Show imperatives in smartphone-based showing sequences in Czech and German

Florence Oloff

Abstract

This article examines how the most frequent imperative forms of the verb *to show* in German (*zeig mal*) and Czech (*ukaž*) are deployed in object-centred sequences. Specifically, it focuses on smartphone-based showing activities as these were the main sequential environments of *show* imperatives in the datasets investigated. In both languages, the imperative form does not merely aim to elicit a responsive action from the smartphone holder (such as making the device available) but projects an individual course of action from the requester's side in the form of an immediate visual inspection of the digital content. This inspection is carried out as part of a joint course of action, allowing the recipient to provide a more detailed response to a prior action. Therefore, this specific imperative form is proven to be cross-linguistically suited to technology-mediated inspection sequences.

Keywords: imperatives – directives – Czech – German – smartphone use – showing sequences – inspection sequences.

German Abstract

In diesem Beitrag wird untersucht, wie die häufigsten Imperativformen des Verbs *zeigen* im Deutschen (*zeig mal*) und im Tschechischen (*ukaž*) in objektzentrierten Sequenzen eingesetzt werden. Insbesondere wird sich die Analyse auf Smartphone-gestützte Zeigeaktivitäten konzentrieren, die in den untersuchten Datensätzen die sequentielle Hauptumgebung der *zeig*-Imperative darstellen. In beiden Sprachen zielt diese Imperativform nicht nur auf eine responsive Handlung des/-r Smartphone-Besitzers/-in ab (d.h. auf das Bereitstellen des Geräts), sondern projiziert eine individuelle Handlung des/-r Rezipienten/-in, nämlich eine unmittelbare visuelle Inspektion des digitalen Inhalts. Diese Inspektion erfolgt im Dienste eines gemeinsamen Projekts und ermöglicht es dem/-r Rezipienten/-in, eine detailliertere Antwort auf einen vorherigen Redebeitrag zu geben. So kann gezeigt werden, dass diese spezifische Imperativform sprachübergreifend an die Möglichkeiten technologievermittelter Inspektionssequenzen angepasst ist.

Keywords: Imperative – Aufforderungen – Tschechisch – Deutsch – Smartphone-Gebrauch – Zeigesequenzen – Inspektionssequenzen.

1. Introduction

Based on imperative forms of the verb *to show* in small datasets detailing interactions in German and Czech,[1] this article elucidates some essential features of this directive in everyday social encounters. Although both the German and Czech imperative forms – *zeig (mal)* and *ukaž*, respectively – can refer to a multitude of objects in face-to-face encounters, in this article's datasets of video-recorded everyday socialising, they predominantly relate to smartphones and the digital content therein. The preference for a specific imperative form in each language (*zeig mal* and *ukaž)* displays the requester's orientation to the smartphone holder's immediate compliance. An anticipated compliant response to this directive would be an action on the smartphone holder's part (such as making the smartphone visually accessible to the requester, and thus, 'showing' it). The analysis then demonstrates that a *show* imperative also (and more specifically) projects a next action from the requester, namely, seizing and thoroughly inspecting the content on screen. By analysing datasets from two different languages, German and Czech, this article demonstrates that the *show* imperative seems to be particularly – and possibly cross-linguistically – adapted to this type of object-centred sequence. The detailed analysis illustrates that this directive typically projects an immediate individual inspection of an object, such as digital content on a smartphone, which is often accompanied by seizing the phone or at least a grabbing movement towards it. The use of the *show* imperative also displays that the inspection – albeit carried out individually by the recipient of a smartphone-based showing – is done in the service of the joint activity that the recipient(s) and the smartphone holder are engaged in. It is thanks to the inserted inspection sequence that the recipient is then able to provide a relevant response for this joint course of action.

More generally, this study contributes to an interactional, multimodal approach to directives and their formatting and links to specific social actions in face-to-face encounters.

2. Theoretical background

2.1. Imperatives in social interaction

Imperatives in social interaction represent "the principal grammaticised form for directing others" (Sorjonen/Raevaara/Couper-Kuhlen 2017:1). Imperatives implement a request or directive from a participant to their co-participant (see, for example, Aikhenvald 2010). While imperatives have traditionally been connected to 'impolite', more direct, and thus, possibly threatening communication strategies (unlike more indirect forms; see Ervin-Tripp 1976; Brown/Levinson 1987), research in the domain of interactional linguistics and conversation analysis has underlined that the use of imperatives is fundamentally warranted by the precise settings and circumstances they occur in. Contrary to most of the research involving cross-cultural pragmatics and politeness, interactionally-oriented studies rely on audio and video recordings of naturally occurring social interactions, and thus, take the sequential,

embodied and material context of an imperative into account. Especially within the last decade, this has led to a growing number of studies focusing on the type and scope of social action that participants implement through imperatives in various social settings.

This latter line of research seeks to account for variations both related to formal aspects (like bare infinitives versus with particles or other elements; see Rossi 2017; Sorjonen/Raevaara/Couper-Kuhlen 2017:9-11) and to pragmatic features (such as the timing of the requested action with respect to a possible ongoing action; Sorjonen/Raevaara/Couper-Kuhlen 2017:11-15). The overall aim is not to relate a precise, speech-act-like 'function' to specific imperatives but to understand how these imperatives contribute to "[t]he co-ordination of practical courses of action" (Zinken/Deppermann 2017:28). Consequently, other analytical dimensions have come to the fore: the temporality of the requested action, the requester's entitlement and the grantability of the request, or the fittedness of the requested action with respect to the current courses of action of both the requester and the requestee (see Gubina 2021).

Imperative forms are a suitable resource for co-ordination among several participants contributing to a joint course of action, often carried out under time pressure, such as video games (Mondada 2011), surgery (Mondada 2014) or driving on a racing circuit (Mondada 2018a). Participants heavily rely on imperatives, especially if the ecology of the setting makes an immediate (often embodied) response relevant (Gubina 2021; Mondada 2021). Imperative forms not only relate to the next projected action but can also draw attention to a breach in the progress of an action, that is, when an expected action has not been carried out on time (Kent/Kendrick 2016). More generally, highly projectable actions (typically as part of a joint course of action) do not even seem to require the use of imperatives but instead frequently rely only on the mobilisation of embodied resources, such as pointing at or reaching out for an object (Rossi 2014). Imperatives, on the contrary, frame a merely occasioned next action and make it available for immediate response (Rossi 2014).

Different request formats in a given language can be used in order to claim different degrees of entitlement on the part of the requester, with imperative formats usually displaying a higher degree of entitlement than, for example, question formats (Lindström 2005; Wootton 2005). A bare imperative displays that the participant expects their co-participant to comply with their request and that they treat the request as being easily grantable, meaning "upgraded entitlement and low contingency" (Craven/Potter 2010:438; see also Curl/Drew 2008; Antaki/Kent 2012). The frequency of imperative forms depends not only on possible differences in languages and their respective taxonomies of different request formats but also – and more fundamentally – on the ecology of the setting (Zinken/Ogiermann 2013; Fox/Heinemann 2016), such as the physical co-presence of the participants or the manipulation of objects. More specifically, the notion of *commitment* is central to the use of imperative turns or alternative formats. In their study on object requests in Polish and English, Zinken and Ogiermann (2013:261) state:

> [i]n the sequential home environment of imperative requests – in which we find speakers of both British English and Polish using this format – the object request extends an already ongoing course of actions to which the requestee is evidently (in terms of both their verbal and embodied conduct) committed.

Likewise, the co-participants display through their silent, embodied compliance (such as handing over the requested object) their alignment to this joint commitment or "co-responsibility" (Zinken/Ogiermann 2013). Indeed, different formats of imperative turns can be used to refer to either a bilateral joint course of action or to a unilateral one, which primarily or solely benefits the requesting participant ('primary' versus 'secondary' uses; see Rossi 2012, 2017). For German and Polish, Zinken/ Deppermann (2017) observe that bare imperatives relate to already ongoing courses of action, whereas more complex syntactic formats (for example, with more expressed verbal arguments, with vocatives, or with additional accounts) relate to different and possibly competitive courses of action, that is, different formats correspond to a "cline of visible commitment" of the co-participant with respect to the requested action (Zinken/Deppermann 2017:30).

Based on this prior research, it can be assumed that *show* imperatives in German and Czech face-to-face encounters display a high level of entitlement on the requester's part that demands an immediate relevant response, and that they involve an object that is part of an already ongoing joint course of action. In line with the existing literature, this article considers the complexity of the sequential, praxeological and ecological environments of these directive turns or turn-construction units. While interactional research has focused on specific request formats (including imperatives), there has been less interest in imperatives that build on particular verbs. The study of specific imperative forms has been carried out mostly with other foci of attention, such as speech acts, cross-cultural pragmatics and diachronic development (Wierzbicka 1985; Waltereit 2002; van Olmen 2009, 2010; Fagard 2010) or, in the field of interactional linguistics, for observing the routinisation of grammar (Pekarek Doehler/Balaman 2021). Only a few specific verbs have been interactionally explored. Using German's *warte mal* 'wait', Proske (2017) investigates the difference between full imperatives and 'conversation organisational' or 'interjectional' imperatives (see also Proske 2014 for German's *komm* 'come on' and Günthner 2017 for German's *guck mal* 'look'). Perception-based imperatives have been analysed in different languages, for example, *look* in English (Sidnell 2007), *kato* 'look' in Finnish (Siitonen/Rauniomaa/Keisanen 2021) and *guck/schau (mal)* 'look' in German (Laner 2022). The latter studies demonstrate how the same imperative can be used for different types of action (noticings, showings or prompts). To my knowledge, however, no interactional research has been specifically dedicated to imperative forms of the verb *to show*.

