



Coordinating individual actions in joint activities: The case of the German deictic *so*

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Abstract

This study examines the use of the German deictic expression *so* (roughly translated into 'like this' in English) accompanied by an embodied action in activities where participants have to jointly accomplish a project. The article is divided into two sections that contrast two different types of interactional work that is accomplished by the use of *so* + embodied action. Based on the methodological principles of Conversation Analysis, in the first section, I demonstrate that, when the deictic expression forms part of a yes/no interrogative turn, it indexes a candidate suggestion that requires the co-participant's confirmation for the participant to move on to the next action. By offering a candidate to be confirmed, participants project that their candidate might not be acceptable and that a correction might be relevant as a follow-up. The second section then deals with the use of the deictic expression as part of the correction. The deictic expression is used as a responsive action to a problem highlighted in the previous turn and the embodied action provides the solution. In both cases, the deictic expression and the embodied action are used by the interlocutors to accomplish action coordination in order to complete a joint project.

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1. INTRODUCTION

In everyday life we often need to cooperate with others to accomplish certain tasks. In particular, when those tasks are part of a larger project or activity in which we are involved, we need to negotiate our co-participants' alignment towards an ongoing or projected activity (Steensig, 2019; Stivers, 2008). We often seek confirmation or indicate trouble with an ongoing action when, for instance, we experience uncertainty about how to proceed. There are a variety of techniques available to indicate to a co-participant that one is in need of assistance or instructions. These can range from purely embodied actions that recruit co-participants to offer assistance (Kendrick and Drew, 2016), such as picking up an olive-oil bottle and gazing at a co-participant as a means of enquiring whether the bottle thus displayed is the correct one to use, to more general enquiries requesting assistance, for instance "How does this work?", and yes/no

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interrogatives that seek the addressee's confirmation/disconfirmation. Interlocutors select their techniques according to what they judge to be the most appropriate for a given context.

This paper investigates how instructions are sought and given using the German deictic expression *so* + embodied action in joint activities.¹ Drawing on the methodological principles of Conversation Analysis (Sacks, 1992; Schegloff, 2007), the article is divided into two sections that contrast two different types of interactional work accomplished by the use of *so* + embodied action in the wider context of instructions within joint activities. The first section investigates the deictic *so* accompanied by an embodied action in yes/no interrogatives. The deictic indexes a candidate suggestion that requires the co-participant's confirmation for the participant to proceed to the next action. By giving a candidate to be confirmed, participants project that their candidate might not be acceptable and that a correction might be relevant as a next (Pomerantz, 1984; Sacks, 1992). The second section then deals with the use of the deictic expression as part of the correction. The deictic expression is used as a responsive action to a problem marked in the previous turn and the embodied action serves to provide the solution. These findings contribute to our understanding of how participants orient themselves to the deictic expression to seek their co-participant's confirmation, or potential correction, of an action on the one hand, and to respond to a problem and indicate the solution on the other. In both cases, the deictic expression and the embodied action are used by the interlocutors to accomplish action coordination for the purposes of completing a joint project. Participants manage to achieve a joint focus of attention (Diessel, 2006) on an action that requires confirmation or correction and which, if left unattended, might hinder the progressivity of the joint project. By either confirming or "solving" the trouble, participants coordinate their actions and thus contribute to the progressivity of the overall project.

1.1. The deictic expression *so* in the literature

The term "deixis" refers to the use of grammaticalized forms that are context-dependent (Fillmore, 1997; Levinson, 1983). Deictic elements can only be understood when anchored to a specific contextual aspect of an utterance or speech event (Levinson, 1983). Participants can draw attention to certain contextual aspects of an interaction by means of verbal and gestural resources. The deictic use of *so* has been studied extensively in the literature (Balantani, 2021; Balantani and Lázaro, 2021; Ningelgen and Auer, 2017; Streeck, 2002; Stukenbrock, 2010, 2014, 2015). In a recent study on the use of the token in combination with pointing gestures in joint activities, Balantani and Lázaro (2021) demonstrate that the practice is used by interlocutors to establish joint attention, which is a basic requirement for the successful accomplishment of a collaborative activity (Clark, 1996). The authors argue that pointing gestures, in combination with the deictic expression *so*, form a multimodal package (Goodwin, 2003; Hayashi, 2005; Heath and Nicholls, 1986; Stukenbrock, 2010), with which participants achieve a joint focus of attention and an intersubjective understanding, which are prerequisites for achieving coordination and co-operation (Hausendorf, 2013) and a joint course of action (Goodwin, 2003).

The use of German *so* has also been investigated in combination with iconic gestures (Streeck, 2002; Stukenbrock, 2010, 2014, 2015). According to Streeck (2002), the use of *so* in combination with bodily enactments serves as a "flag" for the interlocutor to look for an additional meaning in the utterance that is being produced. The token precedes the gesture and therefore aids in introducing the embodied behaviour that is imminent. Similarly, Stukenbrock (2010) claims that *so* functions as a contextualisation cue (Gumperz, 1982) for an upcoming gesture by the speaker that must be visually perceived by the addressee. With regard to the deictic expression *so* in instructional sequences in particular, Stukenbrock (2014) demonstrates that a deictic *so* + gesture in instructional sequences projects a bodily behaviour by the speaker and an aligning action by the addressee. In order to perform that action, the addressee has to visually perceive the speaker's embodied behaviour, thus making the addressee's gaze on the speaker's bodily action an obligatory requirement. Building on the existing literature on the deictic expression *so*, the present article will look at the role of *so* in instructional contexts within activities that have to be jointly accomplished by participants in a project.

1.2. Multimodal instructional settings

There is a growing body of literature examining multimodal instructional sequences in diverse settings, from instructions produced in operations and surgical procedures (Mondada, 2014a), to instructions in driving lessons (Deppermann, 2018; De Stefani, 2018; De Stefani and Gazin, 2014; Mondada, 2018) and educational and workplace settings (Hindmarsh and Heath, 2000; Keevallik, 2010, 2013, 2015; Lindwall and Ekström, 2012; Risberg and Lymer,

¹ In the majority of cases examined in this paper, the embodied conduct that accompanies the deictic reference occurs concurrently with it. As we shall see, however, this is not always the case; there are instances in the data set where the timing of the verbal and embodied conduct is subject to a range of local contingencies (Hindmarsh and Heath, 2000).

2020; Stukenbrock, 2014). Instructions have been investigated with respect to their grammatical formats (Deppermann, 2018; Helmer and Reineke, 2021; Mondada, 2014a) and their temporal and sequential organisation (see, for instance, De Stefani, 2018; De Stefani and Gazin, 2014; Lindwall and Ekström, 2012; Mondada, 2018; Risberg and Lymer, 2020; Stukenbrock, 2014).

