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Te:mos o serra cura::do, temos o ni:sa, temos o serpa do:p. Suggesting products to buy, shaping materiality and multisensoriality in shop encounters

Te:mos o serra cura::do, temos o ni:sa, temos o serpa do:p. Sugerindo produtos a comprar, modelando materialidade e multissensorialidade em encontros comerciais

RESUMO / ABSTRACT

Adopting the perspective of multimodal conversation analysis, the paper shows the methodic organization of an action, making suggestions, achieved by sellers in response to customers' requests for recommendations in shop encounters, and involving the showing and listing of available products. This focus on a specific sequential environment and institutional ecology, enables an exemplary discussion of

how this action is multimodally formatted, embedded in its context, and shaped in relation to objects as discursive referents as well as materialities to be pointed at, looked at, touched and sensed in multiple ways. More generally, this focus enables to address two sets of issues: on the one hand,

it elucidates the nexus between action, institutionality and materiality, including the role of multisensoriality in engaging with the qualities of buyable objects. On the other hand, it addresses the nexus between action and referential practices for

introducing and presenting new referents, within an interactional perspective locating these grammatical practices and their systematic features within their praxeological con-

text. On the basis of video data recorded in a gourmet shop in Lisbon, Portugal, this double focus targets issues of sensoriality and socialization in food culture, as well as issues of grammar in interaction, casting some light on situated uses of the verb *ter* for introducing new referents.

Keywords:

Social Interaction;
Shop Encounters;
Multimodality and
Multisensoriality

Adotando a perspectiva da Análise de Conversa Multimodal, o artigo mostra a organização metódica de uma ação, nomeadamente, fazer sugestões, produzidas por vendedores em resposta aos pedidos feitos por clientes de recomendações em interações comerciais, que envolvem a exibição e listagem dos produtos disponíveis. O foco num tipo de sequência interacional e ecologia institucional específicas permite uma discussão exemplar de como essa ação é multimodalmente formatada, inserida em seu

contexto e moldada em relação a objetos como referentes discursivos bem como a materialidades para serem apontadas, olhadas e experienciadas pelos vários sentidos. De modo mais geral, esse foco permite abordar dois conjuntos de questões. Por um lado, elucida o nexo entre ação, institucionalidade e materialidade, incluindo o papel da multissensorialidade no envolvimento com as qualidades dos objetos compráveis. Por outro, aborda o nexo entre ação e práticas referenciais para a introdução

Palavras-chave:

Interação Social;
Encontros Comerciais;
Multimodalidade e
Multissensorialidade

e apresentação de novos referentes, em uma perspectiva interacional, localizando essas práticas gramaticais e seus traços sistemáticos em seu contexto praxeológico. Com base em dados de vídeo gravados numa loja gourmet em Lisboa, Portugal,

esse duplo enfoque enfoca questões de sensorialidade e socialização na cultura alimentar, bem como questões de gramática em interação, lançando alguma luz sobre os usos situados do verbo 'ter' para introdução de novos referentes.

1. Introduction

Confronted with a large array of possible choices of specialized products, customers visiting a shop encounter the practical problem of how to select the items to buy. One practice, which constitutes an alternative to requesting a specific product, consists in requesting advice. In response, the seller produces suggestions, generally offering an array of possible buyable objects, and guiding the customers in their selection. This situation represents a perspicuous setting for studying how within a particular action—here making suggestions—, objects can be presented and listed, formatted in a way that orients to the ongoing activity, its practical purposes, its participants, and its ecology. This in turn also casts some light on how objects are considered, explored and shaped in social interaction, contributing to a contemporary interest for materiality, multimodality, and multisensoriality.

On the basis of video data recorded in a gourmet shop in Lisbon, Portugal, and within the perspective of multimodal conversation analysis, the paper discusses issues of reference and grammar, talk and embodiment, materiality and multisensoriality, by considering them within a particular action: making suggestions. This locates multimodal grammatical practices for presenting new referents within a situated activity, which in turn shows how in economic encounters buyable products are presented and recommended, as well as how talk, the body, and the senses systematically feature in the offer, presentation and *valuation* of these products.

The paper thus addresses two sets of issues: on the one hand, it elucidates actions typical of shop encounters—making suggestions, recommendations, proposals—and their situated formats, as well as how they relate to the materiality of the products. On the other hand, it addresses referential practices for introducing and presenting new objects, considered in relation to the situated action within which they are embedded, locating these grammatical practices and their systematic features within their praxeological context.

2. Background, data, and objectives

On the basis of video data recorded in Lisbon, documenting shop encounters in Portuguese and specific grammatical practices in European Portuguese, the pa-

per articulates different fields of inquiry that are often considered autonomously: situated actions, multimodal grammatical practices, material objects in their material ecology and socio-institutional contexts.

2.1. Making suggestions in shop encounters

The paper focuses on suggestions by sellers to customers in a cheese shop, where customers are confronted with abundant choices of products and rely on professional recommendations to decide what to buy. This focus enables this paper to contribute not only to the study of economic encounters in various languages, but also to the study of a particular action—making suggestions—and the way reference to products features in it.

The present data were recorded in a gourmet shop in Lisbon in 2015 within my project *Multimodality: Reconsidering language and action through embodiment*, funded by the Academy of Finland and the University of Helsinki. Fieldwork, recordings and verbal transcriptions were made by David Monteiro, as part of my research team, within the constitution of a larger set of video recordings of economic encounters across Europe, in which Portuguese is one among 11 languages documented in similar settings in 14 cities (see Mondada, 2021). This paper concentrates on the Lisbon data (3 hours in total) and highlights some practices that, although similar to what was observed in other cities and countries in Europe, are specifically formatted thanks to multimodal Gestalts, including resources of Portuguese grammar.

The recordings concern mundane everyday economic encounters between sellers and customers in a gourmet shop specialized in cheese. They were recorded with several cameras and microphones, with the collaboration of the shop owners and the informed consent of the customers. The data are approached here within the perspective of ethnomethodology and conversation analysis, a field in which shop interactions have been increasingly studied in recent years—with an interest in types of actions recurrent in this setting (such as pre-requests and requests, Fox & Heinemann, 2016; Mondada & Sorjonen, 2016; asking for advice, asking questions, Merritt, 1976), in the materiality of the products presented, manipulated, and sensorially experienced (De Stefani, 2014; Mondada, 2019a, 2019b, 2021), and in socio-economic aspects that characterize these encounters (Clark & Pinch, 1995; Llewellyn, 2015).

The formatting of actions in shop encounters display not only the type of action and entitlement of their doer, but

also the way products are targeted. This reveals the corresponding epistemic stance of the participants (Heritage, 2012), as well as their embodied and sensorial relations to the materiality of the products (Mondada, 2019b). In this respect, requests for recommendations and suggestions contrast with requests for specific products: the former are generally characterized by customers' lower epistemic stance—claiming or displaying not knowing the products and not knowing what to buy—and by the fact that when they ask for recommendations, they transfer the burden of naming to the seller (while when they request a product, it is the customers who name it). Likewise, while requests precisely referring to the products, thereby displaying a form of expertise, are generally not responded to by the seller with a developed description, vague requests and requests for recommendations are responded to with explanations and offers to engage with the materiality of the products, for example in sensorial explorations involving touching, smelling and tasting (Mondada, 2021).

Thus, requests for recommendations, and the production of suggestions that respond to them, are a perspicuous setting for observing how the participants engage with the products, both in talk, within referential practices, as well as in embodied ways, within practices of pointing and sensing.

These issues are particularly relevant in relation to the shop encounters studied here, in which participants engage in selling and buying cheese. Engaging with this kind of product reveals different material features, concerning its visual, haptic, olfactory and gustatory qualities—thus constituting an ideal context to rethink relations between interaction and sensoriality (Mondada, 2021). It also reveals how issues related to identity, socialization, knowledge and culture are brought into being within social interaction—since cheese constitutes a cultural object, referring to the local *terroir* or to foreign traditions, and is part of the socialization of the customers into gastronomy. In this sense, the action of suggesting possible buyable products reveals how the participants orient to a range of issues in social interaction, including knowledge, materiality, sensoriality and culture.

