guides the physical movement and its timing, i.e., its initiation, its duration, and the shift from opening to closing. Maria thereby vividly demonstrates the professional, deliberate activity of 'listening' and perceiving one's own bodily conduct, comparable to C. Goodwin's (1994) 'professional vision' (see also Rævaara acc.; Visakko, 2020).

Individual body parts are not identified in the instruction. Instead, personal pronouns (l. 5 *te*, 'you' PL, l. 9-> *mä*, 'I') posit the whole person as the listener and the follower, in contrast to the individual body parts in the initial exercises. The distinctions that were initially necessary in the process of illustrating the use of the inner body have started to dissolve. At the same time, the agentive relationship has become more complex than in the initial descriptions of subsequent movements. The inner body now influences the performer's actions, as if starting the movement on its own, but this is only possible if the performer allows it by consciously attending to the inner effects, and this activity is still under the performer's control.

Several features in the excerpt show that at this point, about 40 minutes after the first introduction (ex. 1), the participants are expected to have some knowledge of and familiarity with the technique and a basic understanding of its concepts. By the design of her instructions, Maria portrays the inner body as an entity that can be attended to and that acts by itself (without reference to the actor's imagination), thereby treating it as a factual referent with its own agentive properties.

This exercise is followed by other, increasingly complex ones, which focus on the dynamics of sending and leaving behind energy. In the last exercise of the day, the inner body technique is applied to a social encounter. Before explaining the actual exercise, the director instructs the participants to try to sense the inner movement of opening while simply standing still. Experiencing the effects of the inner movement without first performing a similar physical movement is an important milestone in learning the technique (see section 2; Petit, 2010: 47). Maria again tells the participants to imagine the inner movement, in conditional mood, similarly to excerpts 2–4.

U374 00.36 *ja kuvittelette että teidän (.) sisäinen keho rupeis avaamaan*  
'and ((you.PL)) imagine that your (.) inner body would start opening'

The reappearance of the directive to 'imagine' in this later exercise shows that while the existence of the inner body is increasingly treated as presupposed in the unfolding of the exercises, the process of factualization is not linear. Maria's treatment of the actions of the inner body once again as actively imagined, and thereby as non-factual, relates to the cross-sequential history of the activities. Initiating a new exercise that considerably extends the scope of the technique can again make relevant the creation, instead of the presupposition, of common ground concerning what the invisible body consists of and how it can be used. As the exercise proceeds, the current way of using the invisible body can again become treated as given.

This occurs in the final phase of the larger exercise. The imaginary resources are taken for granted and the instruction no longer clearly distinguishes between the imaginary and the physical body. Here, Maria instructs an "opening" as an inner movement applied to encountering a partner.

(6) U376\_00.03-01.16 Social encounter with opening and closing movement  
01 Maria: ja sit tehdään tää.  
and then ((we)) do this  
02 (0.6)  
03 Maria: että,  
that  
04 (0.6)  
05 Jani: khm hm,  
06 (0.4)  
07 Maria: +mä mee akin luo?  
I go to Aki  
mar +stands at a distance from others->  
08 (2.2)  
09 Mikko: khm,  
10 Maria: ja k- mun koko keho on tosi avaava? (1.8) ja mun  
and b- my whole body is in a really opening state (1.8) and my  
11 =>kuvitteellinen keho avaa, (1.8) ja mun >koko<keho avaa,

imaginary body opens (1.8) and my whole body opens

12 (0.5) mä luulen et (siel) oj joku ↑tuttu;  
(0.5) I think that there is somebody familiar

13 (1.0)

14 Maria: mä tun (.) akin kohalle (.) mä tajuun et (0.6)  
I arrive (.) where Aki is (.) I realize that (0.6)

15 em mä @oo ikinä@ nähny tota tyyppiä? (0.7)  
I have never seen that fellow (0.7)

16 =>(öökun) mun sisäinen keho (0.2) rupeaa sulke#maan#.  
(uh as) my inner body (0.2) starts to close

