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Noticings with instructional implications in post-licence driver training

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**A note on the authors' contributions**

Rauniomaa is responsible for identifying the phenomenon, analysing the video recordings and preparing the manuscript. Lehtonen and Summala complemented the study with observations and findings from traffic psychology. Summala led the research team that initially collected the data and prepared them for analysis.

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## **Noticings with instructional implications in post-licence driver training**

Abstract: Drawing on ethnomethodology and conversation analysis, the study examines video data in which drivers with a valid licence participate in voluntary instructor-led training. The study discusses noticings by the instructor that concern current events or states of affairs and prompt the driver to adjust her driving or that concern habitual practices developed by the driver over time and encourage her to alter them in the future. The former are simple noticings, whereas the latter are prefaced with 'I notice that'. The design and timing of the noticings reveal how they are to be understood with respect to the mobile instructional situation. Moreover, they make visible the instructor's ongoing monitoring and assessment of the driver's performance and the instructor's expectations regarding the driver's experience and competence.

Key words: car driving, conversation analysis, instruction, noticing, older drivers

### **Introduction**

Driving a car involves a range of skills that require repeated practice before they are mastered but that, once mastered, constitute unremarkable elements of competent conduct (see Lindwall and Ekström 2012; see also Beanland et al. 2012 and Groeger 2000 for accounts of the procedural and cognitive skills or the perceptual-motor skills, respectively, that are involved in driving). Lane control through the operation of the steering wheel, speed control through the pressing of the accelerator and brake pedals (as well as the use of the gear and clutch in cars with manual control) and proper visual scanning ahead through the windscreen and behind through rear-view mirrors, for example, constitute the basis of fluent driving and, moreover, are observable and assessable for adequately informed co-participants. Furthermore, driving a car involves an understanding of how various situations in traffic may emerge, unfold and cease to exist, so that, for example, a driver may project their own turning at a junction, anticipate a fellow road user's changing of lanes or deal with a pedestrian crossing the street (see, e.g. Haddington and Rauniomaa 2014; see also, e.g. Crundall 2016 on hazard prediction). Through the employment of their manual, pedal and other car-control skills to these intersubjective ends, drivers accomplish the fluent and safe flow of traffic in accordance with rules and regulations. Driving-school lessons, then, are generally aimed at trainee drivers gaining experience and competence in both the correct controlling of the car with various in-car instruments and the appropriate manoeuvring of the car with reference to changing traffic settings and situations (see Broth, Cromdal and Levin 2017 and contributions to this special issue).

Similarly to various other educational environments, driving-school lessons are typically organised around instructional sequences in which the teacher delivers an instruction and the student follows it, giving the teacher an opportunity to assess and possibly correct the student's understanding of the task at hand (see Lindwall, Lymer and Greiffenhagen 2015). A generic distinction can be made between instructional sequences that address the *what* and the *how* of driving: the instructor outlines *what* a student is to do, for example, to reverse the car out of a garage or to turn in the direction of a particular destination, and the instructor details *how* the student is to do it, for example, by pressing the brake, changing gears and looking through the

mirrors or by applying the indicator, turning the wheel and pressing the accelerator (De Stefani and Gazin 2014; Deppermann 2015). The latter kinds of instructional sequences may be preceded by the former and specifically address problems in student performance; that is, ‘navigational instructions’ may be broken down into more specific ‘car-control instructions’ (De Stefani and Gazin 2014) or ‘task-setting requests’ may be elaborated by ‘corrective instructions’ when a student is evidently failing to accomplish the task that has been set (Deppermann 2015). To put it differently, the instructor may in this way initiate new instructional sequences in response to what the student is currently doing—or not doing—because the co-presence of the participants in a mobile, material setting “make[s] it possible for both the instructor and the instructed to methodically and meticulously adjust their actions in accordance with the other party and towards the gradual realization of the aimed for results” (Lindwall and Ekström 2012: 46). Such adjustments are further facilitated by the fact that, whereas the instructions produced by a driving instructor often contain verbal elements, the nominated actions to be carried out by a trainee driver are first and foremost practical, involving the manipulation of various instruments in the car, such as pedals, levers and switches (see De Stefani and Gazin 2014: 67; see also Arnold 2012 and Stukenbrock 2014 on the interplay of different multimodal resources in instructional sequences).

By carrying out tasks set by the instructor, the trainee driver displays an understanding of the task and makes it available for the instructor to monitor and assess: if the task is to turn left at a junction, for example, but the driver does not switch on the indicator, the instructor may infer that the driver’s reading of the situation is somehow faulty. Similarly to dyadic teacher–student encounters in which the participants are dealing with more abstract tasks (e.g. Koole 2012), in driving-school lessons the instructor may produce assessments and evaluations of the driver’s performance after the task has evidently been completed. The instructor’s assessments and evaluations may, however, also be embedded in instructions; that is, in practice-based training, the fact that the instructor produces further instructions to correct the student’s execution of a task in itself makes visible the evaluative work that the instructor is continuously engaged in (see Koskela and Arminen 2012; see also Hindmarsh, Hyland and Banerjee 2014; Keevallik 2010; Lindwall and Ekström 2012; Mondada 2013, 2014b). Furthermore, the design of an initial instruction can also be seen as reflecting the instructor’s assessment of the trainee driver’s competence and expectation of what the student may master at this point in the training (Deppermann 2015 and contributions to this special issue). Among other things, the instructor may carry out actions that, on the face of it, appear to be objective observations but, considered in context, are taken to have instructional implications. That is, both instructors and those instructed can be seen to orient to and deal with the ‘incompleteness of instructions’ (Garfinkel 2002; see Amerine and Bilmes 1988; St. John and Cromdal 2016).