2.2. Presenting and listing objects/new referents in social interaction

By focusing on how a rich array of products are suggested by sellers, and the formats of these actions, this paper analyzes multimodal practices consisting in introducing new referents.

The introduction, construction, management and stabilization of referential objects have been largely discussed in linguistics, constituting a central topic of syntax and pragmatics, articulating syntactic choices and information structure (Lambrecht, 1993, Ariel, 1988). In Brazilian linguistics, these issues have been discussed in terms of *referenciação*, in particular within textual linguistics (Koch, 2003; Marcuschi & Koch, 2002; Koch, Morato, & Bentes, 2005). These approaches have

highlighted the grammatical forms and discursive processes characterizing how new referents, also called discursive objects, are introduced, maintained, and changed.

Among the particular constructions that enable speakers to introduce a new referent, the use of the verb *avoir/haver/haber* in Romance languages has been pointed to mainly within existential structures (French *il y a SN*) and cleft presentational structures (French *il y a NP qui...*) which are generally impersonal, but can also take a personal form (French *j'ai/tu as/il a NP qui...*) (Lambrecht, 1993, Ashby 1995, Conti, 2004). Similar structures have been discussed comparatively in Spanish (Ashby & Bentivoglio, 1997). For Portuguese, existential impersonal constructions using the verbs *haver* vs. *ter* (*há/tem cinco cadeiras na sala*, Callou & Avelar, 2002) have been described, highlighting variations between oral vs. written, informal vs. formal language, European vs. Brazilian Portuguese, as well as diachronic changes (Callou & Avelar, 2002; Mattos & Silva, 2009; Viotti, 1998). Whereas the use of impersonal *tem* characterizes Brazilian Portuguese, the use of *há* characterizes European Portuguese. By contrast, the corpus studied here reveals another use of *ter* in European Portugal, as a possessive, rather than existential verb, with the personal forms *tenho* 'I have', *temos* 'we have', and *tem* 'you.SG have' (for the V-person, which is expressed in the third-person singular inflection). These forms are not part of the constructions usually considered in the literature for the introduction of new referents—although discussions about various interpretations of *ter* include existential vs. possessive vs. modal meanings (Avelar, 2009, Duarte 2003). The paper shows the productivity of these personal forms for introducing new referents in a specific sequential, praxeological and contextual environment.

The choices of possible syntactic forms for introducing new referents have been largely studied on the basis of sentences extracted from empirical corpora, and their status as new (vs. old, accessible, inferable, etc.) has been discussed on the basis of these forms as markers of cognitive states, within models interfacing syntax, information structure and textuality. From an interactional perspective inspired by conversation analysis, the introduction of a new referent is approached differently. First, it is an issue of how speakers organize reference in a recipient-designed way, and how their co-participants respond to it, displaying what they know: establishing a referent is a collaborative achievement and the formal resources used for doing that are locally calibrated (see Schegloff, 1996; Ford & Fox 1996 for personal reference; see Pekarek Doehler et al., 2015 for the use of clefts, pseudo-clefts and dislocations in interaction). Second, reference is accomplished not just by selecting a grammatical format, but rather a multimodal Gestalt (Mondada, 2014), which is constituted by various resources, including linguistic and embodied ones, temporally arranged within a specific sequential environment. For instance, one practice for introducing referents typically consists in pointing or other gestures (Goodwin, 2000, 2003), which supposes not only the gesture itself—not only its co-occurrence

By focusing on data in Portuguese and some particularities of European Portuguese grammar-in-use, the paper also hopes to contribute to ongoing work in Portugal and Brazil from a conversation analytic per-

In this section, I introduce the multimodal Gestalt initiated by the verb *ter*, the name of the cheese and a pointing gesture, often produced serially in the format of a list. We join the first excerpt after a couple has requested two boards (*tábuas*), one with foreign cheeses, the other with Portuguese cheeses, to be tasted in the shop. In the extract, after a question checking whether they also want a blue cheese (1-2), positively responded to (4), the seller gives a list of blue cheeses available, while briefly pointing at each of them on the refrigerated shelves (19ff).

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fig                                     #fig.1
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3 (1.0)
4 CUS1 sim.
yes
((14 li omitted about likes and dislikes))



19 SEL #dos azuis temo:s (0.5)±* st*ilt*on,* (0.3) gor*gon#*z*ola,
of the blues (we) have (0.5) stilton (0.3) gorgonzola
>>one step twd fridge----*one more step-----*stands->
>>pointing twd fridge---*....*taps*,*,*.....*taps*,*,*->
cus1 >>looks at fridge->>
cus2 ±looks at fridge->>
fig #fig.2 fig.3#
20 (0.3)* ca*bra*lez, (0.3) *fou*rme d'amb*ert. (0.3) tem
(0.3) cabralez (0.3) fourme d'ambert (0.3) do (you.SG) have
->*...*taps*,*,*.....*taps*,*,*.....*
21 preferência por algum de:les?
a preference for any of them
22 (1.7)
23 CUS1 gorgonzola: (.) é o que conhecemos melhor (0.3)
gorgonzola (.) is the one that (we) know best (0.3)
24 se calhar xx outro
maybe xx another one

The initial request and preliminary questions are achieved with in an interactional space in which all the participants are oriented toward each other: the couple and the seller, with an additional seller being present but then leaving (on the right, fig. 1).

This interactional space changes radically when the seller begins his list of suggestions (fig. 2): he steps towards the fridge while pointing (fig. 2), and the customers reorient towards it, looking at the pointed-at cheeses (fig. 3).

The list is introduced by *dos azuis temo:s*: 'of the blues we have'

(19), which refers back to the initial question (2) and projects a list of cheeses belonging to that type. The left-dislocated *dos azuis*, the introductory verb and the pause also provide for some time for Customer 2 to pivot towards the shelf in such a way that, when the first item is named and tapped (19, fig.3), the customer is looking at the shelf. In the following extracts, unless other forms of gaze are indicated in the transcripts, the customers are always looking at the cheese when the seller points at them—thus showing that visual perception is the first sensorial access to the products.

The seller utters a list of four cheeses (19-20), systematically naming them and tapping, with the middle finger, on their corresponding label on the shelf. Through this multimodal Gestalt, the seller accomplishes the association between a name, an object, and a label (where the name and a flag indicating the nationality are readable). This gives the customer an opportunity to see the cheese, to read the label and to hear the name, within an endogenously produced ostensive conception of meaning. This first simple multisensorial approach enables the customer to associate the visual features of the material object with its name (in two forms, oral and written).

This is accomplished by a simple list, presented as a series of possible options, to which the customer responds by discarding one (the one they already know, thereby orienting to

the activity as involving the discovery of new objects of knowledge and taste, rather than the recognition and reproduction of pre-existing preferences), rather than by selecting one. This will occasion a new presentation of the cheeses, much more elaborated with extended descriptions (not shown here).

