

Title: The Granularity of Seeing in Interaction

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## Abstract

Using the methodology of conversation analysis, this study explores how the ascribability of high-granularity seeing is organized in interactions. It focuses on the practice of repeating a word or phrase with a fixed gaze (finely coordinated with the temporal unfolding of an event at which the speaker gazes) as an exemplar practice that embodies high-granularity seeing. The high-granularity seeing embodied by the practice (“seeing the continuous temporal development of an action or movement”) becomes relevant at specific sequential positions where some trouble is occurring or expectable in complying with an instructional request. It also accomplishes “specifically attending to an individual in potential trouble” in a way appropriate to the ongoing activity. The ascribability of high-granularity seeing is a constitutive part of the implementation of a specific action in a specific interactional context. The data are in Japanese with English translation.

**Keywords:** High-granularity seeing; Conversation analysis; Repetition of a word or phrase; Instructional action; Fukushima disaster

## 1. Introduction

Interaction studies have demonstrated that what one sees is embedded within the organization of the distinct activity in which one is currently engaging. Generally, in a joint activity, the participants must be frequently mutually aware of what they currently see. Therefore, what they see is a constituent part of the organization of their activity. In particular, this study addresses a dimension of the variety of seeing. While one sees the same object or event throughout the course of one's activity, one may see it differently at different stages of the activity. This apparently paradoxical phenomenon (i.e., seeing the same but different things) was discussed by Wittgenstein (1953, 1980) under the rubric of “aspect-seeing” (see also Nishizaka, 2018). Wittgenstein's famous example was a duck-rabbit picture; while the picture remains the same, what one sees can change from the duck to the rabbit and vice versa.

One should note that “aspect-seeing” is not the result of interpreting what one sees. Specifically, one does not grasp a rabbit aspect via interpreting the drawn lines on paper that one first sees; rather, one may not be able to see these lines without seeing a duck or rabbit (see Nishizaka, 2020).

This study investigates the interactional organization of aspect-seeing, focusing on the “granularity” of seeing. Schegloff (2000) showed that the granularity of action description (e.g., whether using a crude action descriptor such as “A promised” or citing the actor's talk that implements the action) varies depending on interactional contingencies. Drawing on this notion, this study investigates the granularity of seeing. The granularity of seeing to be addressed in this study concerns what is ascribable to one participant (A) when this participant

sees another participant's (B's) action or movement. Seeing B's moving toward a particular location (low-granularity seeing) may be ascribable to A; or, alternatively, seeing the continuous temporal development of the movement initiated at a particular location and terminated at another (the process that implements the movement, i.e., high-granularity seeing) may be ascribable to A. The ascribability of this differential granularity of seeing varies according to what the participants are currently doing.<sup>1</sup>

A note may be in order on the notion of "ascribability of seeing." As Ryle (1949) noted, seeing (i.e., visual perception) is not a process or activity but an achievement. Seeing is not located in space; the inquiry "Where did you see my wallet?" does not concern the location of your seeing but the location of my wallet. Therefore, the analytic task of interaction studies of seeing is not to look for a process or activity of seeing in interaction (or in any other places) but to elucidate how it is possible that participants mutually ascribe what they see to accomplish their activity. In Coulter's (1979) terms, "the problem being posed is not mentalistic in form (e.g., how can we check the phenomenological validity of avowals, and ensure the correctness of our ascriptions, of mental predicates?) but social-organizational (e.g., how—on the basis of what culturally available reasonings and presuppositions—do members actually avow and ascribe mental predicates to one another?)" (p. 37). This study addresses the "social-organizational" problem on the basis of a "culturally available" *practice*, observable in audio-visually recorded interactions, and elucidates the participants' procedural grounds for the ascribability of seeing.

Coulter (1979) also noted that "the members' practical determinations of other members' subjectivities have the property of defeasibility"; "they are not

immune from being contested, rebutted, argued against or falsified in circumstantial ways; since they have the logical status of *ascriptions*, they likewise result in defeasible products” (p. 54; emphasis in original). However, there are still procedural grounds for ascribing seeing a certain thing or seeing a thing in a certain way.

Focusing on one particular practice, this study will explore one “culturally available” procedural ground for the *possibility* of ascription (i.e., *ascribability*) of a specific or *marked* type of seeing, namely, high-granularity seeing. In other words, through a detailed analysis of several segments taken from naturally occurring interactions, it will illustrate how the ascribability of high-granularity seeing embodied by a specific practice is organized. In the next section, I will introduce the problem that this study specifically addresses and develop the background. At the end of the next section, I will describe how this study proceeds.

## 2. Problem and Background

### 2.1. Problem

This study focuses on the practice of repeating a word or phrase with a gaze fixed in one direction (or with gazing at two relevant spots, such as a bonfire and a body approaching it, alternately—in what follows, I will refer to this practice as “repetition with a fixed gaze”); the user of this practice, as we will see below, do “seeing the continuous temporal development of an action or movement.” Note that this particular practice is not the only practice that embodies high-granularity seeing. It is only one example of such practices, but an example that provides a

“perspicuous view” of the organization of the ascribability of such seeing.

Many instances of the target practice (repetition with a fixed gaze) have been observed in the contexts in which an adult uses it to instruct a child about what the latter should do. I will focus on these contexts, although there were several instances in which a child used repetition of a word or phrase while gazing at what the child was doing (and I will turn to one of these exceptional instances in a later section.) The cases in focus include the following two types of uses of the practice: (1) an adult uses the practice to encourage the continuation of what a child is currently doing, and (2) an adult uses it to halt what a child is doing. In addition, the repeated words or phrases may be (a) descriptive of what a child is doing or its result, (b) evaluative of what a child is doing, or (c) instructive of what should be done. The following are several examples. See Appendix for symbols employed in the excerpts. The Greek letter  $\varphi$  indicates an elided, undeterminable grammatical subject.

(1) (Birdhouse)(Encouraging with evaluations)  
((FD, while looking at the nail that CH is hammering, encourages CH to continue what she is doing with repetitions of positive evaluative terms, *soo* or “right” and *umai* or “good.” The timing of the hammering is indicated by the “v”s.))

01           (0.4)/(.)/(.)  
hm:           v    v  
fd:   -->> looks at the nail --->>  
ch:           |starts to hammer the nail and  
              continues to hammer it -->>  
  
02 FN:   so/o   soo   /soo   /oo:::: >U/M(h)ai umai /umai<  
          **Right, right, right, oh::::, good, good, good**  
hm:       v           v           v           v           v

(2) (River 1) (Encouraging with an instruction)  
((FD, while looking at CH’s movement, encourages CH to keep his current pace with instruction to put charcoal slowly into a bonfire.))