Building on prior research in ethnomethodology and (applied) conversation analysis and through an examination of data from voluntary post-licence driver training, this study explores how the instructor may complement instructional sequences with noticings that have instructional implications for the present moment or beyond it. The focus on noticings with instructional implications emerged from an observation that the instructor uses different means to signal his expectations about the driver’s competence and to set up tasks for the driver. The design and timing of the noticings reveal how they are to be understood with respect to the larger instructional sequence: simple noticings in the form of present-tense declaratives concern current

events or states of affairs that are within the scope of responsibility of the driver and prompt the driver to make adjustments at that moment, whereas ‘I notice that’ -prefaced noticings concern practices and routines adopted by the driver in the past and encourage the driver to pay attention to, and possibly alter, them in the future. In making particular actions relevant in the present moment or at a later time, the two kinds of noticings can be considered immediate or future-oriented, respectively (see Rauniomaa and Keisanen 2012; see also Houtkoop 1987, Lindström 1999, 2017, Rossi 2015). Both kinds of noticings may be markedly impersonal but nonetheless make explicit the instructor’s ongoing monitoring and assessment of the driver’s performance as well as the instructor’s expectations regarding the driver’s experience and competence.

## **Data**

The data were collected at the Traffic Research Unit, University of Helsinki, Finland, by Professor Heikki Summala and research team members Esko Lehtonen, Isa Dahlström, Harri Hiltunen, Jarkko Hietamäki and Jami Pekkanen (see Summala et al. 2011). The team enlisted car drivers who, at the time of the training, held a valid driving licence but volunteered to take part in additional training and to be at the same time tested for research purposes. The drivers were all women in their sixties who had a limited amount of driving experience and who had had a long break in driving a car. The training consisted of three one-hour sessions, during which the participants drove an instrumented, dual-control car in live traffic in a city. In addition to audio-video recordings from inside the car, the original data set includes diverse materials, such as eye recordings. In this study, one single camera angle is examined, which provides a front view of the participants inside the car. These data come from the first and second sessions of five different drivers and one instructor, amounting to approximately ten hours. The data are in Finnish and the excerpts have been transcribed following conversation-analytic notation for talk (Jefferson 2004) and embodied conduct (Mondada 2014a).

## **Simple noticings about current events and states of affairs**

Interspersed within various driving activities, the instructor in these data makes observations that concern a current event or state of affairs and that have instructional implications in prompting the driver to adjust her actions accordingly in that moment. These are ‘environmental noticings’ in that they are designed to interrupt an ongoing course of action by the recipient and, through their timing, to show that “one has just noticed” (Sacks 1992: 90–91). Moreover, in the context of driving in traffic, environmental noticings, or ‘environmentally occasioned noticings’, make relevant a particular event in or feature of the present setting and highlight that event or feature as compromising the so-far unproblematic course of the drive (Keisanen 2012). It is the action of noticing that endows an event or feature its relevance, by picking it out and bringing it up for the participants to deal with (Keisanen 2012: 200–201; drawing on Schegloff 2007). Furthermore, in instructional settings, verbal noticings have been shown to call recipient(s) in “to resolve the issue being raised” (Szymanski 1999: 6) and embodied noticings, which may involve e.g. gaze, facial expressions and manipulation of materials, to herald the initiation of corrections (Kääntä 2014). In other words,

noticings about current events and states of affairs may not only direct and maintain the recipients' focus on the task at hand, but also prompt their active engagement in inducing more or less immediate change (cf. Hall and Smotrova 2013).

Excerpt 1 begins by the instructor setting a new navigational task for the driver, specifying where they are to turn at the next junction (line 1). The driver begins to carry out the task by glancing through the rear-view mirror, switching on the indicator and steering the car to the next lane on the left (line 4). She leaves the indicator on to signal a turn left at the junction and slows down the car as they approach the traffic lights. It is worth noting that there are separate sets of traffic lights at the junction for those driving straight ahead and for those turning. In the transcripts, the symbols + and ± are used to delimit relevant descriptions of the driver's gaze and other embodied conduct, respectively, and the symbols \* and □ those of the instructor (but note that in Excerpt 1 the instructor is wearing sun glasses and the direction of his gaze is not indicated).

1) TRU 2010071222-1 (00:31:38)

```
01 INS: tuolta Linnanmäen suuntaan.
      'from there in the direction of Linnanmäki'
02     +(.)
      dri >>+ahead-->
03 INS: vase+mmalle.
      'to the left'
      dri -->+rear-view mirror-->
04     (0.4) ±(0.4)± +(0.2) ±±(1.9)± ±(0.6)±
      dri ----->+left--+ahead-->
           ±activates indicator±
           ±turns wheel left±
           ±straightens wheel±
05     (4.7) # (0.8) + (0.6) # (.) + (0.8) # (3.1)
      dri -->+left-----+ahead-->
      fig #1a #1b #1c
```



06 INS: mei-1 on punase-t # [kyllä edelleen hh. we-ADE be:3SG red-PL PRT still 'we have red {lights} though still'
--

```
07 DRI: [±oi o+n.± .mthh+
        'oh we do'
        ±brakes±
        -->+right-----+
      fig #1d
```



08 INS: +(hehe) jäädään [tohon,+  
 `(hehe) let's stay there'  
 09 DRI [.mt  
 +ahead-----+  
 10 DRI: +miten mä katoin että meillä jo vaihtu +ne.  
 `how come I saw them already changing for us'  
 +left at traffic lights-----+ahead-->>  
 11 DRI: [.mt  
 12 INS: [mhe  
 13 DRI: ±ÄHh hhh±  
 `ugh'  
 ±shakes head±  
 14 INS: suoraan menijöille kyllä vaihtu.  
 `{they} did change for those going straight'  
 15 DRI: mmh.