2.2. Smartphones and other objects in social interaction

While the use of a *show* imperative is not specific per se to smartphone-based activities, it is nearly exclusively connected to these activities in this article's datasets (see Section 3). For this reason, this article focuses on the role of this imperative form in smartphone-based showings. Smartphone-based showings are a specific type of object-centred sequence (Tuncer/Licoppe/Haddington 2019), where the phone supports a digital showable that is made available to a recipient. Technologically mediated showing sequences have been the object of previous research, both in video-mediated communication (Licoppe 2017; Rosenbaun/Licoppe 2017; Licoppe/Tuncer 2019) and face-to-face settings (Brown/McGregor/Laurier 2013;

Porcheron/Fischer/Sharples 2016; Raclaw/Robles/DiDomenico 2016; DiDomenico/Raclaw/Robles 2018; Oloff 2019). Regarding the use of smartphones, these studies' interests lie in the sequential and multimodal organisation of establishing a joint focus on a showable (Oloff 2019), in how the participants orient to the digital content on the screen in the service of a joint course of action (Brown/McGregor/Laurier 2013; Brown/McGregor/McMillan 2015; Suderland 2019), in the way that visual access to the showable simultaneously provides epistemic access for assessing the showable (Raclaw/Robles/DiDomenico 2016; Keppler 2019) or how smartphone holders and their recipients adapt to the ongoing activity and participation framework (Porcheron/Fischer/Sharples 2016; DiDomenico/Raclaw/Robles 2018; Avgustis/Oloff forthcoming). Most of these studies build on video recordings, but only a few of them provide detailed multimodal accounts of how showing sequences are systematically organised. While these sequences can be initiated and unfold in different ways (for example, initiated by the smartphone holder or a co-participant, introducing a new topic or relating to a previous one, being designed for one or for several recipients), hardly any research actually considers these significant differences as analytical foci in their own right. Studying the organisation of showing sequences self-initiated by smartphone holders, Oloff (2019) demonstrates that turn-constructional units introducing these 'initial' showings typically provide full descriptions of the showable and make use of the German imperative form *guck/schau (mal)* 'look', as a joint focus of attention on a new type of object and activity has to be established (cf. the 'preliminary work' described by Rosenbaun/Licoppe 2017, despite the video-mediated setting being different; see also Laner 2022 for *guck/schau (mal)* 'look' in a mobile face-to-face setting). Moreover, in Oloff (2019), the imperative form *zeig mal* is shown to occasionally respond to such initiations (this imperative form never seems to initiate a showing sequence on its own), and it has been claimed that recipients use this directive when access to the device is delayed. According to Oloff (2019:215) (translation by this article's author):

> In this way, recipients can request that the device be made available, they can announce that their response to the visual content will be delayed and, at the same time, remind the device owner of their responsibility to quickly make the announced content available for them to inspect.

The first analysis of *zeig (mal)* in Oloff's research (2019) seeks to explain the term's recurrent but not exclusive use in response to a showing initiation by referring to the participants' mutual responsibilities regarding the task at hand. This preliminary analysis is partially revised in this article.

3. Introduction to the Czech and German *show* imperatives and overview of the datasets

3.1. German *zeig (mal)* and Czech *ukaž*

German *zeig* is the morphological imperative in the second person singular of the verb *zeigen* 'to show', which figures among the more frequent verbs used for imperative forms in spoken German (cf. Deppermann 2021:201-202). In spoken discourse, this imperative form is overwhelmingly used with the particle *mal* (*zeig mal*

versus *zeig*), which seems to be the case for other frequently used imperatives in spoken German as well (Proske 2017:81, Table 2; see, for example, *guck* 'look', *hör* 'listen' and *sag* 'say').[2] Indeed, *mal* is a "highly conventionalised" part of imperative constructions in spoken German, while bare imperatives seem to be rather exceptional (Weydt/Hentschel 1983:14). The German particle *mal* has been described as a homonym of the morpheme used for building numerals, such as *einmal* 'one time/once', *zweimal* 'two times/twice' and so on (Weydt/Hentschel 1983:14). The particle *mal* is, however, semantically connected to its adverbial form, as it has been claimed to perfectivize requests, in that it asks to carry out an action only once or in a limited time frame (ibid.). This supposedly results in a minimisation of the request and makes it easier to comply with, meaning it requests something in passing or something that is "trivial" (cf. ibid.; and Kubánková 2014:2).[3] Zinken/Deppermann (2017:35) suggest that imperatives without *mal* (and, in their case, imperfective imperatives in Polish) are "[…] responsive to a deontic uncertainty in what has just transpired in B's prior move". In the case of Danish, Heinemann/Steensig (2017) suggest that imperatives with modal particles should be treated as a social action on their own, rather than a mere transformation of the 'unmodalised' imperative. Among others, they propose that in Danish an imperative + *lige* 'just' is used to request something that is connected to a joint project, meaning that it involves both the requester and the requestee. In Italian, this 'primary' use of the imperative typically involves the use of bare infinitives, while 'secondary' uses (meaning requests targeting the requester's course of action alone) involve more lexical material, such as a dative complement (Rossi 2017). This is in line with Zinken/Deppermann's (2017) idea that syntactically more complex imperative turns usually relate to diverging (as opposed to already ongoing) courses of action. In a more recent study, Deppermann (2021:207-209) suggests that in German, an imperative + *mal* is used when the requestee is currently not fully oriented towards the directed action or not expecting it, such as when they are not bodily or cognitively oriented towards the requester or the object to which the directive relates. *Mal* therefore displays the requester's assumption that the requestee is in principle available for carrying out the requested action but currently not prepared nor expecting it. Laner (2022) suggests a slightly different analysis by saying that the imperative form *guck/schau* 'look' + *mal* initiates a new local project, whereas the same imperative without *mal* relates to objects that are already part of the currently ongoing local or global project. However, to which extent aspectual features of different imperative forms (and their possible combination with particles) in various languages are directly relevant to the requested action or its sequential environment is yet to be studied in detail (Sorjonen/Raevaara/Couper-Kuhlen 2017:8).

Czech, as with other Slavic languages, expresses aspect through different verb forms, meaning that for most verbs the imperative can assume either a perfective or imperfective form (cf. Zinken/Deppermann 2017:32). While the perfective form in

---

[2] It should be added that the occurrence of imperative forms in German with or without *mal* might also depend on the type of setting and the overall activity. In her study of German *guck/schau (mal)* 'look' in a mobile setting (nature hikes), Laner (2022:9) observes a more even distribution between cases with (59%) and without *mal* (41%).

[3] Even the Duden entry of the particle mentions this 'casual' meaning of *mal*, as it is said to increase the "*Beiläufigkeit*" of a request or statement.
See https://www.duden.de/rechtschreibung/mal_nun_mal_beilaeufig

Czech usually refers to single completed actions in the past or future, the imperfective form typically expresses repeated or incomplete actions, and thus, underlines the routine or process-like character of an action in the past, present or future. As a consequence, admissive imperatives in Czech routinely build on the perfective form of the verb, while prohibitive imperatives usually build on imperfective verb forms (Karlík/Nekula/Rusínová 1995:599): *ukaž* 'show' stems from the perfective form *ukázat*, while the imperfective *ukazovat* would be typically used to form the negative imperative (*neukazuj* 'don't show'*)*. Overall, positive imperatives building on the imperfective form of the verb are rarer in Czech compared to, for instance, Russian (Heck 2018).

3.2. Datasets used for the analysis

The datasets used for this article's qualitative analyses are based on video recordings of ordinary meet-ups among friends, acquaintances and family members between 2014 and 2016 (see Footnote 1). All the participants involved consented to the use of their data in scientific publications, and all proper names have been anonymised via pseudonyms (participants' names, place names and proper names mentioned in the conversation). For transcription and multimodal annotations, Mondada's conventions (2019) have been used.

In the German dataset (nine events, about 10 hours transcribed), there are 14 occurrences of the imperative *zeig*. Twelve of these occurrences are related to a mobile device, two to other objects. The particle *mal* is prototypically used (most frequently in its reduced form, *ma*), with only one instance of *zeig* only. Some particles co-occur with these imperatives, but in 13 cases there is no object complement. The Czech dataset (nine events, about 11 hours transcribed) also comprises 14 occurrences of *ukaž*, of which nine are connected to a mobile device and one to another type of object. In these 10 cases, *ukaž* is used as a free-standing or prosodically unintegrated token. The four remaining occurrences are related to reported speech or are used for requesting a showing to a third person.

While in German, the most frequent form is *zeig mal*, in the Czech data, no additional particle is used with the imperative *ukaž*, although spoken Czech also heavily relies on particles in general (Nekula 1996). Kubánková (2014:23) assumes that *mal* has no lexical equivalent in Czech, as imperatives + *mal* would usually be translated by a simple imperative in Czech. Thus, it can be assumed that the Czech perfective imperative *ukaž* is the equivalent of the German *zeig mal*, which is coherent with respect to their distribution in this article's datasets. The fact that in both datasets the *show* imperative is similarly frequent and overwhelmingly used in connection to a mobile device (German: 12 versus two cases, Czech: nine versus one cases) warrants the analytical consideration of both languages. The following section will investigate the audible and visible actions of both the smartphone holder and the recipient of the showing, with the aim of systematising the type of next action the *show* imperative projects.

4. Analysis

The comparison of *zeig mal* with uses of *ukaž* is supported by a primary analysis of two contrastive forms used by the same speaker, respectively (Section 4.1). Both *zeig mal* and *ukaž* are shown to project an immediate next action, more precisely, a closer inspection of the object/showable in question. A concurrent grasping movement towards the smartphone indicates that the requester hereby also projects a subsequent action from their side, rather than exclusively expecting a specific action from the smartphone holder (Section 4.2). More generally, the seizing and inspection of the mobile device are not simply or always connected to a potential lack of visual access; instead, in some cases, the inspection aims at resolving a previously emerged trouble (Section 4.3). Finally, this research argues that a *show* imperative publicly displays that the individual inspection of the digital content is carried out in the service of a joint course of action.

4.1. Projecting later versus immediate compliance with a *show* imperative

In this first analytical section, I show that the preference for a specific form in each language (*zeig mal* and *ukaž*) can be linked to the requester's expectation of instant compliance/next action. In each dataset, there is one case that contains two different forms of the *show* imperative used by the same participant with an interesting temporal distribution: in both excerpts, a rarer form precedes, and no inspection of the smartphone occurs at this point. When the more frequent form is used, an immediate inspection of the visual content on the smartphone ensues. As the excerpts are different with respect to their precise sequential and material environment and the participation framework, the following analysis does not postulate their *overall* comparability but is mainly interested in the second, prototypically formatted directive. In the first, German, example, a *zeig* is followed by *zeig mal*. In the second, Czech, excerpt, an initial *to mně ukaž* 'show that to me' is followed by a simple *ukaž* 'show'. I suggest that the latter forms in both cases relate to the projected temporal implementation of the showing sequence (and the sequential 'home environment' of imperative requests, cf. Section 2.1), that is, *immediate* compliance. As the first instances of *show* directives in each excerpt emerge in a different interactional context, it is difficult to argue for their comparability. It is nevertheless interesting to note that, generally speaking, immediate compliance with the *show* directive is not possible in the beginning of either example (see also the findings of various cross-linguistic studies in Section 2.1).

