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Participation, affect, and trajectory in family directive/response sequences*

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Abstract

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Making use of videotapes of family interaction, this paper investigates alternative trajectories that develop as parents and children negotiate disputes resulting from directive/response sequences. Forms of arguments constituted through recycled positions are distinguished from arguments that are buttressed by accounts or rule statements. Constellations of features including structures of control, forms of tying utterances to prior utterances, accounts, as well as facing formations are consequential. The forms of participation frameworks that are constructed afford different ways of sustaining focused interaction, gearing into what someone has said, and displaying to each other how participants are aligned within the activity frame. Alternative trajectories develop in light of the forms of joint attention that are established, as well as sustained engagement.

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Keywords: directives; family interaction; accounts; facing formations; participation; joint attention; disputes.

1. Introduction

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Recent studies of work/family relations have stressed the importance of abandoning static concepts of role relations in favor of looking at process and the practices that constitute the family (Carsten 2000; Sillars 1995; Wood 1986). At the UCLA Sloan Center on the Everyday Lives of Families (CELF), I have been concerned with how in the midst of accomplishing the work of the family, parents and children construct alternative forms of participation (Goodwin 1990; Goodwin and Goodwin 2004) within ongoing activities. As family members work together to jointly produce the important events of their lives, differing forms of social organization emerge. To explore some of the ways that families constitute

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1 themselves, I will investigate sequences where parents and children nego-
2 tiate disputes resulting from directive/response sequences. I will consider
3 alternative forms of facing formations (Kendon 1990b) and trajectories
4 (Sacks 1995) that directive/response sequences may take. In addition, I
5 will investigate how in the midst of disputes participants demonstrate dif-
6 ferent types of affective stance or ‘mood, attitude, feeling and disposition,
7 as well as degrees of emotional intensity vis-à-vis some focus of concern’
8 (Ochs 1996: 410–411). Quite distinctive forms of ethos (Bateson 1972) de-
9 velop as families overlay their activities with different forms of affect.

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12 **2. Data**

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14 The data are taken from video recordings of naturally occurring inter-
15 action of dual-earner families who are part of the CELF project. Our
16 methods combine ethnographic research, including extensive interviews,
17 with video recording of approximately fifty hours of interaction by two
18 videographers collected over a week’s time. Video makes possible the re-
19 cording of mundane talk, visible behavior, and relevant features of the
20 settings where people actually constitute their lives. The approach for un-
21 derstanding the orderliness of human interaction adopted here is con-
22 versation analysis, a field established by the later Harvey Sacks in collabor-
23 ation with Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson (Sacks et al. 1974).¹
24 Conversation analysis investigates the procedures participants employ to
25 construct and make intelligible their talk, and the events that occur within
26 it (Sacks 1984). Sequences of talk are examined to see how participants
27 make meaning together, not only through the way they produce talk for
28 others to respond to, but through their uptake to what others are saying.

29 Sacks (1995: 331) in his lecture ‘Poetics: Requests, offers, and threats:
30 The “old man” as an evolved natural object’ urges us to consider the ob-
31 jects ‘offer, request warning, threat—not as though they’re a series of dif-
32 ferent things, but to see them as sequential versions of a something.’ He
33 discusses how the movement from a variety of offers to a request and
34 threat implicates a changing of ‘operative identities’ (1995: 327) for a
35 seventy-year-old man. In the data Sacks analyzes, as step-children-in-
36 law Ethel and Bill urge Max, a recent widower, to eat, a battle develops;
37 Max produces rejections while Ethel and Bill recycle re-offers. As Sacks
38 argues (1995: 330), the stubborn old man that Max ‘becomes in the se-
39 quence, the person they have got to take care of, is an identity that the
40 sequence brings into focus.’ By focusing on trajectories of directive/re-
41 sponse sequences, we can examine the practices through which child and
42 parent(s) construct local identities for children, either as parties who are

1 accountable to their parents for their actions or dismissive of their par-
2 ents' directives.