01 TK:   oite (h/h)  
ch:       |leans toward the bonfire

02 FD: ɾyukkuri yukkuri yukku|ri ɾhai.  
 [Slowly, slowly, slowly, |OK.  
 03 CH: ɿ( ) / /  
 04 TK: | ɿ(mada )  
 fd: -->> looks at ch ----->>  
 ch: |puts the charcoal into  
 the bonfire -->>

(3) (Birdhouse) (Halting with a description)  
 ((FD, while looking at the nail that CH is hammering, halts CH's hammering with the description of the result of the hammering, i.e., *magatta* or "has bent," when the nail has bent.))

01 (.)/(.)/(.)  
 hm: v v  
 |the neck of the nail starts to bend  
 fd: -->> looks at the nail ----->>  
 fd: |brings r.h. toward the nail

fig.1a fig.1b

02 FD: o/o |m/agatt/a=maga|tta (.)  
 hm: v | v v |  
 oh |has.been.bent |  
**Oh, ((it)) has bent, has bent (.)**  
 fd: |moves r.h. toward the nail  
 ch: |stops the hammer in the air  
 after swinging it down



Figure 1 FD's hand moves toward the nail.

(4) (Tree Climbing) (Halting with an instruction)  
 ((JN, while looking at the rope held by C3, halts what C3 is doing, i.e., incorrectly handling the rope, by instructing C3 to do it correctly, i.e., to pull up the lower portion of the rope.))

01 JN: koo yatte--: kurutto mawa|/su. uh--: 'n::to ne::  
 this like MIM turn | well PRT  
**Like this, ((φ)) turn ((the rope)) like kuru. uh:::,**  
 jn: --> looks at the rope held by c3 ----->>  
 c3: |raises her right hand  
 holding the rope -->>

02 shita kara| <shita |kara |(0.8)  
 lower from| lower |from |  
**pull up the lower portion, <up the lower portion**  
 c3: ----->| |lowers the hand  
 c3: |retries in the correct way

All these instances of repetition with a fixed gaze except Excerpt 1 are finely coordinated with the recipients' behavior and the environment. For example, in Excerpt 2, the repetition in line 02 is initiated precisely when the child leans toward the bonfire and is thus beginning to put the charcoal into it and is terminated immediately after the child puts the charcoal into the bonfire. In Excerpt 3, the repetition in line 02 is initiated immediately after the child keeps hammering even though the nail is bent (by doing "noticing something" with *oo*, "oh") and is terminated precisely when the child stops the hammer in the air. (Here, the repetition is produced with the adult's hand movement toward the nail as well as his gaze at the nail; see Figures 1a and 1b. His talk, gaze, and hand movement create a configuration in which halting is accomplished.) In Excerpt 4, at the end of the adult's (JN's) instruction about the correct way, the child raises her right hand, which is an incorrect movement (line 01). Immediately after the hand movement is made, a perturbation (*uh--:*) and the hesitation '*n::to ne*' ("well") in line 01 introduces the repetition (line 02). The repetition is terminated precisely when the child begins to move the rope correctly. All these instances of repetition with a fixed gaze, finely coordinated with the recipients' movements and the environment, observably embody "seeing the continuous temporal development" rather than simply "seeing a bent nail" or "seeing a child's body movement."

There are differences among the above excerpts with respect to the use of repetition with a fixed gaze. Specifically, the initiation and termination of the repetition of positive evaluative terms (Excerpt 1), combined with the speaker's fixed gaze, do not appear to be finely coordinated with any movements by the



child. Thus, the “encouraging with evaluation” type may be used in a more relaxed manner than other types. However, we should note that this type is still only used within the period during which the child is doing correctly and that, therefore, it also embodies “seeing the continuous temporal development” to a certain degree.

More importantly, regarding the two cases of the halting type (Excerpts 3 and 4), not only are their initiations and terminations finely coordinated with the child’s movement or the environment, but the second item in each repetition also appears to be finely coordinated with the child’s movement. In Excerpts 3 and 4, when the children continue the action that they should stop (i.e., hammering the nail and raising her hand, respectively) during the first production of the repeated phrases (*magatta* and *shita kara*, respectively), the adults (FD and JN) appear to rush to add the same phrase to halt the continuation. In Excerpt 4, in particular, not only is high-granularity seeing observably embodied by the repetition with a fixed gaze, but this very embodied *seeing* (not just the practice that embodies it, i.e., the repetition with a fixed gaze as such) is also observably consequential to the child’s subsequent behavior in the following way. First, the child appears not to understand the meaning of the instruction *shita kara* (“up the lower portion,” line 02) at the moment of its first production, as she continues to try incorrectly. Second, the repetition, quickly added, indicates to the child that the instruction has not been adequately followed at the moment of the end of its first production. Third, the child initiates the correction of her hand movement immediately after the production of the second *shita*, that is, precisely at the point when the fact that the repetition is being attempted is recognizable (Jefferson, 1973). This quick initiation of the correction by the child indicates that she (the child) connects the

repetition being produced to *what the adult saw just now during the first production* of the phrase. What the adult saw just now is now intelligible to her as her *continuation* of the incorrect movement. In this fashion, the ascribability (for the participants) of seeing the continuous temporal development of the child's behavior, not merely seeing her behavior, is observably sequentially consequential.

Thus, the granularity of the embodied seeing, together with its sequential consequentiality, may vary according to how the seeing is embodied by repetition with a fixed gaze. However, this study will not address this difference, because the different types of repetition with fixed gaze may appear in one sequence (see Excerpts 6.1 and 8). I will focus on the difference between these marked embodiments of high-granularity seeing and the unmarked seeing rather than the difference among the former. The issues to be addressed are at which sequential position this observably embodied (marked) high-granularity seeing becomes relevant and what it specifically accomplishes in the unfolding of a distinct activity.

## 2.2. Background

In the context of ordinary conversations, Stivers (2004) examined the repetition of *no* or *all right* (i.e., “multiple sayings”) and found that such repetition is used at the course-of-action level rather than in responding to the immediately prior turn at talk (see also Golato and Fagyal, 2008, and Heinemann, 2009, for an analysis of the repetition of response particles in German and Danish conversations).

However, the repetition this study addresses is very different from these multiple sayings; this study addresses repetition accompanied by a fixed gaze and

coordinated with the recipient's movement and the environment. In fact, although Stivers (2004, p. 262) identified a key feature of multiple sayings as their being "produced as a single turn-constructive unit," the repetition that I examine (in particular, the halting types) may not form a single turn-constructive unit.