In the first excerpt, we join a family gathering between Nicki (NIC), Percy (PER), Elena (ELE) and Ludger (LUD). At the beginning of the excerpt, Percy is showing a video of an outdoor paintball session with his friends to Nicki and Elena. While the video is still playing, Percy then turns the smartphone to Ludger and invites him to 'look' as well, thereby initiating a second showing sequence (Extract 1: l. 01-02; cf. Oloff 2019; Avgustis/Oloff forthcoming). As Ludger's glasses seem to have disappeared, Percy seeks to resolve this problem with a magnifying glass that he positions in front of the smartphone display (l. 14; cf. Figure 1). Elena then displays an interest in this solution (l. 17).

Ex. 1A (BYB_2458_lupe_1)

```
01      +(0.5)
   vid >>sound of video can be heard throughout excerpt>>
   per +...moves SP twd LUD->
02 PER °sch%au;°
        look
   lud     %..leans fwd->
03      (0.2)%(0.9)
   lud       %...gaze down & around-->
04 PER +ah ja:; ohne    +brIlle
      oh yeah without glasses
   per +retracts SP & locks screen
   per +gaze SP--------+..gaze t/sidetable->
05 LUD ja:  da  [is das [schlecht.
      yes then [it's actually bad
06 NIC           [°mhm:°
07 ELE                  [°mhm.°
08      (0.6)
09 ELE ohne    bruin
      without glasses
10      +(0.4)
   per +..takes magnifying glass from side table->
11 PER (°schau.°)
      (look)
12 LUD ohne    BRUIN,
      without glasses
13      (.)
14 PER ich halt das;
      I'm holding it
   per >...puts & holds magnifying glass in front of display>
15      (0.6)#1
```


Fig.#1   Fig.#2

```
16 NIC [eH: ]HEHEHE, *.H[: hmhe (.) he;              ]
17 ELE [(oh-)]           [°äh-° sIEht man da was; #2]* zeig?#3
      [(oh-)]           [°er-° can you see anything]  show
   ele              *..leans t/left---------------*.leans fwd>
   ele >---gaze LUD--*..gaze SP-------------------------->
18 NIC h:[:;
19 PER   [sIEht man das.#4
         [do  you see that.
20      (0.2-----)*(0.8)
   ele >leans fwd*..slightly straightens up again
   ele >gaze SP--*...gaze LUD->
```

```
21 LUD [(ich und)      * meine brille; ] s:-
       [(me  and)      my   glasses  ] s:-
22 NIC [wahrscheinlich* nicht schA:rf-]
       [probably       not  sharp(ly)]
   ele >gaze LUD------*..gaze SP-->l.32
```


Fig. #3

Fig. #4

While Nicki responds to Percy's solution with laughter (l. 16), Elena produces a surprise token (*oh*), directs her gaze to the smartphone and starts moving closer to Percy (l. 17; Figure 2). She then formulates a polar question about the actual visual accessibility of the display/magnifying glass combination and, in latching, adds the bare imperative *zeig*. Elena simultaneously starts leaning forward to better position herself to look at the smartphone display (Figures 1-3). Percy is clearly not available for an immediate response to her directive because a first reaction from Ludger's side (after l. 14) is still pending. Percy now recycles Elena's question and addresses it to Ludger (l. 19-20; Figure 4). Elena briefly monitors Ludger for a possible forthcoming response, thereby treating his inspection as ongoing. But as the others engage (again) in the search for his glasses (looking at different spots in the living room, l. 21-22; cf. Figure 5), Elena redirects her gaze to the smartphone. She then seizes this delaying of Ludger's inspection as an opportunity to claim visual access to the smartphone again.

Ex. 1B (BYB_2458_lupe_2, continuation of Ex. 1A)

Fig.#5

Fig.#6

```
23      (0.5)
24 ELE [*#5zeig mal. ich wills* Auch    ] sehen &
       [ show  PRT  I also want to see ] it&
25 NIC [äh:::m,                          ]
       [er:::m,                          ]
26 LUD [°äh:::; nee.°                    ]
       [°er:::  no°                      ]
   ele  *,,r/Hand releases cup*...lifts&moves r/Hand to SP->
   ele  *...leans fwd...->
```

```
27 ELE &[+#6wie das aussieht *+#7 mit der *lupe.    ]
       &[how it looks like with the magnifying glass]
28 NIC  [AH: ich HOL sie dir; warte               ]=
        [Oh I'll get them for you wait             ]=
   per   +...turns SP to ELE-+SP&glass in front of him-->l.32
   ele  >---leant fwd---------*..leans twd PER/SP-->l.32
   ele  >...rHand up---------------------*,,,,
29 NIC =ich [hAb    sie;] (.) (gesehen,)*#8
       =I   [have (seen)] (.)   them
30 LUD?     [(°ah_ja,°) ]
   ele >,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,*rHand o/table->
31      (1.0)
32 ELE +oah.
   per +...turns SP & glass back to LUD->
   ele *,,,,back to initial seating position
33      (1)
34 ELE [viel  ] unterschied macht das nIcht;
       [there ] isn't really a big difference
35 LUD [°hmpf°]
```


Fig. #7   Fig. #8

While her co-participants continue looking for the glasses (l. 25-26, 28; Figure 5), Elena keeps her focus on Percy's smartphone and reformulates her previous request, this time with a turn-initial *zeig mal* and an explicit account (l. 24, 27, possibly relating to the divergent nature of her request; cf. Rossi 2017; Zinken/Deppermann 2017). At the same time, she moves closer to Percy again, releases the coffee cup she had been holding with her right hand since the beginning of the excerpt (Figure 5; cf. Figures 1-4) and directs it towards the phone (Figure 6). She thus does not simply wait for Percy to reorient the display but actively reaches out for it. While her hand is still moving closer, Percy positions the device and the magnifying glass in front of himself and leans his body slightly in Elena's direction (l. 27; Figure 7). In response to this reorientation, Elena freezes the movement of her right hand and then retracts it (l. 27-30). She moves her body closer so that they can simultaneously look at the display through the magnifying glass (l. 29; Figure 8). Elena then closes her inspection by negatively assessing the 'augmented vision' (l. 32, 34) and moving her body back to the original seating position.

The double use of the imperative *zeig* and the different realisations in Excerpt 1 – first without, then with the particle *mal* – allow for several initial observations:

- In both cases, the object to be 'shown' (the smartphone) is not expressed and does not become the target of repair, meaning that the concerned object is already salient to both the requester and the addressed participant. This can be

explained by an already existing joint focus of attention on the object in question (see also Elena's turn-constructional unit prior to the first imperative form, l. 17, that already builds on this established joint focus).

- While the imperative *zeig* literally requests a unilateral action from the object-holding participant, both times when using the imperatives, the requester starts moving her body towards this participant. This shows that the projected response to this specific directive is not unilateral compliance but also builds on embodied action by the requesting person. In this case, it leads to a joint inspection of the object.

- In particular, the embodied conduct concurrent to the second imperative shows that the participant does not seem to wait for her co-participant's compliance, as she initiates a grasping movement towards the object in question. This movement is suspended and retracted only when her co-participant starts bringing the display/glass closer to her. Thus, one might wonder to what extent this specific directive does actually project the requester's own embodied action, rather than simply requesting a compliant action from the device holder.

- This difference in embodied conduct (reaching out for the object in question or not) could possibly be connected to the fact that the first directive does not receive an answer. The second attempt could thus represent an upgraded version, both in terms of embodied conduct (the grasping movement) and in terms of formulation work (the account for the directive).

- However, instead of understanding the additional *mal* and the grasping movement as an upgraded form of the directive (the upgrade being displayed here by the explicit account, l. 24, 27), it is possible that these features mainly refer to the projected timing of the requested action: they could refer to the delay in which some kind of compliance is expected (bare imperative = compliance at some next possible moment, imperative + particle *mal* = immediate compliance at the next possible moment; see also Section 3.1).

In order to follow up on these initial observations, let us take a look at a Czech example in which two differently formatted versions of the imperative *ukaž* occur one after another. Yveta (YVE) has invited her friend Marta (MAR) over for coffee. At the beginning of Extract 2a, Yveta is describing the different parts of a tiled stove in her mother's kitchen. While Marta elaborates on her desire and motivation to have a similar stove (l. 09-10), Yveta locates her smartphone and announces that she might actually have some pictures of said stove on her phone. Marta uses the directive *ukaž* twice, the first time at l. 12:

Ex. 2A (CAJ_003459_ukaz_1)

```
01 YVE   &mají tu- (.) takovou tu litinovou  [plotnu,] (0.3) .ts&
         &they've this- (.) such a cast-iron [stove  ] (0.3) .ts&
02 MAR                                        [desku? ]
                                              [board? ]
03 YVE   &troubu, (.) ta moc: teda netopí=a nahoře takovou tu;&
         &(an) oven (.) it does not heat a lot=and on top such a
04 YVE   &(.) [tomu se říká kopka,    ] .hpf:: l::ehnout &
         &(.) [this is called a pile  ] .hpf:: l::ying down&
```

```
05 MAR       [že si tam můžeš lehnout?]
             [that you could lie down there?]
06 YVE  &si tam nemůžeš=tak velk(h)é to není,
        &you actually couldn't do that=it's not that big
07      .h ale- (.) mamka tam suší jabka.
        .h but  (.) mum is drying apples there
08      (0.4)
09 MAR  s:upe:r, +.h pro(to)že mně by *se strašně líbilo;
        coo:l     .h cuz    I'd really would love to have
   mar  >gaze YVE+,,,
   yve  >gaze MAR-------------------*...gaze t/table to SP->
```


