

Title:

'Showing' as a Means of Engaging a Reluctant Participant into a Joint Activity

Author:

Cornelia Gerhardt

This is the accepted manuscript of a chapter published in: *Embodied Activities in Face-to-face and Mediated Settings*, edited by Elisabeth Reber & Cornelia Gerhardt, Palgrave Macmillan, 2019, pp. 137-175. The version of record is available online at https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-97325-8_5

‘Showing’ as a means of engaging a reluctant participant into a joint activity

1 Introduction

When people engage in activities in their everyday life, often this includes the manipulation of objects. Before starting the activity at hand though, this may presuppose the identification and categorisation of objects from the material world as meaningful or relevant for the task. While this step may often be unproblematic and unobservable, in the data under discussion here this represents the main action by a German father-daughter dyad while tidying the daughter’s room together, an activity they call ‘Zimmer aufräumen’.¹ Against the backdrop of this specific activity, the gesture of ‘showing’, which they call ‘zeigen’², will be analysed with the help of a single case study in conversation analytic and interactional sociolinguistic tradition. By concentrating on the action of ‘showing’ and its significance for the general course of action, it will become clear that Dad uses it as a powerful means to engage the reluctant girl in the activity and to turn it into a joint endeavor.

For a first impression of ‘showing’, cf. Figure 5.1, where the father is sitting on the left with his outstretched arm and a little object in his fist, and his daughter is huddled behind her chair turning towards him. Dad is showing the little object to his daughter Merit.

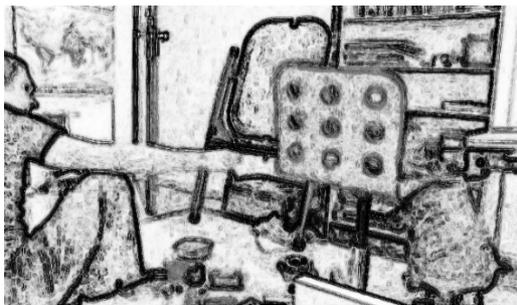


Figure 5.1 08:30 Showing I

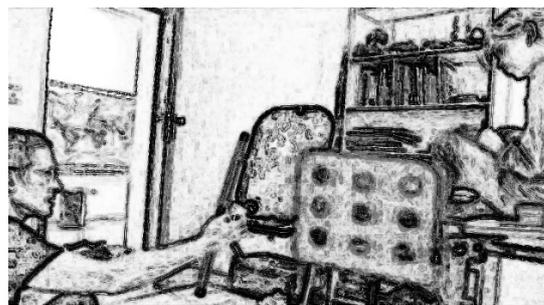


Figure 5.2 10:21 Showing II

¹ English does not have a cognate phrasal verb ‘room up’ (‘up’ as in ‘clean up’ or ‘eat up’) which would represent a most faithful translation of the German word ‘aufräumen’, suggesting both the idea of place and finishing, in the sense that the goal is to find a final place for objects where they really belong. Notions such as ‘sorting’ or ‘cleanliness’ are actually not there in the German word used by the participants. ‘Tidying’ and ‘sorting’ will be used interchangeably in this paper to translate ‘aufräumen’ into English.

² ‘Zeigen’ will be translated as ‘showing’ to reflect its everyday nature. Semantically, in German, it includes the idea of ‘indicating’, e.g. in that the ‘index finger’ is called ‘Zeigefinger’ or that the hands of a clock are called ‘Zeiger’.

<FIGURE 5.1 ABOUT HERE>

<FIGURE 5.2 ABOUT HERE>

Figure 5.2 depicts Dad on the left with an object in his hand and his daughter on the right sitting on her desk looking intently at the object. Figure 5.3 represents a case of two actions that are happening concurrently: Dad passes the end of a chain of paper clips to the girl, while also showing her a book.

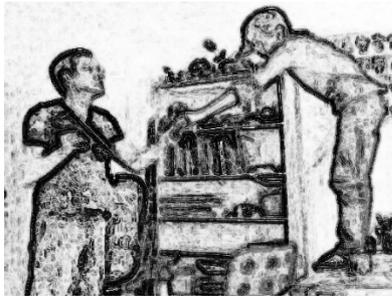


Figure 5.3 15:12 Showing III



Figure 5.4 09:11 Showing IV

<FIGURE 5.3 ABOUT HERE>

<FIGURE 5.4 ABOUT HERE>

Finally, in Figure 5.4 we can see a variant of the gesture. Here Dad stretches his arm backwards in the direction of his daughter which allows him to stay in the position he holds at that moment. All of these stills represent cases of 'showing', the gesture that will be the central focus of this chapter.

The paper will attempt to show that the overarching activity is one determining factor with regard to multimodality and the embodiment of interaction: When do we gesture, when do we talk, when do we do both, what gesture do we choose, etc. In particular, it will illustrate that depending on the overall activity, people choose not to simply point at some referent to make it salient or indicate its relevance; rather they pick it up and show it to the other participants. In other words, 'showing', the first part of an adjacency pair, appears to be a powerful means of increasing the relevance of a response. While the difference between 'pointing' and 'showing' may be partly based on exogenous criteria, like the nature of an object or the proximity to the speaker, the choice between the two is also relevant for the trajectory of the interaction. 'Showing' allows for the manipulation of objects (e.g. 'exploratory procedures'; Streeck 2009). Also, because of the greater effort it requires and the ensuing closer proximity between speaker and object, it represents a display of greater commitment, closer association, or contiguity. 'Showing', just like any other gesture, is always only interpretable against the backdrop of the current activity, shaping or constituting it at the same time.

While there may be a large literature on deixis and reference (cf. Carlson 2004, Levinson 2004), further studies of their multimodal use in embodied interaction as means to create mutual orientation and shared activity space have been called for (Goodwin 2000, Hindmarsh and Heath 2000, Mondada 2005, 2012, Stukenbrock 2014). Furthermore, in the data under discussion here, relevant objects in the material world are not pointed to (Goodwin 2007, Kita 2003), but are picked up and shown, which represents a different kind of 'multimodal gestalt' (Mondada 2012) involving language use, bodily organization, gaze behaviour, hand movements, and facial expressions than that investigated so far. There is no distance between the one pointing and the object made relevant, and often the items are turned around and manipulated in the hand to make their meaningfulness appear. In contrast to 'pointing', this "coherent package of meaning and action" (Goodwin 2003: 238) may often embody a question rather than a statement. Furthermore, in the response turn, the co-interlocutor may take the object from the one showing it, so that 'showing' may be turned into 'passing' (cf. Stukenbrock, this volume). Also, the action of the father here is different from the kind of behaviour found in institutional settings (cf. de Stefani 2010) where the one drawing attention to something in the material environment has epistemic authority. Here, it is usually the daughter, the one to whom the object is shown, who then decides how to categorise it and, hence, what the next step will be. Moreover, Dad does not do 'showing' because of his epistemic authority, but because of the trajectory of the activity: If he does not pick up the item, turning it into an object relevant for the activity of cleaning the room, the activity will not be continued, but the girl may start other activities like playing.

In this paper I will focus on the multimodal practices during the specific activity 'Aufräumen', with a special focus on the action of 'showing', its realization in language, and other embodied resources such as gaze, body orientation, gestures, or head movements. I will describe the systematic sequential organization of this activity. This will make it possible to revisit linguistic concepts such as reference and deixis in action, i.e. when used in natural data by real people with their personal goals and specific relations to one another, pursuing a mundane activity in their life world. After a literature review and a description of the data, the sequential steps of the overarching activity 'Aufräumen' will be presented. In the main part, a single case will be analysed turn by turn, starting with the establishment of a joint activity space and mutual orientation, followed by a description of the 'showing' gesture and a focus on the reaction of the daughter. The conclusion anchors 'showing' in the literature and discusses its peculiarities against the backdrop of the simple pointing gesture.

