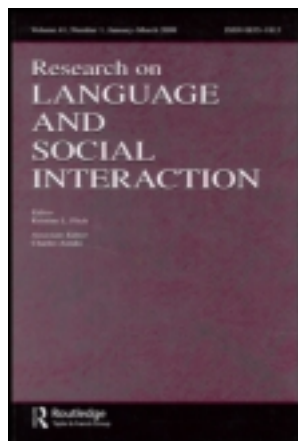


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Turn-Taking for Turntaking: Mobility, Time, and Action in the Sequential Organization of Junction Negotiations in Cars

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Turn-Taking for Turntaking: Mobility, Time, and Action in the Sequential Organization of Junction Negotiations in Cars

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This article draws on audio-video data of people driving in cars and on methods used in multimodal interaction analysis and conversation analysis to study how people negotiate where to turn at the next junction. The analyzed activity is called *negotiating the next junction*. The article describes the participants' talk and embodied actions that are produced for this activity and the impact that mobility and a moving environment have on how it is achieved as a situated practice of driving. First, this article shows that the activity is sequentially organized into 3 verbally produced parts. However, second, despite the apparent verbal element of the sequence, drivers and passengers display through the design of their actions that they orient to various features of the mobile context as relevant to the production of the junction-negotiation activity. This article specifically focuses on how participants can be seen to orient to the physical shape of the junction and movement through the environment (e.g., movement toward the junction and the turn at the junction). The analysis shows that interlocutors' actions are reflexively connected to the moving semiotic environment, and that talk and the features of the mobile environment are conflated and sequentially organized relative to each other. Finally, the article supplements prior interactional research by showing that compared to static social situations, participants design and temporally adjust their actions by quickly modifying them relative to the mobile situation. This shows that drivers and passengers together orient to the criticalness of the correct timing of actions in a mobile environment in cars.

At various junctures and junctions, front-seat passengers display and account for their awareness of the car's relative position within evolving traffic formations, and of the driver's previous, current and likely future, actions. Equally, drivers show awareness of their passenger's awareness, assistance, obstruction and evaluation of their (and other's) driving. [. . .] In particular circumstances, and to execute certain challenging manoeuvres, drivers call on, or are offered by, the passenger, help in navigating, identifying and monitoring the proximity of obstacles. (Laurier et al., 2008, p. 8)

This article examines how drivers and passengers in cars negotiate where to turn at the next junction. Turning at or driving through a traffic junction is an event that happens to drivers and

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passengers several times a day. A junction is a complex site where drivers are required to carefully monitor and negotiate their position relative to that particular location and the surrounding traffic. The pressures imposed by other drivers and the assumption of continuous movement forces drivers to swiftly locate a gap and merge into the intersecting traffic flow. It is no wonder therefore that most car accidents take place at junctions.

The analysis is based on audio-video recordings of social interaction inside cars and draws on the methodology that studies situated multimodal social actions as they sequentially unfold in interaction (Goodwin 2000, 2003a; Jordan & Henderson, 1995; Sacks, 1973/1987, 1984; Schegloff 2007). This article focuses on the following features of negotiating-the-next-junction: First, it produces a sequential analysis of the activity by describing both the individual actions that constitute it as well as how these actions are linked with each other and thus form a robust activity. Second, it describes how the situated understandings of these actions are connected both to the complex contextual configuration (Goodwin, 2000) of the moving environment and how they enable and are necessary for the concurrent driving activity. And third, it discusses how mobility impacts the temporal adjustment of actions in this activity.

These three features make the activity of negotiating one's way at a junction a rewarding phenomenon for sequential analysis. Even though human life is routinized and people frequently drive alone and in familiar areas, there is always the potential that the next junction requires negotiation (Haddington & Keisanen, 2009). This potential can be warranted by driving or navigation errors, a sudden understanding of a better route, a need to negotiate between alternative routes, or a need to avoid unexpected obstacles on the road, such as congestion or accidents. Moreover, even if a driver drives through the same junction several times a day, each time she approaches the junction and prepares for a turn, she may have to manage multiple, complex, and overlapping activities—for example, the driving activity and a conversation with a passenger. She may also have to pay careful attention to other traffic (cars, cyclists, pedestrians), as well as the surrounding environment (traffic signs, traffic signals, the shape of the road, yielding rules, traffic regulations, etc.) (see also Scollon & Scollon, 2003).

In addition, the appropriate timing of actions is fundamental to the junction-negotiation activity. As Goodwin (2002) has shown, the temporal organization of actions (i.e., when an action is produced relative to other actions and events in the unfolding situation) contributes to the understanding of those actions. Nevile (2007a) shows how the timely coordination of action is central for accomplishing collaborative work in airline cockpits. He focuses specifically on how *and*-prefaced utterances are used for ensuring the timeliness of actions that must be accomplished in time and in a particular order. Similarly, Arminen, Auvinen, and Palukka (2010) discuss how for collaborative work in air traffic control rooms time imposes a demanding constraint for action production. As will be shown in this article, the appropriate timing of actions is important in cars as well. Through the timing of their actions, in-car participants can show their understandings of when something occurs, when something can occur, and when it relevantly should occur. Indeed, the car's movement reduces the amount of time for making an appropriate next action often to mere fractions of seconds. We are due at the next junction. Moreover, we often *have to* keep on moving since slowing down, let alone stopping, in busy traffic is considered a nuisance and a waste of time, and, as Laurier (2005) so aptly points out, "will be reprimanded by one or more car horns" (p. 101) or by copassengers. In light of this, finding the right route and making a timely decision can also involve issues of convenience and even road safety (Burns 1998, p. 209). All in

all, a turning activity at—even a familiar—junction can be mediated between various semiotic resources and temporal requirements that the driver has to deal with in order to accomplish the next turn. In a sense then, each turn at a junction is done and redone, as if it was the first time (cf. Garfinkel, 1967/1984, p. 9) and even though it is routine, it is achieved and accomplished (cf. Schegloff 1986).

The analysis of driving in general and driving behavior at junctions is by no means a new topic. Driving behavior at junctions continues to be a popular topic in accident and driving research (Björklund & Åberg, 2005; Herslund & Jörgensen, 2003; Keskinen, Ota, & Katila, 1998, among others). These studies frequently rely on accident and oral reports, questionnaires, or driving simulator experiments. In some cases, they use video-recordings for making observations of what happens at a particular junction outside the car. These studies focus, for example, on how the distance of another car, the behavior of other road users, or the shape of the junction affect the driver's internal decision making at a junction. They also study the impact of yielding rules to driving behavior and perception, and how various demographic variables (such as age and gender) correlate with driving behavior at junctions. Consequently, these studies tend to presuppose an individualistic, strategic, and cognitive side of wayfinding (e.g., Burns, 1998). The implication often is that the decision is made by the driver (alone) and that the driver's actions at a junction depend on what happens outside the car or in the driver's brain.

Although fewer in number, some studies have also foregrounded the sociality of driving and demonstrated the many ways in which driving is done together with others. Among others, Katz (1999, pp. 18–86) discusses how drivers in Los Angeles, when being cut off by another car, engage in angry bursts at the offender. Dant (2004) gives a sociological investigation of the interconnectedness of the driver and the car and how this assemblage provides for social actions that would not be possible for either one alone. Laurier and colleagues (2008), on the other hand, take a closer look at car-driving as an interactional phenomenon and briefly discuss seven different social interactional phenomena inside cars. More generally, there is also some interaction analytic and conversation analytic research on human conduct that is done while on the move, in order to accomplish mobility¹ or that describes movement.² Although the activity of turning at junctions has not been studied from an interaction analytic perspective, some studies have raised issues that are linked to the phenomenon. Psathas (1991) and Psathas and Kozloff (1976) show that route descriptions are divided into sequences of operations (e.g., moving from point A to point B) whose boundaries are marked by directional reference points (i.e., different types of junctions or junctures). As Psathas (1991, p. 208) notes, these reference points are central to direction-givers and recipients in that they are the locations where actions such as turning or going straight are relevant, and where missing a turn or turning at the wrong place are possible. Further, Brown and Laurier (2005) note that even though participants know the way to the final destination, sometimes due to various challenges the journey has to be planned step-by-step. The junction-negotiation activity both occurs at directional reference points that Psathas (1991) studies and it is an activity that represents one step among the many through which participants accomplish their mobility (cf. Brown & Laurier, 2005).