Repetition with a fixed gaze has been observed in various instructional contexts. The following two types of repetition are, nevertheless, different from the repetition to be addressed here. Mondada (2017) observed that one-word directives and the complying acts in response to them are repeated quickly. This type of repetition in instructions (i.e., a series of multiple requesting-complying units) is not what this study focuses on. Furthermore, an instruction consisting of the same phrase may be repeated when compliance with the instruction does not occur appropriately within an adequate period (see Okada, 2018, and Mondada, 2018, for examples of this phenomenon). This repetition may look like the halting type (Excerpts 3 and 4). However, the halting type of repetition is not responsive to the absence of compliance; its speaker instead appears to attempt to halt an addressee's ongoing movement.

Several studies have observed that in the context of driving lessons, the repetition of one word or brief phrase, apparently accompanied by gaze fixed in the driving direction, is used for urgent requests. The quick repetition of a brief word and a complying action appear to form a single requesting-complying unit. De Stefani and Gazin (2014) observed that the combination of a verbless minimal unit and its repetition "allows INS [the instructor] to exhibit and STU [the student driver] to recognize that the action has to be executed urgently." Deppermann (2018) cited examples that feature the repetition of imperatives, although his point is the use of imperative forms, compared with other forms, such as declaratives.

The brief imperatives are often used in corrective sequences occasioned by the student's incorrect driving behavior. He argued that "[t]hey are especially useful for requesting actions which have to be complied with not only immediately, but urgently" (p. 280). Mondada (2018) observed that the coach first provides the student driver with instructions in the form of a sentence in the present indicative tense, and then, "when the actual timing of the action to be done is reached, shorter forms, either imperatives or stand-alone names, are used" (p. 322). She thus explicitly demonstrated that the participants' orientation to the temporal dimension of the instructions is embodied in their constructions. All these studies appear to address repetition that forms a single requesting-complying unit, constructed in a way that is sensitive to its temporal dimension.

In contrast to these studies, a speaker of the encouraging type (Excerpts 1 and 2) appears to encourage the continuation of the child's ongoing action *after* the child initiates the complying action. In the context of boxing sparring sessions, Okada (2018) observed that an imperative can be used after the instructed action is initiated. In her example, which does not include repetition, the coach first describes the current situation of the trainee's opponent; this implies what the trainee should do immediately, and the trainee complies with the implied request. Then, after this, the coach explicitly provides the instruction in the imperative form to do this action. Okada claimed (in a modest way) that "the imperative might encourage the boxer [the trainee] to continue" (p. 79).

My examples do not appear to involve any urgency that requires the instructed action to be done immediately to avoid a serious accident, as in the driving lesson context. However, as I showed in the previous subsection, the type of repetition (with a fixed gaze) in these examples embodies high-granularity

seeing distinctively involving temporality. This study uses this type of repetition as a lens that provides a perspicuous view of how the ascribability of the high-granularity seeing is organized.

Goodwin's (1994, 1996) studies on vision focused on practices for the organization of their recipients' seeing. Specifically, Goodwin (1994) elucidated practices that experts use to visually (re)organize the environment for laypersons (see also Nishizaka, 2011, 2014b). Goodwin (1996) observed that utterances that include a reference yet to be explicated (a "prospective indexical") may function as an instruction for seeing, that is, an instruction about what to see in the environment to obtain its explication (see also Nishizaka, 2000). In contrast, the practice in this study (i.e., repetition with a fixed gaze) is a practice that embodies doing "seeing the continuous temporal development of an action or movement," or in other words, a procedural ground for ascribing high-granularity seeing to its producer. I will demonstrate that the thus-ascribable seeing also has interactional import.

Certainly, seeing the continuous temporal development of an action or movement may allow the viewer to gather more accurate and precise information about the action or movement. However, what qualifies as "precise" is entirely context dependent.. Previous studies on relevant precision are relevant in this respect. Drew (2003) observed that the precision of speakers' descriptions of things on a particular topic depends on various contingencies of the interaction: Speakers construct their descriptions, accounts, and claims about events "to be as precise or exact as they need to be—as is relevant—for the interactional contexts in which they are produced, and for the interactional tasks at hand" (p. 936). Precision in interaction is accomplished in the local order of what they are

currently doing in the interaction. In the context of the repair organization (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks, 1977), more specifically, replacing a reference term (or a categorial reference term, in particular) with a more or less precise one, Lerner, et al. (2012) showed that the relevant precision of each reference term is related to inferences that are normatively expected to be drawn from the term in the local order of interaction. Both studies showed that the relevant precision is embedded within the normative order of the unfolding interactional activity. Their findings echoed Wittgenstein's (1953) remark (see also Coulter, 1991, p. 28):

“Inexact” is really a reproach, and “exact” is praise. And that is to say that what is inexact attains its goal less perfectly than what is more exact. Thus the point here is what we call “the goal” (§ 88).

The normative order of high-granularity seeing also lies in its connection with the locally emergent goal of each action (such as the correction of a child's incorrect movement). In the same vein as the studies of relevant precision, this study addresses how high-granularity seeing becomes relevant in the unfolding of the activity in which the participants are currently engaging.

### 2.3. Organization

Against the background of these previous studies, this study addresses the relevance of high-granularity seeing embodied by repetition with a fixed gaze in the following way. After describing the data to be analyzed (Section 3), I will examine examples from the two instructional scenes to demonstrate that high-granularity seeing becomes relevant at specific sequential positions and that this (marked) seeing has interactional import. Specifically, I will examine examples in which two alternative practices that embody seeing of differential granularity

appear sequentially (Section 4.1) and in which they appear simultaneously (Section 4.2). In doing so, I will explore what these alternative practices differentially accomplish in the interactions. The scenes, so to speak, provide a natural control over action types in which seeing is differentially ascribable to the actors. Relying on this natural control, this study shows that the ascribability of high-granularity seeing is “an achievement out of sets of alternative courses or directions which the talk and the interaction can take” (Schegloff, 1986, p. 114). Next, I will examine an example in which a child uses the practice (repetition with a fixed gaze) while gazing at what she has done and demonstrate that the results of the analysis in the preceding sections are extendable to other sequential contexts (Section 5). In the conclusion, I will summarize the points of the demonstrations.

### 3. Data and Method

This study is part of a larger project investigating the life of residents of a town issued an evacuation order immediately after a series of explosions at the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant subsequent to the Great East Japan Earthquake in 2011. In 2016, a group of residents began to meet to discuss various issues they are facing, particularly those related to the local children. My colleagues have been visiting and videotaping the meetings monthly. This study does not address any issue directly related to the specific situations of Fukushima, but the data that I will examine are part of the real life of the residents.

We obtained informed consent from all research participants (and their guardians when they were under 18). We anonymized all proper names, including

the names of local communities and organizations, when we transcribed the video recordings.