Fig.#9

Fig.#10

```
10       [víš]   co se [mně hrozně líbí; ]
         [y'know] what [I really like a lot]
11 YVE  [.ts]          [#9já to možná *něk]+de#10+mám? (.) ale;
        [.ts]          [maybe I have it   ]  somewhere?(.) but
   yve  >... rHand seizes SP---------*..lifts SP---->
   mar  >gaze table/in front--------------+gaze YVE+,,,,
12 MAR  *+to mně#11ukaž;+°jo° .h[: ty víš CO-    ] (.) .hrm&
         this to me show yeah .h[: you know  WHA-] (.) .hrm&
13 YVE                          [jestli to najdu;]
                                [if I'll find it ]
   yve  *positions SP in front, starts looking for pics>l.16
   mar  +nods----------+
14 MAR  &mně se strašně líbí; .h jak byly vždycky
        &I   really  love    .h how there were always
15      takový ty kamna,#12&
        these kinds of fireplaces&
```


Fig.#11

Fig.#12

Overlapping the start of Marta's elaboration about what she likes about tiled stoves, Yveta self-selects and announces that she has some photographs of her mother's stove and that she is going to look for these (l. 11, 13). The fact that she concurrently seizes and looks at her smartphone (Figures 9-10) disambiguates her turn, and

Marta immediately proceeds with a syntactically complex directive, "show this to me" (literally in English, 'this to me show', l. 12), before recycling her overlapped turn (Schegloff 1987; l. 12, 14). Her visible disengagement from Yveta (Figures 11-12) and the resumption of her previously initiated sequence right after the directive demonstrates that she does not expect immediate compliance with her request (all the more as Yveta has announced a searching activity of which the outcome is presented as uncertain; cf. l. 13). Marta's simultaneous nodding and her unit-final response token *jo* 'yeah' underline that this directive (also) serves as a response to Yveta's announcement of smartphone use, providing a go-ahead for its manipulation (Oloff 2021). Nevertheless, the imperative form still explicitly relates to Marta's expectation of being able to see these pictures once they have been located. Two and a half minutes later, Yveta closes the current sequence with a minimal response token and announces the presence of a relevant photograph (l. 16). Marta now produces a second directive, this time using only the imperative form (l. 17):

Ex. 2B (CAJ_003459_ukaz_2, continuation of ex. 2A)

```
        ((2 minutes 40 seconds later))
16 YVE  mhm_hm,*.tsh: hele já nemám +lepší#13fot+k[u;]
        mhm_hm  .tsh: listen I don't have a better pic[ture]
17 MAR                                          [ u]ka*:ž,#14
                                                [sh]ow

   yve  >gaze SP------>
   yve  >holds SP*..rHand to SP---------------------*..SP t/MAR>
   mar  >gaze YVE------------------+..gaze SP--------------->>
   mar                                             +leans fwd t/YVE>
   mar                                             +..rArm twd SP-->
```


Fig.#13

Fig.#14

```
18 YVE  .h: (0.2) než tuto-* a tam to ne#15+*ní  ce*lé;+(.)jo,#16
        .h: (0.2) than this one- and there's not all of it(.)huh,
   mar  >....rHand with open palm up to SP-+,,,,,,,,,,,+rHAndt/SP>
   yve  >....turns SP to MAR*releases lHand*index pp*..SP t/MAR->
```


Fig.#15

Fig.#16

```
19 YVE   tam je:-+*(0.6)+*#17e:m:;[vidět+#18kou*sek jenom.][no:,]&
         there it's(0.6)  er:m   [only a bit  visible   ][yes ]&
20 MAR                            [xx   +se *krájej jabl]íčka[:,]
                                  [xx are cut the   little]a[pples]
   mar   transfer+ of SP+.....lHand t/SP+holds SP with b/hands>>
   yve   transfer* of SP*...rHand t/display ppp*,,,,
```


Fig.#17

Fig.#18

```
21 YVE   &°to° (.)právě hm-(.)v-(.)velkovýroba sušených jablek h::
         &that(.)right hm-(.)v-(.)a mass production of dried apples
22 MAR   jo::;
         yeah
23       (0.2)
24 MAR   [takže vona přímo má nor]málně +celou tuhdle desku&
         [so   she  directly  has] straight this whole board&
25 YVE   [mamce se urodily-      ]
         [when mum was-          ]
   mar                                   +..index ppp on display>
26 MAR   &za ním; viď,
         &behind her huh
27 YVE   no:, *a eště to po+kračuje tak- (.)  e:m;   (0.4)&
         yes and it even continues like- (.) °erm::;°(0.4)&
   yve        *....ppp index display->>
   mar   >index ppp display+,,
```

As Yveta finally announces that a picture of her mother's kitchen and stove is available, Yveta moves her right hand to the phone and repositions it in her hands (Figure 13). Marta, who was looking at her friend's face beforehand, now lowers her gaze to the phone and, immediately prior to her directive (l. 17), starts to lean forwards and move her right arm in the phone's direction. These body movements are already well underway when she produces the imperative (Figure 14). Towards the end of this turn, Yveta starts moving the phone in Marta's direction. As the multimodal annotations (and Figure 14) show, Marta initiates her movement towards the phone clearly before Yveta starts to bring the phone closer. The movement of her right hand towards the phone is therefore not a simple response to Yveta's preparation of a showing but clearly *anticipates* it (cf. also Figure 15). Consequently, this bare imperative can be found in a sequential environment in which immediate compliance seems to be expected and relevant.

From a formal point of view, this distribution is different from what is found in the German example (Excerpt 1, where a more reduced imperative format is followed by an 'augmented' format). However, with respect to the timing of the directive action, in both cases, there is a similar pattern: a first directive is or cannot be immediately responded to, whereas the following differently formatted directive is accompanied by a concurrent movement of the hand towards the object and is

followed by immediate compliance. This illustrates that both languages have at least two different ways to formulate directives related to the verb *to show* of which each seems to be sensitive to a specific sequential and material environment.

The smartphone is then transferred to Marta's hand (l. 18-20; Figures 16-18). As Yveta describes and points to different elements in the photograph, Marta provides relevant responses and follow-up questions (l. 21-27), both being audibly and visibly involved in an elaborate showing sequence. This points at a relevant aspect that is less visible in the previous excerpt (in which the phone is made available by its holder but not transferred to Elena's hands, which is possibly related to the side-by-side constellation). In both cases, looking at the visual content on the phone is not framed and carried out for a quick 'showing and gazing', but serves a closer inspection – either in order to assess the quality of an improvised visual augmentation (Excerpt 1), or in order to attend the now-visible details of a previously narrated item (Excerpt 2). Therefore, the *show* directive is more specifically used by a participant to announce and project an upcoming visual inspection from their side. It requests a co-participant – here, the smartphone holder – to provide access to some visual content or object, and thus, fulfil the material requirements so that the requester can carry out a specific individual course of action. The following section will elaborate on the idea that the *show* imperative projects an individual inspection for which the grasping movement is functional.

4.2. *Show* imperative + grasping movement: projecting a closer inspection

This section explores in more detail the connection of the most frequent forms of the directive under investigation (*zeig mal* and *ukaž*) and the concurrent action of seizing the mobile device. Excerpts 3 and 4 illustrate that in face-to-face interaction, this directive can be used when previous or indirect visual access is not sufficient in order to assess an object that has been previously made relevant by another participant. Consequently, this directive *announce*s a closer inspection of the visual content.

In Excerpt 3, the friends Andi (AND), Patrick (PAT) and Markus (MAR) are discussing different types of car makes. Prior to the excerpt, Andi introduced a specific Mercedes model, which Patrick simultaneously looked up online on his smartphone (cf. Figure 19). The excerpt starts when Patrick presents Andi the results of his search, asking him to verify if the car model Andi is talking about corresponds to the one he found (l. 03). During this turn, Patrick has fully turned the smartphone to Andi, who shifts his gaze to the display a bit later. Markus, however, directs his gaze to the phone even earlier and starts moving closer to his co-participants while Patrick's announcement of the visual object is still ongoing (Figure 20). It is also Markus who uses the *zeig mal* directive shortly afterwards (l. 10).

Ex. 3 (PHPiz_002010_190er)

```
01 AND der is (.) UNtermotori+sie[rt.]#19
       it is  (.) low       power[ed ]
02 MAR                          [mhm][:;_mhm:,]
03 PAT                               [wEl*chen;] [dEn %+hier?]
                                     [which one] [this one?]
04 AND                                    [dann noch%auto]mAtik-#20
                                          [and then auto]matic transition
   pat >>gaze down SP--->
   pat >>holds SP with b/hands+...turns SP t/AND.......+--------->
   mar >>gaze AND-----------------------*..gaze SP, moves twd SP
   and >>gaze PAT/in front---------------------------%..gaze SP>
```


Fig.#19   Fig.#20

```
05      %(0.5)
   and %...leans to SP-->
06 AND ja;#21*(0.2) das is mein liebling[sbEnz.]#22
       yes  c (0.2) this is my  favorite (mercedes) [benz]
07 PAT                                   [  Ah:,]:;
   mar >....*head tilted, frown, changes angle of vision->
```


Fig.#21   Fig.#22   Fig.#23

```
08      (.)
09 PAT *ja_ja,  (.  der [is chIc. ]
       yeah yeah(.) it' [s stylish]
10 MAR              #23[zeig ma ganz ]  kUrz, *#24
                       [show PRT just] quickly
   mar *...rArm twd SP........................*seizes SP->
```

```
11 PAT +der is chIc- [.h:
       it's stylish  [.h:
12 AND               [und dEn als- (.) das
                     [and this one as- (.) that
   pat +,,releases SP
   mar >takes SP and positions it in front of him->
13     [wAr der  er]ste kOmbi dann auch [(.) von     ] denen.#25
       [was the fir]st station wagon too[(.)(made) by]  them
14 PAT [°mhm:.°    ]                    [mhm:;        ]
```



```
Fig.#24              Fig.#25              Fig.#26
```

```
15 PAT .h (aber) was-  was hatte bIrte für einen?
       .h (but) which- which one did ((name)) have?
((lines 16-21, talk about Birte's car, omitted))
22     +(0.4)
   pat +...hands t/SP, seizes it--->
23 AND ja_jA[:, ab]#26sIebzi*ger- xx-[+bIs en]de- Achtziger is er&
       ye_ye[ah from] the 70ies xx- [until the la]te 80ies it has&
24 PAT      [mhm:;]                 [+(ah)_ja,]
   mar >gaze AND------------*...gaze PAT->
   pat >...seizes SP-----------------+..transfer SP, initial po-
       sition
25 AND &ge*baut worden=[das_s glaub die   ] längste *bau- äh:;=
       &been    built =[that's I think the] longest prod- er:=
26 PAT                 [genau,            ]
                       [exactly           ]
   mar >--*..gaze SP, leans to display..............*-leant t/SP->
27 MAR =genAU- das is- das_s ja * ganz cOOl  hier;
       =exactly that's- that's   pretty cool (here)
   mar >leant t/SP-------------*,,,,,
```