¹For example, wayfinding and navigation (Hutchins, 1995; Laurier, 2004; Laurier et al., 2008; Psathas, 1976), map use (Brown & Laurier, 2005; Psathas, 1979), actions that accomplish a mobile task (D'hondt, 2009; Laurier, 2005; Nevile, 2005, 2009) and route negotiation (Haddington & Keisanen, 2009).

²For example, route descriptions and direction-giving (Mondada, 2009; Psathas, 1986a, 1986b, 1991).

The current article aims to supplement prior social and psychological driving research by looking at how people interact inside the car at junctions. It focuses on those features of the junction-negotiation activity that participants can be seen to attend to, moment to moment, through their talk and embodied actions. Consequently, it does not examine social interaction between driver-cars (Dant, 2004; Katz, 1999), nor does it seek to find cognitive or psychological reasons for particular driving behavior, as is the aim of most driving research. Rather, it demonstrates that often it is hard to think of driving or turning at a junction as a merely intentional or individualistic decision-making process. The article will show that turning at a junction is also very much a situated practice of driving, which emerges from the local contingencies of the mobile situation and is done in collaboration with other people. It is also a special activity in the sense that its production is closely intertwined with mobility. On the one hand, it has a clear objective and a desired end result: the accomplishment of mobility to the right direction. On the other hand, mobility modifies and constrains the participants' situated actions. The findings show that participants attend to and adjust their embodied and spoken actions relative to the quickly changing environment (e.g., the approaching junction).

The data used in this paper have been collected in Finland and Great Britain.³ The database used for this study for this study comprises approximately 22 hours of video data of people driving and interacting inside cars. Each driving situation has been recorded with two cameras. As one can see in the figures, one camera is directed to the driver and the front seat passenger. The other camera is positioned so that it provides an exterior view of the events in front of the car or a view of the driver's actions from behind. In some cases both cameras are placed on the dashboard, and in some cases the other camera is positioned in the backseat. All examples come from countries with right-hand side traffic, except the "Driving in London" example, which was recorded in Britain.

The database contains dozens of examples of the junction-negotiation activity. It also contains drivers and passengers from different countries (Britain, Canada, the Czech Republic, Finland, France, Germany, Norway, and Slovenia) with variation in driving experience, gender, and age. In light of this, the activity described in this article seems to be a frequent, robust, and universal driving activity. The following section analyzes briefly an example of the junction-negotiation activity and outlines how the individual steps of the activity are connected to each other. The subsequent sections discuss each step in greater detail and show how mobility, the changing environment, and the body figure in different ways in the accomplishment of this activity.

THE SEQUENTIAL ORGANIZATION OF NEGOTIATING THE NEXT JUNCTION

This article focuses on junction negotiations initiated by the driver. Although it would also be interesting to study passenger-initiated junction negotiations, they will not be further examined in this article. The basic (verbal) sequence of the junction-negotiation activity is a three-unit sequence in which the units are relatively ordered next to each other, and which thus form a

³The people in the videos have granted permission to the reproduction of their images and speech extracts. I am deeply thankful to Eric Laurier for giving me access to his British driving corpus.

sequential pattern (cf. Sacks, 1973/1987, p. 55). Extract 1 presents an example of the sequence (see lines 6–9).⁴ During the example, the car enters a roundabout.

(1) *The three sequential steps of junction-negotiation* (Talk&Drive #002_1 (6:00))

- 1 DRIVER: Because I had the same car,
 2 during two years,
 3 . . And it was quite hard,
 4 when I try another car,
 5 . . And . . the ## was always like . .
 6 a→ This way?
 7 a→ On the right?
 8 b→ 1ST PASS: Yeah.
 9 c→ DRIVER: <A>OK.
 10 2ND PASS: So,
 11 do you have your own car?
 12 DRIVER: No=,
 13 I don't have mine, but,

The sequence begins with an initiating action (see lines 6–7). The driver makes a confirmation request together with a candidate answer “This way? On the right?” The activity is also often started with a question or a request for help. This action makes relevant a reply or an answer that responds to it. In the above example, the passenger on the front seat produces a reply “Yeah.” that responds to the prior action and confirms the driver’s candidate answer (see line 8). At the same time, the passenger’s “Yeah.” is not only a response to the prior action, but is also produced for and furthers the driving activity. Finally, the sequence comes to an end with the driver’s “OK.” The last item is what Schegloff (2007) calls a sequence-closing third, which in this case confirms the just prior reply or answer and demonstrates its speaker’s stance that the sequence can now be ended. After this (in line 10) the passenger in the backseat continues the course of action that was halted when the car arrived at the roundabout.

As this simple, step-by-step analysis suggests, the direction of the car becomes a focus for joint attention and is negotiated through talk. However, it would be a simplification to argue that junction-negotiation is an activity that is accomplished through talk only. In simple terms, the start of the activity is a response to a feature in the environment, the roundabout, and to the fact that the car is moving in that roundabout. The prior activity is halted because of the pressures imposed by being and moving in the roundabout and that the next relevant and immediate action is to drive out of the roundabout at the right exit. After dealing with the junction, the participants continue the halted activity. In order to discuss the role of (moving in) the environment in more detail, the following sections study each of these steps by considering what happens just before sequence initiation and how the verbal initiation is managed and temporally adjusted with

⁴The examples have been transcribed in Discourse Transcription (DT) style (Du Bois, Schuetze-Coburn, Cumming, & Paolino, 1993). The transcription conventions are given in the appendix. The category DRIVER is used to refer to the person driving the car, 1ST PASS to refer to the person sitting on the front seat, 2ND PASS to refer to the person sitting behind the driver, and 3RD PASS to refer to the person sitting behind 1ST PASS. Sometimes the participants in the examples are not native speakers of English, in which case they are using English as a lingua franca. Some figures include a reference to time (minutes and seconds). This aims to give an idea of the temporal relationship between adjacent actions.

other actions (e.g., driving, talk on other topics, the use of the blinker). They will also examine how the participants in the car orient to each other's talk and embodied actions, the shape of the junction, and to the car's movement, and how these contextual and contingent features affect and organize the junction-negotiation activity. Before concluding the article, I will discuss how the junction-negotiation activity is brought to a close.

TOWARD SEQUENCE INITIATION: ORIENTING TO MOVEMENT TOWARD THE JUNCTION

This section focuses on how drivers and passengers can be seen to attend to the approaching junction and to display through some embodied or verbal practices their preparedness to the turn at the next junction. These practices sequentially precede the initiation of the junction negotiation. In social interaction interlocutors frequently deal with the issue of when and how to initiate a new sequence. In many ways they have to design, time, and adjust a sequence beginning to the contingencies of the local interactional situation so that it is meaningful and appropriate in precisely that moment. There is plenty of research in Conversation Analysis (CA) on sequence organization (see Schegloff, 2007) and on actions that do sequence initiation, such as questions, requests, and greetings. CA work has also given detailed analyses of so-called *pres* that can be heard to project a certain activity, such as pretellings and preannouncements. Some studies have also shed light on so-called prebeginnings, i.e., what occasions a sequence opening and makes it relevant for the participants.⁵ Indeed, sequence-starting actions do not come from nowhere. Rather they can involve various kinds of embodied behavior and spatial organization that can be seen as preparations for the start of a new activity (Mondada, 2009). In the junction-negotiation activity, the timing of the sequence opening is particularly important for the participants because appropriate timing is a prerequisite for the success of the activity. A late sequence opening can lead into a missed or a wrong turn. Therefore, in order to understand the shape and trajectory of the junction-negotiation sequence, it is important to understand what happens just before it.

