Multimodal Metaphors of Interculturereality

Metaforas multimodais da interculturealidade

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Abstract: The present paper looks at the interactive construction of multimodal metaphors of interculturereality – a term coined by the author from interculturality and intercorporeality, assuming that intercultural interaction is always an embodied phenomenon, shared among its participants. For this, two videotaped sequences of a group conversation are analyzed drawing upon interaction analysis (COUPER-KUHLEN; SELTING, 2018). The data was transcribed following the GAT2 (SELTING *et al.*, 2011) guidelines, including gesture form annotation, which relied on the system described by Bressem (2013). Gesture function was interpreted drawing on the interactional context and on the system proposed by Kendon (2004) and Bressem and Müller (2013). The results question the validity of the classical conduit metaphor of communication (REDDY, 1979) in the intercultural context and instead propose an embodied approach to the conceptualization of the understanding process among the participants. The analysis also shows that even though the metaphors are multimodal, the metaphoric content is not always evenly distributed among the different modalities (speech, gesture). Apart from that, the metaphorical content is constructed sequentially, referring to preceding metaphors used by the same or different interlocutors and associated with metaphorical blends.

Keywords: metaphors; multimodality; interculturality; intercorporeality; migration.

Resumo: O presente artigo analisa a construção interativa de metáforas multimodais da interculturealidade – um termo proveniente da interculturalidade e intercorporealidade, assumindo que a interação intercultural é sempre um fenômeno incorporado, compartilhado entre os seus participantes. Para tal, duas sequências gravadas em vídeo de uma conversa em grupo serão analisadas com base na análise da interação (COUPER-KUHLEN; SELTING, 2018). Os dados foram transcritos seguindo as

orientações do sistema GAT2 (SELTING *et al.*, 2011), incluindo a anotação da forma gestual, que se baseou no sistema descrito por Bressem (2013). A função dos gestos foi interpretada com base no contexto interacional e no sistema proposto por Kendon (2004) e Bressem e Müller (2013). Os resultados questionam a validade da metáfora clássica do conduto de comunicação (REDDY, 2012) no contexto intercultural e, além disso, propõem uma abordagem corporificada da conceituação do processo de entendimento entre os participantes. A análise também mostra que, embora as metáforas sejam multimodais, o conteúdo metafórico não é sempre uniformemente distribuído entre as diferentes modalidades (fala, gesto). Além disso, o conteúdo metafórico é construído sequencialmente, referindo-se a metáforas anteriores utilizadas pelos mesmos ou diferentes interlocutores e recorrendo a mesclagens metafóricas.

Palavras-chave: metáforas; multimodalidade; interculturalidade; intercorporealidade; migração.

1. Introduction

Migration is a phenomenon that has been an integral part of societies since the beginning of humanity. It has, however, attained new superdiverse (VERTOVEC, 2007) dimensions in the course of the past decades, leading to unexpected social compositions. The conviviality in modern societies is thus becoming a challenge, and calls for the understanding of intercurturereality. This term is a coinage of the terms interculture and intercorporeality and refers to the embodied co-construction of reality in intercultural settings. The term interculture is defined as an ad hoc creation of "culture constructed in cultural contexts" (KOOLE; THIJE, 1994, p. 69). This ad hoc creation is blended with prior cultural norms and models of the interlocutors, which leads to a "mutual transformation of knowledge and communicative behavior rather than transmission" (KECSKÉS, 2014, p. 15). The creation of intercultures therefore, can contribute to successful conviviality. However, how does this transformation process take place in interaction?

Interaction studies show that interactions are essentially co-created through the microtuning of the interlocutors (BARTH-WEINGARTEN; REBER; SELTING, 2010). This also takes place in narratives, to which listeners contribute actively through response-tokens (GARDNER,

2001). Certainly, this is also the case in intracultural communication, however, in intercultural settings a core common ground – in the sense of "[c]ommonalities, conventions, common beliefs, shared knowledge, and the like all" (KECSKÉS, 2014, p. 2) – is limited and thus cannot be taken for granted. Therefore, the interlocutors need to co-construct the common ground and not merely seek and activate it, as it would be the case in intracultural interaction. This leads to a change in intersubjectivity and language use: "So the nature of intersubjectivity seems to be undergoing change. There is more reliance on language created ad hoc by individuals in the course of interaction than on prefabricated language and preexisting frames" (KECSKÉS, 2014, p. 2).

Here the second term of the coinage – intercorporeality – comes into play, which was first introduced by Merleau-Ponty and has currently been taken up by studies on embodied interaction. This line of research views "the human body as being constituted by its corporeal relations and interactions with other human or animate bodies" (MEYER; STREECK, JORDAN, 2017, p. xviii). As Tanaka (2015, p. 462) puts it "Intercorporeality contains a perception–action loop between the self and the other. Perceiving the other's action prompts the same action in the self (like contagious yawning) or the possibility of the action (like smiling). Conversely, the self's action prompts the same action, or its possibility, in the other's body." (TANAKA, 2015, p. 462). This can also apply to emotions as Fuchs (2017) points out recurring to the term *bodily resonance*, which he defines as "an intuitive understanding of others' emotions in our embodied engagement with them" (FUCHS, 2017, p. 3). The interlocutors, however, are not necessarily conscious of this since "[t]he ongoing interaction induces, on a prereflective level, a process of mutual modification of bodily and emotional states, thus enabling a primary form of empathy without requiring any representations" (FUCHS, 2017, p. 3). Intercorporeal resonance, therefore, cannot be controlled, even though it is the basis for social relations (MEYER, STREECK, JORDAN, 2017, p. xxv-xxvi). In that sense intercorporeality aims at extending the concept of intersubjectivity in that the ego's reflexive circle is enlarged by including the alter ego and the surrounding environment (MEYER; STREECK; JORDAN, 2017, p. xxi).

