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UNPACKING PHYSIOTHERAPY EXERCISE INSTRUCTIONS WITH SACKS'S SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH TO INDEXICAL EXPRESSIONS

Abstract

This contribution addresses a topic of investigation that receives considerable attention in Sacks's lectures but is otherwise underexamined in sociology: members' methodical use of indexical expressions, for example "now" and "here", to achieve the intelligibility of activities for what they are from within a given setting. Drawing on Sacks's approach to indexicality, our contribution is based on synchronized video-recordings that feature therapeutic exercise instructions given during two physiotherapy consultations, one face-to-face and one remote. More specifically, it investigates uses of the Swiss German indexical expression "do; here" occurring within embodied instruction sequences in the two distinct settings. Our descriptions of the exercise instruction sequences reveal how members' methodical use of "do; here" relies on and at the same time constitutes its embeddedness in physiotherapists' and patients' distinct instructional practices. In the face-to-face setting, the practices involve the precise articulation of "do; here" with touching-being touched to monitor, assess, correct, etc. the patient's instructed actions. In the remote setting, the practices are accomplished through the skillful embedding

of “do; here” in contrastive chains of embodied instructional demonstrations that the physiotherapist provides for the patient, who is sitting in front of the laptop watching her.

Keywords: physiotherapist-patient interactions, exercise instructions, indexical expressions, conversation analysis, ethnomethodology

1. INTRODUCTION

In his lectures, Sacks frames his work on indexical expressions, such as the personal pronouns “I”, “we”, and “you” [1992 I: 163–168, 348–353], or, as he puts it, the “indicator terms” “here” and “now” [1992 I: 461–466, 515–522], as a crucial part of his broader analytic endeavour. In his lecture “Omnirelevant devices; Settinged activities; «Indicator terms»”, Sacks raises the question of whether members have methodic, mutually intelligible ways which show that their “activities were «settinged» without making *a* formulation of the setting that they were «settinged» in” [1992 I: 517]. He is interested in examining how the meaning of some activities can be made transparent by and for members without contextual elements of their occurrence, for example the time, place, or relationships between participants, etc., needing to be formulated as “such-and-such” [1992 I: 515]. In an earlier lecture he gave in spring 1966 – “Place references; Weak and safe compliments” [1992 I: 461–466] – Sacks hints at a possible solution to this puzzle, presenting a quote – “Usually there’s a broad in here” [1992 I: 461] – taken from the transcription of the audio-recording of a “group therapy session”.

Sacks remarks that at first sight, one could treat the indexical expression “here” as a simple *place term*. Yet he makes immediately clear that his analytic aim is not to reconstruct how indicator terms are “versions of referential terms” [1992: I 519]. On the contrary, he observes that in this quote, “– «usually», «sometimes», etc., «here», «there» etc. – lock in to have a perfectly transparent sense” [1992 I: 463]. Drawing on this observation, Sacks wants to see if members might use indicator terms “in a much more powerful way” [1992 I: 461] than as simple references to non-specified contextual aspects of the setting. He points out that considering their *abstractness* they would *obviously* [1992 I: 520] be constitutive of the methods through which the “settinged-ness of some activities” [Schegloff 1992 I: xlviii] is interactively achieved. Sacks then suggests investigating members’ uses of *indicator terms* to find out how they constitute a “specific machinery” that would allow participants, for example in a group therapy session, “to invoke the fact of settings” [1992 I: 517] “without, of course, formulation

of whether «here and now» means in this room now at this moment, here in this world now in this one” [1992 I: 520].

Drawing upon this line of investigation, previous EMCA (ethnomethodology and conversation analysis) research on instructional practices has revealed how participants’ use of indexical expressions is methodically embedded within their talk, or, more generally, embodied actions to produce the “just-thisness” [Garfinkel 2002: 99], that is, the adequacy of actions for accomplishing an orderly and intelligible course of interaction. These courses of interaction might be explanations of a car’s technical features to potential buyers [Mondada 2012], a demonstration of crochet chain stitches to students in a textile crafting course [Lindwall, Ekström 2012], or an introduction to a mobile application to a patient during a consultation to enable them to use it for therapeutic exercise at home [Keel et al. 2024].

Now, let us return to Sacks’s initial quote “Usually there’s a broad in here” and other quotes from the transcription of the same session (see the complete handout [1992 I: 268–280]) that contain the indicator “here”). Upon this basis, Sacks asks whether members:

can be producing strings of talk in which, say, “here” is occurring, and in which there seem to be no question about what it means, and it seems to be invoking something extremely similar across its uses, whatever that may be [Sacks 1992 I: 519].

He suggests that the theoretical possibility of having a “chain of indicator terms” that would be used in a *stable* manner would constitute a powerful method of invoking the settinged-ness of activities without ever formulating it throughout a longer course of interaction [1992 I: 520]. With respect to the group therapy session, Sacks suggests that through the *stable use* of the indicator terms “here”, members might for example achieve the “female-male” distinction as an “omni-relevant” feature [1992 I: 464] of their group therapy interaction. This means that the distinction is, at any point in the interaction, invocable as something that is treated as consequential by participants for the way the course of interaction is understood, without the distinction ever being formulated. Whereby establishing the omni-relevance makes it possible to accomplish specific actions during the group therapy, for example a “safe compliment”, that is, a compliment that does not suggest that its producer has feelings toward the only girl who has “usually” attended the group therapy session but is not present “here and now”. Yet, as Sacks points out, this leaves lay and professional analysts with the “real” problem of showing that there is a “stable chain, or that they’re a chain at all” [Sacks 1992 I: 520].

Following this line of questioning, research on the preparation of a pizza by a father and his small child [Keel 2021] has revealed that the father's uses of temporal indicator terms, such as "now" and "later", followed by food-preparation instructions that are addressed to the child, are consequential for achieving the omni-relevance of their respective categorial incumbency – "expert cook" (the father) and "assistant cook" (the child) – for the course of interaction. Whereas temporal indicator terms play a role in presenting the "expert cook" as having the right and the obligation to set the pace of the pizza preparation activities and to give instructions to the "assistant cook" when necessary for progress to be made, they imply that the child, as a recipient, turns instructions into a course of action [Keel 2021].