In response to a request for a board of Portuguese cheeses, the seller makes a first suggestion (*relativamente ao queijo português (1.8) eu ia sugerir [...] um chèvre (0.8) feito em Portugal*: 'relatively to the Portuguese cheese (1.8) I would suggest [...] a chèvre (0.8) made in Portugal'), while taking a pre-cut piece of goat from another fridge, which he describes abundantly (the fact that he calls it a *chèvre* in French displays an orientation to goat cheese as being typically from France). Then, after a pause (1), he continues with the following list:

(2) PT160115_2.52.00/CLIE7.1-2

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1      (0.8) f (0.4)f
cus1      f.....fpoints->
2  CUS1  [xxx da >beira °baifxa°<.
        [xxx from beira baixa
        ->f
3  SEL   [depo:is, (0.4) te*:mos o picante da befira*f ba:ixa:,* (.)
        [then (0.4) (we) have the picante from the beira baixa (.)
        *points-----*,,,,,,,*...->
cus1      fnods f
4      temos* o *(0.3)* o cabra de tomate e man*jeriçã:o, (0.5)
        (we) have the (0.3) the goat of tomato and basil (0.5)
        ->*pt*,,,,,* *...->
5      te*mos* o ser*ra da estre$la que$ é: (0.7) e:::h (.)
        (we) have the serra da estrela which is (0.7) eh (.)
        ->*taps*,,,,,*
cus2      $nods$
((6 lines omitted, about serra da estrela))
12     (0.6)*
        >>...*
13 SEL  *th te:mos* o serra cura::do, (0.6)*
        th (we) have the cured serra (0.6)
        *points---*points sc-----*,,,,,*
14     *temos o ni:*sa,* (0.3) temos* o serpa*
        (we) have the nisa (0.3) (we) have the serpa
        *points-----*,,,*.....*points-*
15     f*do:p:,*f (1.0) *temos* mu:ito bom quei*jo da zona
        DOP (1.0) (we) have very good cheese from the region
        *,,,,,* *.....*horiz moving pointing*
cus1      fnods f
16     da beira ba:ixa, (0.6) quer o *castelo
        of beira baixa (0.6) whether the castelo
        *baton gest->
17     fbra:nfco, quer o ovelha refse:$rva,f quer*$ o amarelo da
        branco, whether the sheep reserve, whether the amarelo of
        ->*
cus1      fnods f
cus2      $nods-----$
18     *beira *ba:ixa:, que é queijo* de ca*:bra, (0.7) enfim.
        beira baixa, which is a goat cheese, (0.7) anyway
        *.....*points-----*,,,,,*
19     (2.4)
20 SEL  diga-me.
        tell me
        (0.7)
((they choose what to have on the board))

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At completion of the lengthy description of the previous option, Customer 1 orients towards the relevance of mentioning a next one: during the pause, she begins to point and when the seller self-selects, she mentions a cheese, Beira Baixa (2). The seller begins his turn with an adverb, then the verb *temos* 'we have', which projects the next cheese. At this point the customer has already mentioned the Beira Baixa; the seller mentions the same cheese, also pointing at it (3). The customer nods, recognizing the name even before it is uttered completely. Thus, the first product mentioned by the seller is in fact introduced by the customer's pointing gesture.

The seller continues, again using the same verb *temos* 'we have' while quickly pointing at a goat (4) and then immediately pointing at a third item, the Serra de Estrela. This cheese is also introduced by *temos* 'we have', within a list of items that is made recognizable and projectable as such (Jefferson, 1990) by the repetition of the verb, the pointing gesture and the lengthening of the last syllable, typical of a "list intonation" (Selting, 2007). Customer 2 nods even before the latter name has been produced completely, manifesting his recognition of the product, a common Portuguese cheese. The seller also orients to the fact that this cheese is widely known by mentioning that it has been carefully selected to avoid bad-quality imitations of it (6-12, not shown here).

He then continues listing possible options, all introduced by the verb *temos* 'we have', all with the mention of the name, and a pointing gesture (13-15). Customer 1 nods during the delivery of the last one. The list continues with a more generic pointing, in the form of a large horizontal mobile pointing gesture, going back to a class of cheeses to which the first one (1) belonged—some of which are recognized by the customers nodding (17). The list ends with *enfim* 'anyway' (18), a closing particle that projects the selection by the customers, explicitly invited to speak (20). The customers will select two cheeses, the Picante da Beira and the Nisa (not shown).

In both extracts and across the corpus, the options suggested by the seller are produced in the form of lists. The sequential organization of lists has been described by Jefferson (1990), discussing the emergent recognizability of a list, on the production of the very first item (formatted as the initial member of a list, rather than as an isolated mention). The particular format of the list, with syntactic parallelisms and a specific prosodic contour (Selting, 2007), makes them recognizable, projectable and therefore also afford their collective production (Lerner, 1994), as well as specific forms of participation tailored to the relevance and progression of the activity (e.g. in political speeches, Atkinson, 1984). In the situation analyzed here, lists are not only syntactically-prosodically, but more globally multimodally organized: repeated pointing gestures make the list not only rhythmically visible, working like beat gestures, but also projectable, since they always precede the next item.

In both extracts analyzed in this section, the seller uses *temos* 'we have', that is, the verb *ter* in the first-person plural for introducing a series of objects. This form alternates most

frequently with *tem* 'you.SG have', which is the third-person singular of *ter*, referring here to the polite V-personal form (*você* 'you') (see next section). More rarely, the seller uses *tenho* 'I have', in the first-person singular of *ter*. As we will see below, the last form is used only for special cheeses, over which the seller claims particular agency, responsibility and expertise. More generally, the distribution of these forms is relevant to the details of the activity at hand. The form *temos* used in the above extracts refers to the institutional collective ownership and responsibility of the shop, rather than personal agency.

Thus, the verb *ter* occurs here repeatedly in its possessive use—particularly relevant in the context at hand, in which issues of possession, availability, buyability, ownership and transfer of ownership are central—within a variation of personal pronominal forms. Although the form *tem* in the third person inflection can be interpreted as having either an impersonal existential or a possessive meaning, and although the Brazilian usage of this form would privilege the former, the European Portuguese usage clearly privileges the latter (see Avelar 2009). This general trend is confirmed in the data (recorded in Lisbon and produced by a speaker native of Lisbon) by the pronominal variations of *ter* within the same practice and the same sequential environment in the data analyzed in this paper (that is, similar lists of products with *tem* or with *temos*). The analyses of extracts 1 and 2, as well as of the next occurrences of *ter*, show the productivity of these pronominal possessive uses of the verb for introducing a referent within the specific context examined, shop encounters, in which the possession and possessability of products is a key issue.

4. Checking the customers' knowledge: distinguishing known objects

In the previous section, some occurrences of the repeated multimodal Gestalt constituted by an introductory verb (*ter*), the name of the product, and a pointing gesture have been discussed. These were responded to minimally by the customers, mostly by nodding. No responses could have been interpreted as manifesting the customers' not knowing the cheese mentioned, or not being particularly interested in it, as they wait to see what the next option could be (in these cases, the seller chose to continue the enumeration). Minimal responses like nods were oriented to by him as manifesting a recognition of the object mentioned, and thus as known. In other cases, discussed in this section, the listing of products is more explicitly oriented towards the possibly known character of some of them.

This is the case in the next extract, in which the couple who has previously requested two boards (in extracts 1-2) returns to the shop after having eaten them, approximately 1h30 later, in order to buy some cheeses to bring home. The seller partially goes through the same selection of products, again in the form of a list.

(3a) PT160115_4-29-25 clie7.1-2(3.00->)

- 1 SEL =é que volta a haver, (0.6) *te:m um
=(it)'s that there will be some again (0.6) (you.SG) have a
*...->
- 2 belí*ssimo serra da estre:#la, *(0.7) *o cura:*do (.)
very beautiful serra da estrela (0.7) the cured (.)
->*points-----* *points*
- fig #fig.4



- 3 *e o mais* amanteiga:do, (.) *o ni:*sa, (0.6)
and the more buttery (.) the nisa, (0.6)
points *taps*
- 4 o tal *bri•lha:nte,* #
a certain brilhante (2.1)
index on label
•turns to customers->
#fig.5
- fig
- 5 * (2.1)# *
pts CUSs
- fig #fig.6



- 6 SEL o:: a tal surpre:\$sa [que\$ xxx[xx \$
the the certain surprise which xxx[xx
- 7 CUS2 [a surpresa \$
cus2 \$nods\$ \$nods-----\$
- 8 CUS1 [a:::h, [é e:sse.\$
[oh [(it) is that one
- 9 SEL [na tábua \$
[on the board
- 10 de queijo portu•guê::s
of portuguese cheeses
->•
- 11 CUS1 si:m.
yes

With the exception of the first, with a superlative adjective (2), the cheeses are just named, with a stretched last syllable, typical of a listing prosody, and a point towards or a tap at them. The last item (4) is preceded not only by the article, but also by *tal*, singling it out as particular and as familiar or already known. While pointing at the label, the seller, who had his body turned towards the fridge (see fig. 4), now turns back to the customers (fig. 5) and points at them

In the absence of a response, the seller reminds them that they have that cheese on their board (6). This produces several manifestations of recognition (7), change-of-state tokens (Heritage 1984) (8), nods, as well as a confirmation (11). Thus, *o tal brilhante* and *a tal surpresa* highlight an item that the seller expects the customers to know and to recognize. This shows how the seller orients to the previous experience—the tasting of the board—as an occasion to socialize the customers and to build an expertise that is then made relevant in the next activity—choosing which cheese to buy.