Even though Patrick seems to tilt his smartphone slightly in Markus's direction, and despite the fact that Markus has leaned towards his co-participants to form a rather well-aligned 'showing-formation' (Avgustis/Oloff forthcoming; cf. Figure 21), Markus's furrowed eyebrows indicate possible trouble. While Andi and Patrick assess the pictured car (l. 06-07), Markus slightly tilts his head and seeks to adopt another angle of vision by slightly swinging his torso and head from right to left, indicating that the trouble might relate to visual access to the display (Figure 22). Indeed, during Patrick's full assessment (l. 09), Markus uncrosses his arms and begins to approach the mobile device with his right hand (Figure 23). He then produces a *zeig mal* directive and, already at the end of his turn, seizes the mobile device (l. 10; Figure 24). Again, the choice of including the particle *mal* can be related to the immediacy of the action under way (this directive makes relevant an immediate next). The appended *ganz kurz* 'just quickly' seems to refer to the short

duration of the projected inspection. Patrick immediately releases his grip of the phone (beginning l. 11) so that Markus is able to position the display in front of him. As Figure 25 shows, Markus's seizing of the phone has led to the dissolution of the showing constellation. Interestingly, Patrick recycles the previously overlapped assessment ('it's stylish', l. 11; cf. l. 09), thereby reinitiating the sequence of talk and treating Markus's directive as initiating a new course of action with respect to the already ongoing showing sequence with Andi. Patrick and Andi now produce further talk about the car in question without explicitly referring to its visual representation anymore, while Markus silently inspects the visual content on display (Figure 25). This emphasises that the *zeig mal* rather seems to project the requester's own action, the compliance of the co-participant being the acceptance of this projected course of action (taking over the phone and inspecting the visual content). This individual character of the requester's inspection is also illustrated by the fact that Markus waits for the first showing sequence to reach a possible completion (here, with Patrick's response, l. 09).

In what follows, Patrick initiates more talk about a comparable car that one of their mutual friends once had, which leads to a discussion about the similarity between the depicted car and hers (l. 15-26). This joint topic reinstates a joint focus of attention on the phone, during which Patrick seizes and takes back his phone (l. 22-23; Figure 26). It is only after having reached a consensus on this topic that Markus finally produces his own assessment of the pictured car ('that's pretty cool [this one] here', l. 27) and thus audibly closes his individual inspection of the picture (his repeated bodily orientation to the display is dissolved only at the end of his assessment, l. 26-27).

Thinking of the first examples (Extracts 1 and 2), the *zeig mal/ukaž* directive can be understood as first and foremost requesting visual access to a topically relevant visual object in a setting in which this access has not (yet) been provided. In Extract 1, the smartphone display is turned away from Elena. In Extract 2, the participants' position at the table does not allow Marta to perceive what is on screen as long as Yveta holds her phone in front of herself (cf. Extract 2, Figure 13). Meanwhile, in Extract 3 it is difficult to state what exactly Markus can initially perceive on Patrick's display; however, the example illustrates that the *zeig mal* directive is also used if visual access is at least partially granted (cf. Figures 21-22). Thus, rather than relating to the *absence* of visual access, this directive seems to refer to momentarily *insufficient* visual access. The requester thereby displays their need to take a closer look at the display, indicating that further individual inspection is needed. This is shown in the following Czech example (Excerpt 4) as well.

Lenka (LEN) has taken on a new job, and Jana (JAN) provides some updates related to their mutually known work environment. Prior to the excerpt, Jana introduced Ms Černová as a main character in the next story. After some further descriptions and guesses, it becomes apparent that Lenka at least knows of her, and Jana remembers having a group picture on her phone. Jana makes the picture available to Lenka, points to a person on display and introduces her as Ms Černová (l. 02, Figure 1).

Ex. 4 (MaCof_102550_ukaz)

```
01 JAN Černová měla- (0.4) měla narozeniny,+ já jsem dostala
        Ms Černová had- (0.4) had (her) birthday  I had the task
   len >..leans to display----------------+---------->
   len >>gaze at display----->>
   jan >>shows group picture on display--------------->
02      (.)úkol*to fotit; #27 to je Černová-     (.) [tohle- ]
        (.)to take pictures this is Ms Černová  (.) [this-  ]
03 LEN                                           [jo tak ]
                                                 [yeah so]
   jan          *...ppp person on pic*->
04      tu fakt* neznám;
        this one I really don't know
   jan          *..pinches & zooms in->
05      *tu   ta [károvaná-     ]
         here the [chequered one]
06 JAN           [ne*znáš,      ]* tuhle;#28*°jo,°
                 [you don't know] this one here huh
   jan *slides w/index*,,,        *taps on display w/index*,,,
```


Fig.#27   Fig.#28

```
07      +(.)
   len +..rHand to SP-->
08 LEN ne;#29+*(0.2)uka:+*ž:#30(.)no ta je strašná+      (.) .tsh
       no     (0.2) show     (.) well this one is horrible(.) .tsh
   len >.....+.seizes SP+..takes SP to her........+holds SP----->
   jan        *pppp index*,,,
   jan >>holds SP-------*,,,
```


Fig.#29   Fig.#30

```
09      *#31(1.1)
   jan *..gaze LEN->
10 LEN ne; +(0.2)+*tu neznám,          ale [#32teď teda&
       no  (0.2)  this one I don't know but [now  really&
11 JAN                                      [aha,
                                            [okay

   len     +shakes head+
   len  >---------+---lifts rHand, ppp at display->>
   jan  >gaze LEN-*,,,gaze SP->>
```


Fig.#31   Fig.#32

While Jana zooms in on the picture with a pinching gesture (Brown/McGregor/Laurier 2013:1035-1036), Lenka states that she does not know this person (l. 03-04). Despite the fact that Lenka can single out and thus perceive the person in question in the picture (see the use of the demonstrative *tu* 'this one', l. 04, and the description of her wearing chequered clothes, l. 05), she uses the directive *ukaž* in the next turn. Clearly, the issue at stake is not the absence of visual access. Jana then formulates a request for confirmation, asking once again (despite Lenka having already claimed to not know Ms Černová) if she really does not know her, further adjusting the image section and pointing with her index finger at the display (l. 06; Figure 28). Immediately after this request (l. 07), Lenka begins moving her right hand towards Jana's phone. She then provides a first, type-conforming response (Raymond 2003) to Jana's previous request for confirmation ('no', l. 08) and starts to lower her hand towards the phone (Figure 29). A mere 0.2 seconds after having initiated the grasping movement, she produces the imperative form *ukaž* and takes the phone from Jana's left hand (Figure 30). The assessment she produces while still moving the phone towards her ('well this one is horrible') displays again that she clearly has already perceived the person singled out by Jana. She then positions the mobile device in front of her and continuously looks at the screen for more than one second (l. 09; Figure 31).

Here, the inspection of the picture is carried out in the service of prior talk: Jana's request for confirmation (l. 06) has built up the expectation of a second, more thoroughly grounded answer. This is also displayed by Jana's prolonged gaze at Lenka (Figure 31; cf. Stivers/Rossano 2010), which she withdraws only after Lenka provides a second type-conforming response, this time a more emphatic response token ('no' and concurrent headshake, l. 10). Lenka also repeats her initial statement (*tu neznám* 'this [one] I don't know') and points at the person on the display (Figure 32). By doing so, she clearly links her statement to a specific visible item on screen. It is only after this unambiguous response that Jana produces a change-of-state token (l. 11), thereby fully acknowledging Lenka's state of knowledge regarding Ms Černová.

In this case, Lenka's identification of the person in question as familiar or not is treated as essential by Jana for being able to progress with her storytelling. Here, the digital picture is used by the participants for verification. A perceivable (especially perceivable for Jana) second and thorough inspection of the picture is used as a resource for publicly disambiguating Lenka's state of knowledge, and in this case, it responds to a specific previous action by Jana – her request for confirmation in l. 06. This illustrates that the *show* directive and the seizing of the phone are not necessarily connected to a problem of *actual* visibility of the device and the digital object in question but, more specifically, to the resolution of a previously emerged trouble. The next section elaborates on this idea by presenting two cases in which a close inspection is used as a practice for responding to various trouble sources.

4.3. Projecting an inspection in the service of trouble resolution

As Excerpts 1-3 show, the *zeig mal*/*ukaž* directive can be used in settings in which the visual object is not sufficiently accessible to a co-participant, and thus, announce and create a slot in which this visual access can then be provided. Excerpt 4 illustrates that participants might also use this directive even if visual access has already been fully granted. Indeed, participants orient to different types of 'seeing' a digital object, including, for instance, seeing for *verification*. In this section's examples, the inspection of the digital object aims to verify a previously formulated statement in the sense that the prior conversation has led to the emergence of a discursive trouble source. This trouble is typically related to the precise identification of a previously introduced referent (as seen in Excerpt 4) or to the retrieval of a precise bit of information related to a discursive or material object. The seizing and inspecting of the mobile device, introduced by the directive *zeig mal*/*ukaž*, is required in order to resolve this trouble.