The driver's actions until line 6 have shown that she is successfully carrying out the navigational task: she has made appropriate preparations in order to steer the car to the left at the junction. Her looking ahead, glancing to the left side and slowing down the car also display an appropriate orientation to the traffic lights (Figures 1a–b). However, as the driver lets the car roll further into the junction and apparently brings her right foot from the brake pedal to the accelerator (Figure 1c), the instructor comes in with *meil on punaset kyllä edelleen* ‘we have red {lights} though still’ (line 6). The instructor's turn can be heard as a noticing in that it concerns a current state of affairs, which is available to the instructor through his monitoring of the traffic situation and which is highly relevant for the driver's current and next actions.

The linguistic design of the noticing is interesting in several ways. Firstly, the first-person plural possessive construction (*mei-l on* ‘we-ADE be:3SG, we have’) includes in the observed situation both participants and creates a contrast between them and potential other road users for whom the traffic lights are green. In this way, the use of the construction highlights that the red light is consequential specifically for the trajectory of the car that the participants occupy. Secondly, the particle *kyllä* ‘though’ implies that the instructor is in the process of presenting an alternative interpretation of the situation, which may run counter to the understanding that the driver has displayed through her manoeuvring of the car (see Hakulinen 2001). Thirdly, the durative adverb *edelleen* ‘still’, together with the present-tense verb, frames the referred-to state of affairs as a continuing one and, in this way, the driver's current and projected actions as erroneous. That is, the noticing suggests that while the traffic lights have remained red, the driver has moved on from correctly slowing down the car to incorrectly beginning to speed up again. What is more, the design of the noticing implies that what is relevant here is the maintenance, rather than the establishment, of a joint focus of attention and mutual orientation (cf. Goodwin and Goodwin 2012).

Furthermore, the fact that the instructor in this context produces a noticing reflects his expectations about the driver's competence at this moment. Any driver with a valid driving licence may be expected to avoid driving through a red light in Finland, and pointing out that the light is red may therefore be enough for a driver to adjust their actions and alter the trajectory of the car. That is, the noticing is in itself enough to point out the driver's current and projected driving actions, i.e. preparing to accelerate into the junction, as being problematic in the present situation, i.e. when the red light explicitly forbids this. Moreover, because the driver in Excerpt 1 has so far shown appropriate attentiveness and responsiveness to the present traffic setting and situation, the instructor's noticing can be heard to deal with the inappropriate driving action as a momentary lapse by an otherwise competent driver; that is, as addressing a problem in the student's 'doing' rather than 'understanding' (Koole 2012). Once the instructor has uttered *meil on punaset* 'we have red {lights}', the driver quickly moves her right foot back to the brake pedal and, on uttering *oi on* 'oh we do', presses the pedal down (line 7, Figure 1d). The car comes to a stop when it has advanced slightly past the main traffic lights, which are located in the traffic island to the left, but not yet into the junction where it would obstruct traffic. When waiting in this position for the lights to change, the participants begin to construct an analysis of what went wrong, both participants indeed treating the problem as a matter of a sensory, rather than a cognitive, process—namely, as the driver's having misperceived the traffic lights, rather than having correctly perceived but misinterpreted them (lines 10–15).

In Excerpt 2, the driver can also be seen to orient to the corrective, instructional implications of the instructor's noticing, but the instructor treats her responding actions as not immediately providing a remedy. Here, the driver is steering the car straight ahead on a higher-speed road. The instructor has brought up the current speed limit on their having entered the acceleration lane, as the speed that they should reach, and on their having entered the road, as the speed that they should maintain. While they have then talked about other driving- and car-related matters, both participants have occasionally glanced at the instrumentation in front of them, where information about the speed of the car is displayed, among other things.

## 2) TRU 2010061512-1 (00:34:59)

```
01 INS:   *¤+jatketaan Pa#silan suuntaan.
          \let's continue in the direction of Pasila'
          >>*ahead-->
          ¤points ahead-->
dri      >>+ahead-->
fig      #2a
```



```
02      (.)¤
ins    -->¤
03 DRI: m_[joo,
```



04 INS: 'm\_ yes'  
 [\*opasteita # seuraten,\*  
 'following the signs'  
 -->\*display-----\*

fig #2b



05 \*(.)  
 ins \*right-->

06 INS: mei-l on va\*uhti pudon-nu.  
 we-ADE be:3SG speed drop-PCP  
 'we have lost speed'

-->\*ahead-->

07 INS: ¢+kii¢hdy#tetään,\*+  
 'let's accelerate'  
 ¢circling gesture-->  
 -->\*

dri +dashboard-----+  
 fig #2c



08 +\*(0.2) ¢(0.4)  
 dri +ahead-->  
 ins -->\*dashboard-->  
 -->¢

09 INS: siihen v\*auhtiin mitä meidän  
 'to the speed that we'  
 -->\*ahead-->

10 INS ko\*ko ajan ois pi\*täny pitää.  
 'should have maintained all along'  
 -->\*left-----\*ahead-->>

11 INS: ja tietysti pan+naan vilkku vasemmalle,  
 'and of course let's switch on the indicator to the left'  
 dri +dashboard-->>

At the beginning of the excerpt, the instructor sets a new navigational task for the driver: he utters *jatketaan Pasilan suuntaan* 'let's continue in the direction of Pasila' and raises his left hand to point with the index finger (line 1, Figure 2a). Both the way in which he formulates the new direction as 'in the direction of Pasila', rather than, for instance, a more specific 'to Pasila', and the way in which he points forward and slightly upward, suggest that the instructor makes relevant signs indicating a

junction at some distance, rather than a junction coming up immediately. This becomes explicit as the driver accepts the task as something she will fulfil in the future (line 3; see Rauniomaa and Keisanen 2012) and, in overlap, the instructor specifies that the driver is to carry out the task by following relevant signage (line 4).