Despite the growing interest in the examination of instructional sequences, little work has been undertaken to study the use of deictic elements in such settings (see, however, Keevallik (2013) on the deictic *here* and Stukenbrock (2014) on the German deictic *so*). Studying instructional sequences in dance activities, Keevallik (2013) demonstrates how the deictic *here* is used in such sequences to refer to a move that needs correction. The spatial deictic *here* is used by instructors to refer to the spatiotemporal nature of a movement and to establish a common focus of attention by the onlookers (Levinson, 2004). When the instructor has positioned their body in a way that allows them to demonstrate a move, the deictic *here* is produced. With *here* as a semiotic resource, the instructor lifts the current bodily configuration out of its context and treats it as a steady position. In this way, continuous movements are decomposed into sequences of spatial configurations for reference by the instructors. The use of deictics in bodily demonstrations has also been investigated by Stukenbrock (2014). In a study on multimodal instructions, she problematises the sequentiality of next turns and actions and the multimodal temporality of these actions. She argues that instructions can be accomplished multimodally and takes the example of the German deictic *so*. She claims that *so*, in addition to being a turn-internal “flag” (Streeck, 2002) that directs the addressee’s gaze orientation to a gesture, may also be part of a projecting first-pair part of an adjacency pair, i.e. an instructing action, or of a projected second-pair part, an instructed action.²

While this paper examines *so* in instructional contexts, it will not seek to investigate instructing and instructed actions as an adjacency pair or bodily demonstrations in an educational setting. The present study will investigate the occurrence of *so* in joint activities both in institutional and everyday talk. The first part of the article specifically explores what is achieved through requesting confirmation using the deictic *so* and an embodied action and, in particular, what is achieved through requesting confirmation by providing a candidate. The second half of the article addresses how participants orient themselves to the deictic expression in providing the solution to a problem indicated in the previous turn. The purpose of this study is therefore threefold. First, it seeks to provide an understanding of the deictic expression *so* in managing these two different types of actions. Second, it demonstrates that this practice is used by participants to coordinate their actions and contribute to the progressivity of the project they are involved in. Participants temporarily halt their individual activities to address their co-participants’ enquiries and provide assistance by producing an appropriate instruction, thus coordinating their individual actions for the purpose of the joint activity. Finally, by considering the use of *so* with an embodied action, I hope to contribute to continuing research on the use of the deictic *so* in multimodal practices in general, and in particular in the context of instructions.

2. METHODOLOGY AND DATA

This study has been conducted using the methodological principles of Conversation Analysis (Sacks, 1992; Schegloff, 2007), which in terms of multimodal analysis describes how participants’ talk, gesture, gaze, body posture and physical surroundings are jointly used in the performance of social action (Deppermann, 2013; Deppermann and Streeck, 2018; Goodwin, 2017; Kärkkäinen and Thompson, 2018; Keevallik, 2018; Mondada, 2014b; Streeck et al., 2011). Data was recorded using mobile eye-tracking glasses (Tobii Pro Glasses 2) worn by the participants and an additional third camera to account for embodied behaviour not visible through the eye-tracking. Consent to participate in the study was given prior to the recordings. The recordings from the eye-tracking glasses and third camera were synchronized into one split-screen video and imported into ELAN (2019) for transcription. The verbal transcriptions follow the GAT transcription system developed by Selting et al. (2009) and the embodied behaviour was transcribed according to Mondada’s (2019) conventions for multimodal transcription (see Appendix).

The data analysed is part of a larger corpus on naturally occurring interactions in diverse settings in German and Swiss German collected for a research project on deixis and joint attention funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF). With the exception of excerpt (3), where the setting is a yoga session, the examples are taken from settings where participants are engaged in joint activities, such as preparing a meal by following a recipe or building furniture together.³ For the purpose of the present study, a collection has been assembled consisting of 18 deictic *so* instances in sequences where participants temporarily halt the progressivity of the talk (Stiver and Robinson,

² An adjacency pair is a composition of two turns from two speakers where the second is the required response to the first one. For instance, the expected and relevant response to a request as the first part of an adjacency pair is an acceptance or refusal by the addressee (Schegloff, 2007, p. 13).

³ By joint activities, I refer to activities where the participants have to contribute individual actions to achieve a certain goal together. This goal may be accomplished through extended courses of action (Clark, 1996).

2006) by either seeking confirmation, or potential correction, of an embodied action using the deictic *so*, or providing the repair solution to a problem announced in the previous turn. The actions are thus primarily oriented towards the progressivity of the overall activity rather than the progressivity of the talk itself (Nevile, 2007). The analysis section is divided into two sub-sections; in the first (Section 3.1), I examine the deictic expression *so* in confirmation-seeking turns, and in the second (Section 3.2), I examine the token in the instruction itself as a repair solution to trouble announced, i.e. repair initiated by one of the participants.

3. ANALYSIS

3.1. *so* + embodied action: Directing addressees attention to a confirmable

In what follows, I will concentrate on examining instances where the deictic *so* accompanied by an embodied action is employed in negotiating the co-participant's alignment towards an ongoing or projected activity. Participants direct the addressee's visual attention to something for which the speaker needs confirmation in order to determine whether to proceed with some course of action, or how it is to be pursued. Consider, for instance, excerpt (1), which comes from a cookery class at a school in the German-speaking part of Switzerland. The students need to cook lunch for their classmates following a recipe and the instructor is present and available to answer any queries they might have. Each student is assigned a task so that, by combining their individual contributions, at the end of the class they have collectively prepared a complete meal. In this sequence, Petra is responsible for preparing the salad. She has already cut the vegetables and is now preparing the dressing for the salad. Prior to this sequence, one of her classmates, Larissa, problematises the thickness of the dressing and claims that it needs more oil. Accordingly, when the instructor walks over from another section of the kitchen to Petra's, Petra seeks the instructor's assistance with regard to the dressing's consistency.⁴

(1) Kochunterricht_01_01:03:38-01:04:03_“the dressing”:

(P: Petra; I: Instructor)

* gaze by I

+ gaze by P

\$ embodied action by I

& embodied action by P

```
01  P → isch& dA_so +GÜe:t?
      ist das so gut
      is it good like this
      P                                     +gz at dressing-->
PLH >>lifts cup&
P      &walks towards I-->
02  (0.1)$ (0.3)* (0.2)$&(1.6)*##+ (0.8)
PRH -->&lifts spoon with dressing dropping-->
i      $leans over-$
i      *gz at dressing*
P      -->+
fig                                         #fig1
```

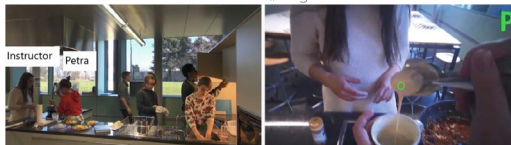


Figure 1

⁴ Larissa's comment that the dressing needs more oil was not overheard by the instructor, as she was talking to another student on the other side of the kitchen. Hence, the instructor's turn at line 03 is not produced as a response to the prior topicalization of the oil by the students.