3

4

5 **3. Directive/response sequences, accounts, and facing formations**

6

7 Alternative ways in which speakers format directives, utterances designed
8 to get someone else to do something (Austin 1962; Blum-Kulka 1997;
9 Ervin-Tripp 1976; Labov and Fanshel 1977), and recipients sequence
10 next turns to them make possible a variety of forms of social organiza-
11 tion between participants. Goodwin (1990) demonstrated that in com-
12 parable task activities the precise linguistic resources used to build di-
13 rectives of a particular shape could constitute very different kinds of
14 social organization in children's peer groups (for example, hierarchical
15 versus egalitarian social structures). The social force of a directive, as well
16 as its emotional valence, is also heavily shaped through the deployment of
17 resources such as prosody and embodiment (Goodwin and Goodwin
18 2001 [2000]).

19 All studies of directives owe much to the pioneering work of Ervin-
20 Tripp (1976) on directives and structures of control (Ervin-Tripp et al.
21 1984), defined as including 'offers, requests, orders, prohibitions, and
22 other verbal moves that solicit goods or attempt to effect changes in the
23 activities of others' (1984: 116). According to Ervin-Tripp and her col-
24 leagues (1984: 118), 'A speaker who is high in esteem has the right to re-
25 ceive verbal deference from others and can make control moves boldly,
26 without offering deference to those who are lower in esteem.' Blum-Kulka
27 (1997: 150, emphasis in the original) argues, 'The politeness system of
28 family discourse is highly domain-specific and that within it *unmodified*
29 *directness is neutral or unmarked in regard to politeness.*' Parents' use of
30 directness indexes both power and solidarity. Forms of mitigation, in-
31 cluding tone of voice, affective nicknames, pronoun choice, laughter, as
32 well as nonvocal interactions such as kissing or massaging a child's
33 shoulders can soften degrees of coerciveness.

34 Accounts included in a speaker's initial directive may appeal to justifi-
35 cations related to the requirements of the current activity or display no
36 obvious reason for why the action should be undertaken, aside from the
37 speaker's personal desires (Goodwin 1990: 113). Hasan (1992), studying
38 accounts in everyday talk between mothers and children, distinguished
39 'internal' accounts (accounts that appeal to rational explanations) from
40 'external' accounts, defined as accounts that include threats (speaker has
41 more power relative to addressee), bribe (speaker knows what addressee
42 likes), blackmail, authority, and tradition. The rules (Wootton 1986)

1 speakers make evident in accounts accompanying directives vary in critical
2 ways (Goodwin 1990: 65–137; Pontecorvo et al. 2001).

3 In response to a directive, next moves may be compliance or rejection
4 of the proposal. A recipient may provide a flat refusal or an accounting.
5 With respect to accounts in response to invitations, Drew (1984) argues
6 that one way of responding to an implicit request is to avoid taking up a
7 position by reporting some other planned activity, leaving unstated the
8 implications of the reporting. Such an arrangement is sensitive to issues
9 of face, where participants want ‘to negotiate positions, make concessions,
10 stand firm or hold out on some matter, but without any of these
11 activities having been done officially’ (1984: 147).

12 Negotiations involving acts of control are central to the organization of
13 family life, and display a range of alternative sequencing patterns resulting
14 from a constellation of factors: these not only include directive type,
15 accounts, and next moves to the directive, but also the facing formations
16 of participants (Kendon 1985), footings (Goffman 1979), stances, or affective
17 alignments that participants maintain vis-à-vis one another. Participation
18 frameworks in which access to direct face-to-face communication
19 is established between interlocutors result in different forms of sequencing
20 from those where no such frameworks are established.