2 Literature review

'Showing' is a deictic or referential index according to Peirce (Lizka 1996: 38) in that there is contiguity with the object in the world (more so than in 'pointing', cf. below). Moreover, it represents an "effective indicative act" because (a) it involves an "*intrinsic connection* between the signal and its object", (b) it leads the participants "to *focus attention* on that object", and (c) it establishes "a particular *interpretation* of its object" (all Clark 2003: 246, emphasis in the original). However, in gesture studies, 'showing' is often excluded when considering definitions of indices, e.g. "an index isolates a referent by pointing to it with hand and/or gaze direction" (Duncan et al. 2007: 54). Importantly, the action of 'showing' involves grasping the relevant object, i.e. prehensile acts or prehension (cf. Streeck 47–51), a rather mundane human activity. Even signing (in sign languages) is possible with an object in hand, "a kind of compact indexing of a topic while commenting on it" (Hoiting and Slobin 2007: 60). Hence, the "*domain of scrutiny*, where the addressee should look to find the *target* of the point, the particular entity being pointed at" (Goodwin 2003: 221, emphasis in the original) here is close to the speaker, *this* rather than *that*. In contrast to object-adaptors, i.e. a non-instrumental playing-around with objects like pencils or cigarettes (Ekman and Friesen 1972: 364), 'showing' involves the conscious decision to use an object for interactional purposes.

Fundamentally, the use of an object does not preclude that some human action is conceived of as a gesture; hence, Streeck (2009), who focuses on the difference between conventionality and improvisation with regard to gestural practices here, states that:

Many gestures that individuals produce are idiosyncratic and opportunistic, making use of locally available material such as prior gestures, practical actions that are currently being carried out, or even props such as objects on the table before them. (Streeck 2009: 5)

So, for instance, while the use of a cup to drink would usually not be thought of as a gesture, even though it informs (e.g. it informs co-interlocutors about the current state of availability for talk similar to signals like wind socks, which inform people about the current state of the weather), the use of a cup to communicate something (e.g. the closing of a conversation, as in Laurier 2008) must be taken into consideration when discussing the embodiment of human communication.

The term 'showing', used to refer to the embodied action of drawing an interlocutor's attention to some referent in the world as relevant for the current activity, is often used with regard to 'pointing', i.e. the action of 'showing by pointing' has been discussed (Ekman and Friesen 1969: 62). Pointing is a "situated practice" (Goodwin 2003),

constituted as a meaningful act through the mutual contextualization of a range of semiotic resources including at least (a) a body visibly performing an act of pointing; (b) talk that both elaborates and is elaborated by the act of pointing; (c) the properties of the space that is the target of the point; (d) the orientation of relevant participants toward the target of the point; and (e) the larger activity within which the pointing is embedded. (Goodwin 2003: 219)

There is scarce consideration in the literature of instances of 'showing' that include picking up the object thus made relevant. Goodwin (2003) discusses people with objects in their hands who are gesturing. In his data, it is archeologists with a map in their hands. However, it is not so much the map itself, which is shown as an object, but some place on the map that is made relevant with the help of a pointing gesture with a trowel. And certainly, it is not the trowel that is shown to the fellow archeologist; rather, the trowel is used to perform the pointing on the map (cf. Goodwin 2007 for the use of objects to make some other referent salient). A consideration of similar gestures including an object used for pointing can be found in Streeck (2009: 74f). He describes a car mechanic picking up a headlight, and pointing to the frame to ask whether the frame can be bought separately. Hence, it is not the headlight itself, but a part of it that is made relevant through a separate pointing gesture. Streeck (1996: 371) also discusses how a cookie is turned into a representative of the general class of cookies while being shown. Pitsch et al. (2014) describe how high arches in the movement of objects are used to guide a young infant's gaze. In early second language teaching, objects are shown in the process of the (de-/re-)contextualization of words (Dausendschön-Gay 2012) or as an attempt to furnish incentives for talk (Dausendschön-Gay 2006). Richards and Rodgers (2014) list, for instance, plastic models but also actual newspapers or maps as realia in task-based or communicative language teaching (Richards and Rodgers 2014: 101, 189). In the literature on talk-in-interaction and its embodiment during surgery, often some body part is shown, however, again it is instruments that are used to point to the body part (e.g. Mondada 2003, Bezemer et al. 2011). There is a clear lack of description in the literature of making something salient by picking it up, i.e. the action of 'showing'.

Most relevant to highlighting the specific properties of 'showing', Clark (2003) differentiates between transitory 'directing-to', where the addressee's attention is drawn to an object (e.g. by 'pointing'), and continuing 'placing-for', where an object is placed for the addressee's attention (e.g. when placing an item on the counter in a shop). These two techniques of indicating "contrast on what speakers try to manipulate: the addressee's attention, or the object of the indication" (Clark 2003: 248). While the 'indexing site' (the place made relevant in talk with which the object to be found is associated) is presupposed by

the speaker when placing-for ('site-exploiting', i.e. the counter is there to be used), it must be created when directing-to ('site-creating') (Clark 2003: 249). Hence, directing-to is usually accompanied by talk, e.g. 'pointing' is often accompanied by demonstratives. When placing-for, on the other hand, the interpretation of the object is "derived from conventions about how things at that site are to be interpreted" (Clark 2003: 250). Importantly for the general discussion in this volume, placing follows the 'preparatory principle' in that "the participants in a joint activity are to interpret acts of placement by considering them as direct preparation for the next steps in that activity" (Clark 2003: 206); it also adjunctly follows the accessibility principle: "an object is in a better place for the next step in a joint activity when it is more accessible for the vision, audition, touch or manipulation required in the next step" (Clark 2003: 261). Hence, placing-for in these data should evoke the activity of 'Aufräumen' and ease the identification, classification, and appropriate manipulation of objects used within that activity.

In a similar endeavor, but against the background of video-mediated communication (VMC), Rosenbaun and Licoppe (2017) describe 'showing' as

an umbrella term to gloss a set of practices through which some particular feature of the environment that is initially unequally available in perceptual terms to all co-participants, is made into a relevant 'showable' and manipulated so as to be reshaped into a joint focus of attention. (Rosenbaun and Licoppe 2017: 419–420)

The particularities of VMC make the camera the central pivot in the interaction so that 'showing' is accomplished either by turning the camera (Licoppe and Morel 2014) or by moving the object to the camera, often called 'sharing' in computer-mediated communication (cf. Rosenbaun and Licoppe [2017: 420] for literature about 'showing' in VMC). One clear difference from the data here is that there is not an a priori access imbalance between 'shower' and 'showee'. Also, the three-part sequential organization consisting of preliminary work, the gesture itself, and the reception (Rosenbaun and Licoppe 2017: 421) can only partly be confirmed by the data here. This difference does not emerge because of the contingencies of VMC, but it is connected to the overarching topic of this volume, activities in interaction. Because of the general framing of the actions by the dyad as 'aufräumen', the preliminary work of framing the object "the way the showable should be seen" (Rosenbaun and Licoppe 2017: 421), namely as something that needs to find a new place or be discarded, does not need to be repeated for every single instantiation of the gesture 'showing'. Since the gesture 'showing' represents a repetitive, vital, constitutive step in the general course of action, there

is no need for this preliminary work. Even though there are side-sequences and exogenous disturbances like phone calls in the recording, the moment Dad produces the gesture 'showing', "the way the showable should be seen" is recovered from the general context of the activity. For the same reason, the girl does not need to display that she sees the 'showable' "as it was framed" (Rosenbaun and Licoppe 2017: 421). In the course of the ongoing activity, the framing of the 'showable' as *aufräumbar* 'sortable' is continuous so that it is sufficient for the girl to display that she can see the object.

3 Data

The data consist of a thirty minute recording of a father-daughter dyad who are doing what they call 'Aufräumen' i.e. they are tidying the girl's room sorting through it. During this activity, the gesture 'showing' is used 34 times by the dad. Dad (D) is a roughly fifty-year-old German middle-class academic. The girl Merit³ (M) is bilingual in German and French, but she only speaks German with her father. She is eight years old. The recording is done by the mother with the family's video camera. The mother mainly lies on the girl's bed while filming the two. The father had decided himself that day that it was high time to clean the girl's room. The mother then filmed this activity, based on the general prompting of the researcher to record moments "when family members get something done together." The family lives in the Saarland, a small state in South-West Germany that borders France. They speak Standard German since the parents are from different parts of Germany.

The data were transcribed in GAT 2 transcription conventions (Selting et al. 2009) using Transana (Fassnacht and Woods 2005). Video stills were made with the help of Adobe Premiere Elements 11 and were anonymised and cut using Adobe Photoshop Elements 11.