03 I ja is ein bisschen WENig;=&
ja ist ein bisschen wenig
yes it is a bit little

P -->&

04 I =kannst ein bisschen mehr ÖL dazugEben;
du kannst ein bisschen mehr Öl dazugeben
you can add a bit more oil

05 I =dann ist es MEHR und es lässt sich leichter vertEilen;
dann ist es mehr und es lässt sich leichter verteilen
then there is more of it and it is easier to
distribute

06 P <<p> oKE;>
okay

07 (0.9)

08 P aber es schmÖckt denn nocher so Ö:lig;
aber es schmeckt dann nacher so ölig
but then it tastes so oily

09 (3.5)

10 I kannst ein bisschen WAsSer dazugeben;
du kannst ein bisschen Wasser dazugeben
you can add some water

11 I =dann is es nicht (so Ölig);
dann ist es nicht so ölig
then it is not so oily

12 P ((walks to the tap and adds water to the cup))

Petra's confirmation-seeking interrogative, *isch dA so GUE:t?! 'is it okay like this'* (l.01), is formulated with the deictic expression *so* followed by the positively valenced assessment term *GUE:t!* 'good'. At the end of *so*, Petra directs her gaze to the dressing. The instructor understands the deictic *so* to be a contextualisation cue (Gumperz, 1982) for an upcoming embodied action that needs to be visually perceived (Stukenbrock, 2010), so at the end of *GUE:t*, she leans slightly over the cup to look at the dressing (Fig. 1). Having established a joint focus of attention (Diessel, 2006) on the dressing, Petra indicates the dressing's consistency to the instructor by picking up a bit of it on the spoon and letting it drop slowly back into the cup (see Fig. 1).

While the apex of Petra's embodied action occurs a few seconds after the articulation of *so*, the preparation of it begins at the start of the target turn. At *isch/ 'is'*, Petra lifts the cup with the dressing and walks towards the direction of the instructor holding the cup up, thus orienting her to the relevance of it and the upcoming embodied action. Since the participants are not in a focused interaction (Goffman, 1963),⁵ Petra's embodied action reaches its apex when she secures the addressee's gaze. Consequently, local contingencies affect the temporal dimensions of the verbal and embodied conduct here.

The instructor responds with a turn-initial 'yes' that acknowledges receipt of the previous turn (Mazeland, 1990), and follows it up with an assessment on the quantity, *ja is ein bisschen WENig;!* 'yes it is a bit little' (l.03), instead of the quality of the dressing indicated by Petra's *so*, as a manner deictic, in line 01. Latched to her turn (l.03) is an instruction to add more oil, *kannst ein bisschen mehr ÖL dazugEben;!* 'you can add a bit more oil' (l.04). The instructing turn, produced with the modal verb construction *können* in second position singular, and which is formulated as a suggestion to be acted upon, is followed up with an account at line 05, *dann ist es MEHR und es lässt sich leichter vertEilen;!* 'then there is more of it and it is easier to distribute'. This indicates that her response (l.03) and the follow-up instructing turn (l.04) attend to the issue of the dressing's consistency as, by following her instruction, the consistency will change and it will be 'easier to distribute'. Petra's complaint formulated with the turn-initial 'but', *aber es schmÖckt denn nocher so Ö:lig;!* 'but then it tastes so oily' (l.08), contrasts with the teacher's prior suggestion. The instructor then formulates a second instructing turn to add water instead (l.10), which Petra complies with; she walks over to the tap and adds water to the dressing.

Consequently, with the deictic *so* at line 01 and the embodied action that follows it, the lifting of the spoon with the dressing dropping in the cup, Petra is directing the addressee's visual attention to something for which she needs confirmation from the epistemically superior participant in order to proceed to the next action (Heritage, 2012).⁶ By

⁵ According to Goffman (1963), participants are engaged in a focused interaction when they collaboratively sustain a shared focus of attention. In contrast, in an unfocused interaction participants may be co-present but not engaged in a shared activity.

⁶ The term "epistemics" is used to refer to how interlocutors position themselves with respect to their knowledge of some state of affairs and their right to know it (Heritage and Raymond, 2005). The epistemic stance of speakers can be represented in terms of gradient moving from K- (less knowledgeable position) to K+ (more knowledgeable position). A questioner, for example, is usually in a K- position, requesting the relevant information from the addressee in order to move to a K+ position (Heritage, 2012). These epistemic gradients can change depending on the combination of linguistic forms, both prosodic and syntactic, and the relative epistemic status of the speaker and the recipient with regard to an utterance.

producing a request for confirmation, Petra displays uncertainty towards her own knowledge state and defers to the recipient as being more knowledgeable on the matter at hand (Heritage, 2012). Her turn, *isch dA so GUE:t?!* 'is it okay like this?' (l.01), formulated with an interrogative, projects a 'yes' or 'no' as alternatives in a relevant next action (Raymond, 2003). A confirming 'yes' does not expand the sequence and is thus closing implicative (Schegloff, 2007). While the instructor's response at line 03 is prefaced with a 'yes' that aligns itself with the previous turn on the structural level (Raymond, 2003; Sacks, 1987), it is followed by a second, mitigated disagreeing turn-constructural unit (TCU) (Pomerantz, 1984), *is ein bisschen WENig!* 'it is a bit little' (l.03), which projects elaboration (Schegloff, 2007). This elaboration is produced in the next turn with an instruction, *kannst ein bisschen mehr ÖL dazugEBen!* 'you can add a bit more oil' (l.04), advising Petra how to correct the dressing's consistency and thus proceed to the next action.

Similarly, in excerpt (2), one of the participants, Sebastian, uses the deictic *so* accompanied by a pointing gesture to refer to something that needs confirmation in order for him to determine whether to proceed with his course of action. A couple, Rena and Sebastian, are preparing a vegetable curry for dinner. They have taken some of the vegetables out of the fridge and Sebastian is about to cut the pumpkin when he formulates an interrogative that seeks an instruction from his wife.