While he elaborates on the navigational task, the instructor turns his gaze towards the display in front of him (line 4, Figure 2b). This being a car that has been instrumented for monitoring and recording purposes, the display gives the instructor access to information about the performance of the driver as well as of the car. Similar information can also be accessed by the driver through various meters on the dashboard in front of her, but not necessarily at the same level of detail: for example, as the instructor reveals elsewhere (data not shown), the speedometer in front of the instructor is more accurate than the one in front of the driver. In this excerpt, the instructor evidently gleans information about the current speed of the car from the display: turning his gaze away from the display, he produces a noticing involving such information, *meillon vauhti pudonnu* ‘we-ADE be:3SG speed drop-PCP, we have lost speed’ (line 6). The positioning of the noticing further suggests that the event, i.e. the drop in speed, has only now occurred, been registered or become relevant. Indeed, the importance of reaching and maintaining the recommended speed has been pointed out by the instructor earlier, but the participants have since proceeded along the higher-speed road without either of them explicitly referring to the speed of the vehicle or the speed limit on this road. Nevertheless, such prior talk contributes to the interpretation of the noticing as highlighting a potential problem, namely that in this traffic setting and situation driving below the speed limit is undesirable. That is, in this particular context at least, the instructor may expect the driver to have the competence to keep up appropriate speed and to recognise when the adjustment of speed becomes relevant.

Immediately after the instructor's noticing, the driver shifts her gaze from the road ahead to the dashboard in front of her (Figure 2c), evidently orienting to the current speed of the car as it is displayed in the speedometer. The data available do not show whether or not the driver also presses the accelerator, but the instructor's following turns suggest that this is not the case. The instructor's verbal *kiihdytetään* ‘accelerate.PASS-4, let's accelerate’ (line 7) can be heard as explicating the instructional implications of the noticing, i.e. that acceleration is relevant here, and the instructor's simultaneous, quick circling movement with his right hand (Figure 2c) can be seen as emphasising both the increasing relevance and the growing urgency of accomplishing the nominated driving action. This instruction for immediate action also casts the preceding noticing in new light: the noticing provides an account for the instruction that could otherwise be seen as not sufficiently warranted. That is, it is precisely because the speed of the car has dropped when it should not have that accelerating, and instructing to accelerate, becomes relevant on this occasion. The instructor then further points out the importance of maintaining the recommended speed (lines 9–10), before he moves on to detail and instruct the driver to perform the relevant next steps in the overall navigational task that she is carrying out (line 11).

Whereas in Excerpt 1 the instructor's noticing concerns a state of affairs the consequences of which may be considered undisputable (i.e. unless the driver stops the car immediately, she will drive through a red light), the noticing in Excerpt 2 deals with an event that may be addressed a little more flexibly. That is, although the importance of maintaining the recommended speed is reinvoked by the noticing, the exact timing—both in terms of initiation and duration—of accelerating back to that

speed on a multilane road is perhaps less critical and more negotiable than that of stopping the car at a junction. Excerpt 3 illustrates in more detail how the instructional implications of a noticing may in effect be negotiated.

In Excerpt 3, the participants are driving down a city street. The instructor again sets a new navigational task for the driver, specifying both a direction and a landmark at which to turn ('let's turn left at the end of the street', line 1) and raising his left hand to point to the left. The driver immediately brings her left hand to the indicator to switch it on (Figure 3a).

### 3) TRU 2010061512-1 (00:42:43)

```
01 INS: *+käännytään tien päästä vasemmalle.
        `let's turn at the end of the street to the left'
        *>>ahead-->
dri   +>>ahead----->+indicator-->
02   # (0.5)      +(0.4) ±(0.3)±
dri   -->+ahead-->
        ±activates indicator±
fig   #3a
```



```
03   (0.2)
04 DRI: (--)
05 INS: nyt taas,
        `now again'
06   # (0.9)
fig   #3b
```



07 INS: vilkku on ehkä niin aikasin +päällä ±että indicator be:3SG maybe so early on that 'the indicator is perhaps on so early that'
---

```
dri   -->+indicator-----+ahead-->
        ±deactivates indicator±
ins
fig   #3c
```



08 INS: joku \*[saattaa luulla että me mennään  
 \someone may think that we're going'  
 09 DRI: [ahaa,  
 \ah'  
 ins -->\*left-->  
 10 INS: t#osta +p\*orttikong\*ista.+  
 \through that gateway'  
 -->\*ahead-----\*left-->  
 -->α  
 dri -->+left-----+ahead-->  
 fig #3d