4 The activity of tidying a room 'Aufräumen'

The 'showing' gesture, or, in general, any linguistic or multimodal item, can only be understood in context, and context in talk-in-interaction encompasses the activity that is being jointly constructed by the interlocutors. To start with a description of the actions identified in the data under discussion here, at the beginning of the recording, the father had moved all stray items into the middle of the room, i.e. he identified them as not-in-the-right-place and gathered them on the floor together with all the other stuff that was already lying there. The

³ Names have been anonymised.

activity 'Aufräumen' essentially consists of a number of steps that are repeated for every item to be sorted (see Table 5.1 below). For a first impression of these steps, see Transcript 5.1; a more detailed transcription will be discussed in its sequentiality and multimodal embodiment in section 5, the main part of the paper.

Transcript 5.1 09:05-09:14

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | D | SO; |
| 2 | | was ham wa denn HIER, (D picks up item and shows it to M)
what have we then HERE
what is this |
| 3 | | MInidinos; (girl quickly turns) |
| 4 | | (2.0) (both look at the objects) |
| 5 | | können WEG;
can AWAY
can get thrown out |
| 6 | | Oder?
Or
right |
| 7 | M | JA.
Yes |
| 8 | | (1.0) (Dad throws minidinos on a pile outside the room) |
| 9 | D | SO; |

First, Dad often⁴ uses *so* as a boundary signal to indicate that one step has been accomplished and the next object will now be sorted (cf. lines 1 and 9, Transcript 5.1).

⁴ The interesting question regarding under what circumstances *so* is left out by the father has to be answered elsewhere. There does not seem to be a direct connection to the 'showing' gesture, which is the main focus of this paper.

The activity *aufräumen*

- D so
- D picks up an item
- D shows it to M
- Establishment of a joint activity space and mutual orientation
- D + M identify and classify the item
 - (a) as not meaningful (for the girl) = waste / rubbish
 - → gets thrown on a pile just outside her room
 - (b) as meaningful (for the girl) = something to be kept
 - → decision about where to insert it in the emerging new local order of her room
 - → gets put together with items of the same class / starts new class of items
- D puts down the item
- D so

Table 5.1: Aufräumen

<TABLE 5.1 ABOUT HERE>

Hence the main part of their activity involves the following sequential steps (see Table 5.1): When the father (D) picks up an item, first a joint activity space and mutual orientation need to be established with his daughter (M). This typically includes body (re-)orientation, gaze (re-)directions, manipulation of the object/gestures ('showing'), and verbal actions. In this case, Dad offers a candidate categorisation (*MInidinos*, line 3).⁵ As a next step, they decide together whether an object needs to get sorted in the first place. If something is identified as nothing, as rubbish (*können WEG, can get thrown out*, line 5), it gets thrown onto a pile outside the room by the father. If, however, the item represents something, it needs to be categorised in order to identify its place in the local order of the room. These steps may also occur together as one action. They represent in-situ negotiations of the meaningfulness of objects for the current activity and, concurrently, decisions about the meaningfulness of objects in the future play world of the child. In other words, the two participants may have different goals during the activity of clearing the room: While the father may not understand the meaningfulness of some of the objects and, hence, may tend towards throwing things out, the girl has to negotiate their relevance carefully so that they will be categorised and

⁵ In this example (Transcript 5.1), an item is categorised even though it is later thrown out. This is not mandatory for objects ending on the rubbish pile. Only for the meaningful objects is a categorisation strictly necessary.

reinserted into the partly emerging new local order of her room (cf. Goodwin 2007 for conflicting stances during an activity between a father and a daughter).

During this activity not only talk is emergent, but the physical context is also shaped through the talk, while the father and daughter construct different meaningful piles of objects. The surroundings shape the language, while the language shapes the surroundings. The participants use different resources to construct a meaningful activity which includes constructing meaningful talk and constructing a meaningful local order for the girl's things. The activity, the talk, and the order are emergent and negotiable, not pre-defined, finished plans.

With regard to language use, this process of sorting may include naming the object, e.g. D: *WAS ist mit deiner UHR hier (what about your watch here)*. However, this does not necessarily entail a classification as representing something to be kept: M: *Die is kaPUTT (it's broken)*, which triggers a candidate understanding by D: *die DIE kann WEG (it it can get thrown out)*. Alternatively, it may also consist of a vague reference to its function, e.g. M: *da warn doch diese TEILE drin (in there were those parts)*. Furthermore, subcategories emerge as different objects are classified as similar by being moved into the same spot, D: *soll_ch_ma die SCHLÜSselanhänger auch zum SCHMUCK machen (shall I put the keychains also with the jewellery)*. While some objects are categorised easily and without dispute, unclear cases may trigger longer sequences, work on reference and indexicality, and repair and opposition from one of the partners.

From a multimodal perspective, one specific gesture marks the recording: Dad picking up an object and moving it in the direction of the girl. Within the roughly 30-minute recording (during which there is also a lot of distraction, e.g. with Dad leaving the room), there are 34 occurrences of 'showing'. This gesture 'showing' is the focus of the main part of the paper. We will see that it represents a resource to engage the girl in tidying her room, an activity in which she might only be participating reluctantly.

5 Tidying the room as a collaborative activity

In the following, a question-answer pair by the dyad will be analyzed with regard to the resources the dad uses to engage his daughter in their joint activity of sorting through her room and with regard to the girl's replies. It is important for Dad to establish this activity as a collaborative undertaking for two reasons: First, by downgrading himself epistemically, he

indicates that it is his daughter's room and her things. Even though he may be hierarchically and exogenously in a position of power as a father, in the interactions in the data, his questioning clearly indicates that she has authority in her own realm. Although legally the parents own everything in the house, the interactions position the girl as the owner of the things and the room(s). The activity is constructed as not being achievable without her, since she is positioned as the one with knowledge and authority. Second, and at the same time, by continuously verbalizing the a priori non-verbal activity of cleaning, the dad also makes the necessary steps of sorting salient (cf. how archeologists learn to see as professionals through 'pointing' Goodwin 2003: 235f.). In a way, the father is teaching the daughter how to do this, so that she will be able to do it on her own later. Hence, Dad's specific way of doing sorting through the room enculturates the girl and indexes general societal norms about duties, responsibility, and also parenting. Clearly, in other cultures, such an encounter between a father and a daughter might not be conceivable.⁶

5.1 Establishing a joint activity space and mutual orientation by 'showing'

Transcript 5.2 represents the question-answer pair that will be discussed in detail in its embodiment:

Transcript 5.2 03:19-03:25

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| 1 | M | [[((humming))]] |
| 2 | D | [MERit was isn DAS hier,
MERit what isPTCL THIS here
Merit what's this here |
| 3 | M | (0.8)((3.2 including humming and breathing)) |
| 4 | | ((humming)) |
| 5 | | h° DAS? (0.1)
THAT?
that? |
| 6 | | da warn doch diese TEile drin;
there were PTCL those PARTs therein;
there were those parts in there; |

⁶ In fact, simply the sheer number of things the girl owns (which in the end makes the activity necessary), and the fact that she has her own room and a nursery she shares with a sibling, two rooms where her things can be put, are clearly not universal circumstances of upbringing.

As a first step, Dad picks up the item he has chosen to sort next while concurrently addressing the child, *Merit what's this here* (line 2). His hand and arm move towards the little box so that shortly before reaching it, he utters the girl's name *Merit* (cf. Figure 5.5) and, on grabbing it, he starts the question *what*. The rising intonation at the end of the wh-question indicates that it is a "genuine question" ("echte Frage" Selting 1991: 268). Figures 5.5–5.8 illustrate the accompanying embodiment of this question.



