BUILDING FAMILY:

THE INTERACTIONAL PRACTICES OF

FAMILIES WITH YOUNG CHILDREN

By

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Building family:

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This dissertation employs the methods of Conversation Analysis to examine a collection of more than 30 hours of naturally-occurring video-recordings of families with young children. In building upon prior research regarding family communication and conversation analysis, this dissertation furthers our understanding of three communication practices that are recurrent in everyday family life: recruiting, updating, and monitoring object identification.

First, I analyze the activity of recruiting, finding that *wanna*-format recruiting is more versatile than *let's*-format recuiting. *Let's*-format recruiting occurs only when the interactants are already engaged in an activity together, whereas *wanna*-format recruiting can occur then and when the interactants are not engaged together in an activity. Second, I examine how updating comes about in family interactions. I show how children produce updates in ways that are locally occasioned and how parents solicit updates from their children. If a child indicates some difficulty in responding to a solicited update, parents

can work to scaffold subsequent update solicitations. Third, I examine how apposite

object identification becomes relevant in family interactions. I examine parent and child

monitoring of apposite object identification in reference to objects/items. Findings

indicate that there is an ongoing monitoring of object identification in these family

interactions, and that both parents and young children exploit this pervasive monitoring

of apposite object identification to accomplish other actions. Overall, this dissertation has

broader implications for our understanding of family communication, children's

interactional sophistication, and conversation analytic research. Future work could build

on the findings presented in this dissertation in examining young children's exploitation

of ongoing courses of action, as well as work to provide practical implications for

families with young children.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Studying families is important: "…because everybody has them and because they play a key role in each person's socialization, family relationships are among the most important interpersonal relationships we have in our lives" (Koerner & Fitzpatrick, 2002, p. 82). This dissertation, consistent with Conversation Analytic work on interactions and families (e.g. Bolden, 2014; Mandelbaum, 2014), takes the position that families are constituted through communication. In order to understand how families are constituted it is important to study family interactions. Conversation Analysis is derived from Garfinkel's (1967) ethnomethodology, which claims that interaction is orderly and accountable, and Goffman's (1959) position that interaction is the central institution of social life. Conversation Analysis (CA), elaborating the symbolic interactionist turn in social science (Berger & Luckmann, 1966), examines the details of social interaction in order to explicate how interactants produce actions in orderly, accountable ways. These actions are analyzed as they are understood by and for interactants (Sacks, 1984). Levinson (1983) describes CA's main analytic purpose as follows: "the proper object of sociological study is the set of techniques that the members of a society themselves utilize to interpret and act within their own social worlds" (p. 295). Scholars have recognized that it is through interaction that people create and sustain their relationships with each other (Goffman, 1971; Goldsmith & Baxter, 1996; Pomerantz & Mandelbaum, 2005).

Studying family communication by examining specific communication practices is a way to understand how family members construct family in and through interaction.

Tannen, Kendall, and Gordon (2007) explain the importance of studying family communication as follows: "families are created in part through talk: the daily management of a household, the intimate conversations that forge and maintain relationships, the site for the negotiation of values and beliefs" (p. 3). Thus, it is through family communication that families themselves are constituted, and this occurs during everyday family interactions. In this dissertation I report three communication practices that are recurrent in everyday interactions in families with young children and play a part in the constitution of family: recruiting (Chapter 4), updating (Chapter 5), and monitoring object identification (Chapter 6).

In the first analytic chapter (Chapter 4) I describe how family members recruit one another to co-participate in play activities. The concept of recruitment has been developed in studying actions such as offers and requests produced in the pursuit of cooperation and assistance in everyday interactions (Drew & Couper-Kuhlen, 2014; Kendrick & Drew, 2014, 2016). In this dissertation, aligning with work by Butler, Duncombe, Mason, and Sandford (2016), I propose to return the concept of recruitment to its etymological origins, suggesting that the action of recruiting occurs when enlisting others to engage in a joint activity together. I find that recruiting is a practice for engaging cooperation, thus solving the problem of having someone to play with and/or co-participate with in an activity that involves two or more participants.

In Chapter 4 I describe two environments in which recruiting is produced: after a previous activity has ended and during or after interactional troubles. I then examine differences between *let's*- and *wanna*-format recruiting. I find that *let's*-format recruiting occurs only in environments in which interactants are already engaged in an activity

together, whereas *wanna*-format recruiting can occur in that environment and in others (e.g. when participants are not engaged in an activity together). Findings from this chapter indicate that children utilize different formats to recruit others depending on the current interactional circumstances. Further, I show how recruiting can be taken up. It can be accepted via an embodied acceptance, a verbal acceptance and movement into the recruited activity, or an extended acceptance over a series of turns. Recruiting can also be rejected outright. Importantly, no differences were found between who initiated the recruiting (i.e. a parent to a child, a child to a parent, a younger or older sibling) and how successful the recruiting was in engaging another to co-participate.

In the second analytic chapter (Chapter 5) I show how the practice of updating is recurrent in everyday family life. I describe how children tell others about their recent experiences. I find that updates can be both child-initiated and parent-solicited. I describe how children struggle to report details about their own lives when they are solicited by their parents, but easily design and produce non-solicited updates.

I find that child-initiated updates occur in three sequential environments: (1) when they are occasioned by a specific word/phrase, (2) when they are occasioned by an object in the locally immediate environment, and (3) when they are occasioned by the local ongoing activity. In locally occasioned updates, children's updates about their lives are "touched off" (Jefferson, 1984) by something in their immediate environment. These sequences are what Schegloff (2007b) terms "retro-sequences" (p. 217). That is, children build their updates to be a relevant next to what has come just prior. By telling their parents things that the parents do not know about their child's lives, children indicate an orientation to the social norm of not telling people things they already know (Sacks,

1973, p. 139). Furthermore, with these updates, children indicate an emergent understanding of what is a relevant event or occurrence about which to update that will be taken up or understood as newsworthy by their family members.

Next I examine parent-solicited updates. Parent-solicited updates expose parents' expectation that their children should know about what they did that day and be able to report it to others, thus treating young children's lives as reportable and accountable. I show how parents solicit updates from their children through report solicitations and tracking inquiries (Morrison, 1997). With report solicitations parents enact a K- epistemic stance relative to their child, soliciting a report from their child about recent occurrences in their child's life. Tracking involves one interlocutor asking about something that the asker knows has occurred since their last point of contact, showing that they know and care about occurrences in the other person's life (Morrison, 1997). With tracking inquiries in my data, parents solicit updates about specific aspects of their child's day about which they have some knowledge, asking for an update about that particular occurrence.

In addition to enacting caring (Morrison, 1997), by prompting their children for updates about their lives, parents socialize children as to what may be updateable matters (Blum-Kulka, 1997). In asking about certain things, parents indicate that some activities are updateable. Thus, they are in essence teaching their children what to keep track of in their everyday lives, and perhaps by implication what to keep track of in other people's lives as well. In terms of emerging sociality in children, children learn about the rights and responsibilities pertaining to social knowledge about their daily activities. They learn what things they are expected to know about themselves and their own previous

experiences and what they should be able to report to others (Morrison, 1997; Pomerantz & Mandelbaum, 2005). Furthermore, findings indicate that parents have sources of information about their children other than the children themselves. They deploy this information in soliciting updates from their children. Prior research has documented that incumbency in a close relationship involves sustaining a working knowledge of each other's activities (Morrison, 1997; Pomerantz & Mandelbaum, 2005). Having, tracking, and deploying this information about their child's daily activities appears to be one way of 'doing being parent'. That is, part of being a parent is knowing more about your child's activities than the child themself knows. We take it for granted that parents are responsible for their young children's well-being and livelihood, but perhaps another way in which the social role of "parenting" is enacted is through soliciting and displaying knowledge about your children's participation in their everyday activities, even (or perhaps especially) when parents are not physically present to witness them first-hand.

I then describe how parents scaffold their children's updates by moving from report solicitations to seeking confirmation of an activity the parents posit that the child participated in (a progression from wh-questions to yes/no interrogatives). They can also scaffold their children's updates by asking yes/no interrogatives that set up subsequent wh-questions about a prior activity. Both of these scaffolding techniques progress the activity of updating and/or reporting following a moment in which the child has demonstrated difficulty or potential difficulty in producing an update. Thus, parents orient to the activity of updating as something with which their children may require some assistance. Finally, I examine cases of updating where updating does more than just

updating, when children use it to resist the ongoing local action and/or activity, at times to get out of a potential trouble.

In the third analytic chapter (Chapter 6) I show how there is an ongoing monitoring of apposite identification of everyday objects in family interactions through parent- and child-initiated other-corrections of object identification(s). In the first two analytic sections of this chapter I examine where object identification occurs in these family interactions. First, I examine cases in which object identification is the ongoing focal action. In these cases interactants are engaged in various versions of wordplay concerning the activity of identifying. Second, I examine cases where object identification arises during other ongoing activities in the context of family interactions, that is, where object identification temporarily becomes the focal action. I find that interactants correct others' object identification even when it is not necessary for intersubjectivity in the ongoing interaction.

In the next analytic section of this chapter I examine a particular way in which parents correct their children's object identification. In these cases a parent indicates through correction that there is a problem with object identification in a prior turn, but does not provide the correction itself. That is, the parent makes it available for the producer of the trouble-source turn (the child) to self-correct. These cases also indicate that there is an ongoing parental monitoring of their child(ren)'s object identification. Parents indicate with their corrections what words they expect their child to know. Parents appear to take advantage of moments in which learning can occur, in that they halt the progressivity of the interaction by correcting other's inapposite object identification, even when intersubjectivity is not at issue.

Finally, I explore cases in which children and parents exploit the ongoing monitoring of precise object identification to accomplish other actions. It appears that the monitoring of object identification can be a resource when family members exploit it to implement other actions such as redirecting parental attention, avoiding a potential trouble, and resisting taking up a complaint.

By examining specific family communication practices, this study contributes to the family communication literature in several ways. Much prior research examining family communication has focused on communication *outcomes* such as the effects of parenting styles on children (e.g. Darling & Steinberg, 1993), relationship satisfaction, (e.g. Caughlin, 2003), perceptions of family life (Knaub, 1986), or on the success and failure of specific interventions in family conflict (e.g. Perlman & Ross, 1997). Other research has focused on the *antecedents* to family communication including individual and family resilience surrounding traumatic life events such as divorce (e.g. Afifi & Keith, 2004), and gender differences in parenting (e.g. Bird, 1997). This dissertation examines actual communication practices in families with young children. By studying everyday family interactions in detail, and analyzing how families interact during their regular, everyday activities, I describe specific practices through which family members construct family in and through interaction.

Taken together, the findings of this dissertation reveal previously under-studied interactional practices that recur in everyday family communication. I describe two interactional practices that constitute 'doing being parent'. First, I find that 'doing being parent' includes having and deploying what parents take it their child could or should know. This occurs through ongoing parental hyper-vigilant monitoring of children's

object identification. Parental corrections of their child's identification of objects indicate their monitoring and tracking of what words their children could and should know. In this way, parents deploy ongoing granular attentiveness to their children's knowledge of their world and the objects in it. That is, having a granular knowledge, and keeping track, of the words their child could and should be able to deploy in identifying objects, is one way in which parents enact 'parent'.

Second, doing 'being parent' occurs through parental knowledge of children's everyday activities. It appears that parents, at least concerning their young children, can display knowledge of their children's recent experiences. This is accomplished when parents claim or display knowledge about events their children participated in, even when the parents did not experience these occurrences first-hand. This may be another way of 'doing being parent'. Having and utilizing granular knowledge of the specifics of their child's everyday activities, at times having more knowledge than the child him- or herself, is another way to do 'being parent'.

Findings from this dissertation also indicate broader implications for our understanding of young children's interactional resources. Prior research has shown how very young children engage in "participation in the pre-existing orderly social life of the species" (Lerner, Zimmerman, & Kidwell, 2011, p. 45). Very young children demonstrate an awareness of which actions will be noticed and/or attended to by caregivers and which will not (Kidwell & Zimmerman, 2006), distinguish between a "mere look" and "the look" by caregivers (Kidwell, 2005), and work to employ the appearance of one action to accomplish another (Lerner & Zimmerman, 2003). In line with this prior research documenting children's interactional sophistication in preschool contexts, in this

dissertation I show some practices children deploy in family interactions to exploit ongoing courses of action in order to divert from interactional troubles. I show how children monitor interactions and utilize strategies such as recruiting and engaging their parents in object identification in such a way as to avoid imminent discord or potential trouble. This suggests that children are alert to the trajectories of ongoing courses of action, and utilize interactional resources to avoid incipient interactional troubles. This provides further specific insight into the interactional resources of young children (Kidwell & Zimmerman, 2006; Lerner, Zimmerman, & Kidwell, 2011; Lerner & Zimmerman, 2003).

Additionally, my findings have implications for Conversation Analysis by contributing to our understanding of recruitment, updating, and corrections. The term recruitment has been utilized in the field of Conversation Analysis to refer to the processes through which interactants solve problems of assistance (e.g. Drew & Couper-Kuhlen, 2014a; Kendrick & Drew, 2014, 2016). In this dissertation I suggest returning the concept of recruiting to its etymological origins, proposing that recruiting occurs when enlisting others to engage in a joint activity together. That is, although scholars have been using recruitment to examine the coordination of assistance in interaction, I am using the term recruiting when examining the activity of engaging another interlocutor in a play activity.

Finally, the findings of this dissertation expose specific interactional practices through which socialization is implemented both through updating, and through an ongoing monitoring of apposite object identification. Through parent-solicited updates, parents socialize their children by showing them that they are accountable for knowing

about and being able to report on their previous experiences. Additionally, I find that both children and adults socialize each other to apposite object identification through corrections. This adds to our understanding of socialization as a multidirectional process (Pontecorvo, Fasulo, & Sterponi, 2001) that occurs not only from parents to children, but also from children to parents. That is, children correct their parents' object identification and parents correct their children's as well.

Preview of Chapters

Chapters 2 and 3 set up the theoretical and methodological background for the dissertation. In Chapter 2 I present a review of prior literature on family communication and family interactions as well as a brief review of Conversation Analytic literature relevant to matters covered in this dissertation in order to show how this study contributes to what we already know about family communication, Conversation Analysis, and the organization of interaction. In Chapter 3 I provide an explanation of the theoretical background of Conversation Analysis as well as a description of how data collection and analysis proceeded in this dissertation.

There are three analytic chapters. In Chapter 4 I examine the activity of recruiting another to play. In Chapter 5 I examine how updates are produced in family interactions. In Chapter 6 I examine how family members monitor object identification. Finally, Chapter 7 summarizes the findings of the dissertation, describes the larger implications of those findings, discusses limitations, and addresses possible future directions for research on families with young children.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF PRIOR LITERATURE

This dissertation draws on and has implications for family communication, young children's use of interactional resources, and the Conversation Analysis literature. In order to understand what we know about how families are constituted through communication I first review the relevant family communication literature, including literature on family interactions and parenting. Next I review the literature on young children's interactional sophistication to situate this dissertation in our current understanding of how young children participate in interaction. Finally, I briefly overview the Conversation Analytic literature that this dissertation utilizes and builds upon in examining family interactions.

Family Communication Literature

First I discuss prior literature on family communication to show what we already know about communication processes in the context of the family. This section reviews three main literatures: family communication literature on outcomes, antecedents and influence, the literature on family interactions, and the literature on parenting.

Outcomes, Antecedents, and Influence

Much of the family communication literature examines communication outcomes, communication antecedents, and how family communication can influence various family members. Understanding the outcomes, antecedents, and influence of family communication helps inform specific communication patterns that occur in families. The literature describes how communication can affect relationship satisfaction (e.g. Caughlin, 2003), perceptions of family life (e.g. Knaub, 1986; Sturgess, Dunn, Davies,

2001), and the success and failure of specific interventions in family conflict (Perlman & Ross, 1997; Wilson, Cameron, & Ellen, 1997). Other researchers have focused on antecedents to communication such as individual and family resiliency surrounding traumatic life events such as divorce (e.g. Afifi & Keith, 2004), parenting styles (Baumrind, 1996; Collins, Maccoby, Steinberg, Hetherington, & Bornstein, 2000; Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Lansford, Staples, Bates, Pettit, & Dodge, 2013), child attachment (e.g. Ainsworth, 1991), turning points in family relationships (Dun, 2010; Keeley, Generous, & Baldwin, 2014), privacy rules regarding communication (Toller, 2005; Toller & McBride, 2013), and gender differences in parenting (e.g. Bird, 1997). Family communication research has also examined the different ways that family members can influence each other's communication, such as parental influence in child conflict situations (Perlman & Ross, 1997; Wilson, Cameron, & Ellen, 1997), and the effects of different parenting roles (e.g. (Allen & Hawkins, 1999; Clarke-Stewart, 2014).

From this body of literature, we know about the various antecedents, outcomes, and influences of family communication. A focus on communication outcomes, antecedents to communication, and factors influenced by communication, has led family communication scholars to under-emphasize research on the conduct that composes much of family communication: real life everyday family interactions, or the mundane conversations that families have that make up their daily lives together. This dissertation addresses this gap in the family communication literature by examining family interactions. Additionally, it is pertinent to note that only three percent of articles published in major journals focusing on family communication from 1997-2010 included children under the age of 18 (Miller-Day, Pezalla, & Chesnut, 2013). This dissertation

makes an important contribution to the family communication literature by focusing on families with young children. Overall, the family communication literature has yet to thoroughly address that family *interactions* include as participants families who have *children* as family members. This dissertation adds to our understanding of family communication by examining specific communication practices that occur within everyday family interactions in families with young children.

Family Interaction Literature

Other work in such fields as sociology and linguistics focuses on interaction-related matters when examining the family. This research focuses on family communication patterns and practices, placing interaction at the forefront as an object of study. Next, I detail findings from the literature on family interactions in order to situation this dissertation within what we already know about the intricacies of how family members interact with one another. This dissertation contributes to prior family interaction literature on family life and mealtime interactions.

Research on family life examines questions concerning what activities and talk constitute family life. Prior research that emphasizes family communication itself has examined how families navigate their everyday lives, such as how children act as language brokers in immigrant families (Katz, 2014b, 2014a), and how parents initiate topics about kindergarten with young children (Munz, 2013). Some large-scale ethnographic studies have focused on specific aspects of family life such as work-life balance in middle class American families (Hochschild, 2012; Ochs & Kremer-Sadlik, 2013), and described how families use different spaces in their homes in daily life (Arnold, Graesch, Ragazzini, & Ochs, 2012). Recent work conducted at UCLA has made

important discoveries in this domain, examining the mundane activities of middle class families in the United States (e.g. Arnold, Graesch, Ragazzini, & Ochs, 2012; Ochs & Kremer-Sadlik, 2013). The focus of this work has been on the types of activities that families engage in as well as how families organize their everyday lives. This dissertation builds upon this by examining everyday family interactions to explore previously unstudied communication practices families deploy in their daily interactions with each other: recruiting others to joint activities (Chapter 4), updating (Chapter 5), and object identification (Chapter 6).

In researching families, a common locus of study is family mealtimes. As these are more easily recordable, stable, and set activities that most families routinely participate in where there is generally a lot of talking (e.g. Blum-Kulka, 1994), they provide a popular site for data collection for researchers interested in families and family interaction. Recent conversation analytic work focusing on family interactions (but not necessarily families with young children) has explored interventions by non-knowledgeable participants (Monzoni & Drew, 2009), intervening actions in conversational storytelling during family meals (Mandelbaum, 2010), how language brokering occurs in repair sequences among Russian-American immigrant families in the United States (Bolden, 2012), children's pain expressions in the management of mealtimes (Jenkins & Hepburn, 2015), children's requests at the dinner table (Ogiermann, 2015), and how requests for objects at the family dinner table may be doing more than simply requesting (Mandelbaum, 2014). Storytelling, especially narratives that are told during family meals (Mandelbaum, 2010; Ochs & Taylor, 1992, 1996; Ochs, Smith, & Taylor, 1989), as well as how families co-construct remembering in the

presence of a non-family guest (Bietti & Castello, 2013) have also been examined in the context of the family dinner table. There is also a body of literature that examines how parents and children deal with conflict situations (most of which occur at the family dinner table), including parental threats and their associated contingencies (Hepburn & Potter, 2011) and parental disciplining (Lansford et al., 2013). The intricacies of family disputes (Tannen, 2006; Williams, 2005) and teasing (Margutti, 2007) have also been examined. Additionally, Tannen (2003) examined the practice of ventriloquizing (i.e. speaking for another person) and how it can be used to assert power and solidarity.

This growing literature on family mealtimes provides an understanding of the importance of, and interactional activities that occur within, this regular family activity. Although this dissertation does not focus on family mealtimes per se, some of the recorded activities are family mealtimes. Thus, this dissertation adds to our understanding of the different interactional activities that occur during family mealtimes. Research on other aspects of family life is an important addition to this body of research; in order to understand more about the intricacies of everyday family life we need to further explore other communication practices that constitute family communication in other types of family interactions; families engage in many activities in addition to eating meals. This dissertation describes family communication practices in venues and activities other than at the family dinner table in an attempt to understand more about communication during other everyday family activities.

Parenting

The findings of this dissertation also have implications for our understanding of parenting and what constitutes enacting, or 'doing being' parent. Prior family

communication research on parenting has focused heavily on how parents engage their

children's cooperation. Results show the practice of parents offering alternatives to

children within directives (Antaki & Kent, 2015), the inherent differences in the

entitlement and contingency of requests and directives (Craven & Potter, 2010), preferred

and dispreferred responses to directives (Kent, 2012), and the parental practice of

embodied calibration (i.e. parents work to fine tune the movement and/or direction of

their children's bodies) within directive sequences (Goodwin & Cekaite, 2013). Taken

together, these studies show how parents monitor and respond to their children's ongoing

talk and actions, indicating that engaging the cooperation of their children is one

interactional activity through which parenting occurs. In this dissertation I explore other

aspects of parenting, in particular, two ways in which parents constitute 'doing being

parent' in their everyday family interactions: through parental expectations regarding

children's updates, and some of the ways in which parents monitor and display

knowledge of their children's understanding of their world (Chapter 5), and the

monitoring of apposite object identification (Chapter 6). Additionally, I study other

aspects of how both children and parents get each other to do things, finding that it is not

just parents who work to engage the cooperation of their children. Specifically, I describe

how both parents and children recruit each other to engage someone else in play activities

(Chapter 4).

Children's Interactional Sophistication

This dissertation also contributes to our understanding of how children utilize

interactional resources in their everyday family interactions. Recent research on children

has emphasized the importance of studying children and children's lived experiences in

their own right in peer interactions (e.g. Corsaro, 2003). Conversation analytic research has also examined children's worlds and has documented how children solve interactional problems in preschool contexts (e.g. Kidwell & Zimmerman, 2006, 2007; Kidwell, 2005, 2009; Lerner, Zimmerman, & Kidwell, 2011; Lerner & Zimmerman, 2003). This dissertation builds on our understanding of children's interactional competencies in family interactions. I report two ways in which children attempt to exploit an interactional environment to direct conversation from its current course (and potential interactional troubles): through recruiting (Chapter 4) and making relevant the identification of objects (Chapter 6).

Early research on family interactions that include young children often places a strong emphasis on children's language competencies. Much of this early literature consists of case studies of only one child, and is based on audio-recordings of co-present interaction (e.g. Wootton, 1981a, 1981b). Recently, researchers have taken a more interaction-focused approach focusing on children's socialization into families and cultural practices (Aronsson & Gottzén, 2011; Blum-Kulka, 1997; Blum-Kulka, 1990; Galatolo & Caronia, 2018; Lollis et al., 2015; Ochs, Smith, & Taylor, 1989; Ochs & Shohet, 2006; Parada, 2013; Tannen et al., 2007; Zinken & Ogiermann, 2011). In general, this research focuses on how adults teach children to become competent members of society through socialization practices at home. This dissertation builds directly upon this literature by examining ways in which both parents and children engage in other socializing practices related to updating (Chapter 5) and object identification (Chapter 6).

Overall, the studies reviewed here have made important contributions to our understanding of family life, how families interact, and the interactional sophistication of

young children. This dissertation adds to these literatures by examining the everyday interactions of families with young children. In particular, I examine three recurrent interactional practices that play a part in the constitution of family: recruiting (Chapter 4), updating (Chapter 5), and object identification (Chapter 6). An interactional approach to studying family life, that includes parent-child interactions, sibling-sibling interactions, and whole family interactions (and families participating in a variety of family activities) broadens our understanding of the interactional complexities of family life by showing how family is constituted through interaction, revealing implications for children's interactional sophistication, socialization processes, and how 'doing being parent' occurs.

Conversation Analysis Literature

This dissertation also draws on and contributes to the Conversation Analytic literature. As each of the analytic chapters of this dissertation concerns different phenomena (recruiting, updating, and object identification), each chapter will begin with a specific literature review that is relevant to that chapter. In these chapters the literature on such CA topics as recruitment (e.g. Kendrick & Drew, 2016), epistemics (e.g. Heritage, 2013), word selection (e.g. Kitzinger & Mandelbaum, 2013), and repair (e.g. Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977) are discussed.

CHAPTER THREE

DATA & METHOD

Method Rationale

This dissertation employs the methods of Conversation Analysis (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984; Sidnell & Stivers, 2013). As Heritage (1987) writes, the objective of Conversation Analysis is to "…uncover the social competences which underlie social interaction, that is, the procedures and expectations through which interaction is produced and understood" (p. 258). CA examines field recordings of naturally occurring social interaction to describe the orderliness of talk-in-interaction in everyday and institutional interactions. The foundations of Conversation Analysis are heavily influenced by the work of two scholars: Erving Goffman and Harold Garfinkel. Goffman's (1983) presidential address to the American Sociological Association, in particular, discussed how human behavior and conduct was something that could be studied in its own right. Additionally, Garfinkel's (1967) *Studies in Ethnomethodology* called for an examination of how social life is orderly and organized. As Pomerantz and Fehr (1997) write, the goals of CA and ethnomethodology are similar: "conversation analysis, like ethnomethodology, treats the conduct of everyday life as sensible, as meaningful, and as produced to be such" (p. 69).

CA's foundational works consist primarily of research by Harvey Sacks, Emanuel Schegloff, and Gail Jefferson (e.g. Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970; Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974). Levinson's (1983) introductory chapter concerning the field of CA and its preliminary findings put CA on the sociological and linguistic map of the time. In this chapter Levinson (1983) describes CA's roots in ethnomethodology and focus on

naturally occurring conversation and explains its reaction to the quantitative sociology of the time, describing CA's main analytical purpose as "the proper object of sociological study is the set of techniques that the members of a society themselves utilize to interpret and act within their own social worlds" (p. 295). *Structures of Social Action* (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984), further established CA as a prominent research field focusing on examining the intricate details of conversation, exploring, as Sacks (1984b) writes, "…order at all points" (p. 22). The field of CA has advanced substantially since the earliest works and this first collection, yielding numerous published articles, and books such as Lerner's (2004) edited collection, among others, and the recent printing of *The Handbook of Conversation Analysis* (Sidnell & Stivers, 2013).

CA's main purview is the analysis of everyday interactions. From early work on phone calls (e.g. Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973; Schegloff, 1968) to later works on friends and family members "just hanging out" (e.g. Bolden, 2013), CA has always been interested in uncovering how people's day-to-day interactions are constructed and organized. It is not until more recently that CA researchers have had an explicit interest in describing the interactions of family members, and how family itself is constituted through communication.

Using CA to examine ordinary family interactions is practical for many reasons, the first of which is the benefit of using video-recordings as data. As Heritage (1989) writes, "…without recorded data which can be repeatedly examined, it is simply impossible to gain access to the detail necessary for the analysis of conversational interaction" (p. 23). People speak quickly and often ungrammatically; they mumble, talk over each other, and body movements and facial expressions happen quickly. Therefore it

is impossible to write everything down as an observer of an interaction. In order to capture the minute yet crucial details of an interaction, including the timing of silences and overlapping talk, video recording of family interactions is both useful and necessary. This necessity is perhaps even more relevant when examining families with young children. At times children's speech may be not-yet-comprehensible to those outside the family, or even to other family members. In general, children's use of protowords or special pronunciations may hinder researchers who are trying to understand what they are saying. As with audio recordings, video recordings provide researchers the opportunity to slow down and/or play back speech in order to catch what children have said. Video-recording family interactions also permits a close analysis of the body behaviors and facial expressions that are essential to communication in family life that may not be observable otherwise. For example, an observer may not notice an eye roll or shoulder shrug in the moment of an interaction, but upon close inspection and re-inspection of the video data, will begin to notice and be able to analyze these details.

The usefulness of CA for studying young children's interactions has been widely documented (e.g. Kidwell, 2012; Lerner et al., 2011; Lerner & Zimmerman, 2003; Sidnell, 2016). As Sidnell (2016) writes, "…from the perspective of CA at least, the process of becoming a social being involves not only developing ability but also an increasing awareness of, and accountability to, the normative structures by which interaction is organized" (p. 257). Within the context of the family, it is possible to explore how young children constitute their family relationships (e.g. in sibling-only contexts) and in the context of larger family activities (e.g. in whole family activities). By examining everyday family interactions in detail using the methods of Conversation

Analysis, it is possible to understand more about the orderliness of the mundane communication that occurs in families. In other words, by seeing how families interact doing their regular, everyday activities, this dissertation provides an understanding of the different interactional practices that comprise everyday family life.

Data Collection and Analysis

The data for this dissertation consist of video-recordings of everyday family interactions that include at least one child between the ages of 3 and 6 years. Video-recordings from 20 different families were collected, totaling nearly 31 hours of video-recorded interaction. Participants were recruited by the researcher's personal contacts as well as through snowball recruiting in the local area and across the country (US and Canada)[1]. Families were given multiple video cameras and asked to record three different everyday family interactions would have occurred whether or not they were being recorded. Families were asked to target recording interactions lasting approximately thirty minutes to an hour. They filled out a recording information sheet (Appendix B) and were given a "tip sheet" (Appendix C) that detailed how best to record the interactions (e.g. without the noise of radio or television, in a well-lit area) as well as possible interactions to record (e.g. during playtime, reading books). All participants signed parental informed consent, informed consent, and/or assent forms, and the collection and use of the data was approved by the Rutgers Human Subjects Review Board. Families were each given one $25 gift card as compensation for participating in the study[2].

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[1] See Appendix A for the recruitment flyer that was distributed in local businesses and public settings
[2] Data collection was funded through the CISSL (Center for International Scholarship in School Libraries) in partnership with Sarah Barriage and Ross Todd (Rutgers University, LIS).

Information about the participants in each video is included in Table 1 below.

Video recordings ranged in length from two minutes to one hour, with an average of a

total of 1.5 hours of recordings from each family. The majority of the videos were

recorded in the families' homes; one family recorded an interaction in their vehicle and

one family recorded multiple interactions in the playroom of their church. These

recordings include sibling-only and parent-child (or whole family) interactions,

participating in a variety of activities, as represented in the compilation of screen shots

images from the data presented below (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Screenshot Samples of Data

In four families, the child in the target age range was an only child; in three families, both children were in the target age range; in four families, the target child had a sibling under 2 years of age; and in nine families, the target child had one or more older siblings. Seventeen of the twenty families were two-parent families, and three families were single-parent households. In all but one family (Family 013) at least one parent was present in at least some or all of the recording time. Although participants in each video may not have been present in the entirety of the video, they are listed if they interacted with the other participants in some way in that specific video recording. Data are in American and Canadian English.

Table 1: Participant Details

Family ID	Main Type of Activity Recorded	Participants[3]	Total Minutes Recorded
001	Dinnertime	Libby (3), Abby (5), Mom, Dad	102:59
	Playtime	Libby (3), Abby (5)	
	Playtime 2	Libby (3), Abby (5), Mom	
	Playtime 3	Libby (3), Abby (5), Mom	
002	Dinnertime	Angela (8 months), Vanessa (4), Mom, Dad	100:19
	Dinnertime 2	Angela (8 months), Vanessa (4), Mom, Dad	
	Making Pasta	Vanessa (4), Dad	
	Playing	Angela (8 months), Vanessa (4), Mom, Dad	
003	Dinnertime	Amanda (6), Nathan (10), Mom, Dad	136:20
	Playing	Amanda (6), Nathan (10), Mom	
	Car Ride	Amanda (6), Nathan (10), Mom	
	Craft Time	Amanda (6), Nathan (10)	
	Craft Time 2	Amanda (6), Nathan (10)	
004	Games	Kara (5), Mom	37:08
	Reading	Kara (5), Mom	
	Workbook	Kara (5), Mom	
005	Playing	Emma (6), Jeffrey (8)	90:22

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[3] All names are pseudonyms

	Dinnertime	Emma (6), Jeffrey (8), Jenna (11), Courtney (17), Mom, Dad	
	Homework	Emma (6), Jeffrey (8), Jenna (11), Mom	
006	Breakfast	Kimberly (11 months), Britney (3), Mom	61:38
	Bedtime	Kimberly (11 months), Britney (3), Mom	
	Dinnertime	Kimberly (11 months), Britney (3), Mom	
007	Bedtime	Lacey (4), Mom	72:32
	Craft Time	Lacey (4), Mom	
	Craft Time 2	Lacey (4), Mom	
	Craft Time 3	Lacey (4), Mom	
008	Playtime	Eden (4), Julie (8), Lucas (10), Mom	101:53
	iPads	Eden (4), Lucas (10)	
	Snacks	Eden (4), Julie (8), Lucas (10), Mom	
	Homework	Eden (4), Lucas (10), Mom	
	Dinnertime	Eden (4), Julie (8), Lucas (10), Mom	
009	Legos	Ivy (3), Orion (6), Mom	77:45
	Legos 2	Ivy (3), Orion (6), Mom	
	Playtime	Ivy (3), Orion (6), Mom	
	Dinnertime	Ivy (3), Orion (6), Mom, Dad	
010	Dinnertime	Louis (3), Carter (8), Mom, Dad	77:22
	Playtime	Louis (3), Carter (8), Mom	
	Bedtime	Louis (3), Mom	
011	Craft Time	Fern (3), Dad	166:04
	Craft Time 2	Fern (3), Broderick (9), Dad	
	Playtime	Fern (3), Broderick (9), Bethany (9), Kristin (12)	
	Playtime 2	Fern (3), Broderick (9), Bethany (9), Kristin (12)	
	Playtime 3	Fern (3), Broderick (9), Bethany (9), Kristin (12)	
012	Lunchtime	Lance (3), Alice (7), Brianne (10)	49:01
	Playtime	Lance (3), Alice (7), Brianne (10)	
	Playtime 2	Lance (3), Alice (7), Brianne (10), Caregiver	
	Playtime 3	Lance (3), Alice (7), Brianne (10), Caregiver	
013	Play Doh	Shyla (5), Jackson (8)	86:04
	Reading	Shyla (5), Jackson (8)	
	Games	Shyla (5), Jackson (8)	
014	Games	Timmy (5), Mom	103:48
	Homework	Timmy (5), Eddie (7), Pete (10), Mom	
	Craft Time	Timmy (5), Eddie (7), Pete (10), Mom	

015	Making Pancakes	Oscar (4), Mom	126:37
	Making Pancakes 2	Oscar (4), Mom	
	Making Pancakes 3	Oscar (4), Mom	
	Making Pancakes 4	Oscar (4), Mom	
	Making Pancakes 5	Oscar (4), Mom	
	Reading	Cameron – cousin (2), Oscar (4), Mom	
	Playtime	Cameron – cousin (2), Oscar (4), Mom	
	Playtime 2	Cameron – cousin (2), Oscar (4), Mom	
	Playtime 3	Cameron – cousin (2), Oscar (4), Mom	
	Snacktime	Cameron – cousin (2), Oscar (4), Mom, Dad	
	Snacktime 2	Cameron – cousin (2), Oscar (4), Mom, Dad	
	Playing with Camera	Oscar (4), Mom	
	Playing with Camera 1	Oscar (4), Mom	
	Playing with Camera 2	Oscar (4), Dad	
016	Playtime	Logan (4), Mom	92:56
	Playtime 2	Logan (4), Mom	
	Playtime 3	Logan (4), Mom	
	Playtime 4	Logan (4), Mom	
	Playtime 5	Logan (4), Mom	
	Bedtime	Logan (4), Mom	
	Bedtime 2	Logan (4), Mom	
	Bedtime 3	Logan (4), Mom	
	Playtime	Logan (4), Mom, family friend	
	Playtime 2	Logan (4), Mom, family friend	
	Playtime 3	Logan (4), Mom, family friend	
	Playtime 4	Logan (4), Mom, family friend	
017	Playtime	Zara (4), Nigel (11)	87:42
	Playtime 2	Zara (4), Nigel (11)	
	Playtime 3	Zara (4)	
	Playtime 4	Sally (12.5 months), Zara (4), Mom	
	Lunchtime	Sally (12.5 months), Zara (4), Mom, Dad	
	Reading	Zara (4), Mom	
	Play Doh	Sally (12.5 months), Zara (4), Mom	
018	Playtime	Aaron (1), Liam (6)	80:46
	Playtime 2	Aaron (1), Liam (6)	
	Playtime 3	Aaron (1), Liam (6)	
	Breakfast	Aaron (1), Liam (6), Dad	
	Legos	Aaron (1), Liam (6), Dad	
	Bedtime	Liam (6), Dad	

019	Playtime	Henry (3), Stacy (6), Mom	126:04
	Playtime 2	Henry (3), Stacy (6), Mom	
	Reading	Henry (3), Stacy (6), Mom, Dad	
	Games	Henry (3), Stacy (6), Mom	
020	Breakfast	Ryan (1), Walter (3), Mom	64:51
	Playtime	Walter (3), Mom, Dad	

Conversation analysis proceeds in an inductive fashion in order to identify candidate phenomena. Following the methods of CA, for this dissertation data collection started with no pre-existing notions of what phenomena would be studied. Upon examining and re-examining the videos from the corpus, three main phenomena started to emerge. First, I began noticing instances of play, and how children (and parents) worked to get each other to play with them. Thus, for Chapter 4 (the first analytic chapter) I started collecting cases where play was initiated or play activities changed. I collected 139 cases of what I term recruiting for this chapter. Second, I began noticing how children told their parents about their day, and how parents solicited talk from their children about their day. This formed the basis for Chapter 5 (the second analytic chapter), and I collected cases of child-initiated and parent-prompted instances of "telling about your day". In total I collected 87 instances of updating. Finally, for Chapter 6 (the third analytic chapter) I started noticing issues related to the identification of objects in the data. Then I began collecting cases where there was monitoring (by either parent or child) of object identification. I collected 67 cases of monitoring object identification for this chapter.

For each of these chapters relevant segments were transcribed using standard transcription conventions (see Hepburn & Bolden, 2017; Sidnell & Stivers, 2013) and any identifying information (e.g., names, places) was removed and replaced with

pseudonyms. The Jeffersonian transcription key is provided in Appendix D. Importantly, the transcripts compiled for this dissertation were used only as a guide; it is imperative in CA work to consistently return to and analyze the video data in combination with the transcript, updating the transcript as needed throughout the analysis.

Following CA methods, the researcher's analytic claims are continually refined through repeated examination of the phenomena and analysis of the different collections. Importantly, the analyses are grounded in what is demonstrably oriented to by participants in the recorded data. Detailed analysis of the clearest and simplest cases was conducted for cases from each of the data collections. For each of the chapters I continued building and analyzing each of the collections of candidate phenomena. More details about the specific number of cases for each phenomenon can be found in the description of the data for each individual analytic chapter.

Summary

This chapter has provided a description of the data and methods of this dissertation. First, I presented a brief overview of the history of Conversation Analysis and a rationale explaining why it is an appropriate method for this dissertation. Second, I gave detailed information about the data collection procedures, an explanation of the data collected, and a description of the analytic process.

CHAPTER FOUR

RECRUITING TO CO-PARTICIPATE

Introduction

One of the practical problems of everyday life is trying to get someone else to do something, whether it is to play, participate in an activity, or help with a task. The challenge of engaging the cooperation of another party is an inherent and ubiquitous part of everyday family life. To be able to play certain games or read a book, children often need others to participate in these activities with them. In trying to understand more about family life it is important to understand the interactional practices that family members use on a daily basis, and one of these interactional practices is getting someone to co-participate in an activity. In examining peers getting into and out of spontaneous activities, it has been noted that "…a spontaneous activity does not just start and finish by itself; it is a collaborative achievement" (Rendle-Short, Cobb-Moore, & Danby, 2014, p. 800). Getting someone to do something can be accomplished through a variety of conversational actions, many of which have been studied extensively, such as requests (e.g. Davidson, 1984; Drew & Couper-Kuhlen, 2014; Mandelbaum, 2014; Walker & Drew, 2008), invitations (e.g. Davidson, 1984; Drew, 1984), proposals (e.g. Davidson, 1984; Paul Drew, 1984; Stivers & Sidnell, 2016) and directives (e.g. Craven & Potter, 2010; Goodwin & Cekaite, 2013; Kent, 2012).

More recently, obtaining assistance from others has been thought of collectively, with the term "recruitment" used to discuss the continuum of practices through which people can offer and request help from each other (Kendrick & Drew, 2016). This chapter

utilizes recruiting somewhat differently, to explain the practice of getting someone else to co-participate in a collaborative activity.

There is some prior research on how young children engage the cooperation of another interlocutor. Checa-Garcia (n.d.), in examining preschool interactions, finds that very young children can solicit the initiation of an action (e.g. giving a hug) by a caregiver through the embodiment of action onset, or initiating the action themselves. That is, they can extend their arms out towards a caregiver (thereby initiating a hug), to solicit a hug from that caregiver. In studying peer play interactions, Butler and colleagues (2016) examine explicit invitations and proposals of participation that make agreement or acceptance conditionally relevant, writing that, "we have termed these actions recruitments as they clearly identify and seek the involvement of another child in a specific play activity, thereby actively seeking to recruit them into play" (p. 50). This chapter proposes that the practice of recruiting solves the interactional problem of engaging someone in a shared activity. In other words, obtaining assistance is not the problem, but rather the problem is engaging someone to *co-participate* in a shared activity.

The focus of this chapter is how family members recruit each other to participate in play activities. This chapter builds upon prior research on children's peer interactions (e.g. Goodwin, 1991; Kidwell, 2005; Kidwell & Zimmerman, 2006, 2007; Lerner et al., 2011; Lerner & Zimmerman, 2003), as well as on work on families' transitions into and out of games through the deployment of game prefaces (where interactants display their availability to play) and game codas (where interactants display disengagement) (Fatigante, Liberati, & Pontecorvo, 2010). Recently, two different types of proposals for

activity collaboration ("let's X" and "how about X") have been examined in child peer

interactions, finding that the former formulation treats the proposed activity as disjunctive

from the current activity while the latter treats the proposal as a modification of the

current activity (Stivers & Sidnell, 2016). In building upon this line of research by

examining the practice of recruiting more generally within extended play trajectories, this

chapter explores how family members work to co-participate in everyday activities. In

other words, I examine how children engage the cooperation of others specifically in the

context of play.

A total of 139 cases of recruiting in a variety of activities were collected. Forty-

nine of these cases of recruiting are from parent to child while sixty-seven are from

sibling to sibling (forty-six from an older sibling to a younger and twenty-one from a

younger sibling to older). Twenty-three are from child to parent. Regardless of to whom

recruiting is directed, they involve recruiting family members to participate in play, or to

engage in other cooperative activities (e.g. making pasta). In general, more of the cases

(81) resulted in participation in the proposed activity compared to those that did not (58),

and more successful recruiting occurred between siblings (84% from older to younger,

and 75% from younger to older) compared to between parents and children (64% child-

parent and 63% parent-child).