11 DRI: ↑aijaa,  
 \oh I see'  
 12 \*mä oon [taas ollu sitä mieltä et, jalankulkijoitten takia  
 \well I have been of the opinion that' \for pedestrians'  
 ins -->\*ahead-->  
 13 INS: [mutta nyt kannattaa tietysti olla vilkku päällä.  
 \but now it's of course worth having the indicator on'  
 14 DRI: pitää olla vilkku riittävän ajoissa.  
 \one has to have the indicator on early enough'  
 15 INS: joo totta kai. riittävän ajoissa.  
 \yes sure' \early enough'  
 16 (1.5)  
 17 DRI: koska mua ärsyttää itse ku,  
 \because I myself get irritated when'  
 ((driver continues to relate her experiences as a pedestrian))

As they proceed along the street with the indicator on, the instructor delivers a noticing about this particular state of affairs. At first, he produces a temporal expression, *nyt taas* 'now again' (line 5), which offers two possible interpretations: it can be heard to present what follows either as having occurred before ('similar to a previous time') or as creating a contrast with some prior event or state of affairs ('on the other hand'). In either case, *nyt taas* 'now again' frames the following noticing as having been occasioned by something that is available in the ongoing situation. Looking ahead, the instructor continues with a noticing, *vilkku on ehkä niin aikasin päällä että* 'the indicator is perhaps on so early that' (line 7). Because the use of the indicator is

relevant only within limited time and space, ‘so early’ here highlights a possible problem and implies that the driver has in effect activated the indicator too early. For this driver, in this context, the unfolding noticing is enough to prompt a corrective move: as the instructor utters *päällä* ‘on’, the driver deactivates the indicator (line 7, Figures 3b–c).

The instructor then further continues to explicate why having the indicator on is potentially problematic and thus to account for why the noticing is relevant here: *joku saattaa luulla että me mennään tosta porttikongista* ‘someone may think that we’re going through that gateway’ (line 8) and a point to ‘that gateway’ on the left (Figure 3d) direct the driver’s attention to a specific feature of the setting and provide grounds for the instructional implications of the noticing. That is, they invite the driver to assess the situation herself. Additionally, the hypothetical ‘someone may think’ (line 8), as well as the modal particle *ehkä* ‘perhaps’ earlier (line 7), signal that the instructor is providing one possible interpretation of the situation. In this way, the instructor is making visible a process through which car drivers in general may determine when to apply the indicator, with reference to the specific features of the setting and to other road users involved in the situation (see Broth, Cromdal and Levin, this special issue). The driver receives the noticing as providing new information to her with the response particles *ahaa* ‘ah’ and *aijaa* ‘oh I see’ (lines 9 and 11; see Koivisto 2015), before beginning to challenge the view put forward by the instructor, suggesting instead that pedestrians benefit from the early application of the indicator (‘well I have been of the opinion that for pedestrians one has to have the indicator on early enough’, lines 12 and 14).

The noticings in Excerpts 1–3 concern certain events or states of affairs in the current traffic setting and situation. Although those events or states of affairs are within the scope of responsibility of the driver, the noticings do not contain any linguistic formats that would explicitly single out the driver and direct her individual actions (e.g. in the form of second-person imperatives, see Rauniomaa 2017). Rather, the noticings have instructional implications that a competent driver should in that situation and setting be able to infer and that therefore prompt the driver to adjust her actions accordingly. Moreover, in Excerpts 2 and 3, the driver’s responding to the instructional implications of the noticing in an appropriate way is contingent on her being able to infer a general rule (i.e. “drive at the maximum allowed speed” and “do not apply the indicator too soon”, respectively) that she may or may not have known before. In this way, the noticings make visible the instructor’s expectations about the driver’s competence and, by responding to the noticings by immediately carrying out relevant and appropriate driving actions, the drivers may show that they can indeed meet those expectations.

In Excerpt 3, in particular, the instructional implications of the instructor’s noticing can be seen to be addressed by the driver at more depth and detail: in response to the instructor’s pointing out that the indicator is on, the driver first manually switches the indicator off but then verbally challenges the interpretation ‘too early’ by contrasting it with ‘early enough’. In a sense, then, the instructor’s noticing makes it relevant for the driver to display her competence in understanding and acting on the implications of the noticing as well as to portray herself as a driver who is able to reflect on practices related, for example, to the use of the indicator in traffic. In challenging the interpretation of the situation put forward by the instructor, the driver also highlights the negotiable character of such interpretations and accounts for her conduct on this and possible other, past and future, occasions.

## 'I notice that' -prefaced noticings about habitual practices

In addition to noticings that are inextricably tied to the ongoing situation, the instructor in these data makes observations about practices and routines that have evidently been adopted by the driver in the past and that become available for the instructor to monitor and assess in the present. These noticings are prefaced with the matrix clause *huomaan että* 'I notice that', signalling that they are occasioned by the instructor's monitoring of the driver's past or ongoing performance, and may include more or less overt assessments or other evaluative elements. The instructional implications of these noticings encourage the driver to correct such habitual practices, not necessarily on this occasion, but in the future. In this sense, the instructor's noticings about the drivers' habitual practices are future-oriented (see Rauniomaa and Keisanen 2012) and can be understood to lead to delivery of advice, in a context where the practices of both assessing and advising are institutionally acceptable and even desirable (cf. Moore 2015; Shaw, Potter and Hepburn 2015).

In Excerpt 4, the participants are driving in city traffic, and the last navigational task set by the instructor has concerned making two right turns. At the beginning of the excerpt, the driver is managing the second turn by, among other things, manipulating the gearstick.