17 (0.8)

18 Maria: #okei# (.) teette tällast: harjo#tetta toistenne kans#  
okay (.) ((you)) do this kind of exercise with each other

19 eli + mä ↑meen sinne, (0.3) >mä meen sinne niinku<  
so I go there (0.3) I go there like

mar ->+walks fast towards Aki->

20 =>↑ihan täysin (0.3) kaikki auki,  
really fully (0.3) everything open

21 (0.2)+(1.8)+(3.3)

mar ->+stops+walks backwards->

22 Maria: sit< +(0.5) se rupee sulke#maa ja#.  
then (0.5) it starts to close and

mar ->+pivots away from Aki, continues walking away->

23 (2.4)+(0.4)

mar ->+

24 Maria: o↑kei? (0.3) saitteks te kiinni.  
okay (0.3) did you grasp ((it))

25 Pete: jō[o. ]  
yes

26 Maria: [mut] älkää (0.3) <tehkö sitä (.) älkää ajatelko k:etään>.  
but don't (0.3) do it (.) don't think about anybody

27 (0.6)

28 Maria: <älkää ajatelko ketään ih|mistä>, (.) <älkää tunkeko>  
don't think about any person (.) don't stuff in

29 sinne mitään teiän yksityiselämäänne, .hh älkää tunkeko  
there any of your private life .hh don't stuff in

30 sinne mitään niinkun (.) .hh #aa# (.) @tun↑teita@, (0.4)  
there anything like (.) .hh uhm (.) feelings (0.4)

31 =>vaan ↑puhtaasti kuuntelette teiän kehoa. (0.2)  
but purely listen to your body (0.2)

32 =>keho ↑auki keho kiinni.  
body open body closed

33 (2.0)

34 Maria: >sit jos siit< ↑syntyy jotain siit syntyy jotain mut et  
then if there emerges something then something emerges but so

35 =>tavallaan et et et et niinkun .hh (0.7) keho edellä.  
in a way so that that that that like .hh (0.7) body first

36 (1.2)

37 Maria: o↑kei,  
okay

The way the inner body should be used in this task is considerably more complex as compared to the previous exercises. Yet, the verbal distinction between the imaginary body and the physical starts to dissolve, and the term 'imaginary' is only used once (l. 11). Maria starts by referring to her 'whole body' (*koko keho* l. 10), but it is left open whether the whole body includes the imaginary. Then she uses the expression *sisäinen keho*, 'inner body' (l. 16), which distinguishes this from the regular body but does not make explicit the role of imagination. The later references to 'it' (*se* l. 22), 'your body' (*teiän kehoa* l. 31) and 'body' (*keho* l. 32, 35) do not distinguish between the imaginary and the physical. The way of using the body has been established as common ground, making it unnecessary to refer to all its components and phases. Maria now instructs it by using combinations of nouns and predicating adverbials (e.g. *keho auki*, 'body open' l. 20, *keho edellä*, 'body first(/ahead)' l. 35, cf. ex. 1, l. 13), which do not specify what body is meant or contain any verbs to describe the way it is used.

Such referential vagueness and lack of expressing non-factuality are characteristic of the later instances of reference to the invisible body. This is in line with the participant's overall progress in acquiring the technique, as the instructor can already expect them to know how to use their "invisible bodies" without explicitly specifying their creation through the imagination or the agentive dynamics of following and listening. Only at this later stage does Maria start using the expression *sisäinen keho*, 'inner body' (l. 16), which is elsewhere used as the actual name of the technique but which does not categorize the ontological, non-factual status of the body (like 'invisible' and 'imaginary' do).