This way of respecifying the study of indexical expressions, that is, investigating them as a member's phenomenon that is observably used by them to accomplish their everyday activities orderly, intelligibly, and thus competently, stands in contrast to the way other studies have "virtually without exception" been concerned "with remedying indexical expressions" [Garfinkel, Sacks 1970: 349]. In their paper "On formal structures of practical actions", Garfinkel and Sacks criticize professional sociology [1970: 340], or, more generally, methodological studies on indexical expressions [1970: 355] for perpetuating the idea that lay members' "terms, utterances, and discourse may be clarified, and other shortcomings that consist in the properties of indexical expressions may be remedied by referring them to «their setting» (i.e., the familiar recommendations about the «decisive relevance of context»)" [Garfinkel, Sacks 1970: 350]. Garfinkel and Sacks emphasize in turn that indexicality is a constitutive and "irremediable" part of "natural language use and practical reasoning" [1970: 349]. As Bergmann and Meyer [2021: 46] point out, the investigation of how members deal with indexicality, understood as a *constitutive* and *irremediable* feature of any members' expression, formulation, everyday action and practice, constitutes the grounds upon which the ethnomethodological project is built. The following quote from Garfinkel [1967: 11] serves as confirmation: "I use the term «ethnomethodology» to refer to the investigation of the rational properties of indexical expressions and other practical actions as contingent ongoing accomplishments of organized artful practices of everyday life".

Drawing on Sacks's approach regarding indexical expressions, outlined above, our contribution focuses on exercise instructions given during two physiotherapy consultations, one face-to-face and one remote. More specifically, it investigates instructions containing the Swiss German indexical expression "do; here" in the two distinct settings. In physiotherapy consultations, teaching a patient how to perform a therapeutic exercise correctly – so that they can repeat them at home and contin-

ue making progress in their therapy – constitutes a central task. Focusing on “do; here” occurring in embodied exercise instructions, our contribution investigates a phenomenon as it is accomplished and experienced “from within, that is, from the sensory-active world of experience of the participants” [Streeck 2021: 22].

The contribution has two aims. First, it seeks to provide *careful descriptions* [Garfinkel 2002: 101] of how members’ methodical uses of the indicator term “do; here” contributes to the interactive achievement of instructional practices as they progressively unfold and are made intelligible in the two distinct settings: face-to-face consultations and remote consultations. Second, the descriptions in turn serve as a basis for reflection upon the implications the shift from a face-to-face to a remote setting has on a crucial physiotherapeutic practice: exercise instructions.

2. AIM AND MATERIAL

Our contribution is based on video recordings collected in a study investigating the use of a mobile application (hereafter: “the app”) in physiotherapy consultations. The recordings in question were made from mid-August 2020 to late November of the same year. For this contribution, extracts are taken from both a face-to-face consultation in which the physiotherapist (PHY) introduces the patient (PAT) to the app [Keel et al. 2024] and the follow-up consultation between the same physiotherapist and patient held remotely three months later, via a videoconference platform provided by the app. Whereas the face-to-face consultation lasts 61 minutes and its analysis is based on video-recordings of patient-physiotherapist interaction only, the remote follow-up consultation lasts a bit more than half of that time (32.5 minutes). Analysis of this consultation is based on synchronized video-recordings of the setting in which the patient participates in the remote consultation and the patient’s laptop screen, on which the app’s videoconference platform is running. Both participants gave written consent for the video-recordings, transcriptions, and still images to be used.

In the face-to-face consultation, after the opening, anamnesis, and the introduction of the app to the patient, exercise instructions become the centre of focus. In the remote session, after the resolution of some problems establishing the videoconference connection and a brief opening, the remaining time is devoted to exercise instructions. In both settings, the lion’s share of the consultation is spent on these instructions: 21 minutes 56 seconds in the face-to-face consultation and 14 minutes 33 seconds in the remote one.

3. “DO; HERE” IN EXERCISE INSTRUCTIONS: SOME PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS

As discussed earlier, tackling members’ uses of a single indicator term (“do; here”) over a longer stretch of interaction raises the question of how the analysis might accommodate the fact that they constitute a “stable chain, or that they’re a chain at all” [Sacks 1992 I: 520] and are what enable members to achieve the settinged-ness of their activities without ever formulating it as such-and-such. Following this line of inquiry, first we provide an overview of the collection exercise instructions that contain “do; here” in the face-to-face (section 3.1) and remote consultation (section 3.2). In total, we identified 40 instances of “do; here” in exercise instructions occurring either in the face-to-face (22/40) or the remote (18/40) physiotherapy consultation. The highlighted preliminary observations indicate that the physiotherapist’s use of “do; here” across several instances points to methodical practices through which the participants achieve the settinged-ness of their activities.

3.1. “Do; here” in face-to-face exercise instructions

Within the time devoted to exercise instructions in the face-to-face consultation (21 minutes 56 seconds), the physiotherapist (PHY) instructs eight distinct exercises and addresses **22** turns containing “do; here” to the patient (Table 1, line 1). These turns are distributed among seven out of eight exercises (turns do not occur in exercise 3).

Table 1. Occurrences of “do; here” in face-to-face exercise instructions


	Exercise	1	2	4	5	6	7	8	Total
1	PHY’s instructional turns with “do; here”	6	2	2	3	3	3	3	22
2	PHY’s turns concern PAT’s instructed actions	3	2	–	3	3	2	1	14
3	PHY’s “do; here” is combined with professional touch	1	2	–	3	3	–	1	10

Source: own analysis.

As illustrated in Figure 1, out of 22 occurrences, 14 instructional turns directly concern the patient’s *instructed actions* (Table 1, line 2 and fig. 1.1–1.6). They are mostly formatted as imperatives (fig. 1.1, 1.3, and 1.6), or declaratives in the second-person singular and include either the temporal indicator “jetz; now” (fig. 1.1 and 1.5), or a lexical that makes a contrast salient, such as “weniger; less”, “eher; rather”, or “sondern; instead” (fig. 1.2, 1.3, and 1.4). Moreover, in

10 out of 14 instructional turns, *touching-being touched* [Keel, Caviglia 2023] is involved (line 3; fig. 1.1–1.4 and 1.6).

Figure 1. The physiotherapist's uses of the indexical “do; here” in face-to-face instructions

1.1 Exercise 1	1.2 Exercise 2	1.3 Exercise 5	1.4 Exercise 6	1.5 Exercise 7	1.6 Exercise 8
					
jetz blibsch now you stay genau #do exactly here	weniger vo less from #do une here down	blib eher stay rather e chli #do a bit here	sondern du blibsch instead you stay #do: im kontakt here in contact	un jetz duesch and now you #do büge here bend	blib #do stay here duss out

Source: own analysis.