Table 2: Recruiting

Who	Non-Participation	Participation	Total
Child-Parent	9	14	23
Parent-Child	19	30	49
Older Sibling-Younger Sibling(s)	21	25	46
Younger Sibling-Older Sibling(s)	9	12	21
Total	58	81	139

In what follows I present an analysis of recruiting. First, I detail where recruiting occurs: after a previous activity has recognizably ended, or during or after interactional troubles and detail format differences related to where recruiting occurs (*let's*- and *wanna*-formats). Then I discuss how recruiting is responded to: embodied acceptance, acceptance and movement into the recruited activity, extended acceptance over a series of turns, cases of recruiting that are outright rejected (i.e. that receive a "no" response), and cases of recruiting that do not result in co-participation but are not outright rejected.

Where Recruiting Occurs

First, I discuss the two environments in which I find that recruiting is produced: after an activity has just concluded and during or after moments of interactional troubles. In this data set recruiting occurs in both environments and is distributed relatively equally: there are 62 cases of recruiting after a previous activity has been brought to a possible close, and 77 cases during or after troubles. In defining instances of troubles I am referring to moments where something goes "wrong" in an interaction (i.e. something becomes disagreement-implicative or is problematic in some way). That is, one interactant produces some sort of "oppositional move", or something that is potentially argumentative (Maynard, 1985, p. 23), and recruiting occurs in response to that action. Then I discuss the different environments in which two of the most common formats of recruiting, *let's*- and *wanna*-format recruiting, occur.

After a Previous Activity has Possibly Ended

First, recruiting can occur after a previous activity has reached a possible conclusion. These cases of recruiting occur at transition points, to move another party from a potentially finished activity into a next activity. In Extract 1, a child recruits a

sibling to play after a play episode has potentially finished. Here, Jeffrey (8) recruits his

sister Emma (6) to play "freeze dance" with their toys (line 15) immediately after her toy

has just "caught" his toy in an imaginary play game of tag. At the beginning of this

segment Emma and Jeffrey have been animating their own toy horses in a game of tag

between these stuffed animals. Jeffrey's recruiting to play a different game occurs just

after Emma's toy announces that she has "caught" Jeffrey's toy (line 14). By recruiting in

this moment, Jeffrey treats the previous activity (of chasing her toy with his toy) as

complete and proposes a new collaborative play activity for both of them.

Extract 1
005_Couch Playtime_22.40_Freeze Dance

```
01      JEF:       (          )
02                 (3.0)/((Jeff puts toy horse on top of
03                 cushion))
04      EMM:       Uh oh.
05                 (2.2)/((Jeff takes horse down))
06      JEF:       Oh [Dad can go    ] sit there.
07                    [((moves "Dad"")]
08                 (0.6)
09      JEF:       Wee:.
10      EMM:       Eh
11      JEF:       Oh no¿
12      EMM:       Eh eh?
13      JEF:       She's almost go:t me
14      EMM:       Got you::.=
15      JEF:       [=Let's play] freeze dance.
16      EMM:       [Ya::y.      ]
17      JEF:       [((makes toy "dance"))          ]
18      JEF:       [Da na na                       ]
19                    [na na                ] na na-]
20      EMM:          [Nya Nya              ]
21                 [((makes toy "dance"))]
22                 (1.8)/((both freeze))
23      EMM:       (Good job.)
24                 (.)
25                 [((makes toy "dance"))            ]
26      EMM:       Nya [nya nya nya          ]      neh.]
27      JEF:           [Na na na na na.      ]
28                 [((makes toy "dance"))]
```

In lines 09-14 Emma and Jeffrey are playing a "chasing" game with their toy stuffed animals: Emma's toy is chasing Jeffrey's toy. In line 13 Jeffrey animates his toy, saying "she's almost go:t me", here referring to Emma's toy (or possibly Emma) with "she". With this turn Jeffrey makes it available to Emma that the activity of tag is potentially almost over and that her toy is at the brink of winning through his use "almost" in reference to the position of Emma's toy relative to his in the activity of playing tag. Then, in line 14 Emma announces that she has "caught" Jeffrey's toy with "got you::.". With this turn Emma makes it available to Jeffrey that the game of tag is indeed potentially complete (or at least this round of tag) because she has "caught" his toy. This constitutes a canonical ending to a game of tag.

Jeffrey then immediately recruits Emma to participate in a new joint activity with the proposal "let's play freeze dance" (line 15) (as Emma simultaneously celebrates her success with "ya::y" in line 16). This proposal is latched to Emma's announcement. With this turn Jeffrey attempts to move Emma into a different activity from the tag game they had just finished by proposing a different play activity. Importantly, this instance of recruiting occurs after a defeat; Jeffrey's toy has just "lost" the game of tag, and during a celebration by Emma of her win, and thus his attempt to move into a different activity may be related to this loss. Furthermore, while Jeffrey treats the prior game as complete by moving on to a next activity, Emma is still engaged in "celebrating" her win in the game of tag. Thus, in moving Emma on from the activity of tag (which Jeffrey has "lost"), he is moving her into another activity as well as not acknowledging her celebration.

Extract 2 is an example of a child recruiting a parent to participate in an activity after the possible completion of another activity. Here, Britney (3) and Kimberly (11 months) have been eating breakfast with their Mom. From lines 02 to 11, Britney is sitting by herself and experimenting with opening and closing her eyes (attempting to produce a wink) while her Mom is in the next room (getting the cat Tucker from the garage until line 18). Britney recruits her Mom to participate in a game of hide and seek in starting in line 12, proposing a new shared activity after her previous activity of "winking" is possibly complete.

Extract 2
```
006_Dinnertime_13.20_Hide

01      MOM:      Let's get Tucker.
02                (0.3)
03      BRI:      One eye open and one- (0.3)
04                two e-
05      MOM:      ((to cat)) Get- get down
06                (0.6)
07      BRI:      One eye open and the other eye
08                closed.
09                (3.5)
10      BRI:      No:w TWO (0.6) eyes (down).
11                (1.8)/((Britney rubs eyes))      |⁴
12      BRI:      (H-) hey Mom?                     |
13                (0.8)
14      MOM:      Hm?
15      BRI:      I'm gonna count and you hide kay?
16                (0.3)/((Britney looks towards TV))
17      MOM:      Okay (w'l-)
18                (1.0)/((Mom walks into view))
19      BRI:      <One two three four five>
20                [six seven                       ]
21      MOM:      [((puts Kimberly into seat))]
22      BRI:      <eight ni:ne [te:n>
23      MOM:                   [((Mom leans down))
24      BRI:      <eleven twelve>=
25      MOM:      =I'm hiding
26      BRI:      (   ) Okay thirteen fourteen
```

⁴ | indicates that an activity is ongoing over several turns

```
27              [SIXTEEN.
28    MOM:      [((stands up))
29              (0.2)
30    MOM:      Found me:.
31    BRI:      Heh heh hheh
```

At the beginning of this extract, Britney is experimenting with opening and closing her eyes, narrating her activities out loud (lines 03-04, 07-08, 10) as Mom is in an adjacent room dealing with a misbehaving cat (lines 01, 05). In line 10 Britney narrates with "No:w TWO (0.6) eyes (down).". This narration could be heard as her possibly completing a round of closing her eyes in that she has closed one eye (lines 03-04) and then the other (07-08), finishing with both of them (in that since she has closed each of them separately and now both together and now has no more eyes to close). With this activity of closing her eyes possibly complete, Britney then moves into recruiting Mom into another activity.

After a gap in line 11 where Britney rubs her eyes, in line 12 she summons her Mom with "hey- hey Mom", thus attempting to get her Mom's attention. At this moment Britney is still rubbing her eyes, and thus is not visually orienting to her Mom in any way. This is a summons (a type of pre-sequence (Schegloff, 1980)), which projects more to come from Britney. With this turn Britney also treats the previous activity (of opening and closing her eyes) as possibly complete. After a brief gap in line 13, Mom responds with "hm?", thus prompting more from Britney, forwarding the projected sequence. Then, in line 15 Britney recruits with the proposal, "I'm gonna count and you hide kay?". Here Britney seeks confirmation from Mom to participate in the proposed play activity, embodying the expectation that Mom will comply with the proposed activity. With this turn Britney also assigns herself and her Mom into specific game-related roles (i.e. a hider and a seeker).

After a short gap in line 17, Mom accepts with "okay" and then she walks into view of the camera towards Britney (line 18). Britney treats Mom's line 17 as an acceptance of her recruiting, as Britney then starts counting, thereby initiating the activity of playing her proposed activity of hide and seek (lines 19-20, 22). Mom puts Kimberly down into a seat on the floor in line 21, perhaps in preparation to hide. Then, as Britney continues counting, Mom leans down behind the counter, effectively participating in the activity of hide and go seek as the 'hider' (line 23). Britney's action of recruiting occurs at a point where she has possibly finished playing on her own (by opening and closing her eyes), and then recruits Mom into a new, shared activity in a space where a transition to a new activity is possible.

Extract 1 and **Extract 2** show how in family interactions recruiting can occur after the possible completion of a previous activity. By recruiting in these moments of possible transition, the participants are attempting to move their interlocutor(s) into a different activity, thus treating the previous activity as finished. In both of these instances the recruiting occurs through a proposal that makes relevant subsequent participation in the proposed activity. That is, through the design of their recruiting turns, the interactants who are engaging in the activity of recruiting demonstrate that they expect subsequent co-participation in the proposed activity. Recruiting can also occur during or after some sort of trouble.

After Trouble

Recruiting that occurs after interactional trouble proposes a new activity in an attempt to move a co-participant into a different activity than the problematic, or potentially problematic activity. For example, in Extract 3, Libby (3) recruits Abby (5) to

play after Abby has been making a creaky voice noise over several turns (at times also

recruiting Libby to make the noise with her). Libby's recruiting turn (lines 20-21)

proposes restarting a play activity, presumably the one of playing with the toy unicorns

they had been playing with previously. This occurs after Libby has joined in the activity

of vocalizing (and after having been given a demonstration by Abby), but has also

directed Abby to stop vocalizing. Thus, Libby's recruiting occurs in response to the prior

moment of discord.

Extract 3
```
001_Playtime_02.17_Stop Doing That

01      ABB:        #yeayea::::::#°·hh°
02      LIB:        Stop doing[dat.]
03      ABB:                  [#ye ]aA
04                  [AAAAA                        ]A::::#hhh
05      LIB:        [ye-ye STOP DOING DA::T.]
06                  (0.8)/((both stare into distance))
07      ABB:        .hh >y- you know how you do it like
08                  this you-< ((opens mouth)) #aaaaaaaaa#
09      LIB:        #aaa[aaaaaa]aaa[aaaa#                    ]
10      ABB:           [hh heh]    [((leans in towards Libby]
11      LIB:        #aa[aaaa]
12      ABB:           [ehhh]
13      LIB:        #aa=#
14      ABB:        =#aa[aaaaaaaaaaa#
15      LIB:            [((turns to look at Abby))
16      LIB:        [#aaaaaaaaaa#]
17      LIB:        [((looks away from Abby))
18      ABB:        [((sits up))
19      ABB:        [#aaaaaaaaaa][aa#]
20      LIB:                    [hhh].hhh let's start
21                  again.
22      ABB:        [Do dOO:::↑ ↑↑↓↑↓↑::hh.
23                  [((lowers and raises toy unicorn))
24      LIB:        Catch [(it/me)]
25      ABB:              [↑↑Ow:::]::.
26                  (1.0)/((Libby puts toy by hospital))
27      ABB:        (Kay) get the whole village to
28                  play with us.
29                  (1.2)/((Abby waves unicorn in air))
```

```
30     ABB:      ↑Wooooo.
31               (1.7)
32     LIB:      (Thank [you.)]
33     ABB:            [Uni  ]corns are ca:lling.
34               (1.3)/((Abby places toy down))
```

It is clear in this extract that there are two different lines of action occurring. One line of action is by Abby making a noise, which Libby has been trying to stop (lines 02, 05). The other line of action is Libby attempting to resume play with the toy figurines (lines 20-21). Although Abby has successfully recruited Libby to make the noise (lines 07-08), Libby attempts to resume play with the proposal, "let's start again," (lines 20-21). The "start again" in this utterance treats the current activity (of making the noises) as some sort of interruption of the play with the toy figurines in that it treats that play activity as having been suspended, since she proposes to begin it again. Second, Libby's recruiting occurs after Libby has repeatedly told Abby to stop making the noise, and thus is hearable as a different tactic in attempting to move Abby out of making the noise, especially since it is produced in a different format than the previous attempts to have her cease making the noise (e.g. "stop doing that", lines, 02, 05). Instead of directing her to stop the current activity, which has not yet been successful, she instead proposes to resume a previous activity, thus trying another "tactic" to move Abby out of making the noise, thus shifting from one tactic to new one. Additionally, the format of this recruiting indicates that Libby understands that Abby can infer what activity she is suggesting that they start again, in that she does not refer to a specific activity to resume. Abby responds to this recruiting by making a play sound (line 22) and moving her toy unicorn up and down (line 23), effectively "returning" to the play with the unicorns, and thus treating Libby's recruiting as one to play with the unicorns.

Another example of recruiting that occurs after a moment of interactional troubles

occurs in the next case. In Extract 4 a sibling proposes a new joint activity for acceptance

or rejection in response to a moment of discord. Here, Lucas (10) and his younger sister

Eden (4) have been putting together virtual puzzles on an iPad. After Lucas puts the final

piece of the puzzle in place Eden exclaims (line 08) and begins pushing his arm (line 09),

in apparent displeasure at him putting the last piece of the puzzle in and thus finishing the

puzzle himself, which is when Lucas recruits Eden to participate in another activity,

proposing that they do "something else" (line 10).

Extract 4
```
008_Piano_18.20_Something Else


01    LUC:      ((hand on iPad)).HH- oh I'm gonna do the
02               last piece?
03              (.)/((Eden reaches towards iPad/Lucas))
04    LUC:      [A::w.
05              [((removes hand/music plays on iPad))
06    EDE:      [((touches iPad/Lucas))
07              (.)
08    EDE:      [°Mmm.°
09              [((pushes Lucas's arm))=
10    LUC:      =Do you wanna do something else.
11    EDE:      Yea.
12              (0.3)
13    LUC:      Do you wanna go get [a ball?]
14    EDE:                          [Your  f]avorite
15              game.
16    LUC:      Do you wanna go get a ball and play
17              catch?
18              (0.6)
19    EDE:      No.
20    LUC:      Up here (    )
21              (0.2)
22    EDE:      No::::.
23              (1.0)
24    LUC:      Oka::(h)y
```

In lines 01-02 Lucas announces his action of putting the last puzzle piece into the puzzle with ".HH- oh I'm gonna do the last piece?" as he has his hand on the iPad. During the micropause that follows, Eden starts reaching towards the iPad with her arm (line 03). In line 04 Lucas exclaims "<u>A</u>::w." as he removes his hand from the iPad, demonstrating that he has finished putting the puzzle together (line 05). It is important to note that here there is "celebratory" music playing from the iPad, so we can presume that he has successfully completed the puzzle by putting in the last piece, and also presume that Eden recognizes that he has completed the puzzle (especially since he has already announced this in lines 01 to 02). At the same time, Eden touches the iPad with her hand, perhaps in an attempt to do the last piece herself (line 06). Then, in line 08 Eden quietly exclaims "mmm.=", as she pushes on Lucas's arm (line 09 – see Figure 2 below). The act of pushing Lucas's arm along with the disgruntled exclamation could indicate a complaint, presumably because he put in the last piece of the puzzle.

Figure 2: Screenshot of Extract 4 line 09

Then, in line 10, Lucas asks Eden if she wants to engage in a new activity by recruiting with her with the proposal, "do you wanna do something else." This action of recruiting is responsive to Eden's action of pushing on Lucas's arm, and thus occurs just after a possible moment of discord (i.e. after Eden has indicated displeasure). The

"something else" in this instance of recruiting could move them away from the activity of completing puzzles (which has just become a problem), to a different activity, "something else" from what they had been doing previously.

By recruiting Eden to participate in a different activity just after she has presented a complaint, Lucas is (expertly) attempting to move her into a different activity, perhaps to distract her from her displeasure at his previous 'problematic' action of completing the puzzle on his own. In other words, Lucas avoids dealing with the complaint by attempting to initiate a new play activity, asking with a yes/no question if Eden would prefer to do something else, making conditionally relevant an acceptance or declination of his inquiry.

Finally, recruiting to play can occur in response to a moment of trouble as a possible remedy for the problem. These cases of recruiting occur at a place where some sort of difficulty is present in the current interaction, which the recruiting then works to solve. In contrast to the two previous cases (**Extract 3** and **Extract 4**), these cases of recruiting provide a specific solution to the trouble in that they recruit another to an alternative activity that will remedy the issue at hand.

In Extract 5, a sibling recruits another sibling to watch a play activity. In this extract, three siblings (Lance (3), Alice (7), Madeline (12)) and their caregiver have been playing with special balloons. In order to use these balloons you must first blow them up using a special "stick", and then when you let them go they fly around and make a high-pitched noise. Just prior to this segment Lance has discovered that there are no more "sticks" available to blow up another balloon, which means that he has to find an already blown-up balloon to play with, which he does in lines 38-39. Madeline's recruiting in

lines 50 to 51 works to solve the problem of Lance finding another balloon to release

after he has released the balloon of his caregiver.

Extract 5
```
012_Playtime2_17.00_Balloons

38    LAN:     [((reaching for Mom's balloon))
39             [Let me] get help [you.]
40    CAR:                       [Okay] you
41             launch it.
42             (4.5)/((Lance lets go of balloon))
43    MAD:     Woa::h
44             (2.5)/((balloon flies around, falls))
45    CAR:     [((makes raspberry sound))]
46    LAN:     [A:w.                      ]
47    MAD:     Good job La::nce.
48             (0.3)/((Lance moves towards balloon))
49    LAN:     (Aw)/((picks up balloon))
50    MAD:     Lance wanna watch Mad do her- (.) well
51             Alice's I g(h)uess?
52             (0.2)
53    LAN:     Yea
54    CAR:     Mad's gonna launch
55    MAD:     Ready?
56             (0.4)
57    MAD:     One, two,
58             (6.0)/((sound of balloon flying))
59    CAR:     Heh heh heh.
60    MAD:     (KHhhh) .hh
61    ALI:     A:w this one's cool look at that¿
```

Lance lets go of his caregiver's balloon (line 42) and it flies around the room.

During the trajectory of the balloon, Madeline assesses it, with "woah" (line 43), as the

balloon continues to fly around and ultimately falls behind a chair (line 44). Madeline

then praises Lance for his launching of the balloon, with "good job Lance" (line 47).

Lance then moves towards the location of the balloon (line 48) and picks it up as he again

says "aw" (line 49). In lines 50-51 Madeline recruits with the proposal, "Lance wanna

watch Mad do her- well Alice's I guess?", recruiting Lance to watch her launch Alice's balloon[5].

This recruiting occurs just after the previous activity has ended: Lance's balloon has officially fallen and he has picked it up (presumably to blow it up again). However, as previously noted, Lance has discovered that there are no more "sticks" to blow up the balloons, and expressed disappointment. Madeline is also aware of this predicament, and thus her recruiting functions as an alternative activity: Lance does not have the necessary tool to blow up his own balloon so she offers watching her launch a balloon as a solution to this problem. That is, her proposed distraction is fitted to and thus sequentially 'comes after' his problem with the balloon. Madeline's recruiting turn is formatted as a yes/no inquiry that makes relevant acceptance or declination. Lance then responds affirmatively to this recruiting in line 53 with "yea". Madeline prepares for the launch with "ready?" (line 55) and then counts off (line 57) before she lets the balloon go and it flies around (line 58).

Overall, this extract illustrates how family members can use recruiting to remedy a problem. In recruiting Lance to participate in watching an activity, Madeline solves the problem of him not being able to blow up his own balloon. That is, her action of recruiting is designed to distract him from the source of his troubles by giving him another balloon-related activity to participate in.

The placement of when recruiting occurs is crucial in understanding when interlocutors attempt to engage multiple people in a collaborative activity together. In this section I have described recruiting that begins in two different environments: during or after a moment of interactional troubles and following the possible completion of an

---

[5] Previously Alice gave Madeline her balloon to hold.

activity. The action of recruiting works to move another person(s) into an activity with the recruiter.

Differences in Recruiting Formats

In the 139 cases of recruiting that I examined, there are two main formats that are overwhelmingly present within the data: "*let's-*" and various forms of "*wanna-*" (e.g. want to, want). There are 89 cases of these two formats[6], or 64.0 percent of the total cases of recruiting (33 cases of *let's-* and 55 of *wanna-)*, thus warranting further examination. Prior research has been conducted on some of these formats in play environments. First, Goodwin (1991) discusses the use of "let's" in girls' peer-peer directives as egalitarian, writing that it "lumps speaker and addressee together rather than differentiating them, with the effect that neither party is depicted as exerting control over the other" (p. 110). More recently, in researching proposals for activity collaboration, Stivers & Sidnell (2016) found differences between "let's x" and "how about x", in that "how about x" formats propose an activity modification whereas "let's x" formats propose a disjunctive activity. However, their data were collected in a university lab where children were recorded with their peers playing in a room. The data for this dissertation provide a very different interactional environment than these previous studies. Interactants are in their homes, they are free to move into and out of activities with each other, go into different rooms, and go get different toys to play with.

In investigating where these different formats occur, a clear distinction emerged. *Wanna*-format recruiting appears to be versatile and is used in many different environments to recruit another to co-participate, and *let's*-format recruiting is used only

---

[6] the next frequent format is "how about" with 5% of the cases (7/139)

when interactants are already participating in an ongoing activity together (and thus

works to recruit another to either begin or resume another activity) (see Table 3 below).

Table 3: *Let's- and Wanna*-**format Recruiting**

	Let's	Wanna
Begin a Course of Action (not engaged in an activity)	0	27
Resume a Course of Action (not engaged in an activity)	0	6
Begin a Course of Action (engaged in an activity)	22	13
Resume a Course of Action (engaged in an activity)	11	9
Total	33	55

Let's-format recruiting only occurs in environments in which interactants are

already engaged in an activity together. That is, there is ongoing mutually agreed upon

involvement in play activities. Here, the problem of establishing recipiency and mutual

involvement can be taken for granted because the interactants are already engaged in a

mutual activity together, and *let's-* works to move interactants to another activity. In

contrast, *wanna*-format recruiting occurs in a variety of environments (i.e. environments

in which the interactants are already engaged in an activity together and when they are

not engaged in an activity together). However, I find that overwhelmingly *wanna*-format

recruiting occurs when interactants are not engaged in an activity together. These are

instances in which one or both of these 'problems' (i.e. establishing recipiency and

mutual involvement) do not have taken for granted solutions. *Wanna*-format recruiting

solves these problems in that recruitings of this type contain no previous presuppositions

about whether or not the other interactant will take part in the proposed play activity.

That is, *wanna*-format recruiting solicits recipiency and/or mutual involvement whereas

let's-format recruiting presumes it.

Recruiting that occurs with various versions of the *wanna*-format (i.e. wanna,

want, want to) occur in different sequential positions. They occur when the interactants

are already participating in a joint activity together, but they also occur in environments in which the interactants are not participating in an activity together, that is, when they are engaged in separate activities. It is these cases that I focus on next: cases in which recruiting occurs to bring interactants from a non-joint activity to a joint activity. I show that these *wanna*-format cases of recruiting orient to the contingencies of the environment in which they are uttered. That is, by recruiting with a *wanna*-format turn, interactants indicate that they are asking for subsequent co-participation in the proposed activity, but that they do not expect it.

In Extract 6, Eden (4) and Lucas (10) have been playing with various toy items and Mom and Julie (8) are sitting behind the camera and talking. At the beginning of this segment (lines 01-09) Eden and Lucas are establishing their roles within pretend play (Lucas is a "kid"). Lucas recruits Julie (who has not previously been playing with him or Eden) to join their play with the *wanna*-format turn in lines 19-20, 22, and 24-25.

Extract 6
008_Piano_30.00_Pop Star

```
01      LUC:      So I'm a kid?
02                (0.3)
03      EDE:      Yea
04      LUC:      [Okay]
05      EDE:      [You ] be (one/our) kid
06                (2.0)/((shuffling sounds))
07      EDE:      (    [    )     ]
08      JUL:            [(          )]
09                (0.2)/((LUC turns towards where EDE is))
10      LUC:      Hey sho:rty mo:mmy¿ ((to EDE))
11      MOM:      ((to JUL)) °You're
12                [allowed to be in it if you want.°]
13      EDE:      [Hi::::::.                        ]
14      JUL:      °I don't want to be in it.°
15                (1.0)/((EDE walks into room))
16      JUL:      I don't like being i(H)n it heh heh
17      MOM:      What are you doin'. ((to EDE))
18                (2.2)/((EDE walks towards MOM))
```

```
19      LUC:      Hey- Julie, wanna be (0.2) li:ke
20                do you wanna be [like] a pop star
21      EDE:                     [Kid?]
22      LUC:      °right now [like°]
23      JUL:                 [No.  ]
24      LUC:      Because we're having like some fun
25                right now.
26                (1.0)/((LUC opens candy))
27      LUC:      ↑AH/((drops candy))
28      EDE       Hhhhhheheheh heh heh heh heh
29      JUL:      (          )
30      EDE:      (I almost     this.)
31      LUC:      Wanna see how many pieces I can fit in my
32                mouth?
```

In line 09 Lucas turns back towards the room where Eden is and summons her with "Hey sho:rty mo:mmy¿", referring to Eden with her previously established role as "Mommy" but also teasing her with the attribute "shorty". In lines 11-16 Mom and Julie are quietly discussing the video camera and Julie asserts that she does not want to be in the video. In line 15 Eden walks into the room, and Mom inquires "what are you doin'." (line 17). Eden does not verbally respond to Mom, and walks towards her (line 18). Then, Lucas recruits Julie to participate in their game of pretend with the invitation, "hey- Julie, wanna be (0.2) li:ke do you wanna be like a pop star °right now like°" (lines 19-20, 22). This action of recruiting begins with a summons and then Julie's name, making it clear that he is referring to Julie since they had not been playing previously. That is, it begins with an attempt to secure Julie's recipiency. Then, Lucas continues with a specific role-proposal for Julie, for her to be a "pop star" in their pretend play, soliciting her subsequent co-participation. Overall, with this invitation Lucas asks Julie to be a part of the already ongoing play between Eden and himsefl, making relevant acceptance or declination.

As Lucas is recruiting, (and has yet to establish a proposed role for Julie), Eden issues a candidate role for Julie with "k<u>i</u>d?" (line 21). Julie rejects the action of recruiting in overlap with the end of Lucas's turn with "no." (line 23). Lucas continues to entice Julie to play with them with "because we're having like some fun right now." (lines 24-25), by offering a positive characterization of their activity. Julie does not provide any hearable uptake to this, and the activity changes to eating/playing with candy (lines 26-32).

Overall, in this case we can see how Lucas's recruiting (lines 19-20, 22, 24-25) is issued to Julie when she is not currently engaged in an activity with him or Eden. Thus, he attempts to recruit her not only into participating into the activity of imaginary play with them, but also into co-participation more generally.

Wanna-format recruiting also occurs in parent-child interactions. In the following Extract 7), a parent recruits a child to participate in a joint activity during a moment in which the child is not engaged in that activity or co-participating with him. Prior to the beginning of this segment, Fern (3) and her Dad have been working on a craft on the floor together. Broderick (9), Fern's older brother, has just joined them and is now working on the project as well. For the past few minutes Fern has been walking around and singing with a toy figurine, and not actively participating in the project, which continues in lines 01-03 of this segment. Dad's recruiting occurs in lines 16-17, 19, 23, and 25, all containing *wanna*-format recruiting as he attempt to include Fern in the activity of putting together the craft, which she is not currently engaged in.

Extract 7
011_Craft Time 1.2_00.00_My Spot

```
01     FER:      (       ) we're having
02               so much fu:n, (          )
```

```
03                 we're having so [much fun,
04      BRO:                      [What do you do
05                 with these?
06      DAD:       Those are- that's just extra stuff.
07      FER:       (    [                      )]
08      DAD:          [But don't throw it out] just
09      FER:       [we're having so much fun            ]
10      DAD:       [just in case you need it for somethin'.]
11      FER:        [Tha:t's my: spo:t.                  ]
12                 [((sits down/pushes over Broderick)) ]
13      DAD:       That's your spot?
14                 (.)
16      DAD:       Fernie, (0.2) do you wanna
17                 [help-do you wanna help do ]
18      FER:       [(                         )]
19      DAD:         [the tree¿ with Brodie?    ]
20      FER:         [(                        )]
21      BRO:       [Where's the ornaments]
22      FER:       [(    [                )]
23      DAD:            [Hey kiddo,           ]
24                   [((taps Fern on arm))]
25      DAD:       Do you wanna do the tree?
26                 (0.2)/((Fern is looking down))
27      DAD:       (Oh Brod,)=
28      BRO:       =Get the ornaments=
29      DAD:       =°>You're supposed to let her do it.<°
30                 (0.6)/((Broderick sits back))
31      DAD:       Do you wanna do the ornaments?
32      FER:       Where is it?
33      DAD:       Well let's find the bow,
```

As Fern sits down and pushes over Broderick, she announces, "tha:t's my: spo:t."

(lines 11-12), effectively moving Broderick over a bit from where he had been sitting by

verbally claiming rights to that specific location on the floor and physically moving him.

Dad acknowledges Fern's turn in line 19 with "that's your spot?", and then after a

micropause (line 20), summons Fern "Fernie" and then recruits her to assist Broderick in

the project with "do you wanna help- do you wanna help do the tree with Brodie"? (lines

21-22, 24). This recruiting occurs as Fern is not engaged in the craft activity, but rather, is

sitting down and reclaiming her "spot". It also occurs as she is possibly launching a

contest with Broderick for the spot, and thus may be designed to move Fern into different activity just following the potential troubles of her complaint (and as she returns to the potential locus of joint activity by sitting down). Notably, Dad here asks Fern to participate in the proposed activity and his turn makes relevant an acceptance or declination. There is no uptake from Fern, most likely because she is continuing to sing in overlap with her Dad's talk (lines 23, 25).

Broderick, however, does orient to Dad's recruiting by asking, "where's the ornaments" (line 21), perhaps preparing to partake in this proposed joint activity with his sister. Fern, however, keeps singing (line 22), and Dad then taps her on her arm (line 24) and summons her with "hey kiddo". Dad then reformulates his prior recruiting with, "do you wanna do the tree?" (line 25). This turn does not include Broderick as a co-participant, and instead simply proposes an activity for Fern to do (the tree). Perhaps this functions as an enticement to Fern in that here he proposes an activity without her brother, again asking her to accept or decline participation in the proposed activity as a relevant next. Fern produces no observable response.

Dad then summons Broderick with "oh Brod" (line 27), who then directs (possibly Fern) to "get the ornaments" (line 28). Dad then continues quietly with the reminder "you're supposed to let her do it" (line 29). In response to Broderick's prior directive, this is hearable as a reprimand to Broderick. That is, Fern should be the one 'doing the tree'. Dad then recruits Fern a third time, with "do you wanna do the ornaments?" (line 31). Here, he proposes an even more specific activity for Fern to partake in. That is, not just the tree, but the ornaments on the tree. Fern accepts by asking for the location of the ornaments with "where is it?" (line 32). By inquiring about the

location of the ornaments, Fern indicates that subsequent participation in 'doing' the ornaments will occur next. Dad then narrates the next step in the project saying, "well let's find the bow" (line 33), and they work on the project together.

With this extract we can see how Dad's repeated *wanna*-format recruiting occurs in environments in which Fern is not participating in a joint activity (with him or with Broderick). As she is singing and doing her own activities, he attempts to recruit her to participate in the larger cooperative activity of the craft they are working on, effectively moving her out of a moment of possible discord with Broderick.

Here, I have shown how recruiting that contains the *wanna*-format occurs largely in environments in which the interactants are not currently participating in any sort of joint activity. They can recruit another to begin a new activity (e.g. Extract 6) and to resume a previous activity (e.g. Extract 7). Importantly, these *wanna*-format turns recruit another interlocutor into a proposed activity, but one that the person being recruited is *not* currently engaged in. The *wanna*-format of these cases of recruiting appears to orient to the contingencies of these interactional environments, they *solicit* engagement from other interactants without expecting it.

Whereas *wanna*-format recruiting occurs in a variety of environments, *let's*-format recruiting only occurs in environments in which the interactants are already participating in an activity together, either to begin a new activity or resume a previous one. These cases of recruiting move the interactants from one activity to another, without having to establish joint attention (Kidwell & Zimmerman, 2007) because the interactants are already engaged in an activity together. That is, when interactants utilize *let's*-format

recruiting, they presume co-participation as a relevant next. They are not asking for co-participation, but proposing a next activity.

As seen previously (where Jeffrey (8) recruits his sister Emma's (6) toy to engage in a game of "freeze dance"), *let's*-format recruiting occurs when the interactants are already engaged in an activity together. Although the activity of tag that they had been engaged in (lines 01-14) has reached a possible conclusion, the action of recruiting in line 15 works to move them into another activity in a moment in which they are still engaged in play with the toy horses.

Extract 8
005_Couch Playtime_22.40_Freeze Dance

```
01      JEF:       (          )
02                 (3.0)/((Jeff puts toy horse on top of
03                 cushion))
04      EMM:       Uh oh.
05                 (2.2)/((Jeff takes horse down))
06      JEF:       Oh [Dad can go     ] sit there.
07                    [((moves "Dad"")]
08                 (0.6)
09      JEF:       Wee:.
10      EMM:       Eh
11      JEF:       Oh no ¿
12      EMM:       Eh eh?
13      JEF:       She's almost go:t me
14      EMM:       Got you::.=
15      JEF:       [=Let's play] freeze dance.
16      EMM:       [Ya::y.     ]
17      JEF:       [((makes toy "dance"))           ]
18      JEF:       [Da na na
19                    [na na                  ] na na-]
20      EMM:          [Nya Nya                ]
21                    [((makes toy "dance"))]
22                 (1.8)/((both freeze))
23      EMM:       (Good job.)
24                 (.)
25                    [((makes toy "dance"))         ]
26      EMM:       Nya [nya nya nya          ]    neh.]
27      JEF:           [Na na na na na.      ]
28                     [((makes toy "dance"))]
```

Jeffrey's proposal, "let's play freeze dance" (line 15), occurs at a point at which both Emma and Jeffrey are still looking at and animating the movement of their horses, and as Emma is still celebrating her win of the round of tag. Thus, they are still engaged in a joint activity, and Jeffrey's action of recruiting is simply an attempt to move them from that activity into another play activity, that of freeze dance.

Let's-format recruiting also occurs in parent-child interactions. In Extract 9, Louis (3), Carter (8), and their Mom have been doing various puzzles together at the table. Just prior to this extract they had finished a puzzle and decided on the next puzzle to do. At the beginning of the extract Carter is taking the lid off the puzzle box and lifting up the box (line 02). Mom's proposal in line 08, "kay let's turn a:ll the pieces u:p." occurs while all of the interactants are engaged in the activity of waiting to start the next puzzle. This action of recruiting works to move them into the next step of putting together the puzzle: turning the pieces over to see the images.

Extract 9
010_Playtime_10.20_Pieces

```
01      LOU:      [We                    ][oo                              ]
02      CAR:      [((takes off lid))][((starts to lift box))]
03      MOM:      Oh I like this- (0.2)
04                [the way this (    cut out)]
05      CAR:      [((dumps out pieces))      ]
06      LOU:      Huh [heh- heh- heh- eh
07                    [((touches pieces))
08      MOM:      Kay let's turn a:ll the pieces u:p.
09      LOU:      °Heh heh heh°
10                (1.0)/((MOM and LOU turn pieces over)) |
11      MOM:      Thi:s,                                 |
12                (1.2)/((MOM looks at CAR))             |
```

At the beginning of this extract the puzzle is being readied: Carter takes off the lid and lifts the box (line 02) and dumps out the pieces (line 05). In line 06 Louis starts to

touch the puzzle pieces, but not in any systematic way. This is where Mom recruits with the proposal, "kay let's turn a:ll the pieces u:p." (line 08). This recruiting turn is hearable as moving into the next step of doing the puzzle; now that they have the puzzle pieces out on the table they are to turn them over to see them properly. That is, Mom expects subsequent co-participation in the proposed activity of turning the pieces up. Additionally, this recruiting turn treats those to whom it is addressed as part of a collectivity of which the speaker is a member. That is, with this turn, Mom makes a relevant next where Mom, Louis, and Carter will subsequently turn the puzzle pieces up. Louis laughs (line 09) and then both Mom and Louis begin to turn the pieces over starting in line 10. This *let's*-format recruiting occurs in a moment in which all of the interactants are readying to participate in an activity together, and thus it moves them into the next step of participation in that activity: turning the puzzle pieces over.

In detailing the different environments in which *let's*- and *wanna*- recruiting occur, I have shown that *let's*-format recruiting occurs in environments in which the interactants are already engaged in an activity together. Thus, the recruiting does not need to work to encourage collaboration or joint attention in the way that some of the *wanna*-format recruiting does. In these cases the interactants are already engaged in some sort of activity together so recruiting works to move them into another (or resume a previous) activity from the current one. However, the cases discussed thus far show only these different formats in isolation. Thus, next I examine a case that contains both formats of recruiting to further demonstrate how they are used in different environments.

In Extract 10, Ivy (3) has been working on puzzles with her Mom while Orion (6) has been playing video games. Just prior to this segment Ivy has been moving toy

figurines on the floor while singing and Mom has been checking to make sure Orion is

playing an appropriate video game. In lines 05-06, 09, 11, 13, and 16-17 Mom recruits

Ivy to return to the activity of doing puzzles together. Importantly, her first recruiting

(lines 05-06) is a *wanna*-format, while many of the subsequent instances of recruiting

(lines 09, 13) are *let's*-format.

Extract 10
009_Puzzle+Videogames_16.10_Finish It

```
01      MOM:      [As long as it's not a scary one.]
02      IVY:      [(                              )]
03                [((takes toys out of bag))      ]
04                (1.2)/(Ivy spreads toys around))
05      MOM:      Ivy do you wanna finish your puzzle
06                here?
07      IVY:      [Ye:s.
08                [((continues spreading toys))
09      MOM:      Okay let's finish it.
10                (0.3)/((Ivy continues spreading toys))
11      MOM:      You only got a few more pieces here.
12                (1.3)/((Ivy turns towards Mom))
13      MOM:      Let's finish Elsa and Anna.
14                (.)
15      MOM:      [((picks up puzzle piece))
16      MOM:      [>Hey there's your piece,< (0.2) do you
17                know where that one goes?
18      IVY:      Yea. ((pushes toy away))
19      MOM:      Can you show me?
20      IVY:                      [((takes piece))
21      ORI:      How 'bout you guys don't n- look at the
22                board.
```

Mom's initial recruiting occurs after she concedes that Orion can play his

videogame "as long as it's not a scary one" (line 01). Ivy then takes toys out of the bag

near her and starts spreading them around (lines 03-04). At this point Ivy and Mom are

not co-participating in an activity: Ivy is playing with the toy figurines and not orienting

to Mom. This is when Mom produces the *wanna*-format proposal, "Ivy do you wanna

finish your puzzle here?" (lines 05-06). With this turn Mom attempts to resume a new

activity between the two of them, making relevant an acceptance or declination of her proposal. This case of recruiting orients to the potential resumption of a previous activity (i.e. finishing the puzzle presumes that they had been working on before). Ivy accepts with "yes", however as she says this she continues spreading the toy figurines on the floor (line 08), demonstrating a lack of orientation to playing with the puzzle.

Ivy continues playing with the toy figurines (line 10) as Mom prompts her to work on the puzzle with the subsequent proposal, "okay let's finish it" (line 09). With this turn, Mom does not ask Ivy whether or not she wants to finish it, but simply proposes it as a next activity (thereby making relevant participation in that activity). Interestingly, this *let's-* format recruiting occurs in an environment in which Ivy and Mom are *not* engaged in a cooperative activity; Ivy is still spreading her toys around and not orienting to Mom. However, she has accepted Mom's previous recruiting (lines 05-06) with "ye;s." (line 07). Thus, Mom's subsequent *let's*-format recruiting treats Ivy's prior acceptance as her moving towards returning to the co-participatory activity of finishing the puzzle because it treats Ivy as, at the very least, being on the way towards co-participation with Mom. In other words, with this *let's* format turn, Mom expects subsequent participation from Ivy, and is no longer asking for it. After no uptake from Ivy (line 10), Mom entices her with "you only got a few more pieces here" (line 11), making relevant the small amount of work that is required in order to complete the puzzle. This is hearable as an enticement because of the "only", it treats the amount of puzzle pieces left to complete the puzzle as minimal.

With minimal uptake from Ivy (Ivy does turn towards her in line 12, which may indicate a movement towards working on the puzzle), Mom recruits her again with "let's

finish Elsa and Anna" (line 13). In this turn Mom names the specific characters in the puzzle, perhaps in an attempt to further entice Ivy to participate by identifying the characters on the puzzle (presumably these are characters that Ivy likes). Mom then picks up a specific puzzle piece (line 15) and orients Ivy towards it by asking her "hey there's your piece do you know where that one goes" (lines 16-17). With this turn Mom again works to recruit Ivy into the activity of finishing the puzzle, following no uptake from her after her previous attempts. Ivy confirms that she does know where the piece goes with "yeah" (line 18). Mom then prompts her to actually put the piece where it goes in the puzzle with "can you show me?" (line 19), specifically making relevant Ivy's participation in completing the puzzle by asking her to physically put a piece where it belongs. Ivy then finally takes the puzzle piece (line 20) to continue working on the puzzle.

In this segment, Mom uses various formats of recruiting in her attempts to re-engage Ivy in the activity of doing puzzles. Notably, her first *wanna*-format recruiting occurs in an environment where Ivy and Mom are not participating in an activity together: Ivy is spreading toys around on the floor and not engaging with Mom. Mom's subsequent instances of recruiting, however are *let's*-format. These instances of recruiting, although they occur in a similar environment (Ivy has not yet engaged with Mom and is still spreading the toys around), occur after Ivy has already verbally accepted Mom's initial recruiting (line 07). Thus, they treat Ivy as already *on the way* to co-participation in that she has already agreed to the proposed activity, although she is not yet embodying participation in that activity. It is possible that Mom exploits this format

to treat Ivy as actually engaged when she is not yet engaged as a way of further encouraging her to participate in finishing the puzzle.

Family members routinely attempt to recruit each other into co-participation in specific interactional environments. Recruiting occurs in two main environments: after a previous activity has ended and during or after interactional troubles. There are also differences between *let's*-format and *wanna*-format recruiting: *wanna*-format recruiting occurs in many different environments (i.e. when the participants are already engaged in an activity and when they are not) but *let's*-format recruiting only occurs in environments in which the interactants are already engaged in an activity together. That is, these two different formats for recruiting are deployed differentially depending on the ongoing interactional environment. With *wanna*-format recruiting, the recruiting turn *solicits* recipiency and mutual involvement, but does not *expect* it in the way that *let's*-format recruitments presume recipiency and mutual involvement.