I reviewed the video recordings of four activities (about 10 hours in total) organized by the group for the children. I noticed that the participants occasionally do “seeing the continuous temporal development of the movement” in a specific way, namely by using the repetition of a word or phrase with a gaze fixed in one direction (or with gazing at two relevant spots alternately, as in Excerpt 8). I collected about 25 segments that included such cases. (The number of the segments varies depending on whether one counts instances of such repetition occurring successively as a single segment or multiple segments.) The target practice was divided into different groups by reference to a combination of what it is responsive to (a correct or incorrect movement) and the types of the repeated terms (descriptive, evaluative, or instructive), as I described in Section 2.1.

I employed the methodology of conversation analysis to analyze the data (Sacks, 1992; Schegloff, 2007). I also relied on Goodwin’s (2017) holistic point of view to analyze participants’ practices within multiple bodies’ temporal and spatial arrangement.

## 4. Temporal and Spatial Arrangement of Alternative Actions

### 4.1. Sequential arrangement of alternative actions

In this and the next sections, I explore the relationship between the ascribability of what speakers see and the organization of what they do in the unfolding of a distinct activity. This section examines examples in which alternative actions



performed with the differential granularity of seeing are sequentially arranged.

These examples are taken from an event that the aforementioned local group organized for children. Jingo, the chair of the group, is a forestry expert as well as an instructor and practitioner of tree climbing. The central part of the event is letting children climb a tree using ropes and other equipment. In the example, Jingo demonstrates how to tie a safety knot with a rope to several children; following Jingo's presentation of each step, the children, standing around a huge tree while holding their ropes hung on the tree, perform the step. The instructions proceed as follows:

- (a) Place your left hand on the rope with the palm touching the rope;
- (b) Wrap the rope around your left hand;
- (c) Pull the portion of the rope at the back of your left hand;
- (d) Put your right hand into the circle on the side of the back and hold the lower portion of the rope with your right hand; and
- (e) Pull out your right hand holding the portion from the circle.

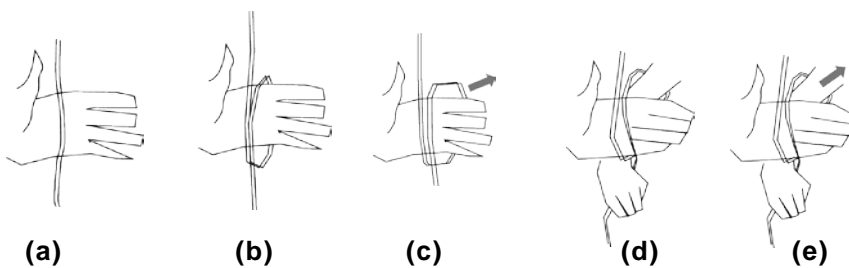


Figure 2 *How to tie a safety knot*

During the instructions, Jingo (JN) often looks around in a way that is publicly recognizable as such. The progression of his instructions is accomplished accountably based on what he sees at each time, namely, the children's success or

failure to follow his instructions. Excerpt 5 is a case in point, in which the high-granularity seeing is *not* specifically ascribable to him; here, an action *alternative* to the action implemented by the target practice (repetition with a fixed gaze) is performed. IN1 is one of the local tree-climbing team members participating as assistant instructors; he takes care of a particular child participant in line 03.

```
(5) (Tree Climbing 1)
01 JN:  hidari te no: hira o tsuke ma::s':
      (( $\emptyset$ ) attach the left hand ((to the rope)).
02      | (1.8)
      jn:  | looks around

03 IN1: hirai ( [ tte: )
      Open ( [      )
04 JN:      | de
      And,
05 JN: sono shita ni:
      at its lower part,
06      (1.2)
07 JN: migi te de:- -:roopu o tsukami mas'::
      with the right hand, (( $\emptyset$ )) hold the rope.
08      sono shita ne::?
      Its lower part, right?
09      (1.2)
```

In line 01, Jingo instructs the children on the first step of the procedure, after which he looks around to check the children’s situation (line 02). Then, he proceeds to the instruction on the second step (Step b) by marking the ongoing utterance as a “next” item with *de* (“and,” line 04): “And at its lower part, with the right hand, (( $\emptyset$ )) hold the rope” (lines 04–07). In line 08, most probably in response to a child’s trouble, Jingo adds an increment after the ongoing utterance is possibly complete at the end of line 07 by repeating the same expression (*sono shita*, “its lower part”) as he stated at the beginning of the current utterance (line 05). In this fashion, Jingo’s instructive action has two characteristics: On the one hand, it is carefully performed in response to what he sees each time (i.e., the children’s success or failure). On the other hand, even when being responsive to a

particular child's immediate behavior, he adheres to the original terms that he used publicly, not the terms adapted to the child's individual situation.

However, in the next excerpt, the instruction can be provided differently, and, accordingly, how he sees a child's instruction-following (or a child's failure to follow the given instruction) is differently ascribable. In Excerpt 6, an expanded version of Excerpt 4, Jingo refers to the shape of the rope represented by Figure 2b as "the six-letter shape." I divide the excerpt into two parts (Excerpts 6.1 and 6.2). (The mimetic term *kuru* indicates the manner of turning.)

(6.1) (Tree Climbing 1)

01 JN: roku no: maaRui tokoro o:  
**The circular portion of the six-letter shape,**

**fig. 3**

↓

02 (1.4)

**fig. 4**

↓

03 JN: dashi ma::s'=/a nnto ↓ne::  
 ((φ)) **pull it out=oh uh::m,**  
 jn: |rushes toward c3

04 |(2.0)

jn: |takes c3's rope

05 JN: koo yatte:-: kurutto mawa↓/su. uh-:-: 'n::to ne:::  
 this like MIM turn | well PRT  
**Like this, ((φ)) turn ((the rope)) like kuru. uh:::,**  
 c3: |raises her right hand  
 holding the rope -->>

**fig. 5**

↓

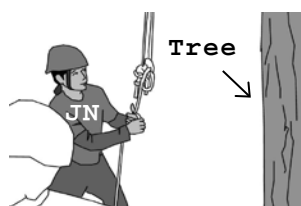
06 shita kara/ <shita /kara /((0.8) soo soo soo ↓soo  
 lower from| lower |from | right  
**pull up the lower portion, <up the lower portion**  
**(0.8) right right right. |**

c3: ----->| |lowers the hand

c3: |retries in the correct way

07 JN: .hhhhhhh de (.) kuru tto shita ni sage↓ru moo.  
 and MIM PRT lower PRT leave.down now  
**.hhhhhhh And (.) like kuru, ((φ)) leave it downward,**  
**right now.**

08 (0.4)