The remaining 8/22 turns represent the physiotherapist's comments on her own demonstrational actions (N=2 during Exercise 4); or accompany her instructional demonstrations while the patient is “just” watching (N=6 during Exercises 1, 7 and 8).

3.2. “Do; here” in remote exercise instructions

Within the time devoted to exercise instructions in the remote consultation (14 minutes 33 seconds), the physiotherapist demonstrates five distinct exercises. Yet all **18** instructional turns containing “do; here” are addressed to the patient during instructions for Exercises 3 and 5 (Table 2; line 1).

Table 2. Occurrences of “do; here” in remote exercise instructions






Exercise		3	5	Total
1	PHY's instructional turns with “do; here”	12	6	18
2	PHY's “do; here” is combined with ostensive embodied movement/gestures, such as pointing, lifting arm, lifting leg, moving the whole (upper) body to the left/right, or a combination thereof	12	5	17
3	PHY's “do; here” is combined with ostensive self-touch	–	2	2

Source: own analysis.

As illustrated in Figure 2, “do; here” invariably occurs in combination with the physiotherapist's ostensive embodied demonstrations (Table, line 2), such as pointing (fig. 2.5), lifting an arm (fig. 2.2), lifting a leg, moving the upper body to the right/left (fig. 2.3 and 2.4), turning the entire body, respectively adjusting the screen to adapt recipient design (see the change between fig. 2.1 and 2.2),

and/or involves ostensive self-touch (line 3; fig. 2.5). Moreover, no imperative turn format has been identified. Instead, the instructions are mostly formatted as a declarative in the first-person singular and only two cases contain a “jetz; now” (fig. 2.1 and 2.2). In the remote setting, nearly all of the 18 instructional turns containing “do; here” are thus part of the physiotherapist’s *instructional demonstrations* [Lindwall, Lymer 2024]. The patient follows the physiotherapist’s embodied demonstrations, crouching down in front of her laptop, which is sitting on a chest of drawers (fig. 2.1–2.5), instead of turning them into a course of instructed actions as was the case in the face-to-face setting (section 3.1).

Figure 2. Instructional demonstration turns containing “do; here” in the remote setting

2.1 Exercise 3	2.2 Exercise 3	2.3 Exercise 3	2.4 Exercise 3	2.5 Exercise 5
				
egal ob ech no matter if I jetz #do beweg move here now	ob ech jetz if I now (0.4) #do: ein here an arm aplupf; arm lift up	aso käi meaning no bewegig (.) movement #do:: here	o:der (.) or #do:: here	ech beweg vor I move fore- allem #do::; most here

Source: own analysis.

In summary, our preliminary observations regarding the occurrence of “do; here” in exercise instructions in the face-to-face and remote consultations indicate some interesting particularities that point to their stable use within the two distinct settings. In the face-to-face setting, “do; here” features in instructional turns make the patient’s instructed actions immediately relevant. In contrast, in the remote setting, “do; here” is constitutive of an instructional demonstration that the patient does not immediately turn into a course of instructed actions. Instead, the patient merely watches the physiotherapist’s demonstration on her laptop screen.

4. EXERCISE INSTRUCTIONS THAT
ARE TURNED INTO A COURSE OF INSTRUCTED ACTIONS

Before analyzing the interactive achievement of instruction sequences containing “do; here”, we will discuss two extracts in which the physiotherapist’s (PHY) instructions are immediately turned into a course of action by the patient (PAT). The first extract is taken from the face-to-face consultation and the second one from the remote consultation. In both extracts, the physiotherapist’s instructions

concern the same type of exercise, a *serratus anterior punch*. Their analysis reveals how contingencies inherent to the distinct settings provide reasonable grounds for “involving” the patient in instructed exercising in the face-to-face consultation (section 4.1) versus providing recipient-designed instructional demonstrations that are not meant to be immediately turned into a course of action by the patient in the remote follow-up consultation (section 4.2).

4.1. Initial exercise instructions in the face-to-face consultation

Extract 1 features the initial instructions for the fifth exercise, *serratus anterior punch*, covered in the consultation. PAT is lying on the table, while PHY is first standing (fig. 1–4 – see below) and then crouching next to her (fig. 5–6 – see below):

In Extract 1, PHY *parses* [Rauniomaa et al. 2018] the instructions of the *serratus anterior punch* exercise in bits (2, 6–7, 9, 11). The bits are sequentially organized in an *instructional chain* whose constitutive turns (2, 6–7, 9–11) are linked through the use of the connector “und jetzt; and now” (6) or “und de; and then” (9) [Goldberg 1975, in Keel et al. 2024]. These connected turns take a declarative format in the second-person singular: “du strecksch; you stretch” (2), “machs; (you) make” (6, 9), and “chonsch; (you) come” (11), and a reference to the body part in question, for example, “de rächti arm”, followed by a reference to the spatial direction, e.g. “rechtig (0.1) decki; toward the ceiling” (2). The instructional turns are followed by silences (3, 8, 10, 12) during which PAT turns the instructional bits into a course of instructed actions (fig. 1–6).

The physical proximity between PHY and PAT in the face-to-face consultation enables PHY to accompany her instructional turns either with *instructional demonstrations* (fig. 1, 6) [Lindwall, Lymer 2024] that PAT can see through her peripheral vision, or with *near-touch* (fig. 5a+b) through which embodied guidance of PAT’s instructed actions is achieved [Keel, Caviglia 2023]. Initial face-to-face instructions might even be interwoven with *embedded* [Jefferson 1987] *instructional corrections* [Hindmarsh et al. 2014] that PHY accomplishes by modifying the position of PAT’s right-hand without talking (fig. 3–4). The embodied instructional correction is treated as an adequate action by PAT, who neither contests it through talk, nor changes the instructed hand position back to the previous one.

Extract 1

1 (0.9)



2 PHY du stre:#:cksch (.) de rächti arm richtig (0.1) >decki<
 you stretch the right arm toward the ceiling
 fig #fig.1

3 (0.7) # (0.7)
 fig #fig.2

4 PHY genau.
 that's it.



5 (1.5) (0.7) # (0.6) # (0.2)
 fig #fig.3a&b #fig. 4



6 PHY .hh und jetzt machsch de arm# lang #us de
 .hh and now you make the arm long out of
 fig #fig.5a&b #fig.6

7 schultere use richtig decki
 the shoulder towards the ceiling

8 (0.7)

9 und de machsch ne wider churz::
 and then you make it again short

10 (0.5)

11 °chonsch weder abe°
 °you come back down again°

12 (0.2)

13 genau.
 that's it.