Different Trajectories of Recruiting

Next, the different trajectories of recruiting will be described. First recruiting can be responded to demonstrating acceptance, or in other words, it can result in subsequent participation in the recruited activity (55 cases). Second, recruiting can result in verbal acceptance followed by movement into the recruited activity (24 cases). Third, recruiting can occur in a series of recruitings in an attempt to persuade another into co-participation (27 cases). Finally, recruiting can be rejected, and thus co-participation in the proposed activity does not occur (33 cases). I discuss each of these different trajectories next.

Recruiting and Demonstrating Acceptance

      Recruiting can result in participation immediately next in the activity being

recruited for. In other words, recruiting can also be followed by embodied participation in

the named activity without an explicit verbal acceptance, thereby demonstrating

acceptance in the proposed activity by engaging in participation in the proposed activity.

For example, in **Extract 11**, Libby (3) and Abby (5) have been playing with different

plastic toy figurines in their bedroom while Mom is sitting on the floor holding the video

camera. At the beginning of the segment they both walk over to the bed and sit down

with their toys, each holding a toy unicorn. Libby moves the arm of her toy into a "high

five position" (line 21) and then recruits Abby to participate in the activity of giving high

fives in line 22 by voicing for her toy with the proposal "Ptk let's give each other high

fives." as she moves her toy closer to Abby's (line 23). This results in subsequent

participation in that recruited activity by Abby, as they give each other high fives (line

24).

Extract 11
001_Playtime1_30.00_High Fives

```
01      LIB:      Hi,⁷
02                (0.5)
03      ABB:      Hi¿
04                (0.2)
05      LIB:      I'm (     )
06                (1.5)
07                ptk⁸ uno (l)uno ptk
08      ABB:      Hi Muno.
09                (0.3)
10      ABB:      Um ptk um um
11      LIB:      Are you Sheila?
12                (1.2)
13      ABB:      No my name is Harp.
14                (0.4)
```

---

[7] Transcript in italics is when the toys are being "spoken for" or "voiced"
[8] Note that there are multiple "ptk" sounds throughout this extract. This is because the girls are chewing Starburst candies.

```
15      LIB:      Oh. Hi Harp¿
16                (0.2)
17      LIB:      [Hi:. ]
18      ABB:      [Hi  M]uno,
19                (0.6)
20      LIB:      Hi?
21                (2.2)/((Libby moves arm of toy))
22      LIB:      [Ptk let's give each other   ] high fives.
23                [((moves toy towards Abby's))]
24                (4.0)/((they high five))
25      ABB:      Ptk
26                (2.0)/((Abby lifts up and looks at her toy))
```

Abby and Libby's toys greet each other (lines 01-03) and introduce themselves (lines 05-15). Libby then re-issues a greeting with "hi:." (line 17) as Abby re-greets Libby's toy with "Hi Muno," (line 18). After a gap (line 19), Libby greets again with "Hi?", this time with rising intonation, possibly treating the second "hi" as misplaced. During a gap in line 21, Libby initiates recruiting as she moves the arm of her toy into a "ready" position for a high five (**Figure 3** – line 21), similar to the way in which Checa-Garcia (n.d.) describes children embodying the initiation of activities as a way to engage adults in those activities. Then, in line 22 Libby continues recruiting with "Ptk let's give each other high fives." As she says this, she starts moving her toy towards Abby's toy, effectively carrying out the first move in the proposed activity (**Figure 4**), and then the two toys high five each other (**Figure 5**). There is no verbal acceptance, and Libby does not wait for one. Abby simply seamlessly moves her toy to give a high five to Libby's toy.

Figure 3: Screenshot of Extract 11 line 21

Figure 4: Screenshot of Extract 11 line 23

Figure 5: Screenshot of Extract 11 line 24

With this case we can see that recruiting can result in participation in the recruited activity immediately next. Verbal acceptance is apparently not necessary in some instances, as participation in the proposed activity is treated as a sufficient response.

Recruiting Followed By Acceptance

Recruiting can also be accepted in a next turn followed by movement into co-participation. In **Extract 12** Eden (4) has been reading a book to her Mom as part of her

homework. Eden accepts Mom's recruiting to read the book again (lines 17-18) with a

nod (line 19) and then after some prompting from Mom she starts to read the book again

(line 27).

Extract 12
008_Homework_29.00_Do it Again

```
01      EDE:     I:,⁹
02               (1.0)
03      LUC:     It's a hard one,
04      EDE:     I like painting.
05               (2.0)
06      LUC:     Who does [she l-]
07      EDE:            [I    l]i:ke, re::ading.
08      MOM:     I like my:,
09      EDE:     I like my teacher.
10               (4.5)/((Eden turns page in book))
11      EDE:     I like=
12      MOM:     =My:,
13               (1.0)
14      LUC:     My tea-=
15      EDE:     =My: teacher likes me.
16      LUC:     [WOOOO.         ]
17      MOM:     [Very good do-] do you wanna do it
18               again?
19               (0.6)/((Eden nods vertically))
20      LUC:     Uh uh.
21      MOM:     Okay start over and do it
22               one more time.
23               (6.0)/((Eden turns over book))
24      EDE:     ((looks at Mom))
25      MOM:     At,
26               (0.7)/((Eden turns towards book))
27      EDE:     At school.
```

Mom's recruiting occurs in lines 17-18 after she praises Eden with "Very good"

and then continues with the proposal, "do you wanna do it again?" thus recruiting Eden to

read the book again (lines 17-18). In line 19 Eden nods vertically, thus accepting Mom's

proposal (but not yet initiating reading again). Lucas rejects Mom's recruiting in line 20

---

⁹ italics indicate where Eden is reading from the book

with "uh uh.", perhaps demonstrating annoyance at having to hear Eden read the book again. Mom then prompts Eden to begin reading in lines 21-22 with "okay start over and do it one more time", thus giving her the go ahead to begin reading, and giving her specific instructions for how to do so. Eden then starts the process of beginning to read by turning over the book (line 23). She then looks at Mom (line 24), which functions as a a recruitment for assistance (Kendrick & Drew, 2016), and Mom starts reading the title of the book with the prompt "at,". The use of continuing intonation here indicates that Mom expects Eden to be able to "read" the rest of the title following this prompt, which Eden does after looking back at the book (line 26) with "at school." (line 27).

Following Mom's recruiting, which proposes reading the book that Eden has just finished, Eden accepts it (by nodding – line 19), and then Mom starts to move her into the activity of reading (lines 21-22), and Eden starts to do so by turning the book over (line 23). Thus, following Eden's acceptance of the recruiting both Mom and Eden immediately begin to move into the activity of reading the book.

Series of Recruitings

Not all recruiting results in immediate subsequent participation in that activity. Others (23 cases) result in more extended negotiation as to whether there will be participation in the proposed activity (i.e. the recruiter pursues another into partaking in a joint activity) or there is negotiation of what constitutes participation in the recruited activity. In other words, recruiting can occur as a series in an attempt to persuade another into co-participation. Following the initial recruiting there can be an issue such as the competition of another course of action, or not being able to gain another's attention.

Next I discuss each of these reasons for why recruiting might take several turns to result in co-participation.

First, I show how recruiting can occur over several turns because of a difficulty in gaining another's attention or recipiency. In the following extract (Extract 13), Fern (3), Bethany (11), and Broderick (9) are playing together in a playroom in their church. They have been throwing soft "kiddie" chairs into the center of the room. In this extract, recruiting to participate in a play activity is issued (line 04), repeated (lines 07, 17), and then specified (lines 20, 22) in an attempt to persuade Broderick into co-participation in the recruited activity.

Extract 13
011_Playtime1.1_02.50_Play Dead

```
01     BRO:      Waee↑ee
02     FER:      Eh heh
03               (2.5)/((sounds of movement))
04     FER:      (    ) let's play dead.
05               (0.8)/((Fern moves towards camera))
06     BRO:      Uuh.
07     FER:      Brod let's play d[ead.]
08     BRO:                       [Oh  ]
09               don't touch that?
10               (0.2)/((Bethany turns around))
11     ???:      °°°(     )°°°
12               (0.3)/((Bethany turns towards Fern))
13     BET:      What
14     BRO:      °°°(Look she was touching the
15               camera)°°°
16     BET:      Oh(h)
17     FER:      Brod let's play dea:d.
18               (0.6)
19     BRO:      [Uh ↑hah]
20     FER:      [Brod   ] shoot me.
21     BRO:      Uh hhhahh bam °hahahah°
22     FER:      No: Brod shoot me.
23               (0.4)/((Broderick raises his arm))
24     BRO:      Pff [pf
25     FER:          [((falls down))
```

```
26              (1.5)
27    FER:      Brod I'm dead now?
28    BET:      Uh ↑hah.
29              (0.6)
30    BRO:      °°°Phew°°°
31    BET:      ((falls down))
32    BRO:      Wah ah ah I can take over the
33              world now.
```

At the beginning of this extract, the three siblings are throwing soft kiddie chairs around the church playroom, accompanied by various sound effects and exclamations (e.g. lines 01 and 02). After a gap in line 03, where none of the children is visible in the view of the camera, but there are sounds of movement, Fern recruits someone (it is not clear whom) to participate in a different play activity with the proposal "(   ) let's play d<u>ea</u>d." (line 04). With this turn, Fern proposes a new pretend play activity, different from the prior activity of throwing the chairs, but also includes herself in the ongoing play party.

There is no clear uptake from either sibling: during a gap in line 05 Fern moves towards the direction of the camera and then Broderick says "uuh." in line 06. Fern reproduces her proposal in line 07, this time with a clear addressee with "Brod[10] let's play d<u>ea</u>d.", thus specifying whom she wants to co-participate in that play activity, perhaps because no one has responded to her first attempt (Lerner, 2003). In overlap with the end of Fern's recruiting Broderick issues a directive in lines 08 to 09 with "Oh don't touch that?", and there is a subsequent discussion about the video camera (lines 10-16). Notably, Broderick does not respond to Fern's second attempt at recruiting him to play.

Fern then repeats, for a third time, "Brod let's play d<u>ea</u>:d." (line 17), following the sequence concerning the video camera, adding even more emphasis and elongation to

---

[10] Brod is short for Broderick

"dead", perhaps stressing the play activity of "dead" to indicate impatience and/or frustration with the lack of uptake from him, more strongly prompting him to respond since he has yet responded to her initial attempts. After a gap in line 18 and some laughter by Broderick (line 19), Fern then recruits Broderick to participate in a specific play activity with "Brod sh<u>oo</u>t me." (line 20). This builds upon her previous attempts of recruiting by specifying a first step in the activity of "playing dead" by providing Broderick with a specific action related to the game of playing dead: to shoot her.

Broderick laughs, makes a sound, and laughs again "Uh hhhahh b<u>a</u>m °hahahah°" (line 21). The "bam" in this utterance could be construed as a shooting sound, however, Fern treats this action as not adequate, or not shooting her, as she then protests and recruits him again with "N<u>o</u>: Brod sh<u>oo</u>t me." (line 22). After a gap in line 23, Broderick makes shooting noises "p<u>ff</u> pf" (line 24) as Fern then falls down (line 25) and inquires about the status of her demise with "Brod I'm dead n<u>o</u>w?" (line 27). Broderick confirms that Fern is, in fact dead, with "Uh ↑hah." (line 28) and then proceeds to shoot Bethany (line 30), thus continuing to participate in the game of "dead".

Fern's recruiting attempts in this segment are not initially successful: she does not immediately achieve co-participation (after lines 04 and 07), but instead there is a different ongoing activity concerning the video camera (lines 08-16). Following that sequence she tries again (line 17) with "let's play dead", and then attempts with the more specific "Brod shoot me" (lines 20, 22). She works over several turns to entice Broderick to "play dead" in a series of recruiting turns, eventually getting more specific in her attempts to engage him in co-participation.

Recruiting can also occur over several turns in the face of competing courses of action, or in other words, the person(s) being recruited may be engaged in another activity when they are being recruited into a new activity. In Extract 14, Abby (5) and Libby (3) had previously been playing with their toy animals until Abby started staring at Libby. Libby starts recruiting Abby to participate in starting in line 23 with "n<u>o</u>w l<u>e</u>t's pl<u>a</u>y", referring back to playing with the toy animals. Note how Libby repeats her attempt at recruiting several times (lines 23, 25, 28-29) as Abby engages in a variety of other activities before she accepts participating the play activity (line 32), although she negotiates what participation in the play activity will look like.

Extract 14
001_Playtime1_03.50_Now Let's Play

```
01      LIB:      Heh heh
02                (2.5)
03      LIB:      ((places hand under Abby's chin))
04                (1.0)
05      ABB:      Mmm[:::           ]
06      LIB:         [Hee hee hee]
07      LIB:      ((places[ both hands on Abby's chin))
08      ABB:             [Nnn:: hh hh hh hh.
09                [·hhh nnn::
10      LIB:      [((pulls Abby's face closer))
11      ABB:      hh hh hh hh hh ·hhh
12      LIB:      ((kisses Abby)) Heh heh ↑heh heh heh
13      ABB:      Mmm:: ((leans close to Libby's face))
14      LIB:      ((places both hands on Abby's face))
15      ABB:      mmmmhm [hhm hhm hhm hhm ·hhh hhm hhm
16      LIB:             [((pushes Abby away))
17      LIB:      [(look behind you)
18                [((pushes Abby more))
19      ABB:      Hah hah hah hah
20                (1.0)/ ((Abby is pushed all the way down))
21      ABB:      (K-eh) who::a.
22                (1.8)/((girls sit up))
23      LIB:      Now let's play=
24      ABB:      [=((slapping Libby's back))
24a     LIB:      [((picks up toy))
25      LIB:      No:w let's pla::[:y.        ]
```

```
26    ABB:                            [Smack yo'] bu-
27                 (0.3)/((Abby sits back))
28    LIB:         °No: now
29                 [let's pla::y. °]
30    ABB:         [Meh meh meh    ]((poking Libby's back))
31                 (.)
32    ABB:         Okee [(tk tk tk)=
33                      [((sits up))
34    ABB:         =[I'm seeing the video camera.
35                  [((gets up and walks behind video camera))
36                 (0.6)
37    ABB:         Hmm hmm?
38                 (0.4)
39    ABB:         [smi:le L(h)ib(h)b(h)y
40                 [((camera moves up and down))
41    LIB:         ((smiles at camera))/(1.2)
```

As previously discussed, the girls are "goofing around" here. In line 20 Libby pushes Abby all the way to the floor, thereby effectively ending the staring activity. Abby responds to this, making the sound "k-" and then the exclamation "whoa" (line 21). Both girls sit up in line 22, (thereby treating the activity of falling down as complete) and then Libby recruits Abby to another play activity with the proposal, "now let's play" (line 23). The initial "now", which indicates that Libby is attempting to move into a different activity, thus separates the current activity from the new activity.

Abby's immediate response is slapping Libby on her back (line 24), which neither explicitly accepts nor rejects Libby's recruiting, but presumably does not constitute "play", thus not engaging in Libby's proposed activity. As she does this Libby picks up one of the toy figurines they had been playing with earlier, thus resuming an activity of "play" herself (line 24a), perhaps indicating to Libby what a possible activity of "play" could be – going back to their previous activity of playing with the toy figurines. Thus, here Libby provides an indication for Abby as to what she means by "play". Libby then repeats her recruiting turn in line 25, albeit in a more elongated fashion with "No:w let's

pla:::y.", perhaps through the "whining" intonation enacting frustration towards the slapping (and/or Abby's non-compliance in joining her in an activity of play). Abby comes in in overlap at the end of Libby's turn, with "smack yo bu-" (line 26) and sits back (line 27). This could be construed as initiating play, but Libby then treats Abby's actions of hitting and talking about the hitting (i.e. "smack yo bu-" – line 26) as not responding to her recruiting with the protest "no", Libby then re-issues the recruiting turn again in lines 28 and 29, with "now let's pla::y." Notably, here Libby repeats the same recruiting format three times, only changing the sound stretch and prosody of her turn (perhaps to indicate insistence).

Again, Abby comes in in overlap at the end of Libby's turn, making the noises "meh meh meh" as she pokes Libby's back (line 30), again continuing with a different line of action than Libby's action of recruiting. However, upon completion of Libby's turn, Abby says "okee" – presumably accepting the recruiting action. She then makes the noises "tk tk tk" as she sits up (lines 32-33), and then announces "I'm seeing the video camera" as she gets up and walks towards it (lines 34-35). Here Abby is indicating that she is starting a new activity (seeing the video camera), and thus possibly attempting to move into what is potentially an activity of "play". Abby then laughs (presumably at what she can see in the camera) in lines 37. She then directs Libby to smile (line 39), which Abby does in line 41, effectively engaging in this new 'play' activity.

Abby's actions in line 24 and 26 do not explicitly reject Libby's action of recruiting, in that they could also possibly be construed as "play". Even so, Libby produces a series of repeated attempts at recruiting to persuade her into the play (i.e. playing with the toy figurines). Abby does accept in line 32 with "okee", and then she

immediately moves into the activity of getting up (line 32) and then announcing her next action of seeing the video camera (lines 34-35). By verbally accepting the action of recuruiting and then moving into a new activity, Abby is proposing a particular activity for them to engage in. She is accepting the invitation to play and is moving forward into an activity that could be considered play, thus negotiating what constitutes the activity of "play", finally including Libby into the play with her directive in line 39, "smile Libby", which Libby does.

Recruiting can occur over several turns before arriving at co-participation. There can be competing courses of action which may lead to negotiation as to what constitutes participation in the recruited activity (e.g. Extract 14) or future attempts to gain another's attention to entice them into co-participation (e.g. Extract 13). Thus, co-participation is not always arrived at seamlessly, but can arrived at through the course of a series of recruiting designed to entice someone else to engage in a co-participatory activity.

Recruiting and Rejection

Finally, not all instances of recruiting result in co-participation in the recruited activity. Recruiting can also be rejected, either with a clear rejection (e.g. "no") or simply not resulting in co-participation into the activity that is proposed in the action of recruiting. In **Extract 15** Lance (3) is playing with his older sisters Alice (7) and Madeline (12). Lance has just been taking toys out of his backpack and showing them to Alice and Madeline, who at this point in the video are behind the camera. Up until this point, Lance has been describing various toy action figures to his sisters, who have been asking him about them (e.g. "No he's not shiny" in line 01). This extract includes a case

of recruiting directed towards Lance that proposes a shared activity by Madeline (line 11)

that is rejected (line 13), specified (lines 14-15), and then rejected again (line 17).

Extract 15
012_Playtime 1.2_1.00_Book

```
01      LAN:    No he's not shi[ny    ]
02      MAD:                   [Eh heh] n(h)o
03      LAN:    Hey (ba(t))
04      MAD:    There's your- (0.4) bat house.
05              (0.8)/((Lance puts toy on house))
06      ALI:    Yeah.
07              (1.2)/((Lance moves toy around))
08      LAN:    (That's). (2.5) (beep)
09              (1.5)/((Lance rummages in backpack))
10      LAN:    (That's for    ) (0.2) Alice,
11      MAD:    Do you wanna read a book now?
12              (0.3)/ ((Lance rummages in backpack))
13      LAN:    Nope
14      MAD:    ((holds up book))Let's read a-
15              let's rea:d u:m (0.2) your Paw Patrol book.
16              (1.4)/((Lance looks at book))
17      LAN:    No I- I need pay.
18              (0.6)/((Lance bends down to get toy))
19      ALI:    You wanna play?=Okay.
20              (1.0)/((Lance lifts up toy))
21      LAN:    (I am       ) ((in play voice))
```

After Lance has been rummaging in his backpack for more toys (line 09), and

says something not quite clear (line 10), Madeline recruits him into a collaborative

activity, proposing "do you wanna read a book now?" (line 11). This turn is a yes/no

interrogative, which makes relevant an affirmative response (Raymond, 2003). Lance

does not immediately respond, as he continues to rummage in his backpack (line 12).

This may enable her to project that he will reject it (Sacks, 1987). Lance then rejects it in

line 13 with "nope". Following this rejection, Madeline redoes the action of recruiting by

specifying it in line 14 by using a specific book name, which might serve as an

enticement for Lance to accept it. She starts with the beginning of the proposal "let's read

a- let's read um" as she holds up a book towards him, and then names the specific book "your paw patrol book"[11]. First, Madeline explicitly includes herself in the proposed activity with the use of the inclusive "let's", perhaps in an attempt to clarify that she is going to read to him. Second, she provides a specific book to read, giving Lance a more specific proposed activity to accept or reject. By naming "your" book she is perhaps enticing him by designing the proposal specifically for him by indicating that it is one of "his" books.

In line 16 there is a gap of 1.4 seconds while Lance looks at the book that Madeline is holding up, perhaps assessing whether or not to accept the proposal (**Figure 6**). Then, in line 17 he rejects the recruiting turn with "No" followed by an account "No I- I need p<u>a</u>y. "[12]. After a gap in line 18, where Lance bends down to pick up a toy, Alison checks with Lance, "you wanna play?" and then accepts his account with "okay", thereby agreeing to let him play (and thereby not read the book). Then in line 20, Lance lifts up a toy and resumes his play.

Figure 6: Screenshot of Extract 15 line 16

Even though Madeline's first recruiting (line 11) is rejected (line 13), she continues to attempt to persuade Lance to read (lines 14-15). Lance rejects this recruiting

---

[11] Also note that in this extract Madeline first recruits using a *wanna*-format turn (thereby not expecting co-participation) but then subsequently recruits using a *let's*-format turn, treating Lance's response (albeit negative) as having achieved some sort of recipiency and perhaps also to come across as more insistent.
[12] It can be assumed that "pay" is a mispronunciation of "play"

as well (line 17). Thus, we can see that when recruiting is rejected, one technique to persuade another to co-participate in an activity is to further specify that activity.

In the next segment (Extract 16), the proposed activity of "something else" is accepted, later specified, and then rejected several times. In this segment (previously discussed in **Extract 4**) Lucas (10) and his younger sister Eden (4) have been putting together virtual puzzles on an iPad. After Lucas puts the last piece of the puzzle together and finishes it, he recruits Eden to participate in another activity by proposing that they do "something else" (line 10). This recruiting is then later specified when Lucas lays out the specifics of what constitutes doing "something else" in lines 13, 16-17, and 20, which are rejected.

Extract 16
008_Piano_18.20_Something Else

```
01    LUC:      ((hand on iPad))·HH- oh I'm gonna do the
02              last piece?
03              (.)/((Eden reaches towards iPad))
04    LUC:      [A::w.
05              [((removes hand/music plays on iPad))
06    EDE:      [((touches iPad))
07              (.)
08    EDE:      [°Mmm.°
09              [((pushes Lucas's arm))=
10    LUC:      =Do you wanna do something else.
11    EDE:      Yea.
12              (0.3)
13    LUC:      Do you wanna go get [a ball?]
14    EDE:                          [Your  f]avorite
15              game.
16    LUC:      Do you wanna go get a ball and play
17              catch?
18              (0.6)
19    EDE:      No.
20    LUC:      Up here (    )
21              (0.2)
22    EDE:      No::::.
23              (1.0)
```

```
24      LUC:      Oka::(h)y
```

   As discussed earlier, in lines 01-09 Lucas has put together the last piece of the puzzle that he and Eden had been working on. Then, in line 10, Lucas asks Eden, "do you wanna do something else." In the context of their current activity of doing puzzles, with a puzzle just completed, the "something else" in this action of recruiting moves them away from the activity of completing puzzles to a different activity, "something else"; a yet-to-be determined activity that will be different from what they had been doing previously. By proposing an unspecified play activity, Lucas is in effect simply recruiting Eden to another activity, checking to see whether or not play between them will occur in the face of the troubles. Note that the format of the inquiry is a yes/no interrogative, making relevant acceptance/rejection from Eden. Importantly, this recruiting is formulated in such a way as to provide Eden with the opportunity to propose an activity for them to co-participate in, or for them to work this out together in that it does not specify a proposed activity, but rather "something else", thus leaving it open for her to do so.

   In line 11 Eden accepts this recruiting to do "something else" with "yea." However, Eden does not propose an activity next (see the gap in line 12). Lucas then specifies his recruiting in line 13 with: "do you wanna go get a ball?" This subsequent turn of recruiting specifies the "something else" from the initial proposal, proposing a specific activity, getting a ball, but not determining the specific game they will play with that ball. This is also proposed as a yes/no question: it makes relevant acceptance or rejection from Eden. However, in overlap with Lucas's subsequent proposal, Eden proposes a possibility for "something else" as well in recruiting with "your favorite

ga̲me." (lines 14-15). With this turn, Eden proposes a specific game, a recognitional

reference in that this is presumably a game that both she and Lucas know. She says this in

overlap with Lucas's prior turn when it is hearable that Lucas is about to propose a

specific play activity. Therefore, Eden's turn in lines 14-15 is hearable as a modification

of her acceptance that specifies the "something else" that she has agreed to to "your

favorite gam". Lucas does not respond to Eden's turn, but instead further specifies his

action of recruiting again with "do you wanna go get a ba̲ll and play ca̲tch?" (lines 16-

17). Here Lucas redoes his prior recruiting from line 13, but is more specific. He

explicitly lays out what a specific possible play implication of "go get a ball" might be.

Notably, he does not respond to Eden's prior turn in lines 14-15, effectively sequentially

deleting it. Again, Lucas's proposal is formulated as a yes/no question, making relevant

acceptance or rejection from Eden. This treats her previous rejection as one of the

proposed activity, and not of the proposal of continued play (i.e. a different/slightly

modified proposed play activity may be accepted).

     Eden rejects this specified turn of recruiting in line 19 with "No." This is a strong

rejection because in general "no" responses are typically followed by some sort of

account (Drew, 1984; Sacks, 1987). Lucas then tries to specify the terms of the recruiting

turn further in line 20 with "up here ( )", perhaps indicating the location where they

could play catch in an attempt to entice her to play. Eden's response is an even more

emphatic rejection "no̲:::.." (line 22), which Lucas accepts in line 24 with "Oka̲::(h)y",

matching her turn in terms of stress and length, perhaps noting her overdone rejection of

his recruiting turn.

This extract is a clear example of recruiting to a non-specific play activity that gets subsequently specified in later turns, after acceptance (line 11), and then in order to reverse rejections. Lucas's initial recruiting, "do you wanna do something else" gets specified to "go get a ball" (line 13), "go get a ball and play catch" (lines 16-17) and then finally the location is specified with "up here" (line 20). Although Eden accepts his initial recruiting of "something else", something that is set up to be worked out in subsequent turns, she rejects the subsequent more specific recruiting, even as he attempts to entice her with the location of the proposed game of catch (line 20).

Finally, recruiting does not have to be accepted or rejected outright, but rather rejection can be demonstrated (and not asserted). Extract 17 contains a series of recruiting to play, some of which result in co-participation and some that do not. Here, Fern (3), Broderick (9), and Bethany (11) have been playing together in a playroom at their church. This extract occurs at the very beginning of the video. Each of the children recruits the others into a new collaborative activity, Broderick, in line 01 with "let's have a war". Fern in line 10 with "let's play little house game" (and then 12, 18, 24-25), and Bethany in line 35 with "let's go to sleep". The focus here is on Fern's recruiting and attempts to get her siblings to participate in the activity of playing "little house game", as there is no subsequent participation in that game.

Extract 17
```
011_Playtime1.1_00.00_Little House Game

01      BRO:      [Let's have a wa::r.]
02                [((holds up chair)) ]
03                (.)
04      BRO:      [Boom.          ]
05                [((thows chair))]
06      FER:         [(     )[eh he]h heh]
07                   [((throw[s cha]ir)) ]
08      BRO:                 [Yea:h]
```

```
09    BET:    [A:h-ah.
10            [((hit in head by chair))
10    FER:    Let's play little house game.
11            (.)
12    FER:    [(Kay Bethany)?
13    BRO:    [((throws chair towards Bethany))
14            (.)
15            [((chair hits Bethany's head))]
16    BRO:    [Boom.                        ] eh
17            heh
18    FER:    This is a [little house]
19    BRO:             [Yea:h       ]
20    BET:    Okay no more throwing- um (0.3)
21            chairs.
22            (0.2)
23    BRO:    °You mean like [you did?°]
24    FER:                   [But it's]
25            a little h[ouse.    ]
26    BET:             [I didn't] throw them
27            them you did.
28            (1.0)/((Fern is jumping))
29    FER:    (MmtHhh)
30            (1.0)/((Bethany turns towards Brod))
31    BET:    Brod no:.
32            (0.7)/((Bethany looks at floor))
33    FER:    [Yea khh ·hh hh
34            [((footsteps of running))
35    BET:    Let's [go to sleep.  ]
36    FER:          [>(Here ya go)<]
37    BET:    ((lies down))
38    ???:    ((laughter))
39    ???:    (Okay)
40    BET:    Mmm↑m? Hmm hmm hmm.
41    FER:    (HE:Y)
42    BRO:    (      [  )
43    FER:          [I NEED A BE:D.
44    BET:    Oka:y.
45            (.)
46    BET:    Here you go.
47            (.)
48    BET:    Here's your bed.
49            (0.6)
50    FER:    Okay. ((lays down))
```

At the beginning of this extract Broderick and Fern are engaged in the activity of

throwing chairs (i.e. "war"), and then Fern recruits her siblings to participate in another

activity with the proposal "Let's play little h<u>ou</u>se game." (line 10). After no immediate

uptake (line 11), she seeks acceptance from Bethany with "Kay Bethany?" (line 12).

Broderick continues throwing chairs (lines 13-17), and there is no acceptance of Fern's

recruiting. Thus, she attempts to entice them to participate in the activity with "This is a

little h<u>ou</u>se" (line 18), beginning to actually play by naming a component of the "little

house game", attempting to entice Bethany to participate in the game with her by

beginning to initiate the game herself. She receives no uptake of this, as Bethany and

Broderick are engaged in arguing about the activity of throwing chairs (lines 19-23).

Then, in lines 24 to 25, in overlap with the end of Bethany's turn, Fern issues a

repeat of her previous turn, attempting to entice co-participation again with "But it's a

little h<u>ou</u>se." This *but*-prefaced utterance demonstrates the resistance she is receiving in

terms of her sibling(s) co-participating in her proposed activity: they have not oriented to

or engaged in her proposed activity in any way thus far. Again, there is no uptake from

either sibling here. Bethany continues arguing with Broderick about the chair (lines 26-

27), Fern jumps around the room (line 28) and utters a noise (line 29). Bethany then

continues arguing with Broderick (lines 30-32) and then Fern yells "Yea khh ·hh hh"

(line 33) as she runs around the room again (line 34). Fern's actions here do not clearly

relate to the activity of the "little house game", and thus could be hearable to Bethany and

Broderick as a possible abandonment of her recruiting, especially since neither of them

have oriented to it in any way.

Then Bethany proposes another activity with recruiting "let's go to sleep" in line

35, perhaps in an attempt to move both Fern (who has just been running and jumping)

and Broderick (who is resisting her directive to not throw chairs) from problematic

activities into a more manageable one (pretending to sleep). Bethany then acts out

sleeping by lying down (line 37) and making "sleeping sounds" (line 40). Fern then

exclaims "hey" (line 41) and reports a problem "I need a bed" (line 43), demonstrating

that she is about to participate in the activity of sleeping, but presenting the problem that

she lacks the necessary equipment to do so. Bethany then provides her a bed (lines 44-

48) and Fern lies down (line 50).

With this case, we can see that Fern's recruiting attempts (and thereby turns of

talk) are unsuccessful; she has tried three separate times to engage Bethany (and perhaps

Broderick) in the activity of "little house game", but does not receive any uptake or co-

participation from either of them. It is important to note that there is no explicit rejection

of her recruiting, but without an acceptance or move into the recruited activity, the

recruiting of "little house game" does not materialize into co-participation.

Recruiting that does not result in subsequent co-participation can be outright

rejected (e.g. Extract 15, Extract 16) or co-participation can simply not occur (e.g. Extract

17). These rejected cases exemplify how recruiting is an achievement in that getting

someone else to co-participate in an activity with you is something that requires

participation by two (or more) people collaborating; this achievement does not always

occur.

Discussion & Conclusions

Up until now, recruitment has been discussed in terms of the continuum in which

one party requests or offers assistance to another (Kendrick & Drew, 2016). This chapter

utilizes this terminology in a different way (also see Butler et al. (2016)), claiming the

action of recruiting solicits engagement in a collaborative activity. Solving the problem

of getting someone else to participate in a shared activity appears to be a ubiquitous practice that even young children utilize in everyday interactions. Recruiting is a practice for engaging cooperation, thus solving the problem of having someone to play with and/or take part in in an activity that involves two or more participants. It is important to note that examining recruiting exposes a "here and now" problem for these family members: in trying to get someone else to co-participate in a specific activity they are attempting to move them into an activity in that specific moment (and not inviting them to participate in it later, for example). In building upon the literature on peer activity proposals (Stivers & Sidnell, 2016) and family transitions in an out of games (Fatigante et al., 2010), this chapter contributes to our understanding of the wider method of recruiting, which encompasses many different actions and formats (e.g. proposals, invitations), but all with the same activity: how to engage someone else in a collaborative activity.

The findings presented thus far are first that recruiting occurs in two different environments: after a previous activity has ended and during or after interactional troubles. Prior work on engaging others in play activities has used the concept of recruitment to encompass many different types of play activity beginnings in children's peer interactions (Butler et al., 2016). Additionally, Stivers and Sidnell (2016) examined the differences between "let's X" and "how about X" in activity proposals in children's peer interactions, finding that "let's" functions as disjunctive from the prior play activity and "how about" modifies the prior activity. In this chapter, I examine at *when* these different formats for recruiting are used within larger play activities. That is, I describe the larger course of action of play activities and transitions between play. Specifically, I

show the differential deployment of *let's-* and *wanna*-format recruiting (overwhelmingly the two most-utilized formats for recruiting in my data set). I find that *let's*-format recruiting only occur in environments in which the interactants are already engaged in an activity, whereas *wanna*-format recruiting can also occur when the interactants are not engaged in an activity, thus they function to bring the interactants from non-participation into a collaborative activity. These formats are deployed differentially. *Let's-format* recruiting occurs when there is ongoing mutual involvement (or mutually agreed upon involvement), and establishing recipiency and mutual involvement is not at issue for the interactants. In contrast, with *wanna*-format recruiting, recipiency and mutual involvement have not yet been established, and thus do not have taken for granted solutions. Using the *wanna*-format in a recruiting turn appears to solve these problems. There are not prior presuppositions about whether or not the other interactant will take part in the proposed play, and thus the recruiting turn simply *asks* for participation but does not *expect* it.

Second, recruiting can be responded to in different ways: embodied acceptance, immediate acceptance of the recruited activity, a series of recruiting (either because of a difficulty in gaining other's attention and/or competing courses of action), and recruiting that do not result in co-participation (either through outright rejection of the recruited activity or through non-co-participation). Importantly, no differences were found between *who* initiated these cases of recruiting and (i.e. a parent to a child, a child to a parent, a younger or older sibling) and how successful it was at engaging another in co-participation. Overall, we can see how recruiting someone to co-participate appears to be a complex process: getting someone to participate in an activity is an achievement

because it involves getting one or more people to agree to participate in the same activity at the same time.

The practice of recruiting someone to co-participate in another activity appears to be ubiquitous in these family interactions with young children. A challenge that children face in their everyday lives is how to get another family member (whether a parent or another sibling) to play with them. The analysis presented here examines the practices children and parents deploy to attempt to achieve co-participation. Although the data collected for this dissertation are situated in family interactions with young children, it can be assumed that recruiting in imminent shared activities is not exclusive to these types of interactions. Future research could build upon the results presented here and examine recruiting in joint activities in other situations and contexts.

CHAPTER FIVE

UPDATING IN FAMILY INTERACTIONS

Introduction

This chapter examines how updating occurs during everyday in-person interactions in families with young children, and examines how children go about telling their parents about recent experiences. I analyze instances in which updates are solicited by parents, and those that are occasioned by some local object or occurrence. This chapter contributes to the literature on children's memory and how people work to keep in touch with each other, as well as on epistemics.

In the analysis section of this chapter I examine child-initiated updates in three sequential environments: (1) when they are prompted be a specific word/phrase, (2) when they are prompted by an object in the locally immediate environment, and (3) when they are prompted by the local ongoing activity. I then examine updates solicited by parents. I start with report solicitations, where the parents have a K- (unknowing) epistemic status relative to their child, and tracking inquiries, where parents are still K-, but less so than with report solicitations. Then, I examine cases in which a parent has a K+ (knowing) epistemic status, and prompts a child (K+) to update someone else (K-). Next, I address instances where parents solicit updates in a series of inquiries following some sort of display of difficulty by the child in updating. Parents can scaffold the updating process either by asking yes/no interrogatives that set up subsequent wh-questions about the same update or by moving from report solicitations to seeking confirmation of candidate activities (wh-questions to yes/no interrogatives). Finally, I propose that updating can at

times do more than just updating; it can function in the service of resisting the locally ongoing action and/or activity.

Literature Review

First, I review the literature on children's memory of life experiences. We know what children talk about when talking about past experiences and why it is difficult for young children to recount previous experiences for others. This chapter builds on this literature by exploring how children produce and respond to solicitations for updates about their (immediate) previous experiences. Second, I review the literature on keeping in touch with others. This work examines how family members tell each other about the mundane details of their day during mealtimes and on the phone. In building upon this literature, this chapter seeks to understand the more organic ways in which talk about your day comes about in these family interactions.

Children's Memory of Life Experiences

Literature on children's memory provides insight into how children are able to produce memories when solicited by others. The ability of young children to tell stories about their own lives has been examined in the language acquisition and child development literatures. It has been documented that children as young as 1 year of age are able to recall specific events, and have a memory of them (Bauer, 1996), and that by the age of 2 children can "reliably form and retain memories of specific past events over extended periods of time" (Bauer, 2002, p. 35). Children's skills for recalling past experiences in parent-child interactions rapidly develop between the ages of 2 and 4 (Fivush, Haden, & Reese, 2006).

One of the first things that children are able to do when producing narratives is talk about their personal experiences (Sachs, 1983; Scollon & Scollon, 1981). Children learn about the importance and relevance of personal memories by talking about past memories with caregivers (Farrant & Reese, 2000). Miller and Sperry (1988) found that in mother-solicited updates, most young children's stories are about negative past events, especially those concerning instances of physical harm (p. 312). Early research on children's memories found that young children are able to recall memories of their own social well-being, such as when they are in danger or embarrassed (e.g. Goodman, Rudy, Bottoms, & Aman, 1990; Miller & Sperry, 1988). More recently, research examining elicited narratives of the past found two distinct maternal styles mothers use when talking about the past with their children: high elaborative (includes lots of details, encouragement of child to participate) and low elaborative (includes little additional information, repeats questions until child answers) (Farrant & Reese, 2000; Fivush et al., 2006).

However, simply recalling a past memory does not necessarily make it accessible to others or interactionally relevant/possible. As Haden, Haine, & Fivush (1997) write, "recounting personal narratives requires both the ability to recall past experiences and the ability to organize these experiences into culturally conventionalized narrative forms" (p. 295). Adult narration both during and after an event can impact children's later memories of that event (Murachver, 2002). Thus, it is not simply the development of long-term memory that makes it difficult for young children to provides accounts of previous events, but also the development of their linguistic abilities (Gathercole, 1998; Nelson & Fivush, 2004) as well as social interaction (Murachver, 2002).

This literature provides insight into how children are able to produce memories when solicited, but we know little about child-initiated recall of past events[13]. Furthermore, the majority of this research has been conducted with mothers and/or experimenters who solicit past memories. Thus we know little about how other family members influence how children produce spontaneous reports of past experiences in everyday interactions. This chapter seeks to provide an understanding of the memories that are recalled and solicited about in children's daily lives. That is, in the context of everyday family life, how do children talk about previous experiences, and how to adults ask about them?

Keeping in Touch

While the language development literature focuses on the activities of recall and memory, more interactional work has examined the interactional import of telling others about your own life experiences. Prior research has documented that incumbency in a close relationship involves sustaining a working knowledge of each other's activities, concerns, and involvements (Pomerantz & Mandelbaum, 2005). The practices of friends and intimates telling each other about their lives has been examined in the delivery of good and bad news (e.g. Freese & Maynard, 1998; Maynard, 1997; Schegloff, 1988), keeping in touch (Drew & Chilton, 2000), tracking (Morrison, 1987; Pomerantz & Mandelbaum, 2005), and storytelling (e.g. Lerner, 1992b; Mandelbaum, 1989; Ochs & Taylor, 1992). What this chapter seeks to understand is how families with young children interactionally solicit and provide each other with working knowledge of each other's lives about things that have occurred since they have just seen each other. It is important

---

[13]other than work by Bauer, Kroupina, Schwade, Dropik, & Wewerka (1998), who examined children's spontaneous verbal reports of previously simulated experiences in a laboratory, finding that young children's early memories are accessible to later verbal reports

to distinguish the activity of updating from that of storytelling. Storytelling and narratives can concern any past event, but the updates examined in this chapter concern things that have happened to the interlocutors since they last saw each other. Additionally, in the updating cases examined for this chapter, the updates concern the mundane day-to-day activities that family members engage in. That is, they are not produced or treated by others as especially remarkable (Sacks, 1984).

Although this chapter examines updating in co-present interactions, how and when people work to maintain intimate relationships through everyday talk by inquiring about each other's lives has been studied in various contexts where interactants are remote from one another during the activity of talk about past experiences. First, in phone conversations, Drew and Chilton (2000) explain that, "…calling just to 'keep in touch' can be considered to be a *context* for talk" (p. 139). Thus, the larger activity of keeping in touch can warrant phone calls between intimates; simply keeping in touch can be a sufficient reason to call someone. Additionally, in her unpublished dissertation, Morrison (1987) explores the practice of tracking, which she explains as "…a request for a report of an activity or event one knows to have occurred since the last conversation" (p. 39). This involves one interlocutor asking about something that the asker knows has occurred since their last point of contact, showing that they know and care about occurrences in the other person's life. In transnational family communication, checking in during family emergencies to update about safety is a documented affordance of video-mediated communication technologies (Gonzalez & Katz, 2016). Additionally, in communication between divorced parents and their children, updating about what occurs during absences is crucial for relationship maintenance (Rodriguez, 2014). We know how people keep in

touch when they are remote from each other, but less about how people keep in touch during co-present interactions, or how they inquire about everyday life occurrences outside of the home or during separation during the day.

Some previous research has examined how families with children talk about the everyday goings-on in their lives. Researchers have examined, for example, how families discuss children's homework (Wingard, 2006), reports at the family dinner table (Blum-Kulka, 1997, p. 112) and how gender ideologies occur through family narratives (Ochs & Taylor, 1996). Notably, Blum-Kulka (1997) examined "today rituals" (p. 112): formal, ritualized events that occur during mealtimes where family members tell each other about how their day has gone. These "today rituals" can be initiated with formulaic questions such as "how was your day". They can also be initiated by the teller, with formulations such as "today + action verb" (p. 112). She found that there is not reciprocity between children and parents as to who tells what to whom; children are asked to tell about their day (or they may volunteer information), but they rarely ask the same of their parents. These tellings are also accountable in that only certain aspects of one's day are worth telling, and thus tellings can be sanctioned (e.g. if a child reports something that other family members consider to not be reportable). Taking Blum-Kulka's (1997) concept of "today rituals" a step further, this chapter explores the specific practices through which updating about one's own day can be solicited or provided in everyday family interactions in a variety of contexts (including, but not limited to, mealtimes).