**Figure 3** JD stands in a home position.



**Figure 4** JD rushes toward C3.



**Figure 5** JD looks at C3's hand movement while holding the rope.

In lines 01–03, Jingo proceeds to the third step of the procedure; he is standing in a home position for the instructions addressed to all the children, adequately distancing himself from the tree to be climbed by the children (see Figure 3). However, in line 03, possibly in response to a child's (C3's) trouble, Jingo does “having noticed something” with *a* (“oh”) and rushes toward the child (as shown in Figure 4, where the child is now behind the tree; the camera follows Jingo's movement to capture the interaction between them at the time of Figure 5) and begins to instruct her from line 05 onward. Here, the instruction is provided in a different way than in lines 01–03 in several respects. First, before rushing to C3, Jingo consistently uses the polite form *dashi masu* (the verb *dasu*, “pull out,” plus the politeness marker *masu*; see also lines 01 and 07 of Excerpt 5, where he also uses *masu* or its variations). However, when Jingo speaks to C3, he never uses a polite form (the verbs *mawasu*, “turn” [line 05] and *sageru*, “leave downward” [line 07] without politeness markers), thereby specifically speaking *personally*. Second, by his use of the repetition of a word or phrase (line 06), Jingo intervenes in the child's ongoing continuous body movement. Specifically, the repetition of

*shita kara* (“up the lower portion”) in line 06 is, as I observed previously (Section 2.1), produced in response to C3’s continuous incorrect movement of raising a hand. Then, exactly when C3 begins to retry following the instruction correctly, Jingo produces the repetition of *soo* (“right”) to positively evaluate what C3 is doing in order to encourage C3 to continue. (One should note that Jingo does not produce any such evaluation while speaking publicly.) In this fashion, Jingo provides the instruction in response to the continuous temporal development of C3’s behavior. In doing so, Jingo is doing “visually and tactilely perceiving” of the continuous development of C3’s behavior and accountably grounds his instructions in such granularity of perception. We also observed in Section 2.1 that C3’s quick start to retry is only intelligible based on her (C3’s) grasp of Jingo’s high-granularity seeing. Thus, the ascribability of seeing at *different* granularity levels to Jingo is organized through the organization of his different instructive actions, while he sees the same object, namely, a child’s failure to follow his instruction. In other words, seeing at different granularity levels becomes ascribable to Jingo according to whether he sees the child’s failure (1) when he comes to the possible completion of his public demonstration in line 03 or (2) during his instruction personally addressed to C3 from line 05 onward.

Now I will briefly examine how Jingo returns to public demonstration.

Excerpt 6.2 is the continuation of Excerpt 6.1.

```
(6.2) (Tree Climbing 1)
09  JN:  soo .hh soos'r'tto roku dekuru yo ne::
      Right. .hh Then, now you have the six-letter shape,
      right?
10  C3:  n:n
      Yeah,
11  JN:  .hh koo.
      .hh Like this.
12      |(1.6)
      c3:  |nods twice.
```

13 JN: *de kore de: .hhhh kore moo hanashi te ↓ii yo::*  
**And, now, .hhh you can leave this now,**

14 (.)

15 JN: *soos'to suuji no roku /da yone:?*  
 now number PRT six |JD PRT  
**Now, this is a six-letter shape, right?**

jn: |shows a portion of the rope to c3

16 C3: |(<sup>o</sup>hai<sup>o</sup>)  
 |(Yes)

c3: |nods

17 JN: *nn / .h suuji no roku NI NATTARA*  
**Yeah, .h If you have a six-letter shape,**

jn: |returns to where he was standing

18 *kono WA O ookiku shi ma::s'.*  
**((φ)) extend the circle.**

In line 15, Jingo requests that C3 acknowledge that she has obtained “the six-letter shape,” which Jingo mentioned before he interrupted the public demonstration. After C3 provides an acknowledgment of the six-letter shape (line 16) and Jingo receipts it at the beginning of line 17, Jingo returns to his home position and resumes the interrupted public instruction, using a polite form (*shi ma:s'* in line 18; note that in lines 09 through 15, Jingo consistently uses non-polite forms: *dekiru* [line 09], *ii* [line 13], and *da* [line 15]). In fact, in lines 17–18, Jingo speaks louder and in a manner in which he is recognizably redoing what he was doing before he came to C3 (line 01 of Excerpt 6.1); he reuses the same word (*roku*, “six”) and uses the word (*wa*, “circle”) hearably connected to the phrase (*maarui tokoro*, “circular portion”) used in line 01 of Excerpt 6.1. Thus, the corrective sequence that addresses a particular individual’s trouble is specifically organized as an embedded occasion.

Therefore, high-granularity seeing becomes relevant at a specific sequential position. The sequential position at which Jingo initiates the (unofficial) corrective sequence is a possible completion of the demonstration of a

step. At such a position, alternative opportunities are always systematically available to the demonstrator: (1) proceeding to the next step if the recipients do not show any problem to be specifically addressed (i.e., continuing the action of public demonstration), or (2) suspending the ongoing demonstration to address a possible problem (e.g., initiating the action of personal correction; see Lindwall & Ekström, 2012, for the organization of a similar situation). Thus, the ascribability of high-granularity seeing (seeing the continuous temporal development of C3's movement) is a constituent part of performing a systematically alternative action in the ongoing instructive activity of instructing children how to tie a safety knot.

In this example, the embedding and embedded actions are performed by the same person. However, these actions may be distributed among multiple participants. Excerpt 7 exemplifies this. The excerpt is taken from the same scene. In lines 01–04, Jingo publicly provides instructions for the last step of the procedure of tying a safety knot by using a polite form (i.e., *masu* or its variation after the verbs).

(7) (Tree Climbing 1)  
 01 JN: .hhhh SO'SHITARA: .hh JIBUN NO HOO KARA roku no ana  
 02 kara guu panchi ire ma::s'.  
**.hhh Now, .hh from your side, ((φ)) move your fist into**  
**the circle of the six-letter shape like a punch.**  
 03 (1.6)

fig. 6a

04 JN: *d*e SHITA NO ROOPU *o* TSUKAMI ma:s'::  
**And ((φ)) hold the lower part of the rope ((with the**  
**same hand, i.e., the right hand)).**  
 05 (0.4)|(0.2)  
 c3: |begins to hold the lower part  
 of the rope with the left hand ->>

fig. 6b

↓

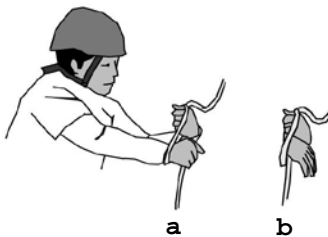
06 IN4: | *kore hanasa nai de* <*kore hanasa nai de?* |  
 | **Don't leave this, <don't leave this?** |  
 jn: | release the rope |  
 in4: | touches the part of the rope that c3 |  
 | should hold -----> |  
 c3: | -----> |