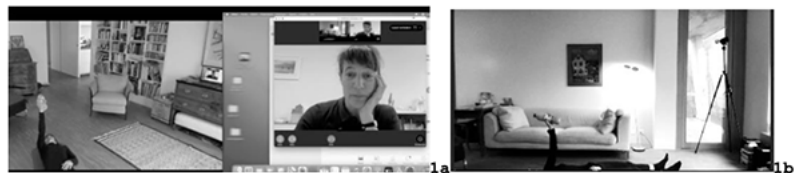
All in all, it is by building settinged-ness into their actions moment by moment that participants are able to achieve a course of orderly interaction. The physiotherapist accomplishes bits of initial exercise instructions, moves closer to the patient to monitor her upward hand position, grasps her right-hand to correct its position and instructs her to stay in it, guides her arm's instructed upwards movement through near-touch, and finally assesses her instructed actions as sufficient for all practical purposes at hand. The embodied instructional *chain* achieved in this way depends not only on bodily proximity between physiotherapist and patient, but above all requires embodied *competence* [Macbeth 2024: 289] from the participants – for example, parsing instructions [Rauniomaa et al. 2018] while using *professional vision* and *touching-being touched* [Keel, Caviglia 2023] to accomplish and understand each other's actions for what they are.

4.2. Exercise instructions in the remote consultation

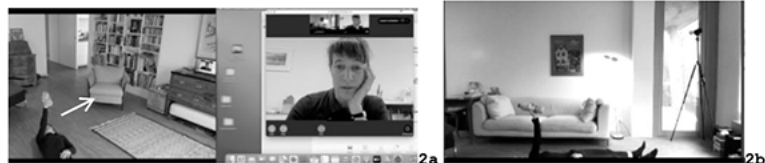
In the following extract (2) taken from the remote consultation, the physiotherapist's instructions on this same *serratus anterior punch* exercise concern the first exercise that the patient is turning into a course of actions. Before Extract 2 begins, the physiotherapist is monitoring the patient's instructed actions on her laptop screen (fig. 1a). As will become apparent, her two-dimensional view of the patient's instructed actions has considerable consequences for how the instructions – of the same exercise as in Extract 1 – are interactively achieved.

To provide an idea of the distinctiveness of the parties' perspectives, we have included lines indicating the participants' embodied conduct, transcribed according to the conventions developed by Mondada [2018], as well as two distinct screenshots. Whereas fig. 1–4a are taken from the synchronized recordings of the room from which PAT participates in the remote consultation (left) and of her laptop screen (right), fig. 1–4b are enlarged versions of the images visible at the top left of PAT's laptop screen, which correspond to the physiotherapist's view:

Extract 2



- 1 PHY ϕ und du döfisch de arm ϕ no betz me richtig ϕ kopf nä: ϕ :
 and you may take the arm PART bit more toward the head
 fig #fig.1a+b
 pat >>focuses on laptop screen->>
 pat -> ϕ directs right arm up--- ϕ directs it down--- ϕ holds position ϕ



- 2 ϕ (1.6) # ϕ (1.9)
 fig #fig.2a+b
 pat ϕ directs it toward laptop- ϕ directs right arm up->
 3 PHY de arm no chli richtig kopf, aso ϕ -
 the arm PART little toward the head, i mean-
 pat -> ϕ directs right arm toward laptop->



- 4 (0.2)
 5 PAT ϕ eso? oder ϕ as- oder es#o ϕ ?
 like this or as- or like this ?
 fig #fig.3a+b
 pat -> ϕ holds position ϕ directs arm toward back of room- ϕ holds position->
 6 PHY jo ge[nau:]
 yes exactly
 7 PAT [A::H] eso (.) tschuldigung ich [has] falsch ve ϕ rstande.
 O::H like this sorry i've gotten it wrong
 8 PHY [jo]
 yes
 pat -> ϕ directs arm up->
 9 (1.8) ϕ (3.2) ϕ (2.7) ϕ (0.4)
 pat -> ϕ down- ϕ up--- ϕ down->
 10 PHY genau..hh ϕ
 exactly..hh
 pat -> ϕ holds position->>

In line 1, PHY again provides an instructional correction (1), beginning with the word “und; and”. PHY addresses her instructional correction (1) to PAT in the second-person singular and deploys a declarative format that includes references to the body part in question (“de arm; the arm”) and spatial directions (“rechtig chopf; toward the head”), just as she did in the initial instructions in the face-to-face consultation (Extract 1). Moreover, she uses modulators (“betz me; little more”) that make it salient as instructions that stand in contrast to the current position of PAT’s right arm and thus involve a correction. Following this, PAT immediately turns it into a course of instructed actions (2), directing her right arm toward the laptop. From her perspective, she thus moves it closer to her head (see arrow in fig. 2a) before continuing to perform the exercise, raising her right arm.

Since she can only see PAT from the side (fig. 1–4b), PHY’s visual access to PAT’s instructed actions is limited as well. Still focusing on the screen, PHY repeats the instructional correction (3) and thus conveys to PAT that her earlier instructed actions did not match the correction given. Before PHY has completed her turn (3), PAT moves her arm closer to the laptop (see the arrow in fig. 3a), holds this position (A), asks: “eso? oder; like this? or” (5), then directs her arm toward the back of the room, simultaneously asking “eso?; like this?” and finally holds the position (B; see the arrow in fig. 4b).

Following PAT’s embodied, contrastive request for confirmation, PHY utters an agreement token and a positive evaluation: “genau; exactly” (6). In overlap, PAT first displays understanding: “A::H eso; O::H like this” (7), then apologizes for misunderstanding the correctional instructions, and finally continues to perform the exercise, raising her arm toward the ceiling (8–9), until PHY repeats her positive evaluation (10) and thus treats PAT’s implementation of her instructional correction as satisfactory.

Extract 2 provides a flavour of the issues that are involved when PHY monitors PAT’s instructed actions and instructs her, for example, to correct her arm position in the remote setting. PAT cannot simultaneously engage in instructed actions and look at the laptop screen (fig. 1–4). PHY takes PAT’s limited visual access into account, refraining from providing instructional demonstrations (fig. 1–4a). Yet it is PAT’s use of the indexical expression “eso?; like this?” (5) in a contrastive turn construction skilfully combined with a contrastive demonstration of her arm position that allows them to complete the instructional correction sequence in a satisfactory way.