Figure 5.5 *Merit* (line 1)

<FIGURE 5.5 ABOUT HERE>

The girl, at the beginning of this interchange, is sitting on her desk sorting paper clips into different colours, fabricating one long chain of colour-sorted paper clips to be hung next to her desk (cf. Figure 5.5). So from a child's perspective, she might be able to claim that she is also sorting things, only on a small scale. She has been humming a little tune for over a minute at that point, which lasts roughly 3 seconds before it resumes after an inbreath. Her dad's utterance and her tune end at the exact same moment (lines 1 and 2). The girl's body and gaze are oriented towards the paper clips on the desk. Her right shoulder is turned slightly inwards and, together with her legs, shields her activity on the desk from her father's sight.⁷ Together with her humming, her demeanor signals "doing being immersed" in her activity. Dad, on the other hand, has positioned himself in a way that allows him to do 'showing' in this dyad. He faces the girl, and the objects to be sorted are within easy reach. His self-placement (Clark 2003: 256f) signals an invitation to interact.⁸

⁷ This may also simply be a reflection of her sitting on the desk and having to shift her weight accordingly (cf. also her "fall" from the desk later in the transcript).

⁸ That Dad is in the uncomfortable position of having to do a body torque (Schegloff 1998) to throw the objects that will be discarded behind him underlines that he has made a strategic decision to face the girl rather than positioning himself in a way that would allow him easy access to the different piles of objects that are being sorted.

After taking the little box with his right hand, Dad moves it towards himself, passes it to his left hand, removes a piece of paper with his right (on *here*, end of line 2; Figure 5.6), and then moves the box towards the girl. So at the end of his utterance and the girl's tune (end of line 2), he starts stretching out his hand towards the girl. He has a quizzical look on his face while still gazing at the box. At the apex of the gesture, he tilts the box towards the girl and looks up, gazing at her. The lid of the little box is open; he presents the inside of the box to her (cf. Figures 5.7 and 5.8).⁹

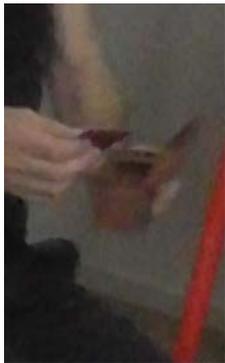


Figure 5.6 03:20.8 (line 2)



Figure 5.7 03:21.2 (line 3)



Figure 5.8 03:21.2 (line 3)

<FIGURE 5.6 ABOUT HERE> <FIGURE 5.7 ABOUT HERE> <FIGURE 5.8 ABOUT HERE>

5.2 The 'showing' gesture

As a working definition for the action of 'showing', the shower moves an object into the projected¹⁰ field of vision of the 'showee', and then shifts his or her gaze from the object to the showee (cf. Figures 5.7, but also Figure 5.3 above). Once the showee looks at the object, the shower removes his or her gaze from the showee and gazes back at the object (see below and Figure 5.2 above).

A reaction from the daughter has been made relevant with the help of different resources, including some that have been described as "response mobilizing features" (Stivers and Rossano 2010): prosodically, through the use of rising intonation (cf. the comma for rising intonation, end of line 2); verbally, through the use of a term of address (*MErit*) and an interrogative sentence (*was isn DAS hier*, cf. also Transcript 5.1 *was ham wa denn HIER*);

⁹ Since the slip of paper would have fallen out of the box at this point, this might be why he had chosen to remove it from the box earlier.

¹⁰ Note that the girl is still looking down at the paper clips on her desk at this moment.

sequentially, through the use of a first pair part of an adjacency pair; and, multimodally, through the father's facial expression¹¹ (cf. the quizzical face, Figure 5.7), his gaze (at the girl), the positioning of his body, and the 'showing' gesture (cf. also Figures 5.1–5.4). Furthermore, through the use of the pronoun *this (das)* (signifying single, countable object only) rather than, for instance, a noun phrase *this box*, the dad puts his daughter in the position of an expert who can identify and categorise the objects in her room ("recipient-tilted epistemic asymmetry"; Stivers and Rossano 2010: 23). This again heightens the relevance of a response from her. Importantly, this response is not only relevant within the question-answer sequence, but it represents a necessary step in the activity of tidying the room, namely the identification of objects. Hence, the father has now employed a range of resources to engage the girl in their joint activity through her following his projected course of actions.

Let us return to the four examples of 'showing' from the beginning of the paper which will be reprinted for convenience here. They exemplify similar patterns of embodiment by the dad (and uptake by the girl, in that she looks at the object):

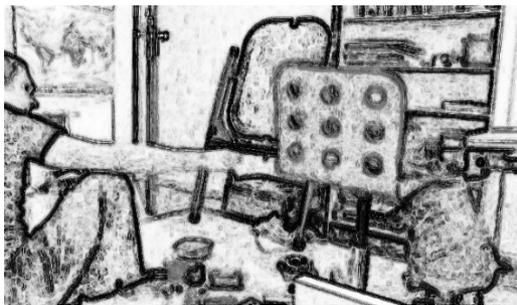


Figure 5.1 08:30 Showing I

<FIGURE 5.1 ABOUT HERE>

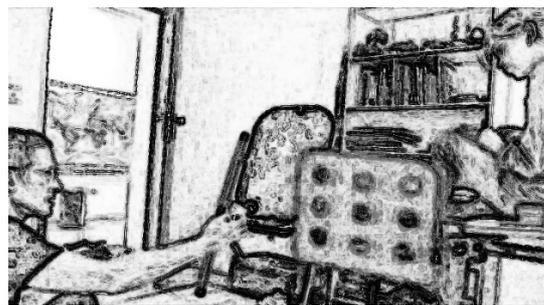


Figure 5.2 10:21 Showing II

<FIGURE 5.2 ABOUT HERE>



Figure 5.3 15:12 Showing III

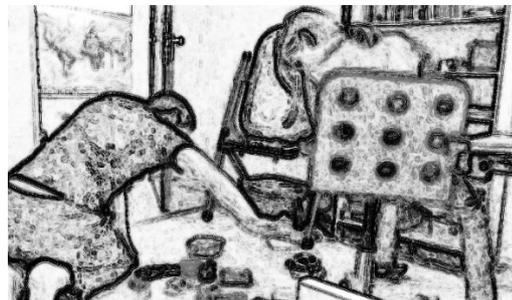


Figure 5.4 09:11 Showing IV

¹¹ Since the girl is currently looking at the paper clips on her desk, it is unclear what she can pick up with her peripheral vision: while the action of 'showing', foremost as a movement, is probably discernable, it is questionable whether she is also able to discern a facial expression. In other words, while the quizzical expression of the father might be a cue for the analyst, for the co-participant, the daughter, it might simply not be visible.

<FIGURE 5.3 ABOUT HERE> <FIGURE 5.4 ABOUT HERE>

In these four instances, verbally, Dad also employs similar resources. Here is the talk accompanying Figure 5.1:

Transcript 5.3 08:27-08:30 Showing I

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | D | KUck ma;
look PTCL
have a look |
| 2 | | was isn DAMit,
what isPTCL herewith
what about this here |
| 3 | | gehört das zu- auch zu dem Geschenk für Sarah,
belongs this to- also to the gift for Sarah
is this part of- also part of the gift for Sarah |

In this first instance (Figure 5.1, Showing I), we find a kind of summons (*kUck ma, have a look*) and, again, an interrogative sentence, a question, in rising intonation (*was isn DAMit, what about this here,*). Similarly (Figure 5.2, Showing II), *Was isn da DRIN What's in there,* elicits a categorisation of something in a little paper bag. In *ja is das überhaupt DEIns, well is this actually yours* (Figure 5.3, Showing III), Dad raises the question of ownership for the categorisation of the object, which is obviously a book. So in that case the categorisation does not consist of the identification of the object as such, but instead raises the moral question of whether the girl has any of her brother's belongings in her room. Finally, Figure 5.4 represents the end of line 2 of Transcript 5.1, *was ham wa denn HIER*. These examples show that the dad uses the following resources:

Resources used by dad

- Prosody
 - Rising intonation
- Language
 - Term of address
 - Interrogative sentence
- Sequentiality
 - FPP of question-answer adjacency pair
- Multimodality/Embodiment
 - Facial expression (might not be discernible for the daughter)
 - Positioning of the body
 - Gaze
 - Gesture ('showing')

Table 5.2: Resources used by dad

<TABLE 5.2 ABOUT HERE>

Importantly, by picking up the object (rather than, for example, pointing to it), Dad concurrently starts the practical activity of 'sorting', marking a visible step in this activity. So this gesture not only begins the action of identification or classification, but also accomplishes a halting point in their joint practical endeavor of removing unnecessary things from the girl's room and moving relevant things into the right places. The 'showing' gesture freezes the object in a midposition between 'unsorted thing' and 'thing in the right place' so that the father represents an embodied agent of the activity, not as an enactment, but as a practical accomplishment. In other words, he is not only talking 'tidying the room'; he is also doing 'tidying the room.' So 'showing' abides by both Clark's preparatory and accessibility principles (2003). On the one hand, grasping the object is a necessary preparatory step for the ongoing activity. On the other hand, it makes the object more accessible for vision and later manipulations.

