

minimally annotate to make the data accessible.

6.4.1 What to record

A first guiding question for the documentation of gesture is: how do speakers coordinate their verbal and gestural resources in everyday interactions? To answer this question, a starting point is to add to the corpus a variety of topics, and a range of different communicative events (i.e. different text types), which can approach the known range of gesture types (see Seifart 2008 for methods of corpus compilation). Different speakers should be recorded producing the same types of text to control for speaker variability in gesturing.

The fundamental basis is to record gestures in everyday interaction. The tradition of Hymes' (1974) ethnography of speaking can provide a framework for the dimensions and types that should be taken into account (Himmelmann 1998; Hill 2006; Seifart 2008). A guiding view is that using language is a form of joint action (Clark 1996) in which speakers are solving coordination problems by using their expressive resources in different ways. For example, how do speakers draw the attention of their interlocutor to a certain entity in a given situation? Depending on the context, a speaker may use a pointing gesture to direct the attention of the interlocutors to a certain location in conjunction with a demonstrative or they may use a description (like *X is in the kitchen*). Observing these practices and focusing on bodily deployment provides a basis for noticing the role gestural expression may play in a community.

p. 159 Note that, as an outsider, one is not equipped with the cultural knowledge of the conventions regarding the form–function relation of gestures, as Wilkins (1999; ↵ 2006) points out. Community members should be involved in data elicitation and analysis (see Wilkins 2003 for a detailed methodological description).

A starting point is to record situations in which speakers talk about topics that are rich in spatial content, like route directions (Where is x? How do you get to y?) and spatial descriptions (How did the village/area look 50 years ago? What changed and how?). In such situations, speakers are likely to use pointing gestures to indicate locations and they lay out spatial relations with their gestures.

Topics that are rich in spatial content and are very likely to yield a variety of gestures can also be elicited in storytelling. Also, procedural texts about (for example) how artefacts or foods are prepared and used, or how certain rituals take place, typically contain gestures depicting shape, size, use, and concrete aspects of an object or action, and may also contain gestural representations of abstract features like the order of events. This type of discourse can also be recorded in instructional context when a teacher instructs a novice.

Topics dealing with abstract relationships like time (past and future), or kinship (Enfield 2009) are also promising for evoking gesture behaviours. Sometimes sessions set up for some other purpose, such as consultants engaged in discussion within elicitation or translation sessions, can provide interesting data on the use of metaphorical gestures when they (for example) discuss syntactic structures, making them visible through their gestures (Mittelberg 2002).

Gestures with pragmatic function, like structuring the discourse or marking the speech act of an utterance, are most likely to be observed in animated discussions about issues the community cares about and where members may be in disagreement. Political discussions and negotiations often are situations where speakers use these gestures, which may also depict abstract relations (Cienki and Müller 2008).

Gestures can be also elicited in more directed elicitations. Tasks that have proven useful in gesture elicitation are picture book descriptions (e.g. the Frog Story, cf. Berman and Slobin 1994) and cartoon narrations (the Tweety and Sylvester cartoon, cf. McNeill 1992; Road Runner, cf. Bavelas et al. 1992). Using picture books or cartoons has the advantage that the data collected can potentially be compared systematically cross-culturally. Cartoons are rich in motion events of different types (rolling down a hill,