For this chapter, 87 instances of children providing updates about their lives were collected from over 30 hours of video-recorded family interactions. In these data families do not engage in ritualized tellings about their day, rather, children's updates about their

day occur in a variety of different interactional contexts (e.g. at the dinner table, while playing or engaging in other activities). Locally occasioned updates are discussed next.

Child-Initiated: Locally Occasioned Updates

Children's updates addressed to their parents can be locally occasioned. In other words, something is said or done in the ongoing interaction that occasions or touches off (Jefferson, 1984) the update in some way. Importantly, these sequences occur retrospectively. Schegloff (2007b) describes retro-sequences as follows:

> "...the first recognizable sign that such a sequence is in progress generally displays that there was "a source" for it in what preceded, and often locates what that source was. But note that the source engendered nothing observable – indeed was not recognizable as a "source" – until the later utterance/action, billing itself as an "outcome", retroactively marks it as such" (p. 217).

When a child issues a locally occasioned update, they are the ones choosing what is pertinent and/or relevant about which to update, and retrospectively relate the update do what has just occurred in the ongoing interaction.

Previous research has documented young children's awareness of and competence in various interactional practices (e.g. Kidwell, 2012; Lerner, Zimmerman, & Kidwell, 2011). Although it has been documented that children as young as two are able to produce what they term "incipient stories" about their own lives of their own accord without prompting from another interlocutor (Miller & Sperry, 1988), specifically how these incipient stories come about has yet to be examined. The updating practices described here provide further evidence of the interactional sophistication of young children in that they show how children can exploit the ongoing environment to deliver updates about their own lives. In the collection as a whole there are 51/87 updates that are

locally occasioned, and these contain various types of updates, including what books the child read at school to what happened at a birthday party they attended.

These updates occur systematically in three different ways. First, children's updates can be locally occasioned by a specific word or phrase that has just been produced by someone else. Second, the noticing of an object can occasion an update. Third, they can be occasioned by an activity that occurs in the ongoing interaction. I discuss each of these in turn.

Locally Occasioned by Specific Word/Phrase

First, children's updates can be locally occasioned by a specific word or phrase. In these cases, children's updates are retrospectively activated by something that has just been said and the subsequent update relates back to the word or phrase that occasioned it. In these cases there is a clear connection between a specific lexical item or phrase from the previous turn and the update itself. In Extract 18, Zara (4) and Nigel (11) have been sitting at the kitchen table working on drawing and writing activities while Mom and Sally (1) are in the kitchen (out of view of the camera) and Dad is in the living room behind them. It is important to note that Zara had previously been chastised and warned not to stand on the kitchen chair. In lines 01 and 06, Nigel asks his Mom how to spell "turtle", and Mom begins to spell it out for him in line 09. This touches off an update from Zara. She updates her Mom about an event in school that day (lines 14-15) which is hearable as being lexically retrospectively activated by Nigel having asked Mom how to spell the word "turtle" (starting in line 01).

Extract 18
U44_017_Playdough_08.00_Vote

```
01      NIG:        How do you spell turtle.
02                  (0.4)
```

```
03    ZAR:    And ima:gine i- i[mag  ]ine,
04    NIG:                     [Mo:m,]
05            (0.2)/((Zara stands up on chair))
06    NIG:    I asked you a question.
07    MOM:    How do you spell tu:rtle?
08    NIG:    °Yeah.°
09    MOM:    Tee you a:re,
10    ZAR:    Tee you a:re,
11    MOM:    [tee ell ee.]
12    SAL:    [     ((c]r[ies))           ]
13    ZAR:    [             [ tee ell ee. ]
14    DAD:    [((gets up))](            )]
15    ZAR:    Hey mommy:, (0.2) we did a vote
16            today and I voted for turtle.
17    MOM:    Okay to your room please.=
18    ZAR:    [=No-         ] >no no sorry sorry.<
19            [((sits down))]
```

At the beginning of this extract Nigel addresses an inquiry to his Mom, "how do you spell turtle." (line 01), soliciting her assistance in his writing task. After no immediate response from Mom, Nigel in line 04, summons Mom, and perhaps prompts her, with "Mo:m," and then continues with a complaint "I asked you a question." (line 06), thus treating her lack of response as accountable (Drew, 1998). Mom then issues a full repeat of Nigel's line 01 with "How do you spell tu:rtle?" (line 07), thus indicating that she is attending, as she did hear Nigel's previous turn, but is now checking that this is indeed the question he asked her. Nigel quietly confirms with "°Yeah.°" (line 08), and Mom begins spelling the word (line 09), which Zara repeats (line 10), perhaps in an attempt to assist Nigel in spelling the word by making the spelling hearable again. Mom finishes spelling the word (line 11), which Zara repeats again (line 13) as Sally cries and Dad attends to her.

Zara then issues her locally occasioned update in the form of an announcement with "Hey mommy:, (0.2) we did a vote today and I voted for turtle." (lines 15-16). This

update first summons her Mom, and then there is a pause before Zara continues with the update. It is possible that in the course of this pause she achieves recipiency from Mom, although this cannot be seen on the recording. Zara's update tells Mom about something that happened at school (there was a vote), and includes how she herself participated in that vote (she voted for turtle). Zara's update can be heard to have been lexically retrospectively activated by Nigel's inquiry about how to spell the word "turtle", since Zara's update incorporates the word "turtle". This makes it hearable that Nigel's immediately prior request for help in spelling the word "turtle" is what occasions Zara's update. However, immediately next Mom admonishes Zara for standing on the chair (line 17), which results in an extended struggle over Zara's punishment (starting in lines 18-19).

Updates can also be lexically locally occasioned when a child connects an update to something in their own previous talk. In other words, in these cases it is not a word or phrase from another person's talk that locally occasions their update, but something from the child's own talk. In Extract 19, Dad and Vanessa (4.5) have been playing with puzzle pieces and making an airplane out of them. Dad got home from his work as an EMT a few minutes ago. Vanessa's update in lines 11 to 13 about how she was tired and how she slept is related back to her own turn of imaginary play talk in lines 07 and 08 about the pilot pieces being tired.

Extract 19
U19_002_Playtime_43.30_Sleep

```
01     DAD:     Okay I'll get the whale.
02              (0.3)/((reaches for piece))
03     VAN:     And I'll make his cockpit.
04     DAD:     Excellent choice./((puts piece near VAN))
05     VAN:     (      )
06              (1.5)/(VAN puts pieces together))
```

```
07      VAN:    He's tired so he's resting while I
08              make his cockpit.
09      DAD:    Oh, (0.2) well that makes sense.
10              (1.2)/((VAN puts pieces together))
11      VAN:    I was really tired so I had to sleep
12              (my floor), I had to sleep lo:nger than
13              I u:sually do.=
14      DAD:    =Yea:, well you got to bed late.
15              (0.2)
16      DAD:    Cuz there was the:,
17      VAN:    Pajama partay
18      DAD:    Pajama party.
19              (1.5)/((sounds from walkie talkie))
```

At the beginning of this segment Dad and Vanessa announce that they are making

a pretend airplane. Dad gets the whale piece (which is apparently the pilot) and Vanessa

makes the cockpit (lines 01-06). Vanessa then narrates what the pilot piece is doing (lines

07-08), accounting for his action of "resting" because "he's tired". Dad treats this as news

with the second position *oh*-prefaced turn (Heritage, 1984), and then assesses Vanessa's

explanation for what the pilot is doing within the pretend play (i.e. he's tired so he's

resting, or in other words, is not actively moving at the moment) with, "well that makes

sense." (line 09), thus treating the reason for him resting as normative or understandable.

Vanessa continues putting the puzzle pieces together for 1.2 seconds (line 10), and then

provides an update to her Dad (lines 11-13) about how tired she was. This update, "I was

really tired so I had to sleep (my floor), I had to sleep lo:nger than I u:sually do.=" (lines

11-13) is hearable as lexically occasioned by her own previous turn[14]. In lines 07 to 08

she characterizes the pilot as tired, and in her update in lines 11 to 13 she explains that

she was tired, documenting it with how much and where she slept the night before. Thus,

by using the same lexical item as her previous turn ("tired"), she makes it available that

the update about her own tiredness was occasioned by her explanation for why the pilot is

---

[14] Sacks (1995, p. 349) refers to this as skip-connecting

resting. Dad has just gotten home from work, and so was not at home to see where or how much Vanessa slept, so here she updates him on details of her life that he does not know. Dad then gives an account for why Vanessa slept so much by showing what he does know about her life; that she went to sleep late "=Y<u>ea:</u>, well you got to bed late." (line 14). With this turn Dad indicates his K+ status; he can also come to the conclusion about Vanessa's poor sleep quality because he knows what time she went to bed. Then they both work to identify the reason she got to bed late (lines 16-18).

Children's updates that are locally occasioned by a specific word or phrase from the ongoing interaction show, at a very basic level, how children monitor what is occurring and being said around them. They exploit emergent connections in which there is a plausible connection to ongoing talk to issue updates about their own lived experiences. These updates are built in such a way to indicate that they are occasioned by the ongoing talk by using previously uttered words/phrases from their own (Extract 19) or other's (Extract 18) turns, and using that lexical connection to locally occasion an update.

Locally Occasioned by an Object

Second, updates can be occasioned by an object in the immediate local environment. It is through noticings that these updates are connected to something else in the immediate environment. Schegloff (2007b) characterizes the action of noticing as follows: "doing a noticing makes relevant some feature(s) of the setting, including the prior talk, which may not have been previously taken as relevant. It works by mobilizing attention on the features which it formulates or registers, but it treats *them* as its source, while projecting the relevance of some further action in response to the act of noticing"

(p. 219). In updates that are locally occasioned by an object, the update is occasioned by

a noticing of something in the environment. Thus, the noticing directs attention to the

object, which may not have been attended to previously in the ongoing interaction. In

Extract 20, Mom, Angela (8 months), Vanessa (4.5) and Dad are eating dinner. They

have been talking about the big piece of corn that Vanessa has chosen for herself. In line

04 Vanessa looks down into her lap. After Dad rotates the plate of corn (line 05), Vanessa

initiates an update about the hair tie that is on her wrist (lines 06-08). Presumably this is

something that she saw when she looked into her lap, and thus this update is

retrospectively activated by the noticing of that object in her local environment.

Extract 20
U16_002_Dinnertime 2_06.45_Until Friday

```
01      DAD:       (That) is a [big piece of corn] for a
02      VAN:                   [I kno:w.          ]
03      DAD:       little pla:te.
04                 (1.2)/((Vanessa looks down))
05      DAD:       ((rotates plate of corn))
06      VAN:       [Daddy do you know what this is from?
07                 [((looks up towards Dad))
08                 [((pulls on hair elastic on wrist))
09      DAD:       No what?
10      VAN:       It's Erica's.
11      DAD:       It's Erica's?
12      VAN:       [She let me have it until [Fri:day. ]
13      DAD:       [((offers plate of corn to[ MOM))    ]
14      DAD:                                  [No: °take]
15                 the other one¿°
16      MOM:       °°>Are you sure?<°°
17      DAD:       °Yea°
18                 (0.6)/((DAD returns plate to table))
19      DAD:       Wo:w, >what is it?<
20                 (1.0)/((VAN looks towards DAD))
21      DAD:       Is it a bracelet?=Or a
22                 [hai:rband? ]
23      VAN:       [No [no     ] no
24                     [((holds up hands with elastic)) |
25                 it's not a headband, .hh you can     |
26                 wear it on your hand but you can do   |
```

```
27              something coo:l with it.           |
28              (0.2)/((VAN looks towards DAD))     |
29      DAD:    Like tie your hands together?       |
30      VAN:    [Yea          ]                     |
31      MOM:    [(Honey bunny)]                     |
32      DAD:      [Oka:y.    ]
33      MOM:       [These are-]
34              (.)
35      MOM:    Honey bunny these are li:ttle, I don't
36              know if you're gonna be able to pick
37              them up (.) yourself.
38              (2.2)/((VAN claps hands))
39      DAD:    (Well-)
40              (0.6)/(VAN looks towards DAD))
41      DAD:    It's gonna be a sha:me you can't- o::h
42              you (can) eat ahhhh I was gonna eat all
43              your dinner for you.
```

Vanessa looks down towards her lap (line 04), and then produces a pre-announcement (Terasaki, 2004) inquiring in line 06, "Daddy do you know what this is from?" as she pulls on the hair elastic that is on her wrist and looks up towards him (lines 06-08 - Figure 7). Here, she shows the item to Dad, and asks him to guess what it is.

Figure 7: Screenshot of Extract 20 lines 06-08

With this turn Vanessa indicates that she has something on her wrist that she presumably has just seen (in line 04). By formulating her turn as a pre-announcement of news, she gives her Dad the option to either go ahead and claim that he knows the origins of the hair tie, or claim that he does not (thus effectively giving her the go-ahead to tell about it). By formulating her pre-announcement in terms of the provenance of the item,

Vanessa indicates that this is something worth telling about, thus projecting an update about how she got it. Furthermore, this pre-announcement is formulated as an inquiry; it makes the relevant next turn a confirmation or disconfirmation about the provenance of the item. This update is retrospectively activated by Vanessa's own noticing of the item on her wrist.

Dad responds to Vanessa's inquiry with "n<u>o</u> what?", claiming a lack of knowledge about the hair elastic with "no", and giving Vanessa the go-ahead to tell him about it with "what?". Vanessa next informs him where the elastic is from by naming whose it is, with "It's <u>E</u>rica's." (line 10), presumably referring to a known-in-common person because of the use of the recognitional reference form (Sacks & Schegloff, 1979; Schegloff, 2007a; Stivers, 2004). Dad responds with a full repeat with questioning intonation, with "It's <u>E</u>rica's?", (line 11), showing surprise as a way of prompting more from Vanessa, perhaps making available for inference the possibility of trouble in that Vanessa currently has possession of something that is not hers. Vanessa elaborates in line 12 with "She let me have it until Fr<u>i</u>:day.", accounting for the terms under which she has come to have Erica's elastic, by giving a specific (limited) time frame for how long she will have it. In this way she also implies that Erica knows that she has it, and that the elastic was given to her to borrow, and not to keep, and for a short amount of time, thus perhaps orienting to the concern that Dad's turn in line 10 might indicate.

After distributing corn to Mom (lines 13-18), in line 19 Dad appreciates Vanessa's update (that she gets to keep it until Friday), and then quickly moves to a follow-up inquiry about the identification of the item. He first positively assesses Vanessa's update with, "W<u>o</u>:w," and then continues with the inquiry ">what is it?<"

(line 19), thus making relevant further talk about it. Vanessa looks to Dad (line 20), thus

selecting him as next speaker instead of producing a response to his inquiry. Thus, she

puts Dad in the position of guessing what the item is even though she could have

provided more of the update herself here, perhaps because she presumes Dad to know

what the item is. Dad treats the lack of response by Vanessa and her gaze toward him as

indicating that she is soliciting a guess. Next he provides two possible alternative guesses

as to what the item is with "Is it a bracelet?=Or a hai:rband?" (lines 21-22), thus

indicating that he has some sense of the options as to what category the item might

belong to (Lerner, 1993). Here, Dad seems to be orienting to how she is treating this (it

is for her hair but it is on her wrist). However, in overlap with Dad's second guess, "Or a

hai:rband?", which is latched to his first guess, Vanessa holds up her hands with the

elastic (line 24) and immediately rejects Dad's identification with, "No no no" (line 23).

Here, Vanessa's multiple saying of "no no no" communicates her stance that Dad's

guesses are not close to being correct (Schegloff, 1988; Stivers, 2004). She then

continues with "no it's not a headband, .hh you can wear it on your hand but you can do

something coo:l with it." (lines 25-27). This rejection first corrects Dad's

misidentification (however Vanessa uses a different term, "headband", hearable as an

embedded other-correction, Jefferson, 1987). Vanessa then tells Dad about the item and

what is special about it, reporting two of its features: where you can keep it (your hand,

hearable in contrast to more typical placement such as the head or hair), and what it can

do ("something coo:l"), projecting some novelty or special characteristics of that item,

and thus indicating she may have more to tell about it. Vanessa then looks towards Dad

(line 28), and he provides a candidate understanding of what the "something cool" might

be with the guess, "Like tie your hands together?" (line 29). Here he treats Vanessa's "something cool" as making relevant a guess from him. Importantly, this candidate understanding reflects what Vanessa is currently doing with the hair elastic, as it is at that moment wrapped around her hands. Vanessa confirms this candidate understanding with "y<u>ea</u>" (line 30), while Mom orients to Angela (line 31) and the conversation returns to the corn (lines 32-43).

In this case Vanessa's update is locally occasioned when she catches sight of the object on her wrist: it is retrospectively activated by her noticing of that something on her wrist. By composing her initial update-projecting turn as a pre-announcement that is addressed to Dad, inquiring whether or not he knows what the item actually is, and composing it as presuming that he does not know what it is, Vanessa's noticing is hearable as making relevant next an informing to Dad about the item. Importantly, her update comes off as serendipitous, occasioned by her noticing, in that it is just after she looks down and notices the item on her wrist that she provides the update about it.

Locally Occasioned by an Activity

Updates can also be retrospectively activated by an ongoing activity. In Extract 21, Abby (5), Libby (3), Mom and Dad are having dinner together. At the beginning of this segment Mom and Dad are trying to get Abby to eat more vegetables (lines 01-14). In line 15 Libby starts to deliver an update about a book they read in school[15], which is retrospectively activated by Mom and Dad's collaborative activity of attempting to get Abby to eat her vegetables, in that the book is about vegetables needing to eat candy for dinner. This update is built as something that is both surprising and funny: both Abby and

---

[15] Libby and Abby attend the same preschool

Libby co-update about the plot of the book in which vegetables have to eat candy for

dinner.

Extract 21
U13_001_Dinnertime_05.00_Candy

```
01      MOM:        ((pushing bowl towards ABB)) Eat some
02                  more vegetables.
03      ABB:        [Ho:w ] many more vegetables.
04      MOM:        [(    )]
05                  (1.0)
06      DAD:        [((holding up hand with five fingers))
07                  [Fi:ve.
08      MOM:        Five.
09                  (.)
10      MOM:        Including edamame [and broccoli.]
11      ABB:                          [<Of          ]what.>
12      DAD:        Five gree:n.
13      MOM:        Five green things.
14      ABB:        °Oka::y.°
15      LIB:        [You know we              ]
16      MOM:        [(And then I'll get you)]
17      LIB:        readed a (.) [pea st]ory,
18      ABB:                     [O:NE, ]
19                               [((picks up veggie from bowl))
20      LIB:        .hhh [and they needed to eat]
21      ABB:             [two:,                  ]
22      LIB:        .hhh so much [candy.]
23      ABB:                     [ three]:,=
24      MOM:        Candy?
25      LIB:        ((nods vertically))
26      MOM:        The peas?
27      LIB:        °Yea.°=
28      ABB:        =Fou[:r,
29      MOM:            [((nods vertically))
30      LIB:        (It was the pea [    )  ]the baby didn't
31      ABB:                        [Fi:ve.]
32      LIB:        like .hh (.) any of the ca:ndy.
33      ABB:        Yeah like I remember, (.) like um like
34                  little pea and .hh like they were pea:s
35                  they were like vegetables, [.hh      ]
36      MOM:                                   [((nods))]
37      ABB:        so they had le- like um (0.2) °um° .hh
38                  ca:ndy for dinner and (.) (the) little pea=
39      MOM:        [=O:h th(h)at's f(h)unny          ]
40                  [((looks down towards food))     ]
```

```
41      ABB:        [didn't       like        ca:ndy,]
42      MOM:        Heh heh ((continues looking down towards food))
43      ABB:        [and- and- >and  ]  [then,< for dessert
44      MOM:        [((puts food on fork))  ][((looks up towards Abby))
45                  they had like s- and then for dessert
46                  they had like sa:lad or like broccoli,
47      MOM:        Hm hm
48                  (0.6)
49      MOM:        That's funny.
50                  (4.2)
51      MOM:        ((stands up)) °I'mma get more salmon.°
```

In lines 01 to 14 Mom and Dad negotiate with Abby regarding how many more vegetables and which type of vegetables she has to eat. After Abby concedes (line 14), Libby starts to issue an update about something she (and Abby) read (presumably in daycare, which they both attend) with "you know we readed (.) a pea story, .hhh they needed to eat .hhh so much candy." (lines 15, 17, 20, 22), as Mom and Abby continue to negotiate her eating vegetables (lines 16, 18-19, 21, 23). The beginning of this update is relevant to and retrospectively activated by the activity occurring in the ongoing interaction: Mom and Dad are trying to get Abby to eat vegetables, and Libby is starting to tell them about a story (about a vegetable – peas) that needed to eat a lot of a type of food (candy).

This connection indicates a sophisticated grasp of the storyline of the book and its connection with the current ongoing situation: parents (real or vegetable) trying to get their children (real or vegetable) to eat a specific type of food (less desirable vegetables versus more desirable candy). Libby's update is about a story she read in which vegetables resist candy, which connects to the current interactional context of a child (Abby) resisting eating vegetables. Additionally, this update is produced as a report of the plot line of a book that relates to the ongoing activities in the current interaction: in the

story the peas needed to eat "so much candy", just as in this moment Abby is being asked to eat a specific number (five) of vegetables. Therefore, Libby's update is hearable as formulated so as to contrast the number of vegetables Abby is resistant to eating (five) as perhaps less than the amount of candy the peas in the story were required to consume (so much).

Mom initiates repair with "c<u>a</u>ndy?" (line 24). Libby nods to confirm (line 25), treating Mom's turn as seeking confirmation rather than pursuing further details. Mom then issues repair again with "the p<u>ea</u>s?", about a different part of Libby's turn, and perhaps again prompting more from her. Libby confirms this as well with "°Yea.°=" (line 27). Mom accepts this confirmation in line 29 by nodding.

Libby and then Abby both elaborate upon the plot of the story (lines 30-44), thereby indicating that they understand Mom's nod to indicate that an expansion of the story is relevant next. Libby starts with "(it was the pea) the baby didn't like .hh (.) <u>a</u>ny of the c<u>a:</u>ndy." (lines 30, 32), which Abby elaborates by co-remembering with "Yeah like I remember, (.) like um like little p<u>ea</u> and .hh like they were p<u>ea:</u>s they were like v<u>e</u>getables, .hh" (lines 33-35). First she aggregates herself to the telling collectivity (Lerner, 1992; Lerner & Kitzinger, 2007; Mandelbaum, 1987) by confirming Libby's previous turn ("Yeah") and claiming to also remember the story with "like I remember," thus indicating that she is a competent co-teller of the update (Lerner, 1992; Mandelbaum, 1987) by effectively "rendering one's own part", or what she remembers of the plotline of the story (Lerner, 1992, p. 265). Additionally, with this turn Abby further elaborates upon, and thus supports, Libby's update, and also treats Mom's previous turns as possibly resistant or skeptical to the ongoing telling (Bolden & Mandelbaum, 2017).

Mom responds with a nod here (line 36), indicating that she is attending to their update

and treats it as continuing (Schegloff, 1982). Abby continues with "so they had le- like

um (.)°um° .hh ca:ndy for dinner and (.) (the) little pea=" (lines 37-38), to which Mom

responds with a positive assessment (=O:h th(h)at's f(h)unny", line 39). The second

position turn-initial "oh" here treats Abby's previous turn as informative (Heritage,

1984), indicating that this is the point at which Mom understands the upshot of the

telling, and the positive assessment treats their ongoing update as "funny", a positive

characteristic of the story. Additionally, as Mom says this she looks down towards her

plate of food (line 40 - Figure 8), which further treats Abby's telling as possibly complete

(Goodwin, 1984). This occurs in partial overlap with Abby's continued turn "didn't like

the ca:ndy," (line 41), which Mom then responds to with laughter "heh heh" as she

continues looking down at her food (line 42). Abby continues reporting on the story with,

"and- and- >and then,< for dessert they had like s- and then for dessert they had like

sa:lad or like broccoli," (lines 43, 45-46). In this way she continues to develop the update

as funny in that it is non-normative that the peas (something children may perceive as

undesirable) are forced to eat something the children treat as preferable (candy) for their

main meal and get to have something typically perceived as less preferable (vegetables)

for their dessert. The two cut-offs at the beginning of this turn work to secure Mom's eye

gaze and recipiency (Goodwin, 1979), which has just moved towards her food (and not

towards Abby). Mom's gaze moves from her food back to Abby as Abby begins the

"then" of her turn and continues her update (Figure 9).

Figure 8: Screenshot of Extract 21 line 40

Figure 9: Screenshot of Extract 21 line 44

Mom responds with laughter "hm hm" (line 47), and then a final positive assessment, "that's f<u>u</u>nny." (line 49). This run treats their story as possibly complete (in that it is hearable as complete because it is about a mealtime, and dessert is the possible completion of a meal and that it occurs after a gap (line 48)).

This case shows how a child's update about something that happened in their life can be locally occasioned through its connection to the current activities of the ongoing interaction. Libby's update is built to be relevant to what came before in that it is related to the ongoing activity of getting someone to eat a food they are reluctant to eat. Libby apparently understands this to be because they are a less preferable food, and understands that what is funny about the story she is recounting is that a less preferable and healthy food (vegetables), needs to be persuaded to eat an unhealthy (but more preferable) food – an ironic contrast with the children's current situation. In other words, it is retrospectively

activated by, and indicates the children's grasp of, quite specific parallel interactional circumstances.

Updates that are locally occasioned by an ongoing activity or action (i.e. something that has just occurred in the locally immediate environment) are built as currently relevant in that they relate back to what has just occurred in that interaction. In Extract 21, it is the ongoing activity of the parents trying to get Abby to eat her vegetables that occasions Libby's (and Abby's) subsequent update about a book they had read with connections to the local ongoing activity of the parents trying to get the kids to eat vegetables, something to which they are resistant, just as the vegetables in the book had to eat candy, to which they were resistant. Thus the placement of these updates indicates children's grasp of ongoing actions in a current conversation. In these cases, children initiate updates that are about themselves that are relevant to and retrospectively activated by the local ongoing activity.

Locally occasioned updates include updates that are retrospectively activated by lexical components of previous turns, by the noticing of a nearby object, or by an ongoing activity. In this section, I have shown how children incorporate updates about the goings-on of their lives in interactionally relevant moments of everyday family interactions by beginning an update when it is occasioned by what is occurring in the ongoing interaction. While we know that very young children "make use of the actions produced by other participants (both peers and adults caregivers) as a context for the composition and placement of their own contributions" (p. 44) (Lerner et al., 2011) in producing nonverbal actions, my findings here extend our understanding of the young children's interactional sensitivity in producing locally relevant actions. In producing an

update in such a way as to make it hearable as retrospectively activated by what came previously, these children exhibit the ability to recognize the focal action that is underway and bring their own independent contributions to it. Furthermore, again in examining very young children's nonverbal actions, Kidwell and Zimmerman (2006) have found that children arrange their local activities for the focus of their caregivers, writing that, "…they have an understanding of the relevant categories of events that caregivers will attend to and respond to…" (p. 21). Here then, with these verbal updates, children indicate an understanding of what connections can be made by connecting an update to an ongoing action.

Additionally, with these updates they are telling their parents something that is delivered in such a way as to indicate that they take it that it is something that their parents do not know, thus giving them insight into the children's world outside of the home and/or out of view of the parents. Knowing what other people know, and avoiding telling others what they already know (Sacks, 1973, p. 139) is a documented component of everyday social life. These updates indicate the importance of what children share in these family interactions. Children volunteer this information about their own lives of their own accord, thus indicating what about their lives outside of the family home they deem it relevant to be told at the particular moment that they are occasioned. Importantly, children provide these updates in interactionally relevant ways.

Parent-Initiated: Solicited Updates

Parents also solicit updates about their children's recent experiences. In this data set 36/87 cases are parent-solicited. Previous work on very young children has documented that caregivers of very young children "make inquiries of children and hold

them accountable for *knowing*, and more-or-less being able to disclose, about the events that they see and experience" (Kidwell, 2011, p. 261). Thus, even very young children are treated as knowing about their previous experiences. In some parent-solicited updates parents ask for information about things to which they themselves do not have primary access; they are not always present at their children's school, parties, or extracurricular activities. Thus, when they solicit these updates, the parents are in a K- position relative to their children, and their children are in the somewhat unusual position (for young children) of being able to tell their parents something about their lives that they do not already know. There are two types of other-solicited updates: report solicitations and tracking inquiries. In report solicitations a parent inquires about a child's day, inquiring about something that they do not present themselves as knowing anything about (i.e., things that happened when they were not there). In these cases the parent(s) leave(s) it open for the child to choose what they deem to be newsworthy to report on. With tracking inquiries parents solicit updates about specific aspects of their child's day about which they have some knowledge, referring to or asking about something particular. Additionally, parents can prompt their child to update someone else about something that they know has happened. I describe each in turn.

Report Solicitations

Report solicitations are requests for reports about a child's day. With these solicitations, parents inquire about something that they claim not to know about, often about the child's day at school. Importantly, these solicitations leave it to the child to decide what in their day was newsworthy, or worth telling, and to report on that. By presenting themselves as unknowledgeable (K-) about their child's day the parents are

leaving it entirely up to the child to determine what may be appropriate to report.

Solicited reports of this type are rare within the collection (7/87 cases).

With specific report solicitations, parents constrain their children's options as to

what they are asking them to report on. In Extract 22, Mom, Stacy (6), and Henry (3) are

having lunch at the kitchen table. Mom solicits a report from Stacy with, "did you do

anything fun at sch<u>oo</u>l today?" (line 06).

Extract 22
U41_019_Kitchen Table Activities_03.30_Chicken Dance

```
01     MOM:     Because you only have, (0.2) >you know<
02              fifteen minutes and then you gotta go to-
03              (2.0) uh gymnastics.=So I want you to
04              finish eating.
05              (1.5)
06     MOM:     Did you do anything fun at school today?
07              (2.2)
08     ???:     Mmmm:?
09     STA:     Yeah.
10              (1.2)/((STA starts to get off chair))
11     STA:     I did the chicken dance agai:n.
12              (0.2)
13     STA:     Deh deh >deh deh deh deh deh,< deh deh
14              >deh deh deh deh deh<, deh deh >deh deh
15              deh deh deh,< [deh deh deh deh. ]
16                           [ *16   *    *    * ]
17              (.)
18     STA:     Deh deh >deh deh
19              [deh deh deh,< °deh deh deh°]
20     MOM:     [Where did you do tha::t,  ]=music?
21     STA:     No:.
22              (0.2)
23     MOM:     [In-]
24     STA:     [At ] gy:m.
25     MOM:     At GY:M,
26     STA:     >>Deh deh deh deh deh deh deh,
27              [deh deh deh deh deh deh deh,<<           ]
28     MOM:     [I don't think I've ever done the chicken]
29              [dance at gym before. ]
30     STA:     [>>deh deh deh deh deh] deh deh.<<
```

---

[16] * indicates a clap

```
31          <<de:h de:h de:h deh.>> * * * deh deh >deh
32          deh deh deh deh,< deh deh >deh deh deh deh
33          deh,< deh deh >deh deh deh deh deh<
34          [>de:h de:h deh.>]
35          [  *    *    *   ]
```

Mom's report solicitation in line 06 asks Stacy to report about something "fun" that she did in school that day. This inquiry, a yes/no question, is recognizable as making relevant a confirmation or disconfirmation, but may also be hearable as making relevant a report of a "fun" activity. As Pomerantz (2017) explains, recipients of a question can display in their response to that question what they take it that question is after. Here, Stacy takes Mom's question to be after a confirmation (which she does line 09) but also an elaboration (which she does starting in line 11).

First, after a gap in line 07, and someone saying something unclear in line 08, Stacy responds with "Yeah." (line 09). Stacy starts to get off her chair (line 10) and then continues with "I did the chicken dance agai:n." (line 11). Here, Stacy specifies the fun thing that she did in school by naming an activity "the chicken dance", and indicating that it was an activity that had happened before with "again". After no uptake from Mom (line 12), Stacy then starts to perform the chicken dance, which is understandable here as a re-enactment of what occurred during school (lines 13-16). After one round of the song, there is again no uptake from Mom (see the micropause in line 17), and Stacy starts another round of the song (lines 18-19).

In overlap with Stacy's singing Mom asks a follow-up question with "Where did you do tha::t,=music?" (line 20), seeking further information about the reported activity, thus sustaining the activity of reporting. This inquiry is extended after its possible completion point with a guess as to where Stacy might have done the chicken dance, tentatively displaying Mom's possible knowledge of Stacy's day-to-day activities in her

school while at the same time giving Stacy epistemic authority over it, and prompting Stacy to confirm or disconfirm. Stacy responds with "N<u>o</u>:." (line 21), thus rejecting Mom's guess. In this way Stacy treats Mom's question as simply seeking confirmation or disconfirmation, rather than asking where or when it happened. After a gap (line 22), Mom starts to give another possibility with "In-" (line 23) at the same time as Stacy clarifies with, "At gy:m." (line 24). Mom treats this response as surprising by repeating Stacy's previous turn with increased volume "At G<u>Y</u>:M,", thereby making relevant further explanation by Stacy. Stacy then starts singing the song again (lines 26-27). In overlap with her singing Mom says "I don't think I've ever d<u>o</u>ne the chicken dance at gym before.", further expressing surprise at Stacy's report in line 24, and again making relevant more from Stacy. Stacy continues singing (lines 30-35), and does not directly respond to Mom's turn.

In this extract Mom's inquiry about Stacy's day in line 06 prompts Stacy to report something specific and valenced about her day. More specifically, it asks her to report on something fun, while also leaving it open for Stacy to select what was fun for her (and thus limiting her choices for the update as things that were fun at school). This inquiry indicates that Mom has the expectation that Stacy does "fun" things at school, and indicates that something "fun" is something that is reportable. Additionally, Mom treats the report as not yet complete, since she produces a follow-up inquiry about where this took place. Her presumption that Stacy did this activity in gym is incorrect. Stacy corrects it in line 24. Therefore, we can also see in this case how a parent's presumed epistemic authority about their child(ren)'s life outside of the home (i.e. in school) can be incongruent with what actually goes in their children's lives.

With report solicitations there is a clear connection to the literature on epistemics. As Kidwell (2011) writes, "…children's understanding of what someone sees and what they know emerges early in human ontology" (p 281). She examines how caregiver inquiries about a potentially problematic event expose their incomplete epistemic access to that event, which then makes relevant the child's own understanding and access to that event. In these cases parents are asking about moments when they were not physically present (e.g. when the child was at home with another caregiver, at school, etc.). Here, when parents solicit reports from their children, they are in a relative K- position, and they put the child in a relative K+ position by prompting them to tell the parent(s) about something to which the parent(s) they have incomplete epistemic access. By asking questions to which they do not know the answer (or are guessing about with candidate activities) about their children's lives, parents are giving children the opportunity to tell them something that they are presuming not to know, thereby giving them epistemic authority over the reportable details of their lives through the ability to tell about them.

Tracking Inquiries

In contrast to the report solicitation that was discussed previously, parents can also solicit updates from their children through tracking inquiries. In the data examined for this study, tracking inquiries are parent-prompted updates that refer to something known-in-common between the parent and the child from whom the update is solicited. Morrison (1987) defines tracking as inquiry practices that show involvement in another person's life by asking about something that the asker knows has occurred since their last point of contact. She writes that "tracking inquiries are constructed to show that (a) I know about an activity or event in your life that has occurred since our last conversation,

(b) I know you know about it, and (c) I know you know I know about it, and I am going to request a report about that activity" (Morrison, 1997, p. 39). Furthermore, she claims that in formulating tracking inquiries, the askers show that what they are asking about matters in some way; they treat it as important simply by asking about it.

Tracking inquiries contain references to specific events, people, or known-in-common aspects about children's day. In setting up these specific updates, parents indicate their epistemic access concerning what goes on in their child's day-to-day life away from them; in inquiring about a specific event that they know was supposed to happen, or about a particular aspect of their child's day, they show what they already know about their child's daily routines, thus demonstrating that they are keeping track of what happens in their child(ren)'s lives (Morrison, 1987; Pomerantz & Mandelbaum, 2005), and holding their children accountable for knowing about and being able to report on these specific parts of their lives away from the home. In setting up a tracking inquiry, "by a question, a questioner proposes that one relevantly could or should know the information requested, and thereby that others, specifically the recipient, do know it, and that the questioner has the (social) right to ask the question of the recipient, and that the recipient has a corresponding social obligation to respond" (Heritage & Raymond, 2012, p. 3). These tracking inquiries, by referring to specific aspects of the child's day, fall in the range of inquiries that embody what Heritage and Raymond (2012) call a "…smaller (or flatter) epistemic gradient" (p. 4). In other words, by formulating the update solicitations in this way, parents are showing what they already know about their child's life (or awareness of it) and including more specific parameters for the update compared to report solicitations, even though they are still presenting themselves as relatively K-,

not fully knowledgeable about the matter about which they are inquiring. In other words, they are showing that they are mindful of their children's activities every day, even when they may not be physically present for them, and that they treat themselves as accountable for keeping track of these activities. That may be what constitutes enacting closeness. Children understand parents to be responsible and accountable for being mindful of their children's day-to-day activities. Seeking an update about something they know was going to happen may be a way of indicating an ongoing interest in the life of their child(ren), and shows an ongoing orientation to parent's awareness of their children's lives, even when they are not physically present.

In these data, in families with young children, tracking inquiries do not always have to pertain to things that the parent(s) and children have previously discussed. They can also display parents' epistemic access to their child(ren)'s lives regarding matters that have not been previously discussed. Parents typically tend to know things about their child(ren)'s lives (e.g. what classes they are taking in school, whether their sports team won or lost the previous week, etc.). Thus, tracking in this context is the activity of parents checking about various aspects of their children's lives that they demonstrate some knowledge about, without it necessarily having been something that they had recently discussed together (i.e. they could know because they saw a report from a teacher, talked about it with their spouse or another sibling, etc.). This is distinct from Morrison's (1987) work on tracking, in that she writes that tracking inquiries are "…designed to be heard as subsequent but relevant to the last time the interactants conversed" (p. 44). In other words, parents have, and are permitted to have, other sources of information about their children than the children themselves that occurred in-between

when the parents and children and parents last saw each other. In this way, the current

study further elaborates the concept of tracking in the domain of families with young

children.

In Extract 23, Amanda (6), Mom, Nathan (10), Dad, and Valerie (a high school

foreign exchange student) are having dinner together. Both Dad and Mom issue tracking

inquiries to Nathan (lines 02, 10), each seeking an update on a known aspects of his daily

life in their inquiries, which what they know about Nathan, his class at school, and school

activities.

Extract 23
U66_Extra Family 003_08.10_Ski Trip

```
01                      (5.0)/((everyone eats))
02      DAD:            Your class loud today s- Nathan?
03                      (0.3)
04      NAT:            Mm hm,
05                      (0.2)
06      DAD:            As per usual,
07                      (0.5)
08      DAD:            °°(Don't do that)°°
09                      (4.0)/((everyone eats))
10      MOM:            Did a lot of kids go on the ski trip?
11                      (0.6)
12      NAT:            Mm mm.
13                      (1.0)
14      DAD:            When was tha:t.
15                      (1.5)
16      MOM:            Thursday before March break.
17                      (0.6)
18      NAT:            Nobody was really talking about it.
19      MOM:            Nobody was ta:lking about it?
20                      (1.2)
21      DAD:            They a:ll since forgot.
22                      (0.2)
23      DAD:            [Probab]ly.
24      MOM:            [Mm  hm]
25                      (0.4)
26      AMA:            Ma:ma, can you- can you cover this all the
27                      way and see if it (          ),
```

After a gap in which everyone eats (line 01), Dad solicits an update from Nathan about a specific feature of his class that day with "your class loud today s- Nathan?" (line 02). With this tracking inquiry, Dad refers to a presumably known-in-common specific characteristic of Nathan's class, that it is loud, and seeks an update on this feature of the class for that day. Nathan confirms this with the minimal "mm hm," (line 04). Dad then responds with "as per usual," (line 06), thus indicating that he has prior knowledge that the class is normally loud, and treating Nathan's confirmation as indicating something that is not out of the ordinary. This turn could also make relevant a subsequent update from Nathan, but none is provided. He then chastises Nathan for eating inappropriately (line 08), and everyone continues eating. With this inquiry, Dad tracks Nathan's daily school life by showing that he knows Nathan's class has been loud in the past, and asks if this was the case today. Thus, Dad shows that he is aware of and interested in Nathan's school life through his monitoring of specific features of Nathan's class.

After a gap in which everyone eats again (line 09), Mom issues another tracking inquiry to Nathan with "did a lot of kids go on the ski trip?" (line 10). This inquiry refers to a particular event, a ski trip, which demonstrates Mom's knowledge about the current goings-on of Nathan's school's extracurricular activities. Additionally, this is a polar question that solicits a confirmation or disconfirmation about something that Mom has apparently been tracking (i.e. whether or not the ski trip had a lots of kids on it), and could make relevant further talk about the ski trip. Nathan responds negatively with "mm mm." (line 12), and then Dad asks Mom about the trip (lines 14-16). Nathan then adds, "Nobody was really talking about it." (line 18), which claims he does not really have anything to update about since it was not a topic of conversation amongst his peers, thus

providing evidence for why he responded negatively in line 12. Mom treats this as news as she initiates repair on his turn with "Nobody was ta:lking about it?" (line 19), thus prompting more from Nathan. Nathan does not respond, and Dad provides an explanation for why this might be with, "They a:ll since forgot." (line 21) and then adds "Probably." (line 23) in overlap with Mom's agreement of "mm hm" (line 24), thus downgrading his previous explanation by making himself appear less certain about that claim.

Both Dad's and Mom's tracking inquiries demonstrate shared knowledge of things related to Nathan's school life: Dad invokes shared knowledge about Nathan's class's behavior and Mom invokes shared knowledge of a recent school event. Additionally, both of these inquiries are polar questions, which make relevant confirmation or disconfirmation, but can also be heard to make relevant further updates.

When parents solicit an update about a particular aspect of their child's day they may do so via tracking inquiries, showing what they already know about their child's daily routines, and thus demonstrating that they are keeping track of what happens in their child(ren)'s lives (Pomerantz & Mandelbaum, 2005). These tracking inquiries concern something the parent knows something about, but does not know the current status, and thus present themselves as K- with regard to the current status of the matter. Additionally, with these tracking inquiries they are also holding their children accountable for knowing about and being able to update on these specific parts of their lives away from the home. In formulating update solicitations by showing what they already know about their child's life, parents enact closeness via their interest in and awareness of the mundane activities of their child's life.

Prompting a Child to Update Someone Else

Parents can also solicit updates for their child to tell other family members. These
solicitations prompt a child to tell an unknowing recipient (Goodwin, 1979) about
something they did. In soliciting this type of update, parent(s) prompt their child to report
to another party something they treat as "updateable" about their child's day. That is, it
provides the child for the opportunity to demonstrate their knowledge of the event, as
with certain types of story initiations, as discussed by Lerner (1992) and Mandelbaum
(1989). These update solicitations, because they are not telling the update solicitor
something new, are built in such a way as to treat the solicited updatable activity as
something that is worth sharing with others, even though the update solicitor is familiar
with the update, and thus is in a K+ position. In classroom discourse, known-information
questions are typically followed by evaluations (Mehan, 1979). In these family
interactions, known-answer questions concerning updates function in another way: to
make the information in the update known to the other interlocutor. In Extract 24 Zara (4)
is having lunch with her sister Sally (12.5 months) and her Dad (seated next to Sally) and
Mom in the kitchen. Dad has come home from work just for lunch, and Zara has been at
school for the morning. Dad solicits a specific update for Zara to tell her Mom in line 16,
prompting her to tell Mom something exciting about her day that Zara and Dad know
about (K+) but Mom does not (K-).