To return to the discussion of Transcript 5.2, the uses of a summons (*Merit*), demonstrative (*this*), and locatives (*here*) (all line 2) have been described as typical for directing-to as a composite signal, since the indexing site must first be created and talk is a powerful means of doing so. Such verbal signals are considered essential to the interpretation of directing-to (Clark 2003: 253). In the case here, however, language is not essential to the interpretation of the father's gesture. Looking at Figure 5.7, at the embodiment only, the

referent, object, or most salient item is clear without considering the accompanying talk.

Rather, the dad here uses the words to establish mutual orientation. Hence the primary role of the words is to help create a joint activity space; the gesture itself would be sufficient to create the indexing site.

'Showing' projects a number of reactions on different plains (see table 5.3): Verbally, an answer, syntactically, in Transcript 5.2, a noun phrase has been made relevant. As a first part of an adjacency pair, an answer is required by the girl. Multimodally, 'showing' strongly projects a gaze redirection to the object which may require a repositioning of the body. These probably represent context-independent contingencies of 'showing'.

'Showing' projects	
◦ verbally	→ an answer (syntactically here: an NP)
◦ sequentially	→ SPP of question-answer adjacency pair
◦ multimodally	→ gaze
	→ potentially repositioning of the body
◦ within the activity as next action:	
	cognitively/ epistemically → classification and identification
	practically → putting the object in the right place
◦ within the participation framework → roles:	
	dad as layperson, Merit as expert

Table 5.3: Projections of 'showing'

<TABLE 5.3 ABOUT HERE>

As a projected next step in the activity, here 'showing' projects both the identification of the object and the movement into the next place. Within the participation framework, Dad positions himself as a layperson and Merit as an expert. And these roles, in turn, entail that Dad cannot do 'Aufräumen' without his constructing a moral obligation for the girl to join him in this endeavor. These later projections depend on the larger framework into which the 'showing' gesture is embedded, and on the activities it concurrently constitutes in its employment (cf. section 5.3).

When the girl does not react appropriately, for instance by her withholding the gaze shift, the father marks her behaviour as unsatisfactory:

Transcript 5.4 09:32-09:37

- 1 D un was is DAs,
 and what is that
- 2 (1.8) ((dad picks something up from the floor))
- 3 M was is WAs; ((dad shows it to girl)
 what is what
- 4 D DA;t
 there
 here
- 5 (1.0)
- 6 GUcken;
 Look-INF

In Transcript 4, the father asks the girl about the nature of an object (line 2) before actually showing it to her (line 3). This may be the reason why the girl does not shift her gaze towards the object when the apex of the gesture 'showing', "the point of maximal gestural excursion" (Wagner et al. 2014: 210), is reached. Instead, there is a repair sequence, *was is Was, what is what* (line 3) and *DA, here* (line 4), which seems to be linked to the mismatch between embodied and verbal behaviour (Hayashi et al. 2013). However, the girl does not react with her body. Dad is doing 'showing', but there is no answer (line 5). Interestingly, he then admonishes her lack of gaze behaviour rather than voicing, for instance, a complaint about her not answering his question from line 1. This seems to indicate that a shift of gaze towards the object shown is the central action for the showee to perform as the reception of the gesture.¹²

5.3 Resistance by the daughter

Transcript 5.4 above does not represent the only moment in the recording where reluctance to join her father in tidying the room can be seen in the behaviour of the daughter. To return to the ongoing discussion of Transcript 5.2, shortly before Dad reaches the apex of the gesture,

¹² Examples where the girl looks but does not offer a categorisation of an object have to be discussed elsewhere. In this specific context, it seems sufficient for the dad when the girl signals the reception of the gesture by displaying that she can see the 'showable'. The father simply continues in the general course of action by turning her non-classification of the object into tacit agreement through various embodied and verbal practices. Rather than marking her behaviour as morally questionable or non-cooperative, the dad treats her only 'looking at the object' as an affirmation of his own classifications.

doing 'showing', 0.8 seconds after the end of his first pair part, the girl starts humming again (line 3).

Transcript 5.2 03:19-03:25

- 1 M [((humming))]
 2 D [MErit was isn DAS hier,
 MErit what isPTCL THIS here
 Merit what's this here
 3 M (0.8)((3.2 including humming and breathing))
 4 ((humming))
 5 h° DAS? (0.1)
 THAT?
 that?
 6 da warn doch diese TEile drin;
 there were PTCL those PARTs therein;
 there were those parts in there;

Since humming is an action that occupies the channels of communication, the daughter seemingly employs it as 'involvement shield' (Ayass 2014, Goffman 1963) to indicate that she is not quite available for the activity projected by her dad. In this way, she actively maintains non-participation or 'civil inattention' (Goffman 1959). As Stevanovic (2013) describes the function of 'humming' in talk-in-interaction:

Ideally, there should be no distractions that hinder the progress of the participants' main activity. Thus, humming can be used as a way to display one's awareness of these expectations. It is a way to underline one's "cooperative stance" (Goodwin 2007) despite the current unsatisfactory situation. (Stevanovic 2013: 130)

So rather than displaying a morally questionable behaviour like leaving the room or simply ignoring her father to avoid the joint activity of 'Aufräumen', actions for which she could be held accountable, she hums a little tune to signal that she is just momentarily unavailable or preoccupied, thus decreasing the pressure of an immediate response by "maintain[ing] the separateness of the participants' activities, [...] signal[ing] a need for 'time-out' from the joint activity" (Stevanovic 2013: 133). According to Stevanovic, it is primarily in goal-oriented interactions where the "morality of humming" (2013: 134) comes into play. In an "open state of talk" (Goffman 1981), for instance, while watching television (Gerhardt 2014), humming has no moral dimension. If however, the participants have to achieve something together, humming can be used to suspend the "turn-taking machinery" (Sacks et al. 1974) momentarily and, hence, also the activity currently in progress, in a socially acceptable way.

However, since the father has framed their gathering in the girl's room as an "encounter" (Goffman 1961) with a clear goal, this momentary suspension cannot be held up for long by the girl. Indeed, 0.3 seconds after the apex of his gesture (1.2 seconds after the end of his utterance), the girl starts turning her head towards Dad and the box while maintaining the humming. At the moment she starts turning her head, he shifts his gaze back to the box in his hand. Seemingly, he registers her move towards accomplishing mutual orientation, so now he can shift his gaze back at the object of interest. Since Merit has been looking down at the paper clips and since her father (and the box) are on her right, she must now turn her head both to the right and upwards (not turning upwards would entail looking down at floor after her turn). Hence, necessarily, her gaze hits the box before it could, for instance, hit her dad's eyes (either for mutual eye contact or to see where he is looking). It is essentially dad's placement of the box (and himself) that accomplish this. Shortly before Merit's gaze catches the box (cf. Figure 5.10), Dad starts rotating it (cf. Figure 5.9).



Figure 5.9 03:21.08



Figure 5.10 03:22.4



Figure 5.11 03:22.8

<FIGURE 5.9 ABOUT HERE> <FIGURE 5.10 ABOUT HERE> <FIGURE 5.11 ABOUT HERE>

The rotation accompanies the 'maintenance phase' (Clark 2003: 259) of the gesture. On the one hand, this movement may make the box physiologically more visible; on the other hand, this rotation represents a further display of the relevance of the box for their current activity. Similar to an increment on the verbal level (Schegloff 1996), it can be used to clarify the referent (again).¹³ In contrast to 'pointing', which might allow repetition or prolongation of the gesture, 'showing' inherently offers the possibility of manipulating the object in both time and space. Hence, this rotation allows the dad to prolong the gesture of 'showing' from the

¹³ This rotation seems to serve a purpose similar to that of the use of a demonstrative in right dislocation (cf. Gerhardt [2014: 94–97] where television viewers use the demonstrative pronoun *that* as an increment to reconnect their talk to earlier scenes on television).

transitory fleetingness of 'directing-to' to the continuing state of 'placing-for' (Clark 2003: 262).