A migration experience – understood as a long-term change of the living environment – brings about a change in all of these components: the (cultural) environment changes, the actions of the alter ego are different and have to be interpreted in different ways than in the country

of origin and thus the ego itself has to go through a transformation process. All of these components are intertwined and influence each other in diverse ways, some of which the subjects involved are not even conscious about, because they are not part of the explicit knowledge. Instead "schemes of orientation and interpretation" (SCHÜTZ, 1944) are changed through the process of interaction with the new cultural environment. Even though the schemes of orientation are implicit, they become visible in interactions in focusing passages with metaphorical and interactive density as centers of common experience (BOHNSACK; NENTWIG-GESEMANN; NOHL, 2007). Being incorporated, they are also observable in spontaneous gesture (CIENKI, 2008), also called gesticulation (KENDON, 1988) or *ceiving* (STREECK, 2009). Apart from that, gesture can also "reveal metaphoric thinking, which may be taking place with or without accompanying speech" (CIENKI; MÜLLER, 2008, p. 2). The multimodal or verbo-gestural (MÜLLER, 2008) metaphors can have the same or different source domains, thus permitting further insight into the conceptualization processes. Metaphors are understood in the present article in the sense of "understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain" (KÖVECSES; BENCZES, 2010, p. 4) in the sense of "CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN A IS CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN B".

2. Methodology

The sequences analyzed in the present paper are taken from a group discussion among Brazilian migrants in Germany that has been recorded in the context of a larger research project by the author (LADILOVA, forthcoming). The participants had been living in Germany for about three years at the point of filming. The interaction was motivated by question cards that were placed in the middle of the table, allowing speakers to switch the topics whenever they felt it was necessary. The interactions were transcribed according to the GAT 2 conventions (SELTING *et al*., 2011) and the gestural form was annotated drawing upon the system proposed by Bressem (2013). The annotation of the gestures was included into the GAT 2 transcription, using abbreviations of the hand shape and orientation such as "LOH PLTB" (left open hand palm lateral towards body) and adding the direction, quality and type of movement as well as the position in the gesture space whenever necessary. Apart from that in some cases, the gestures were described

in their phases, such as preparation, pre-stroke hold, stroke, post-stroke hold and retraction (MCNEILL, 2016, p. 5-6).

The interpretation of the gesture form was done drawing upon the interactional context and the gesture functions proposed by Kendon (2004) and Bressem and Müller (2013). Initially, the focus of the analysis was merely on the "central" multimodal metaphors that are used when referring to interculturereality. In the process of analysis, however, it became clear that many of the metaphors around these central parts are either also metaphors of interculturality themselves or they are central for the interpretation of the metaphors of interculturereality. It therefore, was decided to conduct a sequential analysis (SCHEGLOFF, 2007). Instead of taking sequences from different interactions or different speakers, the focus of the analysis was placed on two sequences from the same interaction and the same speaker when she refers to the same topic: interculturereality with a German friend of hers. While the first sequence is a more general "introduction" of the interactions with her friend, the second sequence goes into details about the challenges of achieving understanding in these interactions. This type of analysis helps to gain an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon in question: the conceptualization of interculturereality.

3. Analysis

3.1 Living and moving between cultures

The first example is based on a sequence that took place after half an hour of conversation while the participants were discussing the question card "Do you feel integrated in Germany and why". While answering this question the speakers first engaged in discussing their own situation as still not quite what they would want it to be and then looked for reasons for this. One of these reasons seems to be the German culture or the way German people are "hard to conquer". This war metaphor makes it clear that the interlocutors conceptualize the process of making friends with Germans as difficult. The speaker of the current sequence then mentions her only German friend and describes her as atypically German, because she is spontaneous in planning encounters. She then explains that she (her friend) had already lived in France and even has a Brazilian in her family, and it is, therefore, easier to reach a common understanding with her.

G1 00:34:46.779 - 00:35:31.762)[1]
01 CB: <<2OH PU> mas é alGUÉM,>
                     but it's someone
02   <<ROH PLAB, LOH PLTB right> que já viveu na FRAnça,>
                                       that had already lived in france
03   <<ROH PLTB, LOH PLAB left> e JÁ tem um pouco de:,>
                                     and already has a little bit of
04   <<ROH PLAB, LOH PLTB right and left> (.) conTAto;>
                                                  contact
05   <<2OH PLTB> tem alguém brasileiro na faMÍlia, atÉ;>
                     she has a Brazilian person in the family even
06   (-) eu acho que <<LOH PLTB up and down, looking at AA> acaba
        entenDENdo um pouco melho:r,>
        i think that she is able to understand a bit better
07 AA: (nods slightly))
08 CB: <<2 streched back and forth> e a gente vive entre culTUras;=>
                                     and we live between cultures
09   <<2 streched back and forth> =eu tentando entender ELA,
                                       me trying to understand her
10   ela tentando me entenDER;
        she trying to understand me
11   (-) mas é !RA!ro encontrar alguém <<nodding, looking at AA> que
        queira, (.)>
        but it's seldom to find someone who wants to
12 AA: ((nods slightly))
13 CB: <<LH fist dropping down> realmente !TO!pe,> ((looks at GA))
                                 really accepts
14 GA: <<p> uh::m;>
15 CB: (.) esse desaFIO de:,
           this challenge of
16   <<L2 stretched left and right, looking at GA> (.) intercultuRAL
        assim;=>
        intercultural like that

_____

[1] The video of this sequence can be accessed following the link: https://youtu.be/
mLgtcH7ERvM

```
17 GA: ((nods slightly))
18 CB: <<lifting eyebrows, shaking head> =ENtre,
                                           between
19     (.) é, os brasiLEIros <<nodding> e os alemães>
            well, the brazilians and the germans
20 GA: ((laughs))
21 AA: ((smiles and nods slightly))
```

While referring to her friend `mas é alGUÉM,` (L01), CB makes a palm up gesture with both hands (image 1a.) that are then moved to the left (image 1b.), while she speaks about her friend having lived in France `<<ROH PLAB, LOH PLTB right> que já viveu na FRAnça,>` (L01) and then to the left (image 1c.) and again to the right and to the left concluding that she (her friend), therefore, has already had some (intercultural) contact `<<ROH PLTB, LOH PLAB left> e JÁ tem um pouco de:,> <<ROH PLAB, LOH PLTB right and left> (.) conTAto;>` (L03-04, image 1d.). CB adds that her friend even has somebody from Brazil in her family while holding her hands with open palms towards her body `<<2OH PLTB> tem alguém brasileiro na faMÍlia, atÉ;>` (L05, image 1e.).