Likewise, further listed items are presented by reference to the composition of the board:

```

13 SEL      têm *um *belo azeitã:o,* (.) *têm* um c:abra
              (you.PL) have a beautiful azeitão (.) (you.PL) have a goat
              *...*points-----*,*,*,*,*,*...*points->
14          que eu tam'ém pus* na* vossa ftá:bua.f [também pus naquela* tábua?
              that I also put on your board [(I) also put on that board
              ->*
              •turns twd customers-----•
15 CUS1
              [>sim<
              [yes
              fnodesf
16 CUS2
              [$sim$
              [yes
              $nodes$
17          (1.2)
18 SEL      e tê::*m (0.4) este que prova:ram,*
              and (you.PL) have (0.4) this one that (youPL) tasted
              *...*touches-----*
19          (0.5) já le[vam ali:,
              (0.5) (youPL) already ta[ke there
20 CUS1
              [sim. já levamos.
              [yes (we) already take
21 SEL      *gor*gonzo:*la, têm o ca*bra:*lez, (.) enfim. (0.5)
              gorgonzola (you.PL) have the cabralez (.) anyway (0.5)
              *...*points* *pts*
22          •têm algumas escolhas in•teressantes. (0.7) mas• tinha
              (you.PL) have some interesting choices (0.7) but (you) had
              •one step back-----•one step back-----•
23          co' certeza •alguma ideia já depois de prova:rem
              for sure some idea already after tasting
              •looks at the customers->>
24          aqueles queijos todos da tábua
              all those cheeses of the board
25          (1.1)
26 CUS2      °o xx sim°
              °the xx yes°
27          (0.4)
28 CUS1      sim
              yes
              (0.5)
              ((they choose what to buy))

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The mention of the goat (13) explicitly refers back to the composition of the board, asking for confirmation, which is granted in overlap by the customers (15-16) even before it has been requested, in a form of early response. Likewise, the reference to the next cheese is introduced by a prospective indexical (Goodwin, 1996), also promptly confirmed by the customers (20). So, the seller continues his list by explicitly distinguishing between the cheeses the customers have already tasted and the ones that he just lists by their name. The completion of the list is similar to extract 2, with the final particle *enfim* (21, cf. extract 2, line 18) and the invitation to make a choice (22-24).

Thus, the list of cheeses is produced in a way that hints at its heterogeneity: not all items are equal options—and their differences point here less to their characteristics (see the next section), rather than the experience and (incipient) socialization of the customers. Both customers, who have just had a tasting of the cheeses together, are here addressed together, with the verb *têm* in the third-person plural (which differs phonologically

and orthographically from the third-person singular, *tem*, and which is here translated as 'you.PL'). In other contexts (see extracts 1-2), the seller rather turns to either one or the other customer, using a more precisely targeted singular form (*tem* 'you.SG'). The variation between the singular and the plural enables him to consider the customers as being together, as having the same experience and knowledge, like in extract 3, or to address the customers individually, as in the previous extract.

Another form of orientation towards the customer's specific expertise is observable in the next case, in which the seller serves another couple. Here, the seller's focus is on Customer 2, who has previously been disclosed by his companion, Customer 1, to be French—which in this context explicitly represents what could be called an *expertise-bound category*.

We join the seller producing a list of options, beginning with some blue cheeses (1-6) and then continuing with some hard cheeses (35-42) before selecting the customer for his choice (again with *enfim* 48):

(4a) PT160115_18-30 clie6.1-2/5.20

1 (3.4)
2 SEL *tem u::m (.) não sei se *gos*ta de *(.) de g- de
(you.SG) have a (.) (I) don't know if (you.SG) like (.) g-
*.....*taps g* *palpates-->
3 gorgonzo:la, (.) este* gorgonzola 'tá: (0.5) um colo:sso.* (1.1)
gorgonzola (.) this gorgonzola is (0.5) a colossus (1.1)
->* *small taps on g-----*
4 e::h *>não sei se *con*hece< cabra::lez, (.)
uh don't know if (you.SG) know cabralez (.)
*.....*taps*
5 o:: *seu* queijo, *>um quei*jo tam*bém<# muito antigo
your cheese >a cheese also< very old
pts *H on cheese----*
•looks at CUS2->
fig #fig.7



6 em frança, fourme d'ambe:rt?
in france fourme d'ambert
7 + (0.4) +
cus2 +tilts head+
8 CUS2 m hm.
9 SEL já *o conhece,* este •deve conhecer mesmo,
(you.SG) already know (it) this one you.SG must know for sure
nods-----
->•

The seller introduces and projects (2)—using the verb *tem*—an object which is mentioned in an inserted question concerning Customer 2's taste, before being positively assessed (3). The quality of the Gorgonzola is also exhibited by the repeated touching and tapping gestures, and by a palpating movement, highlighting the creaminess of the cheese (2-3). Likewise, the second object is introduced with a similar preface, referring to the customer's knowledge (4), and the third is categorized as *seu queijo* (5), with a possessive referring to the shared geographical origin with the customer (France, which is referred to as a country and a location—*em*

França—rather than with an adjective, further highlighting that both come from the same place). At this point the seller turns to Customer 2 (fig. 7). This prompts the customer to respond minimally, with a head movement (7) and a simple acknowledgment, treated by the seller as confirming his evident knowledge of these cheeses (9).

After a lengthy exchange in which the seller checks if Customer 2 also knows Abondance (treated as a cheese not everybody knows) and Customer 1's attempts to select a Brie (not shown, 25 lines omitted), the seller proposes another list:

(4b) PT160115_18-30 clie61-2/5.20

((25 lines omitted, SEL checks whether CUS2 knows *abondance*))

35 SEL **te::m (0.6) emmenta*1. (0.6)* °conhece**
(you.SG) have (0.6) emmental (0.6) (you.SG) know
shrugs shoulders

36 **com certe::*za°, (.) * ou* o: (0.8) o: (.) tête de moine, (2.8)**
for sure (.) the (.) or the (0.8) the (.) tête de moine (2.8)
*.....*pts*

37 ***tem um* pepat- tem* um pecorino com grãos de pimenta**
(you.SG) have a pepat- (you.SG) have a (.) pecorino with pepper
*.....*points----

38 **que também é uma especialida*:de, (1.2) tem *esta tomme**
that is also a speciality (1.2) (you) have this tomme
*.....*places H on tp->

39 **pied*mon*tese que é muito parecido com o #tomme de savoie**
piedmontese which is very similar to the tomme de savoie
•turns to CUS2->

fig

#fig.8



40 (0.4)
41 CUS2 >sim<
yes

42 SEL **ou relativamente parecido com o to•mme de sa*voie**
or relatively similar to the tomme de savoie
->*

43 (0.9) * (0.2)*
sel *.....*points->

44 SEL **tem um bom* co:nte,***
(you.SG) have a good comté
->*, , , , , , , *

45 (0.7)
46 CUS2 m hm
47 (0.7)

48 SEL enfi*m.=
anyway
*...->
49 CUS2 =quei*jós do:: (.) jura.* tem: eh:* morbier?
=cheeses from (.) jura (do you.SG) have uh morbier
->*points to comté---*H on face*
50 (1.0)
51 SEL já tivemos. já não tenho. agora.
(we) already had (I) no longer have now
52 CUS2 m:.
(0.9)

Still continuously targeting Customer 2 with the verb *tem* 'you.SG have' in its singular pronominal form, the seller mentions *emmental* and treats it as evidently known by the customer (this is embodied by shrugging the shoulders) (35). *Tête de moine* is then introduced with "ou" (36) and seems to be treated in the same way (also by a very quick and very early pointing), contrary to the next two items, both Italian cheeses, one qualified as a specialty, and the other compared to a French cheese. When mentioning the compared French cheese, the seller turns to the customer, while holding his hand on the cheese (Fig. 8), similarly to the previous extract; the comparison is then self-corrected by relativizing it (42), orienting again to the customer's possible expertise. The last item is also briefly mentioned, categorized as a *bom con:te*, (44), assuming that the customer has some expectancies concerning that product (the customer responds minimally with some delay, 46). Thus, despite the customer's not producing any substantial responses, all the French cheeses are introduced by considering him as having epistemic authority in that matter, whereas the Italian ones are introduced as possibly not known.