Two features of context together can occasion the junction-negotiation activity: first, a particular feature of the environment (e.g., a junction), and second, the fact that the interlocutors are on the move and approaching a position in the environment before which a decision has to be made. Let us first consider Extract 2.⁶

(2) *Approaching a junction* (Talk&Drive #001_5 (1:38))

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1 | | . . . (6.2) |
| 2 | → DRIVER: | We were coming from here? |
| 3 | 1 ST PASS: | Yeah, |
| 4 | | right. |
| 5 | | . . . (7.0) |
| 6 | DRIVER: | Power steering is so ni=ce @@@. |
| 7 | 1 ST PASS: | Yea=h (Hx). |
| 8 | DRIVER: | (H) I don't have that. |

⁵For example, Schegloff (1968) in his seminal work on telephone call openings has looked at how the ring of the phone acts as a summons that projects an answer to the telephone. Mondada (2009) has studied what happens in prebeginning and opening sequences of direction giving.

⁶In this section, the arrows in the transcription indicate the verbal initiation of the junction-negotiation activity.



FIGURE 1 Driver's upward head movement indicating orientation to the approaching junction.

The driver and the passenger have been quiet for some 6 s (line 1). Then well before the car arrives at the junction the driver utters “We were coming from here?” (line 2), which requests confirmation for the right direction. The passenger confirms in lines 3–4 (“Yeah, right.”) after which the driver takes a right turn at the junction.⁷ However, there are features of the driver's embodied behavior that indicate that she is attending to and getting ready to turn at the approaching junction before the verbal sequence begins. As Figure 1 shows, during the pause (line 1 in Extract 2) the driver visibly raises her head.

This slight upward head movement displays that the driver is attending to the approaching junction and that they are moving toward it. The video also shows that the driver begins to slow down before line 2. The head raise and the slowing down, together with the approaching junction, are features that are potentially available to the passenger and that can contribute to the understanding of the verbal sequence initiation in line 2.

As we saw in Extract 2, sometimes junction negotiation is preceded by silence or a pause. In these cases no spoken activity is under way that could have an impact on the temporal adjustment of the sequence initiation. However, sometimes another activity has to be halted and brought to a quick finish because of the approaching junction. Extract 3 is a case in point. In it three friends, who are exchange students in a foreign country, have just passed a customs building, after which they start talking about a friend whose mailed parcel was inspected there.

(3) *Halting activity and adjusting talk with respect to junction* (Talk&Drive #002_4 (5:40))

- | | | |
|----|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1 | DRIVER: | Photographed all the thing, |
| 2 | | and took off all the thing, |
| 3 | | and look in . . all the stuff |
| 4 | 1 ST PASS: | Alright? |
| 5 | DRIVER: | (0)Ya=[h]. |
| 6 | 1 ST PASS: | [O]h, |
| 7 | | that's not fun. |
| 8 | DRIVER: | Ya=h. |
| 9 | | [it was pretty], |
| 10 | 2 ND PASS: | [It's like the customs?] |
| 11 | DRIVER: | Yah, |
| 12 | | it was, |

⁷The “missing” sequence-closing third and the reason why it can in fact be seen to be not actually missing will be discussed in the “Endings of the Junction-Negotiation Activity” section.

- 13 It's customs down here.
 14 <A>It was pretty annoying.
 15 → (0)I think we can go [left] .
 16 1ST PASS: [U=hm],
 17 probably want to keep going straight.
 18 DRIVER: Uh,
 19 OK.

The driver and the front seat passenger evaluate the incident at the customs in an assessment sequence, which ends in line 14. During the assessment activity, the car is fast approaching the next junction. Figure 2 shows how the driver orients to a possible turn by producing the sequence initiation well before the car arrives at the junction.⁸

However, similarly with Extract 2, the driver's orientation to the approaching junction and a projected turn becomes evident before the actual sequence initiation. But this time it becomes evident in the prosodic design of her two utterances in lines 14–15. As is marked by the “(0)” in the transcription (line 15), the two utterances are latched onto each other. Speakers frequently

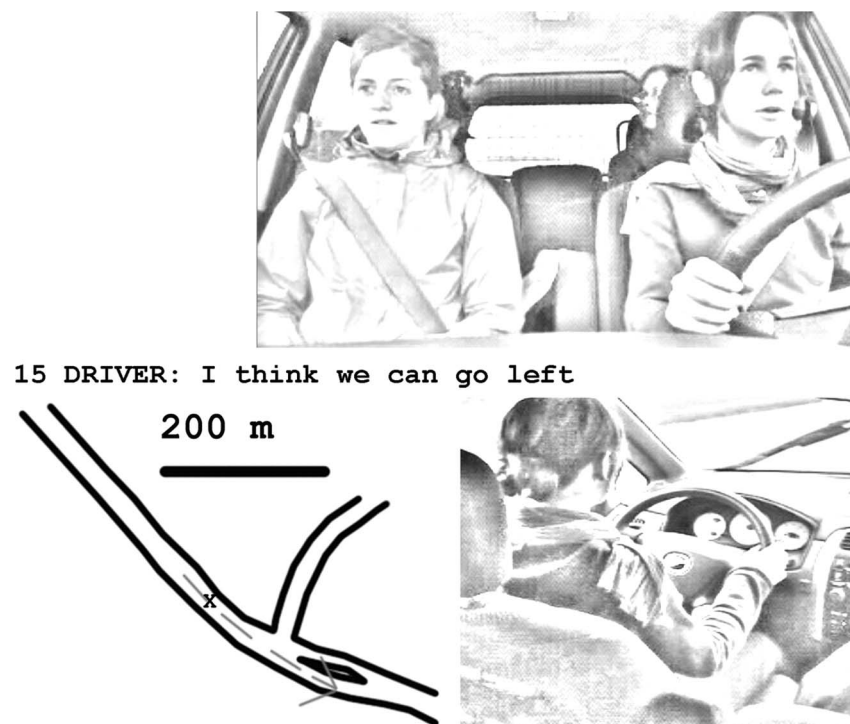


FIGURE 2 Sequence initiation before the junction (x marks the location of the car at the time the utterance is produced).

⁸The dash line in the maps shows the direction of the car's turn. X marks the car's position at the junction.

use such rush-throughs in order to keep the floor to themselves and to prevent coparticipants from self-selecting the next turn (Local, 1992; Schegloff, 1982). In this case, the rush-through helps the driver to quickly get from one utterance and one activity to the other and produce the route suggestion before they arrive at the junction. This becomes evident also through the speed of her talk in that the two utterances are considerably faster than her talk elsewhere (marked by the “<A>” signs in lines 14 and 15). These prosodic features specifically display the driver’s orientation to the car’s movement toward the approaching junction. By quickening the pace of her talk she can bring the current assessment sequence to a quick close and then start the junction-negotiation well before the car arrives at the junction. In doing so she attends to the temporal constraints that are occasioned by the car’s movement toward the junction and to the fact that the junction negotiation has to be finished before they arrive at the junction.

We have seen so far that drivers can display their orientation to the environment and the approaching junction through embodied and prosodic means, before the beginning of the actual junction-negotiation activity. Extract 4 is slightly different, in that the sequence initiation is preceded by the passenger’s offer to provide help (lines 2–3), which then leads to the junction-negotiation activity (lines 4–12). In the example a family is driving in London.