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23 **4. Facing formations and collaborative action in directives**

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25 In his work on how participants to conversation position themselves with
26 respect to one another, Kendon (1985: 237) argues the following:

27

28 The establishment and maintenance of spatial-orientational arrangements, it
29 seems, is one way that participants can provide one another with evidence that
30 they are prepared to sustain a common orientational perspective. By arranging
31 themselves into a particular spatial-orientational pattern they thereby display
32 each to the other that they are governed by the same set of general considerations.
33 By co-operating with one another to sustain a given spatial-orientational arrangement,
34 they can display a commonality of readiness.

35

36 Kendon (1990a: 239) calls the ‘spatial-orientational arrangement’ that
37 people establish an ‘F Formation’. He states:

38

39 Whenever two or more individuals are placed close to each other, orienting their
40 bodies in such a way that each of them has an easy, direct, and equal access to
41 every other participant’s transactional segment, and agree to maintain such an arrangement,
42 they can be said to create an F formation.

43

44 Across a range of directive sequences in family interaction, different types
45 of facing formations and types of attunement to such formations can be

1 established as parents and children jointly negotiate the accomplishment
 2 of family tasks (grooming, coming to the dinner table, cleaning, etc.).
 3 Participants may closely align both their bodies and their talk to the
 4 task at hand, or, alternatively, demonstrate either lack of alignment, dis-
 5 engagement, or protest through different ways they position their bodies
 6 and sequence their talk.

7 Obtaining joint attention for the performance of tasks often requires the
 8 active work of multiple parties to the interaction. We will now examine
 9 some sequences in which a parent is effective in establishing full attention
 10 to the task at hand, and, subsequently, compliance with her directive. In
 11 the following example, Mom is attempting to get her children ready to go
 12 on an outing as her daughters are engaged in watching a video together.

13 At the onset of the directive sequence, Mom summons her daughters,
 14 Cynthia (6) and Michelle (10), and provides an announcement: ‘Come
 15 on guys. You guys’ clothes are ironed.’ With this announcement, Mom
 16 provides a warrant for a next course of activity to take place (getting
 17 ready to go out). Though Michelle with her ‘okay’ agrees to the new pro-
 18 posed action, she initially stalls with ‘We have to wait.’ Mom then physi-
 19 cally moves to where the girls are watching the computer screen, and say-
 20 ing ‘sorry’, she turns off the computer monitor so that there is no
 21 competing activity. Having established a new frame for interaction, she
 22 then produces a series of directives that take the form of imperatives:
 23 ‘Come on. Go:, Brush tee:th, get dre:ssed, Come on guys.’ Data are tran-
 24 scribed according to the system developed by Gail Jefferson, described in
 25 Sacks et al. (1974: 731–733), and reviewed in Wingard (in this issue).

- 26
 27 (1) ((Mom enters the room as Michele, 10, and Cynthia, 6, are watching
 28 a video))
 29 1 Mom: Come on guys.
 30 2 You guys’ clothes are ironed.
 31 3 Michelle: Okay.
 32 4 Cynthia: [She’s going.
 33 5 Michelle: [We have to wait-
 34 6 Mom: ((shuts down the program on video monitor))
 35 7 Sorry.
 36 8 Come on.
 37 9 Go:. Brush tee:th,
 38 10 Get dre:ssed,
 39 11 Come on guys.
 40 12 Cynthia: I’ll be- brush my teeth right now.
 41 13 ((rushes off to the bathroom, while
 42 14 Michelle moves more slowly, turning on her stool))

1 Mom's activity of first setting the appropriate frame for the directive to
 2 be executed before delivering it is successful; immediately the six-year-
 3 old, Cynthia, complies with the directive. She runs off to brush her teeth,
 4 stating, 'I'll be- brush my teeth right now.' Michelle turns her stool away
 5 from the television, moving more slowly, though she also complies with
 6 the request.