The discussion of Extracts 1 and 2 indicates how the distinct contingences in the face-to-face and remote consultations have some “nontrivial” implications for the practices through which settinged-ness is built into instructions and

instructed actions of a same exercise. In the face-to-face consultation, both parties *move* through the exercise instructions *together* (Extract 1; fig. 1–6). Professional vision combined with touching-being touched [Keel, Caviglia 2023] play a crucial role in PHY’s instructing, monitoring, guiding, and correcting of PAT’s instructed actions and PAT’s ability to turn these instructions into a satisfactory course of actions. In the remote consultation, achieving the settinged-ness of instructional sequences requires both participants to take each other’s limited visual access to what the other is doing into account as the consultation progresses. PHY follows PAT’s arm movements, focusing on her laptop screen. Building their limited visual access progressively into the formulation of her instructional turns is thus crucial. For PAT in turn, listening to PHY’s instructions, turning them into a course of embodied actions, and *exhibiting* her *understanding* of PHY’s instructional turns [Hindmarsh et al. 2011], for example through contrastive demonstrations, are key for contributing to the settinged-ness of the exercise instructions at hand.

In the following section, we will finally unpack the methodical uses of “do; here” through which the participants achieve the settinged-ness of their embodied instructions in the face-to-face consultation (5; Extracts 3–5) and then analyze the skilful ways in which the participants do this in the remote consultation (6; Extracts 6–8).

5. “DO; HERE” IN INSTRUCTIONAL TURNS CONCERNING THE PATIENT’S INSTRUCTED ACTIONS IN F-T-F EXERCISE INSTRUCTIONS

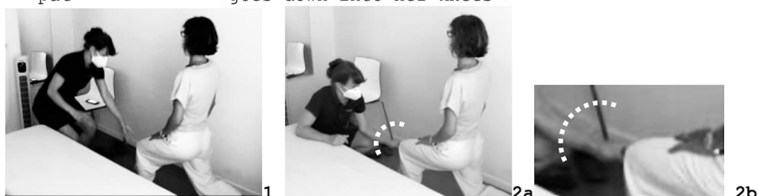
As mentioned earlier, most of the instructional turns containing “do; here” in the face-to-face consultation concern PAT’s instructed actions (Table 1, line 2), involve professional touch (Table 1, line 3), and occur either in an imperative (section 5.1) or a contrastive (section 5.2) turn format. Discussing three extracts in which the embeddedness of “do; here” in the physiotherapist’s instructional turn displays these characteristics, we will further unpack what stable use of the indexical expression involves in the face-to-face interaction.

5.1. The articulation of “do; here” with touch in an imperative turn format

Before Extract 3 starts, PHY has accompanied her instructions with a demonstration of *the split squat* exercise, which the patient has turned into a course of instructed actions. Stopping her instructional demonstration, PHY moves toward PAT and instructs her to continue performing the exercise (1):

Extract 3

- 1 PHY nomal tü:f+
again do:wn
>>moves toward PAT->
pat +goes down into her knees->



- 2 % (0.6) # (0.2) % * (0.2) + # (0.1) ** (0.1) **
fig #fig.1 #fig.2a+b
phy ->%directs left hand toward PAT's left knee and goes down into crouching%
phy *touches PAT's left knee with index (inside), thumb (outside)*
pat +holds position->
phy *retracts thumb*
phy *index applies pressure toward stretcher->



- 3 PHY -> blib #do duss
stay here out
fig #fig.3a+b
4 (0.4) + (0.4) + (0.1)
phy +directs left knee toward the stretcher+
5 PHY ja\
yes\
6 (0.1) * (0.6)
phy ->*retracts left hand from PATa's left knee, points upwards->>
7 PHY und weder hö: #ch/
and again u:p/
fig #fig.4

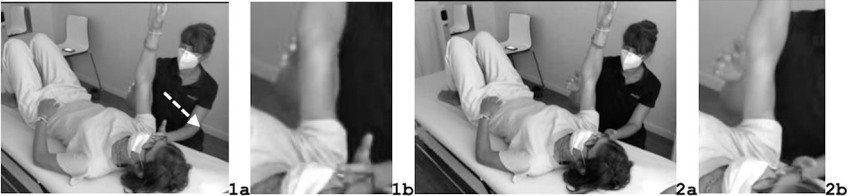
While PAT bends her knees to assume a squat position (2), PHY first directs her left-hand toward PAT's left knee, follows her movement by going down into a crouching position herself, and then touches PAT's left knee with her index finger (inside) and thumb (outside). This allows her to monitor and assess the position of PAT's left knee while she bends her knees. When PAT stops moving, PHY changes the position of her hand/fingers so that she can use her index finger to apply slight pressure, toward the table, to the inside of PAT's knee, before uttering her instructional correction (3). In contrast to Extract 1, in which PHY's instructional correction was accomplished without talk, this one contains "do;

here” (3) and takes an imperative rather than a declarative format [Deppermann 2018]: “blib do duss; stay out here”. Combined with gentle pressure toward the table, PHY thus invites PAT to *immediately* turn the instructional correction into a course of action. Directing her knee toward the table (4), PAT follows the indicated direction. Immediately after this, PHY utters the agreement token “ja\; yes\” (5), retracts her left-hand from PAT’s knee (6), and begins the next set of instructions with “und; and”. Moving on to the next instructions is how PHY treats PAT’s way of turning her instructional corrections into actions as satisfactory.

Whereas in this extract, PHY retracts her left-hand from PAT’s knee only after uttering a positive evaluation of PAT’s instructed actions (5), in the next extract, PHY’s application of pressure might precede the instructional correction and stop shortly after she has uttered “do; here”.