(4) *Lack of relevant actions at a junction* (Habitable cars, Navigation (0:00))

- 1 . . . (7.6)((SOUND FROM DVD IN THE BACKGROUND))
 2 1ST PASS: <A>What are you doing,
 3 luv?
 4 → DRIVER: Can you turn left he[re]?
 5 1ST PASS: [No,]
 6 <A>you wanna go right,
 7 don’t you.
 8 . .
 9 This is a one-way street.
 10 DRIVER: Oh,
 11 is it?
 12 OK (Hx). ((TURNS THE WHEEL TO THE RIGHT))

The car has been driving down a one-way street. The road continues as a one-way street to their right. A left turn, which they eventually end up taking, would take them to a two-way street. Cars that come from their left have to yield to other traffic (see the triangle in the maps in Figure 3). Figure 3 shows how the car approaches the junction and then makes a stop. After stopping the car, the driver looks at both directions but never applies the indicator. The lack of the relevant next actions, such as driving forward when he has the right-of-way or using the blinker to indicate a left turn, suggests that the next appropriate driving action is delayed and not happening. The driver then turns the wheel and sets out to turn to the left.

After the car starts to move again, the passenger suddenly becomes very attentive (see Figure 4). Up until now, she has been occupied with a corsage in her hands and has been looking down and has not visibly been orienting to the driving and the traffic. As Figure 4 shows, she raises her head with a perplexed look on her face. She then turns her gaze to the direction they are moving and with accelerated prosody asks: “What are you doing, luv?”

The accelerated prosody in the passenger’s question and her sudden head movement are responses to a combination of various features in the situation: the driver’s actions, the car’s



FIGURE 3 Approaching a junction (x marks the car's position at junction).

movement, other traffic, and the junction. Despite the fact that the driver is now visibly turning to the left, he never uses the blinker that would make his intentions explicit. At this junction, not using the indicator communicates the driver's intentions to drive forward. This is in marked contradiction with what the driver can visibly be seen to be doing, i.e., turning the wheel to the left. For other people in the traffic, it is very difficult to observe conflicting actions that take place within the confines of another car. In the worst case, they can result in an accident. It is possible that in the above example, the passenger orients to an accident as a possibility. As we can see in the left frame in Figure 4, a car is approaching from the left. For the driver in the approaching car, no indicator signals the other driver's intention to drive forward. This would have immediate consequences for the driver in the approaching car, because she would have to give way to the car coming from the right.

However, for the passenger, who shares the space with the driver and has clear access to his actions, the driver's conflicting actions are not only visible but highly meaningful. For her,



FIGURE 4 Mobility and location as meaningful resources for action
(x marks the car's position at junction).

they communicate clearly the two possible but conflicting mobile trajectories—driving straight or turning left. The passenger is in the position to monitor the inappropriateness of how the sequence unfolds and also to observe the lack of relevant next actions. For her the features of the situation are accountable and warrant an explanation, which she then requests in the form of “What are you doing, luv?”

The passenger's utterance can hardly be seen as a question seeking for information. Indeed, “I'm driving, dear” would not be an appropriate response.⁹ Rather, the passenger's utterance is designed to provide a sequential slot for the driver to account his driving. Consequently, it can be treated as an action that aims to correct the driver's driving. At the same time, the passenger's action can be heard to be doing a preoffer (Liddicoat, 2007, pp. 135–136; Schegloff,

⁹I want to thank one of the reviewers for making this point.

2007, pp. 34–37) that could lead to an actual offer to help with the driving. All in all, the passenger's utterance makes relevant two trajectories: a verbal response and a mobile action that corrects the trouble in the driving.

The driver's next turn "Can you turn left here?" conflates two actions in one utterance. On the one hand, it responds to the passenger's question by framing the issue in terms of allowability, i.e., is he allowed to turn left at this junction. On the other hand, it sets up a sequential trajectory that builds upon the preoffer (the actual offer is never produced) and explicitly requests for help that eventually could correct the driving problem at this junction.

The examples in this section have shown that movement continuously transforms the context of the situation and thus can contribute to the contingency of interaction inside the car (see also D'hondt, 2009). They show that before the junction-negotiation sequence is started, drivers and passengers can orient to various features of the mobile context (e.g., the driver's actions, the semiotic environment, other traffic, the speed and direction of the car). These features can be seen to have an impact on the participants' behavior (e.g., turn-design features and embodiment) and to make relevant the junction-negotiation activity. Thus, the start of the junction-negotiation activity is a continuation of something that precedes it. In line with D'hondt (2009) I argue that the sequence does not start with talk, but is "made relevant by the location of the vehicle-on-the-move" (p. 1972). The participants have to establish an understanding of the junction area as a semiotic environment and adjust their behavior with the features in it. In addition to such locational challenges, drivers and passengers are confronted with temporal challenges, such as where-am-I-now in relation to that junction (cf. Hutchins, 1995). As the examples show, drivers and passengers adjust their actions prior to the junction negotiation so that sufficient time remains not only for the possible negotiation, but also for preparing (using the indicator, slowing down, checking other traffic) and actually doing the turn. Nevertheless, the sequence initiation cannot be produced too early. As Haddington and Keisanen (2009) point out, the first part of the junction-negotiation activity always refers to the *next* junction.¹⁰ If for any reason a participant refers to a later junction, additional information is required. In the following section I discuss the features of the sequence initiation in more detail.

THE VERBAL SEQUENCE INITIATION: STARTING THE JUNCTION-NEGOTIATION ACTIVITY

As we saw in the previous section, as drivers move through the environment, they can through the design of their talk and actions display their orientation to the approaching junction and show that certain actions are due before it. Consequently, the verbal sequence initiation is produced in response to the junction and the car's movement toward it. At the same time it starts a sequence of actions that is essential for and enables the driving activity. The data show that the first verbal part of the junction-negotiation activity can do various types of actions, such as confirmation requests, requests for help, statements, and questions (see Extracts 5–7).

¹⁰Also D'hondt (2009) has made a similar finding regarding upcoming stops of a minibus in Tanzania. He describes a sequential activity in which passengers, conductors, and the driver negotiate the next stop. He shows that the bus's current position makes relevant information about the next stop.

(5) *Confirmation request* (Talk&Drive #001_1 (1:45))

- 1 . . . (6.2)
 2 → DRIVER: We we're coming from here?
 3 1ST PASS: Yeah,
 4 right.

(6) *Statement* (Talk&Drive #002_4 (5:40))

- 11 DRIVER: Yah,
 12 it was,
 13 It's customs down here.
 14 <A>It was pretty annoying.
 15 → (0) I think we can go [left].
 16 1ST PASS: [U=hm],
 17 probably want to keep going straight.

(7) *Request for passenger assistance* (Habitable cars, Navigation (0:00))

- 3 → DRIVER: Can you turn left he[re]?
 4 1ST PASS: [No,]
 5 <A>you wanna go right,
 6 don't you.

Sometimes these actions explicitly voice a driving-related problem and thereby request passenger assistance in driving (e.g., Extract 7) and sometimes they request for confirmation from the passengers (e.g., Extract 5). What is common to these actions is that they set up expectations of an interactional trajectory that makes relevant a second part, which in turn enables the next driving-related action (e.g., a turn-at-a-junction). As we can see in these examples, the first parts are indeed followed by an utterance that builds upon the first part by confirming, answering, helping, or disagreeing with the prior utterance (cf. Sacks, 1973/1987; Schegloff, 2007, pp. 13–27; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). What is interesting is that even though the first part could be heard as a statement (see Extract 6), which does not as an action type per se project a second part, it is followed by one (a disagreement). This shows and further confirms prior findings (cf. Goodwin, 2003a) of the importance of how the environment (and in this context movement) contributes to the understanding of a current action and what it relevantly entails.

Extract 8 provides further evidence for the relevance of the second part. In the example, the participants have just set off for a joyride from a parking lot and have not yet made a decision on a possible destination.