In Excerpt 5, Marta is looking at pictures on Yveta's smartphone, an activity that was originally initiated by Yveta's announcement of showing pictures of her mother's kitchen (cf. Excerpt 2). At the beginning of the excerpt, Marta swipes to the next picture while simultaneously responding to Yveta, thus closing down the sequence on the previous picture (l. 01-02). She responds to Yveta's last turn (searching for the name of a sports event, l. 01) with a pro forma recognition and, in latching, formulates a question about the new picture that had been on display for more than two seconds now (l. 04):

Ex. 5 (CAJ_004115_ukaz)

```
01 YVE [+jak se to jme+nuje;]
       [ how is it called  ]
02 MAR [+°mhm:;_mh:,  +:;° ]
       >>SP on table in front of MAR->>
   mar +..swipes    +next picture fully visible->>
   mar >>gaze at SP display->>
03     (0.2)
04 MAR jo: jak byla takhle °ta ta;°  =a todhle je?
       yeah when it was this °that that°=and this is?
   mar >rHand in swiping position, still above display->
05     (0.4)
```

```
06 YVE to   je:: kaisersberg?
        that i::s Kaisersberg?
```
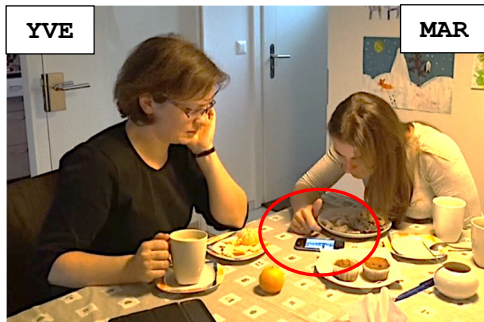

Fig.#33

```
07      #33(0.6)+(0.6)
   mar >rHand--+...rHand to SP-->
08 MAR +#34uka:ž- +#35kaisersberg tudhle; jo+=
        show     (is) this (really) Kaisersberg=
   mar +rHand seizes SP, tilts twds her+---->>
   mar            +..raised eyebrows--------+
```


Fig.#34   Fig.#35

```
09 YVE =no myslím že jo,
        =well I think that yes
10      (1.5)
11 YVE to- bylo [to na trase; mi jsme jeli vlastně .h
        it- it   [was on the way we actually drove
12 MAR          [.ts
13      z freiburgu,    (0.7) do::; (0.7) e: colmaru,    (0.4)
        from Freiburg   (0.7) to   (0.7) er Colmar       (0.4)
14      a potom, (0.4) na ten: e::; (0.3) turckheim,
        and then (0.4) to this er   (0.3) Turckheim
15      (0.7)
16 MAR +.h: ne:, todhle není kaisersberg; +já už vím+co to je;
         .h: no this isn't Kaisersberg I already know what this it
   mar +.          .slightly shakes head---+nods-----+
17      to je ten eguisheim
        it's this Eguisheim
18      (0.6)
19 YVE aha:, no tak to je tam někde;
        okay well so it is somewhere there
```

Although the exact details of the picture on Yveta's smartphone are not visible on the video recording, it seems to show a kind of urban landscape. With her gaze still focused on the picture, Marta asks which place or city it is (l. 04). Yveta provides a response, but the vowel-lengthening on the verb and the try-marked format (Sacks/Schegloff 1979) show that she is not certain about her suggestion (l. 06). The following gap (l. 07) foreshadows a disagreement (Sacks 1987). Indeed, 0.6 seconds into the gap, Marta begins moving her right hand (whose finger had beforehand hovered over the display in a ready-to-swipe position, cf. Figure 33) towards the smartphone. She then seizes the device (Figure 34), simultaneously uttering an *ukaž* directive (l. 08) and tilts it up towards her (Figure 35). She then explicitly refers to the trouble source, the place name Kaisersberg, and initiates repair (cf. also her raised eyebrows) with a request for confirmation (literally 'Kaisersberg this; yes?'). This prompts Yveta to elaborate on her assumption by providing a full description of the family's journey that day (l. 09-14), mentioning several places that are in the vicinity of Kaisersberg. During this turn, Marta has been continuously looking at the tilted display and, after a gap, formulates her response to Yveta's first suggestion. She explicitly disconfirms Yveta's guess and then provides an alternative place name, Eguisheim (l. 16-17). This is received by Yveta with a change-of-state token and a partial acceptance (l. 19). With a quick palm-down movement of her left hand, Yveta dismisses the precise recognition and orients to sequence closing. In Marta's following turn (not shown), it becomes apparent that she knows the place in question quite well: she lets the phone go, provides a short description about the surroundings and co-elaborates on it with Yveta.

The mobile device is returned to its initial position (lying flat on the table without being held) only when both participants have agreed on the correct identification of the pictured place, that is, when the trouble is resolved. As Marta is already in control of the device and has full visual access to the display, the imperative *ukaž* here clearly does not request the device owner, Yveta, to provide (better) visual access or even to carry out any specific action (see also Yveta's steady posture, Figures 33-35). Here, *ukaž* accompanies the initiation of an individual course of action – seizing the phone and inspecting the picture more thoroughly. While one cannot assess if the tilted screen indeed significantly improves Marta's visual access, it should be noted that during the previous two minutes, Marta did not seize the device. Thus, the lying position has apparently provided sufficient visual access before, meaning that the seizing and tilting of the device relate to a specific action – in this instance, a repair. More precisely, the action package *ukaž* + seizing the device initiates a side sequence (Jefferson 1972) related to the co-participant's previous action: in order to confirm or disconfirm Yveta's initial guess (l. 06 and l. 16), Marta needs to inspect the picture in more detail. The *ukaž* thus announces a momentary departure from the initial sequence. Consequently, rather than projecting a compliant physical action from the smartphone holder's side, the *show* directive projects their compliance with the suspension of the ongoing sequence, and thus, an alignment with their co-participant's inserted course of action. By an initial *ukaž*, the upcoming inspection-for-verification is displayed as being relevant for a previously initiated joint course of action, albeit based on an individual seizing and looking.

This is also apparent in the next excerpt. Although the trouble is resolved before the mobile device is actually seized, the inspection is clearly launched with regard

to a prior trouble source. Here, the trouble relates to the identification of a person whose name seems to become available on screen. Prior to Extract 6, Benni initiated a showing of a series of press photographs taken during a public dance event he participated in (see also Oloff 2019:204ff.). While he scrolls through the pictures, Annika looks at the screen and occasionally comments on the images (Figure 36). At some point, she notices a name that she seems to be reading from the phone's display (l. 02). She then formulates a request for confirmation about this person's identity, namely, that she is one of Sofia's colleagues. Sofia, who is sitting to Annika's right, immediately responds to this by initiating repair (l. 03) and by trying to catch a glimpse of what triggered Annika's noticing.

Ex. 6 (SteSchn_012838_BK)
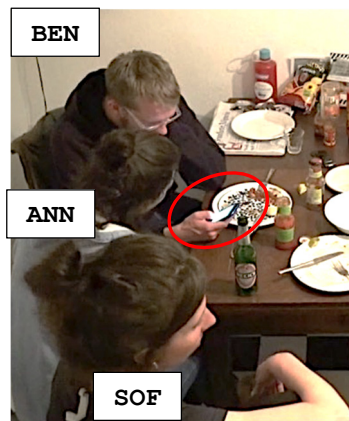

Fig.#36   Fig.#37   Fig.#38

```
01      (2.7)*(0.2)
   ben >>scrolls on SP display->
   ann >>gaze SP->
   ann      *...leans fwd->
02 ANN bettina#36kramer? das is doch sofias arbeitskol+legin;
       ((full name1))?   that's sofia's colleague right?
   sof >gaze in front-----------------------------+gaze BEN/ANN>
03      (.)
04 SOF #37wie?=
        what?
05 BEN =*+echt?
       = really?
   ben  *...gaze SOF->
   sof  +..gaze SP->
   sof  +...lifts left arm, lHand vertical->
06      (0.3)
07 SOF zeig ma;+#38
       show MAL
   sof >.......+lArm streched&...turns lHand horizontally->
```

Fig.#39   Fig.#40   Fig.#41

```
08      (0.2)
09 BEN  betti+#39na?
        ((first name 1))?
   sof  >SP--+gaze BEN->
   sof  >....+lhand fully horizontally extended->
10      %(0.1)+(0.3)
   ann  %...gaze SOF->
   sof  >-----+,,,retracts thumb slightly->
11 ANN  bettina kramer;#40oder?+ °hei[sst die°
        ((full name 1))  right?   is [ she called
12 SOF                              [nei+:n;%*be+ttina grüning#41&
                                   [no:        ((full name 2))
   sof  >lHand----------------+,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,+
   sof  >gaze BEN------------------------+,,,,
   ben  >gaze SOF----------------------------*,,,gaze SP->>
   ann  >gaze SOF----------------------------%,,,gaze SP->>
13 SOF  &heisst  [(se);
        & is she [called
14 ANN           [°achso.°
                 [oh I see
15      (1.7)
16 BEN  °ich dacht schon.°
        °I already thought°
17      (0.8)
```

Even though Annika does not shift her gaze to Sofia during her request for confirmation (l. 02), her turn clearly addresses something in Sofia's domain of expertise. It is thus not surprising that Sofia turns her head and gazes at Annika and Benni towards the end of this turn and self-selects with an open-class repair initiator ('what', l. 04; Figure 37; Drew 1997). Benni also immediately treats Sofia as the expert for (dis)confirming Annika's assumption, as he lifts his head and begins looking at Sofia while producing a pre-challenging *echt* (l. 05; cf. Gubina/Betz 2021). Simultaneously, Sofia shifts her gaze to Benni's smartphone (visible from the perspective of another camera) and begins to lift her left arm. During this movement, she formulates the directive *zeig mal*, and at the end of this turn, her left arm and hand are fully outstretched towards the phone (l. 07; Figure 38). Her tensed fingers (l. 09; Figure 39) embody the urgent nature of her request.

Despite this clear projection of an upcoming inspection, Benni does not loosen his grip on the phone but seeks clarification through talk. He repeats the first name

of the person in question (l. 09) while steadily looking at Sofia (cf. Figure 39). Sofia aligns to this by engaging in a mutual gaze with Benni (l. 09). Then, Annika also turns her head to Sofia and repeats the person's full name. This time, her request for confirmation is visibly designed for Sofia (l. 11; Figure 40). On this occasion, Sofia seems to have heard the full name, as she starts withdrawing her left hand, disconfirms shortly afterwards and mentions her colleague's actual full name (l. 12-13; Figure 41). During this disconfirmation, the three participants disengage from their mutual gaze, and the sequence is then closed by Annika and Benni (l. 14, 16).