Extract 24
U5_017_Lunchtime_11.30_123

```
01      ZAR:      °Up and down and away¿°
02                (2.0)/((ZAR eats yogurt))
03      ZAR:      Up and down and [a:?-
04                               [((points spoon to DAD))
05      DAD:      Way?
06      MOM:      ((singing)) And be [o:n you:r wa:y]
07      ZAR:                         [Up and do:w-  ]
08                (.)
```

```
09      ZAR:      Up and down and [a-
10                              [((points finger to DAD))
11                (0.2)
12      DAD:      Way?
13      ZAR:      >Up and down and [away?<
14                              [((points finger to DAD))
15                (1.0)
16      DAD:      Tell Mom the- (0.2) water fountain song.
17                (3.0)/((Zara eats yogurt))
18      ZAR:      (It goes) one two three that's enough
19                for me.
20                (2.5)/((Mom turns off water at sink))
21      MOM:      For the wa- is that (.) when you're
22                taking a drink?
23      ZAR:      ((nods vertically))/(1.2)
24      MOM:      You're not allowed to take longer
25                than one two three?
26                (3.0)/((Zara eating yogurt))
27      ZAR:      °Owen d- Owen° Owen does a really
28                long drink because,
29                (7.5)/((Zara eats yogurt, Mom adjusts
30                camera))
31      ZAR:      Someti:me Owen is >good in my cla::ss,<
32                (0.2) and sometimes he's ba:d.=Somtimes
33                he's good, (0.2) and then ba:d.
34                (0.5)
35      ZAR:      [Bad      ]
36      MOM:      [What does] he do that's bad,
37                (1.2)((Zara eats yogurt))
38      ZAR:      I: don't kno:w,
```

At the beginning of this segment Zara is singing a song collaboratively with her

Dad with some input from Mom (lines 01-15). In line 16 Dad prompts Zara to tell her

Mom another song with the directive, "Tell Mom the- (0.2) water fountain song." Here

he asks Zara to reenact the song. to her Mom something that happens at school, thus

informing her about something he and Zara know about but she does not. Zara eats her

yogurt (line 17) and then sings the song in lines 18-19 for her Mom "(It goes) one two

three that's enough for me." With this turn Zara fulfills the requirements of Dad's prompt

(i.e. she is 'telling' Mom about the song by singing it). Mom turns off the water at the

sink (line 20), and then asks a clarifying question about the when the song is sung, which might indicate its purpose, "For the wa- is that (.) when you're taking a dr<u>i</u>nk?" (lines 21-22). Zara confirms this by nodding (line 23), and Mom asks a subsequent clarifying question, attempting to unpack what the implications of this song are for Zara in her school day-to-day-activities with "You're not allowed to take l<u>o</u>nger than one two thr<u>ee</u>?" (lines 24-25). Here Mom infers what Dad may be indicating by having Zara report the song: that there is a formal limitation on how much water the children can drink at the water fountain in school. Zara does not respond immediately, as she is eating her yogurt (line 26). Then she starts a related update of her own about another person in her class who drinks for a long time (lines 27-28), which perhaps is an account for why they have to sing the song (some students drink for too long at the water fountain).

In this extract Dad prompts Zara to tell her Mom something very specific: he asks her to tell her about a song. This occurs after a gap (line 17), and after they had been singing a different song. Thus, this update closes down their previous activity of singing the song together because it requires Zara to tell about a different song. Zara complies, and sings the song. Mom then asks clarifying questions about the import of the song, treating it as informative in that she is learning about the rules of Zara's classroom that she previously did not know about. This indicates that Mom may take Dad to be prompting Zara to tell her about this song in order to make her aware of these rules in Zara's classroom.

Parents solicit updates from their children in various ways: through report solicitations, tracking inquiries, and asking their child to update a co-present other. As Heritage and Raymond (2012) write, different question formats claim different pre-

existing access to the information in question. With report solicitations, parents are in the most extreme K- position of all the update solicitations; they treat the child as knowing about their own life experiences by simply asking them about them. With tracking inquiries parents are not as K-; they are still asking their child to report on their own life experiences, but also indicate their own (the parents) understanding and awareness of the goings on of their child's life. Finally, when asking their child to update another the update solicitor and the child are both in a K+ position relative to the third party; by showing what they know and making it relevant to be disclosed to someone else, parents show their understanding of the child's lives and treat what is being solicited as important information worth sharing. Finally, we can also see how the update may be designed to do more than merely updating; it can also function to alert another family member as to the goings on of the child's life. By having the child perform the update, the update solicitor makes it available to the other interlocutors what the update is, but leaves it open for them to discern the upshot of the update.

Parent Scaffolding of Updates

At times, children demonstrate some difficulties in responding to parental update solicitations, either by claiming not to know what they did or what had happened, or by delaying a response in some way, possibly indicating difficulty. This may point to the fact that updating requires interactional competence that younger children may not have in that it is something that may develop over time (Forrester & Cherington, 2009; Wootton, 2010).

The child development literature has addressed this issue in work that tracks children's development of elicited narratives of past events. For example, Haden, Haine,

& Fivush (1997) write that, "essentially, as children begin to participate in social activities that are slightly beyond their competencies, adults scaffold children's performance by providing the necessary structure for accomplishing a task" (p. 295). Longitudinal research has found that mothers increased their elaborative questioning over time, starting primarily with informational statements, tag questions, and closed-ended yes/no questions, and then shifting to using more wh-questions as their child got older (Farrant & Reese, 2000; Fivush et al., 2006). Findings also indicate developmental changes over time. Schneider and Ornstein's (2015) review literature on the development of children's memory, writing that, "when children begin to reminisce, the adult partner provides most of the content and structure, with the child assuming more responsibility as he or she grows older. Indeed, with age and increased experience talking about the past, children's reports become more detailed and complex, and depend less on information provided by adult conversational partners" (p. 191).

In building upon this literature I provide specific detailed analyses of the ways in which parents provide scaffolding (Vygotsky, 1978) in updating solicitations. I find that scaffolding helps parents solve a specific type of interactional problem: how to get their child to update about their day when they are struggling with providing a parent-solicited updated. Next I discuss how parents provide scaffolding in their solicitations 1. report solicitations that then progress to providing turns for confirmation (wh-questions that are followed by yes/no interrogatives (YNIs)) and 2. yes/no interrogatives that are followed by related wh-questions. Each of these types of scaffolding is discussed next.

One practice that parents use to work with their children to construct reports is to move from report solicitations to seeking confirmation of candidate activities (this occurs

with a progression from wh-question(s) to YNI(s)). In these cases, children produce what is treated as an inadequate or problematic response in response to a report solicitation. This is followed by more specific turns from parents, seeking of confirmation(s). In moving from a report solicitation (where parents are inquiring about something that they do not know, and giving children the opportunity to choose what to report on) to update confirmations (where parents seek confirmation of something that they know something about and do not give children as much freedom to choose what to update on), parents move from a more unspecified interactional task to a more precise one. The progression of these sequences from report solicitations to seeking confirmation(s) reveals parents' assumptions about their children's competencies as "updaters" as well as about their authoritative knowledge and epistemic status about what goes on during their children's days away from home. In other words, they are making a more specific (and constrained) response relevant next. Additionally, by making a more specific report as a relevant next, parents deploy what they might know about their children's days and possible typical activities. The format of the inquiry may be attentive to what parents "should" know about their children's day and lives, but may also be sensitive to avoiding overstepping in claiming or displaying that knowledge.

In Extract 25, Ivy (3), Mom, Dad, and Orion (6) are having "breakfast for dinner". They are talking about what they all like on their pancakes and French toast. Dad's initial report solicitation occurs in lines 08-09. By asking her what she did, he leaves it open for Ivy to tell him what she did that day and treats this information as unknown to him.

Extract 25
U9_009_Dinnertime_School Today_19.00

```
01     MOM:      [What] do you like on yours¿
02     DAD:      [What]
```

```
03    IVY:      U:m butter?
04    MOM:      ((nodding)) Butter.=
05    ORI:      =I thought so.
06              (1.7)
07    MOM:      °Just [butter¿°]
07    IVY:           [(      ][                ]    )
08    DAD:                       [What did you do t-]
09    DAD:      What did you do today Ivy?
10    IVY:      Just pla:y?
11    DAD:      You just pla:yed?
12    IVY:      Yeh
13    DAD:      Whatdju- what did you pla::y (.) with.
14    IVY:      U:m, (Ja:mi?)
15              (0.3)
16    DAD:      Who?
17    IVY:      °Sammy.°
18              (0.2)
19    MOM:      [Sammy?
20              [((looks to DAD))
21    DAD:      Sammy?
22    IVY:      Yes
23    DAD:      ((playful voice)) You: di:d no::t.
24    IVY:      ((playful voice)) I di:::d (yea)
25    DAD:      Not toda:y.
26    IVY:      Yes I di:d.
27              (1.2)/((DAD reaches for bacon))
28    DAD:      Where did you see Sammy.
29    IVY:      (When I was at school.)
30    MOM:      You didn't go to school [today. ]
31    DAD:                              [Is that]
32              two days ago?
33              (0.2)
34    IVY:      (Yes but,)=
35    ORI:      =.HHHHH bacon (0.2) .HHHH
36              [you guys ] are stealin'
37    DAD:      [(sit down)]
38    ORI:      bacon [again. ]
39    MOM:            [I'm no-] I'm no:t I'm
40              [(just) ]
41    DAD:      [I'm just] making sure it's [not too hot.]
42    ORI:                                  [Da:ddy is.  ]
43              (1.0)/((ORI reaches for bacon))
44    IVY:      I just played something
45              [very fun.]
```

In lines 08-09 Dad first solicits a report from Ivy with "What did y<u>ou</u> do t-What did y<u>ou</u> do today <u>I</u>vy?". Here, he asks her to adumbrate the activities of her day by asking her what she did, leaving it open for her to choose what to report on. Ivy's response of "Just pl<u>a:</u>y?" in line 10 adumbrates a rather general activity of "play" as her actions for the day. By prefacing her turn with the minimizer "just", Ivy treats the activities of her day as ordinary or unremarkable. The "just" indicates that among the larger set of activities that Ivy could have participated in, the only one that she did was play, and not anything more than that. In other words, she indicates that her day consisted of a typical and not particularly reportable/newsworthy activity (i.e. play). Dad then prompts her to elaborate by issuing a partial repeat of her previous turn with "You just pl<u>a:</u>yed?" (line 11). By initiating repair in this way by repeating Ivy's prior turn, Dad indicates that he heard Ivy's turn, but is calling it into question.

In response Ivy does not elaborate on her previous turn, and simply confirms in line 12 with "yeh". (i.e., she treats Dad's turn as simply seeking confirmation). Dad then requests more details from Ivy with "Whatdju- what did you pl<u>a::</u>y (.) with.". In adding the "with", Dad seeks more details about Ivy's play, thereby treating her initial report as insufficient in that provided insufficient detail. Ivy responds tentatively, naming a person "U:m, (J<u>a:</u>mi?)" (line 14), thus reporting *whom* she played with and not *what* she played. Dad treats Ivy's response in line 14 as problematic by initiating repair with "who?" (line 16). Importantly, this repair initiation does not ask "what", as he did in his original turn in line 12, but "who", thus indicating that he has some understanding of what Ivy has just said (i.e. that she's not updating him on an activity or toy, but rather a person), and that he is showing surprise at her response, and/or may not be able to retrieve specifically to

whom she is referring. Ivy responds with ""°Sammy.°"" (line 17), presumably repeating with more clarity the name she originally said in line 14. However, both Mom and Dad still treat this turn as problematic, as both issue repair with full repeats of Ivy's previous turn (lines 19, 21). Ivy confirms this with "Y<u>e</u>s" (line 22). That is, by only confirming here, she treats Mom and Dad's turns as seeking confirmation of her previous turn.

Dad's response to Ivy's confirmation is said in a playful voice: "You: di:d n<u>o</u>::t." (line 23). Thus, it may not be clear to Ivy whether he is actually asserting that she did not play with Sammy. Her response (line 24) of "I di:::d (yea)" contradicts Dad's previous turn, asserting that she *did* play with Sammy (although she matches his teasing voice as well in terms of intonation and stretch of the words). Dad reaches for the bacon (line 27) and then, in his regular tone of voice inquires, "Wh<u>e</u>re did you see Sammy." (line 28). With this inquiry Dad challenges Ivy's previous report that she saw Sammy that day by asking for details about where she saw him, thus treating her assertion that she played with him as questionable. However, Ivy responds to this as a genuine inquiry with, "(When I was at school.)" (line 29), giving the location where she played with him, and resisting Dad's challenge of her report by responding to it with a detail (and thus treating it as an actual inquiry). However, in line 30 Mom challenges Ivy's line 29 with "You didn't go to sch<u>oo</u>l today." By asserting with certainty that Ivy did not go to school that day, Mom challenges Ivy's previous report (that she played with Sammy, at school), thereby putting her in the position to infer that her report is mistaken or incorrect. By claiming that Ivy did not go to school, she leaves it to Ivy to infer that it cannot be the case that she played with Sammy. Importantly, by challenging Ivy's report, Mom demonstrates her epistemic authority over something that, in theory, could be part of

Ivy's own epistemic domain (i.e. what she herself did that day), indicating that young children may not always have control over their epistemic domain. However, with this turn Mom asserts her epistemic authority over Ivy's activities that day.

Towards the end of Mom's turn, Dad inquires, "Is that two days ago?" (lines 31-32). With this inquiry Dad provides Ivy with an alternative possibility to her previous update for clarification (Koshik, 2005) - that she played with Sammy when she went to school two days ago, and not this day). By formulating it as a known-answer question in that Dad provides a specific time frame for Ivy to confirm, indicating that he knows when she went to school, Dad does give her the epistemic authority to confirm or disconfirm this alternative understanding of when she went to school. After a short gap in line 33, Ivy confirms Dad's correction but then begins to disagree with "(Yes but,)=" (line 34) (Sacks, 1987).

In lines 35-42 the focal action shifts as Orion accuses Dad of eating all the bacon. In line 43 there is a 1.0 second gap as Orion reaches for more bacon. Ivy then returns to the activity of reporting after the sequence concerning bacon, and redoes her previous report in line 44-45 with "I just played something very fun.", characterizing the activity that she played as something enjoyable (i.e. fun), but not explicating any details about the "fun" activity and completing her TCU with falling intonation to indicate that this turn is possibly complete. With this turn Ivy adjusts her initial update from her previous update that she played with Sammy (which has been challenged by both Mom and Dad), using the same components of her previous turn "just" and "played", but adding additional characteristics to her report by providing an assessment of what she played as "very fun". By redoing elements of her initial turn, including the minimizer "just", which treats what

she is reporting as not out of the ordinary, Ivy continues to report her ordinary activity

(again not adumbrating them in any way), but this time assessing them quite positively as

"very fun".

Next, Dad continues soliciting updates from Ivy in a different way starting in line

55, by proposing different candidate activities that she did that day for Ivy to confirm or

disconfirm.

Extract 25 Continued
U9_009_Dinnertime_School Today_19.00

```
44      IVY:      I just played something
45                [very fun.]
46      ORI:      [Each time] you eat one I get a bunch.
47      MOM:      °Okay°
48      ORI:      (        )
49                (1.2)
50      ORI:      [Tha:nks for making me have more¿]
51      IVY:      [↑(                              )]
52      MOM:      You're welcome.
53                (1.0)
54      ORI:      .HHH (          )
55      DAD:      Did you build puzzles today?
56      IVY:      Yes I did.
57                (0.2)
58      DAD:      Mm hmm?
59      MOM:      °(         )°
60      ORI:      You get the CRISP? I got the crisp part.
61      MOM:      Oh.
62                (1.2)
63      ORI:      You mean [the(   ) part?     ]
64      DAD:               [Did you have a nap] today Ivy?
65      ORI:      The (   ) part is the crisp.=
66      DAD:      =Did you have a nap today?
67      IVY:      [No I didn't.    ]
68      ORI:      [That's the part] I love.
69                (0.3)
70      ORI:      So don't eat (    )
71      DAD:      Did you go:, pee pee on the potty?
72      IVY:      I: di::d, but I didn't go (to sleepies).
73      DAD:      No:,
74      IVY:      No.
75      DAD:      Did you watch Scooby Doo?
```

```
76      IVY:      Yes.
77      DAD:      Huh hah
78                (0.2)
79      IVY:      (       Scooby      )
80      DAD:      Did you play with the ca:stle=I seen the
81                ca:stle in there.
82                (0.5)
83      IVY:      (        ) ye:s?
84      DAD:      Did you play with the ca:stle?
85      IVY:      Yes.
86      DAD:      Yea:? Were you a princess?
87      IVY:      Yes[=but no.          ]
88                   [((shakes head))]
89      DAD:      <Were you a kni:ght?>
90      IVY:      No, (knight)
91      DAD:      <Were you a dra:gon?>
92      MOM:      >She tried telling you,< who were you.
93      IVY:      U:m u:m queen and then [and a    ]princess.
94      MOM:                             [Oh quee:n]
95      DAD:      [O:h  ]
96      MOM:      [Queen] a:nd a [princess.]
97      DAD:                     [ Wo:w    ]
98      IVY:      Both of them
99      DAD:      Queen Elsa?
100     IVY:      U:::m yes?=
101     DAD:      =Yeah.
102     IVY:      (And I did them for u:::m:: a queen cuz
103               her- she said the princess adopt her.)
104     DAD:      O:::h.
105     IVY:      But the ca:stle's really bi:g.
106     MOM:      [Hmmmm.                      ]
107     DAD:      [((gets up from table))]
108     MOM:      Orion you did a really good job on your
109               spelling test.
```

In lines 46-52 Orion negotiates bacon distribution, and after another (1.0) second

gap in line 53 Dad prompts Ivy to elaborate upon her previous report by offering a

candidate activity for confirmation or disconfirmation, "Did you build puzzles today?",

(line 55). Here, he provides a candidate activity for her to confirm or disconfirm; her asks

about a candidate play activity of puzzles in a polar question format, which gives Ivy two

available options to respond with (i.e. either a yes or a no). Ivy responds affirmatively

with "yes" in line 56. Importantly, this update solicitation occurs after Ivy's revised report (lines 44-45). By narrowing the choices for Ivy's response, Dad offers candidate activities to confirm or disconfirm, thereby making it easier for her to respond,

Dad then provides a series of candidate activities (lines 55, 64, 66, 71, 75)) for Ivy to confirm or disconfirm. By providing candidate activities for her (i.e. that she played with puzzles that day), he is guessing possible activities that she might have partaken in, and making relevant agreement or disagreement of these candidate activities relevant next activities. Ivy responds to each of these possible activities by confirming or disconfirming the various activities Dad poses as possible things that she might have done that day.

Then, Dad offers another candidate activity for Ivy to confirm or disconfirm that contains the epistemic basis for the question: "Did you play with the ca:stle=I seen the ca:stle in there." (lines 80-81). Here, Dad not only offers a candidate activity for confirmation or disconfirmation, but also reports the resource he is drawing on to propose this as a candidate activity (that he saw it in the playroom). Ivy confirms this (although with something unclear prior to her confirmation (line 83), and Dad redoes his inquiry (this time without the epistemic support) in line 84, "Did you play with the ca:stle?". Ivy confirms this (line 85), and then Dad offers a series of candidate imaginary roles for Ivy to confirm or disconfirm (lines 85, 86, 89, 91). Like the candidate activity inquiries, these inquiries give Ivy candidate characters to confirm that she played. Mom then says ">She tried telling you,< who were you." (line 92). The first part of this turn is hearable as a reprimand to Dad: treating his responses to Ivy's earlier attempts (lines 87, 90) to tell him who she was as not sufficient. The second part of this turn is an inquiry directed at Ivy;

here Mom re-does Dad's specific candidate understandings as a general open-ended inquiry, thereby giving Ivy another chance at providing this information. Ivy then reports two different characters she played as with "U:m u:m queen and then and a princess." (line 93). Both Mom and Dad treat this as news (lines 94-97), and Ivy reformulates the upshot of her update: she did not only play as just one of the characters, but both of them (line 98 with "Both of them"). Then, Dad solicits another candidate character, this time being much more specific by naming a specific character from a movie with "Queen Elsa?" (line 99) which Ivy confirms (line 100) before Ivy reports more about her play (starting in line 102), although what she says is not quite clear. Dad treats the activity of reporting as complete by getting up from the table (line 107) and Mom turns attention to Orion's day at school by congratulating him on his spelling test (lines 108-109).

With this extract we see how parents can solicit reports from their children, but they do not always treat the reports provided as adequate or correct. By asking Ivy to report to him on what she did that day, Dad leaves it open for her to choose which details of her day to elaborate on. He treats her initial response of "just play" (line 10) as not sufficient, and after a series of challenges about the correctness of her report (i.e. whether it actually happened or not), Mom and Dad produce several subsequent specific candidate activities for Ivy to confirm or disconfirm.

Second, parents can scaffold their children's updating by asking them yes/no interrogatives (YNI) and then ask wh-questions about the same specific topic. In setting up their update solicitations in this way, parents provide children with the opportunity to produce a type-conforming response to a yes-no inquiry (which can be responded to with

a yes or no), then to a more open wh-question, which still requires a specific type of response (Schegloff, 2007b, p. 78) but more than just a YNI.

In Extract 26 both Mom and Dad solicit reports from Zara. Here, Zara (4) and her sister Sally (12.5 months) are having lunch with their Dad, and Mom (who is out of view of the video camera washing dishes at the sink). Dad has come home from work just for lunch. After Zara demonstrates some difficulty in responding to Dad's initial report solicitation (lines 09-10, 14), Mom sets up a YNI for confirmation/disconfirmation (lines 17-18), and Dad's subsequent wh-question (line 23) relates back to Mom's YNI. Here, Mom and Dad work together to elicit an update from Zara.

Extract 26
U6_017_Lunchtime_Great Grandma_23.30

```
01     ZAR:     ((looking at juice box))¹⁷ °I love Frozen.°
02              (0.3)
03     ZAR:     (OH OLAF'S) IN IT AND
04              FROZEN IN IT,
05              (0.5)
06     ZAR:     I EAT FRO↑↑ZEN,
07              (0.2)
08     ZAR:     [Uh    ]
09     DAD:     [Whadjya] do- whadja do you this
10              mornin' Za?
11              (1.0)/((Zara chews))
12     ZAR:     I um::::::::: don't know¿
13              (0.2)
14     DAD:     Did you go see- (.) great grandma?
15              (0.6)/((ZAR looks towards Mom))
16     ZAR:     U:m ((shakes head horizontally))
17     MOM:     She gave you a picture to color
18              right?
19              (1.6)
20     ZAR:     Uh hah.
21     DAD:     (Oo:) that's exciting.
22     ZAR:     Well I did it right no:w.
23     DAD:     What was the picture.
24              (0.6)
```

---
¹⁷ note that Zara's juice box has pictures of the Frozen characters on it

```
25    ZAR:    I brought it home.=Did I?
26    MOM:    (Yep)
27    DAD:    Well can you (not and) tell me what
28            it was?
29            (2.0)/((Zara reaches for carrot))
30    ZAR:    I have to eat five carrots.
31    DAD:    Is that your first one?
32    ZAR:    Yea
33            (0.5)
34    DAD:    So help me count.
```

At the beginning of this segment Zara is talking about characters from the Disney

movie Frozen (lines 01-06), and is generally acting silly. Thus, Dad's report solicitation

of "whadya do- whadja do this mornin' Za?" (lines 09-10) could be heard as moving her

out of this line of action. Dad's report solicitation puts Zara in the position of telling him

something that he presents as something that he does not know, and leaves it open for her

to choose what aspect of her morning to report on. Zara chews (line 11) and then claims

not to know "I um::::::::: don't know¿" (line 12). The elongated "um" here could be heard

as "doing thinking". Claiming not to know with turn final rising intonation displays

Zara's inability to answer her Dad's question at that moment (Beach & Metzger, 1997)

and is hearable as asking for help.

After a short gap in line 13, Dad prompts Zara with a more specific inquiry about

what she did that morning with "Did you go see- (.) great grandma?". Here Dad prompts

an update from Zara by deploying what he knows about what Zara did, and formulating it

as a polar known-answer question (Mehan, 1979), making relevant a yes or no from Zara.

This differs from his initial report solicitation in lines 09-10 because here he provides her

with a possible update to confirm. Zara then looks to her Mom (line 15), perhaps

soliciting assistance in answering her Dad's question. Zara starts to answer with "u:m"

(line 16) again perhaps enacting thinking as she shakes her head horizontally, perhaps in

response to something by Mom (who is not in view of the video camera), again demonstrating some possible difficulty with responding to Dad's report solicitation.

Mom then gives another confirmation solicitation, built off of Dad's, seeking confirmation of a specific activity that she did with her great grandma with, "She gave you a picture to color right?" (lines 17-18), which is designed to remind Zara of what she did that morning. Again, this is a YNI that prefers an affirmative response (Raymond, 2003) which contains specific information about something that Mom has access to that Zara did that day. It sets up a confirmation from Zara as a relevant next action. This turn incorporates the update Dad has inquired about, but is a more specific inquiry. With this inquiry Mom makes it available to Zara that she did go see Grandma (i.e. if she gave her a picture to color, she must have visited her). This is possibly solicited by Zara's look towards Mom (line 15), thus Mom's lines 17-18 function as assistance in helping Zara to successful provide a report. It is pertinent to note that these confirmation solicitations are upgraded in terms of the specificity of what the turns encode Mom and Dad as knowing. Dad's lines 09-10 do not presume any activity. Dad's line 14 presumes that Zara spent time with her great-grandma, and Mom's line 17-18 makes relevant a confirmation of a specific activity with her great-grandma. Therefore, the progression of these turns provides Zara with more assistance in confirming these reports.

After a gap in line 19, Zara confirms Mom's previous turn with "Uh hah." (line 20). Dad treats this as news in line 21 with "(Oo:) that's exciting.", positively assessing Zara's participation in the event that she has just confirmed, which may be hearable as prompting more from Zara. Zara then adds "Well I did it right no:w." (line 22), giving a specific time frame for when she colored the picture, thus providing a next part of the

report. This turn may alternatively be hearable as a correction of Mom's update

solicitation: she colored the picture now (i.e. at home) and not at her great-grandma's.

Dad then asks a follow-up wh-question in line 23 with "What was the picture.",

prompting Zara to tell more about what she colored, and thus more about her morning.

Importantly, this inquiry relates back to Mom's previous YNI in that it is built as a

follow-up inquiry. Mom's YNI indicates that great-grandma gave Zara a picture to color;

here Dad asks for more about that specific picture. Since Zara has confirmed that her

Grandma gave her a picture to color, in asking what the picture was, Dad now sets up

Zara to provide a description or tell him about the picture, which is something that she

already confirmed has occurred.

Zara responds in line 25 with "I brought it home.=Did I?". Here, she first re-

asserts what she did with the picture, but then immediately latches into an inquiry that

questions that assertion, indicating her uncertainty about whether or not the picture is

home or not. Mom confirms that she did bring the picture home with "yep" (line 26). Dad

then prompts Zara to tell more about the picture (versus showing it to him) with "Well

can you (not and) tell me what it was?" (lines 27-28), to which Zara does not respond.

In this case when Zara is unable to answer Dad's initial report solicitation (line

10), both he and Mom work together to give more scaffolding for Zara to be able to

update them on what she did that day, by prompting her with YNIs that both provide

candidate activities (i.e., seeing her great grandma, coloring) and set up confirmation or

disconfirmation. These inquiries also make possible further expansion of updates about

those candidate activities as relevant next actions (with Dad's subsequent wh-question in

line 23). With this extract we also see how Zara seeks assistance from her Mom to tell

about her morning activities (i.e. that she went to see her great grandma that day, and that her great grandma gave her a picture to color). Zara's eye gaze (line 15) and request for confirmation (line 25) are two ways in which Zara solicits the assistance of her Mom to help her report about her day (first by looking at her before responding in line 15), as well as to check the details of her update (to confirm that what she has said is correct in line 25). In this way she treats Mom as a resource who has authoritative knowledge (and is K+) about her activities. This may be characteristic of childhood; one cedes to others' authority over one's own actions and memories.

Parents can scaffold their children's updates in one of two ways: moving from report solicitations to seeking confirmation (a progression from wh-questions to YNI) and asking YNI that set up subsequent wh-questions. Both of these scaffolding techniques are actions that progress the activity of updating and/or reporting following a moment in which there has been some demonstrated difficulty or potential difficulty in updating. Thus, parents orient to the activity of updating as something with which their children may require some assistance, solving the problem with the child's inadequate or not-yet-produced update. Importantly, although the scaffolding of personal narratives has been discussed extensively in the child development literature in terms of how parents and children change and develop their prompting and recall of their memory of past events over time, in this chapter I examine the practice and progression scaffolding as they unfold in everyday interactions. Thus, here we can see that parents also orient to scaffolding within interactions (and not just over time and as children develop), treating potentially problematic update responses or non-responses as making relevant scaffolding of subsequent responses.

Updates that Resist the Local Ongoing Activity

Finally, updates can at times do more than simply updating; they can work to resist the local ongoing activity. In these cases, the update solicitor or updater can either begin or resume an updating sequence in order to move away from something that is potentially problematic in some way.

First, children can initiate an update themselves to resist a locally ongoing activity. In Extract 27, Emma (6) is making a birthday card for her friend and talking with her brother Jeffrey (8) and their Mom while the rest of the family is in another room. Her update in lines 16-22 about something that happened at a birthday party she had previously gone to comes about through a connection to Jeffrey's lines 11-14 about an idea for how she will present the card she is currently making to her friend. Emma's update also resists Jeffrey's ongoing activity of teasing her by treating the teasing as not bothersome to her.

Extract 27
U30_005_Dinnertime + Coloring_30.40_Picture

```
01     JEF:      ((puts marks [on card))]
02     MOM:                  [Jeff     ]do not mark
03               on her card please.
04     JEF:      Eh heh heheh .hhh I put some (red)
05               dots.
06     EMM:      I know=I see but she won't care.
07               (0.3)
08     EMM:      [If she does] see I'll just tell her it
09     JEF:      [(         )]
10     EMM:      was Jeffrey.
11     JEF:      So you just go hhh (0.2) and then
12               after you say that she'll be like .hhh
13               <thank you Jeffrey for the magnificent
14               ca::rd.>
15               (2.0)/((Emma continues working on card))
16     EMM:      At the- at the la:st birthday party I
17               went to, (0.2) after you opened your
18               gift you had to take a picture with
```

```
19              the birthday girl.
20              (0.2)
21    MOM:      O:h.
22    EMM:      I think it was- Clarice's.
23              (1.2)
24    JEF:      Ah HAH ah HUH ah huh huh
```

At the beginning of this segment Jeffrey starts to put marks with a pen on a card Emma is working on (line 01). Mom directs him to not do that with the summons-initial "Jeff do not mark on her card please." (lines 02-03) and he stops just after her summons is complete. After Mom's turn is complete, Jeffrey responds with "Eh heh heheh .hhh I put some (red) dots." (lines 04-05). The laughter in this turn treats what he has just done as funny, and then he reports his transgression by telling Emma exactly what he has put on her card (and treats it as something that is already complete). Since it is Emma's card that she is making for a friend, and by writing on it he has changed the card, Jeffrey's actions (line 01) and report of those actions (lines 04-05) are attempts to provoke and/or bother Emma. The evidence for this is how Mom responds to his actions of writing on the card: she chastises him in lines 02-03, thus treating it as something that he should not do.

Emma responds initially by claiming independent epistemic access to Jeffrey's announcement with "I know" (Mikesell et al., 2017), and then immediately latches into a dismissal of what he has done, indicating that it does not matter to her that he has written on her card "I know=I see but she won't care." (line 06). By claiming to already know – and see - what Jeffrey has done, and claiming that the future recipient of the card "won't care", Emma resists Jeffrey's actions. That is, she treats his actions of drawing on the birthday card she is working on and then announcing it to her, as not bothersome to her. After no uptake, Emma continues with "If she does see I'll just tell her it was Jeffrey." (lines 08, 10). By detailing a solution to the problem of what she will do if her friend sees

the marks Jeffrey has made on the card, Emma continues resisting Jeffrey's actions by treating them as non-problematic (or at least providing a solution to results of his actions).

Jeffrey then responds with a claim of what Emma's friend will say if she notices the marks, treating them as not a negative aspect of the card, but instead as *improving* the card (i.e. making it "magnificent") (lines 11-14) – and reinstating the report that he has modified Emma's card, thus again reporting his transgression and making it relevant in the interaction. This receives no uptake as Emma continues working on the card (line 15), continuing with the activity at hand, and thus claiming and displaying that what he has done as unproblematic for her by not responding to it.

Then Emma issues a locally occasioned update that is retrospectively activated by the ongoing activity. Jeffrey has just explained what Emma's friend will say after she gives the friend her card at the birthday party. Here, Emma explains what has happened at a previous birthday party she attended with, "At the- at the la:st birthday party I went to, (0.2) after you opened your gift you had to take a picture with the birthday girl." (lines 14-17). This update tells what occurred at a previous birthday party after the activity of gift giving: each attendee had to get their picture taken with the birthday girl. This is apparently retrospectively activated by Jeffrey's imagined scenario about what Emma's friend will say when she discovers Jeffrey's marks on the card Emma has made. The matter-of-fact delivery of this update makes it function as an update; it moves away talk from Jeffrey's impact on the card, and thus away from his potentially bothersome activities as well. Mom responds to this with "O:h." (line 21), treating it as news to her

(and thus also as an update of new information) (Heritage, 1984). Emma then continues, specifying her update with more information about whose party it was (line 22).

Parent-solicited updates can also work to resist the locally ongoing activity by moving to an updating sequence. In Extract 28, Carter (8), Louis (3), Dad, and Mom are having dinner together. They have just finished talking about how they are having "taco Tuesday" on Monday. It is just after Carter notices and assesses the video camera that Mom issues several tracking inquiries, which demonstrate what she knows about Carter's school activities (starting in lines 13-14), and whether or not those programs are complete, thus not attending to his assessment in any way, and moving talk away from attending to the video camera.

Extract 28
U61_010_Dinnertime_06.40_Swim to Survive

```
01    DAD:    Isn't this good or wha:t.
02            (0.5)/((DAD scoops food onto plate))
03    MOM:    [Ta:co] Tuesday.
04    CAR:    [(   )]
05            (0.2)
06    DAD:    On a [Monday.     ]
07    MOM:         [On a Monday.]hheh heh heh heh heh
08    LOU:    (Mon)
09    CAR:    HAH
10    DAD:    Hm hm hm hm
11    DAD:    ((passes bowl to MOM)) ch ch ch
12    CAR:    °That's a pretty cool camera.°
13    MOM:    So:are you guys going swimming again this
14            week Carter?
15            (0.2)
16    MOM:    At school?
17    CAR:    I don't think so.
18    MOM:    Oh the swimming, (.) learn- swi- sur- uh-
19            what's it called.
20    CAR:    Swim to [survive.]
21    MOM:            [Swim to ]survi:ve.
22            (.)
23    MOM:    Is that all done?
24    CAR:    I think- yea:h.
```

```
25      MOM:       Yea:h¿
26                 (0.2)
27      MOM:       Are you gonna get a repo:rt on it
28                 [or:?    ]
29      DAD:       [No long]er gonna [swim to survive.]
30      CAR:                         [I don't kno:w.   ]
31      MOM:       °You don't know¿°
32      DAD:       They're just gonna si:nk.
33                 (0.2)
34      CAR:       Ma:ybe.=
35      MOM:       =You guys are all done ska:ting too right?
36                 (0.2)/((CAR looks up to Mom))
37      CAR:       °I don't kno:w°.
38      MOM:       You don't know.
39      CAR:       (              )
40                 (0.3)
41      CAR:       (        )
42                 (2.0)/((everyone eats))
43      DAD:       When do they start soccer.
```

At the beginning of this extract the family is talking about the meal they are

eating (lines 01-11). Then, Carter assesses the camera that is recording their interaction

(line 12). Mom's initial tracking inquiry may be an attempt to move him away from talk

about the camera by starting a new sequence and not taking up his assessment in any

way. This inquiry "So: are you guys going swimming again this week Carter?" (lines 13-

14) shows what she knows about Carter's school activities; he has been involved in a

particular swimming program at school. Additionally, this turn is *so*-prefaced, which

conveys that Carter's swimming has been on Mom's mind (Bolden, 2006), and is

emerging from incipiency. Although Mom's tracking inquiries receive limited uptake and

elaboration from Carter because he claims not to know, thereby resisting her attempts to

engage in updating. They demonstrate Mom's own knowledge, attention to, and interest

in his school activities and when they are occurring (and possibly complete). Importantly,

Mom's initial update solicitation occurs in a moment of possible interactional trouble:

Carter's assessment of the video camera that is recording their interaction (line 12) marks a departure from the dinnertime food assessment talk that had been occurring. Thus, in inquiring about Carter's school day, Mom moves talk back away from the video camera by not taking up his assessment in any way.

When updating (either child-initiated or parent-solicited) is done in the service of resisting the local ongoing action, it moves the interactants from the potentially problematic activity into the activity of updating. In producing these updates or update solicitations in these moments, rather than responding to a potentially problematic utterance, interactants simply move on to the activity of updating. As these update solicitations can be produced in such a way as to move away from a trouble, in these family interactions it may be possible that updating is an omnirelevant activity that can occur at any point in time.

Discussion & Conclusions

Telling about your day is an important component of close relationships because it is one way in which interactants maintain incumbency in the relationship (Pomerantz & Mandelbaum, 2005). In this chapter I have shown how children's updates about their lives can be locally occasioned, as well as how parents solicit updates from their children. In family interactions, knowing about each other's lives appears to have implications for social solidarity. Asking about someone else's life is a way of showing your interest in it, and thereby in them. In this data set, as well as in Blum-Kulka's (1997) research, parental interest in young children's life does not appear to be reciprocal. In other words, parents ask their children about their day, but children do not display that same interest and/or entitlement towards their parents in the form of requesting update solicitations.

In locally occasioned updates, children's updates about their lives are retrospectively activated. These locally occasioned updates come across as serendipitous in these family interactions; children build their turns to be a relevant sequential next to what has come just prior, or they relate it to the local environment in some way. The interactional sophistication of the placement of these updates should not come as a surprise, as children's development of interactional competence has been documented (Lerner et al., 2011; Wootton, 2010). By telling their parents things that they do not know about their own lives, children demonstrate their awareness of the social norms of close relationships (i.e. that you do not tell people things they already know), as well as their awareness of what the parents know (and do not know) versus what they themselves know about their own daily lives. Furthermore, with these updates, children indicate an emergent understanding of what is a relevant category of event (or update) that will be taken up or understood as newsworthy by their family members.

As Kidwell (2011) notes, caregivers may have incomplete epistemic access to different events in children's lives. With parent-prompted updates, there are unproblematic instances where children are able to update their parent(s) about their day (e.g. Extract 22) and more complicated instances where the child initially struggles in some way with the task of updating (e.g. Extract 25). With all of these cases, we see an orientation by the parents towards an expectation that children should know about what they did that day and be able to report it to others, thus treating young children's lives and telling about them as accountable. It is important to emphasize that these parent-solicited updates are not about inherently problematic or traumatic life events. Instead, it appears that predominantly parents solicit updates and reports about everyday, mundane

activities. This shows an orientation to socializing children to update about these things in their everyday lives, as well as to the importance of being up-to-date on the mundane details of family members' lives. Many of these cases consist of scaffolded report solicitations (e.g. Extract 25), where parents work to guide and/or assist their children in telling about their day. Parents who are not successful in soliciting updates from their children may work to modify their update solicitations, providing candidate activities for the child to either confirm or disconfirm (e.g. Extract 25), showing not only what they may know about possible activities their child may have participated in that day, but also their awareness of their child's possibly limited abilities to remember and provide updates without assistance.

This chapter begins to unpack how children may struggle in reporting details about their own lives when they are solicited by their parents, but are easily able to design and produce their own non-solicited updates for their parents. Perhaps it is difficult for children to respond to parent-solicited updates because of their limited interactional control of memory. Some developmental literature alludes to the fact that it is the development of children's memories as well as linguistic abilities that helps improve their recall and deployment of memories for others (Gathercole, 1998; Haden et al., 1997; Nelson & Fivush, 2004). Findings in this chapter indicate that children as young as age 3 are able to produce unsolicited updates unproblematically, but struggle with parent-solicited updates (e.g. Extract 25). It may be possible to infer that children do recall past events and can tell about them in moments that arise naturally (and are self-initiated) within an interaction, but when they are prompted by others, are less able to retrieve them.

Furthermore, unlike interactionally occasioned updates (initiated by the children themselves), parent-solicited reports and updates are a parent-driven activity; children need to figure out what specifically their parents are asking for in their solicitations. Perhaps older children are more interactionally experienced, and have had more practice at understanding the activity of updating than younger children, and this may be why their reports proceed more smoothly and do not require parental scaffolding. In other words, how do young children know what a parent is "after" when soliciting an update? Locally occasioned updates concern what is locally relevant for the children, as well as things they know about (they are about matters that are relevant to them and that have become relevant in the interaction), whereas parent-prompted updates concern what the parent takes to be relevant.

Additionally, the epistemic authority of the parents in these cases appears to be unquestioned. In other words, parents have, and are permitted to have, other sources of information about their children than the children themselves. In this way, the current study further elaborates the concept of tracking in the domain of families with young children. That is, children do not push back against their parents' corrections of children's updates (such as the case in Extract 25 even though those updates are about the children's lives. Thus, it appears that parents, especially those of younger children (for example, Ivy is three) claim epistemic authority over their children's lives in that they know certain things about their child's day-to-day lives, and they use this knowledge to help young children to recall and produce reports. It may be that in these family interactions, parents have what Heritage and Raymond, (2012) term a "flatter epistemic gradient" (p. 181). In other words, parents know more about their children's lives when

they are young, and thus are able to inquire about their daily activities in ways that show what they presume to have happened in their children's lives.

By prompting their children for updates about their lives, parents socialize their children as to what are considered appropriate updateable matters (Blum-Kulka, 1997). In asking about certain things, but not others, they emphasize the importance of some activities as updateable. Thus, they are in essence teaching their children what to keep track of in their everyday lives, and potentially what to eventually keep track of in other people's lives as well (Morrison, 1987). In terms of emerging sociality in children, these children are learning about the rights and responsibilities of being a person in this world in relation to others: what things they are expected to know about themselves and their own previous experiences and what they should be able to report to others.