(8) *The absence of an appropriate next action* (Talk&Drive #002_1 (2:55))

- 1 → DRIVER: Which way=?
 2 . . . (0.9)
 3 1ST PASS: U[u=]hm,
 4 2ND PASS: [(COUGH)]
 5 . . .
 6 → DRIVER: <HI><A>Quick quick quick.</HI>.
 7 1ST PASS: This way.
 8 DRIVER: <P>#This #way.</P>

Although the sequence initiation in line 1 refers to “this junction,” it also displays the driver’s orientation to a yet unmade decision of “where-are-we-going.” As part of this broader scheme it is immediately relevant to make a decision on where to turn at the next junction. The driver’s question is followed by a 0.9-s pause (line 2), the passenger’s display of hesitation (line 3), and another pause (line 5). The driver’s “Quick, quick, quick.” in line 6 shows that the second part is noticeably missing (see Schegloff, 1968) and that she considers the lack of a proper second as an imminent problem that postpones the next driving action, the turn. Furthermore, the fact that the utterance is produced with distinctly accelerated and high-pitched voice (see <HI> and <A> signs in the transcript) displays her orientation to the quickly approaching junction and that a decision is due very soon. After this the 1st PASS suggests a direction in the second part in line 7 by saying “This way.”

In general, the driver’s sequence-initiating action has a specific intersubjective function in this context. It topicalizes the driving activity and makes relevant the participants’ joint attention, awareness, and participation in the activity. Since the sequence initiation is produced by the driver, it is also a *request* made to the passengers to engage in doing the driving and navigating (see also Laurier et al., 2008, p.8). Indeed, the desired end result is not to get a response, but to get a response that contributes to and enables a specific driving action, the turn-at-the-junction. This provides further evidence for the fact that driving cannot be assumed to be an individual or cognitive activity, but that passengers also actively take part and are often requested to take part in driving.

THE SECOND AS A DISPLAY OF UNDERSTANDING THE MATERIAL AND EMBODIED FEATURES OF THE FIRST AND AS A CONTRIBUTION TO THE DRIVING ACTIVITY

Often the passenger’s direction-giving response (the second unit) to the driver’s initiating action is an action format in which a spoken turn is accompanied with an embodied action, such as a gesture or a gaze shift that points to the projected direction. Despite the concomitant embodied actions, the verbal second parts are often understandable by themselves (e.g. “go right” or “probably want to keep going straight”). Sometimes, however, a pointing gesture is designedly made witnessable (Neville, 2007b) so that the driver can clearly see it and visibly interpret it together with the talk (cf. Goodwin, 2000) (e.g., “this way” in Extract 8 is accompanied with a pointing gesture that is produced near the driver’s face).

During junction negotiations where drivers must often divide their attention between events inside and outside the car, gestures provide a crucial channel for maintaining and holding the relevance of the direction giving when words end. Potentially, the second part of the junction-negotiation activity can also be accomplished through a technologically mediated action (cf. Laurier, 2002, p. 6), for example, the use of the indicator. However, I do not have examples in which the use of the indicator alone does the second unit of the activity.

However, rather than looking at how the second part (direction giving) constitutes an embodied action format, this section discusses the following three aspects of the direction-giving action. First, it shows that the design of the second part displays the passenger’s understanding of the first action within the complex contextual configuration of the driving event, including the driver’s

behavior and the use of the car's control system. Second, it shows that the production of the direction giving is temporally fine-tuned with respect to the movement of the car in a particular location. These findings relate to more general questions, such as how people attend to and understand what a coparticipant is doing and how people display to others what they see and what they know. Finally, it shows that an appropriate understanding of the first action in the second is required and relevant for making driving to the right direction possible. In other words, the sequentially relevant next is a turn-at-a-junction to a particular direction (see the "Endings of the Junction-Negotiation Activity" section). Without the appropriate verbal second, the relevant next action—a mobile action—could end up being absent.

Passengers do not rely only on talk when forming an understanding of the first actions in the junction-negotiation activity. Consider Extract 9. In it the three foreign exchange students that we met earlier have just made a right turn. The driver is talking about her travel plans.

(9) *Environment as a resource for understanding a spoken action* (Talk&Drive #002_3 (9:12))

- 1 DRIVER: So,
- 2 I think I would try to do my 'own ^trip,
- 3 . . Yeah because I had look on ^internet,
- 4 And it's=,
- 5 . . Twelve hours to go to= Moscow?
- 6 from Oulu,
- 7 1ST PASS: Mhm.
- 8 DRIVER: Uh-oh=
- 9 [<HI>No=</HI>.,]
- 10 1ST PASS: [Go r] ight,
- 11 Right.

The intonation contour at the end of line 6 indicates further talk by the driver. Also the passenger's continuer "Mhm." in line 7 shows that she is expecting further talk by the driver. However, the driver's exclamation "Uh-oh=" (line 8) begins a new sequence. The exclamation reflects the driver's seeing of the approaching three-way junction (see Figure 5) and the emerging problem of where to turn at the junction in order to get to their destination.

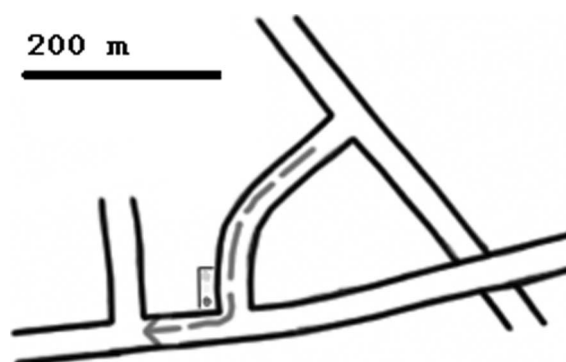


FIGURE 5 The shape of the junction in Extract 9.

The driver's verbal exclamation "Uh-oh, No." (lines 8–9) does not in itself indicate that the production of the next driving action (the turn) is problematic. It becomes understandable only relative to the mobile environment and the approaching junction. To put it bluntly, the "Uh-oh" would not be understandable to the passenger if her eyes were closed. The fact that the passenger responds immediately and in overlap with the driver's talk strongly suggests that the driver's verbal utterance is interpreted together with the features of the environment (the layout of the road, the junction, and the movement of the car). This combination of features is essential for the passenger to understand the driver's verbal action as a first in the junction-negotiation activity and at the same time that the activity *as* precisely that activity is taking place at all. At the same time, the passenger's actions show that her contribution, which makes driving to a particular direction possible, is required and relevant right now.

If in Extract 9 the "Uh-oh" utterance was understood relative to the features in and movement through the changing environment, in Extract 10 it seems that the passenger uses the driver's embodied actions, the driver's use of the car's control system and the surrounding environment together as resources for projecting where the driver is planning to turn before the direction has been made explicit verbally (cf. Goodwin 2002). In Extract 10 we meet again the three exchange students who have just passed the customs building.

(10) *Semiotic features as resources for understanding an action* (Talk&Drive #002_4 (5:40))

- 11 DRIVER: Yah,
 12 it was,
 13 It's customs down here?
 14 <A>It was pretty annoying.
 15 (0)I think we can go [left].
 16 1ST PASS: [U=hm],
 17 probably want to keep going straight.
 18 DRIVER: Uh,
 19 OK.

The passenger's "Uhm," (line 16), which is followed by a countering suggestion "probably want to keep going straight" (line 17), begins right after the driver's "can" (line 15)¹¹ and thereby before the driver has verbally committed to a plan to turn to the left (compare line 16 with line 15). After the passenger started her utterance in line 16, the driver could have equally well continued by saying "I think we can go straight." In such a case the passenger would have made a wrong inference of what the driver's action projected. However, it turns out that the passenger has made an appropriate interpretation of the driver's turn so far. Since previous talk has nothing to do with the driving activity, it could be considered surprising that "I think we can go" provides enough information for the passenger to project the content of the driver's emerging utterance. One possibility for this could be that the passenger draws on the driver's use of the blinker as a resource for projecting that the driver is planning a left turn. However, the passenger begins her utterance also *before* the driver applies the indicator (see line 16A in Extract 11) relative to surrounding talk).

¹¹The passenger opens her mouth already at the end of "can," which further shows that she has formed an understanding of the driver's utterance quite early.