### 4) TRU 2010061411-2 (00:04:09)

01 ±(2.1) \*(0.4) # (0.4) \*(0.9)±  
 dri ±changes gears-----±  
 ins \*gearstick-----\*ahead-->  
 fig #4a



02 INS: ö:m, mt # huomaa-n \*että ykkösen ja kakkosen vä\*lillä,  
 notice-1SG that first and second between  
 'uhm I notice that between first and second {gear}'  
 -->\*gearstick-----\*ahead-->  
 α 'changing gears' gesture-->

fig #4b  
 03 INS: # \*vai#hta\*e-ssa, pysähdy-tte tuo-hon vaapaa-lle.  
 change:INF-INE stop-2PL that-ILL free-ALL  
 'when changing you pause at neutral'  
 -->\*gearstick\*ahead-->  
 -->α

fig #4c #4d



04 INS: vaikka oikeestaan, .hhhh  
 'although actually'  
 05 (0.7)  
 06 INS: ö: \*nsen välin vo\*i (0.4) ve\*tää ihan # suoraan.\*  
 'uh that change can be' 'done directly at once'  
 -->\*gearstick----\*ahead-----\*gearstick-----\*ahead-->>  
 # 'changing gears' gesture-->

fig

#4e



07 INS: pitämällä vaihte#keppiä vasemmalla.  
 'by holding the gearstick to the left'  
 -->#  
 08 +(4.1) +(0.3) ±(0.3) +  
 dri >>+ahead-+gearstick----+ahead-->>  
 ±changes gears-->  
 09 INS: käännytään tien päätstä vasemmalle,  
 'let's turn at the end of the street to the left'  
 dri -->±

As the driver steers the car through the junction, the instructor can also be seen to follow the traffic situation, by shifting his gaze from in front of the car to both sides and over his shoulder to the back (data not shown). When the driver has brought her right hand to the gearstick and begins to push it forward, from second to first gear, the instructor glances in the direction of the gearstick and the driver's hand (Figure 4a). The glance may pass unnoticed by the driver, but for the analyst it provides further evidence of the instructor's continuous monitoring of the driver's performance. After the driver has managed the turn at the junction and is driving straight ahead again with both hands on the steering wheel (Figure 4b), the instructor produces a noticing that is occasioned by the driver's prior actions: *huomaan että ykkösen ja kakkosen välillä vaihtaessa pysähdytte tuohon vapaalle* 'I notice that between first and second {gear} when changing you pause at neutral' (lines 2–3). Moreover, the instructor provides an embodied performance of the driver's use of the gearstick by accomplishing an 'immaterial object' (Keevallik 2014), a gearstick that he grabs and pulls towards him, stops for a moment, pulls a little closer and then pushes forward again (Figures 4c–d).

Although the instructor produces the noticing soon after he has evidently witnessed the driver perform the action in question and the noticing can thus be

considered to be occasioned by that current event, it in effect has more far-reaching foundations and implications. The matrix clause, *huomaan että* ‘I notice that’ (line 2), reveals that the instructor has indeed been, and continues to be, engaged in monitoring the driver's performance and prepared to point out any issues that arise. Furthermore, the present tense that the instructor uses throughout the turn (*huomaa-n* ‘notice-1SG, I notice’ and *pysähdy-tte* ‘stop-2PL, you pause’), to refer to an event that is not ongoing at this moment, implies a habitual practice of which a prior event has only been an illustrative instance. After all, the driver is not currently handling the gearstick and cannot therefore immediately adjust her use of it.

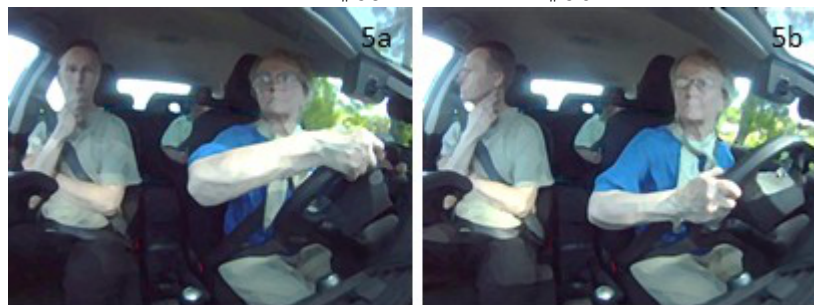
It should also be noted that a noticing about the driver's ‘pausing at neutral’ may not be directly understandable as doing assessing or initiating correction. Rather, it is a description that prepares ground for a more instruction-oriented demonstration: after producing the noticing, including an embodied performance of the driver's actions, the instructor continues to explicate verbally and demonstrate bodily a more desirable way of changing gears from first to second (lines 4–7, Figure 4e). That is, the instructor contrasts the driver's incorrect performance with the correct one (see Keevallik 2010). The instructional implication of the noticing is not to be taken up immediately, i.e. as a correction to what the driver is currently doing, but on future occasions when the same action is being accomplished (with new opportunities for practice arising soon after the excerpt).

Excerpts 5 and 6 come from the first driving sessions of two different drivers. At this point in the session, the driver is practising on a parking lot: some of the tasks include driving between certain sections of the parking lot and parking the car in available spaces. One important purpose of this part of the first driving session is to give the instructor an opportunity to decide whether, based on her performance on the parking lot, the driver may proceed into traffic or not. The instructor does not necessarily make such decision-making processes entirely explicit but, rather, after some practising, he may simply suggest that they exit the parking lot. Nevertheless, the instructor also makes evaluative noticings about the driver's performance during practice, as is the case in Excerpts 5 and 6.