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5. Socializing accountability

10 Executing a successful directive/response sequence requires the collabora-
 11 tive action of multiple parties to the encounter. Example (2) provides a
 12 second important illustration of how facing formations, eye gaze, and
 13 active pursuit of compliance are all entailed in socializing a child to be
 14 accountable to others' actions. The following, which occurs moments
 15 after Cynthia and Michelle exit to brush their teeth (Example [1]), entails
 16 Mom and her 11-year-old son Steve. Mom asks Steve, "So. What. Did
 17 you brush your teeth?" (line 1). As she produces this talk, her wrist rests
 18 on her hip, providing a visible portrait of her stance, challenge, with re-
 19 spect to the current interaction.

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38 Figure 1. *Example [2], line 2) Mom's challenge position*

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Though Steven is in the midst of a phone call to his Dad, he immedi-
 ately interrupts the activity of talking on the phone to enter into a facing
 formation with his mother.



Figure 2. (Example [2], line 9) Joint attention between Mom and son

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23 (2) ((In the living room))
24 1 Mom: °So. What. Did you brush your teeth?
25 2 ((wrist on hip in challenge position))
26 3 Steve: Yeah.
27 4 Hi Dad. ((on phone))
28 5 Mom: When.
29 6 Steve: Hold on Dad. ((positions phone facing his chest))
30 7 When I was using the bathroom.
31 8 Mom: Let me see ‘em.
32 9 ((moves closer to Steven and gazes into his mouth))
33 10 Oh::. You didn’t br-
34 11 Steven. ((pointing to her own mouth))
35 12 Steve: I keep on forgetting to brush ‘em.
36 13 Mom: HOW COULD YOU FORGET ABOUT THAT
37 TOOTH.=
38 14 IT’S PART OF ALL YOUR TEE:TH!
39 15 Steve: I know. But when I brush I don’t-
40 16 Mom: Steven. No. ((shaking head)) Brush your teeth.
41 17 ((nodding)) Again.
42 18 And your face is dirty. ((disengages and moves

1 19 *away from Steven*) =
 2 20 Steve: Okay. Hello? (*back to phone*)

3
 4 In this interaction, Steven responds to his mother's directive by putting
 5 another interaction (talking with his father over the phone) temporarily
 6 on hold (line 6: 'Hold on Dad.') and by answering Mom's question with
 7 'When I was using the bathroom' (line 7). After Mom establishes a partic-
 8 ipation framework in which the activity of attending to her question is
 9 the explicit focus, Mom (line 8) asks 'Let me see 'em' as she moves closer
 10 to Steven. Inspecting his mouth, she provides a response cry, immediately
 11 marking her alignment of disapproval, as well as an accusation—'Oh::
 12 You didn't br- Steven.'—while she points to her own mouth. This action
 13 calls attention to Steve's teeth brushing as behavior that is deficient, as
 14 activity that has not met the standard she has set for him. By calling at-
 15 tention to the 'untoward act' (Wootton 1986: 150–151) of inadequate
 16 brushing, Mom makes relevant a next action from Steven.