(11) *Timing of the indicator* (Talk&Drive #002_4 (5:40))

- 11 DRIVER: Yah,
 12 it was,
 13 It's customs down here?
 14 <A>It was pretty annoying.
 15 (0)I think we can go [left].
 16 1ST PASS: [U=hm],
 16A → ↑((INDICATOR START))
 17 probably want to keep going straight.
 18 DRIVER: Uh,
 19 OK.

Consequently, the timing of the use of the indicator (and the sound that is caused by it) cannot be the cue that the passenger draws on in order to project the driver's action. A closer analysis of the segment suggests that the passenger is using an embodied action by the driver and the shape of the junction together with the driver's talk as resources for understanding the driver's projected action (cf. Goodwin 2000, 2002, 2003a, 2003b). As we can see in Figure 6, the driver begins to move her arm toward the indicator at "I" (line 15) of her talk.

Although the passenger continues to look straight until "probably" in line 17, based on how she times the start of the turn, she has visual access to the driver's arm movement through "side-view" (see Figure 6). In addition, the car is approaching a three-way junction with no possibility for a right turn (see map in Figure 6). Since using the indicator, which can be projected through the driver's arm movement, implies turning, and the only alternative is to turn left, the 1st PASS uses the driver's arm movement and the shape of the three-way junction as resources for understanding the meaning of the driver's utterance-so-far even before it comes to an end ("I think we can go left"). Furthermore, by making a designedly early start the passenger attends to the urgency of accomplishing her counter suggestion in the mobile context and for the driving activity; it has to be finished before they arrive at the junction. This shows that mobility and speed, as features of context, can visibly influence and shape the design of a turn-at-talk. It further opens up the possibility that the organization of in-car interaction—and maybe also interaction in other mobile contexts—can be influenced by mobility and organized in ways that are different from static situations. Moreover, through their actions and the way they are designed and timed, the driver and the passenger display their orientation to driving as a shared, collaborative, and socially accomplished activity.

Nevertheless, sometimes the driver's and the passenger's understanding of the emerging driving activity at the junction and what relevantly follows differ from each other. In Extract 12 the driver and the passenger have differing views regarding the type of the unfolding driving activity, which then is negotiated further. In Extract 12 the family is driving in London.

(12) *Contradictory views on next driving action* (Habitable cars, Navigation (0:00))

- 1 . . . (7.6) ((SOUND FROM DVD IN THE BACKGROUND))
 2 1ST PASS: <A>What are you doing,
 3 luv?
 4 DRIVER: Can you turn left he [re]?
 5 1ST PASS: [No,]
 6 <A>you wanna go right,

- 7 don't you.
 8 ..
 9 This is a one-way street.
 10 DRIVER: Oh,
 11 is it?
 12 OK (Hx). ((TURNS THE WHEEL TO THE RIGHT))
 13 ...
 14 1ST PASS: Or I think it is.
 15 DRIVER: <TSK><P>I don't think it is.</P>



FIGURE 6 Passenger sees arm movement through side-view.

As was noted earlier, the passenger is looking down at a corsage on her lap. Thereby in contrast to Extracts 9 and 10 she is visibly not orienting to the driver's actions and the surrounding traffic until lines 2–3. The driver's turn "Can you turn left here?" is a yes/no question (line 4), which implies that he does not know whether he is allowed to turn left at the junction. However, as it turns out the driver's turn is ambiguous, and the driver and the passenger project different mobile tasks: whereas the driver's turn (line 4) implicates that he does not know whether the road to the left is a one-way street and whether he can legally drive there, the passenger (lines 5–7) implicitly suggests a better route to their destination. After a short pause (line 8), the passenger addresses the permission issue, which the driver had made salient in "Can you turn left here?," when she says "This is a one-way street." That is, her utterance responds to the driver's dilemma by saying that the road to the left is a one-way street and one cannot drive there. At the same time, her utterance accounts her disagreement and forwards her route plan. However, for the driver it also conveys an implication that the passenger either sees a sign indicating the one-wayness of the street or that she *knows* it to be one. The driver then builds his next action upon this implication ("Oh, is it? OK.") and acts accordingly by turning the wheel to the right. This is a possible sequence-closing third that could end the sequence. However, the passenger almost immediately withdraws from her prior position ("Or I think it is."), on which the driver reacts by retracting *his* actions ("I don't think it is."), turns the wheel to the left and makes a left turn. The last example not only shows that turning at a junction can involve problems of seeing and understanding but that such challenges can be solved through the drivers' and passengers' concerted action.

The analysis in this section suggests that in a driving context, participants time their actions carefully on the basis of the position of the moving car within a particular location. It has also shown that the appropriate timing of actions is crucial for the successful accomplishment of the junction-negotiation activity (cf. Arminen et al., 2010; Goodwin, 2002; Nevile, 2007a). The analysis has also shown that in the production of the appropriate verbal second part of the junction-negotiation activity (an agreement or disagreement that is often combined with a direction-giving action), passengers can display an understanding of the driver's first action relative to the shape of the junction and movement toward it. In other words, the driving action is interpretable from the combination of spoken, embodied, and other semiotic resources in the mobile environment (cf. Goodwin, 2002). Extract 12 provides further evidence of this by showing that not seeing relevant features of the environment and not knowing the junction can impede the understanding of the first action. Failure to see or know can occasion inappropriate driving actions (e.g., not using the indicator) or engender unnecessary stops. All in all, the examples show that in moving cars participant actions are interpreted, understood, and recognized as doing particular things with respect to the mobile context. On the one hand, the mobile context provides a set of opportunities and constraints that participants demonstrably attend to in order to understand a prior action. On the other hand, particular actions (e.g., the passenger's direction giving) are necessary for and enable the actual driving activity. This shows that also passengers can join in the driving activity and collaborate with and help the driver in order to solve and accomplish an emerging driving activity.

The following section discusses the endings of the junction-negotiation activity. It is suggested that the verbal element of the sequence-closing action does not alone constitute the closure of the activity, but that drivers and passengers treat the actual turn at the junction as a meaningful (possible) ending of the activity.

ENDINGS OF THE JUNCTION-NEGOTIATION ACTIVITY

Drivers usually acknowledge in the third position that they have heard and understood the passenger's just prior direction-giving action (e.g., a suggestion of a route or a disagreement with the projected direction). As we can see in the arrowed lines in Extracts 13–16, the acknowledgment usually contains an “OK” (Extracts 13–14) or an utterance that repeats the content in the direction-giving or an element of it (Extract 15), or both (Extract 16).

(13) *Closing the sequence with ‘OK’* (Talk&Drive #002_4 (5:40))

- 15 (0)I think we can go [left].
 16 1ST PASS: [U=hm],
 17 probably want to keep going straight.
 18 → DRIVER: Uh,
 19 → OK.

(14) *Closing the sequence with ‘OK’* (Habitable cars, Navigation (0:00))

- 4 DRIVER: Can you turn left he[re]?
 5 1ST PASS: [No,]
 6 <A>you wanna go right,
 7 don't you .
 8 ..
 9 This is a one-way street.
 10 DRIVER: Oh,
 11 is it?
 12 → OK (Hx).

(15) *Closing the sequence with repetition* (Talk&Drive #002_1 (2:55))

- 1 DRIVER: Which way=?
 2 ... (0.9)
 3 1ST PASS: U[u=]hm,
 4 2ND PASS: [(COUGH)]
 5 ...
 6 DRIVER: <HI><A>Quick quick quick</HI>.
 7 1ST PASS: This way.
 8 → DRIVER: <P>#This #way</P>.

(16) *Closing the sequence with ‘OK’ and repetition* (Talk&Drive #002_3 (9:12))

- 1 DRIVER: So,
 2 I think I would try to do my 'own ^trip,
 3 .. Yeah because I had look on ^internet,
 4 And it's=,
 5 .. Twelve hours to go to= Moscow?
 6 from Oulu,
 7 1ST PASS: Mhm.
 8 DRIVER: Uh-oh=
 9 [<HI>No=</HI>,<A>]

- 10 1ST PASS: [Go r]ight,
 11 Right.
 12 → DRIVER: Right,
 13 → OK.