1: Right and left movement (L02-04)


```
01 <<2OH PU> mas é alGUÉM,>
        but it's someone
```

a.

```
02 <<ROH PLAB, LOH PLTB right> que
        já viveu na FRAnça,>
```
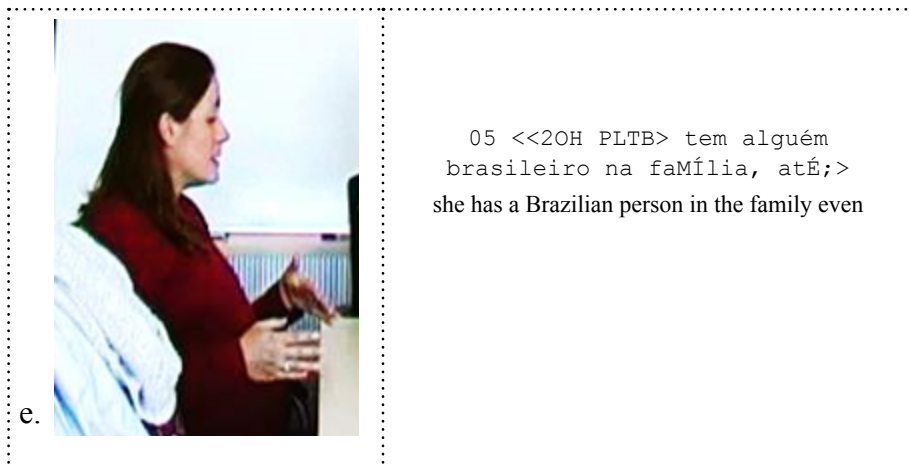that had already lived in france

b.


```
03 <<ROH PLTB, LOH PLAB left> e JÁ
        tem um pouco de:,>
```
and already has a little bit of

c.


```
04 <<ROH PLAB, LOH PLTB right and
        left> (.) conTAto;>
```
contact

d.

```
05 <<2OH PLTB> tem alguém
brasileiro na faMÍlia, atÉ;>
```
she has a Brazilian person in the family even

e.

The gesture in image 1a. is a classical palm presentation gesture (KENDON, 2004, p. 271) which is used in explanations. This gesture belongs to the palm up open hand (PUOH) gesture family, which has the pragmatic function of "presenting an abstract discursive object as a manipulable and visible one, inviting participants to take on a shared perspective on this object" (BRESSEM, MÜLLER, 2013, p. 1582). With this gesture, CB metaphorically places the content of her speech in front of her, as if it was an object and draws the attention of the other interlocutors to it. The following movement of her hands to the right and to the left (images 1 b., c. and d.) shows the movement of that object between two different spaces. This movement illustrates the intercultural contact of CB's friend as moving from one culture to another. This gesture is iconic in that it shows the movement between cultures and metaphoric in that it refers to the conceptual metaphor INTERCULTURAL EXPERIENCE / CONTACT IS MOVING FROM ONE CULTURE TO ANOTHER. Since CB also uses the word 'contact' `<<ROH PLAB, LOH PLTB right and left> (.) conTAto;>` in her speech, in L04 the metaphor of (cultural) contact is, therefore, a verbo-gestural or a multimodal one.

CB then states that her friend can, therefore, understand (her) a bit better `(-) eu acho que <<LOH PLTB up and down> acaba entenDENdo um pouco melho:r,>` and moves her hand – that she had lowered down to her lap – slightly up and down with the palm in a lateral position towards her body (L06, image 2).

2: Up and down movement (L06)


```
(-) eu acho que <<LOH PLTB up
and down, looking at AA> acaba
entenDENdo um pouco melho:r,>
```
i think that she is able to understand a bit better

This gesture is a palm presentation gesture, which CB is not able to open to a palm-up position due to the lack of space. This gesture can have the function of an explanation, a comment or a clarification (KENDON, 2004, p. 271), which would all fit the given context in which CB comments on her friend having had intercultural contact, and therefore, being able to understand (the cultural specificities of CB). While performing this gesture, CB looks at AA, who responds with a slight nod – a response token (GARDNER, 2001) which can be carried out through speech (e.g. "uhu:m;"), slight nodding or both (nodding and speech) and is also called backchanneling (WAGNER; MALISZ, KOPP, 2014) or acknowledgement (SCHEGLOFF, 1982). This token displays active listenership without affiliative stances.

CB then says that they (she and her friend) live in-between cultures, trying to understand each other: `<<2 stretched back and forth> e a gente vive entre culTUras;=> <<2 streched back and forth> =eu tentando entender ELA, ela tentando me entenDER;` moving both hands back and forth with the index finger stretched out (L08-10 / image 3).

3: Back and forth movement (L08-10)


```
08 <<2 stretched back and forth> e
   a gente vive entre culTUras;=>
             and we live between cultures

09 <<2 stretched back and forth>
   =eu tentando entender ELA,
             me trying to understand her

   10 ela tentando me entenDER;
             she trying to understand me
```

At a first glance, this gesture could easily be interpreted as an example of the classical conduit metaphor of communication (REDDY, 1979) in the sense of "COMMUNICATION IS SENDING MEANING OBJECTS FROM A MIND CONTAINER TO ANOTHER MIND CONTAINER ALONG A CONDUIT" (KÖVECSES; BENCZES, 2010, p. 234). However, the expression *viver entre culturas* "to live between cultures" in L08 as well as the use of gerund in L09-10 make it clear that CB is not conceptualizing herself and her friend as mind containers that merely exchange meaning objects along a conduit. Instead, they both inhabit the space in-between cultures while they construct their interculturereality, which consists of moving between the respective cultures that are conceptualized as locations on a path. The movement of the fingers, therefore, points to the movement of CB and her friend and not of mere objects. The multimodal metaphor expressed here is INTERCULTURAL UNDERSTANDING IS MOVING BACK AND FORTH ON THE PATH BETWEEN CULTURES.

At the end of the given sequence CB concludes that it is rare to find somebody who really wants to accept this intercultural challenge: (−) mas é !RA!ro encontrar alguém <<nodding, looking at AA> que queira, (.)> <<LH fist dropping down> realmente !TO!pe,> (.) esse desaFIO de:, <<L2 stretched left and right, looking at GA> (.) intercultuRAL assim;=> (L11-16).

She puts an extra strong accent on `!RA!ro` "rare" (L11) and `!TO!pe,` "accepts" (L13), also adding a gestural accent to the last word by letting her drop fall down (image 4).