Future longitudinal work in this area could examine children's development of locally occasioned updating abilities over time. Although we know about how very young children's storytelling abilities improve and how storytelling increases in frequency over time (from ages 2;0 to 2;6) (e.g. Miller & Sperry, 1988), and that differences exist in terms of how families from different cultural backgrounds socialize children to narrative events (e.g. Blum-Kulka, 1997; Blum-Kulka, 1993, 1994; Ochs, Taylor, Rudolph, & Smith, 1992), we do not yet know at what age children are consistently able to deliver their own locally occasioned updates or appropriately respond to their parents' prompts for updates in naturalistic settings. Although this chapter reports findings concerning young children's abilities when it comes to telling others about their own lived experiences, a more comprehensive data set of more children of different ages would help substantiate the claims made here, and broaden our understanding of the

development of children's interactional competencies as well as how parents work to

make updating an achievable activity for even very young children.

CHAPTER SIX

MONITORING OBJECT IDENTIFICATION

Introduction

This chapter examines how parents and children monitor each other's object

identification in family interactions, showing that interactants correct inapposite object

identifications. Focusing on the identification of objects and everyday items, findings

indicate that both children and parents treat others' object identification as inapposite for

the object or item at hand by initiating repair or correction, indicating a pervasive

monitoring to ensure that others select the most precise term. These objects are visually

available to interactants, and therefore reference is presumably understandable without

the correct term, yet both children and parents recurrently insist on identifying things in

the most precise way. That is, this ongoing monitoring of object identification occurs

even when intersubjectivity is not at stake for the participants. Interactants demonstrate

through their talk and/or actions that they know what object the other is referring to, but

still initiate repair or correction. Both parents and children suspend progressivity in order

to manage issues of object identification, even when intersubjectivity is already achieved,

indicating the pervasiveness of the monitoring of object identification. In this chapter I

show how the activity of object identification appears to take precedence over

progressivity (Heritage, 2007).

Additionally, through corrections that leave it open for self (that is, producer of

the trouble source) to correct an object identification, parents correct their children in

ways that children do not correct their parents. That is, parents initiation correction in

ways that do not provide the term for the object in question, but rather leave it open for

their child(ren) to complete the correction and identify the object themselves. Initiating corrections in this way may be a way of 'doing being' a parent in it indicates parental monitoring and tracking of what words parents take it their child should be able to produce.

In this chapter I also analyze how parents and children utilize the activity of object identification to accomplish other actions. That is, it appears that the activity of identifying objects can be a resource in family interactions. Family members can exploit this activity to implement other actions: to redirect parental attention, avoid a potential trouble, or resist taking up a complaint.

Literature Review

I first review the literature on reference and word selection, which has examined how and why interactants use certain person and place reference forms, so as to show what is known about how people accomplish the action of referring and selecting words. This chapter builds upon these findings by examining how family members orient to the identification of mundane everyday objects. Next, I review the literature on repair and correction in order to position my findings relative to what we already know repair and correction. I then review the literature on progressivity in order to situate this chapter within our current understanding of how progressivity can be suspended in interaction, as I find that correcting object identification can suspend the progressivity of talk. Next I show how prior work on epistemics provides an important basis for my findings regarding parental knowledge and tracking of their children's vocabulary. Finally, I review the literature on socialization. This chapter contributes to the socialization literature by exploring one way in which parents and children socialize each other to use

the most apposite term when identifying objects, adding to our understanding of socialization as a multidirectional process (Pontecorvo et al., 2001). Each of these literatures is reviewed next.

Reference

As this chapter deals with object identification, it is pertinent to review the prior literature regarding how reference is accomplished in interaction through person and place reference. This research examines how speakers go about selecting one reference term over another. Early conversation analytic research on reference examined reference to places through place formulations (e.g Schegloff, 1972), and reference to persons (Sacks & Schegloff, 1979). In selecting references, speakers employ recipient design, defined as "...a multitude of respects in which the talk by a party in a conversation is constructed or designed in ways which display an orientation and sensitivity to the particular other(s) who are the co-participants" (Sacks et al., 1974, p. 727). That is, speakers design their turns at talk, including reference terms, specifically for the interactants to whom they are speaking.

In his early work on place formulations Schegloff (1972) writes that speakers select the apposite place formulation for that interaction and its interactants: "A "right" formulation exhibits, in the very fact of its production, that it is some "*this* conversation, at *this* place, with *these* members, at *this* point in its course" that has been analyzed to select *that* term; it exhibits, in the very fact of its production, that it is some particular "*this* situation" that is producing it." (p. 115). Other research on place formulations has examined the different actions that place formulations can accomplish in interaction. For instance, Kitzinger et al. (2013) examined how place reformulations can function as a

practical resource, for example in responding to a double-barreled first pair part (Kitzinger et al., 2013). Addtionally, Dingemanse, Rossi, and Floyd (2017) studied place formulations in story beginnings, finding that they can set the stage for the type of forthcoming story and anchor together elements of the story.

More recent work on place (and person) reference has examined the interaction between progressivity and intersubjectivity, writing that interactants treat the advancement of a sequence as tacitly indicating that intersubjectivity has been achieved (Heritage, 2007). Heritage (2007) writes, "the balance between progressivity and intersubjectivity that the preference for recognitional reference embodies is one that is strongly biased towards progressivity, but it ultimately rests entirely on the hidden work that speakers do to ensure that their references to persons [and places] are recognizable without the need for repair" (p. 279). Building upon prior research on progressivity, in this chapter, I find that progressivity is sacrificed for the correct identification of objects.

Conversation analytic work has also examined person reference. As Schegloff (2000) writes, "referring to persons in talk-in-interaction involves selection from among alternative resources, and this selection is a locus of interactional order, exploited to accomplish determinate actions" (p. 715). Sacks and Schegloff (1979) note that there are two preferences associated with references to people in interaction: minimization and recipient design. Minimization is the preference for the use of a single reference form, and recipient design is the preference for using recognitionals when possible. There is also a preference for recognitional reference forms over non-recognitional reference forms (i.e. using the first name 'Bob' over 'my friend') and for names over recognitional descriptors (i.e. using a proper name instead of a description of a person) (Sacks &

Schegloff, 1979; Schegloff, 1996). As Heritage (2007) writes, "speakers operate under the default assumption that recognitional references are recognizable and recognized" (p. 279). In this chapter I find that there is ongoing monitoring of object identification, and an orientation to using the most precise term.

We also know that at times interactants simply may be referring to another person when they utilize a person reference term (i.e. simple references, or reference *simpliciter*), and at other times speakers may be referring to someone in such a way so as to do more than just referring (i.e. to accomplish other actions) (Schegloff, 1996, p. 440) . For example, using a non-recognitional form when a recognitional could be used has been found to contribute to social distance (Jackson, 2013) and reformulating a previous reference can accomplish actions such as explaining the rejection of an offer (Jackson, 2013). In this chapter I also find that object identification can be used to accomplish other actions: to redirect parental attention and to move on from a problematic activity.

Some research has examined reference to things other than persons and places, for example, objects or items in everyday interaction. For example, work has been conducted on the repair of reference to "things" (Egbert, Golato, & Robinson, 2009, p. 129). In particular, Egbert et al. (2009) examine German and English repair initiations of reference to physical and abstract objects, focusing on the form "what" in German and English produced with falling intonation. They write that, "given the important relevance of referencing to intersubjectivity it makes sense that the organization of repair provides conversationalists with specific practices for repairing reference-related troubles" (Egbert et al., 2009, p. 128). This chapter builds upon this study in examining repair and

corrections in the identification of everyday objects in family interactions, examining both corrections and repair initiations.

Word Selection

This chapter also builds on and adds to our understanding of word selection in that it examines the identification of everyday mundane objects. Conversation analytic work on word selection has studied the use of technical versus vernacular vocabulary. Kitzinger and Mandelbaum (2013) show that there is a relationship between word selection and identity: "the vocabulary out of which turns at talk are built is selected with reference to the considerations of recipient design, which include, minimally, a judgment of whether or not the recipient is capable of understanding the words used" (p. 23). Additionally, they find that there is an orientation to using specialist terms when possible. Just as Kitzinger & Mandelbaum (2013) found that interactants strongly orient to using specialist terms where possible, I find both that parents and children are strongly oriented to correctly identifying objects in their locally immediate environment.

Repair

My findings build on and contribute to research on repair, finding that other-initiated repair and corrections are prevalent in family interactions in the context of object identification. Repair deals with issues of speaking, hearing, and understanding (Schegloff et al., 1977). There are two types of repair initiation: self-initiated and other-initiated. Self-initiated repairs are produced by the producer of the trouble source, and occur within the same turn as the trouble source, in that turn's transition space, or in the third turn after the trouble source. Other-initiated repair occurs in a turn or turns subsequent to the trouble source and is initiated by a speaker other than the producer of

the trouble source (Schegloff et al., 1977). Jefferson (1987) also distinguishes between exposed and embedded other-correction, and explains how, when it is exposed, correction can become the official "interactional business" (p. 88), thereby disrupting progressivity. Findings to date have noted that self-initiated repair is substantially more prevalent than other-initiated repair (Schegloff et al., 1977). However, Schegloff et al. (1977) do point out in a footnote (pp. 380-381) that parent-child interactions may be one context in which this may not be the case due to an orientation to language socialization. The cases in this corpus support and develop their speculation; other-initiated repairs and corrections are prevalent in family interaction when dealing with inapposite object identification.

Prior research has also shown how at times repair is done simply to address a problem in referring, but other work examines cases in which the repair of a reference does more than repair (Kitzinger & Mandelbaum, 2013; Lerner et al., 2012). These additional actions include managing identities, meeting the requirements of a story's telling, upgrading the credibility of an information source, or explaining the rejection of an offer. The relationship between epistemics and repair has also been examined. Bolden (2013) finds that interactants may work to deploy specialized knowledge when completing a repair, and that epistemics can supersede the right to self-repair. Bolden's (2011) work asserts how interlocutors can orient to progressivity and social epistemics by addressing a repair initiation to someone other than the speaker of the trouble source.

Repair deals with problems in hearing, speaking, or understanding. In contrast, with corrections correcting becomes the "interactional business" of the ongoing interaction (Jefferson, 1987, p. 88) and there is typically a "replacement" of what was

corrected with what is 'correct' (Schegloff et al., 1977, p. 363). With corrections, there is

a basic format that occurs (taken from Jefferson (1987)).

1. A speaker produces some object (X).

2. A subsequent speaker produces an alternative (Y).

3. Prior speaker produces the alternative (Y).

A main interactional implication of corrections is that corrections can reveal epistemic

asymmetries between interactants (e.g. Kurhila, 2001). That is, by correcting another's

prior turn, an interactant can enact a K+ stance relative to another. Jefferson (1987) also

points out that correcting can accomplish activities such as instructing, complaining,

forgiving, and accusing. This chapter builds upon this prior research on repair and

correction in that it finds that the ongoing monitoring of object identification is

implemented through repairs and corrections that in some cases also accomplish other

actions: delaying responding to a complaint, redirecting parental attention, and moving

on from a problematic activity.

Progressivity

The field of CA has also examined intersubjectivity and the progressivity of

interactions (Heritage, 2007; Stivers & Robinson, 2015). Stivers and Robinson (2015)

claim that there is a preference for progressivity in interaction. I find that repair

initiations and corrections occur even when intersubjectivity has been achieved. Findings

indicate that the progressivity of family interactions is often treated by the interactants as

secondary to correcting words selected for everyday objects/items. In this chapter I show

how both parents and children initiate repair on and correct other's inapposite object

identifications, indicating that in interactions between parents and children, apposite

identification takes precedence over the progressivity of the interaction. The repairs and

corrections that are initiated in these cases do not appear to be initiated to resolve a

problem with intersubjectivity. Apposite object identification, rather than

intersubjectivity, appears to be the target of repair. This points to the pervasiveness of this

monitoring of object identification. It indicates that the progressivity of parent-child

interactions may operate differently with regard to the management of object

identification. By suspending progressivity, parents engage in active socialization of their

children, both in terms of language use and knowledge of the world.

Epistemics

      This chapter also contributes to the literature on epistemics, or the management of

social knowledge. Findings indicate a specific type of knowledge parents have about their

children: what words they could/show know. Research on epistemics has investigated

how interlocutors manage territories of knowledge locally through interaction (Heritage,

2012a, b). Heritage (2012b) differentiates between epistemic status (speakers' knowledge

and rights to knowledge) and epistemic stance (how speakers position themselves as K+

or K- in the design of their turns). Prior research also indicates that through repair

interactants can orient to and reconstitute epistemic asymmetries, through both the

epistemics of experience (directly or indirectly knowing about a prior event), and

expertise (based on authority) (Bolden, 2013). Furthermore, the way in which interactants

construct turns can have implications for identities and relationships. Specifically,

Raymond and Heritage (2006) find that particular features of how turns and actions are

constructed implement relational identities. In this chapter, I show how the other's

knowledge of object identification is made relevant in family interactions through orientations to apposite identification of objects.

Socialization

Finally, prior literature on language socialization contributes to our understanding of the process through which family members socialize each other to be competent interactants. Schieffelin and Ochs (1986) define language socialization as "…understanding how persons become competent members of social groups and the role of language in this process" (p. 167). This chapter examines how parents and children monitor apposite object identification, indicating that precise identification of objects is one of the requirements for being a competent interactant. That is, I expose one specific practice of language socialization: repairing and correcting others' inapposite object identification.

Research on socialization increasingly recognizes the multidirectional nature of socialization processes (Pontecorvo, Fasulo, & Sterponi, 2001). That is, some research acknowledges the role of children in the process of socialization, through peer socialization (Corsaro, 2003). Other research demonstrates that socialization is something that does not occur simply through transmission of knowledge from parents to children (e.g. see Bolden's (2012) work on language brokering with adults)).

Socialization can be considered a dynamic process, with children influencing their own socialization. For example, M. Goodwin (2007) examined socialization in what she termed "occasioned knowledge exploration": moments in which children and their parents work together to connect new information to their pre-existing knowledge of a word or concept. She found that such moments are not didactic in nature, but are often

playful, spontaneous and embedded within larger family activities. Importantly, children play an active role in initiating and sustaining these moments; parents often provide extended explanations only after their children have indicated their interest. Building upon her work by examining moments of object identification, I find that in family interactions both parents and children display an ongoing monitoring of apposite object identification.

The analysis presented in this chapter builds on this work on socialization by examining the different ways in which children and parents monitor object identification in their everyday interactions. Findings indicate that both children and parents are active contributors to the language socialization process in that both initiate repair on and correct each other's inapposite object identification. In this chapter I show how children are also active socializers of other family members because they also initiate repair on and/or correct adults' object identification, showing specifically how socialization can occur from parent to child, child to child, and child to parent. That is, I examine specific practices that indicate that socialization is an interactive and multidirectional process (Pontecorvo et al., 2001).

For this chapter, an initial corpus of 67 cases in which interactants monitor object identification in family interactions was collected. Cases that did not include identification of objects (i.e. those that referred to people/places/actions/activities/abstract concepts) were excluded from the data set, as similarities began to emerge among the cases involving object identification. From the larger collection, 47 instances of object identification that included references to objects or items in the immediate local environment were identified and analyzed. It is important to note that the vast majority of

these cases are either child to parent or parent to child; only 4 of the 47 cases in the

smaller collection were sibling to sibling.

With these cases of identification, the issue is not whether or not the participants

have mutual understanding of *which* object is being referred to, but rather, at issue is the

proper term to identify that object. That is, it is through incorrect object identification

that interactants can indicate that they do not understand or recognize an object. This

instantiates a lack of understanding of what the object is.

In the first two analytic sections of this chapter I examine where object

identification is oriented to in the ongoing interaction: when it is the focal action and

during other activities. First, I examine cases in which object identification is the ongoing

focal action. In these cases the ongoing course of action is engaging in various versions

of wordplay in the activity of identifying. It is not surprising that object identification

occurs in these instances. The focal action has to do with words and word use, so object

identification is naturally a part of this type of activity. Both parents and children engage

in correcting other's object identification during identification wordplay. Second, I

examine cases where object identification arises during other ongoing activities in the

context of family interactions. That is, in these instances the ongoing activity does not

have to do with words, wordplay, or object naming. It is in these cases that the ongoing

monitoring of object identification becomes the most visible. Interactants correct other's

object identification even when it is not necessary for intersubjectivity in the ongoing

interaction, and when it is not related to the ongoing course of action. In these cases, both

parents and children halt the progressivity of ongoing interaction in order to remedy

another's incorrect identification of an object in the immediate environment, thereby making object identification a temporary focal action.

In the next section of this chapter I examine specific practices through which parents correct children's identification of objects. That is, parents correct children in ways that children do not correct their parents. In these cases a parent indicates through initiating repair that there is a problem with object identification in a prior turn, but does provide the proper identification. That is, the parent makes it available for the producer of the trouble-source turn (the child) to self-correct. This occurs in three ways: 1. The producer of the repair initiation inquires about the other's epistemic status, 2. The producer of the repair initiation offers alternative object identification(s), 3. The producer of the repair initiation indicates that there is a problem with the prior object identification, but does not specify what it is. These cases also indicate that there is ongoing parental monitoring of their child(ren) identifying objects correctly. Parents indicate with their repair initiations what words they expect their child to know. Parents appear to take advantage of moments in which learning can occur, in that they halt the progressivity of the interaction by initiating repair on inapposite object identification, even when intersubjectivity is not at issue within the interaction. With these cases parents indicate an orientation to social solidarity because they do not overtly correct their children, but instead give them an opportunity to self-correct.

Finally, I examine how children and parents exploit the ongoing monitoring of object identification to accomplish other actions. Children redirect the attention of their parents by making relevant word-related talk, exploiting parents' ongoing monitoring of object identification and willingness to teach about these objects in everyday family

interactions. They do so to 1. redirect the attention of their parents, and 2. move on from a problematic activity. Parents also exploit this ongoing monitoring of the identification of objects to not take up a child's complaint.

Object Identification as a Focal Action

First, family members can correct each other's identification of objects within the activity of wordplay. In these cases the ongoing course of action has to do with the identification of objects and items, and thus object identification is the focal action. Both parents and children correct each other's object identifications in this interactional context. First I discuss parental corrections that occur when object identification is the focal action, and then I examine children's corrections.

Parental Corrections When Object Identification is the Focal Action

First, parents can correct their children's object identification during wordplay, or when object identification is the focal action. That is, in these cases the ongoing focal action pertains to words and word use and the activity of identifying objects and determining proper object identification occurs as an activity in its own right. That is, in these cases, how to identify an object has been called into question. In the data collected for this dissertation, I find that parents initiate these teaching-centric activities concerning how to identify objects. As Raymond and Heritage (2006) write, interactants work to "…monitor and assert rights to knowledge and information on a moment-by-moment basis" (p. 700). Here, by treating their child(ren) as potentially knowledgeable about how to refer to a specific object, and inviting them to participate in the activity of object identification, parents act in ways that support the research on the multidirectionality of

language socialization (Pontecorvo et al., 2001) and occasioned knowledge exploration

(Goodwin, 2007).

In Extract 29, Dad is playing with his two sons Liam (6) and Aaron (1) while

Mom cleans up in the background. The main play activity that occurs during this segment

is color identification. Liam identifies the colors of various play doh containers for his

brother (as solicited by Dad in lines 01-03). Dad initially accepts Liam's term for the

color, but then treats it as potentially incorrect by offering an adjustment to the Liam's

initial formulation by providing an alternative with "°Yup° (.) you can say that's yellow

or o:range it's like uh,[>somewhere] in betwee:n< right?" (lines 23-24, 26). Liam

partially accepts Dad's alternative proposal in line 28 in a way that includes both Dad's

alternative proposal and his own initial object identification.

Extract 29
WS18_018_Legos Camera 2_00.00_Yellow or Orange

```
01      DAD:      Who wants to talk about play doh.
02                (1.0)/((Liam stacks play doh containers))
03      DAD:      Tea:ch him about the different colors.
04                (0.8)/((Liam looks towards Mom))
05      LIA:      [This is gree::n,
06                [((holds up play doh container))¹⁸
07                (0.2)/((LIA stacks another container))
08      LIA:      Th(h)i:s is p- °gr-° pink.
09      DAD:      Yup=
10      LIA:      =[This is yellow.
11                 [((holds up container))
12      LIA:      [((holds up container))
13                [This is purple¿=
14      LIA:       [=This whi:te,
15                 [((holds up container))
16                [blue:,
17                [((holds up container))
18                 [re:d,
19                 [((holds up container))
20                (0.3)/((LIA takes container from DAD))
```

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¹⁸ Note that each of the play doh containers has a different color top

```
21      LIA:      and yellow.
22                (0.6)/((Dad looks at container))
23      DAD:      °Yup° (.) you can say that's yellow or
24                o:range it's like uh,
25      LIA:      [Yellow    ]
26      DAD:      [>somewhere] in betwee:n< right?
27                (0.5)/((Liam looks at container))
28      LIA:      We:ll ye:llowish orange.
29                (0.3)
30      DAD:      Yellowish o:range °I like that°.
31                (0.2)/((Dad pats legs))
32      DAD:      I'll go with that.
33                (1.0)
34      DAD:      See if Aaron- Aaron do you wanna
35                put them back?
```

At the beginning of the segment Dad proposes an activity, that Liam should teach

Aaron the different colors of the play doh (lines 01-3). In this way, object identification

becomes the focal action, and Liam unproblematically identifies the color of several play

doh containers (lines 05-20). Then, in line 21 he formulates the color of a play doh

container with "and yellow." in a list of containers. Note that Liam has already previously

identified a different play doh container as yellow in line 10. Dad looks towards the

container (line 22), agrees ("°Yup°"). Importantly, this response agrees with Liam's

naming of the color, making relevant a next step in their current play activity. Then, after

a brief pause Dad begins a correction with, "you can say that's yellow or o:range it's like

uh, >somewhere in betwee:n< right?" (lines 23-24, 26). In this turn Dad first quietly

agrees with Liam's identification of the play doh container as yellow "°Yup°", but then

gives another possible formulation that adjusts Liam's initial formulation: "you can say

that's yellow or o:range". By prefacing the formulation with "you can say", Dad proposes

Liam's formulation as correct, and then offers an alternative that could be used in

reference to that play doh container. This turn treats "yellow" as a possibly correct

formulation, but offers "orange" as a possible alternative. Thus, Dad proposes a possible alternative to the identification of the color than Liam has offered.

As Dad continues his turn with "it's like uh," (line 24), which is hearable as searching for a more apposite identification, thereby perhaps indicating some doubt about his color identification, Liam repeats his previous identification with "ye̲llow" (line 25). Here Liam reasserts his previous label of yellow as the apposite characterization for that container of play doh, thus rejecting Dad's alternative proposal. Dad continues in overlap with Liam, and ends his turn with a tag question: "it's like uh, >somewhere in betwee:n< right?". Dad's turn makes relevant a confirmation from Liam, proposing a formulation of the color that incorporates both Liam's initial formulation (yellow) and Dad's subsequent proposed alternative formulation (orange) by proposing that the color of this item is perhaps in between the two formulations. With this turn Dad treats Liam's label of "yellow" as not quite correct, but also accommodates it, accounting for the difficulty in finding the correct formulation. By producing his correction in this way, Dad treats Liam's previous identification as not incorrect, and thus treats him as knowledgeable, but in proposing an alternative he makes it available to Liam that there may be a better or alternative formulation to identify that color, and that the identification may be tricky.

Liam looks at the container (line 27), and then produces a *well*-prefaced turn, which indicates that Liam is about to produce something from his own perspective (Heritage, 2015). He then combines both of the previous formulations (his own and Dad's) with, "We:ll ye̲:llowish orange." (line 28). This identification incorporates both of their suggestions and tacitly acknowledges Dad's account for the difficulty in producing a proper term for it. Dad agrees with Liam's formulation by repeating it and then

appreciates it with, "Yellowish o:range °I like that°." (line 30). By repeating the term, Dad accepts the identification Liam has offered, and by saying he likes it, he appreciates Liam's formulation (and perhaps also his solution to the problem). He then claims that he accepts Liam's suggested formulation (line 32) with "I'll go with that.".

In this segment, the ongoing course of action is the activity of identifying colors, an activity that Dad initiated. That is, it is a dedicated object identification activity that is occurring. Dad presents Liam with an alternative formulation to the one Liam had previously used to refer to the play doh container, but leaves it up to Liam to accept the alternative color formulation by making it relevant for him to confirm it. This case shows how determining proper object identification can become an activity in its own right, and parents can initiate corrections in these contexts.

Within the ongoing focal action of object identification parents can also make it available that there has been an error with a child's object identification by delaying a response. By not providing uptake of a child's object identification, a parent indicates that there may be a problem with that object identification, but does not provide any more information about the potential problem, leaving it open for the child to figure out the problem and self-correct or not.

In Extract 30, Louis (3), Mom, and Carter (8) are putting together puzzles while Dad is working on the computer in the background. Mom has been helping Louis in putting together a puzzle by pointing out pieces on the box and asking Louis to identify them and then add them to the part of the puzzle that he has already completed. That is, here the ongoing focal action is object identification of the images on the puzzle box. Another round of this begins starting in line 12. Mom does not verbally respond to

Louis's response of "a chocolate e:gg." (in line 16); this in combination with her eye

gaze movement towards the box and then back towards Louis (lines 17-18) makes it

available to Louis that there may be a problem with his response.

Extract 30
WS38_010_Playtime_Chocolate Cake_06.00[19]

```
12      MOM:                  [Oh ] [and what's above the
13                                  [((points to box))
14              i:ce crea:m.
15              (1.0)/((Louis looks at box))
16      LOU:    A chocolate [e:gg.
17      MOM:                 [((glances towards box))
18              (1.0)/((Mom looks towards Louis))      |
19      CAR:    Khhhehhh                               |
20      LOU:    Chocolate ca:ke.                       |
21      MOM:    Right.                                 |
22              (.)
23      MOM:    Can you see the chocolate cake?
24              (1.5)/((Louis looks at puzzle pieces))
25      LOU:    I::: see it.
```

Mom's inquiry in lines 12-14 "Oh and what's above the i:ce crea:m."

makes relevant an identification from Louis of a specific item in a specific location on the

box. Louis looks at the box (line 15) and then identifies the item with "A chocolate e:gg."

(line 16). In overlap with the "egg" of his turn Mom looks back towards the box, perhaps

to 'check' his ongoing response. Then, after his response is complete, and during the

ensuing gap of 1.0 second, Mom looks back towards Louis (line 18). Both the delay in

responding and the look make it available to Louis that there may be some trouble with

his response because Mom looks towards him, indicating she is attending to what he has

said, but does not provide a third position confirmation of his turn. Furthermore, Carter

then laughs (line 19); this laughter also makes it available to Louis that there may be

some sort of trouble with his response, and that Carter treats it as laughable. Louis then

---

[19] This family did not give permission to show screen shots of their recordings.

corrects himself with "Chocolate ca:ke." (line 19). Here, Louis's error was a partial error; he got the chocolate part of the identification correct, but not the second part. Mom confirms that Louis is now correct with "Right." (line 20), making it inferable by Louis that his prior response was incorrect, and his subsequent one was correct. Mom then continues with the puzzle activity, prompting Louis to find the chocolate cake puzzle piece to add to the puzzle (lines 23-25).

In this case Mom does not respond verbally to indicate that Louis made an identification error. Mom's gaze, in the place of a response, and directed at Louis, (as well as Carter's laughter) could be understood as indicating that there is a problem with Louis's prior turn, and perhaps initiating a correction. Importantly, neither Mom nor Carter indicates what that problem may be, and thus they leave it open for Louis to self-correct, which he does. Following her non-response and Carter's laughter, Louis implements a self-correction.

Engaging their children in object identification as a focal action may be one way in which parents 'do' being parent. By initiating identification activities parents make relevant linguistic practice for their children, treating object identification as a dedicated activity in its own right. Additionally, in monitoring their children's object identification for errors (but not providing a corrected term), they indicate their own understanding of what their child could/should know, indicating an ongoing tracking of their children's linguistic repertoire.

Children's Corrections When Object Identification is the Focal Action

Children also correct object identifications when object identification is the focal action. First, children may produce corrections of object identification when they have

been invited to do so by a parent. When a parent appears to question or be uncertain about the most apposite object identification (even during play activities), children may correct their parent's prior object identification. That is, parents can seek information concerning apposite object identification from their children.

In the next case, Extract 31, Abby (5) has been making a "surprise" for Mom and has instructed Libby (3) to make sure Mom's eyes are closed. Mom has been "identifying" various body parts of Libby's by running her fingers over them and "guessing" them (see Figure 10 below). That is, here they are engaging in a dedicated language activity: Mom identifies various body parts and Libby responds to those 'guesses'.
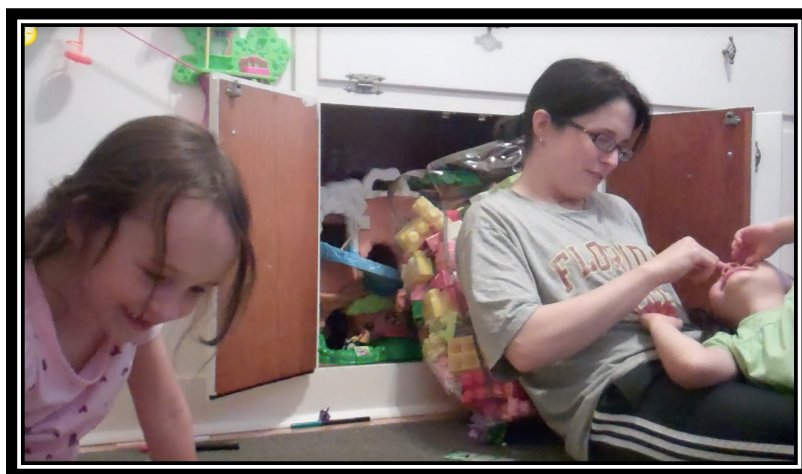
Figure 10: Screenshot of Extract 31

Note how Mom's guess in line 07 is an absurd one for a body part for a young female child (a moustache). This turn invites Libby's subsequent confirmation or disconfirmation, which Libby produces in lines 12 following a bout of laughter with the correction ".hh the eye::bro:::ws.."

Extract 31
WS24_001_Playtime2_Eyebrows_13.00

```
01      MOM:      [I fee:l, (0.4) eye[ ba:ll]s?
```

```
02                    [((runs finger acro[ss Lib]by's eyes))
03      LIB:                         [eh heh]
04      ABB:      Kkheh
05      LIB:      Heh hEh hEh [heh ] heh heh heh.
06      ABB:                  [hiih]
07      MOM:      [I fee:l, (1.2) moustache?
08                [((runs finger across Libby's eyebrows))
09      ABB:       [((turns to look at Mom))
10      ABB:       [Eh heh heh heh hah hah hah hah hah hah.]
11      LIB:       [Hhh heheheh huhuhuhuhuh?                 ]
12                .hh the eye::bro[:::ws.
13      MOM:                      [O::h. The eye:brows.
14      ABB:      Okay guys.
15      MOM:      Oka:y,=
16      ABB:      =It's a:lmost ready.
```

At the beginning of this segment Mom guesses what she is feeling on Libby's face with "I fee:l, (0.4) eyeba:lls?" as she runs her fingers across Libby's eyes (lines 01-02). Abby and Libby both respond with laughter (lines 03-06), which treats Mom's guess as funny. Note, however, that they do not confirm or disconfirm Mom's guess. Then, in line 07 Mom issues a next guess with "I fee:l, (1.2) moustache?" as she runs her finger across Libby's eyebrows (line 08). The rising intonation of this turn indicates that Mom expects a response from Libby to confirm or disconfirm what she has identified by feeling with her eyes closed.

Abby then turns to look at Mom (line 09) as she laughs (line 10). In overlap with this Libby also laughs (line 11). Their laughter again treats Mom's guess as funny (presumably because a young girl would not have a moustache). After Abby stops laughing, she corrects Mom with the correction ".hh the eye::bro:::ws." This turn is hearable as a correction of Mom's guess from line 07 in that it provides an alternative word to Mom's "moustache". Mom acknowledges Libby's correction with "O::h. The eye:brows." (line 13), treating the correction as news (Heritage, 1984). Talk then resumes to Abby's preparation of the "surprise" (lines 14-16).

In this segment Mom's questioning intonation makes relevant from Libby confirmation or disconfirmation of her identification of what she feels on Libby's face. Libby produces a correction that offers ".hh the eye::bro:::ws." as a replacement for "moustache." By inviting confirmation or disconfirmation (albeit for a presumably silly identification), Mom includes Libby in the activity of identifying and gives her the opportunity to show what she knows.

In this case, a child's correction of object identification has been examined in the context of the activity of object identification (albeit this case could be considered 'mock' object identification). Mom's object identification is designed for confirmation or disconfirmation, and Libby corrects her.

Overall, the cases discussed in this section (produced by both parents and children) occur when the focal action is object identification. Play activities can consist of identifying objects for a younger sibling (Extract 29), for a parent (Extract 30), or as part of a silly game (Extract 31). This cases indicate a teaching orientation that occurs in family interactions; Engaging their children in object identification activities may be one way in which parents teach their children about proper object identification. That is, in initiating activities where the focal action is identifying, parents create moments to test and/or teach their children regarding how to identify the objects in their world.

Object Identification During Play

Family members also correct each other's inapposite object identification during other interactional activities. That is, object identification corrections also occur when the ongoing focal action is *not* object identification, such as when manipulating make-believe or pretend objects, eating, etc. In these cases, the ongoing course of action is not object

identification or word play, but rather, other types of play or family activities. Importantly, the corrections in these cases suspend the ongoing course of action to deal with the issue of inapposite object identification. Again, both parents and children correct each other's object identification in these interactional contexts. First I discuss parental corrections during other activities, then children's corrections.

Parental Corrections During Other Activities

Parental corrections during other activities suspend the ongoing play to deal with issues of inapposite object identification, making object identification a temporary focal action. In some cases in these family interactions (e.g. Extract 32), parents initially do not take up a child's circumlocution that has been produced in lieu of the correct term, but *do* later initiate repair following an incorrect object identification. That is, children may indicate difficulty in finding the right word (via circumlocution), but it is not until there is an incorrect object identification that parents initiate repair. In this case Mom is about to start preparing Lacey's (4) lunch, and has been asking Lacey what she wants by proposing possible food items. Lacey describes a certain type of cheese, without using a reference term, using a series of circumlocutions (lines 06, 09, 11-13) before eventually referring to it as "Co:ttage cheese.=" (line 19). Mom then immediately issues an other-initiated and other-completed repair with "=It's called feta.: (line 20). Note here that Mom's repair is not produced in service of intersubjectivity. Mom treats Lacey's initial description of the cheese as sufficient for knowing what to get for her. However, when Lacey refers to the cheese incorrectly she immediately initiates repair.

Extract 32
WS34_007_Craft Time 3_Feta_01.40

```
01    MOM:      You wanna sandwich?
02    LAC:      .Hhhh shhlp [I'll show you.
```

```
03                               [((stands up, walks towards Mom))
04    MOM:     Well- you have to stay where the v(h)ideo
05             can s(h)ee: you.
06    LAC:     I want- [I want-]
07                     [((backs] up))
08    MOM:     [I need ] you to use
09    LAC:     [I want-]
10    MOM:     your words and [ tell me.]
11    LAC:                    [the white] chee:se, .hh
12             that like- .hh the white cheese with
13             um .hh the wa:ter in it °like that cheese.°
14    MOM:     You want that cheese?
15    LAC:     Yea.
16             (0.2)
17    MOM:     Cuz I don't- oka:y.
18             (0.5)/((sound of Mom walking away))
19    LAC:     Co:ttage cheese.=
20    MOM:     =It's called feta.
21    LAC:     I want feta °pl-° .hh and yogurt plea:se.
```

At the beginning of this segment Mom proposes a food item for Lacey's lunch with "You wanna sandwich?" (line 01). Lacey responds not affirmatively or negatively, but by offering to show her with, ".Hhhh shhlp I'll show you." (line 02) as she starts to walk towards Mom (line 03) who is in the kitchen. Additionally, it is hearable as possibly rejecting Mom's suggestion in that since it does not accept the food proposal, it may indicate that she may want something else. Mom responds with a directive and account, "Well- you have to stay where the v(h)ideo can s(h)ee: you." (line 04-05). With this turn Mom rejects Lacey's previous offer to show Mom what she wants without outright rejecting it. By producing an account referencing Lacey's position relevant to the video camera (that it has to see Lacey), Mom makes it available to Lacey that she cannot come and show her what she wants (and thus by implication that she will need to articulate what she wants).

Lacey responds by backing up (line 07) and making a request by telling Mom what kind of cheese she wants "I want- I want- I want-: the white chee:se, .hh that like- .hh the white cheese with um .hh the wa:ter in it °like that cheese.°" (lines 06, 09, 11-13). In this turn Lacey uses descriptions, with different characteristics of the cheese, including its color and consistency, to explain the type of cheese that she wants, making available to Mom the type of cheese (but also that she does not appear to know the name for it). Mom responds with a check for the type of cheese Lacey wants using a minimized recognitional descriptor[20] (Sacks & Schegloff, 1979), with "You want that cheese?" (line 14). It may be that Mom points to a type of cheese here, but since Mom is not in view of the video camera this is speculative. Lacey confirms that this indeed is the cheese that she wants with "yea."

Mom starts a turn, but then cuts off, and agrees to get that cheese for Lacey "Cuz I don't- oka:y." (line 17). The beginning of this turn is hearable as possibly beginning to resist Lacey's request (and is evidence for Mom's line 14 as indicating surprise), but then Mom agrees to comply with the request with "okay:y". Mom walks away (line 18), and then Lacey names the type of cheese with "Co:ttage cheese.=" (line 19). This turn is hearable as Lacey resolving her word search because by naming a type of cheese it is hearable that this is the type of cheese she previously described. Mom then immediately initiates and completes repair with "=It's called feta." (line 20). This turn indicates a problem with Lacey's immediately previous identification of "cottage cheese" by providing a different formulation. By initiating her turn with "it's called", Mom formats

---

[20] This term has been used regarding reference to persons. Note that here Lacey uses the object reference equivalent of recognitional descriptors to refer to the object. That is, she describes the cheese but does not name it.

her repair in such a way as to indicate that she is teaching Lacey the proper word for that type of cheese. Lacey then incorporates this repaired term into her subsequent elaborated request for what she wants to eat for lunch with "I want f<u>e</u>ta °pl-° .hh and y<u>o</u>gurt plea:se." (line 21). This indicates that Lacey has adopted this repaired term as the proper term for identifying the type of cheese that she wants for her sandwich.

In this segment Mom does not provide a proper term for Lacey after Lacey has used a circumlocution describing the type of cheese she wants for her sandwich. It is not until Lacey uses an incorrect object identification (line 12) that Mom initiates repair (line 13), correcting Lacey's previous identification to "feta". Thus, we can see how parents monitor and initiate repair on object identification errors when they occur. This indicates an ongoing parental vigilance with regard to their children using correct terms to identify everyday objects. In this way, parents enact being language teachers, taking advantage of everyday moments and activities to teach their children how to properly identify the objects in their world. By producing a correction even where intersubjectivity is not at issue, Mom indicates the importance of using the correct term in referring to an object.

At times parental corrections can also occur with subsequent explanations for why the identification of that object is corrected. In Extract 33 Fern (3) and Dad are sitting on the floor making a three-dimensional puzzle of a building (see Figure 11: Screenshot of Extract 34). Dad has been doing most of the work and has been soliciting "help" from Fern. Dad's correction occurs in lines 11, 13, and 19 after Fern refers to the building as a "cafeteria" in line 08. Note that here he gives further explanation and context for his correction. It is important to note that Dad has been struggling to make the pieces stand up, and continues to do so throughout this segment.

Figure 11: Screenshot of Extract 34

Extract 33
WS39_011_Craft Time1.1_Cafeteria_08.30.mov

```
01     DAD:     I was kinda hoping you would do it.
02              (.)
03     DAD:     (Right), I thought maybe you could do all
04              the hard ones.
05              (1.0)/((Dad tries to put pieces together))
06     DAD:     No:?
07              (3.0)/((Fern wiggles))
08     FER:     This cafeteria is getting, (.) tri:cky.
09              (.)
10     FER:     °I guess.°=
11     DAD:     =Yeah this- this one's a coffee shop.
12              (.)
13     DAD:     They call it a café.
14              (0.8)
15     FER:     Caf[é.        ]
16                [((nods))]
17     DAD:     Yeah.
18              (0.4)
19     DAD:     (I-) kinda like- it's like Tim Horton's.[21]=
20     FER:     =He:y what i:s thi:s.
```

Dad announces, "I was kinda hoping you would do it." (line 01), attempting to get

Fern more involved with the project. After no uptake from Fern, he follows this up with

another attempt to get Fern involved, "(Right), I thought maybe you could do all the hard

ones." (lines 03-04), specifying exactly how he wants Fern to participate in the craft

---

[21] Tim Horton's is a Canadian coffee shop chain

activity: to do the difficult portions. He then continues trying to put the pieces together (line 05), and again after no uptake from Fern, he asks "no:?" (line 06). This functions to pursue a response (Pomerantz, 1984). It makes relevant a confirmation next, and perhaps also participation, from Fern. Fern wiggles in place (line 07) and then assesses the current status of their project with "Th<u>is</u> cafeteria is getting, (.) tr<u>i</u>:cky." (line 08), assessing the project as difficult, and referring to the object they are making as a 'cafeteria'. After a micropause in line 09, she downgrades the certainty of her previous turn with the quiet "°I guess.°=" (line 10).

Dad comes in immediately, first agreeing with Fern's assessment and then correcting her use of the word "cafeteria" with "=Yeah this- this one's a c<u>o</u>ffee shop." (line 11). This corrects Fern's prior use of "cafeteria" to "coffee shop". Additionally, Dad uses the indexical "this" to refer to the building that they are putting together, making it available to Fern that what he is correcting is the item they are building. This indicates that some of these types of structures might be cafeterias (and so Fern is at least partially right in calling it that), this particular one is a coffee shop. Then, after a micropause (line 12) Dad specifies his correction with "They call it a caf<u>é</u>.", thus self-correcting from his own use of "coffee shop" to the more specific "café" (line 13). By prefacing his turn with "they call", Dad indicates that someone else (i.e. not him, perhaps the makers of the puzzle, or people more generally) predicate that the apposite identification of this object is a "café"[22]. After a gap in line 14, Fern repeats part of Dad's previous turn with "café" (line 15) as she nods (line 16), thus indicating that she has heard his correction, and perhaps demonstrating her use of a presumably newly learned word (line 15). In line 17

---

[22] "Café" is a diminutive of Fern's use of cafeteria.

Dad confirms Fern's use of the word "café" with "ye<u>a</u>h." After a short gap in line 18 Dad

then provides an example of what type of establishment might constitute a "café" with

(I-) k<u>i</u>nda like- it's like T<u>i</u>m Horton's.=" (line 19). With this example Dad gives Fern a

real-life example of what a café is: similar to a Tim Hortons, using a reference that he

presumes Fern to know. Fern, however, does not attend to Dad's example, and instead

starts asking about one of the pieces of the project with "=He:y what i:s th<u>i:</u>s." which

results in a discussion of what that piece is.

In this case Dad provides a correction following Fern's apparently incorrect usage

of the referent "cafeteria". This indicates that Fern's prior object identification was

incorrect, and Dad is providing the correct identification, and that he presumes that she

does not know the correct version. That is, he treats Fern as not knowing the proper word

for the object in question and that by initiating repair he is teaching it to her, thereby

introducing it into her vocabulary. Notably, he does so over several turns, halting the

progressivity of the play interaction to focus on the identification of object(s). He corrects

her (line 11), and then explains why (lines 13, 19), utilizing others (i.e. "they call") as a

reasoning for his correction. In these ways Dad's correction is designed to reduce the

threat to social solidarity in that he does not does so over several turns and does so with

an explanation to differentiate this specific type of eating establishment.