These utterances are what Schegloff (2007, p. 118) calls “minimal post-expansions” or “sequence-closing thirds.” Most commonly—as the above examples also show—they are done with the particles *oh* and *OK*. Sequence-closing thirds are generally designed to propose a sequence closing. Nevertheless, as Schegloff (2007, p. 115) also points out, sequences can end after the second part. In other words, a verbal acknowledgment is not necessary. As regards junction negotiations, we can see this in Extract 17, which does not contain a verbalized third part (see lines 5–6).

- (17) *Sequence ending with no verbal third part* (Talk&Drive #001_5 (1:45))
- 2 DRIVER: We we’re coming from here?
 2A ↑ ((INDICATOR START))
 3 1ST PASS: Yeah,
 4 right.
 5 → . . . (1.6)
 5A → ↑ ((TURN-AT-A-JUNCTION STARTS))
 6 → . . . (5.4)
 7 DRIVER: Power steering is so ni=ce @@@.
 7A ↑ ((TURN-AT-A-JUNCTION ENDS))
 8 1ST PASS: Yea=h (Hx).
 9 DRIVER: (H) I don’t have that.

In line 2, the driver makes a confirmation request regarding the right direction at the next junction. She applies the indicator at “here” (line 2A) and thereby shows that she is getting ready to turn. After this, the passenger produces a confirmation with the “Yeah,” in line 3 and then also confirms the direction “right.” (in line 4). Then for the next 7 s no one talks. During these 7 s the driver makes the actual turn. If we imagine a situation in which the driver, despite the confirmation request and the confirmation to turn right, continued driving straight, it is not hard to imagine how that driving activity would be treated as requiring an account. But the account would be required only when the car was crossing or had crossed the junction. Consequently, the above sequence opens up the possibility that the actual turn-at-a-junction has a meaningful role in the junction-negotiation activity. As we saw in the “Toward Sequence Initiation: Orienting to Movement Toward the Junction” section, sequence-starting actions do not come from nowhere. In addition, the above examples have shown that the junction-negotiation activity is a consequence of mobility and the variable semiotic features of the environment. It is equally possible, therefore, that the junction-negotiation sequence does not end at the (possible) verbal third unit. Rather, as Extracts 18 and 19 show, participants’ actions suggest that for them the actual turn-at-a-junction (a mobile action) represents the final element of the activity that possibly brings it to an end. In Extract 18, the three exchange students are approaching a junction.

- (18) *The meaningfulness of the turn-at-a-junction* (Talk&Drive #002_3 (9:12))
- 8 DRIVER: Uh-oh=
 9 [<HI>No=</HI>,<]

- 10 1ST PASS: [Go r]ight,
 11 Right.
 12 DRIVER: Right,
 12A ↑ ((INDICATOR ON))
 13 OK.
 14 → 1ST PASS: And then we can just pull a UE ((= TO MAKE A U-TURN)),
 14A ↑ ((TURN BEGINS))
 15 ..
 16 → somewhere.
 17 ...
 18 DRIVER: <A>What do you want to do?
 19 1ST PASS: ... We=ll=,
 19A ↑ ((TURN ENDS, INDICATOR OFF))
 20 ... It doesn't matter,
 21 but,
 22 ... I'm pretty su@re the @sea's not@ @this way.
 23 DRIVER: ((SMILING))

At the outset of the drive the exchange students have decided to drive to the seashore. However, they are not familiar with the area, and they do not know the exact route to their destination. After the driver's confirmation and the decision to turn right at the next junction (made explicit with the indicator, see line 12A), however, the passenger says "And then we can just pull a UE" (meaning that they can make a U-turn, line 14). The driver does not respond, probably because she is just turning at the junction and is distracted by this simultaneous activity. The driver's lack of reply occasions the passenger's increment "somewhere" (line 16). To sum up, the passenger's utterance and increment (lines 14 and 16) expand the sequence past the possible closing. The expansion voices the passenger's understanding that they are possibly making a wrong turn and provides a suggestion for remedial actions. The exact timing of the expansion—after the driver has chosen the right lane and applied the indicator—also displays that at this point now it is too late to correct the direction. In other words, the projected right turn that is under way as she speaks is presented as a meaningful action that has consequences. The same happens in Extract 19, in which the exchange students have passed the customs building.

- (19) *Missing a turn?* (Talk&Drive #002_4 (5:40))
 15 DRIVER: (0)I think we can go [left]
 16 1ST PASS: [U=hm],
 16A ↑ ((INDICATOR START))
 17 probably want to keep going straight.
 18 DRIVER: Uh,
 19 ok.
 19A ↑ ((INDICATOR END))
 20 ... (0.8)
 21 → DRIVER: Are you sure,
 22 → we are going --
 23 → come --
 24 ..

- 25 → from that way.
 26 → 1ST PASS: No=,
 27 → we didn't.
 28 → DRIVER: Yeah we did.
 29 2ND PASS: Was there anything,
 30 a ((GLOTTAL))- anything in the package,
 31 anything like,
 32 cigarettes or alcohol or something,

As we saw earlier, the driver starts the junction negotiation in line 15 and during her utterance makes her intentions socially salient also by applying the indicator (line 16A). The passenger, however, counters the driver's proposition (line 17) and suggests that they continue driving straight. The driver confirms and switches off the indicator (lines 18–19A). At this point the activity has come to a possible end. However, after 0.8 s, the driver voices her suspicion that they are now heading to the wrong direction (lines 21–25), which expands the sequence. At “that way” the car crosses the junction and all the three participants in the car look to their left (see Figure 7). At this point, it is too late to turn left.

The expansion of the activity is related to the fact that they have just passed the junction and possibly missed it. This shows that the physical shape of the junction and movement past it are treated as meaningful elements of junction negotiation. For the driver, the junction represents the location where they came from, while for the passenger it does not. After this the driver and the front seat passenger engage in a brief disagreement sequence (lines 26–28), after which the backseat passenger's question (line 29), which continues the prior topic, brings the disagreement sequence to an end.¹² A similar phenomenon can be found in Extract 20.



FIGURE 7 Orienting to the junction as a sequence-closing feature of the activity (x marks the car's position at junction).

¹²In the end, it was the front seat passenger who turned out to be right about the direction.

(20) *Wrong direction?* (Habitable cars, Navigation (0:00))

- 3 DRIVER: Can you turn left he[re]?
 4 1ST PASS: [No,]
 5 <A>you wanna go right,
 6 don't you .
 7 ..
 8 This is a one-way street.
 9 DRIVER: Oh,
 10 is it?
 11 OK (Hx). ((TURNS THE WHEEL TO THE RIGHT))
 12 ...
 13 1ST PASS: Or I think it is.
 14 DRIVER: <TSK><P>I don't think it is</P>.
 15 → ((TURNS LEFT))
 16 → 1ST PASS: Why you're going back on yourself.
 17 DRIVER: Cause I'll turn right here.
 18 (. .) ((1ST PASS LOOKS DOWN))

As we saw earlier, the driver and the passenger had a problem in understanding each other's actions relative to their physical location. After negotiating the junction, the driver takes a turn to the left (line 15). The passenger's immediate question "Why you're going back on yourself." is occasioned by and made intelligible by the left turn. By producing the question the passenger also treats the left turn as an accountable action. Furthermore, since the left turn is for her a wrong turn, she builds upon that mobile action in order to further and justify her suggestion of the best route to their destination. This becomes specifically clear in the utterance ("Why you're going back on yourself"), which implies that the driver is now driving away from their destination. The driver acknowledges that the passenger is right by producing an account that voices a plan to turn right at the next junction (line 17). In sum, it was the actual turn at the junction that brought the junction-negotiation activity to an end, although at the same time it engendered a new route-negotiation sequence. It was the left turn that was considered by the passenger as a meaningful and accountable action.