07 C3: | *n?* |  
 | **Huh?** |  
 c3: | returns her left hand to the part touched  
 | by in4

08 IN4: *hanasa naide:* | *kono te de:*  
 | leave NG | this hand with  
 | **Don't leave ((it)) and with this hand ((hold it)).** |  
 in4: | guides c3's right hand to the lower  
 | part of the rope

09 JN: | *s-h- tsukande: na- ru--:*  
 | **((φ)) hold ((the lower part of the rope)) and in- loo-**  
 jn: | holds the rope, once again

10 (.) *wa no naka ni:\_ hippari aga ma::s'*  
 (.) **into the circle ((of the six-letter)), ((φ)) pull up.**



**Figure 6** JD releases his hand from the rope but maintains his posture.

In line 06, another assistant instructor, IN4, in response to C3's attempt to hold the lower part of the rope with the incorrect (left) hand, makes a pointing gesture to the upper part of the rope that the left hand should continue holding and instructs her not to release her left hand from that part (note that the form *nai de* is a typical non-polite interdictive). In response to C3's continuous attempt, he repeats a full sentence until C3 abandons the attempt. Thus, the ascribability of high-granularity seeing to IN4 is organized in this fine coordination of the repetition with C3's hand movement. Here, too, this high-granularity seeing



becomes relevant when the speaker engages in the action of correcting the child's incorrect attempt. After IN4, in response to C3's repair initiation ("Huh?" line 07) (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks, 1977), guides C3's right hand to the lower part (line 08), Jingo resumes the suspended instruction (line 09); the resumption is recognizably accomplished by his repeating, at the beginning of the utterance, the same verb *tsukamu* ("hold") that he uttered at the end of line 04 just before IN4 intervened.

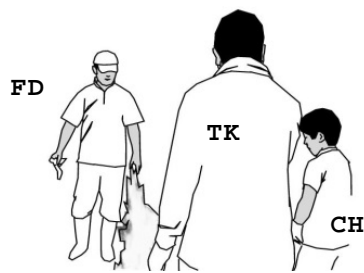
Note that when IN4 begins the correction, Jingo releases his right hand from the rope that he held with the hand (Figures 6a and 6b), and during the period when IN4 instructs C3 on how to hold the lower part of the rope, Jingo maintains the same posture, thereby observably suspending the ongoing instruction while sustaining his basic orientation to the suspended demonstration (see Nishizaka, 2014a; Nishizaka & Sunaga, 2015). Only when IN4 finishes the correction by guiding C3's right hand (line 08) does Jingo resume the interrupted public instruction by holding the rope again.

Here, once again, the practice that embodies high-granularity seeing is used on a specifically organized sequential occasion upon which the action of correcting a particular individual's behavior is relevant.

#### 4.2. Simultaneous alternative actions

The next example, an expanded version of Excerpt 2, is taken from another event organized by the same group. The participants are building bonfires. One adult participant (Funada, or FD) asks a child (Chota, or CH) to put charcoal on a bonfire (lines 01 through 06). However, the child, carrying a piece of charcoal, walks past the bonfire and proceeds to a place not yet ready for charcoal. Funada





**Figure 7** FD and TK orient to the child and the bonfire.

All instances of the repetition, combined with gazing at the child and the bonfire alternately, are finely coordinated with Chota's movements in the following ways. In line 10, after displaying that he has noticed the child walking past the bonfire with *a* ("oh"), Funada utters *kotchi* ("here") four times while pointing at the part of the bonfire that is closest to the child. Note that the word *kotchi* ("here" but literally "to this direction"), compared with the unmarked one *koko* ("here"), has a contrastive, and therefore corrective, implication. Funada stops saying this instruction-indicative word immediately after Chota begins to turn first to Funada and then to the bonfire—that is, precisely when Chota observably begins to follow the indicated instruction. Then (in line 12), Funada specifies the target place by uttering its description twice, contrasting it to the one that Chota was approaching ("the burning one"); the second saying is cut off precisely when Chota faces the bonfire, that is, when his turn to the bonfire is completed. Further, precisely when Chota begins to lean toward the bonfire, exhibiting his understanding of what he should do, Funada produces the repetition of another instructive word, *yukkuri* ("slowly"), indicating how Chota should accomplish his task, and precisely when Chota puts the charcoal into the bonfire, he stops the repetition. In this organization of Funada's instructions, finely coordinated with Chota's behavior (turning, leaning, and so on), the ascribability to Funada of high-granularity

seeing, namely, the seeing of the continuous temporal development of the child's movements, is accountably accomplished.

However, these instances of repetition have different interactional functions. The first repetition ("here") is used as an attention-getting device as well as the initiation of a corrective sequence. The deictic term, combined with a pointing gesture, does not work referentially if the pointing gesture is not visible. Its repetition (line 10) is used to draw Chota's attention to the referential act as such (see Goodwin, 1986). In fact, Chota first looks at Funada's pointing gesture and then turns to the object pointed to by the gesture (i.e., the bonfire). Funada stops the repetition when he adequately obtains Chota's attention. The second repetition ("burning one") is produced after Chota's correct movement is initiated. In addition, using a different and specific term makes it prominent that the new unit of instruction is currently being provided. The second repetition invites Chota to complete the correction just initiated by himself. In contrast, the third repetition ("slowly"), produced when Chota is extending the charcoal to the bonfire, is initiated after the corrective sequence is completed by Chota's facing the correct bonfire. It provides instruction about how to put the charcoal into the bonfire (i.e., slowly), rather than how to make a correction regarding which bonfire to put the charcoal into.

My focus here is on the second repetition ("burning [one]") because another adult's (Takeo's, or TK's) utterance happens to overlap with this second repetition. Their simultaneous utterances systematically form alternative actions. Takeo's instructive action ("put ((it)) here") is also accountably based on what he sees currently by using the proximal deictic term *koko* ("here"), combined with a pointing gesture to the fire (Figure 3) and by finely coordinating his conduct with

Chota's turning to the target bonfire. Their (Funada's and Takeo's) instructive actions are nevertheless different in that Funada's action is specifically marked by the repetition finely coordinated with Chota's movement. Their different actions (i.e., different ways of providing the same instruction) differentially embody what they see in the child's movement, although both Funada and Takeo are looking at the very same movement (both look at Chota and the bonfire alternately in lines 12 and 13). In the organization of Takeo's action, nothing more than unmarked seeing, namely, the seeing of the child's movement, may be ascribable to Takeo.