Excerpt 5 begins when the driver is carrying out the task of ‘driving up to the next section of the parking lot, turning right’.

5) TRU 2010061711-1 (00:24:59)

```
01      +±*(0.8) *(1.1) *(0.7) # (.) *(1.1) # (0.8) *(1.0) *(1.1)
dri +right-->
      ±>>turns wheel right-->
ins   *left--*right-*left-----*right-----*ahead-*right-->
fig           #5a                       #5b
```



02 INS: .mt .hh \*±±huomaa-n e+ttä,



```

notice-1SG that
'I notice that'
-->*ahead-->
dri -->+ahead-->
-->±straightens wheel-->
03 INS: (1.6) *ra+ti-n*-käy+ttö-tapa Ꝁon *(.) +lyp*#sä±-vä,#
wheel-GEN-use-way be:3SG milk-PCP
'the way of using the wheel is' 'jerky'

```

```

-->*left---*ahead-----*left----*ahead-->
Ꝁ 'milking' gesture-->
dri -->+right----+ahead-----+right--+ahead-->
-->±
fig #5c #5d

```



```

04 (0.2) *(0.5)
ins -->*left-->
05 INS: että,
'so that'
06 *(0.5) ±(0.3) # (0.3) # (0.2)±
ins *ahead-->
dri ±shakes head-----±
fig #5e #5f

```



```

07 INS: ö:: kädet ei mene koskaan ristiin.
'uh the hands never cross'
08 .hhh va:ikka ratti on nopein kääntä*ä niin e+ttä,
'although the fastest way to turn the wheel is to'
-->*hands
dri +ins hands-->
09 INS: Ꝁ(.) (0.6) pyöräy#tetään +puol kierrosta, yhdellä kädellä,
'turn it around half-way' 'with one hand'
-->Ꝁ 'turning wheel' gesture-->
dri -->+ahead-->
fig #5g

```



- 10 INS: ja irrotetaan # toinen käsi, ja siirretään se sinne,  
 'and let go the other hand' 'and move it there'  
 fig #5h
- 11 INS: ja sillä [taas,  
 'and again with that'
- 12 DRI: [°(apua, juu) en osaa ollen\*kaan?°  
 '(help, yes) no I can't do it at all'  
 ins -->\*ahead-->>
- 13 INS: joo, ¢.hh no:: sen voi harjotella tässä jossain vaiheessa.  
 'yes' 'well one can practice it here now at some point'  
 -->¤
- 14 .hhhh +(0.4) +(0.2) ä+:::,  
 'eh'  
 dri -->+left--+ahead--+ins-->
- 15 INS: (.) kierrellä+än näitä parkkipaikkoja eli,  
 'let's go around these parking spaces so'  
 dri -->+ahead-->>

The driver has by this time sat behind the wheel and driven the car for a few minutes, in this way making her manipulation of the different in-car instruments visible to the instructor (Figures 5a–b). Among other things, she has handled the steering wheel and is, in effect, still in the process of turning it when the instructor produces a noticing: *huomaan että ratinkäyttötapa on lypsävä* 'I notice that the way of using the wheel is jerky' (lines 2–3). Again, the matrix clause 'I notice that' anchors the instructor's noticing to the present situation and frames what follows as being occasioned by his monitoring of the driver's performance. Nonetheless, similarly to the instructor's noticing in Excerpt 4, the one here concerns what the instructor perceives as a habitual practice, 'the way of using the wheel', and not only as the driver's ongoing accomplishment of a part of a task. The noticing itself is impersonal, i.e. it does not contain any reference to the driver (e.g. in the form of a second-person possessive suffix on the noun), and in this way presents the problem in a seemingly objective manner. Furthermore, the adjective *lypsävä* literally means 'milking' ('milk-PCP') and, although it is used by the instructor on this and other occasions to assess the driver's performance negatively (as the rest of the excerpt shows), it may also be heard as simply descriptive and its evaluative potential as ambivalent. Indeed, the evaluative potential of 'milking' rests on an understanding that there are different ways of using the steering wheel, some of which are more appropriate than others.

On uttering *lypsävä* 'jerky, milking', the instructor raises his hands as if to grab a steering wheel, first holding his hands up together and then sliding them down to the sides (Figures 5c–d). The driver glances at the instructor (Figure 5c) and then purses her lips and shakes her head in a display of not understanding (Figures 5e–f; see Mondada 2011). The driver in this way disproves the instructor's expectations about a shared understanding of how 'jerky, milking' is to be interpreted in this context. The instructor then begins to remedy the situation by first explaining what he means by the

expression (lines 5 and 7) and by then explicating verbally and demonstrating bodily what the most appropriate, i.e. fastest, way of turning the steering wheel is (lines 8–11, Figures 5g–h).

During the instructor’s explication and demonstration, the car rolls slowly forward and it is no longer relevant for the driver to turn the wheel. Nevertheless, the driver takes a look at the instructor’s embodied demonstration and adjusts her grip of the steering wheel, albeit not in any way copying the movement or position of the instructor’s hands. Eventually, the driver claims that she ‘can’t do it at all’ (line 12) and the instructor dismisses the practice in favour of a new navigational task (lines 13–15). In this way, although addressing a problem that has come out in the present and that could in principle be corrected immediately, both the instructor and the driver build on the assumption that the driver’s way of using the wheel is a habitual practice that may in effect be remedied at a later stage.