At first, Dad keeps gazing at the box while rotating it. Halfway through the (nearly) 180° rotation (cf. Figure 5.11), he looks up at Merit again. His eyes and his hand with the box turn upwards concurrently. The extent to which the girl is monitoring the gaze behaviour of her dad cannot be seen on the tape. However, shortly (0.2 seconds) after her dad gazes at her, Merit opens her mouth and sticks her tongue into her cheek.¹⁴ She also opens her eyes wide and raises her eyebrows (cf. Figure 5.12).



Figure 5.12 03:23.3

<FIGURE 5.12 ABOUT HERE>

Eyebrow-raising and mouth-opening have been described as markers of surprise in assessments (Peräkylä & Ruusuruori 2006) and, arguably, the anticipated action of the girl represents an assessment in that the objects have to be evaluated as 'useful' or 'useless'. I would venture to say that the girl's expression here is a display of "wait, I'm thinking" and of deep concentration on the difficult task of identifying and naming this object. While her humming, this particular facial expression, and her inbreath (see below) may be a portrayal of the difficulty of this specific classification or her reluctance to take part in this activity, they are clearly not projected by dad's 'showing'.

Meanwhile, Dad finishes rotating the box to the right and starts rotating it back to the left. The girl then quickly turns her head back to the paper clips on the table in front of her, emitting a discernable inbreath. Right at the end of her head turn, 3.2 seconds after her dad's verbal utterance, she finally answers *that? there were those parts in there;*. On *that*, she is

¹⁴ Based on the context of its use, tongue-in-cheek has been assigned different meanings: e.g. contact avoidance in unfocused interaction (Givens 1981: 225, but see Cary 1979) or jesting (Poggi et al. 2007, Attardo et al. 2003, Smith et al. 1981: 520 (all in passing only)). In German, this facial expression does not evoke the idea of "tongue-in-cheek," a fixed phrase which does not exist in German. From personal observation, German children seem to stick their tongue into their cheek in moments of deep concentration, e.g. during writing acquisition or when drawing. There do not seem to be any in-depth studies of this phenomenon.

looking down at her paper clips (and her dad is now a quarter of the way through the rotation back) (cf. Figure 5.13)



Figure 5.13 03:23.8 DAS?

<FIGURE 5.13 ABOUT HERE>



Figure 5.14 03:23.9 da

<FIGURE 5.14 ABOUT HERE>



Figure 5.15 03:24.0 warn

<FIGURE 5.15 ABOUT HERE>



Figure 5.16 03:24.9 end of diese

<FIGURE 5.16 ABOUT HERE>

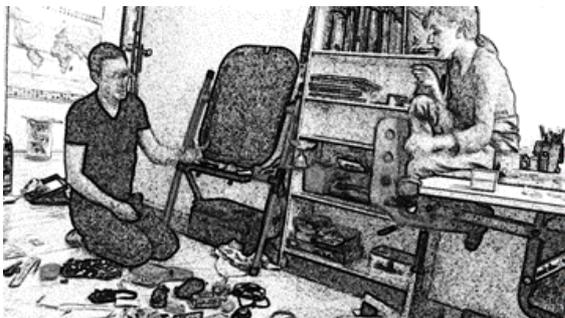


Figure 5.17 03:25.0 onset Teile

<FIGURE 5.17 ABOUT HERE>



Figure 5.18 03:24.4 end of Teile

<FIGURE 5.18 ABOUT HERE>

Note the girl's clasped hands from the beginning of the scene (cf. Figure 5.5). She has been holding individual paper clips, as well as the chain she is producing, in her hands

throughout. She has been sorting them by picking up clips of different colours into her two hands, holding them before attaching them to the long chain. So her body and her hands have been occupied with her own activity throughout. However, after having spotted the next clip to be sorted on the desk, she immediately turns back towards her dad. On *there*, her head is already moving back (while her index finger and thumb are moving towards the paper clip) (cf. Figure 5.14).

5.4 Termination of the sequence

Dad has by now rotated the box another 180°. He is still intently looking at the girl. In other words, he is still showing her the box. On *were*, the girl's gaze reaches the box again (and she has finished picking up the paper clip) (cf. Figure 5.15). Also, the dad has reached the apex of the rotation at this point. Again, he sees the girl's gaze at the box and moves into the termination phase (Clark 2003: 259) of the gesture. Merit now initiates the next relevant action. Dad's gaze shifts to the box again (cf. Figure 5.16), at the end of *these*.¹⁵ Finally, on *parts*, both move their gaze away from the box and further down (cf. Figures 5.17 and 5.18). So after having finished turning towards her dad and the box (cf. Figure 5.16), Merit prolongs her bodily shift to an orientation towards the slips of paper (*these parts*) that her dad has in his hand,¹⁶ which turn out to be relevant for the identification and classification of the box. Also, Dad turns a little to the right from the box, which he held between them, to the objects on the carpet (cf. Figure 5.14). So they continue to have a joint activity space, but their orientation is no longer on the box at this moment. Note the difference in her "postural orientation" (Goodwin 2003) between the first time she looks at the box (cf. Figure 5.10) and the second time, when *these parts* becomes relevant (cf. Figures 5.16–5.18). Finally she is fully engaged in their joint activity of identifying objects and, hence, of cleaning the room.

To sum up, body posture, gaze (Dad: box → girl → box → girl → box), facial expressions, gestures, and talk all come together to turn 'showing' into a meaningful step in the activity of cleaning the room. It helps engage the girl into that activity by positioning her as an expert. In creating a joint activity space and mutual orientation, it represents a specific practice to attain

¹⁵ In this still (Figure 5.16), it does not look as if he is retracting his arm, but on the video it is clearly visible.

¹⁶ The verbal exchange concerning the box continues for another 13.2 seconds during which Merit first needs to clarify what *these parts* are (her dad is looking down at the floor rather than at the slips in his hands) and during which the two negotiate the relevance of the box and the slips of paper, until 03:40.2 when Dad puts the box down as having to be reintroduced into the emerging new order of the room. This will have to be analyzed elsewhere.

this necessary precondition for a joint activity which is not arbitrary, but suitable. The maintenance phase of 'showing' seems to require gazing at the girl to check whether the object and the gesture are being noticed. Once the dad assumes a move to mutual orientation by the girl, he moves his gaze back to the object of attention. Even though the nature of the object is still not clear after the girl's responsive act, the dad signals his accepting it as such by terminating the gesture of 'showing'. The actual identification and categorisation of the object, as in this case, may represent a separate step altogether. Hence 'showing' must be seen as one step in the activity of 'Aufräumen' which may or may not coincide with the actual identification and classification process.

6 Conclusion

We have seen that 'showing' can be classified as 'pointing' according to Goodwin's definition of 'pointing' as an act of contextualization drawing on the gesture itself, talk, space, an achievement of mutual orientation by the participants, and the larger activity (2003: 219), which constitutes the activity at the same time. In other words, it is a gesture. Even though it includes the prehension of an object, the gesture is clearly a sign used to communicate. Furthermore, it is not only a potentially informing step, but also the beginning of the practical step in the act of moving an object around. 'Showing' represents a gesture that makes use of locally available material within an activity (cf. Streeck 2009: 5). Turning to Clark's differentiation, when directing-to, "speakers indicate by directing their addressees' attention to a mutually conspicuous site in their perceptual field, and they use that site as an index to other objects" (2003: 255–256). Clearly, this is not the case in 'showing', since the objects and the site are identical and do not function as an index to something else. However, there are also a number of differences between the gesture of 'showing' and Clark's notion of 'placing-for'. Clark discusses examples from places that are highly conventionalised and have a clear physical layout (e.g. drugstores and restaurants). In a child's room, however, there is no preconceived spatial arrangement that is conventionally used for the identification and classification of objects during the activity of 'Aufräumen'. Such a site has to be established (with the help of an array of resources) as a joint activity space that is being mutually oriented to by the participants. This site does not exist outside of their joint activity and it is meaningful and interpretable only when considering the wider framework of the activity of 'Aufräumen'. For this reason, the sequences of actions is accompanied by talk including demonstratives, locatives, and a summons, to create such a joint activity space, with the indexing space being clear from the gesture alone. Fundamentally, the placement site is