When the seller completes the list with the closing *enfim* (48), this projects the expectancy that the customer will select one of them. The customer, however, responds with a question (49), which builds on the cheese last mentioned, *Comté*, to inquire about another Jura cheese, *Morbier* (49). This is a cheese that has not been mentioned by the seller. With this question, the customer does another action than choosing from the previous list, checking the availability of another product instead. He thereby also displays some epistemic authority, linking together cheeses that come from the same geographical region, not mentioned by the seller. In his question, the customer also uses the verb *tem* in the singular form, explicitly referring to the accountable availability and possession of the cheese in the seller's shop. The seller responds by using the past tense (Preterite Perfect) in the first-person plural (*tivemos*), referring to the choice generally provided by the shop, and then the first-person singular in the present (*tenho*), taking responsibility for managing the stock of products and for the momentary unavailability. The use of various pronominal forms enables him to both express personal responsibility and collective professional identity.

The extracts examined in this section show the centrality of epistemic issues in the shop encounters: the presentation of the products is recipient-designed and tailored to what the customers are expected, or have displayed, to know/not know. Expecting the customers to recognize cheeses they have just tasted (extract 3) shows not only the commercial relevance of board tasting,

but also its importance for the socialization of the customers, shaping the shop encounter as a cultural experience. Orienting to the customer as having epistemic authority enables the seller to tailor the suggestions in a way that anticipates and integrates their possible knowledge, thereby personalizing his suggestions and targeting distinct objects to be offered.

5. Not only pointing: touching and smelling selected items

In the previous sections, I have shown how the seller organizes his suggestions by listing named and pointed-at objects. I have also shown how these objects are differentiated, in particular as already known or new for the customers, and how these epistemic differentiations are built on the interactional history of the encounter, on previous disclosures or tasting experiences. In this section, I show that this differentiation of the products listed in the seller's suggestions might take other forms that introduce relevant variations in the multimodal Gestalt constituted by naming and pointing at the product. The latter enables the customer to associate what they hear and what they see, vision constituting the first form of perceptual access to products. However, this is not the only one: the seller can orchestrate a broader multisensorial access to the materiality of the object introduced in his listing. This is integrated in the multimodal formatting of the list, in service of the differentiated promotion of one or another product to sell.

5.1. Touching: the visible haptic quality of the object

While listing the items, the seller does a hand movement towards them: this movement can emerge as a pointing gesture, but also as a tap with one finger on the label, or even as a tap with the hand on the cheese (like in extract 4a). Whereas pointing is generally done while maintaining some distance to the object, tapping *touches* the object. The movement of the hand can further evolve into haptic contact with the object. Touching cheese is generally forbidden to the customers (but see Mondada, 2021 for cases in which customers are invited to touch) and can take the form of a skilled practice. The latter relates to the professional touch of the seller (checking the consistency, texture and maturity of the cheese), but can also be used to demonstrate the quality of the cheese for the customer (Mondada, 2020).

In this section, I show how the seller can single out a product by grasping it, taking it out of the fridge, and showing it to the customer. Grasping the cheese can be an occasion to engage in actively and visibly palpating, squeezing, pressing it, in a way that exhibits its haptic qualities for the customer. This further enhances the multimodal description through a multisensorial dimension, which is crucially intersubjective. In this case, there is a distribution of sensorial rights between the participants, the seller touching and showing the product, and the customer looking—

thus one party *seeing* the other party *touching* the object, and thereby intersubjectively making the *haptic visible*.

We join the next extract as, prior to suggesting some possible cheeses for the board requested by the customers, the seller asks about their preferences and taste, here concerning creamy vs. hard cheeses (1-3). In his response, the customer agrees with both (5). Consequently, the seller organizes his suggestion by listing both types of cheeses. The first concerns the creamy ones (15ff):

(5) PT160115_2.48.00/CLIE7.1-2+2.27

- 1 SEL relativamente aos queijos estrangeiros. gosta mais de queijos
relatively to the foreign cheeses (do you) like more cheeses
- 2 com uma (0.3) cremo::sos? (0.6) ou mais queijo::s eh (.) se::cos?
with a (0.3) creamy (0.6) or more cheeses eh (.) dry
- 3 du::ros? de estala:r?
hard? cracky?
- 4 (2.4)
- 5 CUS2 gosto dos dois.
(I) like both
- ((8 lines omitted, CUS1 mentions Brie and SEL shows a special one))
- 14 (1.0)
- 15 SEL se gostar dos queijos (.) e:h (.) cremo::sos (.) vamos
if you like the cheeses (.) eh (.) creamy (.) let's
- *.....->
- 16 pa*ssar pa' um tale*ggio,* (0.7) que é um qu*eiço::* (0.8)
move on to a taleggio (0.7) which is a cheese (0.8)
- >*points-----*,,,* *gestic*...->
- 17 moli:n*ho, (0.7) mas* com uma textura, e* com um fcorpo,f
a little soft (0.7) but with a texture and with a body
- >*takes a piece*presses w 2H-----*gesticulates->
fnods f
- cus1
- 18 e com um sabor já mais p'ó inte:n*so,
and with a taste already more towards intense
- >*puts back on shelf->
- 19 \$(0.9)\$
cus2 \$nods\$

The seller's suggestion is organized first by reference to creamy cheese (15-18), before later proposing some hard ones (20ff, see extract 7). The first type of cheese is explicitly mentioned, referring back to its mention in the initial question (2). In this category, only one cheese is proposed, Taleggio. It is introduced by *vamos passar* 'let's go', a mobile metaphor treating the choices constituting the board as a tour, as a way of referring to the normative successive order in which the cheeses are selected and arranged. Taleggio is pointed at early on (16), even before it is mentioned, then described as *moli:nho* 'a little soft' (17), prior to referring to its texture. At this point the seller takes the cheese out of the fridge and presses it with both hands (17). The texture is mentioned but not described: it is the pressing that gives the customers a haptic sense of it. The seller presses the cheese with the fingers of both hands while saying *com uma textura* 'with a texture' (17), orchestrating the multimodal distribution of resources for its description: the category 'texture' is produced verbally,

and simultaneously the quality of the texture is indicated by the pressing hands. This is made visible for the customers looking at the seller pressing the cheese (and indeed Customer 1 nods at this moment). The talk and the exhibited touch of the cheese audibly and visually convey the sense of the previously mentioned haptic descriptor *moli:nho* and even the olfactory/gustatory descriptor produced immediately after, *inte:nso* (18), which can be, at least partially, inferred from the texture (and indeed Customer 1 nods at this point). Thus, the pressing of the cheese is recipient-oriented: touch is done for others to feel not only what the texture is like, but also what other sensory qualities of the cheese might be, within an intersubjective and distributed form of multisensoriality.