(2) Kochen_03_01:33-02:02_ "pumpkin":

(R: Rena; S: Sebastian)

* gaze by S

+ gaze by R

\$ embodied action by R

& embodied action by S

01 R **da wirst du aber ein GRÖsseres messer brauchen schätzungsweise,**
but there you will need a bigger knife probably
02 (0.5)
03 S **für_[den KÜRbis?]**
for the pumpkin
04 R **[für DAS,]**
for the
05 (0.4)
06 R **weil der ist FEST.**
because it is hard
07 *(0.4)
S *pumpkin-->
08 R **da musst halt SCHAUen?**
there you have to just see
09 (0.9)
10 R **hat_s die denn geWAsche?=**
have you washed it
11 S → **=&das kann ich +&SO alle+s# lassen;**
I can leave it all like this
S_{LH} &lifts pumpkin-&
S_{RH} &points with knife on black spots-->
r +.....+gz at pumpkin-->
fig #fig2



Figure 2

12 (0.2)+
I -->+
13 R **ja das kannst RAU&Sschneiden.**
yes you can cut this out
S -->&
14 (0.2)
15 R **(das ist ein bisschen) (xxx)**
(that is a bit) ()
16 (0.1)*(0.2)
S -->+
17 R **aber SONST kannst_du es verwenden,**
but otherwise you can use it

Sebastian formulates a yes/no interrogative at line 11, *das kann ich SO alles lassen*;/ 'I can leave it all like this', that requests his co-participant's confirmation of the embodied action that he has projected. At *SO*/ 'like that', he points with the knife at the black spots on the pumpkin. At the same time, Rena, who has already turned away towards the basin to wash another vegetable, shifts her gaze back to the pumpkin in Sebastian's hand (Fig. 2). Sebastian's gesture is not preceded by any monitoring on his part and his gaze is continuously on the pumpkin from the end of *FEST!* 'hard' (l.06). By doing this, he appeals to the "gaze-summoning" attribute of turns articulated with a deictic *so* (Stukenbrock, 2010). Hence, *so* functions as a contextualisation cue (Gumperz, 1982) that the speaker provides for the addressee and which the addressee "accepts" through visual perception (Stukenbrock, 2010). Having established a joint focus of attention on the pointing gesture, Rena issues the relevant instruction in her next turn, *ja das kannst RAUSschneiden*./ 'yes you can cut this out' (l.13). Note that, similarly to excerpt (1), Sebastian's turn and accompanying embodied action are receipted with a turn-initial 'yes' that aligns with the polarity of the question and provides the type-conforming response to the previous turn (Raymond, 2003; Sacks, 1987) but is then expanded with an instruction that resists his previous suggestion to 'leave it all like this' (l.11).

Again, what we can see in this excerpt is the speaker displaying epistemic uncertainty about a future course of action (Wu, 2004) and requesting the addressee's confirmation or disconfirmation of a candidate suggestion. In order for the speaker to determine whether to proceed with his projected course of action, and how to pursue it, he provides a candidate with a mid-falling intonation, *das kann ich SO alles lassen*;/ 'I can leave it all like this' (l.11), and requests Rena to confirm or disconfirm his candidate suggestion. The *so* and its accompanying embodied action, the pointing gesture that he makes with his knife on the dark spots, index the candidate that is to be confirmed in order for the speaker to proceed with the next course of action.

The following excerpt differs from the previous ones in that the practice is part of a repair sequence. The trouble is located in the use of a specific categorical term used by the instructor that needs disambiguation in order for the instructed participant to proceed to the next action. The example comes from a yoga lesson. Jürgen is training to become a yoga instructor and is practising what he has learnt so far with his friend Sabrina. In this sequence, they are doing some back exercises. While moving from one position to the next, Jürgen requests Sabrina to sit in a *KREUZ-beinige HALtung*/ 'a cross-legged posture' (l.09). The term *kreuzbeinig* is treated as problematic by Sabrina, who subsequently initiates repair *das heisst*/ 'that means' (l.13) (Schegloff et al., 1977), with *das* anaphorically referring to Jürgen's turn at line 09 and his description of the sitting position as *kreuzbeinige Haltung*.

(3) Yoga_01_05:05-05:43_ "cross-legged":

(J: Jürgen; S: Sabrina)

* gaze by S

+ gaze by J

\$ embodied action by J

& embodied action by S

```

01  J  so ich glaube das REICHT,
      so I think this is enough
02      (0.5)
03  J  die (.) ZWEIte krokoDILübung können wir leider
      the second crocodile exercise we can unfortunately
      nicht machen wegen den trackingmappen,
      not do because of the eye-trackers
04      (0.2)
05  S  <<p> mhm>
      mhm
06      (.)
07  J  dÄnn: kannst du dich jetzt AUFsetzen,
      then you can now sit up
08      (.)
09      in eine KREUZbeinige HALtung,
      in a cross-legged posture
10      (5.5)
11  J  wir beGINnen
      we start
12      *(0.3)
      s  *gz at J face--> 1.16
13  S  das heisst#
      that means
      fig          #fig3

```



Figure 3

14 (0.7)
 15 J → [+kreu\$zbeinig# i\$st+\$]
 cross-legged is
 j +gz at own legs----+
 j \$.....\$touches knees\$
 fig #fig4

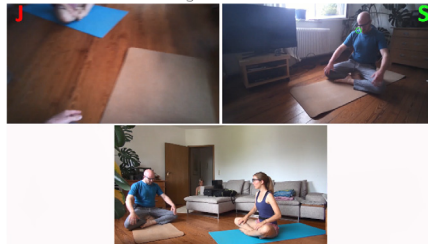


Figure 4

16 S → [&S::O& oder-]*
 like this or
 s -->*
 s &pushes down calves&touches knees&
 17 J → +\$SO, (0.3)\$ ist_es in ordnung_du darf+st kein STRESS in den knien
 hab_n,=
 like this it is all right you must not have any stress in the
 knees
 j +gz at S legs-----+
 j \$,.....,\$
 18 S =<<p> okay>
 okay
 19 J wenn_s DA stresst und musst schön aufrecht SITzen können,
 if you get stress there and you must be able to sit upright
 (0.3)
 20 J sonst kannst du dir einfach auch_ne DEcke unterlegen.
 otherwise you can also just put a blanket underneath
 (1.6)
 22 S <<p> nee ich [glaub_ist geRAde.]
 no I think it is straight
 24 J [bist zuFRIEden?]
 are you satisfied
 25 S [<<p> ja.]
 yes
 26 J [ja?]
 yes

Before Jürgen can initiate the instructions on how to achieve the next posture at line 11, Sabrina initiates repair on his previous turn (l.13: *das heisst/* ‘that means’) (Schegloff et al., 1977). Her turn is syntactically and prosodically incomplete and projects more to come. Her gaze is directed at Jürgen as she produces her turn, and it remains on him until the end of her next turn, *S::O oder-/* ‘like this or’ (l.16), which is a syntactic continuation of *das heisst/* ‘that means’ (l.13) (see Figs. 3 and 4). Her confirmation-seeking turn, *S::O oder-* (l.16), is accompanied by pushing down her calves at *SO*, followed by touching her knees at *oder* (on turn-final *oder* see Drake, 2016). In other words, she performs this partly

pointing and partly iconic gesture on her own legs as an embodied candidate solution. Jürgen proceeds with the repair solution (Schegloff et al., 1977), in overlap with Sabrina's turn, both verbally at line 15 and multimodally. He shifts his gaze to his own legs and, with a tracing movement of his arms along his legs (Goodwin, 2003), he provides an iconic representation of the shape that the legs should take when in a *KREUZbeinige Haltung* 'cross-legged posture' (Fig. 4). He then proceeds at line 17 to provide a type-conforming response to Sabrina's confirmation-seeking question, *SO, ist_es in ordnung!* 'like this it is all right', and while doing so he gazes at his co-participant's legs.⁷ In this way, he verbally confirms Sabrina's candidate solution and at the same time closely and visibly monitors his co-participant's bodily demonstration.