neither 'absolute', i.e. independent of the participant's location, nor 'relative', i.e. dependent on the participant's location (for this differentiation, cf. Clark 2003: 258f), but both the placement site and the participants' locations are dependent on, interpretable through, socially appropriate for, and an integral part of the overarching activity of 'Aufräumen' that is being performed and practically achieved in that specific location by these specific people. Compared to Clark's five-point list of advantages of 'placing-for' (2003: 262–263), 'showing' seems to offer roughly the same benefits: Through the long maintaining phase, there is a longer joint 'accessibility of the signal' and 'clarity of the signal'. Also, the object can function as a 'memory aid' and its location can be seen as a 'preparation for the next joint action' in that it is better placed for the next step in the participants' joint activity. However, since 'showing' is accompanied by talk in these data, the 'revocation of the signal' might be less easily achieved than in situations where the signal is purely site-bound (e.g. a queue) and where a removal from that site nullifies the signal. Since 'showing' constitutes a first pair part (together with the other resources Dad uses), its revocation cannot be easily achieved. Furthermore, because 'showing' represents an integral part of the ongoing activity – Dad using it to make the girl participate in the activity of cleaning the room – this would also signify that Dad does not follow through with his general notion about duties and responsibilities during this activity. Dad does sometimes pick up objects in the data to put them down again, in a way testing their suitability for 'showing' and as the next object to be sorted. However, when he does do 'showing', he maintains it (in this case for roughly four seconds) until he gets a response from his daughter. Especially with regard to the discussion of the ease of revocation of the signal (Clark 2003: 263), it would be interesting to see the use of 'showing' in other settings (cf. the second to last paragraph of this chapter). Summing up, in principle, against the backdrop of Clark (2003), 'showing' can be understood as 'placing-for' (only in that there is also talk and the indexing site does not exist exogenously) so that it represents a perfect choice in the course of the activity at hand in both moving the object to a better place ('accessibility principle') and in preparing the next step of the activity ('preparatory principle'). In contrast to Rosenbaun and Licoppe (2017), there is no access imbalance (2017: 420) that is indexed by 'showing' here (again in contrast to pointing): the 'showables' have all been moved onto a pile in the middle of the room, available to both 'shower' and 'showee' for further manipulation framed by their general activity as a 'collection' of 'sortables'. It seems to be the trajectory of the practical activity as well as 'response relevance' that are crucial here for Dad to choose the gesture 'showing' rather than 'pointing'.

With regard to response relevance, the data indicate that 'showing' is a powerful means to increase the relevance of a response (Stivers and Rossano 2010). While 'showing by pointing' has received attention (Goodwin 2007, Kita 2003), including in in gesture studies (Duncan et al. 2007, Streeck 2009), the deictical action of moving an object into the (projected) sight of vision of an interlocutor merits further investigation. While the difference between 'pointing' and 'showing' may partly be based on exogenous criteria like the weight and size of the object made relevant, its nature (physical object or medium), or the proximity of object and interlocutor, this distinction is also relevant for the trajectory of the conversation. For instance, through pointing, parts of objects can be foregrounded (cf. Streeck 2009: 75 'pointing' vs 'tapping'), whereas through 'showing', the object can be manipulated concurrently, as in this case the tilting and rotating of the box. Such manipulations may represent epistemic actions similar to "exploratory procedures" which allow information about the object to be gathered (Kirsh 1995, cited in Streeck 2009: 70). Furthermore, I would maintain that 'showing an object' makes a response more relevant than 'pointing at an object'. It inherently includes a closer association of the speaker and the object: contiguity. Moreover, since 'showing' requires greater effort (picking something up versus extending your index finger¹⁷), it can be seen as a display of a greater commitment. For an extreme case, one may recall situations in which a young child moves an object so close to someone's eyes that one cannot actually see it any longer, a practice used to ensure a reaction from an adult (cf. also first language acquisition and the use of objects to get attention from adults, e.g. Bates et al. 1975: 216). For an emblematic, albeit non-empirical situation, consider Lucas Cranach's depiction of Eve showing an apple to Adam constructing the trajectory of the whole scene as unavoidable and constitutive for humankind.

'Showing' can be found in other settings, e.g. when farmers lift up their merchandise at local farmers markets to show it to their clients (cf. Stukenbrock and Dao this volume). The product is moved closer to the client in this way. It represents an offer, as a first step in a process of transfer. Showing an object rather than pointing at it starts the physical process by making the object leave its place in the collection of the stall. It heightens the commitment as an offer of a first bonding with the client. Another field that directly comes to mind is in language acquisition situations. Children are often shown things (e.g. stuffed animals) in a playful way to get a reaction, either a laugh or a denomination depending on the age of the

¹⁷ Pointing can also be done with other body parts. However, pointing with the index finger is often taken as putatively universal and the prototypical form of pointing (e.g. Kita 2003: 2).

children. In communicative and task-based language teaching, objects are sometimes brought into the classroom as realia (Richards and Rodgers 2014); also, in early second language learning, objects are shown to facilitate learning (Dausendfreund-Gay 2006, 2012). In the American classroom activity "Show and tell," the objects do not have a place in the classroom. They are marked as having been brought in from outside. Indeed, the engagement with the object is much higher than if the kids decided to place it on the teacher's desk and point at it. The 'showing' gesture projects a gaze shift towards the object; it remains to be seen whether there is an over-arching general function associated with this gesture and whether it has a similar multimodal gestalt in its interplay with other resources, space, epistemics, and the rights and obligations of the participants. When it comes to its interplay with language, clearly 'pointing' can be associated with far-from-speaker distal *that* (*Look at that...*), while 'showing' matches or accompanies close-to-speaker proximate *this* (*Would you like to buy this, what is this...*). Further research on the use of 'showing' in different settings would address the question of whether 'showing' is more prone to be used as first pair part, in questions, requests, or offers, and whether 'pointing' tends to be used more in second pair parts, as answers, acceptance, or rejection.

With regard to the overarching topic of the volume, these data indicate that actions can be relevant on more than one plain simultaneously: On the one hand, 'showing' here is used to involve the girl in the activity by making a response relevant. While the data indicate a clear goal-orientedness by the father (cf. Levinson 1992 for the goal-definedness of activities), the girl puts up some resistance, humming and turning back to her own little project for 4 seconds, before finally following the projected course of action. It is in such goal-oriented activities that the morality of 'humming' comes to the forefront (Stevanovic 2013). On the other hand, 'showing' also represents a practice with which an object can be made relevant in talk, one other potential practice being 'pointing'. Finally, 'showing' also represents a practical step in the physical act of sorting since the objects need to be picked up to be sorted. 'Showing' is clearly a gesture, non-arbitrary, tied in with the specificities of the unfolding activity, a meaningful act in talk-in-interaction making a response relevant, a multimodal first pair part. Dad could have used a different practice to coerce the girl into cleaning her room. By using 'showing' he manages to include her in a very subtle and efficient manner without any signs of conflict or unpleasantness.