When parents produce corrections or repairs of their child's object identification

during everyday family activities, they halt the progressivity of the ongoing interaction to

deal with the identification problem first even when intersubjectivity has been achieved.

In making correcting (and thus object identification) the main interactional business of

the talk, parents indicate that apposite word selection takes precedence over the ongoing

activity. That is, they monitor their children's vocabulary use, and take advantage of errors to correct them in the moment. Parents appear to take advantage of moments where learning can occur, even during moments where object identification is not the primary ongoing course of action, so as to ensure that their children correctly identify objects. By correcting, parents indicate that they know the proper word and presume that their child does not (on the basis of their child using the correct one), thus teaching them the proper word to identify the object in question.

Child-Initiated Corrections During Other Activities

Children also correct inapposite object identifications during play activities. In these cases, another interlocutor has misidentified an object and children's corrections work to correct that misidentification. When children produce corrections of others' object identification in the family interaction data collected for this dissertation they use two formats: *actually*-prefaced corrections, and *no*-prefaced corrections. Prior work specifically on children's use of "actually" in turn-initial position in family interactions has found that it "registers some kind of disjuncture" (Wootton, 2010, p. 63) within the ongoing interaction. Additionally, Clift (2001) has examined TCU-initial 'actually' in informing, self-repair, and change of topic sequences. In informing sequences TCU-initial 'actually' functions as a "change of mind token" regarding a speaker's previous assertion (p. 273). She also finds that TCU-initial 'actually' in turns that counter another's assertion are rare, and are produced as marked and confrontational. Similar to Clift's (2001) findings, in the cases discussed here, children's *actually*-prefaced and *no*-prefaced corrections work to counter the object identification made by another; that is, they initiate correction of another's object identification. Clift (2001) writes that these

prefaces come across as marked or confrontational, but in the cases I show here they come across simply as corrections. Children's corrections of others' object identification indicate that they too engage in ongoing monitoring of apposite object identification.

In the data for this dissertation these corrections occur only when the object that is being referred to by the other family member is within the child's epistemic domain. That is, they concern objects and items about which the children enact a K+ stance. This indicates that socialization to apposite identification of objects does not only occur from parents to children, but that children may also socialize parents to apposite object identification. First I show a case where a child corrects a parent's misidentification of an object, and then where a child corrects an older sibling's misidentification. In these cases children's corrections are accepted and then talk moves on. Importantly, intersubjectivity is not at issue in these cases, yet the children still correct other's object identification.

In Extract 34 Walter (3) has been playing with blocks with his Mom, and his Dad has just come into the playroom. After Walter invites Dad to examine what they have built, Dad refers to the object Walter and Mom have just created as a "house" (line 04), but Walter corrects him in lines 06 and 08 with "A:ctually they are two gara:ges.". Note that here the identity of the built object is clearly within Walter's epistemic domain: he constructed it, and therefore he has the right to know what it is and thus how to identify it.

Extract 34
WS36_020_Trains_Garage_19.10

```
01     WAL:     Da:d [look what we di::d.
02                   [((holds out arm towards blocks))
03              (0.6)
04     DAD:     That is an a:wesome lookin' hou:se.
05              (0.3)
06     WAL:     A:c[tually they are
```

```
07                    [((walks towards [blocks))
08    WAL:      [two gara:ges.
09                    [((holds out arm towards blocks))
10                    (0.2)/((DAD steps towards blocks))
11    DAD:      Oh.
12                    (.)
13    DAD:      What's gonna go in those gara:ges?
14    WAL:      Ca:rs.
15    MOM:      They got cars in 'em already.
```

At the beginning of this segment Walter shows his Dad what he has built with his Mom, holding out his arm towards the blocks while issuing a directive, "Da:d look what we di::d." (lines 01-02). In this turn Walter directs Dad's attention to what he has built, but does not name the object. In this way, Walter leaves Dad to figure out what it is that he built. Dad responds with an appreciation that both identifies and assesses the object: "That is an a:wesome lookin' hou:se." (line 04). Walter corrects his Dad with "A:ctually they are two gara:ges." as he walks towards the blocks and holds out his arm towards them (lines 06-09 – see Figure 12: Screenshot of Extract 35 lines 06-09). Note that here Liam targets Dad's identification of the objects for correction, and does not respond to his assessment. Liam corrects not only the number of objects Dad has assessed (he referred to one object and Walter corrects to two) but also the identification of the object (Dad called it a house, Walter corrects this to garages).

Figure 12: Screenshot of Extract 35 lines 06-09

Dad steps towards the blocks and then responds with "<u>Oh</u>." (line 11), thus treating

Walter's correction as informative (Heritage, 1984). Dad then issues a follow-up question

about the objects, using the identification Walter used in his correction with "What's

gonna go in those gar<u>a:</u>ges?" (line 13). With this turn Dad accepts Walter's correction,

and furthers talk about the items Walter constructed using the term Walter provided.

In this case we see one way in which children correct their parents' identification

of objects. Walter corrects his Dad's identification of something within his own epistemic

domain: he (and his Mom) have made the structure. In directing his father's attention to

it, he makes it available for Dad to identify. When Dad identifies it incorrectly, Walter

indicates his epistemic authority by correcting Dad, providing an alternative

identification for the object. Walter clearly displays his understanding of what object his

Dad is referring to, but as Dad gets the identification wrong, Walter corrects him. This

indicates an ongoing monitoring of apposite object identification.

Children also produce *no*-prefaced corrections of their siblings' references to

objects in the locally immediate environment that are within their own epistemic domain,

again in order to manage object identification. In Extract 35, Lance (3) is playing with

toys with his older sisters Alice (7) and Madelyn (12). Madelyn's use of the term "green

lantern car" (line 15) to refer to a toy is corrected in next turn by Lance (line 17).

Extract 35
WS10_012_Playtime 2_01.40_Spaceship

```
01     MAD:     What are you doing with all your
02              to:ys putting them all over there?
03              (0.2)
04     ???:     (Yep)
05              (4.5)/((Madelyn moves camera))
06     LAN:     [Oh (that            ]one.)
07              [((reaches up for toy))]
08              (1.8)/((Lance walks over and
```

```
09                puts toy on table))
10      LAN:      This hi:s.
11                (5.0)/((Lances walks back
12                and gets new toy))
13      LAN:      I go:t (doctor    shooter.)
14      MAD:      You can shoot that outta the
15                green lantern ca:r.
16                (0.3)/((Lance puts "shooter" in green toy))
17      LAN:      No it's spaceship.
18                (0.2)/((Lance rotates green toy))
19      MAD:      Oh a spaceship yup (.) you're right.
20                (4.0)/((Lance walks over to
21                table with toy))
22      LAN:      (Osh)
23                (7.0)/((Lances prepares to shoot, shoots))
24      ALI:      A:w.
25      MAD:      Who did- did he hit someone?
```

In lines 11-12 Lance selects a "shooter" toy to play with and announces this in

line 13 with "I go:t (doctor shooter.)". Madelyn then provides a play suggestion for

Lance, proposing what he can do next (presumably with the "shooter" he has just

selected) with "You can shoot that outta the green lantern ca:r." (lines 14-15). Lance puts

the toy he has just selected into the larger toy (line 16) and then initiates and completes

repair in the same turn with "no it's spaceship." (line 17). This makes it apparent that

Lance understands what she is suggesting (i.e. he knows she is referring to the green toy)

but that she has apparently used an incorrect term to refer to the toy[23]. He corrects the

term Madelyn has used to refer to the green toy, replacing her reference with a different

one, formulating it as a different type of vehicle. In this way he indicates that although he

understands which object she is referring to (and therefore understands her

recommendation), the term she uses to refer to the object indicates that she has

misidentified it.

---

[23] the toy is indeed a spaceship (and from a well-known comic book series)

After a short gap in which Lance further manipulates the green toy (line 18), Madelyn accepts Lance's correction with "Oh a sp<u>a</u>ceship yup (.) you're right." (line 19). With this turn Madelyn accepts the correction with the turn-preface "oh" (Heritage, 1984), and repeats the corrected reference term with "a spaceship". She then confirms this with "yup (.) you're right.". With this assessment of Lance's correction as 'correct', Madelyn indicates that she already knew the proper term. By indicating that she already knew, she takes the stance that she already has the knowledge embodied in the correction. Lance and Madelyn then move back into play (lines 20-25).

In this case Madelyn misidentified a toy that Lance is currently playing with. Lance corrects the reference she has selected with a *no*-prefaced correction in next turn. In so doing, Lance treats Madelyn as having misidentified an object that is within his epistemic domain. Again, with this case Lance corrects Madelyn even though he displays an understanding of which object Madelyn has referred to, but rather does so to correct her incorrect reference to the object.

Child-initiated corrections also occur in contexts where there is an ongoing negotiation about the proper identification of the object in question. That is, precise object identification is not necessarily fixed or static, but rather dynamic in the moment based on the circumstances and knowledge of the interlocutors. When parents ask their children for their confirmation of the identification of an object, they include them in the activity of object identification, and treat them as capable of selecting apposite terms to identify the objects in question.

In Extract 36 Mom, Stacy (6), and Henry (3) just started playing with various animal figurines in their playroom, and Mom solicits Stacy's help in identifying a toy

animal. Mom proposes playing with the animals on a toy boat (lines 05-09), which Stacy

has compared to Noah's ark. Mom and Stacy begin discussing what to call a specific toy

figurine. Mom questions whether it is a cheetah (line 13). By addressing the questioning

formulation to Stacy, Mom involves her in the process of determining the proper

identification for the animal. Stacy confirms Mom's questioning identification (lines 15,

17). The focal action here then shifts from play to identifying the animal. Later Stacy

changes her mind and offers an alternative, referring to it as a leopard with the *actually*-

prefaced correction, "A- ↑a:ctually I think it's a ↓leopard." (line 26) (i.e. she

understanding the ongoing activity as working towards finding a proper identification of

the animal). Note that in this case the apposite identification for this toy is clearly brought

into question by Mom (starting in line 13). Mom presents the identification she proposes

as up for modification and indexes her own uncertainty, giving Stacy the opportunity to

identify the toy figurine.

Extract 36
WS53_019_Playtime_Cheetah_09.50

```
01      MOM:      Hheh hheh yeah just like Noah's ark.
02                (.)
03      MOM:      Except for u:m not so ominous.
04                (.)
05      MOM:      U:m, (0.2) eheh s(h)o they're gonna go:,
06                (0.5)((Stacy puts alligator on boat))
07      MOM:      Very goo:d.=They're gonna go from
08                Africa,=I dunno if there's any alligators
09                or crocodiles in Africa <but uh,> maybe.
10      STA:      There is.
11      MOM:      But there's definitely, (.) li:ons and,
12                (0.4)/((MOM picks up toy figurine))
13      MOM:      Think this is cheetah?
14                (0.2)
15      STA:      Yeah. ((reaches for toy figurine))
16      MOM:      °Yeah.°=
17      STA:      =That's a cheetah.=
18      MOM:      =We::ll,
```

```
19                  (0.8)/((MOM examines figurine))
20     STA:     This [cheetah will,                    ]
21     MOM:          [We're gonna go with cheetah.]
22                  (0.6)
23     MOM:     Cuz it [has s]po:ts.
24     STA:            [Will-]
25                  (1.0)/((Stacy manipulates figurine))
26     STA:     A- ↑a:ctually I think it's a ↓leopard.
27     MOM:     Cheetah or leopard.(.)>It's one of tho:se.<
28                  (0.2)
29     MOM:     .HH anyways we're gonna say that they're
30                  from A:frica.
```

At the beginning of this segment Mom starts to narrate a play activity, or direction for the animals and boat to move: "U:m, (0.2) eheh s(h)o they're gonna go:,". Stacy then puts a toy alligator (or crocodile) on the boat (line 06). Mom assesses this with "Very goo:d.=" (line 07) and then continues her narration of the subsequent play activity with .=They're gonna go from Africa,=" (lines 07-08). However, she then immediately begins to indicate doubt about the plausibility of her prior turn with "=I dunno if there's any alligators or crocodiles in Africa <but uh,> maybe." (lines 08-09). That is, she indicates her uncertainty about whether the animal is in fact from the country they are imagining play about. Here, Mom treats Stacy's placement of the alligator/crocodile on the boat as related to the play that will come next, if they are going from Africa with animals in the ark, the animals on the ark should be from Africa. Stacy confirms that there are these animals in Africa with "There is." (line 10). This confirms that the next move in the game is a proper one.

Mom does not take up Stacy's confirmation, but continues by confirming which animals live in Africa with "But there's definitely, (.) li:ons and,", confirming that the lion(s) are properly in the play activity. Mom halts her turn and picks up a toy figurine (line 12), and then inquires, "think this is cheetah?" (line 13). With this turn Mom

indicates uncertainty about the proper term to identify the animal, and asks Stacy to confirm her candidate identification, involving Stacy in the process of finding the proper term. That is, with this inquiry, she includes Stacy in the activity of determining which animals live in Africa. Importantly, with this turn (line 13) Mom halts the play activity of manipulating the figurines, and shifts to object identification by inquiring about the identification of the figuring.

Stacy confirms with "Yeah." and reaches for the toy (line 15). In third position Mom accepts this confirmation quietly with "°Yeah.°=". The quiet production of this turn may indicate her continued hesitation about the identification "cheetah". Stacy responds by confirming again, identifying the toy figurine by naming it with "=That's a cheetah.=" (line 17). Mom then says "=We::ll," (line 18). This may indicate continued doubt about Stacy's confirmation in that *well*-prefaced turns can function to indicate that the forthcoming turn will privilege the speaker's perspective (Heritage, 2015). Mom then examines the figurine (line 19) and Stacy begins to initiate play, referring to the cheetah using this term, thus accepting their agreed-upon identification ("This [cheetah will," line 20). Mom then concludes "We're gonna go with cheetah." (line 21), indicating a collective agreement on this identification, and then provides an account that supports this identification: "Cuz it [has s]po:ts." (line 23).

Stacy then manipulates the figurine (line 25) and produces a correction with "A-↑a:ctually I think it's a ↓leopard." (line 26). With this turn, Stacy corrects Mom's (and her own) prior identification of the toy figurine. Stacy formulates this correction with the preface "actually", indicating that she has changed her mind from her previous confirmation (Clift, 2001). She also formulates this turn with "I think". This may

indicate tentativeness in changing her identification of the toy, perhaps orienting to some delicacy in correcting her Mom. Mom responds by confirming both identification possibilities: "Cheetah or leopard. (.) >It's one of tho:se.<" (line 27). With this turn Mom accepts Stacy's correction, but treats it as just one option for identifying the animal, incorporating both her formulation (to which Stacy had agreed) and the alternative Stacy has produced as a possible alternative in identifying the toy. Mom then resumes the activity of explaining which animals are from Africa (lines 29-30), thereby treating the activity of naming the animal as complete.

In this case, Mom's inquiry in line 03 involves Stacy in determining how to refer to the animal, making relevant identification as a course of action within their play activity. That is, object identification becomes a temporary focal action within the activity of play. Stacy's correction occurs after Mom has already questioned the identification of the toy figurine, but has settled, with Stacy's agreement, on "cheetah" as a proper identification. Stacy's correction, then, provides an alternative identification of the toy. Mom treats it as a possible correct alternative, but as one of two possible identifications for the object (including both her own formulation and Stacy's formulation). Thus, we can see how at times identification may not be a settled matter. That is, identification can be treated as definitive (such as Extract 31), but it can also be treated as more tenuous and less settled. When parents invite their children to participate in the activity of object identification they indicate an ongoing orientation to deploying knowledge about the world. By engaging in identification as an activity in and of itself, parents treat it as important and worthwhile, showing their children that object

identification matters. That is, parents show a strong orientation to encouraging children to utilize and deploy their knowledge about objects in the world.

With corrections of other's object identification during play activities, children indicate an ongoing monitoring of correct identification of objects in their world by insisting that their interlocutor use the apposite term for the object at hand. This monitoring of object identification is visible because children correct other's object identification even when intersubjectivity is not at issue. Furthermore, by producing corrections, children claim a more knowledgeable position towards these objects than their parents and/or siblings. This indicates that children have epistemic domains in which they are K+ relative to other family members. In accepting children's corrections of their object identification, parents and siblings treat young children as experts in some domains (e.g. their own toys, objects they have constructed themselves). The environments in which children's corrections occur indicate a rather limited scope of situations in which children correct others in their family interactions: in this data set they produce corrections only when they are invited to co-participate in object identification or are interacting with an object that is securely within their epistemic domain (i.e. toys, objects the child created himself).

Parent-Initated Corrections: Putting Children in a Position to Self-Correct

Importantly, parents also correct in ways that children do not. In these cases the parent indicates through correction that there is a problem with object identification in a prior turn, but does not provide the correction itself. That is, the parent makes it available for the producer of the trouble-source turn (the child) to self-correct. This occurs in three ways: 1. The producer of the correction inquires about the other's epistemic status, 2. The

producer of the correction offers alternative object identification(s), 3. The producer of the correction indicates that there is a problem with the prior object identification, but does not specify what it is. These cases also indicate that there is an ongoing parental monitoring of child(ren) identifying objects correctly. Parents indicate with their corrections what words they expect their child to know. Parents appear to take advantage of moments in which learning can occur, in that they halt the progressivity of the interaction by correcting other's inapposite object identification, even when intersubjectivity is not at issue within the interaction. In these cases parents indicate an orientation to social solidarity because they do not overtly correct their children, but instead give them an opportunity to self-correct.

Explicitly Asking About Epistemic Status

In the cases discussed so far the repair or correction of the object identification is other-initiated and other-completed. Parents also initiate correction of other's object identifications in such a way as to leave it open for the producer of the trouble source to correct it. That is, parents initiate correction in a way that makes it available that the child's object identification is problematic, but they do not provide the corrected word within the same turn as the correction. Note that here also these corrections are not produced for the purpose of achieving intersubjectivity, but rather in pursuit of proper object identification. The correction is not needed for the parent to understand what it is the child is referring to. Rather, initiating correction implements attention to object identification and gives the child the chance to provide a proper identification in the absence of one. That is, here parents display an orientation that their child should or could know the apposite object identification, and give them a chance to show what they

know. By giving them a chance to self-correct parents indicate their expectation that the child could or should know the proper word. This appears to be one way in which parents 'do' being parent. In orienting to their children's word selection by leaving it up to the child to self-correct, parents indicate their own epistemic status regarding what words they take it their children should or could know. That is, these corrections are designed to treat children as being knowledgeable about, and accountable for knowing, the right words to refer to objects.

First, during play activities parents can explicitly ask about their children's epistemic status, thus making it available that there is a word (or another word) that is apposite for the item/object at hand. In these cases, the child has indicated that they are not producing or are not able to produce the proper object identification. This suggests that parents take it that if a child does not use the correct term, either through circumlocution or the absence of a reference term, they may not actually know it. This is congruent with prior findings that indicate that there is an understanding in everyday life that if someone knows the proper term for something, they will use it (Kitzinger & Mandelbaum, 2013). In these cases parents give children the chance to show that they do know the term to identify the item in question. In Extract 37, Vanessa (4) and her Dad are putting together puzzle pieces to make a pretend airplane. Vanessa conducts a word search and uses pro-terms in lines 11-13. Dad then initiates repair of the indexical (line 14), treating Vanessa's incipient word search and pro-term as indicating a possible problem with retrieving the correct term, and initially giving her the opportunity to provide the word herself.

Extract 37
WS2_002_Playtime_Cockpit_31.53

```
01      VAN:    Now what.
02      DAD:    U:::m,
03      VAN:    (         )
04              (0.4)
05      DAD:    What?
06      VAN:    We can make peo:ple.
07      DAD:    People.
08              (0.2)
09      VAN:    Yeah.
10      DAD:    Okay [how do we make people.]
11      VAN:         [But we              h]ave °°(      )°°
12              to make this-this thing where the cap- .hhh
13              where the captain goes.
14      DAD:    Ooo:: you know what that's called?
15      VAN:    What.
16      DAD:    It's called a cockpit.
17      VAN:    Oh
18      DAD:    Goes right in front.
19      VAN:    (I have to go in the cockpit)
20      DAD:    Okay
21      VAN:    Make the cockpit
22      DAD:    Okay
```

At the beginning of this segment Vanessa is figuring out what they are going to make next, deciding on "making people" (lines 01-09). After Dad inquires about the play trajectory with "okay how do we make people." (line 10), and Vanessa announces a next step in the play activity. In order to make people, they need a place to put them: "But we have °°( )°° to make this- this thing where the cap- where the captain goes." (lines 11-13). This announcement proposes a next activity in making people: making the place where the captain goes (something that apparently needs to occur before making people). The composition of this turn, the cut-off after the initial "this-" (which may indicate the beginning of a word search), the use of the pro-term "this thing" (instead of a specific identification) and a circumlocution that explains characteristics of the location that she is referring to: "where the captain goes." (instead of using a specific word for this location) all work to indicate that Vanessa may have launched a word search.

Dad then responds to Vanessa's word search and use of a circumlocution, inquiring "Ooo:: you know what that's c<u>a</u>lled?" (line 14). Here, asking her if she knows what it is called, after she has demonstrated some potential difficulty in formulating the word, since she has produced an alternative, pro-term-based formulation, Dad gives Vanessa an opportunity to show that she knows. With this turn Dad indicates that there is a specific word for what Vanessa has just referred to, and that he knows what it is, and that it is possible that Vanessa also might know what it is. That is, he takes a K+ stance regarding that word, and treats her as possibly knowing, and gives her an opportunity to show this. In prompting her to produce it, he indicates that this term is something that he can subsequently tell her. He gives her the opportunity to provide the term before he provides it, thus indicating that he takes it that she may in fact know the proper term. Her word search and circumlocution indicate that she does know that there is a proper term for the location to which she is referring.

Vanessa responds with "what." (line 15), thereby giving Dad the go-ahead to provide the word, and indicating that she does not know the correct term. In line 16 he provides the correct term with "It's called a c<u>o</u>ckpit." Dad formulates this turn in such a way as to indicate that this is new information for her. By informing her what it is "called" he indicates that he understands her not to know the correct term. Vanessa treats this as informative (Heritage, 1984) with "oh" (line 17), thereby further indicating that Dad's inference that she did not know the term is correct. Dad then provides information that will help in the next step of making the cockpit: where it actually goes (line 18), and play continues.

In this case Dad explicitly asks Vanessa whether or not she knows the word to identify an object within their play activity after she has indicated trouble producing the identification in her own talk. Dad provides Vanessa with the opportunity to show what she knows before he provides the word for her. Additionally, by asking her if she knows, Dad indicates that there is indeed an apposite term to identify the object Vanessa has described, and that he knows the term for it. This indicates ongoing parental monitoring of using the proper term to identify an object when there is a term that could be used (Kitzinger & Mandelbaum, 2013).

Parents can also explicitly check their child's epistemic status following a missing object identification. In the next segment, an identification is noticeably absent (and a circumlocution is also not used). That is, the identification is completely missing, and a parent then questions the child's epistemic status regarding the identification of that object.

In Extract 38 Mom has been reading a book to Henry (3). In lines 05-06 Henry produces a noticing of something in the book, which leads to Mom asking him to name the object (lines 08-10). After Henry indicates that he is not able to identify the image, Mom inquires "do you <u>kno:</u>w?" (line 14), thereby explicitly asking Henry about his epistemic status concerning the image at hand.

Extract 38[24]
WS58_019_Reading_Ants_40.00

```
01      MOM:      So surprise him when you fi:nd, (.)
02                a ca:terpillar nibbling on a leaf,
03                (.) a squirrel hiding in a tree,
04                (0.2) a:nd dandelions for a bouquet,=
05      HEN:      |=Look,
```

_____

[24] Note that because this segment occurs in the context of reading it may be more teaching-oriented than the other cases.

```
06                |((points to book))
07                (0.2)
08     MOM:       Y(h)eah the- what are those¿
09                (1.6)/((Mom turns to look at Henry))
10     MOM:       What are those.
11                (0.5)
12     HEN:       °Uh,°
13                (0.3)
14     MOM:       Do you kno:w?
15                (0.3)/((Henry turns eye gaze towards Mom))
16     MOM:       Those are a:nts.
17                (0.2)
18     HEN:       Uh |hu:h |(yeah).
19                   |((Hen|ry nods vertically))
20     MOM:             |and a heart
21            shaped rock.
22     HEN:       |Look they goin' ou:t.
23                |((points to book))
24     MOM:       Yea:h.
25                (0.2)
26     MOM:       A busy busy anthill.
```

At the beginning of this segment Mom is reading from the book (lines 04-05).

Just after Mom completes a TCU, Henry initiates a latched turn, noticing something in

the book with "Look," as he points towards the book (lines 05-06 - Figure 13), making

relevant naming the object.

Figure 13: Screenshot of Extract 38 lines 05-06

Mom acknowledges the noticing with "Y(h)eah" (line 08). She then continues her

turn with "the-"; this is hearable as beginning to identify or name the object in the book

that Henry has noticed[25]. However, she cuts off and then reformulates her turn as an inquiry, asking Henry to identify the objects himself with "what are th_ose_¿" (line 08). There is a gap in line 09 as Mom turns to look at Henry. Mom then redoes her inquiry with "What _are_ those." (line 10), again making an identification from Henry relevant next. This is produced as a known-answer question (Mehan, 1979). Here it is clear that Mom knows the proper term (so is K+), and she is testing Henry to see if he knows it. Henry again does not respond (note the gap in line 11), and then produces "°Uh,°" (line 12). This indicates that he may be having some trouble finding the apposite identification for the object.

After another gap (line 13), Mom inquires "Do you kno:w?" (line 14). This inquiry makes relevant a yes/no response. That is, she asks about his epistemic status in reference to the term in question, prompting him to provide the correct term. Additionally, as Mom's turn is produced after Henry has already displayed some difficulty in answering Mom's initial inquiries, it is hearable as another opportunity for Henry to show what he knows. Henry then turns and looks towards Mom (line 15). Mom takes this as indicating that he does not know, as she provides the identification with "Those are a:nts." (line 16). Henry then indicates recognition of this identification with "Uh hu:h (yeah)." (line 18) as he nods in agreement (line 19), claiming that he does know the term (or has just recognized it). Book reading re-commences (lines 20-26).

In this case it is Henry's noticing and point (lines 05-06) that makes relevant makes relevant production of an identification. Then, in producing an inquiry about Henry's epistemic status, Mom provides Henry with another opportunity to show what he

---

[25] It is possible that this could be hearable as Mom continuing to read, but she continues using a different tone of voice here in comparison to her 'reading voice' so this is unlikely

knows and to produce an identification of the object. It is important to note that this case occurs in the context of book reading, where parents may be oriented to teaching their kids, as it is an educational activity.

In the cases discussed in this section (Extract 37 and Extract 38), children indicate a problem with producing an identification (through a word search and circumlocution, or a point), which parents then orient to as indicating trouble producing a term. By then asking if the child "knows" the identification of the object/item at hand, parents indicate that there is a correct term for the object/item, thus indicating that it is demonstrably absent from the child's previous formulation (or lack thereof). That is, they take up their children's demonstrated inability to find a proper identification by providing an opportunity for the child to produce the term. However in each case they give the child the opportunity to produce the missing term. Additionally, this parental monitoring and correction of their children's object identification are not produced in the service of establishing intersubjectivity. Parents indicate, through their questioning, that they know what object the child is referring to, but still suspend progressivity to attend to the activity of producing a proper identification term.

In asking if their child knows the word in question, parents provide their child(ren) with the opportunity to show what they know or do not know (and in the case of Extract 38, eventually provide the term themselves). These cases again indicate an ongoing monitoring of object identification; parents appear to take up their children's circumlocution or lack of an identification as environments in which to check to see what they know (and orient to using a proper term).

Offering Alternatives

Parents can also correct in ways that leave it open for the child to self-correct by

offering alternatives to a child's previously used identification[26]. In these cases, parents

monitor proper object identification by indicating that there is another (and presumably

better) identification. That is, here parents also give children the chance to show what

they know, but in providing a binary choice it makes it easier for the child to choose the

'correct' option and show what they know. Koshik (2005) has shown that when

alternative questions are used in repair sequences the second alternative is hearable as a

candidate correction. In these cases, by making it available that there is another possible

choice for object identification, parents make it inferable by the child(ren) that in that

there is an alternative formulation, their initial object identification is potentially

incorrect. Furthermore, again here the orientation to progressivity appears to be

suspended, as parents halt play activities to provide for correction of an incorrect object

identification.

In Extract 39, Logan (4) and his Mom have been engaging in imaginary play

centered around the movement of pretend "gold pieces". Lance refers to a plastic

recycling bin as the "trash" (line 12), and Mom produces a correction that includes an

alternative to his initial object identification that provides him with the opportunity to

implement self-correction (line 16). That is, she provides him with the opportunity to

produce the correct identification of the object.

Extract 39
WS48_016_Kitchen5_Recycling_01.25

```
01      LOG:        (                    )
02      MOM:        You di::d,
03      LOG:        Yeah I got it.
04      MOM:        [Mm ↑hem hm hm hm]  hmhmhmhmhm?
```

---

[26] Note that Extract 29 is also a case of offering alternatives within the context of object identification play

```
05      LOG:        [(                    )]
06                  (0.2)
07      LOG:        I'm gonna (.) take (this   ) away from you.
08      MOM:        Oh o:kay what are you gonna do with it,
09                  [(.)/((LOG lifts up hand))
10      MOM:        [Can you turn it into a ni:ce delicious
11                  dessert- for me?
12      LOG:        ((opens hand))I put it in |kras²⁷.
13                                            |((points to bin))
14      MOM:        Oh you put it in tha:t?
15                  (.)
16      MOM:        Is that the tra:sh or recycling.
17                  (0.2)/((LOG looks down at bin))
18      LOG:        Cy:cling.
19      MOM:        Yea:h, (0.2) and the go:ld is in
20                  there?=You're recycling our go:ld?
```

Logan teases his Mom by taking the pretend gold away from her (line 07). Mom then inquires about what Logan will do with the pretend gold (line 08). Logan lifts up his hand as he looks at Mom (line 09 – Figure 14), which could be interpreted as a possible threat for what he might do with the pretend gold next because his hand is now above the recycling container (indicated by the circle). As he does this, Mom makes a suggestion for what he should do with the gold "Can you turn it into a ni:ce delicious dessert- for me?" (lines 10-11). Here there are two possible competing lines of action: Logan is continuing to tease his Mom and potentially threatening to put the gold in the recycling. Presumably Mom can see that it is below his hand and thus that this is where he might put it. Her request proposes a pro-social alternative (she suggests Logan could do a nice thing for her (within the activity of pretend play) as compared to his manually-proposed action (throw something out).

---

²⁷ Logan's pronunciation is hearable as "trash", but is actually pronounced "kras"
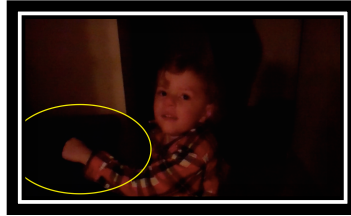
Figure 14: Screenshot of Extract 39 line 09

Figure 15: Screenshot of Extract 39 line 12
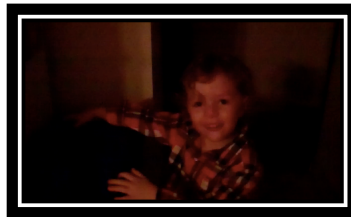
Figure 16: Screenshot of Extract 39 line 12

Logan then opens up his hand (Figure 15) and reports "I put it in kr<u>as</u>." (line 12)

as he points to it with his other arm (Figure 16). With this turn, Logan rejects Mom's

suggestion; he did not make a "nice delicious dessert" for her as she suggested, but

instead he put the gold into the trash. Mom responds with the *oh*-prefaced turn, treating

Logan's report as news with, "Oh you put it in th<u>a:</u>t?" (line 14) (Heritage, 1984). Mom's

use of the deictic "that" (when Logan had just previously referred to the object as the

"trash") occurs in locally subsequent reference position (Schegloff, 1996), and also

avoids using the term that Logan has used. Importantly, here Mom responds to his turn,

advancing the play activity, and does not immediately correct his use of "kr<u>as</u>." to

identify the object. There is a micropause in line 15, where Logan could possibly come

in and confirm his report.

Mom then suspends the play activity by providing an alternative question format turn (Koshik, 2005) with "Is that the tra:sh or recycling." (line 16). By providing Logan with two options (trash first and recycling second) Mom makes it available to him that his initial object identification is incorrect because she offers him an alternative. Given that he has used one of these terms, "trash", her provision of the alternative, "recycling" makes it available that his previous object identification may be incorrect. Koshik (2005) explains that this type of error correction places the candidate correction second, making it available to Logan that his first identification is incorrect. This provides him with the opportunity to answer, and thereby the opportunity to confirm her suggested other-correction next, thus accepting it. Logan then looks down at the bin (line 17), and responds to Mom's inquiry with the alternative word "Cy:cling." (line 18), thus using the term she has provided. Mom confirms this with "Yea:h," (line 19) and then resumes the imaginary play, treating the activity of correcting as complete.

Mom treats Logan's use of "trash" as an incorrect identification of the object he is referring to. However, instead of simply correcting him, Mom first continues the play episode and then provides him with the opportunity to self-correct by producing an alternative question format. By doing this, she treats him as potentially knowledgeable about this everyday object of his world, implying that she knows he should (and does) know the difference between the trash and the recycling.

These corrections indicate that there is a formulation that may be more apposite (by offering a possible alternative), but put the child in the position to self-correct in a subsequent turn. Furthermore, in these cases the corrections do not happen immediately; parents continue the play activity first. They then suspend the current activity to address

object identification via correction. This may indicate an orientation to not wanting to threaten social solidarity in their corrections; by responding to the play activity first and then correcting, parents treat play as the primary activity, which prioritizes the play activity and demotes the importance of correcting the identification.

Making it Available They Are Wrong

Parents can also correct in ways that make it available to the child that their previous object identification was incorrect, but they do this in such a way so as to give the child opportunities to self-correct. By making it available that the child is wrong, but not providing the correction, the parent treats the child as potentially knowledgeable about the word selection in question.

In Extract 40 Oscar (4) has been making pancakes with his Mom. They have just gotten their plates to put the pancakes on, and Mom is determining whether or not the pancakes are ready. In line 09 Oscar refers to the plates as "metal" plates. Mom then works to give Oscar the opportunity to refer to the plates in a different way (line 12), making it available to him that his object identification was wrong, and providing him with the chance to self-correct.

Extract 40
WS14_015_Making Pancakes_1.4_Ceramic

```
01      MOM:      O:kay are these ones ready no:w?
02                (0.6)/((Mom checks pancakes))
03      MOM:      °We don't want them to° bu:rn.=
04      OSC:      =You- [a-  ]
05      MOM:            [O:h¿] <they are
06                read[y::.>]
07      OSC:          [ Momm]y?
08                (.)
09      OSC:      You and me have a metal plate.
10                (1.1)/((Mom turns head towards plates))
11      OSC:      Metal metal,
12      MOM:      [This one's not metal though is it.]
```

```
13                    [((points towards plates))        ]
14      OSC:    Nyea:¿ ((touches plate))              |
15      MOM:    No that one- that one's (      ).     |
16              (.)/((reaches towards Oscar))         |
17      MOM:    Don't do that.=
18      OSC:    =That's- [that's]
19      MOM:             [It's  ] pla:stic.
```

At the beginning of this segment Mom is figuring out whether or not the pancakes

are ready (lines 01-06). Oscar summons his Mom in line 07 with "Mommy?" and then

continues with the announcement, "You and me have a metal plate." (line 09). Here,

Oscar identifies the two plates that they are about to have their pancakes on, noting the

similarities between them (i.e. they are made of the same material). Mom turns to look at

the plates (line 10), which indicates that she is checking the type of plate. Oscar then

repeats the identification "metal metal," (line 11), here perhaps soliciting a response from

Mom, who has not yet verbally responded to his announcement.

Mom initiates a correction with "This one's not metal though is it." (line 12) as

she points towards the plates (line 13). By separating one of the plates "this one's" from

the collective identification of the plates, Mom makes it available to Oscar that one of the

plates is *not* metal and thus indicates that using the word "metal" to identify both of the

plates is incorrect. Importantly, she does not provide the corrected reference term, but

leaves it open for Oscar to confirm or disconfirm. Oscar protests with "Nyea:¿" as he

touches the plate (line 14), an ambivalent response due to its 'lax' pronunciation

(Jefferson, 1978). Thus, Oscar displays potential resistance to Mom's correction-

implicative turn. Mom again corrects Oscar, although she says something unidentifiable

at the end of her turn (line 15) and issues a directive to him (line 17). Oscar begins to

protest again with "=That's- that's" (line 18), which is hearable as a continued protest of

Mom's correction in that it is hearable that he is about to provide another (or the same)

object identification next. Mom then comes in in overlap at the end of his turn, identifying the plate as made out of another material (thus providing the correction) with "It's pla:stic." (line 19).

Here, Mom corrects Oscar's previous object identification during the activity of making a meal. In this case she provides Oscar with the opportunity to self-correct, by making it available to him that there may be an alternative way to identify the plate (line 12). Notably, she does not provide the correction first, but rather leaves it open for him to self-correct. By making it available to their child that they are wrong, parents treat their child as if they should or could know about the object/item in question (as potentially K+), by giving them the opportunity to self-correct, they treat their child as being able to recognize their error.

In the cases discussed in this section parents indicate that there is a word selection problem with a child's prior turn, but do not provide a correction themselves. By leaving it open for their child to self-correct or provide a suitable object identification parents indicate not only an ongoing monitoring of proper identification, but also a teaching orientation towards the identification of objects. That is, they suspend other ongoing action, and make correct word usage the focal activity, providing their child(ren) with the opportunity to show what they know. Holding children accountable for what they could/should know may be one way in which parents do "being parent" in everyday family life. By engaging in pedagogical activities in everyday family interactions, parents actively socializing their children to the important of using correct terminology when identifying objects.

Exploiting the Ongoing Monitoring of Object Identification

In this final section, I examine ways that the ongoing monitoring of apposite object identification can be exploited to implement other actions. This pervasive monitoring of apposite object identification can be deployed for other purposes, providing further evidence for how both parents and children are vigilant in the ongoing monitoring of other's object identification in their everyday family interactions. Two main ways in which this occurs is through children's noticing of or inquiry about everyday objects. These inquiries and noticings work to solicit parental attention or to move on from a problematic activity. In other words, children may exploit parents' willingness and readiness to provide the proper name to identify objects in service of implementing other actions. First I examine two cases where children redirect parental attention away from other interlocutors (Extract 41) and towards an interaction with themselves (Extract 42). I then discuss a case where a child redirects parental attention away from a possibly problematic activity (Extract 43) and where a parent attends to an object identification matter before taking up a child's complaint (Extract 44).

Redirecting Parental Attention

Children may monitor other's object identification in order to make relevant a response from a parent when the parent is otherwise engaged, either talking to someone else or not engaging directly with the child. In other words, one way in which children redirect parental attention towards themselves in their everyday family interactions is by making relevant an object identification issue. Prior work on the interactions of a family with one child found that it can be difficult for children to engage the attention of an adult interlocutor (Butler & Wilkinson, 2013). The analysis presented here extends this work to examine children's attempts to make relevant a response from their parents in whole-

family interactions through the exploitation of the apparently pervasive monitoring of the proper identification of objects.

In Extract 41, Dad, Stacy (6), Henry (3) and Mom have been reading books together. Mom had previously been reading the books to everyone, but now Stacy is reading one aloud to everyone. Henry makes relevant a second pair part from Mom starting in line 03 by searching for the proper term for an image on Mom's sweatshirt, thus soliciting Mom's attention when she had been attending to Stacy's reading.

Extract 41
WS57_019_Reading_Bulldog_29.50

```
01      STA:      I think I already know who the werewolf
02                [is the- said Thelma, ]
03      HEN:      [((turns towards MOM))]
04      STA:      Where- (0.2) [Eve see: this      ]
05      HEN:                   [Khh °what is that?°]
06                            [((pointing))                    |
07      STA:      fake fur and                                 |
08      HEN:      What is it (0.2) <got on you?>               |
09      MOM:      That's a bulldo:g.
10      HEN:      Bulldog?
11      MOM:      °°Mmhm,°°
12      HEN:       F-?
13      STA:      (    ) prince
14      HEN:      pa:w pat[ro:l.    ]
15      STA:              [from the] [(        ) ]
16      MOM:                         [↑Yea:::h.]
```

At the beginning of this segment Stacy reads the book aloud (lines 01 – Figure 17, 02, 04, 07). Henry turns towards Mom (line 03 – Figure 18), and in overlap with Stacy's reading inquires "Khh °what is that?°" (line 05) as he points towards Mom's sweatshirt (Figure 19).

Figure 17: Screenshot of Extract 41 line 01

Figure 18: Screenshot of Extract 41 line 03

Figure 19: Screenshot of Extract 41 line 19

After no uptake from Mom, Henry issues a partial repeat of his initial inquiry with "What is it (0.2) <g<u>o</u>t on you?>" (line 08), as he continues to point at her sweatshirt. By reformulating it from the indexical "that" to what Mom has "got on" her, Henry makes it available to Mom that he is inquiring about something that is visible on her sweatshirt

(through his point) and the person reference form "you". That is, he is specifying his initial inquiry from line 05. Mom responds by identifying the image on her sweatshirt with, "That's a bu̲lldo:g." (line 09). Henry initiates repair by repeating "bulldog?" (line 10) with rising intonation, requesting confirmation of the term. Mom confirms this in line 11 "°°Mmhm,°°" and talk between them moves on to a related TV show (Paw Patrol).

In this case just after there is a pause in Stacy's ongoing reading, Henry makes relevant a second pair part from Mom by inquiring about an image that is on her sweatshirt. This inquiry makes relevant the provision of the proper identification of that object from Mom, but also initiates an interaction between just the two of them (that does not involve Stacy or Dad). In other words, with this inquiry Henry redirects Mom's attention in a multi-party environment from attending to Stacy reading, to attending to him, exploiting the ongoing parental monitoring of object identification. That is, here Henry initiates an activity between just him and Mom by inquiring about an object identification during Stacy's reading.

Children can also use parents vigilance concerning object identification to redirect their parents' attention towards them when it is currently directed elsewhere. In Extract 42, Britney (3) and Kimberley (11 months – out of view of the video camera) are eating while their Mom is cooking. Prior to this segment there were about 15 seconds of silence in which no one spoke and Britney was eating. Britney's inquiry in line 03 redirects Mom's attention towards her (and away from the activity of cooking).