In sum, in order for Sabrina to proceed to the instructed action, namely the performance of the posture, she seeks her instructor's confirmation of her candidate understanding of his position, which is described as *kreuzbeinung* at line 09. In this case, she receives this confirmation in the following turn, *SO, ist_es in ordnung!* 'like this it is all right' (l.17). Hence, the *so* and accompanying embodied action in Sabrina's turn, *S::O oder-* (l.16), direct the addressee's attention to a candidate solution that requires Jürgen's confirmation in order for her to proceed to the next action. In contrast, Jürgen's turn, *SO, ist_es in ordnung!* 'like this it is all right' (l.17), provides the confirmation that Sabrina's turn is seeking. The deictic *so* referent and the embodied action that precedes it, the tracing movement of his arms along his legs (Goodwin, 2003) at line 15, direct the attention to the solution, the "correct" version of the instructed action. This function of *so* in the instruction itself will be the focus of the next section.

To summarize, the present section has discussed the use of the practice *so* + embodied action when participants have to decide on the proper course for a projected activity. Participants display epistemic uncertainty and request confirmation or disconfirmation of their actions as part of ongoing or projected activities, thus treating the recipient as being more knowledgeable (Heritage, 2012). As has been seen in excerpts (1) and (2), the response to the confirmation-seeking questions is often a 'yes, but' kind of response, a turn-initial 'yes' followed by a corrective instruction. In accordance with the preference for agreement (Sacks, 1987), recipients respond with a type-conforming turn-initial 'yes' (Raymond, 2003) before they proceed with the correction. All in all, the practice is used for creating alignment and coordination between the participants with respect to the joint project in which they are involved.

3.2. *so* + embodied action: Pointing at the solution

In the previous section, we saw the deictic expression *so* utilised by interlocutors to request confirmation or disconfirmation of an embodied action in order to determine whether or how to proceed with some course of action. In such cases, *so* is accompanied by an embodied action that directs the addressee's visual attention to the candidate that requires confirmation or disconfirmation. In what follows, we will examine two instances from the collection in which participants have trouble determining how to proceed with the next course of action and thus formulate an interrogative that reports the trouble. The *so* in these instances is used in the instruction itself and the accompanying embodied action directs the co-participant's attention to the solution. Similarly to the previous example, the trouble in excerpt (4) concerns a term used to describe the next action to be performed.

⁷ *SO* here is implemented at a transition relevance place (TRP) and functions as an apokoinou construction, as a grammatical ending of the TCU that precedes it and as the beginning of the TCU that follows it (Norén, 2007; Walker, 2007). This syntactic shift, however, comes with a shift in action as well. That is, in TCU-final position *SO* is implemented as a repair solution (Schegloff et al., 1977) that specifies the categorical referent *kreuzbeinig*, while at TCU-initial position it functions as a type-conforming response (Raymond, 2003) to Sabrina's confirmation-seeking question *S::O oder-* 'like this or' (l.16), which confirms the correctness of Sabrina's cross-legged position specifically. Hence, depending on the syntactic position it occupies within a TCU, the particle acquires a different function and specifies a distinct referent.

(4) Umzug_03_21:20-21:37_“wolverine claws”:

(A: Arno; F: Fabienne)

* gaze by A

+ gaze by F

\$ embodied action by A

& embodied action by F

01 F ÄM:,
 02 (0.8)
 03 F Aso;
 also
 so
 04 (1.0)
 05 F °h ez müemer das (0.3) BO:deteil-
 jetzt müssen wir das Bodenteil
 now we have to () the bottom part
 06 (1.5)
 07 e&SO: um2 (0.3) UFstellä,&
 so um aufstellen
 pu- put up like this
 f &hand movement up and roll&
 08 (0.5)
 09 F und denn DIE-
 und dann diese
 and then this
 10 (0.1)
 11 A WIE ufstelle;=
 wie aufstellen
 put up how
 12 =gisch mr e RICHTig&sagob.
 gibst du mir eine Richtungsangabe
 will you give me a direction
 f &grabs instructions-->
 13 F lueg& emol;=
 schau mal
 look
 f -->&places instructions on board--> 1.15
 14 F → eSO:;
 so
 like this
 15 (0.8)&(0.4)&(0.6)#
 f_{LH} -->&....&PG-----> 1.17
 16 F da[ss &DIE# o:be& sind.]
 dass diese oben sind
 that these are up
 f_{RH} &PG-----&
 fig #fig5



Figure 5

17 A [dass d wolverinechralle] Obe si&nd;=
 dass die Vielfrasskrallen oben sind
 that the wolverine claws are on top
 f_{LH} -->&
 18 A =GUET,
 gut
 fine
 19 (0.1)
 20 A das (xxx xxx) WOLverinechralle nach Obe ufstelle;=
 das (xxx xxx) Vielfrasskrallen oben aufstellen
 this (xxx xxx) wolverine claws up on top