In Excerpt 6, the instructor’s noticing concerns a habitual practice that is not in need of any correction but, rather, promotion. That is, the noticing provides a positive assessment of the driver’s performance. Here, the instructor sets a new navigational task (*lähetään vasemmalle* ‘let’s go to the left’, line 1) and evidently monitors how the driver carries it out, including her use of the steering wheel (Figures 6a–b).

6) TRU 2010061512-1 (00:22:01)

01 INS: ö:, lähetään vasemmalle,  
 ‘uh’ ‘let’s go to the left’  
 02 ±(2.3)± (0.8) ±+(0.4) # \*(0.7) \*(0.4) \*(0.5) #(0.3)  
 dri ±changes gear± ±turns wheel left-->  
 +left-->  
 ins \*left--\*right-\*left-->  
 fig #6a #6b



03 INS: .mt huomaa-n että  
 notice-1SG that  
 ‘I notice that’  
 04 (.) rati-n käy\*ttö± on hyvää että,  
 wheel-GEN use be:3SG good-PTV that  
 ‘the use of the wheel is good so’  
 -->\*ahead-->  
 dri -->±straightens wheel-->  
 +ahead-->  
 05 (.)  
 06 DRI: [aha.  
 ‘ah’  
 07 INS: [jo\*s+kus on op\*etel\*±tu siit±ä  
 ‘one has at some point unlearned the’  
 -->\*left-----\*dri-\*ahead-->



involved in and give the driver further access to the pedagogical purposes that the present activity is intended to serve (see Margutti and Drew 2014). That is, together, they become a means of ‘doing being an instructor’ and serve as displays of the instructor’s professional competence and attention to the situation as potentially relevant for instruction.

## **Conclusion**

Rather than providing an account of the most typical instructional sequences found in the data, this study has explored the peripheries of instructional activities and examined two kinds of noticings by the instructor. The noticings evidently have their basis in the instructor’s constant monitoring and assessing of the driver’s performance in changing traffic settings and situations, and they are tied to the present in different ways. On the one hand, they may concern some current events or states of affairs, which the noticings flag as having at this moment become relevant and highlight as being somehow problematic. The noticings then prompt the driver to adjust her driving actions to remedy the situation more or less immediately. On the other hand, noticings may concern the driver’s habitual practices that her immediately prior or ongoing driving actions have made visible for the instructor. These noticings are initiated by the matrix clause ‘I notice that’ and often include evaluative elements, such as criticisms or compliments that either discourage or encourage the driver’s employment of those practices. In this way, noticings about habitual practices point backwards to the past, are anchored in the present and have instructional implications for the future.

With a focus on two related but distinct practices for implementing particular kinds of actions, this study contributes to recent discussion on action formation (see especially Schegloff 2007 and Levinson 2013). The analyses have shown how simple noticings that concern current events and states of affairs call for immediate (corrective) action by the driver and, by contrast, how ‘I notice that’ -prefaced noticings that concern habitual practices make particular actions by the driver relevant on future occasions. The linguistic design and sequential position of the noticings provide a key to understanding their instructional implications, but even more important is their timing in relation to the participants’ embodied actions, i.e. whether the instructor produces a noticing while the driver is still in the process of carrying out a relevant action and whether the driver is currently in an appropriate position in traffic space and time to correct her performance of that action. Furthermore, the analyses have shed light on the range of readings that actions under such a label as ‘noticing’ may allow, from instruction and initiation of correction to evaluation and delivery of advice.

Because “[d]esigning turns in order to be maximally effective for the particular recipient(s) is crucial for accomplishing intersubjectively coordinated action” (Deppermann 2015: abstract), an examination of noticings sheds light on the workings of mobile instructional settings, in general, and on the professional practices of driving instructors, in particular. First, through noticings about some current events or states of affairs, the instructor in these data sets up certain expectations about the driver’s skills and competence: a relatively competent driver, such as a driver with a valid driving licence, may be expected to identify a problem and adjust her ongoing driving actions to address the problem on the basis of a noticing alone. In orienting to and possibly remedying the problem, the driver then displays that she in effect meets those

expectations. By producing noticings about the driver's habitual practices, in turn, the instructor shows that, while he recognises that such practices have been learnt over time and that it may also take time to unlearn them, he also expects the driver to reflect on her own practices, to recognise that some practices are more appropriate than others and, when relevant, to be able to change them.

Second, it is because of their incompleteness as instructions (see Garfinkel 2002) that the noticings can in effect be considered to have instructional implications: in working out how a noticing is relevant in the present context, the participants become 'interactional and dialogical *partners-in-crafting-instructions*' (St. John and Cromdal 2016, emphasis in original). Furthermore, such tacit means of instruction can be seen to 'promote self-discovery' (Waring 2015), i.e. provide opportunities for the drivers themselves to infer what constitutes appropriate driving conduct in this traffic setting and situation (see Rauniomaa, Lehtonen and Summala 2016). At the same time, the noticings account for the instructions that are being produced or projected, making them comprehensible as motivated, rational actions that relate to and build on what the trainee drivers have shown to know about correct and incorrect, or more favourable and less favourable, practices of driving.

Third, similarly to most turns produced by the instructor in these data, noticings reveal some of the monitoring and assessing work that the instructor is continuously engaged in and show that this work is not limited to the driver's accomplishment of a particular task but concerns her performance throughout the training. Relatedly, what is being practised in the training, then, is the employment of various manual, pedal and other practical skills to produce appropriate driving actions with reference to the traffic setting and situation as well as possible other road users. Noticings can therefore be seen to complement instructional sequences by inviting the driver to act and reflect on various processes and practices of driving, some of which are straightforward and others which leave more room for interpretation and negotiation.

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