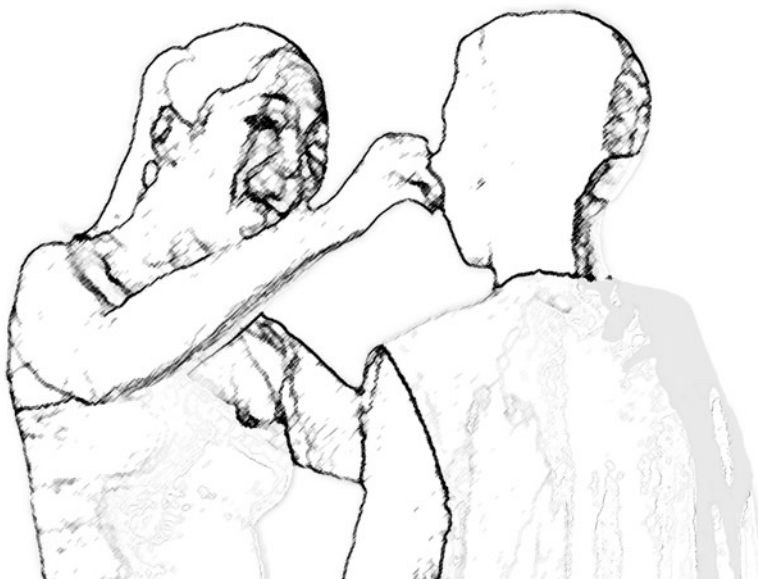
17 Steven's next move is not a denial, but rather an account: 'I keep on
 18 forgetting to brush 'em.' In producing this move, Steven accepts the leg-
 19 itimacy of the complaint, but provides a reason for why the action
 20 was not accomplished. Mom for her part treats his account as utterly
 21 unacceptable, responding with raised volume in her voice as she says,
 22 'HOW COULD YOU FORGET ABOUT THAT TOOTH. IT'S PART
 23 OF ALL YOUR TEE:TH!' Steven accepts the validity of his mother's
 24 counter with 'I know.', and once again attempts to account for why he
 25 has not successfully completed the action his mother requested of him
 26 with 'But when I brush I don't-'. This action is once more treated as
 27 unacceptable by Mom. She interrupts his ongoing talk to issue a flat
 28 refusal of his explanation, using the polarity term 'No' with 'Steven.
 29 No. Brush your teeth. Again.' To assert in an even more direct manner
 30 that an untoward act has occurred (and that she is in charge), she is-
 31 sues a second complaint: 'And your face is dirty.' Steven next responds
 32 to Mom's assessment and directive activity with an accepting 'Okay' and
 33 then returns to his phone call. Throughout this negotiation, as Steven
 34 provides excuses for his behavior, he never denies the validity of his
 35 mom's claims.

36 Thus through a constellation of actions within this activity—(i) sus-
 37 pending a competing framework of orientation and establishing a facing
 38 formation that permits careful scrutiny of the domain (Steve's mouth) at
 39 issue while demanding explanations, (ii) direct imperative forms and their
 40 warrants, (iii) clear positions with respect to the untoward event, as well
 41 as (iv) negative assessments, we see the resources with which (a) partici-
 42 pants call another into appropriate alignment, (b) target responds with

1 moves that permit response, and (c) initiator of the sequence evaluates the
2 performance of the target.

3 Later, when Mom and Steve reestablish a framework (visible in Figure
4 3) for the inspection of how appropriately Steve has carried through with
5 his brushing teeth assignment, Mom again evaluates how well he has car-
6 ried out the task set for him with ‘I see plaque. I see- dirt!’ (lines 6 and 7)

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27 Figure 3. *Inspecting Steven's teeth brushing*
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30 (3)

- 31 1 Steve: ((approaches Mom who is vacuuming))
32 2 Mom: Huh?
33 3 Steve! ((turns off vacuum cleaner))
34 4 Will you look in the mirror?
35 5 ((inspecting Steve's teeth)) Lookit!
36 6 I see plaque. ((points to area in her own mouth))
37 7 I see- dirt!
38 8 You gotta- bush that out! ((brushing motions))
39 9 Steve: ((leaves to brush teeth))
40 10 Mom: Bein lazy. That's just nasty.
41 11 Steve: I'm not bein lazy.
42 12 Mom: That's just nasty.

1 Across multiple turns, Mom works to establish viable facing formations,
 2 discontinues her own activities to attend the immediate matter at hand
 3 (see line 3), and is unyielding in her quest to make her child accountable
 4 to her demands. There is an explicit moral dimension to this sequence as
 5 well, as Mom concludes with explicit evaluative commentaries about
 6 Steve's behavior (lines 10, 12).

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9 **6. Arguments of recycled positions**

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11 Alternative types of trajectories of directive sequences occur when parent
 12 and child fail to establish a shared framework for mutual orientation.
 13 When two interlocutors are in different rooms, or even in the same room
 14 attending to different activities that fully engross them, participants may
 15 not succeed in bringing off the activity that the parent proposes. The fol-
 16 lowing provides a case in point.