4: Dropping of the fist (L13)


```
<<LH fist dropping down> realmente
      !TO!pe,> ((looks at GA))
            really accepts
```
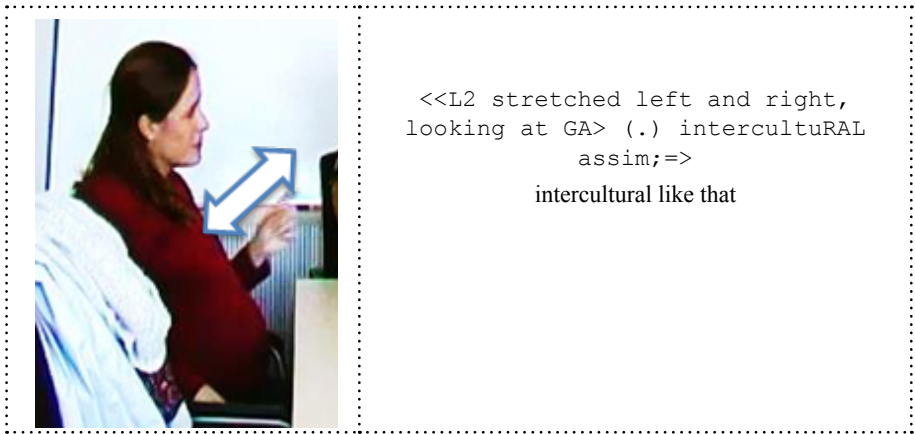
      The dropping of the fist gesture visualizes the difficulty that CB is speaking about – the effort of accepting the intercultural challenge. The metaphor of effort is thus expressed by multimodal means: the dropping of fist gesture and the words `!TO!pe,` "accepts" (L13) and `desaFIO` "challenge" (L15). In L11 CB looks at AA, who responds by nodding slightly in the next line. Then CB looks at GA in L13, who reacts with a quiet `<<p> uh::m;>` in L14. Both turns (L12 and L14) are response tokens as already mentioned above.

      CB then makes a left and right movement with her left index finger, while she talks about interculturality `<<L2 stretched left and right, looking at GA> (.) intercultural assim;=>` (L16 / image 5).

5: Back and forth movement (L16)


```
        <<L2 stretched left and right,
        looking at GA> (.) intercultuRAL
                     assim;=>
               intercultural like that
```

This right and left movement with the stretched finger seems to be a blend (FAUCONNIER; TURNER, 2002) of gestures used by the speaker previously as shown in the following image: left and right movement that CB made in L02-04 when referring to the (inter)cultural experience of her friend (image 1d. / 6a.) and the back and forth movement with the stretched index fingers when speaking about the intercultural understanding process with her friend (L08-10, image 3 / 6b.).

6: Gesture blend

a.

INTERCULTURAL EXPERIENCE /
CONTACT IS MOVING FROM ONE
CULTURE TO ANOTHER

b.

INTERCULTURAL UNDERSTANDING
IS MOVING BACK AND FORTH ON
THE PATH BETWEEN CULTURES

c.

ACCEPTING THE INTERCULTURAL
CHALLENGE IS BEING ABLE TO
MOVE IN-BETWEEN CULTURES

The gesture blend is an indication of a conceptual metaphoric blend of the cultural contact and the intercultural understanding process leading to the metaphor ACCEPTING THE INTERCULTURAL CHALLENGE IS BEING ABLE TO MOVE IN-BETWEEN CULTURES. Cultures in this case are the locations on the path and the actors involved in the movement between them are the people that are participating in intercultural communication. As it has been mentioned before, the expression *viver entre culturas* "to live between cultures" (L08) and the use of the gerund in L09-10 make it clear that those people are actually acting in the intercultural space themselves and not merely sending meaning objects between mind containers, as conceptualized by the classical conduit metaphor of communication.

Since the metaphor ACCEPTING THE INTERCULTURAL CHALLENGE IS BEING ABLE TO MOVE IN-BETWEEN CULTURES in L16 is also underlined by the word `intercultuRAL` (L16), it is partially composed of multimodal means. While the speech expresses the intercultural dimension of the metaphor, the dimension of understanding is only expressed in the gesture, the meaning of which can be reestablished anaphorically – that is, with reference to the preceding gesture of the understanding process between CB and her friend.

CB finishes her turn by adding `<<lifting eyebrows, shaking head> =ENtre, (.) é, os brasiLEIros <<nodding> e os alemães` (L18-19), expressing that the intercultural challenge that she was talking about referred to the understanding between Germans and Brazilians. GA and AA acknowledge what CB had said by laughing slightly (GA in L20) and smiling (AA in L21). These responses can be seen as affiliative strategies that express solidarity (ATTARDO, 2015, p. 176).

The expression *viver entre culturas* "to live between cultures" in L07 and the use of the gerund `tentando entender` ("trying to understand") in L09-10, as well as the metaphor blend discussed in image 6 make it clear that the intercultural experience that CB is narrating is clearly an embodied one. CB conceptualizes the understanding process that she and her friend are achieving as a space they both inhabit between cultures and not a space they use to simply send "meaning objects along a conduit" in the process of communication, while both remaining in their own cultures. This means that in order to achieve understanding CB and her friend need to leave their respective cultures, at least for the time they are interacting. Even though this process could imply real movement of

the body in the interaction process, most probably what this metaphor refers to is a reorganization of the attention of the interlocutors in the intercultural space in the sense of a new organization of their senses in order to achieve understanding. This understanding relies on bodily resonance – "a process of mutual modification of bodily and emotional states, thus enabling a primary form of empathy without requiring any representations" (FUCHS, 2017, p. 3), which builds the basis for their ability to co-construct a common ground ad-hoc. This ad hoc creation blends with the prior knowledge of the interlocutors, thus leading to its transformation (KECSKÉS, 2014, p. 15). This process has been described by Alfred Schütz (1944) in his essay "The Stranger" as a process that goes along with a "dislocation of the habitual system of relevance" of the one who wishes to become part of a new culture. This leads to a crisis that can be overcome through the "modification of schemes of orientation and interpretation". How this takes place in the given context will become clear in the analysis of the second sequence.