Before the start of Extract 4, which follows directly after Extract 1 and still concerns the *serratus anterior punch* exercise, PHY changes the position of her hand (1; fig. 1a+b). Gripping PAT’s right elbow with her thumb and index finger, she applies pressure on it, toward PAT’s head, while PAT follows the direction of her pressure:

Extract 4

- 1 (0.2)
 phy <<index/thumb wrapped around PAT’s right elbow push it toward PAT’s head->
 pat <<right arm in upward position, PAT follows PHY’s pressure toward head->
- 
- 2 PHY -> blib# (0.2) schöç::n*ç (0.5) do: wa[a:*greçcht#]
 stay nicely here horizontally #fig.2a+b
 fig #fig.1a+b
- 3 PAT [aso verti]ka::l
 meaning vertically
 pat ->çdirects arm up-----çdownç
 phy *retracts thumb, applies pressure with index*
 *retracts right hand into home position->>
 pat çdirects arm up->>
- 4 (0.2)
 5 PHY jo
 yes

PHY continues to apply pressure on PAT’s elbow while beginning her instructional correction, using the verb “to stay” in its imperative format (2). But this

time, she adds the adverb “schö:n; nicely”, followed by a pause, before uttering the “do: waa:grecht; here horizontally” to complete her turn (2). Shortly before uttering “do; here”, PHY changes her hand position to apply pressure with the index finger only, and after uttering it, she retracts her hand (fig. 2a+b) and brings it into *home position* [Sacks, Schegloff 2002]. In an embodied way, she displays that the instructional sequence is complete. In overlap with the end of PHY’s turn, PAT repairs the last word of PHY’s instructional turn while continuing to direct her right arm up, then down, and finally up again. Holding her right-hand in home position, PHY acknowledges PAT’s repair (5) while continuing to monitor PAT’s instructed actions closely.

In the preceding extract, PHY begins touching PAT’s knee before applying pressure with her index finger while uttering “do duss; here outside” (3). She then retracts her hand, but only when evaluating PAT’s instructed actions positively (5). In Extract 4, PHY merely applies pressure beforehand (1) and retracts her hand into home position shortly after she has uttered “do; here” (2).

In both cases, applying pressure is organized in an orderly fashion in articulation with the occurrence of “do; here” in the instructional turn. Monitoring and assessing the patient’s instructed actions [Keel, Caviglia 2023] in an embodied way allows PHY to use “do; here” in combination with the application of pressure to convey precisely how PAT is to implement the instructional correction as the interaction continues.

In the last extract of this section, we will see PHY’s instructional corrections drawing on two instructional turns containing “do; here” that are produced as standing in a contrastive relation to each other.

5.2. The articulation of “do; here” with touch in a contrastive format

Before Extract 5 starts, PHY, who is sitting on the table beside PAT (fig. 1–4 below), has begun an instructional demonstration of the *seated pelvic tilt* exercise. PAT turns this demonstration into a course of instructed actions, keeping her lower back straight and rounding her upper back. While PHY monitors her, explaining the exercise further and uttering positive assessments of PAT’s instructed actions, she keeps her hands in her lap. Once PAT has come to a halt, PHY directs her right-hand toward PAT’s upper body (fig. 1):

Extract 5



- 1 PHY -> #und % versuch* vo# do* obe her tsch*%aff#
 and try to work from here up
 fig #fig.1 #fig.2 #fig.3
 >>right hand directs toward PAT's upper body*
 %bends upper body and stands up%sits down%bends back up->
 touches upper body
 *retracts----*directs toward lower-back->
- 2 -> weni*%ger %vo# do une
 less from here down
 fig #fig.4
 ->*places right hand (palm open) on lower back->>
 ->%bends upper body backwards-%straightens upper body up->>
- 3 numal rund mache de ober rugge
 again round make the upper back
 ... ((40:19-40:37 transcription omitted for reasons of space))
- 4 gen*au.
 exactly.
 ->*retracts->>

PHY begins her turn with “und; and” (1), utters the imperative “versuch; try”, and thus links what she says next to PAT’s preceding instructed actions. Standing up slightly and bending over herself (fig. 2), PHY reaches toward PAT’s upper back with her right-hand and touches it with her palm just before uttering “vo do obe her tschaffe; to work from here up” (1). She then retracts her hand after uttering “do; here”, completes the first part of her instructional correction (1), and places it on PAT’s lower back (fig. 3). Without pausing, PHY utters “weniger; less” (2) and so projects a contrastive next, again placing her hand on PAT’s lower back shortly before uttering “vo do une; from here down” (2) and applying slight pressure (fig. 4). Finally, she instructs PAT to repeat the first part of the exercise (3). While PAT is rounding her upper back, keeping her lower back straight, PHY monitors her closely, leaving her hand on her lower back (omitted for reasons of space) until she utters her positive evaluation (4) and retracts her hand.

Unpacking the *embodied* practices in which PHY and PAT use “do; here” in a stable way to achieve the settinged-ness of instructional corrections in face-to-face

exercise instructions does shed some new light on how it is done methodically. The practices involve PHY's going with PAT's courses of instructed actions – by constantly adapting her body posture, gestures, etc. to PAT's – to provide her with adequate bits of embodied instructions. Through precise articulation between her uttering of “do; here” and her application of touch and directional pressure, PHY is able to achieve an instructional correction that is understandable, to its recipient, for what it is.

6. “DO; HERE” IN INSTRUCTIONAL DEMONSTRATIONS FOLLOWED ON SCREEN DURING REMOTE EXERCISE INSTRUCTIONS

As outlined earlier (section 4.2), in the remote setting, PHY uses “do; here” exclusively in instructional demonstrations during which PAT is not engaged in performing instructed actions. Moreover, instead of achieving instructional demonstrations that retrospectively address an aspect of PAT's instructed actions that requires correction, as is the case, for example, with bodily quoting correction during dance lessons [Keevallik 2010], in the remote setting, instructional practices that contain “do; here” contribute to the accomplishment of a chain of contrastive instructional demonstrations targeting a more general scope.

6.1. “Do; here” in the physiotherapist's contrastive two-part instructional demonstrations

Before Extract 6 starts, PAT is crouching in front of her laptop (fig. 1–4) and focusing on PHY's contrastive *bodily quoting correction* [Keevallik 2010]. Along with her embodied demonstration of a quadruped *bird dog* exercise, PHY addresses the quoting correction to PAT: “ech zeig dir no wo du no: betz (.) medbewegsch wonech gärn käi bewegig hät ...; I show you PART where you PART move along a bit where I would like to have no motion”.