17 In Example (4), Mom calls to eight-year-old Jonah, who is in the bed-
 18 room, from the kitchen. Mom and Jonah recycle positions for several
 19 turns through structures of format tying (Goodwin 1990: 177–188), as
 20 Mom attempts to get Jonah to come to clean up his dishes from the table.

21

(4) *((Jonah is in his bedroom))*

22

1 Mom: JONAH LYLE. SWEETIE!

23

2 SOMETHING TO DO.

24

3 YOU HAVE A PROJECT! *((yelling from kitchen))*

25

4 Jonah: I'M NOT (.) DOING IT.

26

5 Mom: YES YOU ARE:. *((singsong))*

27

6 Jonah: NO I'M NO:T. *((singsong))*

28

7 Mom: OH YES YOU ARE:. *((singsong))*

29

8 Jonah: OH NO I'M NO:T.

30

9 Mom: IF I HAVE TO DRAG YOU BY THE HAIRS

31

10 OF YOUR CHINNY CHIN CHIN *((singsong))*

32

11 Jonah: NO I'M NOT.

33

12 Mom: *((walks towards Jonah's bedroom))*

34

13 OH YES I AM. *((singsong))*

35

14 OH YES YOU ARE:.
 36

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37 Directives do not stand as isolated speech acts; rather, they are frequently
 38 repeated until they are agreed with. Following a request, when a refusal
 39 occurs, a recycling of positions can occur with opposing sides arguing
 40 their respective points of view. In Example (4), Mom initiates a directive
 41 sequence by yelling to her son, who is in another room: 'JONAH LYLE.
 42 SWEETIE! SOMETHING TO DO. YOU HAVE A PROJECT!' In

1 initiating the sequence, Mom makes use of address terms, Jonah's first
2 and middle name, as well as an endearment term (Blum-Kulka 1997:
3 160–162), 'sweetie', to summon the attention of her son.

4 Following Mom's opening control move (lines 1–3), a series of recycled
5 opposition moves occur. Jonah responds with, 'I'M NOT (.) DOING IT.'
6 Turns 4–8, 11–14 are remarkably similar in structure. Opposition is dis-
7 played immediately with turn prefaces that contain terms of polarity
8 ('yes' and 'no') signaling disagreement with the prior utterance. Opposi-
9 tion is further heightened through contrasting verb forms ('are' versus
10 'am not') while making use of the format of the prior utterance (Goodwin
11 1990: 178–185). These turns are occupied principally with displaying di-
12 vergent positions through opposition; no accounts or explanations ac-
13 company the assertions. Such extended recycling of positions constitutes
14 what Piaget (1926: 66) has called 'primitive argument' (see also Goodwin
15 1990: 159). In Example (4) (lines 9 and 10), Mom includes a threat with
16 her directive action that embeds a line from the children's story *The Three*
17 *Little Pigs*, as she says 'IF I HAVE TO DRAG YOU BY THE HAIRS
18 OF YOUR CHIINNY CHIN CHIN.' The nursery tale refrain provides
19 a framing to the activity that detracts from the serious nature of the
20 imperative.

21 Shortly afterwards, in an attempt to get her son to clean up his dishes,
22 Mom physically escorts reluctant Jonah into the kitchen, and she states,
23 'Look at your mess.'

24 Two divergent stances are taken up toward the task at hand. Dad dem-
25 onstrates his seriousness toward the activity: 'Jonah clean it up. It's not
26 funny.' (line 2). Mom makes use of a series of directives: 'Get a sponge
27 and clean it. And I want you to bus your dishes.' (lines 3 and 4) and
28 'Bus the dishes. That's your job. Go for it.' (line 7).