Both adults provide the same instruction (to put his charcoal into the bonfire) in different ways. While Takeo is telling Chota to put the charcoal on the correct spot, Funada may be doing more than this in providing Chota, visually concentrating on his procedure, with effective audial guidance. These differentially implemented actions organizationally form alternatives in the following way. The two actions (i.e., Funada's in line 12 and Takeo's in line 13) are initiated almost simultaneously when Chota looks at the target bonfire. (Note that Takeo begins his utterance in line 13, with the initial part inaudible, accompanied by a pointing gesture, at the same time as Funada begins his second repetition in line 12.) The sequential position where both instructive actions are initiated can be characterized as the moment when Chota has just initiated the correction of his incorrect conduct (i.e., the attempt to place the charcoal in an incorrect place), but the correction has not yet been completed. At this sequential position, instructions for how to complete the initiated correction can be implemented as two alternative actions: (1) simply directing one on what has yet to be done or (2) facilitating the continuation of what has been initiated. While Takeo directly indicates how to complete the correction, Funada instead does

“guiding the child in his continuing the initiated correction,” with the high-granularity seeing embodied by repetition with the alternate gaze. Takeo’s instructive action includes a verb accompanied by *te (oite)*, a typical directive form, while Funada’s does not include a verb, leaving its directive nature inexplicit.

In this fashion, Funada’s and Takeo’s actions systematically form alternatives. This alternativeness may reflect both participants’ alternative ways of participating in the joint activity. In fact, at the beginning of Excerpt 8, even though he instructs a particular child, Funada speaks publicly, using the polite form *kudasai* (translated as “please”; line 06), whereas Takeo does not use any polite forms, thereby speaking “unofficially” to the child. Therefore, Funada may participate in this interactional scene as someone more responsible for making intelligible to the public what is occurring moment by moment between a particular child and himself; his instructive action also fits his manner of participation.

Thus, Funada’s doing specifically “seeing the continuous temporal development of the child’s movement” is a constituent part of his action of guiding the child in continuing the correction, and this action is performed at a specific sequential position as an alternative action to an unmarked action. Through this action, Funada is also doing “being responsible” at the scene.

#### 4.3. Summary and discussion

In the analysis of the excerpts from the tree-climbing activity (Section 4.1), the target practice (i.e., repetition with a fixed gaze), the halting type, in particular, appears useable at a specific sequential position, that is, at the position at which

the action of correcting a particular individual's behavior has become relevant. The same is (at least partially) true of Funada's actions (implemented by the repetition of "here" and "burning one") in lines 10 and 12 of Excerpt 8. This observation may be extended to the instances of repetition with a fixed gaze compiled in Excerpts 1 and 2. Neither instance of the encouraging type occurs when a particular correction is relevant. However, both occur when specific trouble is potentially expectable in complying with an instructional request (such as a request to hammer a nail or a request to put charcoal into a bonfire). Specifically, a child's hammering of a nail (Excerpt 1) is generally exposed to the possibility of bending it as well as mishitting it. In fact, the interaction in Excerpt 3 occurs several minutes later than Excerpt 1, and before Excerpt 1, the child had bent a couple of nails. Likewise, a child's putting charcoal (Excerpt 2) into a bonfire is generally susceptible to the danger of burn. In these contexts, doing "paying special attention to the individual" (or doing "monitoring the individual's movement closely") is relevant.

This is precisely what Funada in Excerpt 8 does with performing his guiding action as an alternative to Takeo's action of simply directing. Through this, Funada further does "being responsible at the scene." Thus, the use of repetition with a fixed gaze as an alternative way to provide an instruction when trouble is occurring or potentially expected accomplishes its special interactional import (i.e., doing "paying special attention to an individual in [potential] trouble") in ways sensitive to its contextual features (e.g., personally or publicly).

## 5. A Case from a Different Sequential Context

In the preceding section, through the analysis of the interactions from within a specific sequential context, I provided a tentative answer to the problem posed in Section 2. In this section, I will examine a case from a different sequential context (a child uses the target practice while gazing at what she has done) to test the robustness of the answer.

Excerpt 9 is taken from an activity in which several adults instruct children about how to make a kite. It begins as a child (Chiyo) applies glue to the frame to paste a cover onto them. Probably because the glue did not come out of the tube on her first attempt, she regrips the tube. However, in the second attempt, too much glue is applied. Then, she produces the repetition of a harsh word for “dangerous” (*yabai*) in line 01 while maintaining her gaze at the glue on the frame.

```
(9) (Kite)
          fig. 8                fig. 9
          ↓                      ↓
01 CH: >yabai yabai ya/bai ya/bee yo<
      Dangerous, dangerous, dangerous, dangerous.
      ch: -->>looks at the glue on a frame -->>
      ki:           |turns to the glue/frame
                and looks there -->>
      tk:           |turns to the glue/frame
                and looks there -->>

          fig. 10
          ↓
02      (0.5)(.)

03 TK: so:n'na no o↓mae
      that PRT you.impolite
      Things like that, you ((can handle it))

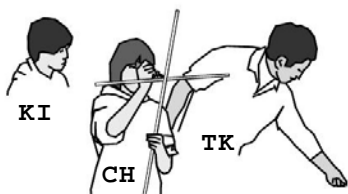
04      (0.6)
```



05 CH: >e< nobashi ʔte 'tte ii?  
 Oh spread | go good  
**Oh, can I spread it?**

06 TK:                    ʔza:tzu dana:ʔ:  
                               rough JD  
                               ((You/What you are doing)) are/is rough.

07 KI:                                    ʔeh HEH HEH



**Figure 8** CH repeats a word, raising the frame in front of her.



**Figure 9** TK and KI turn to the glue on the frame.



**Figure 10** TK moves closer to the frame.

The combination of the repetition of the word *yabai* (“dangerous”) and Chiyo’s gaze direction recruits assistance (Kendrick & Drew, 2016) from the adult who has been supervising her kite making, Takeo (TK). Another child (Kimi) and Takeo turn to the place (the glue on the frame) at which Chiyo is looking intently, where Chiyo indicates that the trouble is occurring (compare Figures 8 and 9). (Note that Chiyo stops the repetition when Takeo turns to the glue; then, she adds the final particle *yo* and leaves out of the repetition.)