3.2 Building bridges and overcoming barriers of understanding

The second sequence took place after an hour of interactions at a point when the interlocutors were discussing the question of whether they can make themselves understood in German. While some of the other participants mentioned that their German skills might not be good enough yet, in order to be able to make themselves understood properly, CB states in the following sequence that for her this is not a problem. As opposed to the other participants, she indicated in her metadata that she is fluent in German. However, as already discussed in the previous sequence, from the perspective of the participants intercultural understanding requires repeated back and forth movement between cultures. What happens when this movement is impeded by different understandings of certain concepts within the intercultureality and how can one go along in order to achieve understanding in such situations? The analysis of the following sequence looks into these questions.

```
G1(01:09:59:373-01:11:346)²
01 CB: para mim não é nem um CAso de:,
        for me it's not even a case of
02     <<2OH PD apart> se eu me faço entender no dia a DIA,>
                         if i can make myself understood in daily life
03     °h a:hm na questão linGUÍstica.
              in the linguistic sense
04     nisso,
        in this
05     <<2OH PVAB left> a gente acaba dando um JEIto;=
                         we end up finding a way
06     <looking at AA> =faz uma (.) POnte;>
                         we build a bridge
07 AA: ((nods))
08 CB: arranja outra estruTUra,=
        arrange another structure
09     =e vai (.) <<shaking head> adiANte;=>
        and                       ahead
10 AA: ((nods))
11     <<2OH PLD, looking at AA> =ou não sabe a paLAvra,>
                                  or if you don't know a word
12 AA: ((nods))
13 CB: <<2OH PLTB quick back and forth> explica um POUco,>
                                         you explain a little
14     <<LOH PLD> e dizendo conheço aquela> paLAvra e tal;
                   and saying I know that word and such
15     (.) mas a:h me depaRE:i,
            but i came across myself
16     <<LHPD 1-2 touching stretched on the table> falando com uma
       amIga aleMÃ;>
       speaking with a german friend
```

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² The video of this sequence can be accessed following the link: https://youtu.be/
B6mOdNMjUHQ

17   `<<2H PL 1-5 crooked moving up> alguns> <<a. 2H PVTC 1-5 crooked`
         `back and forth> pressuPO:stos;=>`
                           certain presumptions

18   `<<2H PVTC 1-5 crooked up> (.) =ou ALgo,>`
                                or something

19   `<<2H PVTC 1-5 crooked opening down to the sides> (.)`
         `basTAnte::,>`
         quite

20   `<<2H PVAB 1-5 crooked> °h> <<2H PVAB 1-5 crooked turning in,`
         `dropping down and rotating> e::h;>`

21   `<<2H PLTC 1-5 crooked> °h eu diria> <<2H PLTC 1-5 spread bent`
         `dropping> abstRAto;>`
                    i would say abstract

22   `<<2OH PLTB shaking> tentando explicar para Ela;`
                          trying to explain to her

23   `(.) e como <<2OH PLTB prep.> é difícil, <2OH PLTB apart> entre`
         `culTUras,>`
         and how it is difficult between cultures

24   `<<2OH PLTB L before R> lidar com Isso.>`
                       to deal with it

25   `<<LOH PLTB ROH PVTB drops> e AL!I! tinha barrEIra.>`
                         and there was a barrier there

26   `<<ROH PVTB drops> não importava o QUANto explicAsse,>`
                  it did not matter how much i explained

27   `<<RH PTB 2 stretched circles> de outra forma em aleMÃO;>`
                     in another way in german

28   `<<RH PTB 2 stretched quick circles> ela tava entendendo tudo`
         `Isso,=>`
         she was understanding all of this

29   `<<RH PTB 2 streched drops> =mas ela não estava entenDEndo,>`
                       but she was not understanding

30   `<<RH PLTB 2 stretched> o MEU ponto de vista como brasilEIra,`
                  my point of view as a brazilian

```
31    (-) e: <<RH PLTB 2 stretched back and forth> até que a gente
      conseGUIU;>
      and until we managed
32    <<RH PTB 2 stretched quick circles> a::h,
33    a:::h,>
34    nesse senTIdo.
      in this sense
35    e::,
36    a::hm,
37    eu acho que mais nesse <<p> senTIdo de:,>
      i think it's more in this sense of
38    (-) o que a gente Acha que É:;
      what we think is
39    (.) <<2OH PU quick back and forth, p> compreensível,>
                                            understandable
40    automaticamente;=
      automatically
41    nem sempre É;
      not always is so
42    para uma pessoa aQUI;
      for a person here
```

CB introduces her statement by saying that for her the question of understanding is not about being able to make herself understood in everyday life in the linguistic sense: `para mim não é nem um CAso de:, <<2OH PD apart> se eu me faço entender no dia a DIA,> °h a:hm na questão linGUÍstica.` (L01-03). She accompanies her speech by a palm down gesture in L02, which is slightly drawn apart to the sides as can be seen in the following image. With this gesture, CB places the scenario of daily life in front of her, on which she acts in the following gestures. This gesture is a depiction (STREECK, 2009), which becomes especially clear because CB looks at her hands while gesturing.

7: Palm down gesture (L02)


```
<<2OH PD apart> se eu me faço
     entender no dia a DIA,>
```
if i can make myself understood in daily life

CB then mentions several ways of making herself understood: first, a general way, for which CB recurs to a Brazilian expression `<<2OH PVAB> a gente> <<2OH PVAB left> acaba dando um JEIto;=>` in L05, which can be translated as "we end up finding a way". During this intonation unit, CB makes a movement to the left with her hands. As can be seen in image 9 CB initiates this gesture with her hands open with the palms facing away from the body (preparation phase). Then she moves her hands to the left (stroke). CB then repeats the same movement during the next intonation unit in which she talks about building a bridge `<looking at AA> =faz uma (.) POnte;>` (L06).

8: Movement to the left (L05, 06)

preparation   stroke

```
05 <<2OH PVAB left> a gente acaba dando um JEIto;=
              we end up finding a way

  06 <looking at AA> =faz uma (.) POnte;>
              we build a bridge
```

This movement to the left takes place in the space that CB had designated to her "understanding processes in daily life". At the same time, this gesture is not merely an iconic depiction, but a metaphoric conceptualization of how the understanding takes place. The usage of the word POnte; "bridge" (L06) complements the gestural metaphor ENABLING UNDERSTANDING IS MOVING FROM ONE LOCATION TO ANOTHER (OVER A BRIDGE). The bridge is the help for crossing the distance between those locations, which refer to the different cultures in the given case. This metaphor also implies that the participants of the intercultural interaction perform the movement along the bridge between the respective cultures themselves and not merely through sending meaning objects along that bridge. As opposed to the metaphor of intercultural understanding used in the previous sequence, the present metaphor implies movement in only one direction. In L06 CB also looks at AA that responds with slight nodding in L07 – a backchanneling assuring CB that she is being heard.