Fabienne and Arno are building a cupboard using an instruction booklet from IKEA. Fabienne, who is holding the booklet and has assumed the role of the “instructor”, produces an instructing turn with an extended turn construction (l.05–07), *°h ez müemer das (0.3) BO:deteil-/* ‘now we have to () the bottom part’ (l.05), *eso um (0.3) ufSTEllä,/* ‘put up like this’ (l.07). At *eso/* ‘like this’ (l.07), Fabienne lifts her hands with her palms face up and makes a rolling movement indicating how to “put up” the cupboard. The term *ufSTElläl* ‘put up’, and the accompanying iconic gesture (Kendon, 2004; McNeill, 1992, 2005) are treated as problematic by Arno, who initiates repair in his next turn, *WIE ufstelle;/* ‘put up how’ (l.11), locating the trouble source in the “manner” in which the next action has to be performed (Balantani and Lázaro, 2021; Schegloff et al., 1977). Arno’s repair initiation, *WIE ufstelle;/* ‘put up how’ (l.11), is followed by a request for more specific instructions, *gisch mr e RIChtigsagob./* ‘will you give me a direction’ (l.12). Fabienne complies with the request, both verbally and in an embodied way; in the middle of *RIChtigsagob* she reaches for the instruction booklet, and at *LUEG emoll/* ‘look’ (l.13), she places the manual in front of Arno so that he has easy access to the depictions, thus also inviting him “to look” at the instructions in an embodied way. These preparatory actions help Fabienne to provide the repair solution both verbally, with the modal deictic *eSO::/* ‘like this’ (l.14), and in an embodied way, by an accompanying pointing gesture directed towards an image depicted in the instruction booklet that is the visual representation of how they have to “put the cupboard up” (Fig. 5). Therefore, although the apex of the pointing gesture occurs after the articulation of *so*, her preparatory actions are a projection of her embodied action. While pointing at the image, Fabienne introduces a subordinate clause, *dass DIE o:be sind./* ‘that these are on top’ (l.16). The deictic *die/* ‘these’ is accompanied by a pointing gesture with her right hand towards the screws of the cupboard while she simultaneously keeps her left hand pointed at the image (Fig. 5). By embedding the representation in the instruction booklet within its contextual field (Goodwin, 2000), Fabienne explains the visible graphic image that is being pointed at. While keeping his gaze on the image in the booklet, Arno displays this understanding of the correct direction of the screw by formulating a subordinate clause, *dass d wolverinechralle Obe sind;/* ‘that the wolverine claws are on top’ (l.17), overlapping with Fabienne’s subordinate clause.⁸

In short, the pointing gesture at line 15 that follows the deictic *so* is used by the speaker to clarify a previous turn (l.07) for which a repair procedure is initiated, which is also subsequently specified verbally (l.16).⁹ By pointing at the image in the booklet, the speaker directs the addressee’s visual attention to the “solution”, the correct way of putting up the cupboard, a clarification that is necessary in order for Arno to proceed to the next action.

The last excerpt is a case of what has been described in the literature as “recruitments” (Kendrick and Drew, 2016).¹⁰ One of the speakers reports a problem that she has with the realisation of a practical course of action, which recruits the other participant to offer her assistance. The recording takes place in Nicole’s kitchen (she is partially hidden behind the lamp in Fig. 6), and the appliances are hers.

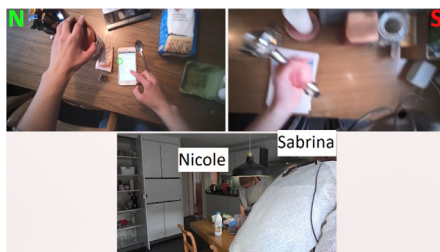


Figure 6

⁸ When building a cupboard with the help of an instruction booklet, participants have to coordinate different spatial frameworks (Goodwin, 2003, p. 223). Hence, by verbally specifying at line 16 what is being pointed at in the booklet, the speaker is in a better position to coordinate these diverse spatial frameworks.

⁹ Note that the two instances of *eso* (l.07 and l.14), while both deictic, are accompanied by different gestures. In line 07, the deictic expression is coupled with an iconic gesture, whereas in line 14 it is accompanied by a pointing gesture. Therefore, while the first *eso* + iconic gesture is treated as problematic, since Arno initiates a repair in line 11, Fabienne then repeats the deictic expression *eso* but combines it with a pointing gesture that directs his attention to the image in the instruction booklet in order to provide the repair solution.

¹⁰ Recruitments are “ways in which one person can solicit help from another, including giving indirect and perhaps embodied indications of their need for assistance, as well as another’s anticipation of someone’s need for help, and their offering or giving that help without being asked.” (Kendrick and Drew, 2016, p. 2).

(5) Backen_01_10:49-11:08_“the mixer”:

(N: Nicole; S: Sabrina)

* gaze by S

+ gaze by N

\$ embodied action by N

& embodied action by S

01 S **wieso goht +s jetz +nöd?**
 wieso geht es jetzt nicht
 why does it not work now
 S_{RH} >>pushes different buttons--> 1.05
 n +.....+Mixer--> 1.07

02 (1.4)

03 N **jetz MOL-**
 jetzt doch
 now yes

04 (0.5)

05 N → **jetz mosch& \$SO?#=-**
 jetzt musst du so
 now you have to (do) like this
 n_{LH} \$moves power level-->
 S -->&
 fig #fig7



Figure 7

06 **=aber nocher muesch ebe DO\$:-**
 aber nachher musst du eben hier
 but afterwards you have to (press) just here
 n -->\$PF on button-->

- 07 (0.3)\$ (0.6) \$(0.2)+(0.3)
 n -->+
 n_{LH} -->\$presses button\$
- 08 S **wieso isch er denn vorane eifach SO losgange?**
 wieso ist er denn vorher einfach so losgegangen
 why did it just start like this before
- 09 N **weiss au nöd;=**
 weiss auch nicht
 I do not know either
- 10 **=aso jo ich glaub wenn ebe die weisch do vorne chasch jo au mixteiler inetue**
 also ja ich glaube wenn du eben die weisst du hier vorne
 kannst du auch Mixteiler reintun
 so yes I think if you just these you know up here you can also
 insert mix dividers
 (0.5)
- 11 S → **nina bisch du sIcher dass da &SO isch,=**
 nina bist du sicher dass das so ist
 nina are you sure that it is like this
- 12 S_{SRH} &lifts mixer-->
 13 **=wil jetzt gsehts <<lächelnd> Eso# [uus];>**
 weil jetzt sieht es so aus
 because now it looks like this
 S_{SRH} -->&holds mixer up-->
 fig #fig8
- 
- Figure 8
- 14 N **[ver]suech emol ach&li**
 versuche mal etwas
 try to keep
 <<lachend> **wi:termache--**
 weitermachen
 going a bit
 S -->&
- 15 **°hhh ich glaub da chunt scho GUET;=**
 ich glaube das kommt schon gut
 I think that is going to be fine

Sabrina's enquiry, *wieso goht s jetz nöd?! 'why does it not work now' (l.01)*, reports a problem that she has with the realisation of a practical course of action: turning on the mixer in order to beat the butter. It is not an explicit request for assistance but rather a report of a difficulty the interlocutor is facing that recruits Nicole's assistance (Kendrick and Drew, 2016), and she in turn shifts her gaze towards the mixer that her sister is holding. While looking at the mixer, she bends over the table and with her left hand she reaches the part of the mixer where Sabrina's hands are placed. In response to her sister's enquiry in line 01, she produces an instructing turn, *jetz mosch SO?! 'now you have to (do) like this' (l.05)*, *aber nocher muesch ebe DO:-/ 'but afterwards you have to (press) just here' (l.06)*. Her turn comprises two TCUs formulated with the modal deontic verb *müssen* that are linked with the coordinating conjunction *aber/ 'but'*, and are accompanied by an embodied demonstration. Concurrently with the deictic *so* of the first TCU, *jetz mosch SO?! 'now you have to (do) like this' (l.05)*, Nicole adjusts the power button to a different level (Fig. 7). By showing how the button needs to be adjusted, Nicole indicates in an embodied way what is referred to by *SO* in her previous turn and resolves the problem her sister indicated. Having specified the quality of *so*, Nicole produces, in overlap, the second TCU of her suggestion, *aber nocher muesch ebe DO:-/ 'but afterwards you have to (press) just here' (l.06)*, at the end of which she presses the button and the mixer starts working.