Once PAT has exhibited understanding that the *bird dog* exercise requires “staying flat”, PHY engages in a series of instructional demonstrations through which she further specifies what “staying flat” involves. She concludes her instructional demonstrations by emphasizing that the head must also be involved, and then engages in a *contrastive* instructional demonstration whose first part contains “do; here” (1):

Extract 6



- 1 PHY -> %aso# das ech nöd irgendiwe (0.3) d#e chopf do medbeweg%
 meaning that I do not somehow move the head here along
 fig #fig.1 #fig.2 #fig.3
 <<in quadruped position, looking to the floor->>
 %moves head down and up twice-----%



- 2 # (0.3) sondern de blibt au i de verlängerig vo de
 rather it remains in the prolongation of the
 fig #fig.4
 %holds position->
 3 werbel#süle (0.3) pro#[bier nomo:1]
 spine try again
 fig #fig.5
 -->%turns head toward laptop, gets up->
 4 PAT [okay+::]
 pat ->+gets up, walks to matt, lowers down->
 5 (2.4)%(2.5)+(2.7)
 phy ->%sits down in front of laptop, takes a monitoring position->>
 pat ->+in quadruped position, adjusts hands and upper body->
 6 PAT aso wart jetzt mol+
 pat ->+upper body, down, up between shoulders twice->>
 7 (1.2)
 8 PHY h.h. ((laughing))
 9 PAT H. ((laughing))
 10 (3.0)
 11 PHY jo dasch guet.
 yes that's good.

While moving her head ostensibly up and down twice (fig. 2–3), PHY formulates the first part of her contrastive demonstration in the *first-person singular*: “aso das ech nöd irgendwie (0.3) de chopf do medbeweg; meaning that I do not somehow move the head here along” (1). Dance teachers regularly use the indexical expression “here” as a preface to *bodily quoting dance corrections*, thereby indicating the “just-starting demonstration” [Keevallik 2010: 411–412]. In contrast, PHY utters “do; here” toward the end of the first part of her contrastive instructional demonstration, that is, after mentioning “de chopf; the head”, which

she moves ostensibly up and down, and before uttering the last word, “med-beweg; move along”, after which she stops moving her head (fig. 4). She then starts the second part of her instructional demonstration (2–3) with a contrastive conjunction “sondern de; rather it”, holding her head still in the same position as at the beginning of the extract (fig. 1). In contrast to the way that dance teachers use “here; do” to indicate that the bodily quoting correction is to start, PHY uses it as a pivot of her contrastive instructional demonstration.

Note also that in contrast to the initial *bodily quoting correction* that occurred before Extract 6, PHY formats her instructional turn (1) in the first-person singular, not the second-person singular. In his lectures on the personal pronoun “you”, Sacks points out that in an English conversation, “«You» is a very good term for attempting to build ambiguity of this-and-that-sort” because it might refer to “«you» (you alone) or «you» (you and others)” [Sacks 1992 I: 165]. In the extract under study, a similar argument can be made with respect to PHY’s use of “ech; I”. Though it refers to PHY as “I”, in other words the instructional demonstrator alone, it can also be understood as referring to “I”, “you”, or “anybody” engaged in a quadruped exercise. While uttering the last word of her instructional turn, “werbelsüle; spine”, PHY turns her head toward her laptop (fig. 5) and then, using an imperative format, instructs PAT (3) to give it another shot. In overlap, PAT agrees (4) and gets into a quadruped position, while at the same time PHY sits down in front of her laptop. During PAT’s instructed actions (5–11), PHY exhales with a laughing sound and finally evaluates PAT’s instructed actions positively.

How PHY deploys the “ech; I” to give instructional demonstrations containing “do; here” a more general scope is particularly salient in the last extracts (Extracts 7–9), in which PHY achieves a series of contrastive instructional demonstrations.

6.2. “Do; here” in the physiotherapist’s contrastive chain of instructional demonstrations

Extract 7 occurs as a continuation of Extract 6 (44 seconds omitted). PAT is again crouching in front of her laptop screen to focus on PHY’s instructional demonstrations of the quadruped *bird dog* exercise. Before Extract 7 starts, PHY orients to her laptop, lowers the screen slightly and then goes back into quadruped position (fig. 1) while initiating a serial chain of contrastive instructional demonstrations containing “do; here” (1):

- As in Extract 6, “do; here” (3) constitutes a pivot between two contrastive instructional demonstrations. Immediately after uttering it, PHY turns around into a front quadruped position and, following a pause of 0.3 seconds, addresses PAT in the second-person singular to announce “oder ech zäigs der rasch vo forne; or I show you quickly from front”. Through her embodied change of position, PHY displays her understanding of PAT’s limited possibilities for accessing her instructional demonstrations visually [Seuren et al. 2021], as she did when she lowered the screen of her laptop before Extract 7 started.

Without pausing, she continues her chain of contrastive instructional demonstrations as soon as she has reached the front position (fig. 4). She begins the next part with an “oder; or”:

Extract 8



4 PHY -> %oder öb ech #jetz (0.2)%(0.2) #do: äin % arm abplupf#%:
 or if I now here lift up an arm
 fig #fig.4 #fig.5 #fig.6
 %holds front position---%directs left arm up%directs it down%

5 -> %(0.4) as%o ech #we%tt halt nöd das ech## do inne ghäi%
 meaning I don't want PART that I here fall inside
 fig #fig.7 #fig.8
 %holds position%
 %moves upper body to the right-%back in neutral position%
 %lifts left arm up-%directs it back down%

6 wenn ech n arm #%ablupf, (.) .hh%
 when I lift up an arm
 fig #fig.9
 %moves upper body to the left and lifts right arm up to the right%
 %moves upper body, arm back into neutral position-->

As highlighted in Extract 1, initial instructions of exercises occur in the form of an *instructional chain*, whose elements are recurrently linked with the conjunction “und; and”, followed by a temporal indicator “jetz; now” or “de; then”. Beginning her turn with the conjunction “oder öb ech jetz; or if I now” (4), PHY projects that the following instructional demonstration is not merely the next one, but it also contrasts with the previous one. Holding her neutral position (fig. 4), PHY then raises her arm *briefly* before uttering “do; here” and lowers it again *briefly* afterward and finally returns to the neutral position (fig. 6) and holds it during the following pause (5). In contrast to Extract 7, in which PHY engaged in an ostensive demonstration before uttering “do; here” and then held the neutral position, in this last extract she does exactly the opposite.

She thus sets the stage for the following instructional demonstration. PHY holds the neutral position during the pause (5). Yet as soon as she resumes talking (5) she engages in an uninterrupted series of embodied demonstrations. Starting her turn with “aso; meaning”, instead of using the conjunction “oder; or”, as she did in line 4, PHY initiates a specification of her previous instructional demonstration. While announcing “ech wett halt nöd das ech; I don’t want PART that I” (5), she moves her upper body to the right and lifts her left arm up, reaching full extension of her movements just before uttering “do inne ghäi; here fall inside” (fig. 8). Without interrupting either the flow of talk “wenn ech en arm aplupf; when I lift up an arm” (6) or her demonstration, she moves her upper body to the left and her right arm up (fig. 9) and then moves back into the neutral position and simultaneously stops talking and inhales loudly (6).