CB then continues to give concrete examples of how the "bridge of understanding" is being built. This entails arranging another structure and continuing: `arranja outra estruTUra,= =e vai (.) <<shaking head> adiANte;=>` (L08-09) or explaining the meaning of a word one cannot find with other words: `<<2OH PLD, looking at AA> =ou não sabe a paLAvra,> <<2OH PLTB quick back and forth> explica um POUco,> <<LOH PLD> e dizendo conheço aquela> paLAvra e tal;` (L11-14). The first strategy goes along with the retraction phase of the previous gesture and a slight shaking of the head in L09 `=e vai (.) <<shaking head> adiANte;=>`. This movement is a depiction of the moving ahead that CB talks about from a character viewpoint, which implies a stronger involvement in the action – in the sense of less distance – than from an observer viewpoint (MCNEILL, 1992, p. 119). The second strategy is accompanied by a gesture series shown in the following image. First CB arranges the gesture space with a palm down gesture over the table while introducing the problem of not knowing a word `<<2OH PLD, looking at AA> =ou não sabe a paLAvra,>` (L11 / image 9a.), as she has already done in L02 / image 7. Then she mentions the strategy of explaining (that word) a little `<<2OH PLTB quick back and forth> explica um POUco,>` moving her hands back and forth in quick movements (L13 / image 9b.). This gesture depicts the process of understanding in the sense of EXPLANATION IS GOING BACK AND FORTH. CB ends this subsequence by rewording the strategy as replacing the word one does not know with another word `<<LOH PLD> e dizendo conheço aquela> paLAvra e tal;` and making a deictic gesture to the left with an open palm (L14 / image 9c.). Since CB is pointing at an abstract entity – the word explained, this gesture is also metaphoric. AA supports CB in her argumentation by nodding in L10 and 12.

9: Explaining a word

11 <<2OH PLD, looking at AA>
=ou não sabe a paLAvra,>
or if you don't know a word

a.

13 <<2OH PLTB quick back and forth>
explica um POUco,>
you explain a little

b.

14 <<LOH PLD> e dizendo conheço
aquela> paLAvra e tal;
and saying I know that word and such

c.

Then CB introduces a situation in which it was hard to achieve understanding with the friend she already talked about in the first sequence analyzed in this article: `(.) mas a:h me depaRE:i, <<LHPD 1-2 touching stretched on the table> falando com uma amIga aleMÃ;>` (L15-16 in the first sequence). This time she places the issue with her friend "on the table" with a palm down gesture that touches the table slightly with the stretched fingers (L16), as can be seen in image 10. This gesture has several dimensions: it is a deictic gesture used by CB to point at the issue she is talking about. At the same time, it is a depiction, since she is looking at her hand, with which she is creating the space in which the action to follow will unfold. Moreover, it is a metaphoric gesture, since the gesture is pointing or depicting an abstract entity – an issue that CB had with her friend.

10: The issue on the table (L16)


```
<<LHPD 1-2 touching stretched on
     the table> falando com uma
          amIga aleMÃ;>
```
speaking with a german friend

CB continues to explain that the issue that she had with her friend had to do with talking about certain presumptions. The many (filled) pauses and the extensive gesturing point to the difficulty CB is having to express what was going on exactly. In L17 she initiates a gesture with cupped hands with the palms down in front of her (image 11a.) that she then moves with the palms towards the center (image 11b.) while saying `alguns`. – "some". With this depiction gesture, CB metaphorically picks

up the topic of her talk and places it in front of her. She then moves the hands apart and together again (image 11c.) while uttering the word `pressuPO:stos;` – "presumptions". This last gesture depicts the process of going apart due to certain "presumptions".

11: Cupped hands (L17)


```
<<2H PL 1-5 crooked moving up> alguns> <<a. 2H PVTC 1-5 crooked
              back and forth> pressuPO:stos;=>
```
certain presumptions
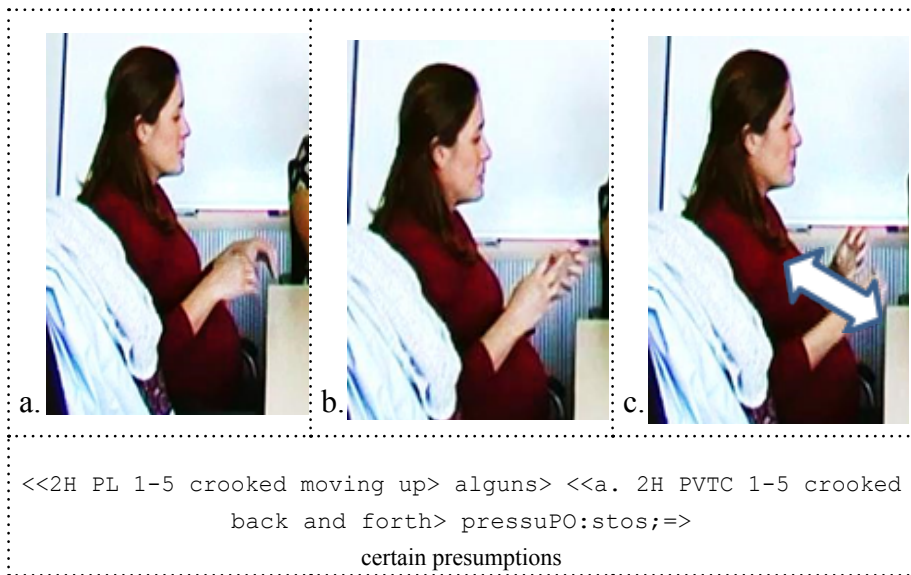
CB continues with the same hand shape and orientation lifting her hands slightly up (image 12a.) while saying `=ou ALgo,` "or something", in L18 and then dropping the hands and opening them slightly (image 12b.) while saying `basTAnte::,` "quite" in L19. CB then lifts and opens the gesturing hands up a little before dropping and rotating them (image 12c.) during the filled pause (L20). Then CB drops the hands a bit lower (image 12d.) while she says °h eu diria abstRAto; "i would say abstract" (L21) and then shakes the hands in the last position (image 12e.) while opening them slightly and saying `tentando explicar para Ela;` "trying to explain to her" (L22).