The second part of this transcript (l.12–15) contains two occurrences of *so* that have a similar function to the instances given in the first section of this paper. Sabrina begins beating the butter, and a few minutes later she summons her sister to complain about the mixer not beating the butter as it should. Her complaint is formatted as a yes/no interrogative, *nina bisch du SIcher dass da SO isch,/'nina are you sure that it is like this' (l.12)*, and this is incremented with an account that points to the problem in her previous action, *wil jetzt gsehts <<lächelnd> Eso uus;>/'because now it looks like this' (l.13)*. Sabrina invokes her sister's epistemic access to the mixer, as it belongs to her and she is the one who showed Sabrina

how it works. The deictic *so* in line 12 points back to the way in which the operation of the mixer was demonstrated by Nicole in line 5. At *SO* 'like this' (l.12), Sabrina lifts the mixer, and at the end of *gsehts*/ 'it looks' (l.13), she holds it up for her sister to see it (Fig. 8). Sabrina requires her sister's confirmation, or potential correction, in order for her to proceed to the next action. The second *so* (l.13), produced in the format "(e)*so*" *sieht X aus*",¹¹ directs the addressee to look at the speaker's embodied action for more information on what is being described as X, which in this case is how the butter *actually* looks in opposition to how it *should* look.

In sum, this section of the paper has investigated the use of *so* as a responsive action to a problem marked in the previous turn. Participants have trouble proceeding to the next course of action and formulate an interrogative that reports the problem. In these instances, the *so* and the accompanying embodied action direct the co-participant's attention to the solution.

4. CONCLUSION

This paper has looked at the deictic expression *so*, including its Swiss German variant *eso*, in instructional contexts forming part of joint activities. The analysis has revealed that, when the token forms part of a yes/no interrogative, the deictic and the accompanying embodied action direct the addressee's attention to a candidate solution for which the speaker needs confirmation in order to determine whether to proceed with some course of action or how it is to be pursued. While the turns that have been investigated seek confirmation of an embodied action and are not explicit instruction-seeking turns, they do project not only confirmation but also an elaboration or instruction on how to proceed. By giving a candidate to be confirmed, participants project that their candidate might not be acceptable and that a correction might be relevant as a next. Therefore, when confirmation is not the relevant next action (see excerpts (1) and (2)), the interrogatives are responded to with an acknowledgment token and an explicit instruction on how to correct the previous action.

While the first section of the paper has investigated the use of *so* as a confirmation-seeking token that directs attention to a candidate that is to be confirmed, the second section has examined the use of the deictic expression as part of the correction. Participants have trouble with determining the next course of action and formulate an interrogative that reports the problem. In these instances, the *so* and the accompanying embodied action direct the co-participant's attention to the solution. As [De Stefani and Gazin \(2014\)](#) have pointed out, instructions are sometimes produced in order to give a solution to a practical problem raised by an interlocutor. In line with this observation, *so* + embodied action is employed by interlocutors to instruct their addressees on how to repair a problem formulated in the preceding interrogative. The practice then serves to assist the interlocutors in proceeding with the next course of action by providing the solution to the problem that was brought up in the previous turn. All things considered, in the instances examined in this paper, the deictic expression and the embodied action are used by the interlocutors to accomplish action coordination for the purpose of a joint project.

The data has been taken from settings in which participants are engaged in joint activities, such as preparing a meal by following a recipe or building furniture together. Hence, there is an overall project that needs the collaborative engagement of all the participants in order to be accomplished. This also applies to excerpt (3), which was taken from a yoga session. The goal of their activity is the successful accomplishment of a yoga position, which is composed of smaller steps. After each step, a successive one ensues that will complement the previous one and project the next one; hence it is imperative that the instructed participant performs the individual steps correctly in order to reach the common goal of attaining the final position. The instructor cannot move to the next instruction without the instructed participant's compliance with the previous one. Consequently, in all of the examples examined here, both participants are accountable for the successful accomplishment of the common project. As [Balantani and Lázaro \(2021\)](#) have pointed out, participants in joint activities need to coordinate their individual actions so that they can contribute to the progressivity of their overall project. In order to reach the final goal of, for instance, finishing the cake or achieving the yoga posture, participants need to collaborate and be cooperative. The cooperation between participants is evident in the addressees' responsive actions as they temporarily halt their individual activities to address their co-participants' enquiries and provide their assistance. Addressees comply by providing an appropriate instruction that will assist the interlocutors in proceeding with the next course of action.

Additionally, while participants temporarily halt the progressivity of the talk ([Stiver and Robinson, 2006](#)) by seeking confirmation of an embodied action, which is consistent with [Lindwall and Ekström's \(2012\)](#) findings, their actions assist the progressivity of the overall activity. In the majority of instances in the collection, the requests for confirmation are produced when participants need to determine how to proceed so as to be able to successfully complete the activity

¹¹ For a detailed description of the multimodal package "(e)*so* sieht X aus" see [Stukenbrock, 2015](#).

as a whole. In excerpt (5), for instance, the participant requests help with how to beat the butter properly; if the butter is not beaten correctly and results in clumps, as Sabrina demonstrates in line 13, this will have consequences for the overall recipe as it will not be possible to mix it with the other ingredients at a later stage. Furthermore, in excerpt (3), if the instructed participant does not request clarification of the term *kreuzbeinig* at that particular moment in the activity, the posture will not be correct at the end of the activity. The actions are thus primarily orienting towards the progressivity of the overall activity rather than the progressivity of the talk itself.