In the remote setting, PHY’s instructional demonstrations neither address PAT’s instructed actions directly, nor require PAT to immediately turn them into a course of actions. Instead, PHY embeds “do; here” and the personal pronoun “I” within a contrastive, instructional chain. Combining it with embodied ostensive demonstrations is what allows her to achieve instructional demonstrations that, in addition to their settinged-ness, reflect an instructional scope going beyond the “here” and “now”.

7. DISCUSSION

Drawing on Sacks’s work on temporal and spatial indicator terms, our *careful descriptions* [Garfinkel 2002: 100-101] reveal how the stable embeddedness of the spatial indicator “do; here” in exercise instruction activities contributes to the interactive achievement of their settinged-ness in face-to-face and remote consultations without participants formulating them as such-and-such. We thus shed new light on how members’ methodical use of the indicator term “do; here” contributes to the interactive achievement of instructional practices’ *in-courseness* [Garfinkel 2021: 30] as they progressively unfold and are made intelligible in the two distinct settings under study.

We revealed that courses of exercise instructions containing “do; here” bear upon and at the same time reflexively elaborate two distinct physiotherapy activities: instructional corrections addressed to the patient’s instructed exercise actions in face-to-face consultations (Extracts 3-5), versus demonstrational instructions in remote ones (Extracts 6-8). Furthermore, we showed that in the face-to-face consultation, “do; here” occurs mostly in stand-alone instructional turns (Extracts 3-4), and relies heavily on embodied proximity between the physiotherapist and

the patient, which allows the former to use professional vision in combination with touch and the instructional turn format to address the patient's instructed actions with instructional corrections in a timely and precise way. They occur in an imperative or a declarative format that contains a "now" and are finely articulated with the application of touch and directional pressure (Extracts 1, 3–5). In this way, they make the patient's instructed actions immediately relevant, monitorable, assessable, correctable, etc.

With respect to the remote setting, we demonstrated that most instances of "do; here" are constitutive of a contrastive instructional demonstration with two parts (Extract 6) or a contrastive instructional chain with three or more parts (Extracts 7–8). The instructional turns involve the use of contrastive "oder; or" instead of additive "und; and" connectors (Extracts 6–8) to link their elements. Moreover, we discussed how the physiotherapist addresses the instructional demonstrations containing "do; here" to the patient in the first-person singular to give them a broader scope than the patient's "here" and "now" (instructed) actions. Furthermore, the embeddedness of the physiotherapist's "do; here" is methodically combined with adjustments of the screen and ostensive body movements in such a way that it contributes as a pivot in these contrastive two-or-more-part demonstrations. PHY thus ensures the patient's visual access to her ongoing instructional demonstrations as well as their intelligibility for what they are.

As our careful descriptions reveal, shifting from a face-to-face to a remote setting has non-trivial implications for therapeutic exercise instructions in general and for the distinct ways in which patients can be *involved* in instructed exercise actions and thus exhibit their understanding more particularly. As pointed out by Lindwall and Lymer, instructional demonstrations "are contingent on competences that are yet to be instructed" [2024: 37]. Extract 2 has shown, for the physiotherapist to monitor, assess, etc. whether the patient accomplishes the exercise instructions competently, the latter needs to exhibit her embodied understanding [Hindmarsh et al. 2011] of the instructions in a way that takes the physiotherapist's two-dimensional visual access into account. In this era marked by the rapid digitalization of healthcare services, this contribution offers new insight on members' methodical practices through which intelligible exercise instructions are achieved and patients' instructed actions are monitored, assessed, and corrected in face-to-face (Extracts 1, 3–5) versus remote physiotherapy consultations (Extract 2). With respect to a crucial activity in physiotherapy consultations, these insights provide some timely material for reflections on what the shift from face-to-face to remote settings involves.

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Sara Keel

ANALIZUJĄC INSTRUKCJE ĆWICZEŃ FIZJOTERAPEUTYCZNYCH ZA POMOCĄ HARVEYA SACKSA SOCJOLOGICZNEGO UJĘCIA WYRAŻEŃ OKAZJONALNYCH

Streszczenie

Tekst ten odnosi się do przedmiotu badań, któremu Sacks poświęcił dużo uwagi w swoich wykładach, lecz który poza tym nie został wystarczająco przeanalizowany w ramach socjologii. Chodzi mianowicie o metodyczne stosowanie wyrażen okazjonalnych, na przykład określeń „teraz” i „tu”, przez uczestników (ang. *members*), by uzyskać zrozumiałość czynności takich, jakimi one są w danych okolicznościach. Czerpiąc z zaproponowanego przez Sacksa podejścia do wyrażen okazjonalnych, przedstawiona analiza opiera się na zsynchronizowanych nagraniach wideo dotyczących instrukcji ćwiczeń realizowanych w trakcie dwóch sesji fizjoterapeutycznych: jednej w ramach interakcji twarzą w twarz i jednej zdalnej. Dokładniej rzecz ujmując, przedmiotem analizy jest stosowanie wyrażen okazjonalnych „zrób; tutaj” w języku szwajcarsko-niemieckim w ramach ucieleśnionych sekwencji realizowania instrukcji w dwóch odmiennych sytuacjach. Nasz opis sekwencji realizowania instrukcji ćwiczeń ujawnia, jak metodyczne stosowanie wyrażen „zrób; tutaj” przez uczestników polega na jego umiejscowieniu w odmiennych praktykach instrukcyjnych i zarazem owo umiejscowienie konstytuuje. W interakcji twarzą w twarz praktyki instrukcyjne zawierają precyzyjną artykulację „zrób; tutaj” poprzez dotyk i bycie dotykanym, co

umożliwia monitorowanie, ocenianie i korygowanie instruowanych działań pacjenta. W ramach zdalnego kontaktu praktyki są realizowane poprzez umiejętne umiejscawianie określeń „zrób; tutaj” w kontrastowych łańcuchach ucieleśnionych instrukcji demonstrowanych przez fizjoterapeutę wobec pacjenta, który siedzi przed swoim laptopem obserwując fizjoterapeutę.

Słowa kluczowe: interakcje fizjoterapeuta-pacjent, instrukcje ćwiczeń, wyrażenia okazjonalne, analiza konwersacyjna, etnometodologia.