12: Cupped hands II

a.

```
18 <<2H PVTC 1-5 crooked
up> (.) =ou ALgo,>
        or something
```


b.

```
19 <<2H PVTC 1-5
crooked opening down
 to the sides> (.)
   basTAnte::,>
        quite
```


c.

```
20 <<2H PVAB 1-5
crooked> °h> <<2H
PVAB 1-5 crooked
   turning in,
dropping down and
rotating> e::h;>
```

| | 21 <<2H PLTC 1-5 crooked> °h eu diria> <<2H PLTC 1-5 spread bent dropping> abstRAto;> i would say abstract |

| | 22 <<2OH PLTB shaking> tentando explicar para Ela; trying to explain to her |

The cupped hands gestures in the images 11 and 12 show how CB is manipulating and inspecting an object she is holding in her hands – the abstract notions she is talking about – hereby expressing the metaphor PRESUMPTIONS / ABSTRACT CONCEPTS ARE OBJECTS. At the same time, these gestures are used during the process of cognitive search for concepts that could express the issue that CB has with her friend. They, therefore, also depict the process of trying to grasp something that CB is having difficulty with expressing.

In the next gesture the hands are moved apart (image 13a.) and then held in a post-stroke hold (image 13b.) while CB speaks about the difficulty of dealing with (presumptions) between cultures (.) e como <<2OH PLTB prep.> é difícil, <2OH PLTB apart> entre culTUras,> <<2OH PLTB L before R> lidar com Isso.> (L23-24).

As in the case of the gesture in image 11c. (L17) this gesture depicts the process of moving apart (due to cultural differences) in the sense of the multimodal metaphor POTENTIAL INTERCULTURAL NON-UNDERSTANDING IS MOVING APART / SEPARATION.

13: Dragging apart gesture

a.	23 (.) e como <<2OH PLTB prep.> é difícil, <2OH PLTB apart> entre culTUras,> and how it is difficult between cultures
b.	24 <<2OH PLTB L before R> lidar com Isso.> to deal with it

From the last gestural position in image 13b. CB then lifts her right hand and lets it fall quickly right in front of her left hand (image 14) while speaking about the barrier that was there (between her and her friend) <<LOH PLTB ROH PVTB drops> e AL!I! tinha barrEIra.> (L25). This gesture is a multimodal metaphor of NON-UNDERSTANDING IS

A BARRIER / A CLASH. It is especially interesting that the metaphor of the barrier is expressed verbally while the metaphor of the barrier/clash is expressed only in the gesture by the right hand dropping onto the left.

14: Barrier gesture (L25)


```
<<LOH PLTB ROH PVTB
drops> e AL!I! tinha
      barrEIra.>
```
and there was a barrier there

In L26 CB repeats the same "barrier gesture" (image 15a.) that then becomes a circular gesture with a stretched index finger in L27 (image 15b.), while she speaks about the unsuccessfulness of her explanation intents `<<ROH PVTB drops> não importava o QUANto explicAsse,> <<RH PTB 2 stretched circles> de outra forma em aleMÃO;>` "it did not matter how much i explained in another way in german" (L26-27). CB then makes small circle gestures while she speaks about her friend understanding (the meaning of the words she was saying) `<<RH PTB 2 stretched quick circles> ela tava entendendo tudo Isso,=>` "she was understanding all of this" (L28 / image 15c.). Then she drops the gesturing hand (image 15d.) while she says that her friend, however, did not understand `<<RH PTB 2 stretched drops> =mas ela não estava entenDEndo,>` (L29) her point of view as a Brazilian `<<RH PLTB 2 stretched> o MEU ponto de vista como brasilEIra,` (L30). In the last line, CB makes a self-deictic gesture.

15: Gestures of not understanding

a.

26 <<ROH PVTB drops>
não importava o QUANto
explicAsse,>

it did not matter how much i
explained

b.

27 <<RH PTB 2 stretched
circles> de outra forma
em aleMÃO;>

in another way in german

c.

28 <<RH PTB 2 stretched
quick circles> ela tava
entendendo tudo
Isso,=>

she was understanding all of this

29 <<RH PTB 2 stretched
drops> =mas ela não
estava entenDEndo,>

but she was not understanding

d.

30 <<RH PLTB 2
stretched> o MEU
ponto de vista como
brasilEIra,

my point of view as a brazilian

e.

After that CB makes a back and forth gesture with the same gesturing hand while speaking about achieving (understanding) e: << RH PLTB 2 stretched back and forth> até que a gente conseGUIU;> in L31 / image 16a., which then becomes a circular gesture while CB makes utters the interjection a::h, L32 / image 16b.. The back and forth gesture seems to refer to the metaphor INTERCULTURAL UNDERSTANDING IS MOVING BACK AND FORTH ON THE PATH BETWEEN CULTURES, which was already discussed in the first sequence. The small cyclic getures in L28 and L32 express the metaphor UNDERSTANDING IS A QUICK CYCLIC PROCESS, while the bigger circles in L27 express the metaphor EXPLANATION IS A CYCLIC PROCESS. The difference is in the size of the circle and the pace at which

it is performed: explanation seems to be conceptualized as slower and bigger than the cognitive process of thinking or understanding.

16: Gestures of understanding

```
31 (-) e: << RH PLTB 2 stretched back
        and forth> até que a gente
             conseGUIU;>
        and until we managed
```

a.

```
32 <<RH PTB 2 stretched quick circles>
              a::h,
```

b.

      Finally CB makes a meta-comment on her own statements by saying that she thinks that what we (the Brazilians) think is understandable is not always the case for people in Germany eu acho que mais nesse <<p> senTIdo de:,> o que a gente Acha que É:; (.) <<back and forth with both hands, p> compreensível,> automaticamente;= nem sempre É; para uma pessoa aQUI; (L37-42). She complements her speech by a quick back and forth gesture in L39 while she utters the

word `compreensível,` "understandable", which is spoken at a slower pace. This is the same gesture as in L13 / image 9b., which was used in the context of the metaphor EXPLANATION IS GOING BACK AND FORTH. Even though it is now used with a different word ("understanding" instead of "explaining"), it obviously refers to the same underlying conceptualization of INTERCULTURAL UNDERSTANDING IS MOVEMENT ON A PATH BETWEEN CULTURES.