While in the previous case exhibited touch enables the seller to show the sensory qualities of the cheese, and the customer responds minimally with some nods, in the next case the exhibited visible tactility enables an increased participation of the customers.

(6a) PT160115_4-29-25 clie7.1-2

1 (0.4) * (0.5)
sel *...->
2 SEL tenho outro queijo *muito engraçado tam'ém, (.)
(I) have another very curious cheese also (.)
->*takes from shelf->
3 um queijo *espanho:l (0.6)* que é barra::do:: (.)
a spanish cheese (0.6) which is spreaded (.)
->*caresses rind top*
4 na fase fina:l (0.5) *com uma ba:nha de po::rco* (0.4)
in the final phase (0.5) with some pig fat (0.4)
gesticulates LH-----
5 *co::m#
with
*pts/rubs->
fig #fig.9



6 (1.0) • (1.0)
sel •looks at CUS->
7 CUS1 tomilho
thyme
8 \$E(0.7)•#
->•
cus1 fleans over the cheese->
cus2 \$leans over the cheese->
fig #fig.10
9 SEL co:m?
with
10 (0.6)
11 SEL a*lecri:m.*
rosemary
->*,*,*,*,*,*
12 CUS1 a::h
13 CUS2 °alecrim°f\$ (.) isso é o alecrim ['tá cortadi:nho::=
°rosemary° (.) that is the rosemary [(it) is chopped=
cus1 ->f
cus2 ->\$
14 SEL [fica um espectá:culo
[(it) becomes a spectacle
15 *fica um espectác- ele* aga:rra com a ba:nha,
(it) becomes a spectac- it sticks with the fat,
*moves index along rind*gesticulates->
16 fazem es'ta pa:sta, *fica maravilha tam'ém. (1.5)*
they make this paste (it) becomes a wonder as well (1.5)
*taps rind--*puts back on shelf-----*

The cheese is introduced by the verb *tenho*, which does not only introduce the next product, but, by using the first-person singular, indexes that the seller has been selecting, and deciding about that cheese, thereby personalizing the fact that the product is not just available, but has also been planned and chosen.

Even before initiating his turn, the seller has already begun to expand his hand towards the cheese, projecting to grasp it. The fact that he uses the verb *tenho* in the first person, as well as the grasping hand, also project that this is a particular cheese, as further confirmed by the use of the positive assessment (*muito engraçado* which could be translated as 'funny' but has here rather the sense of 'curious'), projecting something more to be said and shown (2).

The cheese is described in relatively generic terms (no name is given), first in relation to its origins (3), then expanded with a relative clause together with a gesticulating hand (3-4), focusing on a particular ingredient, pork fat (4). Furthermore, the description continues with the preposition *com* (5) while the seller both points at and rubs the rind of the cheese, gazed at by the customers (fig. 9). The talk is suspended, the rubbing continues, while the seller looks at the customers, in what seems to be a word search, but could also be a kind of test or tease—with the effect of involving them in the description. Customer 1 proposes *tomilho* 'thyme' (7), as both customers lean over the cheese, inspecting it more closely, while the seller continues to rub the surface (fig. 10). The seller rejects the proposed ingredient, repeating the preposition, and ends

up producing the searched-for word, *alecrim* 'rosemary' (11). In response, Customer 2 produces a change-of-state token (12) and Customer 1 confirms by repeating and expanding the reference to rosemary (13).

The seller continues the description, still moving with this finger along the rind, sensuously enhancing the visibility of the fat, and thereby the multisensory qualities of the cheese melted in it. His touch is here made relevant by the fat and the spices that give the rind a particular texture; in turn the continuous touching, caressing and rubbing of the rind makes its haptic quality visible and sharable for the customers.

Right after the previous excerpt, the seller looks at the shelves, searching for further suggestions (see line 43): the introduction of a new referent is made by the verb *tinha*, in the first-person singular of the Imperfect Preterite, indexing a previous and current availability for the customer, as specifically arranged and intended by the seller (whereas the use of the impersonal existential *havia* would have just meant the existence of the product, without being the result of any plan, or design). The action of suggesting is projected by the modal verb *pudesse*;;, then left unfinished.

The seller proposes Swiss cheeses, as a general category, while doing a large pointing gesture along the shelf (fig. 11) and producing a very positive assessment, prefaced by an interjection ('*pá* from *rapaz* 'boy'). This generic reference to a type of product (characterized by its origin) contrasts with the next proposal, a Parmigiano, which he takes out of the fridge (46):

(6b) PT160115_4-29-25 clie7.1-2

- 43 SEL e::h (0.3) o que é que eu tinha aqui mais que pudesse::: (0.3)
eh (0.3) what more did I have here that (I) could (0.3)
- 44 *os suí:ços 'pá. todos eles* são fabulo:sos. (1.4) têm um
the swiss boy.PRT all of them are fabulous (1.4) (they) have an
mobile pointing at distance
- fig #fig.11



11

- 45 aro:ma e uma intensidade de paladares brut*a:l, .h (0.6)
aroma and an intensity of flavors (that is) brutal .h (0.6)
*...->
- 46 tem um par*migiano reggiani* fabuloso. com trê:s
(you.SG) have a parmigiano reggiano (that is) fabulous with three
->*grasps out of fridge*
- 47 anos de cura. (0.5) 'tá a ver o que é que *é 'tar sentado *
years of cure (0.5) do (you) see what (it) is to be sitting
thumb caresses paste
- 48 [a olhar p'ra ele [durante trê::s a:nos
[looking at it for three years
- 49 CUS2 [hah ha he h
50 CUS1 [.h HHe eh
50 (0.8)
51 SEL a ver quando é que o d- o dinheiro:: (0.5) *ve:m*
seeing when is (it) that the money (0.5) comes
RH caresses
- 52 CUS2 quando é que vai *ren#de:r.
when is (it) that (it) will become profitable
sel *presses->
fig #fig.12



12

- 53 (0.4)
54 SEL exatamente. (.) este* é um queijo fabuloso tam*bé:m, (1.0)
exactly (.) this is a fabulous cheese as well (1.0)
->*puts back on shelf-----*
- 55 eh *o abon*dan*ce é outro queijo m- muito interessa:nte (.)
eh the abundance is another cheese v- very interesting (.)
*.....*pts*
- 56 >p'ra mim foi< uma surpresa, não conhecia e:ste. (0.6)*(0.5)
>to me (it) was< a surprise (I) did not know this one (1.1)
*...->
- 57 o *con*te:,* (.) >enfim<. (0.7) há aí (.) uma panóplia d-
the comté (.) >anyway< (0.7) there is here (.) a wide range o-
->*pts*,*,*

The seller introduces the Parmigiano with *tem* 'you have' while taking it out of the fridge, selecting it as a particular one. The description focuses on its age, which is commented on with humor, occasioning laughter by the customers (49-50), as well as a collaborative completion by Customer 2 aligning with the figurative description of the product by the seller. During his turn, the seller not only holds the cheese in his hands so as to show it, but also caresses it (47, 51), via gestures that appreciate the materiality of the object, rather than with a professional touch. Towards the end of the description, collaboratively elaborating on the age and its

monetary worth, the seller presses the cheese (fig. 12), further displaying its compactness, which is acquired through age. In this way, the humorous, financial and sensorial comments about the cheese are made convergent.

At completion of the Parmigiano description, the seller puts it back on the shelf and continues the listing, concluded with the particle *enfim* (57) and the truncated formulation of what the list represents (*uma panóplia*, 57), alluding to the richness and diversity of the shop's selection. In this case, the seller uses the European Portuguese existential *há* 'there is'.

In the excerpts examined in this section, the products are

taken off the shelves, which indexes their special character and displays their sensorial features. In this way, the seller shows that these cheeses represent something more special than the ones listed by just naming and pointing at them; moreover, this occasions the haptic exhibition of their sensorial characteristics, given to see to the customers—who themselves do not touch them, but see the seller engaging in a professional and demonstrative touch.

5.2. Smelling: orchestrating participative sensing

The cheeses are not just material objects that can be grasped and touched; they represent multisensory objects that can be accessed through a diversity of senses (Mondada, 2021). While in the Portuguese data studied, the haptic access to the cheeses represents an asymmetric prerogative of the seller (vs. other shops studied elsewhere, Mondada, 2020), other forms of sensorial access are more symmetric: the sellers often engage in tasting samples with the customers (not shown here, since these tastings do not