How is this recruitment accomplished? We can answer this question by referring to the observations in the preceding section in the following way. While the word *yabai* indicates that Chiyo is having some trouble, the repetition indicates that the trouble is now continuously developing and that solving it is now specifically relevant (i.e., “urgent”). The repetition also indicates that the trouble will be found in the portion of the environment that Chiyo currently perceives. Notably, Chiyo raises the frame in front of her face so that a portion of the frame is seen (by Takeo and Kimi in their peripheral vision) to be seen (by Chiyo) as the locus of the indicated trouble. The connection between the indicated

trouble and the seen portion of the environment may be oriented to by Takeo, who turns to Chiyo directly without inquiring about what the trouble is. Furthermore, after turning to the glue on the frame, Takeo moves his face closer to the glue, thereby doing “inspecting it” (another practice for high-granularity seeing) during the silence in line 02 (compare Figures 9 and 10). This conduct by Takeo is well “geared” to the ascribability of Chiyo’s high-granularity seeing (i.e., seeing the continuous temporal development of the glue’s potential downward movement).

Moreover, Takeo’s doing “inspecting” intelligibly provides an evidential ground for his subsequent normalization of what happens at the place where they are looking (“Things like that, you ((can handle it))” line 03). Takeo’s use of the generalizing phrase *sonna no* (“things like that”) right at this moment hearably downgrades the seriousness of the indicated trouble, thereby exhibiting Takeo’s understanding that Chiyo’s repetition implicated the seriousness or, in particular, the urgency of the problem. Chiyo then elaborates Takeo’s normalization by requesting a confirmation about what she can do to dissolve the potential trouble (line 05; note also that she marks the unexpectedness with a brief *e*; see Hayashi, 2009).

When Chiyo produces the repetition with a fixed gaze, the gaze may not be fully available to Takeo (i.e., only available in his peripheral vision). We have observed that repetition with a fixed gaze is usable in order to do “seeing the continuous temporal development of a movement” when potential trouble is expectable. Now, Chiyo appears to exploit the same practice to recruit assistance from Takeo. In other words, she appears to do “being responsive to the continuous development of a potential trouble in front of her eyes” to seek Takeo’s attention to deal with the trouble. Thus, this case provides further support to the

observation about repetition with a fixed gaze, suggesting the possibility of extending its usability to various other contexts.

## 8. Conclusion

Focusing on a particular practice (i.e., repetition with a fixed gaze) as an exemplar that embodies high-granularity seeing, I have explored the organization of the ascribability of the differential granularity of seeing in interaction. I have shown that the high-granularity seeing embodied by the practice (i.e., seeing the continuous temporal development of an action or movement) becomes relevant at specific sequential positions where some trouble is occurring or expectable in complying with an instructional request. Furthermore, as I have shown in the analysis of some examples (such as Excerpts 4 and 9), the *seeing* embodied by the practice—not only the practice as such—matters to the participants. A child’s compliance with an instructional request properly exhibits her seeing that the instructor sees the continuous temporal development of her movement (Excerpt 4). In assessing what a child sees while producing the repetition of a word, doing “grounding his evaluation in what he is inspecting” is well geared to the child’s high-granularity seeing (Excerpt 9). In addition, by using repetition with a fixed gaze, an adult may accomplish “specifically attending to an individual child in (potential) trouble” in a way appropriate to the ongoing activity (Excerpt 8). All these points are consistent with what previous studies have observed about relevant precision in interaction. The distinctive practice that this study has explicated illustrates a procedural ground for the ascribability of high-granularity seeing. This study contributes to the social-organizational understanding of

different types of seeing.

This study also contributes to our understanding of a type of repetition of a word or phrase in interaction. The repetition on which it has focused is a type that has not been previously systematically investigated. I have explored how this specific practice is used and what it can accomplish in context-sensitive ways.

This study may also contribute to the further discussion of the role of epistemics in interaction (Heritage, 2012a, 2012b, 2013). In particular, Heritage (2012a) has demonstrated that the distribution of epistemic statuses between the participants in an interaction (i.e., the participants' relative epistemic access to an object or event), rather than the morphosyntactic or intonational construction of talk, is constitutive of an action type. Seeing is a distinct epistemic resource for the organization of action (see Nishizaka, 2021). Repeating a word or phrase, finely coordinated with a child's movement, demonstrates the high granularity of the speaker's *actual* seeing. This study sheds light on the connection of the differential ascribability of seeing to the differential organization of action.

However, this study has obvious limitations. First, I distinguished between several types of doing "seeing the continuous temporal development" in the introduction, but I have not pursued the differences among them any further; the differences may be consequential to the subsequent development of interaction. Second, repetition of a word or phrase with a fixed gaze, finely coordinated with the movement of others' bodies and the environment, is not the only practice that provides for the ascribability of high-granularity seeing. For example, the "highlighting" practice (Goodwin, 1994) that uses a gesture of sliding an index finger along various parts of an object (compared to a pointing gesture made to the object as a whole) may be another such practice. Doing "inspecting" through

bringing one's face to an object may be still another. These practices may embody other types of high-granularity seeing than the one upon which this study has focused. The systematic explorations of such various practices are open to subsequent investigation.

What participants perceptually experience has to be (at least partially) mutually available to accomplish a joint activity. How do they possibly ascribe to each other what they experience, notice, and observe?<sup>2</sup> This study has addressed this issue only in a limited fashion. I believe, however, that it serves as a good starting point for further investigation of not merely the ascribability of seeing different objects or events but also the ascribability of seeing an object or event at different granularity levels.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Of course, the parallelism between Schegloff's (2000) use of "granularity" and its use in this study is limited. This metaphorical concept is used here to highlight one critical point: The practice of high-granularity telling about an action is not selected because such telling is more faithful to the reality of the action; rather, the telling accomplishes a specific action in its particular context. Similarly, the practice that embodies high-granularity seeing is not chosen because such seeing is more faithful to the reality of what is seen; rather, such seeing constitutes a specific action in its particular context. See also the discussion on relevant precision in the next section.

<sup>2</sup> Conversation analysis has been interested in this issue since its beginning (see Sacks, 1992). Schegloff (2000) noted:

Why is it ["granularity"] important to understand better? What lines of

inquiry does it provide for? . . . One is the access we may be able to exploit to the terms in which the world is observed, noticed, and experienced by members of a society in the range of settings in which they live their lives. Surely this is one central component of what “culture” is meant to encompass. (p. 718)

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## **Appendix: Transcript Conventions**

In all the excerpts, each line is composed of two or three tiers. First there is a Romanized version of the original Japanese. Below this are phrase-by-phrase glosses where necessary.

Finally, the third tier presents an approximate English translation. The first tier of the transcript utilizes Jefferson’s (2004) transcription system. In the second-tier glosses, the

following abbreviations are used: JD for “Judgmental”; MIM for “Mimetic”; NG for “Negative”; and PRT for “Particle.” Some excerpts include annotations of the embodied conduct of each participant in the extra tiers designated by lowercase abbreviations such as “fd,” “jn,” and “sn.” The starting and ending points of the movements are indicated by the sign |. Double arrows (-->>) in these tiers indicate continuation of the described conduct over the line.