In terms of timing and direction of movement, in excerpt 6, the actions of the inner body are not instructed as clearly as in the earlier excerpts. The description of its actions occurs in the context of the enactment of thoughts while approaching a person: 'I think that there is somebody familiar' (l. 12), 'I have never seen that fellow' (l. 15), and with a shift from bodily approaching a partner to withdrawing (l. 21). The elements connecting the utterances – *ja*, 'and', *kun*, 'as', *sit*, 'then' (l. 10–11, 16, 22) – do not specify how the inner movement relates to the enacted phases of the encounter. In fact, the inner movement is no longer the target of the exercise; rather, attending to the inner movement of opening and closing is used instrumentally to confer a certain quality and "mental attitude" to the action of approaching and walking away from a partner. Maria specifies this by portraying the incorrect way of performing the exercise: She forbids the participants to bring biographical images or feelings to the exercise and, instead, tells them to attend to direct sensations that emerge from their orientation to the inner body (l. 31–35). Imagining with the body is now treated as a manner of performing the exercise 'body first.' In later days, the established technique is applied to a range of different tasks, and ultimately to rehearsing the lines of the stage performance.

#### 4. Shifts in the factual and agentive properties of the *inner body* during the exercises

In observing the unfolding of the exercises, we have tracked the shifts in the factual and agentive properties that the instructions attribute to the *inner/imaginary/invisible body*.

In terms of its *factuality*, we observed that, over the exercises, the inner body undergoes a change from being treated as a hypothetical object of imagination to a perceivable object whose existence as a creative resource is taken for granted:

- 1) The inner body is introduced and talked into being explicitly as non-factual by: i) the clausal framing of the activity as imagining, ii) the use of conditional mood in statements about its existence and properties (e.g. 'let's imagine that we would have a kind of/like an a invisible head'), iii) the use of the demonstrative proadjective *semmonen* for the description of imaginary body parts and their properties (*semmonen näkymätön pää*, 'a kind of invisible head'; *semmonen maailman pisin käsi*, 'a kind of world's longest arm').
- 2) It is treated as known through earlier verbal references, by means of i) the anaphoric use of the determiner *se* (*se kuvitteellinen/näkymätön*, 'the imaginary/invisible'); and ii) its actions are described in indicative mood, yet in the scope of being framed as a product of the imagination.
- 3) It is increasingly treated as known and as being part of the performer's bodily conduct by means of: i) possessive pronouns (*teidän/mun kuvitteellinen/näkymätön keho*, 'your/my imaginary/invisible body'); ii) verbs in indicative without being framed as imaginary ('it goes always first'); iii) the imaginary and physical body being referred to in a similar manner, in contrast to e.g. the invisible head being distinguished from 'your own physical head' in the beginning.
- 4) Finally, the physical and the imaginary body are not necessarily distinguished at the verbal level; both can be embraced by an encompassing notion of *keho*, 'body'. The less explicitly descriptive name *sisäinen keho*, 'inner body' (vs. invisible/imaginary) also starts to be used.

Despite the overall direction towards factualization, the instructor re-invokes the non-factual, imaginary status of the bodily conduct when she introduces new, more demanding applications of the technique. Framing an upcoming task as that of imagining displays it as a "locally initial" activity (cf. *Schegloff, 1996*) that does not simply rely on what is already taken as a shared reality of possible and known bodily conduct.

Concerning *agentivity*, the inner body undergoes changes regarding two intertwined aspects: its perceivability and movement. Whereas the invisible body is first treated as something that the performers actively create by imagining, it later becomes something that the performers are able to (at least metaphorically) perceive through proprioception. Through the performer's sensorial awareness, the inner movement affects their actions, yet the activity of attending to it – which allows the effect – is still under the performers' control. Regarding movement, the inner body is first described as initiating a movement that precedes physical movement, then as influencing the production (e.g., timing and duration) of embodied actions, and finally, as endowing them with certain overall qualities and as a manner of performing them. We have observed these orientations in the following stages of the descriptions:

- 1) The invisible body as the product of the performer's imagination.
- 2) The description of separate movements initiated by the inner body (*lähtee*, 'starts', *siirtyy*, 'moves/dislocates') which are followed by the movements of performer's individual body parts ('the invisible head of ours moves to the center...and our own head follows it').
- 3) The inner body as the object of the performers' action of 'listening' (and 'following') and as an instrument to be applied in the physical task ('don't ever start just to open...you must always listen to your invisible body').
- 4) The inner body's actions juxtaposed with the verbal or multimodal enactment of other actions, such as the unfolding of a social encounter ('I go to Aki, and my whole body is in a really opening state'), where i) the exact spatial, temporal, and causal relationship between the imaginary and other conduct is not specified and ii) references to the body are vague in terms of the distinction between the physical and the imaginary (*koko keho*, 'whole body'; *kaikki auki* 'everything open').
- 5) The inner body as a manner or quality characterizing the performers' actions (*keho auki/kiinni/edellä*, 'body open/closed/first'), in contrast to explaining and singling out its use in full clauses at earlier stages.

The instructional process thus involves various conceptualizations of the inner body as a way to establish it, step-by-step, as a joint resource to endow the performer's bodily conduct with certain expressive qualities.

The elaboration of the *inner body* through the use of the examined key expressions corresponds to the overall process of learning the acting technique, during which the activity of imagining and sensing invisible things becomes a real, accessible resource for the participants' bodily conduct. The changes in the discursive attribution of factual and agentive properties to the *inner body* are organized with respect to, and made possible by, the larger interactional history of the exercises.

## 5. Discussion

Our study has shown how, over an interactional history of one day of exercises, a set of closely interrelated expert expressions clustering around the concept of the *inner body* become established. Over the series of exercises of instructed imagination, which combines verbal and embodied practices, an increasingly rich semantics of these expressions develops. We will now highlight some properties of this process that are of general interest beyond this specific case.

The analyses show how the changing use of certain expressions can be connected to the routinization of bodily activities. Bodily conduct co-constructs the local meaning of the expressions used in the instructions, and properties of their meanings become elaborated and substantiated through the series of bodily activities. It was shown that as the bodily tasks become more complex, the instructor increasingly displays the assumption that the participants understand what is conveyed by the expressions she uses and that they can perform the related bodily tasks. Referential practices and the ways in which talk and movement are coordinated change during this process. As an example, the initial practice of highlighting the separation of the invisible and physical body as successive movements is replaced, in the end, by a looser verbal cueing of the imaginary resources during the instruction of a larger activity. Bodily-verbal practices thus bring into existence the learnable object of knowledge (the invisible body and its movement capacities) in a situated manner, both in the sense of being fitted to individual sequences of action and to particular phases of instruction and appropriation of the technique. At the same time, the practices aim at engendering knowledge that participants can transport and adapt to new applications in the future. In a stepwise and cumulative manner, the key expressions come to index embodied ways of using the imagination.

This study has explored an example of the situated, discursive production of reality over the course of an interactional history by examining how something that is initially portrayed as a counter-factual and rather improbable referent is established as shared reality, over a series of instructional sequences. The establishment of the *inner body* by instructed imagination as an accessible resource for the participants, and the elaboration of its increasingly complex properties, progress in a systematic fashion. The systematic enrichment of the scope and properties of the referent and the stabilization of its existence as a resource for bodily and social conduct, ultimately taken for granted, reflect a planned instructional procedure. In other contexts, processes of emergent enrichment and the extension of concepts may be done in a less systematically incremental fashion. Nevertheless, a key mechanism that drives this process will equally be present: the accumulation and use of common ground. Participants keep track of what has already been accomplished as common ground in various ways. They invoke it by indexing and presupposing it in next uses of the expressions or they secure the common ground by again explicating something that had already been presupposed, for some local purpose (in our case, re-invoking the use of imagination when introducing new, more demanding applications of the technique). Routines of using expressions thereby develop across local sequences of action within an emergent, shared interactional history among a community of practice.

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## Declaration of competing interest

None.

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