References

- Attardo, Salvatore, Jodi Eisterhold, Jennifer Hay, and Isabella Poggi. 2003. Multimodal markers of irony and sarcasm. *Humor* 16(2): 243–260.
- Ayaß, Ruth. 2014. Using media as involvement shields. *Journal of Pragmatics* 72: 5–17.
- Bates, Elizabeth, Luigia Camaioni, and Virginia Volterra. 1975. The acquisition of performatives prior to speech. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly of Behavior and Development* 21(3): 205–226.
- Bezemer, Jeff, Ged Murtagh, Alexandra Cope, Gunther Kress, and Roger Kneebone. 2011. “Scissors, please”: The practical accomplishment of surgical work in the operating theater. *Symbolic Interaction* 34(3): 398–414.
- Carlson, Gregory. 2004. Reference. In *The handbook of pragmatics*, eds. Laurence R. Horn, and Gregory Ward, 75–96. Malden: Blackwell.
- Cary, Mark S. 1979. Gaze and facial displays in pedestrian passing. *Semiotica* 28(3/4): 323–326.
- Clark, Herbert H. 2003. Pointing and placing. In *Pointing: Where language, culture and cognition meet*, ed. Sotaro Kita, 243–268. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Dausendschön-Gay, Ulrich. 2006. Pratiques communicatives et appropriation de langues à l'école primaire. In *La classe de langue: Théories, méthodes et pratiques*, ed. Martine Faraco, 71–91. Aix-en-Provence: PUP.
- Dausendschön-Gay, Ulrich. 2012. Wie wir zu den Wörtern und die Wörter zu uns kommen. In *Sozialität in Slow Motion: Theoretische und empirische Perspektiven: Festschrift für Jörg Bergmann*, eds. Ruth Ayass and Christian Meyer, 201–216. Berlin: Springer.
- De Stefani, Elwys. 2010. Reference as an interactively and multimodally accomplished practice: Organizing spatial reorientation in guided tours. In *Spoken communication*, eds. Massimo Pettorino, Antonella Giannini, Isabella Chiari, and Francesca Dovetto, 137–170. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars.
- Duncan, Susan D., Justine Cassell, and Elena Terry Levy. 2007. *Gesture and the dynamic dimension of language: Essays in honor of David McNeill*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Ekman, Paul and Wallace V. Friesen. 1969. The repertoire of non-verbal behavior: Categories, origins, usage, and coding. *Semiotica* 1(1): 49–98.

- Ekman, Paul and Wallace V. Friesen. 1972. Hand movements. *Journal of Communication* 22(4): 353–374.
- Fassnacht, Chris and David K. Woods. 2005. *Transana: A tool for the transcription of audio/visual data (version 2.53)*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin.
- Gerhardt, Cornelia. 2014. *Appropriating live football through talk* (Studies in Pragmatics 13). Amsterdam: Brill.
- Givens, David. 1981. Greeting a stranger: Some commonly used nonverbal signals of aversiveness. In *Nonverbal communication, interaction and gesture*, eds. Adam Kendon, Thomas A. Sebeok, and Jean Umiker-Sebeok, 219–236. The Hague: Mouton.
- Goffman, Erving. 1959. *The presentation of self in everyday life*. New York: Doubleday.
- Goffman, Erving. 1961. *Encounters: Two studies in the sociology of interaction*. Oxford: Bobbs-Merrill.
- Goffman, Erving. 1963. *Behavior in public places: Notes on the social organization of gatherings*. New York: Free Press.
- Goffman, Erving. 1981. Footing. In *Forms of Talk*, Erving Goffman, 124–159. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press (orig.: 1979. *Semiotica* 25: 1–29).
- Goodwin, Charles. 2000. Action and embodiment within situated human interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics* 32(10): 1489–1522.
- Goodwin, Charles. 2003. Pointing as situated practice. In *Pointing: Where language, culture and cognition meet*, ed. Sotaro Kita, 217–241. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Goodwin, Charles. 2007. Participation, stance and affect in the organization of activities. *Discourse and Society* 18(1): 53–73.
- Hayashi, Makoto, Geoffrey Raymond, and Jack Sidnell, eds. 2013. *Conversational repair and human understanding* (Studies in Interactional Sociolinguistics 30). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hindmarsh, Jon and Christian Heath. 2000. Embodied reference: A study of deixis in workplace interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics* 32(12): 1855–1878.
- Hoiting, Nini and Dan I. Slobin. 2007. From gestures to signs in the acquisition of sign language. In *Gesture and the dynamic dimension of language: Essays in honor of*

- David McNeill*, eds. Susan D. Duncan, Justine Cassell, and Elena Terry Levy, 51–65. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Kirsh, David. 1995. Complementary strategies: Why we use our hands when we think. In *Proceedings of the seventeenth annual conference of the Cognitive Science Society*, eds. Johanna D. Moore and Jill Fain Lehman, 212–217. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Kita, Sotaro, ed. 2003. *Pointing: Where language, culture and cognition meet*. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Levinson, Stephen C. 1992. Activity types and language. In *Talk at work*, eds. Paul Drew and John Heritage, 66–100. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Levinson, Stephen C. 2004. Deixis. In *The handbook of pragmatics*, eds. Laurence R. Horn, and Gregory Ward, 97–121. Malden: Blackwell.
- Lizka, James Jakób. 1996. *A general introduction to the semeiotic of Charles Sanders Peirce*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Mondada, Lorenza. 2003. Working with video: How surgeons produce video records of their actions. *Visual Studies* 18(1): 58–73.
- Mondada, Lorenza. 2005. La constitution de l'origo déictique comme travail interactionnel des participants: Une approche praxéologique de la spatialité. *Intellectica* 41-42(2/3): 75–100.
- Mondada, Lorenza. 2012. Deixis: An integrated interactional multimodal analysis. In *Prosody and embodiment in interactional grammar*, eds. Pia Bergmann, Jana Brenning, Martin Pfeiffer, and Elisabeth Reber, 173–206. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Peräkylä, Anssi and Johanna Ruusuvuori. 2006. Facial expressions in an assessment. In *Video-analysis – methodology and methods: Qualitative audiovisual data analysis in sociology*, eds. Hubert Knoblauch, Bernt Schnettler, Jürgen Raab, and Hans-Georg Soeffner, 127–142. Frankfurt: Lang.
- Pitsch, Karola, Anna-Lisa Vollmer, Katharina Rohlfing, Jannik Fritsch, and Britta Wrede. 2014. Tutoring in adult-child interaction: On the loop of the tutor's action modification and the recipient's gaze. *Interaction Studies* 15(1): 55–98.

- Poggi, Isabella, Federica Cavicchio, and Emanuela Magno Caldognetto. 2007. Irony in a judicial debate: Analyzing the subtleties of irony while testing the subtleties of an annotation scheme. *Language Resources and Evaluation* 41: 215–232.
- Richards, Jack C. and Theodore S. Rodgers. 2014. *Approaches and Methods in Language Teaching*, 3rd Edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rosenbaun, Laura and Christian Licoppe. 2017. Showing 'digital' objects in web-based video chats as collaborative achievement. *Journal of Pragmatics* 27(3): 419–446.
- Sacks, Harvey, Emanuel A. Schegloff, and Gail Jefferson. 1974. A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking in conversation. *Language* 50(4): 696–735.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A. 1996. Turn organization: One intersection of grammar and interaction. In *Interaction and grammar*, eds. Elinor Ochs, Emanuel A. Schegloff, and Sandra A. Thompson, 52–133. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A. 1998. Body torque. *Social Research* 65(3): 535–596.
- Selting, Margret. 1991. W-Fragen in konversationellen Frage-Antwort-Sequenzen. In *Fragesätze und Fragen*, eds. Marga Reis and Inger Rosengren, 263–288. Tübingen: De Gruyter.
- Selting, Margret, Peter Auer, Dagmar Barth-Weingarten, Jörg Bergmann, Pia Bergmann, Karin Birkner, Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen, Arnulf Deppermann, Peter Gilles, Susanne Günthner, Martin Hartung, Friederike Kern, Christine Mertzluft, Christian Meyer, Miriam Morek, Frank Oberzaucher, Jörg Peters, Uta Quasthoff, Wilfried Schütte, Anja Stukenbrock, and Susanne Uhmman. 2009. Gesprächsanalytisches Transkriptionssystem 2 (GAT 2). *Gesprächsforschung* 10: 353–402.
- Smith, John W., Julia Chase, and Anna Katz Liebllich. 1981. Tongue showing: A facial display of humans and other primate species. In *Nonverbal communication, interaction and gesture*, eds. Adam Kendon, Thomas A. Sebeok, and Jean Umiker-Sebeok, 509–548. The Hague: Mouton.
- Stevanovic, Melisa. 2013. Managing participation in interaction: The case of humming. *Text and Talk* 33(1): 113–137.
- Stivers, Tanya and Federico Rossano. 2010. Mobilizing response. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 43(1): 3–31.

Streeck, Jürgen. 1996. How to do things with things: Objets trouvés and symbolization.

Human Studies 19: 365–384.

Streeck, Jürgen. 2009. *Gesturecraft: The manu-facture of meaning*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Stukenbrock, Anja. 2014. *Deixis in der face-to-face-Interaktion*. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Wagner, Petra, Zofia Malisz, and Stefan Kopp. 2014. Gesture and speech in interaction: An overview. *Speech Communication* 57: 209–232.