Similarly with sequence-starting actions, the junction-negotiation activity does not end in a verbal utterance. The analysis suggests that the junction-negotiation activity comes to a possible end after a mobile action, the actual turn-at-a-junction. Consequently, the car's turn itself must be seen as a mediated mobile action that is consequential for and understood by the participants in two ways. First, if the turn is treated by participants as appropriate and correct it usually is not followed by further talk about the turn or the direction itself. In these cases the turn brings the junction-negotiation sequence to a close, and its meaningfulness becomes manifest in the absence of any protests or disagreements regarding the new direction. However, second, the exceptional cases render the meaningfulness of the turn-at-a-junction explicit. As we saw in Extracts 19 and 20, a wrong turn is treated as an accountable action, which then occasions further talk about the route.

Finally, one could ask that if it is movement through the junction that marks the endpoint of the junction-negotiation activity, why is it that the drivers go through the trouble of producing the verbal third part at all? What interactional function does the verbal third part accomplish?

As the analyses have shown, the verbal third part builds upon the prior direction giving or confirmation action and makes it explicit that it has been heard and understood. A missing verbal third part can indicate that the direction giving or confirmation has not been heard, which in turn can occasion the redoing of the second part. In the constantly changing environment and due to temporal constraints, the verbal confirmation is therefore critical. Furthermore, since the sequence-closing third marks the prior direction giving or suggestion as heard and understood *but not yet accomplished*, it still makes relevant one more action: the actual turn-at-the-junction.

CONCLUSIONS

This article has provided a sequential analysis of a recurrent mobile activity, the negotiation of the next junction in cars. It has shown that the verbal part of the junction-negotiation activity is sequentially organized as a three-part activity: (a) sequence initiation that makes a statement of or requests help or confirmation for the right direction, (b) a response that confirms the prior action or gives the right direction, and (c) a sequence-closing third that confirms that the second action has been heard and understood. However, this characterization explains only part of the relevant features of the activity. The analysis also shows that other features (the junction and movement toward it) that precede and follow the verbal part of the activity are critical to its correct understanding (cf. Goodwin 2000, 2002). For example, participants use these features as meaningful resources for understanding that the (verbal) sequence initiation is indeed related to the next junction and is a sequential first that requires a reply. Moreover, the ways in which the participants produce the second part of the activity, and when they produce it, also show that the understanding of the vocally produced sequence initiation is interpreted in relation to various features of the context, such as the coparticipants' actions (talk and gestures), the shape of the junction, and movement through it. In similar vein, the analysis also shows that rather than treating the third verbal element of the activity as a sequence-closing action, the participants orient to the actual mobile turn-at-a-junction as a meaningful action that eventually concludes the activity. The analysis thus shows that junction negotiation is an activity that is achieved by "the public displays of orientation within ongoing processes of interaction" (Goodwin, 2000, p. 1500), including talk, the semiotic environment, and the mobile state. It is these public and social displays that play a central role in accomplishing a shared understanding and decision of a desired route. In the end they also constitute the junction-negotiation activity and enable the driving.

With respect to these findings, the theoretical contribution of this article for conversation analytic and interaction analytic research concerns the role of mobility in social interaction. The aim of the junction-negotiation activity is to achieve driving and mobility to an appropriate direction. This is shown by the fact that the driver's unaccounted stops or "wrong" turns are often treated as requiring an account and that at a certain moment, a turning action cannot be cancelled. The article suggests that compared to static social situations, the talk and embodied behavior during particular mobile activities inside the car (e.g., the junction-negotiation activity) are frequently organized relative to the moving and semiotic environment outside the car, and the events in it. Indeed, people rarely stop before a junction to make a decision on the direction, but rather negotiate it while on the move. Moreover, we have seen that participants hasten their actions in certain situations, which suggests that they orient to the fact that at some point in space it is too late to

produce an action. Lateness, therefore, is determined in relation to the surrounding environment (e.g., the next junction). Consequently, time and the appropriate timing of actions is an essential feature of interaction in the mobile context in cars (see also Arminen et al., 2010; Duranti & Goodwin, 1992, p. 6; Goodwin, 2002; Nevile, 2007a).

For psychological and cognitive driving research, this article shows the importance of studying car driving as a social and interactional activity. Hopefully, it illustrates, on the one hand, the validity of studying driving (and in this case everyday navigation and wayfinding specifically) as an outcome of sequentially organized situated and social practices, and on the other hand, that driving is often accomplished by the driver and the passenger(s) together in a reflexive relationship with the surrounding environment. Hutchins (1995), who has studied navigation on ships, foregrounds this aspect of navigation by saying that

the navigation activity is event-driven in the sense that the navigation team must keep pace with the movements of the ship. In contrast with many decision-making settings, when something goes wrong aboard a ship, it is not an option to quit the task, to set it aside momentarily, or to start over from scratch. The work must go on. In fact, the conditions under which the task is most difficult are usually the conditions under which its correct and timely performance is most important. (Hutchins, 1995, p. 21)

Similarly with the navigation activity on ships, the successful accomplishment of the junction-negotiation activity in cars requires a correct evaluation of the mobile situation, as well as well-timed performance in which participants time their verbal and embodied actions relative to the environment, movement, and the location of the car. Furthermore, making a decision on where to go is treated as something that can involve everybody. As the analysis has shown, the driver and the passenger show through their actions that they are expected to attend to and demonstrate their commitment to what they see and know, and what the coparticipant is saying, and finally to make an informed judgment on what is relevant information and what is not. Consequently, this article has shown that driving is not a cognitive issue (alone), as psychological driving research tends to imply, but is reflexively linked to the features of the environment as well as the unfolding interaction with coparticipants. Consequently, in line with Laurier (2005, p. 2), one might want to ask why individual or subjective decision making should be privileged in driving research. The examples of junction negotiation in this article suggest that drivers and passengers act in a reflexive relationship with the semiotic environment and act together in order to achieve a shared goal. A sequential analysis of real driving situations can show when decisions are made socially salient and how participants weigh different possibilities and alternatives, which are shaped by the members' reflexive relationship with the surroundings and coparticipants.

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APPENDIX

Transcription Conventions (Based on Du Bois et al., 1993)

SPEECH

UNITS

Intonation unit	{line break}
Truncated intonation unit	--
Truncated word	– (en dash)

TRANSITIONAL CONTINUITY

Final	.
Continuing	,
Appeal (seeking a validating response from listener)	?

SPEAKERS

Speech overlap	[]
(numbers inside brackets index overlaps)	[2 two words 2]

ACCENT AND LENGTHENING

Lengthening	=
-------------	---

PAUSE

Long pause (0.7 s or longer)	. . . (N)
Medium pause (0.3–0.6 s)	. . .
Short (brief break in speech rhythm)(0.2 s or less)	. .
Latching	(0)

VOCAL NOISES

Alveolar click	(TSK)
Glottal stop	(GLOTTAL)
Exhalation	(Hx)
Inhalation	(H)
Laughter (one pulse)	@

(Continued)

APPENDIX
(Continued)

SPEECH

Laughter during speech (1–5 words)	@ (e.g. @two @words)
Laughter during speech (+6 words)	@ (e.g. <@> six words </@>)

QUALITY

Loudness	
Piano: soft	<P> </P>
Pitch	
Higher pitch level	<HI> </HI>
Tempo and rhythm	
Allegro: rapid speech	<A>
Voice quality	
Whispered	<WH> </WH>

TRANSCRIBER'S PERSPECTIVE

Uncertain hearing	# (e.g. #two #words)
Indecipherable syllable	#
Researcher's comment	(())

SOME SPELLINGS AND GLOSSES

uh, unh, um	hesitation (filled pause)
m, hm	awareness, wonder, backchannel
mhm, unhhunh, uhuh	backchannel or affirmative
	response (final syllable stressed)
uh-oh	alarm cry