Although in the end, the smartphone is not seized, this excerpt also presents a case in which reaching out for the device is projected right after a discursive trouble source emerges. As Annika says the person's full name while looking at the display (cf. Figures 37-39), Sofia can infer that the following request for confirmation refers to something that is visible on screen. Her reaching out for the device and the *zeig ma* directive are projecting an immediate inspection, and thus, verification of the information in question (is this person indeed her colleague or not?). The fact that her co-participants then seek to clarify the possible identity of the person in question through turns-at-talk – rather than handing the smartphone over to Sofia – suggests, however, that the person is not necessarily visible on the display. Thus, Benni's continuous grip on the phone is not to be understood as eventual resistance to sharing his device. Rather, he treats the inspection of the device as not contributing to a resolution of the current trouble. And indeed, it is after repeating the possible colleague's full name that Sofia can answer the initial question (l. 02), further indicating by withdrawing her left hand that an inspection of the visual content on the device is no longer necessary.

5. Conclusion

This article investigated the use of imperative forms of the verb *to show* in spoken German (*zeig (mal)*) and Czech (*ukaž*). In similar-sized datasets of video-recorded mundane interactions in both languages, *zeig mal* and *ukaž* can be found in similar sequential environments. *Show* imperatives in the selected face-to-face encounters are overwhelmingly connected to smartphone use. More specifically, they are used by recipients of a showing, that is, when a digital showable on a mobile device has been previously established as a joint focus of attention.

Despite the growing interest in smartphone-based joint activities and in inspection-centred sequences in general, there has been little exploration of specific turn formats or of multimodal action packages used for organising such smartphone-based showings. This article therefore aimed to contribute to this endeavour by looking into the role these *show* imperatives play within joint smartphone activities. It is important to note that *show* imperatives (similar to *look* imperatives from the smartphone holder's side; cf. Oloff 2019) are by no means compulsory, as smartphone-based showing sequences are also regularly organised without these. It might be tempting to take the semantics of the verb for granted and to assume that the use of a *show* imperative relates a) first and foremost to the absence of visual access to the showable and that b) it calls for a unilateral complying action from the smartphone holder, who then provides access to the device's display. While in some cases, the position of the mobile device does objectively not allow visual access to the screen, *show* can also be used when visual access has already been granted.

Furthermore, it does not exclusively trigger an improved, physically implemented 'showing' from the smartphone holder's side. It is the requester themselves who frequently seizes the device and brings it within their field of vision. Consequently, this article suggested considering the *show* imperative as projecting the recipient's individual course of action, namely, a closer inspection of the digital content.

Digital content on a smartphone is obviously explored mainly through vision unlike some objects – such as mushrooms (Keisanen/Rauniomaa 2019), cheese (Mondada 2018b) or whiskey (Mortensen/Wagner 2019) – which can be explored through other senses as well. Nevertheless, *show* explicitly projects an *inspection sequence* of the digital object at hand.

> By grasping the object and disengaging from the established participation framework the inspector indexes the inspection as a publicly available "private" activity as opposed to inspections that create a shared focus of attention for the participants […] (Mortensen/Wagner 2019:406)

Participants, however, do not format their actions only along a dichotomy of individual versus joint courses of action or between individual and joint foci of attention. Instead, it also seems relevant to indicate if an action is carried out in the service of a joint activity or not, meaning that an individual course of action, such as an inspection sequence, can be carried out both within independent solitary activities or within – and precisely motivated by – a joint course of action. In the presented examples of smartphone-based showings, the inspection is a necessary move with respect to a next response. The inspection is formatted as an inserted sequence that involves a delay of the response to the showable (such as an assessment, or an unequivocal recognition or identification). These sequences typically unfold in the following way:

- A1) First action (of various types, such as initiating repair, request for confirmation, presenting a description) projecting a response from the co-participant.

- B1) *Show* imperative + seizing the object (+ optional accounts).

- B2) Inspection proper of the content in question.

- A2) Response to the initial action or trouble source, A1, and putting the smartphone back or handing it over again.

Now, any initiation of a showing makes relevant the looking at the showable. Explicitly announcing an inspection sequence within a smartphone-based showing sequence therefore appears to be potentially tautological. However, it might not always be clear if a gaze to a mobile device is directed to the device as a material object, to a specific digital object on screen or to some detail of this digital object. Thus, mobile devices do not afford a straightforward and publicly available differentiation of 'looking' and 'inspecting'. In that sense, upgrading from a mere visible visual orientation to then seizing and bringing the mobile device closer to one's field of vision could provide a disambiguation of these different ways of looking. The combination of the *show* imperative + grasping movement towards the device represents at least one way of framing the next action recognisably as an inspection.

While for Mortensen/Wagner (2019:406), the way of grasping an object already reveals if an inspection is underway or not, the same does not hold true for smartphones: as objects, they are inherently familiar to the participants. The digital

object in/on the smartphone, however, might be more or less unknown to the person inspecting it and its details of different relevance. Therefore, in some cases, participants need to inspect the digital content in question more thoroughly. In German and Czech, the *show* imperative simultaneously projects an individual inspection, announces the momentary suspension of the joint course of action around the mobile device and its later resumption. For further support of this analysis, *show* imperatives (or their equivalents) should be studied in other languages as well. In order to know if the presence of these imperative forms are specifically linked to the technological affordances of smartphones (and thus might represent a social practice particularly adapted to their ubiquitous use in face-to-face encounters) or not, multimodal analyses of other types of material objects within showing and inspection sequences are required.

6. References

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Yurievna (2010): Imperatives and commands. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Antaki, Charles / Kent, Alexandra (2012): Telling people what to do (and, sometimes, why): Contingency, entitlement and explanation in staff requests to adults with intellectual impairments. In: Journal of Pragmatics 44(6-7), 876-889.
https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2012.03.014

Avgustis, Iuliia / Oloff, Florence (forthcoming): Getting (others) involved with smartphones: Participation in showing sequences in multi-party settings. In: Haddington, Pentti / Eilittä, Tiina / Kamunen, Antti / Kohonen-Aho, Laura / Rautiainen, Iira / Vatanen, Anna (eds.): Complexity and intersubjectivity: Shared understanding in multi-layered social interaction. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Brown, Barry / McGregor, Moira / Laurier, Eric (2013): iPhone in vivo: Video analysis of mobile device use. In: Proceedings of the SIGCHI conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems (CHI 2013). New York: Association for Computing Machinery, 1031-1040.
https://doi.org/10.1145/2470654.2466132

Brown, Barry / McGregor, Moira / McMillan, Donald (2015): Searchable objects: Search in everyday conversation. In: Proceedings of the 18th ACM Conference on Computer Supported Cooperative Work & Social Computing (CSCW 2015). New York: Association for Computing Machinery, 508-517.
https://doi.org/10.1145/2675133.2675206

Brown, Penelope / Levinson, Stephen (1987): Politeness. Some universals in language use. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Craven, Alexandra / Potter, Jonathan (2010): Directives: Entitlement and contingency in action. In: Discourse Studies 12(4), 419-442.
https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445610370126.

Curl, Traci / Drew, Paul (2008): Contingency and action: A comparison of two forms of requesting. In: Research on Language and Social Interaction 41(2), 129-153.
https://doi.org/10.1080/08351810802028613

Deppermann, Arnulf (2021): Imperative im Deutschen: Konstruktionen, Praktiken oder social action format? In: Weidner, Beate / König, Katharina / Imo, Wolfgang / Wegener, Lars (eds.): Verfestigungen in der Interaktion. Konstruktionen, sequenzielle Muster, kommunikative Gattungen. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 195-229.
https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110637502-009

DiDomenico, Stephen / Raclaw, Joshua / Robles, Jessica (2018): Attending to the mobile text summons: Managing multiple communicative activities across physically copresent and technologically mediated interpersonal interactions. In: Communication Research 47(5), 669-700.
https://doi.org/10.1177/0093650218803537

Drew, Paul (1997): "Open" class repair initiators in response to sequential sources of troubles in conversation. In: Journal of Pragmatics 28, 69-101.
https://doi.org/10.1016/S0378-2166(97)89759-7

Ervin-Tripp, Susan (1976): Is Sybil there? The structure of some American English directives. In: Language in Society 5(1), 25-66.
https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500006849

Fagard, Benjamin (2010): *É vida, olha…:* Imperatives as discourse markers and grammaticalization paths in Romance. A diachronic corpus study. In: Languages in Contrast 10(2), 245-267.
https://doi.org/10.1075/lic.10.2.07fag.

Fox, Barbara / Heinemann, Trine (2016): Rethinking format: An examination of requests. In: Language in Society 45(4), 499-531.
https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404516000385

Gubina, Alexandra (2021). Availability, grammar, and action formation: On simple and modal interrogative request formats in spoken German. In: Gesprächsforschung 22, 272-303.

Gubina, Alexandra / Betz, Emma (2021): What do newsmark-type responses invite? The response space after German *echt*. In: Research on Language and Social Interaction 54(4), 374-396.
https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2021.1974745

Günthner, Susanne (2017): Diskursmarker in der Interaktion – Formen und Funktionen univerbierter *guck mal* – und *weißt du*-Konstruktionen. In: Blühdorn, Hardarik / Deppermann, Arnulf / Helmer, Henrike / Spranz-Fogasy, Thomas (eds.): Diskursmarker im Deutschen. Reflexionen und Analysen. Göttingen: Verlag für Gesprächsforschung, 103-130.

Heck, Stefan (2018): Verbal aspect in the Czech and Russian imperative. In: Fuß, Erik / Konopka, Marek / Trawiński, Beata / Waßner, Ulrich H. (eds.): Grammar and Corpora 2016. Heidelberg: Heidelberg University Publishing, 249-258.

Heinemann, Trine / Steensig, Jakob (2017): Three imperative action formats in Danish talk-in-interaction: The case of imperative + modal particles bare and lige. In: Sorjonen, Marja-Leena / Raevaara, Liisa / Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth (eds.): Imperative turns at talk: The design of directives in action. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 139-173.
https://doi.org/10.1075/slsi.30.05hei

Jefferson, Gail (1972): Side sequences. In: Sudnow, David (ed.): Studies in social interaction. New York: The Free Press, 294-338.

Karlík, Petr / Nekula, Marek / Rusínová, Zdenka (eds.) (1995): Příruční mluvnice češtiny. Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny.

Keisanen, Tiina / Rauniomaa, Mirka (2019): Classifying finds in foraging on the basis of (guided) sensory inspection. In: Gesprächsforschung 20, 518-544.