occur in the sequential environment studied in this paper), and also smell and offer to smell some cheeses. In the next extracts I focus on this shared, collectively distributed form of olfactory access, which is part of the practices through which suggestions are produced in a way that particularizes and singles out specific cheeses through the focus on their olfactory qualities.

We join the next extract as the seller is proposing a series of candidate hard cheeses for a board (addressing the customer's response to his question whether they like this type of product, see extract 5). The first series of options are introduced by a verb of motion in a metaphorical sense (20, cf. extract 5, also referring to the exploration of cheese as a touring experience) and are presented as possible alternatives in equivalent ways, without being particularly motivated (introduced by *por exemplo* 'for example' 21, and the particle *>sei lá<* 'don't know'), with their name preceded by an indefinite article, without any more descriptors (21-24). This contrasts with the item introduced by *tenho* 'I have', in the first-person singular (25), through which the seller takes the responsibility and authority for this particular choice, highlighting the exceptional quality of that cheese:

(7) PT160115_2.48.00/CLIE7.1-2+2.27

- 20 SEL e depois* então partimos um •po:uco (0.7)
and after so (we) move a bit (0.7)
->*
- 21 pa:ra (1.3) por exemplo (0.6) *e::h (.) um* •pecorino
for (1.3) for example (0.6) eh (.) a pecorino
*.....*points->
->*
- 22 pepa::to, (0.9) com grãos de pime:nta:,
pepato (0.9) with grains of pepper
- 23 (0.4)*(0.2) um* um to:mno piemonte::se, (0.6)
(0.6) a a piedmontese tomme (0.6)
->*,,.,.,.,*points-----*,,.,.,->
- 24 e:::h >sei lá<* um co::nte,* (.) *um abonda:n*ce, *(0.7)
eh >don't know< a comté (.) an abundance (0.7)
->*,,.,.,.,*points-----*,,.,.,*points-----*,,.,.,*
- 25 eh •tenho aqui já tam'ém pro:nto (.) pa' sai:r (0.4)•
eh (I) have here already ready (.) to go out (0.4)
•walks to table-----•
- 26 este que é um *queijo dos pirinéus. do país ba:sco
this one which is a cheese from the pyrenees. from the
->*grasps piece->
- 27 francês::s*,#(0.9)*(0.4) acabei +de o cor*tar,+
french basque country,(1.3) (I) finished cutting it,
->*,,.,.,.,*smells-----*puts under CUS2's nose-->
+approaches---+
- sel
cus2
fig
- #fig.13



13

28 +por isso ainda te#::m+ (0.6)*+(0.7)+ o aroma\$zinho.
 so (it) still has (1.3) the nice aroma.
 cus2 +smells-----+,,,,,,+nods-+
 sel ->*puts u nose of CUS1--->
 cus1 \$approaches->
 fig #fig.14



14

29 (0.2) \$ # (0.5)\$
 cus1 ->\$smells-\$
 fig #fig.15



15

30 \$>ossau< \$é um queijo* de ovef:lha,* +(0.8)+ lif:ndo
 ossau is a sheep cheese, (0.8) gorgeous
 sel ->*,,,,,,,,,,*,puts piece back on table->
 cus1 \$,,,,,,,,,\$
 cus2 +nods-+
 cus1 flooks at CUS2----f
 31 de morre:r e fantástico
 to die for and fantastic
 32 (1.1)*
 sel ->*

 33 SEL e::h *(0.6) *temos os go:udas,* o: tro- o tru:*fas *
 eh (0.6) (we) have the goudas, the tro- the truffles
 *.....*points-----*points/touches*,...*

- 34 ***(0.8) e o tomate e azeito*:na,* (0.5)**
 (0.8) and tomato and olive (0.5)
 points/touches-----,*,*,*
 35 ***temos o que nós* apelidamos o queijo da rainha (0.3)**
 (we) have what we named the cheese of the queen (0.3)
 *.....*grasps and shows the piece->>

The cheese introduced by the verb *ter*, in the first-person singular, *tenho* 'I have', is first described in relation to his origins (26-27). While talking the seller grasps the cheese from the table and brings it under his nose, smelling it (fig. 13), and then invites the customers to smell it too. Engaging with smell is occasioned by the fact that this particular cheese, contrary to others, is not in the fridge but on a table, and that the seller takes it in his hands. This makes the cheese particularly visible, although the seller does not properly show it—rather, he smells it and then offers it to the customers to do the same.

The collective smelling is sequentially ordered. Smelling first (Fig. 13), the seller shows a possible action with the object, which makes accountable the way he hands over the cheese to the customer, approaching it at the level of his head and nose (Fig. 14). The customer understands the ongoing action, and aligns with it as an offer to smell, bending slightly over, approaching his nose, without touching the smellable object. So, offering to smell/smelling is an action that mobilizes the participants' bodies in a particular way—subtly inviting and responding, delicately approaching without contact. The same is repeated with the second customer (Fig. 15).

The response to smell by both customers is minimal and does not show any particular interest: Customer 2, who smells first, makes a nod while retracting from smelling; Customer 1, smelling second, retracts quick-

ly and takes a short glance at her partner. Both do not manifest any particular facial expression. They do not produce any verbal assessment. When Customer 2 produces another nod, this responds to the type of cheese, *ovelha* 'sheep', rather than to the positive assessments that are done here by the seller himself.

The cheese is named only later (30); the name is uttered with a quick pace, and the seller highlights its description, with a hyperbolic assessment.

Next, the seller continues the list of suggestions, repeatedly introduced with the verb *temos* (33, 35). Thus, there is a marked contrast between the Ossau, introduced by *tenho* (25), and the next items, introduced with *temos*. The former introduces the cheese in a personal way, highlighting the seller's agency, autonomy, and decision-taking in the selection of that product. This verb is used only rarely and only for special products (see extract 6a). It contrasts with both *temos*, which highlights the seller's institutional membership and the official collective identity of the shop, and with *tem*, which is rather recipient-oriented, highlighting the orientation to the customer, addressed as possible future possessor of the cheese as a buyable.

Although the customers are responding only minimally to the occasion to smell the Ossau, this cheese will be selected by them later on (not shown). In another case, multisensorial access to the cheese enables them to respond more substantially, like in the last extract:

(8) PT160115_4-29-25 clie7.1-2

- 1 **SEL** ***mas *o:lhe (.)* têm* este: p- eh (.) pecori*no**
 but look (.) (you.PL) have this p- eh (.) pecorino
 *....*taps w H*,*,*,*points index-----*
 2 **que é* (.) m:aravi[lho:*so,**
 which is (.) wonder[ful
 *gesticulates-----*index pointed moves->
 3 **CUS2** **[gosto muito também**
 [(I) like very much as well
 (0.7)
 4 **SEL** **te:m (0.4)* eh um que:ijo**
 (you.SG) have (0.4) eh a cheese
 ->*takes out from fridge->
 5 **(0.5) *(1.0)*#* (0.4) *f(1.0)#**
 ->*smells*hands out to C1*holds->
 sel fsmells->
 cus1
 fig #fig.16 #fig.17



- 6 CUS2 xxxxxx f* queijo
sel ->*hands out to C2->
cus1 ->f
- 7 CUS1 esse+ cheira# a qualquer coisa: fu+ma:da*
that one smells like something smoked
sel ----->*holds->
cus2 +smells-----+
fig #fig.18
- 8 CUS2 a:h, esse parece aque:le:: [xxx
ah that one looks like that one [xxx
- 9 SEL [este é o melhor investimento
[this is the best investment
- 10 em termos de que:ijo. (0.3) pe:lo preço do que:ijo,
in terms of cheese (0.3) for the price of the cheese
- 11 (.) tem (.) que:ijo, pa:io, pre[su:nto, chouri:ço
(.) (you.SG) have (.) cheese, salami, ha[m, chorizo
- 12 CUS1 [he HE eh
- 13 CUS2 isso faz-me lembrar *aquele:: [xx
that reminds me of that one [xx
- 14 CUS1 [aquele.=
[that one=
sel ->*puts back in fridge->
- 15 SEL =é.=
=(it) is.=
- 16 CUS2 =o scamorza.
=the scamorza
- 17 SEL é:. (0.4) é: eh exactamente. (0.6) é u:m é um (.)
(it) is (0.4) (it) is eh exactly (0.6) (it) is a (it) is a (.)
- 18 scaramoza espanho:l.* (.) é o san simón da costa
spanish scaramoza. (.) (it) is san simón da costa
->*

The seller introduces the next cheese, using the verb *têm* 'you.PL have' (1) and positively assessing it, addressing both customers. Customer 2 responds with a clear alignment with the positive assessment. Consequently, the seller orients to him when presenting a second cheese (4), with the verb *tem* 'you.SG have' in the singular pronominal form, targeting him more particularly.