With regard to the temporal dimension of the deictic expression and the embodied action that accompanies it, in the majority of the cases examined the embodied action occurs concurrently with the token *so* (excerpts (1), (2) and (5)). There are, however, instances in the data set where the timing of the verbal and embodied action is subject to a range of local contingencies (Hindmarsh and Heath, 2000). In excerpt (1), for instance, Petra only starts lifting the spoon when she is close to the instructor and has attracted her gaze. Similarly, in excerpt (4), Fabienne places the instruction booklet in front of Arno, allowing him to have good visual access to the domain of scrutiny, before performing her pointing gesture. Furthermore, *so* portrays some variation in terms of its position in the turn. While participants seek their co-participants' online assessment of their actions in all excerpts in Section 3.1, this is done using different syntactic forms. For instance, in excerpt (1), *so* is followed by the assessment term *GUe:t*, thus indicating that what is in need of confirmation is the quality of the referent. In excerpt (2), the turn is produced with *so* followed by the verb in turn-final position, whereas in excerpt (3), the target turn is a syntactic continuation of the previous turn and is followed by a turn-final *oder*, thus projecting a probable alternative to the candidate referent solution (Drake, 2016). Section 3.2 also portrays syntactic variation with respect to the production of the turns. The *so*-turn in excerpt (4) is part of an extended turn. It is produced after an imperative that requests the addressee to "look" at what is being pointed at in the image. The instruction in excerpt (5) is also a multi-unit turn comprised of two TCUs. The first TCU is formulated with the modal deontic verb *müssen* and is accompanied by an embodied demonstration and *so* and is linked to the second TCU with the coordinating conjunction *aber* 'but', and a second embodied action following the deictic *DO*. The modal verb *müssen* accentuates "the rule-likeness" of the demonstration; the action that is demonstrated has to be performed in a certain way and the speaker demonstrates the "correct" way (Stukenbrock, 2014). What is more, the referents of *so* examined in this paper are diverse in nature. For instance, while in excerpts (1), (2) and (5) (l.13) *so* refers to the state of an object that has been produced by the speaker, i.e. the consistency of a dressing (excerpt (1)), the state of the pumpkin (excerpt (2)) or the state of the butter (excerpt (5)), in excerpt (4) it refers to the action of assembling the cupboard portrayed in an instruction booklet, and in excerpts (3) and (5) (l.05) *so* refers to the speaker's own action. Despite the differing referents and syntactic positions of *so*, the actions that are being accomplished are the same, seeking confirmation of an embodied action in order to determine the next course of action (Section 3.1) and providing an appropriate instruction that will assist the interlocutors with proceeding (Section 3.2).

Finally, with regard to the deictic *so*, the practice observed here seems to support Streeck's (2002) claim that *so* functions as a flag that alerts the addressee to direct his/her attention to some extralinguistic meaning in the utterance. *So*, in the examples analysed here, is used as a contextualisation cue (Gumperz, 1982; Stukenbrock, 2010) for an upcoming gesture, and directs the addressee's visual attention to a candidate suggestion that is to be confirmed (Section 3.1) or the solution to a problem indicated in the previous turn (Section 3.2). Although the addressee's gaze is an obligatory requirement in the examples studied here, the sequences that are the focus of Section 3.2 differ from those analysed by Stukenbrock (2014), as they do not necessarily project an aligning action by the addressee. The instructions are given as demonstrations of a solution to a problem but are not expected to be imitated by the addressee.

All in all, this paper has described the use of the deictic expression *so* accompanied by an embodied action in sequences where participants are negotiating their alignment towards an ongoing or projected activity in the course of a joint project. By investigating its use in joint activities, I demonstrate that participants orient to the deictic expression on the one hand, to seek their co-participant's confirmation, or potential correction, of an action, and to respond to trouble and indicate the solution on the other. In both cases, the deictic expression and its accompanying action are used by participants for the purposes of coordinating their actions in a project.

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Data availability

The authors do not have permission to share data.

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APPENDIX A

GAT 2 transcription conventions (GAT2, [Selting et al., 2009](#); for the English translation see Couper-Kuhlen and Barth-Weingarten, 2011).

Sequential structure

[]	Overlap and simultaneous talk
=	Fast, immediate continuation with a new turn or segment (latching)

In- and outbreaths

h/ḣ	In-/outbreaths of appr. 0.2–0.5 s duration
hh/h/ḣ	In-/outbreaths of appr. 0.5–0.8 s duration
hhh/h/ḣ	In-/outbreaths of appr. 0.8–1.0 s duration

Pauses

(.)	Micro pause, estimated, up to approximately 0.2 sec. duration
(0.5)/(2.0)	Measured pause of approximately 0.5 / 2.0 sec. duration (to tenth of a second)

Other segmental conventions

and_uh	Cliticizations within units
uh, uhm, etc.	Hesitation markers, so-called “filled pauses”
:	Lengthening, by about 0.2–0.5 sec.
::	Lengthening, by about 0.5–0.8 sec.
:::	Lengthening, by about 0.8–1.0 sec.
?	Cut-off by glottal closure

Laughter and crying

haha hehe hihi	Syllabic laughter
((laughs)) ((cries))	Description of laughter or crying
<<laughing>>	Laughter particles accompanying speech with indication of scope
<<:-) > so>	Smile voice

Continuers

hm, yes, no, yeah	Monosyllabic tokens
hm_hm, ye_es	Bi-syllabic tokens
?hm?hm	With glottal closure, often negating

Accentuation

SYLlable	Focus accent
sYlLable	Secondary accent
!SYLlable	Extra strong accent

Final pitch movements of intonation phrases

?	Rising to high
,	Rising to mid
--	Level
;	Falling to mid

.	Falling to low
<<surprised>>	Interpretive comment with indication of scope
<<f>>	Forte, loud
<<ff>>	Fortissimo, very loud
<<p>>	Piano, soft
<<pp>>	Pianissimo, very soft
<<all>>	Allegro, fast
<<len>>	Lento, slow
<cresc>>	Crescendo, increasingly loud
<<dim>>	Diminuendo, increasingly soft
<<acc>>	Accelerando, increasingly fast
Other conventions	
(xxx), (xxx xxx)	One or two unintelligible syllables
(may i)	Assumed wording
((...))	Omission in transcript

APPENDIX B

Embodied actions are transcribed according to the following conventions developed by Lorenza Mondada (see Mondada, 2018 for a conceptual discussion). <https://www.lorenzamondada.net/multimodal-transcription>.

* *	Descriptions of embodied actions are delimited between
+ +	two identical symbols (one symbol per participant and per type of action)
Δ Δ	that are synchronized with correspondent stretches of talk or time indications.
*- -->	The action described continues across subsequent lines
-- -->*	until the same symbol is reached.
>>	The action described begins before the excerpt's beginning.
-->>	The action described continues after the excerpt's end.
.	Action's preparation.
----	Action's apex is reached and maintained.
, , , , ,	Action's retraction.
ric	Participant doing the embodied action is identified in small caps in the margin.
fig	The exact moment at which a screen shot has been taken
#	is indicated with a sign (#) showing its position within the turn/a time measure.

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