Extract 42
WS30_006_Breakfast_Oil_07.00

```
01a                (15.0)
01b    BRI:        Mo:m,
02     MOM:        Yeah
03     BRI:        [What is tha̲t.]
```

```
04                  [((points))     ]
05                  (0.2)
06      BRI:        °Your majesty.°
07                  (0.2)
08      MOM:        Tha:t's a camera.
09                  (0.2)
10      BRI:        (°Camra?°)=
11      MOM:        =Y[eah.]
12      BRI:          [No:,] right [there.]
13                    [((points))  [      ]
14      MOM:                        [((turns head))
15                  (0.2)
16      BRI:        (°Next to it.°)
17      MOM:        The po:t?
18      BRI:        No [tha::t, next to the po::t.]
19                     [((points))              ]
20      MOM:        The soup?
21                  (0.2)
22      BRI:        [No:, tha::t [oil.  ]
23                  [((points))  [      ]
24      ???:                     [(Kay) ]
25                  (.)
26      MOM:        The oil?
27      BRI:        Mm hm,
28      MOM:        It's oi:l.
29                  (0.4)/((Britney looks down at food))
30      BRI:        Hm?
31      MOM:        Mm hm.
32      BRI:        (Mmm)
33      MOM:        ((walks away))
34      BRI:        Mmm, what's in your soup Mom.
```

In line 01b Britney summons her Mom with "Mo:m,". After Mom answers the

summons with, "yeah" (line 02), Britney asks her Mom to identify a nearby item with,

"what is that." (line 03) as she points to nearby the camera (line 04 - see Figure 20

below). Britney's inquiry with the deictic "that" and point refer Mom to an object that

appears to be near the camera that is making the recording, while requesting an

identification of that item. This inquiry also redirects Mom's attention; previously

Britney had been chewing in silence, and this re-engages Mom in conversation with Britney to orient to the "that" to which she is directing her attention.

Figure 20: Screenshot of Extract 42 line 04

After a gap in line 05 where Mom does not respond, Britney quietly adds the address term ""°Your majesty.°"", a term of politeness that she frequently uses with her Mom throughout the video-recordings of this family. This recompletes Britney's turn, providing Mom with another opportunity to respond. Mom replies in line 08 with "tha:t's a camera.", identifying the object. Britney produces a questioning repeat in line 10 with "(°Camra?°)=", checking her hearing of Mom's previous turn. Mom quickly confirms with "yeah." in line 11, as Britney begins to reject Mom's identification, and redirects her, "No:, right there.", again pointing towards near where the camera is (lines 12-13).

Mom turns towards where Britney is pointing (line 14), and Britney then clarifies what she is referring to with "(°Next to it.°)" (line 16), again orienting her Mom towards the unidentified object. Mom then issues a candidate answer with "the po:t?" (line 17). The rising intonation of this turn may indicate that Mom is unsure whether this is the item to which Britney is actually referring, and so functions as a check of what Britney's inquiry is about. Britney rejects this identification again and clarifies again with "No

tha::t, next to the po::t.", again pointing (lines 18-19). Mom then issues another candidate identification with "the s<u>ou</u>p?" (line 20), produced with upward intonation for confirmation or disconfirmation by Britney. Britney rejects this identification as well, and then starts to identify the item herself (again pointing to it) with "N<u>o</u>:, tha::t oil." (lines 22-23). Since Britney provides the name of the object here, it is now clear that she knows the name of it. However, Mom still treats it as a request for identification in that she then identifies the item with "the <u>oi</u>l?". Here, the rising intonation may indicate that Mom is treating Britney's previous turn as problematic in some way, calling it into question, perhaps because Britney herself has identified the object of which she was previously seeking identification. Britney confirms in line 27 with "mm hm,", and then Mom identifies the object definitively with "it's <u>oi</u>:l." (line 28). By using the same word that Britney and Mom has used, here Mom indicates that Britney's question is unnecessary. Britney looks down at her food (line 29) and then says "hm?", initiating repair on Mom's identification with an open class repair initiator (Drew, 1997) which Mom then confirms again with "mm <u>hm</u>." (line 31). Mom then walks away (line 33), and Britney asks another question about something else (line 34), thus ending the identification activity, but continuing to engage Mom in conversation.

In this case, Britney asks Mom to identify a nearby object simply by asking her Mom "what is th<u>at</u>" and pointing towards the object. Although she is not successful for the first few attempts, it is even more interesting that Britney is ultimately the one who appears to supply the initial identification (thus indicating that this is not necessarily an inquiry about naming the object). Thus, it appears as though Britney's inquiry is not designed to simply learn the name of the object (since she later displays that she knows

what the item is called), but rather to engage Mom in interaction. This inquiry exploits

the ongoing monitoring of apposite object identification in that it makes relevant a

subsequent object identification from Mom (and this is how Mom responds), even though

it appears that Britney knows the name for the item.

Children can take advantage of their parents' readiness and willingness to respond

to inquiries and noticings about the identification of objects to redirect their parents to

engage in conversation with them. This further indicates that there is an ongoing parental

monitoring of proper object identification; children may exploit this ongoing monitoring

to make relevant a response from a parent in instances where there is a competing activity

(Extract 41) or simply to direct the parent's attention towards an interaction with them

(Extract 42).

To Move on From a Problematic Activity

Children can also inquire about or notice objects in their immediate environment

in order to move on from a possibly problematic activity. In these cases, the inquiry

and/or noticing concerning the identification of an object is built to start a new line of

action, and thus move on from an activity that is potentially problematic. That is, children

can exploit the ongoing parental monitoring of object identification in order to move out

of possibly troublesome situations.

In Extract 43, Walter (3) and Ryan (1) are in the kitchen having breakfast with

their Mom (who is next to or behind the camera for most of the recording). Walter has

just joked that he is pooping in his pants, and so they are talking about where he is

supposed to poop at the beginning of the extract (lines 01-09). Walter is reprimanded for

this. This is followed by Walter's noticing in lines 10-11: "look at that gia:nt yellow thing

right there." That is, Walter's noticing works to redirect the interaction away from the

reprimand to the object in question.

Extract 43
WS59_020_Breakfast_Summer Squash_31.00

```
01    MOM:      Eh heh where do you do poops.
02    WAL:      At the po:t[a:y. ]
03    MOM:                 [Yeah.]=Are you on the
04              potty right now?
05    WAL:      No:.=
06    MOM:      =No. So you better not be poopin'
07              right now.
08    WAL:      I'm poopin' I'm poopin' .hhh ↑I:'m poopin'?
09    MOM:      *O::h for goodness sakes.
10    WAL:      Look at that gi:ant yellow thing right
11              there.
12    MOM:      What is it?
13              (.)
14    MOM:      Do you remember what it was ca:lled?
15              (0.2)
16    WAL:      I don't kn↑o:↓w.
17              (0.2)
18    MOM:      Summer squash.
19    WAL:      It's [giant.     ]
20    RYA:           [((babbles))]
21    WAL:      It's a giant one.
22    MOM:      They are pretty giant.
23    RYA:        ( )
24    MOM:      Mommy forgot about the garden for a
25              day or two: an', (0.3) lots of big summer
26              [squashes resulted.]
27    RYA:      [(               ]
```

Prior to this segment Walter has been talking about pooping. Mom's inquiries in

line 01 "Eh heh where do you do poops." and 03-04 "=Are you on the potty right now?"

are produced to make it available to Walter that he should not be pooping at the moment.

Then, in lines 06-07 Mom issues a warning to Walter: "=No. So you better not be

poopin' right now.". Based on his answers to her inquiries, Walter should have been able

to infer that he should not be pooping at the moment, but here Mom spells out the

warning for him by explicitly stating it. However, Walter continues to talk about pooping

by announcing, "I'm poopin' I'm poopin' .hhh ↑I:'m poopin'?" (line 08). Mom responds

with the reprimand, "*O::h for goodness sakes." (line 09 – Figure 21). This turn indicates

Mom's exasperation in that it does not take up the specifics of Walter's turn, but instead

is a more general exclamation, especially since Mom had just previously warned him that

he should not be pooping now (and now he is continuing to claim that he is pooping). It

attempts to halt the activity of talking about pooping by not taking up his announcement,

but instead indicates exasperation with his previous turn/activity of talking about poop.

Then, by calling Mom's attention to an object (lines 10-11) Walter launches a

new course of action other than the reprimanded talk about pooping by moving onto

another course of action. This noticing indicates an object deictically with "that" and

includes a characterization of the object as a "giant yellow thing" as well as a location

"right there" (lines 10-11 – Figure 22). By using a characterization and pro-term here

Walter indicates that he may not have the vocabulary to identify the object (Kitzinger &

Mandelbaum, 2013) and enacts a K- stance via enacting 'doing being a novice' (Bolden,

2014) .

Figure 21: Screenshot of Extract 43 line 09

Figure 22: Screenshot of Extract 43 lines 10-11

Mom responds to Walter's noticing with an inquiry that asks Walter to name the object: "what is it?" (line 12). This indicates Mom's expectation that he knows what it is and therefore does not need to ask or be told about it; by asking him to identify it she treats him as being able to identify it. After a micropause (line 13), she reformulates her inquiry with "do you remember what it was ca:lled?" (line 14). By asking him if he "remembers", Mom's reformulation treats Walter as being accountable for having known what the object was called at some point in the past. That is, this turn is designed to check if he remembers the proper identification for it by indicating that she knows he should have the resources to be able to respond to her question. It is also hearable as challenging his inquiry as not necessary in that Mom treats him as having known the term at some point in time and as being capable of remembering it, and therefore producing it on this occasion.

After another gap (line 15), Walter claims not to know the name of the item with "I don't kn↑o:↓w." (line 16), thus indicating a K- epistemic stance, and further making it relevant for Mom to provide it to him in that he is unable to provide an answer to her question. Mom identifies the item as a "summer squash." (line 18). Walter then assesses it with "it's giant." (line 19). This could be hearable as an account for having pointed out

the summer squash in the first place; it is larger than the ordinary size of that type of vegetable. This may also account for why he was not able to name it.

In this case, Walter's noticing initiates a new sequence. By producing a noticing which makes relevant an identification from Mom, Walter does not take up Mom's turn in line 09 which is hearable as a reprimand, but instead he implements a divergent course of action. Thus, the noticing of the object launches a new sequence that is unrelated to the prior activity for which he had been reprimanded, and redirects Mom's attention from the reprimand to the object in question.

Parents also move on from problematic activities by exploiting the monitoring of other's apposite object identification. In Extract 44, Mom delays immediately responding to a child's complaint by orienting to object identification, producing a correction. Here, Dad, Nathan (10), Amanda (6) and Mom are having dinner. Amanda has been talking a lot, and apparently not eating enough of her food. Amanda uses the term "chicken leg" to refer to the food she has been directed to eat (lines 12-13), which Mom subsequently corrects to "turkey leg" (line 15). Note that this correction is not conducted in the interest of intersubjectivity. Mom clearly understands what object Amanda's identification refers to, but halts the progressivity of the interaction in order to correct Amanda's incorrect object identification (and also delays responding to her complaint).

Extract 44
WS3_003_Dinnertime Camera 1_08.20_Chicken Leg

```
01      MOM:      Um,
02      AMA:      And you look like a, (.) <person
03                with po:ny wi:ngs.>=
04      MOM:      =Hey can you set your timer Stan so Amanda
05                gets only a few more minutes to ea:t.
06      DAD:      Su:re.
07                (0.5)/((DAD puts down food/utensils))
08      AMA:      ((whining voice)) No:, .hh .hh ↑no::: .hh
```

```
09    MOM:    Then get eating.
10    NAT:    [((picks up meat))
11            [Mommy this is a]
12    AMA:    [Eh- but that    ]
13            chicken [leg] is too: bi::g. ((whining))
14    NAT:             [a  ]
15    MOM:    Well first of all that's a t(h)u:rkey leg.
16            (1.0)
17    MOM:    Bite,
18    NAT:    Yeah I don't think I can eat all this.
19    MOM:    Pull little pieces off it (right there).
20    AMA:    ((whining)) Eh e:h
21    MOM:    Use your fork.
```

In lines 04-05 Mom issues a warning to Amanda via a request to Amanda's Dad with "=Hey can you set your timer Stan so Amanda gets only a few more minutes to ea:t.". With this turn Mom makes a request for Dad to start a timer. The implication of this is that Amanda should eat more quickly. Thus, Mom's turn functions as a warning for her to eat. Dad complies with Mom's request with "Su:re." (lines 06). Dad then puts down the food and utensils that were in hand, moving to comply with Mom's request, embodying preparing to set a timer. Amanda begins to protest this course of action with "No:, .hh .hh ↑no::: .hh". Mom responds to her protest with a directive: "Then get eating." (line 09). Here, Mom explicitly tells Amanda what she needs to do to avoid the setting of the timer: start eating her food.

Amanda next complains about the food she is being asked to eat, again in a whining voice, with "Eh- but that chicken leg is too: bi::g. (lines 12-13). Here Amanda continues her resistance to Mom's directive; this complaint gives a specific account for why Amanda is not eating: the food item is too big. Rather than responding to Amanda's complaint, Mom first corrects her: "Well first of all that's a t(h)u:rkey leg." (line 15). This turn is *well*-prefaced, which indicates a topic shift (Heritage, 2015). The *well*-preface is followed by "first of all", which indicates that Mom is taking care of other

interactional business first before addressing Amanda's complaint. Then, Mom provides

the correction: "that's a t(h)u:rkey leg." Mom's correction addresses Amanda's

(mis)identification of the object "chicken leg" in her complaint. Mom's subsequent turn

does not address Amanda's complaint right away, but rather first targets her object

identification error. Mom utilizes the resource of dealing with Amanda's complaint (i.e.

not taking it up) by orienting to a problem with Amanda's prior object identification.

There is a gap in line 16 (where it is not possible to see what Amanda is doing). Mom

then directs Amanda to eat again, with the directive "B<u>i</u>te," (line 17), here giving

Amanda a specific eating action to comply with next. Talk continues in terms of the size

of the pieces of meat Amanda and Nathan are eating and subsequent directives to

Amanda (lines 18-21).

In this case, Mom's correction deals with a problem with Amanda's object

identification for a food item that she is currently complaining about before she deals

with Amanda's complaint. Again, this correction is not necessary for intersubjectivity,

but instead, exploits an ongoing monitoring of proper object identification to resist a

complaint. With the correction, Mom does not take up Amanda's complaint right away,

but instead orients to Amanda's object identification error before continuing to issue

directives to get her to eat. Mom deals with the object identification issue before

attending to Amanda's complaint. Thus, this case illustrates how parents can also utilize

the ongoing monitoring of correct identification of objects.

In this section I have shown four cases that exemplify how parents monitor

other's object identification in everyday family interactions. Children appear to exploit

this pervasive parental monitoring by inquiring about and noticing objects in their

immediate environment in such a way as to redirect parental attention. That is, by inquiring about or noticing an object they can redirect parent attention away from another interlocutor or activity (Extract 41), towards themselves (Extract 42), and away from a potentially problematic situation (Extract 43). Parents also exploit this monitoring in not responding to a child's complaint by attending to the identification of objects (Extract 44). This indicates how omnipresent and omnirelevant apposite object identification appears to be in family interactions; children (and parents) are able to successfully utilize this pervasive monitoring to redirect courses of action.

Discussion & Conclusions

Summary of Findings

In this chapter I have described practices through which family members monitor other's use of the proper identification terms for objects and items is implemented in everyday family interactions. Both children and parents produce corrections of others' object identification, indicating an ongoing monitoring of identifying objects using the most precise term. The presence of these corrections even when intersubjectivity is not at stake provides evidence for this pervasive monitoring; both parents and children suspend the progressivity of their everyday interactions in order to focus on object identification.

Both parents and children produce corrections of each other's object identification when object identification is the focal action. Keeping children accountable for what they could/should know, and initiating activities in which object identification is the focal action may be one way in which parents 'do' being parent. By initiating identification activities parents make relevant linguistic practice for their children. In monitoring their children's object identification for errors (but not providing a corrected term), they

indicate their own understanding of what their child could/should know, indicating an ongoing tracking of their children's linguistic repertoire.

Parents and children also correct each other's object identification during other activities. This indicates an ongoing and pervasive monitoring of object identification. Both parents and children correct each other's object identification following a problematic object identification, making object identification a temporary focal action. I find that children produce corrections of other's object identification when that object/item is clearly within their epistemic domain. This shows how at times, children know more than adults or their siblings, and also enact knowing more. Children's corrections of other's object identification concern typically children's objects: their toys and items they have constructed.

Parents also correct their children's object identification in ways that children do not correct others. They do so through corrections that do not provide a corrected term, but leave it open for the child to subsequently self-correct. By leaving it open for their child to self-correct or provide a more apposite object identification, parents engage in a teaching orientation towards the identification of objects. Keeping children accountable for what they could/should know may be one way in which parents engage in pedagogical activities in everyday family interactions. This is another way of "doing" being parent.

Finally, parents and children exploit the ongoing monitoring of object identification to accomplish other actions. Through inquiring about or noticing an object, a child can redirect the attention of their parent (Extract 41 and Extract 42) and move on from a problematic activity (Extract 43). Parents also accomplish other actions through

their monitoring of apposite object identification. As I have shown in Extract 44, a parent can also exploit this monitoring of other's object identification in order resist taking up a child's complaint.

In what follows I show how these findings have implications for reference, socialization, doing being a parent, and children's interactional competencies.

Reference

First, this chapter contributes to the conversation analytic literature on reference. Reference to persons (e.g. Hepburn, Wilkinson, & Shaw, 2012; Lerner et al., 2012; Lerner & Kitzinger, 2007; Margutti, 2007; Sacks & Schegloff, 1979; Schegloff, 1996) and to a lesser extent, places (e.g. Heritage, 2007a; Kitzinger et al., 2013; Schegloff, 1972) and objects and items have been previously studied (see Bolden et al., 2012; Egbert et al., 2009; Kitzinger & Mandelbaum, 2013b; Lerner et al., 2012). One of the main findings of research on person reference is a preference for using a recognitional reference term when possible (Sacks & Schegloff, 1979). In parallel with the finding regarding a preference for using specialist terms where possible (Kitzinger & Mandelbaum, 2013), this chapter shows that there is an ongoing orientation to using the proper term to identify objects. That is, when there is a precise term that can be used when identifying an object, it appears that family members monitor each other to ensure that that precise term is used. Both children and parents display this pervasive monitoring via their correction of other's object identification. Thus this appears to be a general monitoring that occurs in everyday family interactions.

Socialization

Second, this chapter has implications for our understanding of socialization. Research on socialization has examined it as a process that occurs through the transmission of social and cultural knowledge from parents to children (Blum-Kulka, 1994; Ochs, 1993; Ochs & Shohet, 2006). Other scholars have explored socialization as a mutual and multidirectional process (Pontecorvo et al., 2001). As Pontecorvo et al. (2001) note regarding parents and children, socialization can occur from parents to children and children to parents. In this chapter, I find that parents and children correct each other's identification of objects. This indicates that both parents and children monitor each other's object identification, and that correction of other's identification of objects does not only occur from parents to children.

This chapter extends our understanding of socialization as multidirectional in that I show how socialization occurs through specific practices of correcting object identification, through an ongoing monitoring of the terms others use to identify objects. This practice occurs from child to parent, from parent to child, and from sibling to sibling. That is, all family members display an ongoing monitoring of other's apposite object identification, correcting each other when inapposite identifications are produced. Children are not simply active in their own socialization process, but are also active in socializing their parents and siblings as to apposite terms for objects by showing their mastery of the vocabulary used to identify objects within their epistemic domain.

Doing Being Parent

Third, this chapter adds to our understanding of family life in that it exposes one of the components that constitutes enacting being a parent: orienting to children's use of apposite object identification by monitoring their identification of objects. This has

implications for social solidarity in family interactions. Object identification in family interactions appears to be one environment in which corrections and other-initiated repair are prevalent, as suggested by Schegloff et al. (1977). In this family interaction data these corrections proceed with no apparent ramifications for social solidarity. In particular, initiating object-identification play activities where identifying objects is the focal action appears to be one way in which parents teach, test, and track their children's vocabulary, indicating a pedagogical monitoring that occurs in these family interactions.

Importantly, parents correct their children's identification of objects in ways that children do not correct others (i.e. through corrections that leave it open for self- to correct). Parents point out their children's object identification errors and provide them with the opportunity to self-correct. In correcting in this way parents provide an opportunity for children to display what they know. Thus, parents are not *telling* children what the proper identification for that object is, but rather *guiding* them towards it by making it relevant next. That is, parents and children appear to be vigilant in monitoring each others' object identification, but in order avoid threatening social solidarity and being overly didactic, parents also provide their children opportunity to self-correct in some instances.

In correcting in ways that leave it open for self- to correct, parents display what they take it their child should or could know about that object and how to identify it. This may be one way in which parents do being parent: in correcting in this way they show that they are keeping track of what their child knows, indicating an understanding of their emergent vocabulary and when/how they should deploy it. This may be one way in which parents display and deploy their tracking of their children's knowledge and language

socialization: they hold their children accountable for what they 'should' know, indicating their own understanding of their children's language use capabilities. Having and deploying this granular understanding of their children's vocabulary constitutes 'doing being parent' in that this type of information is something that is specific to knowing your child and what they could or should know.

Second, parents sometimes postpone correcting (e.g. Extract 39). That is, parents may first produce the next move in the play activity before orienting to the object identification. This postponement may be understood as indicating an orientation to preserving social solidarity. By not immediately addressing the correctable, parents treat the play activity as primary and the correction as secondary. This may be one way in which parents orient to social solidarity, by making the correction secondary they treat the play as more important. By not overtly correcting their children in some instances, parents may avoid appearing to be overtly didactic in their everyday interactions. By instead pointing their children to what they might know, they give children the autonomy to self-correct. Notably, I find that only parents postpone correcting. This may corroborate M. Goodwin's (1983) work on the prevalence of children's aggravated corrections. That is, in this data children only produce corrections and they do not postpone correction in the way that parents do. Perhaps this is evidence for one way in which children do not (yet) orient to social solidarity in the way that adults do.

Children's Interactional Sophistication

This chapter also expands our understanding of children's interactional sophistication in two ways. First, we know more about how children enact knowing more than their adult family members about objects that are within their own epistemic

domain. Second, this chapter contributes to our understanding of children's interactional sophistication in terms of action formation.

First, this chapter expands our understanding of situated social identities (Bolden, 2013) by exposing how children appear to have certain epistemic domains in which they present themselves as more knowledgeable than their interlocutors. Importantly, when children assert their object identification knowledge they do so through corrections, treating the other interactants as not knowledgeable about the object regarding which they are correcting. In other words, sometimes children know more than adults, and enact knowing more. These epistemic domains appear to be part of children's worlds. Their corrections of other's object identification concern typically children's objects: their toys and items they have constructed.

Second, the findings from this chapter also contribute to previous work on action formation and young children's interactions. Conversation analytic research (e.g. Kidwell, 2009; Lerner, Zimmerman, & Kidwell, 2011) has indicated the interactional sophistication of very young children. Building on this literature, this chapter finds that when children inquire about and notice objects in their world they may accomplish actions other than simply inquiring or noticing. Schegloff (1996) uses the term "reference *simpliciter*" (p. 440) to indicate references that accomplish only reference. Lerner et al. (2012) adopt this terminology to distinguish between repairs that accomplish just repair, and those that accomplish other actions (e.g. explaining a rejection). Here, it appears that by inquiring about the proper term for, or noticing an object, children can implement actions such as redirecting the attention of others and moving on from a problematic

activity. Thus, children's interactional sophistication is further indicated by their exploitation of the ongoing monitoring of other's apposite object identification.

Limitations

The findings from this chapter are limited by the sample size (67 cases total). Even though a large video corpus was examined to find cases of monitoring other's apposite object identification in these interactions, this number is small, possibly indicating that while there is a pervasive monitoring of other's object identification, errors or problems of object identification are relatively uncommon, or relatively rarely targeted by corrections. Therefore claims about the pervasiveness of corrections and repair of other's object identification here could be strengthened through further data collection. Future work could confirm and add to the findings of this chapter by finding more cases of monitoring other's object identification in everyday family interactions. Future work could also examine object identification in other commonplace interactional contexts for children with families, such as parks, playgrounds, the movies, museums, zoos, and libraries. Perhaps in locations where there may be more "novel" objects to young children there may be more ways in which monitoring other's identification of objects occurs.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSIONS

This dissertation examined family communication from a conversation analytic perspective to understand more about the communication practices that constitute everyday family life in families with young children. In this chapter I first summarize the main findings of the dissertation. Next, I discuss the implications of the dissertation for our understanding of various family communication and conversation analytic topics. Then, I address the limitations of this dissertation. Finally, I conclude with proposals for future directions in research on family interactions.

Summary of Findings

In this dissertation I have examined three communication practices that are recurrent in everyday family life in families with young children. In the first analytic chapter (Chapter 4) I analyzed recruiting in play activities. I first analyzed where recruiting occurs: after a previous activity has ended or during/after a moment of interactional troubles. I then examined differences between *let's* and *wanna*-format recruiting, finding that *let's*-format recruiting only occurs in environments in which the interactants are already engaged in an activity together, whereas *wanna*-format recruiting can occur in that environment and in others (e.g. when participants are not engaged in an activity together). I also laid out how recruiting is responded to. Recruiting can be accepted via an embodied acceptance, acceptance and movement into the recruited activity, and extended acceptance over a series of turns. Recruiting can also be rejected outright. Findings about recruiting in family interactions have implications for our understanding of the concept of recruitment in the context of engaging others in play.

In the second analytic chapter (Chapter 5) I examined the practices of updating others in family interactions. First I analyzed three sequential environments in which child-initiated updates occurred: (1) when they are occasioned by a specific word/phrase, (2) when they are occasioned by an object in the locally immediate environment, and (3) when they are occasioned by the local ongoing activity. Importantly, these updates are retrospectively activated in that they are responsive to what just occurred before, but also initiate a new sequence. Then I examined parent-solicited updates, differentiating between report solicitations and tracking inquiries. I also analyzed cases in which a parent prompts a child to update someone else, as well as how parents work to scaffold children's responses to their update inquiries. Finally, I examined cases where updating does more than just updating, and can be deployed to resist the locally ongoing action and/or activity. These findings have implications for our understanding of children's interactional sophistication, parental expectations of their children's ability to report about their everyday activities, as well as for how we understand tracking is accomplished in family interactions.

Finally, in the third analytic chapter (Chapter 6) I analyzed instances of monitoring other's identification of everyday objects. First I examined how both children and parents correct other's identification of objects in wordplay and other family activities. Then I examined how parents produce corrections in ways that leave it open for the child to subsequently self-correct. I then explored cases in which children and parents exploit the ongoing monitoring of other's object identification to accomplish other actions. This chapter suggests implications for our understanding of children's

interactional sophistication, 'doing being parent', and other actions that corrections can accomplish.

Implications

The findings of this dissertation have implications for our understanding of how interaction plays a role in enacting and constructing family life. Next I discuss the various implications my findings indicate for recruitment, family communication, children's interactional sophistication, as well as practical implications for families with young children and data collection.

Recruitment

First, this dissertation has implications for the conversation analytic literature on recruitment (e.g. Kendrick & Drew, 2016). In Chapter 4, I use 'recruiting' in a different way than recent Conversation Analytic literature has approached 'recruitment'. The recruitment literature has examined such actions as offers and requests (Drew & Couper-Kuhlen, 2014a; Kendrick & Drew, 2014, 2016b) in the pursuit of cooperation and assistance in everyday interactions. That is, recruitment is utilized to solve the problem of achieving cooperation and/or assistance from others. In this dissertation I proposed that the activity of recruiting solves a different interactional problem: the problem of getting someone else to participate in a shared activity. That is, the problem that these cases of recruiting address is not one of assistance *per se*, but of finding another interlocutor to participate in a shared activity together. Many play activities are inherently cooperative, for example when more than one participant is needed. Recruiting appears to be a practice designed to solve the problem of achieving co-participation that young children utilize in everyday family interactions.

Family Communication

This dissertation adds to our understanding of family communication by describing interactional practices for socialization and exploring how parenting is accomplished in interaction. The implications of each of these for family communication are discussed next.

First, the findings of this dissertation exposed specific interactional practices through which socialization is implemented. The findings of Chapter 5 (on updating) contain implications for our understanding of family communication and socialization. Children are recurrently held accountable for reporting on the events of their day. These findings build upon prior work on communication practices deployed at the family dinner table (e.g. Blum-Kulka, 1997), describing other family environments (such as playtime) in which the activity of updating occurs. That is, it is not only at dinnertime that families seek and produce updates about their day. This also occurs during other activities. Importantly, this chapter indicates that even very young children are expected to participate in the activity of updating. Through their solicitation of updates, parents indicate that they expect young children to be able to produce reports about their own recent experiences and to be able to report these experiences to others. Through parent-solicited updates that scaffold children's responses, parents socialize their children as to how to engage in the practice of updating. By asking their children to report on certain types of activities, parents socialize their children as to when reports may be relevant, and what is reportable, and thus what they should be tracking for later updates.

The findings of Chapter 6 (object identification) also have implications for our understanding of socialization. Bolden (2012) describes how interactants with varying

levels of language expertise work to negotiate their identities as language expert and novice. Much family communication research on socialization treats children as the apprentices and adults as the disseminators of language, knowledge, and social norms (e.g. Aronsson & Gottzén, 2011; Blum-Kulka, 1994). However, recently the family communication field has shown how children can act in non-apprentice roles, for example as language-brokers in immigrant families (Katz, 2014b, 2014a). This dissertation also challenges the view of children as apprentices in their family relationships.

Specifically, in Chapter 6 we saw the process of socialization occur between adults and young children following inapposite object identification. Importantly, children appear to have their own domains of expertise where they enact knowing more than their parents. Findings from this chapter challenge the traditional view of socialization, finding that there are action environments in which children enact having expertise concerning how to identify objects. When children correct another interlocutor's misidentification, the issue is not whether or not the participants have mutual understanding of *which* object is being referred to, but rather, how to identify that object. That is, it is through misidentification that interactants indicate that they do not understand or recognize an object via their inability to provide the apposite term for it. My account of children's corrections of other's misidentification of objects contributes to the socialization literature by showing that socialization can be multidirectional (Pontecorvo et al., 2001). That is, in enacting expertise regarding how to identify objects within their epistemic domain (and by parents accepting this enactment of expertise),

children can also socialize their parents (and siblings) to the apposite identification of objects.

This dissertation contains implications for how we understand parenting and doing 'being a parent'. First, this dissertation contains implications for our understanding of how parenting is accomplished through social interaction. Prior family communication research has examined how parents initiate and respond to topics about their children beginning kindergarten (Munz, 2013) as well as how families work together to co-construct memories of past events (Bietti & Galiana Castello, 2013). In Chapter 5 I examined a different interactional activity: the updating of children's recent past experiences. In this chapter parental knowledge about children's recent experiences was explored. Morrison's (1987) research on tracking inquiries finds that interactants may seek updates after something has been discussed previously between interactants. I found that tracking can also occur about things that were not previously discussed. That is, parents have, and are permitted to have, other sources of information about their children about occurrences that took place in-between when the parents and children last saw each other. This adds to our understanding how parents use social knowledge about their children. Parents deploy this knowledge when they solicit updates from their young children, and use it to help their children recall and produce reports of their days. That is, both parents and children may be K+ relative to what happened in that child's day, but this knowledge comes from different sources. Children have knowledge of their own daily activities, but may have difficulty in reporting about them.

The ways in which parents use their own social knowledge to work to extract updates from their children indicates an ongoing granular understanding of their

children's activities. It appears that parents monitor and keep track of their children's lives, at least those of their young children, even if the parents have not experienced these occurrences first-hand. That is, they deploy their knowledge about what they know (and have been told about) their children's worlds to assist their children in providing updates about their day. Having, tracking, and deploying this information about their child's daily activities appears to be one way of 'doing being parent'. We take it for granted that parents are responsible for their young children's well-being and livelihood, but perhaps another way in which the social role of 'parent' is enacted is through soliciting and displaying knowledge about children's participation in their everyday activities, even (or perhaps especially) when parents are not present to witness them first-hand.

Chapter 6 (object identification) also expands our understanding of 'doing being parent', finding an ongoing monitoring of other's identification of objects. Importantly, I found that another core component of being parent is monitoring children's object identification. Findings indicate that although both parents and children produce corrections of other's object identifications, only parents produce corrections that leave it open for the producer of the trouble source, self-, (the child) to correct. This suggests not only the ongoing parental monitoring of children's word use, but also demonstrates what appears to be a key component of enacting being a parent. Through corrections that leave it open for self- to subsequently self-correct, parents display what they take it their children know or should know, indicating an ongoing monitoring of their children's object identification. In correcting in this way, parents appear to avoid correcting their children about something that they could potentially figure out on their own, or already know. This implies that, although parents display an ongoing monitoring of apposite

object identification, at times they correct in ways that mitigate the threat to social solidarity.

Children's Interactional Sophistication

The findings from this dissertation also contain implications for how children manage trouble in their everyday family interactions. In both Chapter 4 (recruiting) and Chapter 6 (object identification) we saw how young children utilize conditional relevance to get out of troubles or potential troubles. In Chapter 4 (recruiting) I found that young children can recruit others to co-participate in an activity during a potential trouble. In Chapter 6 (object identification) I found that one environment in which young children engage their parents in issues of the identification of objects is during a potentially problematic activity.

These instances point to the interactional sophistication of young children, something that has been documented in preschool contexts (e.g. Kidwell & Zimmerman, 2006; Lerner, Zimmerman, & Kidwell, 2011; Lerner & Zimmerman, 2003). Children have their own set of interactional problems they have to solve (Sacks, 1995). That is doing 'being a child' involves solving a certain set of interactional issues, especially in the context of the family. In this dissertation I expose interactional practices that children utilize to avoid (or get out of) a trouble.

The findings from this dissertation demonstrate children's interactional sophistication in the context of the family. Kidwell (2005) has found that children distinguish between a caregiver's "mere look" and "the look" when they are engaged in sanctionable activities. Findings from this dissertation indicate that children monitor interactions and utilize strategies such as recruiting and engaging their parents in issues

of object identification to get out of a trouble or potential trouble. This suggests that children have an ongoing understanding of the relational or interactional implications of a current situation, and can co-opt interactional practices to avoid trouble. Children are able to see that they are in trouble (or about to be in trouble) and use an interactional practice unrelated to the trouble to avoid (or get out of) trouble.

It is likely that these are not the only ways in which children attempt to get out of trouble in their everyday interactions. The way in which children exploit the ongoing interaction warrants future systematic investigation of other ways in which children work to get out of potential troubles in their family (and school and peer) environments.

Chapter 5 (updating) also has implications for our understanding of the interactional sophistication of young children. I found that children are skilled at producing updates when they initiate them themselves. Children are adept at integrating these locally-occasioned updates seamlessly into ongoing interaction. However, children appear to struggle with some parent-solicited updates. This addresses the potential limitations of children's interactional abilities: when the updates are self-initiated they produce locally occasioned updates unproblematically about their own recent activities. However, parent-solicited updates make relevant children's updating on things that may not be locally interactionally relevant. This may point to the reason why some parent-solicited updates require parental scaffolding. Young children are easily able to retrieve memories that are locally occasioned in interaction, but may struggle to provide those that are parent-solicited, and thus not immediately relevant to the current interactional environment.

Practical Implications for Families with Young Children

The findings of this dissertation also have potential practical implications for families with young children. That is, these findings may be helpful for parents, caregivers, and family communication counselors in assisting in improving family communication practices.

First, the findings from Chapter 5 (updating) have implications for parenting and language socialization. Findings from this chapter showed that children struggle with parent-solicited updates. In parenting classes this is a topic that could be addressed. It may be useful to inform parents of young children's difficulties in producing parent-solicited updates, and teach parents various scaffolding techniques to help their children succeed in responding to parent solicited updates.

Second, the findings from Chapter 6 (object identification) also have implications for parenting and language socialization. Previous literature has found differences in orientations to words and reading in families of different socioeconomic status, and has suggested that this has implications for school readiness (Heath, 1983). Findings from this dissertation indicate that the parents in this data set enact ongoing monitoring of children's apposite object identification. It may be that in other families there may be more limited parent-child communication related to language. If this is the case, family counselors could help teach parents how to engage in monitoring object identification that encourage and foster children's language learning.

Data Collection

After analyzing the data for this dissertation, some practical implications for data collection of video-recordings of family interactions have emerged. First, collecting video-recordings of a variety of family activities contributes to a more thorough

understanding of how family is constituted through interaction. That is, asking participants to capture different activities when providing them the video cameras to record made it possible to subsequently explore and analyze a variety of family communication activities, further developing our understanding of what constitutes family life. Although the data collected for this dissertation are not as exhaustive as the recordings of families collected by the UCLA Center on Everyday Lives of Families (e.g. Campos, Graesch, Repetti, Bradbury, & Ochs, 2009; Ochs & Kremer-Sadlik, 2013; Wingard & Forsberg, 2009), the variety of family activities collected for this dissertation allow researchers to see more of what encompasses and constitutes everyday family life.

Second, in this data set there a minority of instances in which children protest being video-recorded by their parents or ask for the camera to be turned off. These instances raise important and interesting implications for our understanding of how best to collect video-recorded data in families with young children. Although parents and/or their children in all families signed the appropriate parental informed consent or assent forms to participate in the study, the presence of child complaints and/or resistance in the video clips raises ethical issues in terms of how to use and understand the data collected. In future data collection, the manner in which parents are given the video-cameras and instructions to record could be reconsidered. For instance, perhaps it would be best to have children present when the researcher explains the study and its purpose, so that children are more aware of the circumstances and can choose then to opt in or opt out. Perhaps this would present less pressure than if their parents already accept for them on behalf of the researcher(s), and then felt the need to complete the recordings.

Limitations

This dissertation has two main limitations. First, there are limitations with how the data were collected. Second, there are limitations as to the quantity of cases collected for the object identification chapter (Chapter 6). Each of these limitations is discussed next.

One limitation of this dissertation has to do with specifically how the data were collected. Although the researchers gave the families a "Recording Checklist" (Appendix C), some families still chose to use a roving camera approach (Heath, Hindmarsh, & Luff, 2010) when recording some (or all) of their video-recordings. Recording in this way made some of the data more difficult to use, in that the camera viewpoint was blurry and/or did not include all participants. For some videos this limited the amount of data that could be clearly because all of the interactants were not clearly captured in the video-recordings. Furthermore, moving and holding the camera in this way may have made the camera more of a focus, and/or been more intrusive to the ongoing interaction. In the future, more careful attention could be given to the data recording process, with more time spent with the families stressing the importance of setting up the cameras to achieve the best quality video-recordings.

Second, there may be limitations related to claims I have made regarding the pervasiveness of the ongoing monitoring of apposite object identification discussed in Chapter 6. For this chapter I collected 67 cases of interactants monitoring the identification of objects in the more than 30 hours of video-recordings of everyday family interactions. Within that larger collection I analyzed a sub-collection of the 47 cases that specifically contained issues of object identification of physical objects or items. Although the findings of this chapter are robust, and point to an ongoing and pervasive

monitoring of object identification in regards to objects in family interactions, future data collection could corroborate the pervasiveness of these findings. Building a larger collection of instances might give more weight to the claim that in family interactions there is a prevalence of corrections of others' object identifications, and further substantiate the claims made about the extensiveness of this phenomenon.

Future Directions

Although this dissertation provides insight into three communication practices that occur in family interactions in families with young children, there is much more to be learned about family relationships and how they are constructed through communication. First, this data set can be mined for other communication practices that occur in these everyday family interactions. Second, the findings from this dissertation have potential to be explored in future data sets and contexts. Third, future work on family interactions could include more practical implications for parents and families in terms of improving family communication. In what follows, each of these potential future directions is discussed.

First, the data collected for this dissertation are rich in other potential topics for exploration of family communication. This includes collections of the utterance "uh oh", imaginary play episodes, and instances of co-remembering between parents and children. Although these phenomena (among others) were not studied for this dissertation, they are representative of future work that could come out of the data collected. Future examination of these potential phenomena could also further our understanding of other communication practices in everyday family interactions.

Second, the data collected for this dissertation have opened the door to other possible studies in understanding family life. For example, in some of the families children were recorded using tablets and/or mobile devices. Some recent work has examined the presence of mobile devices in adult-only interactions (Raclaw, Robles, & DiDomenico, 2016). Future work could examine the impact of these devices on co-present family interactions and the ways in which children (and their parents) negotiate the use and presence of these devices.

Third, future work on communication in families with young children could have practical implications for families and caregivers, such as we have seen in the medical field (e.g. Heritage & Robinson, 2006), language teaching (e.g. Barraja-Rohan, 2011), and other institutional discourse (e.g. Stokoe, 2014). Utilizing conversation analytic methods affords researchers the ability to examine systematically the intricacies of everyday interactions, finding real-life communication patterns that have the potential to help improve communication practices. I hope that future work will provide parents and caregivers with communication strategies that are helpful in their communication with their children. For example, in examining sibling conflict, it may be useful to see which communication techniques are more or less helpful in resolving conflict. Findings such as these may have practical implications for families.

This dissertation has explored family communication through a conversation analytic lens. Findings have exposed three interactional practices that are recurrent in everyday family life: recruiting, updating, and an ongoing monitoring of apposite object identification. Overall, this dissertation has added to our understanding of the interactional construction of everyday family life. In unpacking how 'doing being parent'

is accomplished, I exposed the ways in which parents track and monitor their children's understanding of the world around them, as well as how parents hold children accountable for knowing about their recent experiences and vocabulary they should know. In adding to how we understand children to be interactionally astute, I showed how children can exploit ongoing courses of action to avoid or pre-empt troubles. Families are complex, and so are their interactions. As I have shown in this dissertation, examining family interactions can only add to our understanding of family life and how family is constituted.

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Appendix A: Recruitment Flyer

Appendix B: Participant Recording Sheet

Recording Information Sheet

Date and time of the recording: _____

Describe the location:

Participants:

Pseudonym (or First Name)	Appearance on the video	Relationship to other participants (e.g. mom)	Age (if child)

Any additional notes that will be helpful to others who may not know the participants?

The recording equipment kit number _____ (video camera ____, case ____, and tripod ___) has been returned to the researcher _____ .

Signature of Researcher: _____ Date: _____

The participant _____ has received gift card number _____ in the amount of _____ for the completion of (circle one) 1 2 3 video-recordings.

Signature of Participant: _____ Date: _____
[Complete after each recording and submit a copy]

Appendix C: Recording Checklist

Recording Checklist

Has everyone present signed a consent form?

Can you see all of the participants?

Is the camera on?

Is the camera on the tripod?

Is there minimal background noise (e.g. no TV, music)?

Did you fill out the "Recording Information Sheet" after the recording has ended?

Ideas for Possible Things to Record:

- bedtime routine (e.g. storytime)
- playtime
- mealtime (e.g. meal preparation, meal cleanup, eating)
- while doing homework
- anytime that your child(ren) are interacting with other family members

Thank you!!!

Appendix D: Transcription Conventions

Jefferson Transcription System

[ ]	simultaneous or overlapping speech or nonvocal conduct
=	no interval between utterances
(0.2)	timed silences in seconds
(.)	micropause
word	stressed sound
wo:rd	prolonged sound
wo-	cut-off sound
word.	falling intonation
word,	continuing intonation
word?	rising intonation
word¿	somewhat rising intonation
°word°	quieter than surrounding talk
↑↓	markedly higher/lower pitch
>word<	quicker speech
<word>	slowed speech
.hh	hearable inhalation
hh	hearable exhalation
wo(h)rd	interspersed laugh tokens
(word)	uncertain hearing
( )	undistinguishable hearting

```
((looks)) transcriber's comments and descriptions of
         nonvocal conduct
|²⁸      continuous embodied conduct over several turns
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²⁸ Note: this is not a Jeffersonian transcript symbol, but has been adopted by the researcher