17: Back and forth gesture (L39)


```
(.) <<2OH PU quick back and forth,
      p> compreensível,>
```
understandable

To put it in a nutshell, in the second sequence CB first talks about some strategies of achieving understanding in a foreign language such as ENABLING UNDERSTANDING IS MOVING FROM ONE LOCATION TO ANOTHER (OVER A BRIDGE) and EXPLANATION IS GOING BACK AND FORTH. Moreover, she mentions a situation in which she and her friend had difficulties to achieve understanding due to presumptions and abstract concepts linked to cultural differences. These difficulties are conceptualized in different ways. While POTENTIAL INTERCULTURAL NON-UNDERSTANDING IS MOVING APART / SEPARATION, NON-UNDERSTANDING IS A BARRIER / A CLASH. CB also talks about the process of achieving understanding through explanation and constant effort to understand the point of view of the other, which are conceptualized in the following ways: EXPLANATION IS A CYCLIC PROCESS, UNDERSTANDING IS A QUICK CYCLIC PROCESS and ENABLING INTERCULTURAL UNDERSTANDING IS GOING BACK AND FORTH. It is interesting that explanation is conceptualized as moving back and forth and as circular movement.

The difference here is probably in the focus of the underlying explanatory process: while the back and forth movement foregrounds the process of explaining as such, the circular movement puts the fact of treating an intercultural issue that the interlocutors are having difficulty with over and over again to the fore. A similar thing happens with the quick back and forth gesture which goes along with two different utterances: `<<2OH PLTB quick back and forth> explica um POUco,>` "you explain a little (L13) and `<<2OH PU quick back and forth, p> compreensível,>` "understandable" (L39), but seems to refer to the same underlying conceptualization of INTERCULTURAL UNDERSTANDING IS MOVEMENT ON A PATH BETWEEN CULTURES.

4. Discussion

The preceding analysis showed that when referring to intercurrereality CB uses recurrent gesture types, which express conceptual metaphors. The latter are often also expressed in speech – thus being multimodal. The most frequent metaphor in the given context is INTERCULTURAL UNDERSTANDING IS MOVEMENT ON A PATH BETWEEN CULTURES that is expressed in the back and forth movement in different ways. This movement is performed with open palms when referring to the general process of understanding as in image 17 / L39 and image 9b. / L13. of the second sequence or with stretched fingers when referring to concrete interactive processes as in image 3 / L8-10 and image 5 / L16 of the first sequence and in image 16a. / L31 of the second sequence. The process of achieving understanding is represented as a movement in the direction of the other (building a bridge) as in image 8 / L05-06.

It could seem logical to interpret this in the context of the classical conduit metaphor (REDDY, 1979). A detailed multimodal sequential analysis of the metaphors expressed by CB, however, shows that she does not conceptualize the intercultural process of understanding as sending meaning objects from her mind container to her friends mind container along a conduit. Instead, what seems to be the case is that she conceptualizes intercultural understanding as active movement in a space between cultures – the interculture. As has already been discussed in the context of the first sequence, this movement refers to the reorganization of the bodily resources and senses of the interlocutors in the context of the co-construction of an ad-hoc common ground, which cannot be relied

upon to the same extend as in intracultural communication (KECSKÉS, 2014, p. 15). What replaces this lack of common ground before and in the process of the co-construction of the ad-hoc common ground is bodily resonance – "a primary form of empathy" (FUCHS, 2017, p. 3), something that the interlocutors might not be aware of, but which is essential for successful understanding. A successful understanding process leads to the blending of prior knowledge of the interlocutors with the ad-hoc creation of common ground, leading to a transformation of their knowledge and communicative behavior. This transformation, however, can be a difficult process, especially if the person involved finds him- or herself emerged in a new culture – as it is the case in a migration setting (SCHÜTZ, 1944).

The second sequence shows how this difficulty can be due to certain presumptions, which can make the understanding difficult – conceptualized as moving apart in image 11c. / L17 and image 13, L23, or even create a barrier or a clash to mutual understanding (image 14 / 15a. and L 25, 26.), even if both interlocutors are actively engaged in the co-construction of common ground. Only through the repeated process of explanation – shown as circles in image 27 / L15b. is it possible to achieve understanding, depicted by small and quick circles in image 28 / L15c. and image 16b. / L32. Due to this need of active co-construction of common ground in intercultural interaction, the "meaning objects" cannot simply be sent along a conduit, making it the responsibility of the "receiver" to unpack their meaning. Instead there is a need for an active negotiation of meaning in order to achieve understanding, in which both interlocutors have to be active at all times in order to be able to create language ad hoc in interaction (KECSKÉS, 2014, p. 2). In this process the ideas are not "locked within the skull and life process of each of us" as Reddy (1979, p. 287) puts it, but need to be created mutually ad hoc. As Merleau-Ponty (1964, p. 116) puts it: "We must abandon the fundamental prejudice according to which the psyche is that which is accessible only to myself and cannot be seen from outside". Moreover, even though "no one receives anyone else's thoughts directly in their minds when they are using language" (REDDY, 1979, p. 287), intercorporeal resonance makes it possible and necessary for the interlocutors to perceive each other's emotions without any (verbal) representation (FUCHS, 2017, p. 3) when these representations cannot be relied upon, as is the case in intercurrereality.

5. Conclusion

Intercultural encounters confront their participants with the challenge of having to co-construct the common ground in the interaction process, because they cannot rely on pre-established norms and communicative behavior. At the same time, this newly established common ground blends with the prior knowledge of the interlocutors, leading to its transformation. As has become clear in the course of the analysis of the present article, this process is conceptualized as active, laborious and continuous. The multimodal metaphors for successful understanding identified in the present article reach from back and forth gestures, accompanied by verbal utterances such as "trying to understand each other", "intercultural challenge" or "managing to understand each other", to cyclic gestures co-expressed with verbal utterances such as "understanding". Difficulties in the understanding process are expressed through gestures of moving apart and clashing that go along with utterances such as `difícil` (L23 in sequence 2) "difficult" and `barrEIra` (L25 in sequence 2) "barrier". All of this shows that successful understanding in the interculturereality is not self-evident and that the interlocutors have to leave their respective cultures and work their way through the challenges. For this, they have to reorganize not only their mental, but also their bodily resources.

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