Kent, Alexandra / Kendrick, Kobin (2016): Imperative directives: Orientations to accountability. In: Research on Language and Social Interaction 49(3), 272-288. https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2016.1201737

Keppler, Angela (2019): "Zeig mal": Smartphones im Gespräch. In: Marx, Konstanze / Schmidt, Axel (eds.): Interaktion und Medien. Interaktionsanalytische Zugänge zu medienvermittelter Kommunikation. Heidelberg: Winter Verlag, 177-190.

Kubánková, Lucie (2014): Partikeln in der tschechischen und in der deutschen Sprache – Komparativstudie. Master's thesis. Plzeň: Západočeská univerzita v Plzni.

Laner, Barbara (2022): "Guck mal der Baum" – Zur Verwendung von Wahnehmunsgimperativen mit und ohne *mal*. In: Gesprächsforschung 23, 1-35.

Licoppe, Christian (2017): Showing objects in Skype video-mediated conversations: From showing gestures to showing sequences. In: Journal of Pragmatics 110(3), 63-82.
https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2017.01.007

Licoppe, Christian / Tuncer, Sylvaine (2019): The initiation of showing sequences in video-mediated communication. In: Gesprächsforschung – Online-Zeitschrift zur verbalen Interaktion 20, 545-571.

Lindström, Anna (2005): Language as social action: A study of how senior citizens request assistance with practical tasks in the Swedish home help service. In: Hakulinen, Auli / Selting, Margret (eds.): Syntax and lexis in conversation: Studies on the use of linguistic resources in talk-in-interaction. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 209-230.
https://doi.org/10.1075/sidag.17.11lin

Mondada, Lorenza (2011): The situated organization of directives in French: Imperatives and action coordination in video games. In: Nottingham French Studies 50(2), 19-50.
https://doi.org/10.3366/nfs.2011-2.002

Mondada, Lorenza (2014): Instructions in the operating room: How the surgeon directs their assistant's hands. In: Discourse Studies 16(2), 131-161.
https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445613515325

Mondada, Lorenza (2018a): Driving instruction at high speed on a race circuit: Issues in action formation and sequence organization. In: International Journal of Applied Linguistics 28(2), 304-325.
https://doi.org/10.1111/ijal.12202.

Mondada, Lorenza (2018b): The multimodal interactional organization of tasting: Practices of tasting cheese in gourmet shops. Discourse Studies, 20(6), 743-769.
https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445618793439

Mondada, Lorenza (2019): Conventions for multimodal transcription.
https://www.lorenzamondada.net/multimodal-transcription.

Mondada, Lorenza (2021): How early can embodied responses be? Issues in time and sequentiality. In: Discourse Processes 58(4), 397-418. https://doi.org/10.1080/0163853X.2020.1871561

Mortensen, Kristian / Wagner, Johannes (2019): Inspection sequences – multisensorial inspections of unfamiliar objects. In: Gesprächsforschung – Online-Zeitschrift zur verbalen Interaktion 20, 399-443.

Nekula, Marek (1996): System der Partikeln im Deutschen und Tschechischen. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Oloff, Florence (2019): Das Smartphone als soziales Objekt: Eine multimodale Analyse von initialen Zeigesequenzen in Alltagsgesprächen. In: Marx, Konstanze / Schmidt, Axel (eds.): Interaktion und Medien: Interaktionsanalytische Zugänge zu medienvermittelter Kommunikation. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 191-218.

Oloff, Florence (2021): Some systematic aspects of self-initiated mobile device use in face-to-face encounters. In: Journal Für Medienlinguistik 2(2), 195-235. https://doi.org/10.21248/jfml.2019.21

Pekarek Doehler, Simona / Balaman, Ufuk (2021): The routinization of grammar as a social action format: A longitudinal study of video-mediated interactions. In: Research on Language and Social Interaction 54(2), 183-202. https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2021.1899710

Porcheron, Martin / Fischer, Joel E. / Sharples, Sarah (2016): Using mobile phones in pub talk. In: Proceedings of the [1]9th ACM Conference on Computer-Supported Cooperative Work & Social Computing (CSCW 2016). New York: Association for Computing Machinery, 1649-1661. https://doi.org/10.1145/2818048.2820014

Proske, Nadine (2014): h ach KOMM; hör AUF mit dem klEInkram. Die Partikel komm zwischen Interjektion und Diskursmarker. In: Gesprächsforschung 15, 121-160.

Proske, Nadine (2017): Zur Funktion und Klassifikation gesprächsorganisatorischer Imperative. In: Blühdorn, Hardarik / Deppermann, Arnulf / Helmer, Henrike / Spranz-Fogasy, Thomas (eds.): Diskursmarker im Deutschen. Reflexionen und Analysen. Göttingen: Verlag für Gesprächsforschung, 73-102.

Raclaw, Joshua / Robles, Jessica S. / DiDomenico, Stephen M. (2016): Providing epistemic support for assessments through mobile-supported sharing activities. In: Research on Language and Social Interaction 49(4), 362-379. https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2016.1199089

Raymond, Jeffrey (2003): The structure of responding: Conforming and nonconforming responses to yes/no type interrogatives. In: American Sociological Review 68, 937-969.

Rosenbaun, Laura / Licoppe, Christian (2017): Showing "digital" objects in web-based video chats as a collaborative achievement. In: Pragmatics 27(3), 419-446. https://doi.org/10.1075/prag.27.3.05ros

Rossi, Giovanni (2012): Bilateral and unilateral requests: The use of imperatives and mi X? interrogatives in Italian. In: Discourse Processes 49(5), 426-458. https://doi.org/10.1080/0163853X.2012.684136

Rossi, Giovanni (2014): When do people not use language to make requests? In: Drew, Paul / Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth (eds.): Requesting in Social Interaction. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 303-334. https://doi.org/10.1075/slsi.26.12ros

Rossi, Giovanni (2017): Secondary and deviant uses of the imperative for requesting in Italian. In: Sorjonen, Marja-Leena / Raevaara, Liisa / Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth (eds.): Imperative turns at talk: The design of directives in action. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 103-137. https://doi.org/10.1075/slsi.30.04ros

Sacks, Harvey (1987): On the preferences for agreement and contiguity in sequences in conversation. In: Button, Graham / Lee, John R. E. (eds.): Talk and social organisation. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 54-69.

Sacks, Harvey / Schegloff, Emanuel (1979): Two preferences in the organization of reference to persons in conversation and their interaction. In: Psathas, George (ed.): Everyday language. Studies in ethnomethodology. New York: Irvington Publishers, 15-21.

Schegloff, Emanuel (1987): Recycled turn beginnings: A precise repair mechanism in conversation's turn-taking organization. In: Button, Graham / Lee, John (eds.): Talk and social organization. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 70-85.

Sidnell, Jack (2007). "Look"-prefaced turns in first and second position: Launching, interceding and redirecting action. In: Discourse Studies 9(3), 387-408. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445607076204

Siitonen, Pauliina / Rauniomaa, Mirka / Keisanen, Tiina (2021): Language and the moving body: Directive actions with the Finnish kato "look" in nature-related activities. In: Frontiers in Psychology 12, 1-18. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2021.661784

Sorjonen, Marja-Leena / Raevaara, Liisa / Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth (2017): Imperative turns at talk: An introduction. In: Sorjonen, Marja-Leena / Raevaara, Liisa / Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth (eds.): Imperative turns at talk: The design of directives in action. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1-24. https://doi.org/10.1075/slsi.30.01sor.

Stivers, Tanya / Rossano, Federico (2010): Mobilizing response. In: Research on Language and Social Interaction 43(1), 3-31. https://doi.org/10.1080/08351810903471258

Suderland, David (2019): "oh isch FIND_s nich"; Eine konversationsanalytische Untersuchung sprachlicher Bezugnahmen auf smartphone-gestützte Suchprozesse in Alltagsgesprächen. In: Journal for Media Linguistics 2(2), 90-112. https://doi.org/10.21248/jfml.2019.17

Tuncer, Sylvaine / Licoppe, Christian / Haddington, Pentti (2019): When objects become the focus of human action and activity: Object-centred sequences in social interaction. In: Gesprächsforschung – Online-Zeitschrift zur verbalen Interaktion 20, 384-398.

Van Olmen, Daniel (2009): A contrastive look at English and Dutch (negative) imperatives. In: Jucker, Andreas H. / Schreier, Daniel / Hundt, Marianne (eds.): Corpora: Pragmatics and discourse. Leiden: Brill: 407-421. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789042029101_021

Van Olmen, Daniel (2010): Imperatives of visual versus auditory perception as pragmatic markers in English and Dutch. In: English Text Construction 3(1), 74-94.
https://doi.org/10.1075/etc.3.1.05van

Waltereit, Richard (2002): Imperatives, Interruption in conversation, and the rise of discourse markers: A study of Italian *guarda*. In: Linguistics: An Interdisciplinary Journal of the Language Sciences 40(5), 987-1010.
https://doi.org/10.1515/ling.2002.041

Weydt, Harald / Hentschel, Elke (1983): Kleines Abtönungswörterbuch. In Weydt, Harald (ed.): Partikeln und Interaktion. Tübingen: Niemeyer: 3-24.
https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111661643.3

Wierzbicka, Anna (1985): Different cultures, different languages, different speech acts. In: Journal of Pragmatics 9, 145-178.
https://doi.org/10.1016/0378-2166(85)90023-2.

Wootton, Anthony (2005): Interactional and sequential configurations informing request format selection in children's speech. In: Hakulinen, Auli / Selting, Margret (eds.): Syntax and lexis in conversation. Studies on the use of linguistic resources in talk-in-interaction. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 185-207.
https://doi.org/10.1075/sidag.17.10woo

Zinken, Jörg / Deppermann, Arnulf (2017): A cline of visible commitment in the situated design of imperative turns: Evidence from German and Polish. In: Sorjonen, Marja-Leena / Raevaara, Liisa / Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth (eds.): Imperative turns at talk: The design of directives in action. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 27-63.
https://doi.org/10.1075/slsi.30.02zin

Zinken, Jörg / Ogiermann, Eva (2013): Responsibility and action: invariants and diversity in requests for objects in British English and Polish Interaction. In: Research on Language and Social Interaction 46(3), 256-276.
https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2013.810409

Florence Oloff
University of Oulu
Faculty of Humanities
Research Unit of Languages and Literature
P.O. Box 1000
FI-90014 University of Oulu

florence.oloff@oulu.fi