The cheese is referred to with the most generic category (*um queijo*, 4), projecting some description (for example with a relative clause). But it is followed instead by silence (5). This is the *locus* where both the seller and the customers engage in smelling: first the seller smells the piece of cheese (fig. 16), then he hands it to Customer 1, holding it under her nose (fig. 17), as he does later on with Customer 2 (fig. 18). The projected description is not realized by the seller, but by the customers (6-7), who identify and verbalize the olfactory quality of the cheese (*qualquer coisa: fuma:da* 'something smoked', 7). Furthermore, Customer 2, with a change-of-state token

a:h (8), seems to recognize it and engages in a comparison with another cheese, which is not named/remains inaudible, being overlapped by the seller engaging in his own description (9-11). But the customer pursues his own comparison (13) and ends with a reference to another cheese, *Scamorza* (16). The seller confirms it (17), although he corrects the name—thereby reaffirming his epistemic authority over the matter.

Smelling and touching mobilize the pertinence of a multisensorial access to the materiality of the object for the practical purposes of the choice and the purchase. Occasions to smell differ from occasions to touch: while the former enable a symmetric access to the object to be sensed, the latter are here organized as an asymmetric prerogative of the seller. As a consequence, the intersubjectivity of the sensorial experience is differently achieved: in the case of touch, the customers look and see the seller touching, squeezing, palpating, rubbing the cheese, and the intersubjectivity of the haptic qualities

is secured by vision. In the case of smell, the seller smells first, tacitly instructing the customers to do so next: the olfactory characteristics are intersubjectively shared by successively having firsthand access to the object, and by then aligning with, agreeing on, and collaboratively building its sensorial description.

These cases show that the suggestions by the seller not only mobilize practices that symbolically refer to the object, but that this action, in this context of activity, makes material and sensual access to the object further relevant, thus achieving its exceptionality.

7. Conclusion

This paper has shown how, in response to customers' not requesting any product in particular, but rather asking for recommendations, the seller engages in suggesting some options, often ending up in showing the variety of products offered by the shop. The analysis has shown how these suggestions are formatted, most often within a multimodal Gestalt consisting in a list of objects, introduced by the verb *ter*, naming the product, and pointing at it. The presentation of the products by the seller—even when he lists them, following their order on the refrigerated shelves—is never homogenous, but orients to either the customers' possible knowledge, expected, inferred, negotiated *in situ*, or to the desirability and uniqueness of the cheeses. In some exceptional cases, the cheese is not only pointed at, named and described, but taken out of the fridge and proposed for a sensorial exploration, involving not only the customers' vision, but also other senses, in particular touch and smell.

The analyses have shown how the focus on a specific action and sequential environment (making suggestions), characterized by a specific composition of multimodal resources, also involving multisensorial practices, in a specific activity (a shop encounter), casts light on multiple issues generally considered within separated areas of study—even within interactional linguistics, conversation analysis and ethnomethodology—concerning situated grammatical practices in interaction, as well as institutional practices characteristic of a context of activity and sensorial practices engaging with relevant material features in this context.

The analysis has described a particular practice for introducing new referents in European Portuguese. In the data studied, the verb *ter* is used in three differently conjugated forms, and the participants creatively use this variation to involve themselves and their co-participants in the ongoing action, which consists not only in introducing new referents, but doing so within a particular action—making suggestions—for the practical purposes of selling products. The possessive use of *ter* in multiple pronominal forms has been shown to be particularly productive in this setting: *tem* 'you.SG have'

and *têm* 'you.PL have' highlight the recipient-oriented format of the presentation of the products, in line with the suggestion to buy and the status of the objects as buyable. This form contrasts with *temos* 'we have', highlighting the availability and choices offered by the shop, as well as the seller's institutional identity. By contrast, the less used form *tenho* 'I have' highlights the seller's personal involvement and expertise and is used in particular cases to promote exceptional products. Thus, the variations of *ter* correspond to the practical purposes of the activity: pronominal variations are exploited for the management of the participation framework in this institutional setting. These uses are particularly productive for introducing new referents in this context and this action. They differ from the existential use of *tem* 'there is' in Brazilian Portuguese for introducing a new referent, and in this sense confirm the different uses of existential and possessive verbs between the two languages. These have been established in the syntactic, diachronic and sociolinguistic literature (Avelar, 2009, Carrilho & Pereira 2010, Mattos e Silva 2009), but are generally not studied from the perspective of their situated usage in interaction, which reveals here an original distribution between the uses of existential and possessive forms, and the situated productivity of the latter for introducing new referents.

The study of this grammatical practice, integrated in a multimodal Gestalt for organizing lists—involving naming, as well as pointing, tapping and touching—, shows its methodic usage within a particular action and institutional context in which it acquires a specific relevance, including in its variations. Systematic variations in personal possessive uses of *ter* indicate recipient-design, agentivity and institutionality. Variations in the mention of the cheeses show an orientation to the customers' epistemic authority or to their socialization into the culture of cheese. Systematic variations in the embodied reference to and sensorial contact with the cheeses show relevant differentiations of the proposed products, achieving their desirability, exceptionality, and quality *in situ*.

The detailed adjustments of the lists produced by the seller cast light on how economic practices are shaped in interaction. In particular, they cast light on what has been called the *valuation* of products in socio-economics (Hennion, 2017), which is here revisited, within an ethnomethodological and conversation analytic perspective, as practices establishing and achieving the economic value of goods within social interaction. In this respect, it is interesting that exhibited sensorial practices—of looking and inspecting, of squeezing, palpating, and caressing, as well as of smelling—actively contribute to the constitution of the value of material objects as more than mere economic products, but objects related to identity, culture and knowledge. In turn, this shows how multisensoriality as

a socio-interactive phenomenon is embedded within the tissue of relevancies of the ongoing courses of actions in which it happens (Mondada, 2021).

In this sense, the analysis of the actions and practices systematically explored in this paper brings together issues as diverse as multimodal grammatical practices, embodied reference, materiality and sensoriality, as well as institutionality and socio-economic stakes in interaction.

Transcription conventions

Talk has been transcribed following Jefferson's conventions (2004) and embodiment following Mondada's conventions (2018; see <https://www.lorenza-mondada.net/multimodal-transcription>)

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