29 Following her query 'Did you hear me?', she undercuts the seriousness
30 of her directives once again, this time with an affectionate kiss (line 5).
31 Here, though a range of different imperatives are given, Jonah ignores
32 them and eventually runs off, laughing, escaping the responsibilities his
33 parents set out for him.

34 Mom ends the sequence with a threat to Jonah, saying that his Game-
35 boy will be taken away; during the entire evening, however, the threat
36 was never actualized.

37
38 (5) ((*Holding onto Jonah's shoulders, Mom escorts Jonah into the kitchen*
39 *to clean up*))

40 1 Mom: Look at your mess.

41 2 Dad: Jonah clean it up. It's not funny.

42 3 Mom: That's your yogurt. Get a sponge and clean it.

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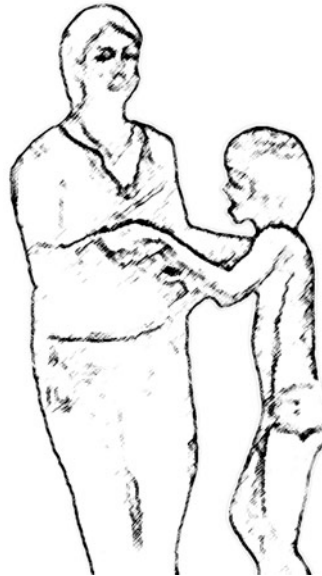


Figure 4. *Escorting Jonah into the kitchen to clean up*



Figure 5. *Positioning Jonah to observe his dishes to bus*

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20 Figure 6. *Jonah runs off ignoring responsibilities*

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22 4 And I want you to bus your dishes.
23 5 You hear me? Did you hear me? ((*kisses him*))
24 6 Dad: Not just your dishes. All the dishes.
25 7 Mom: Bus the dishes. That's your job. Go for it.
26 8 Jonah: Neh hah hah!! ((*runs away*))
27 9 Mom: Okay. You know what? Gameboy's taken away.

28
29 In Example (4), Mother initiated the sequence through delivering a direc-
30 tive from a distance, yelling to her son in another room. Considerable
31 work was subsequently devoted to attempting to establish a joint frame-
32 work of attention. Mother had to literally drag her son into the room
33 where he had been asked to clean up a mess. She pointed toward the
34 dishes she wanted the child to clear from the table and positioned his
35 body so that he was gazing directly toward them. Despite the fact that
36 Jonah eventually was positioned to attend the task in question, Jonah
37 did not willfully collaborate in bringing about this alignment. Mom's di-
38 rectives were continuously met with resistance from Jonah, culminating
39 with his running away and defiantly laughing, refusing to comply with
40 the order given to him.

41 As Examples (4) and (5) illustrate, without first a framework of mutual
42 orientation, a parent's request may fail. The next example will illustrate

1 that the parent's as well as the child's mutual alignment is critical. In the
 2 following sequence (Example [6]), Dad, who is the sole parent in charge
 3 of dinner for the evening while his wife is at work, is in the midst of
 4 studying for an important work-related exam. Dad summons two-year-
 5 old Dylan (lines 1 and 2) and Jonah (line 3) to dinner. Jonah never
 6 answers his Dad; instead, he lies immobile on the couch. Dylan, who was
 7 in another room at the time he was given the initial directive, responds
 8 to his Dad's requests with an account that he had already eaten.



28 Figure 7. *Dad summons Dylan while Jonah lies on couch*

29
 30 Cycles of recycled responses by Dylan and Dad, prefaced with polarity
 31 markers, continue for several turns (lines 6–9) until Dylan eventually
 32 enters the room. Finding his father immersed in work, however, he leaves.

33
 34 (6) ((*Dad has been studying for an exam at the dining room table. He*
 35 *suddenly jumps up and summons his younger son Dylan, who is in his*
 36 *bedroom to dinner. Meanwhile eight-year-old Jonah lies on the couch*
 37 *watching television*))

38 1 Dad: DYLAN! COME ON OUT HERE!
 39 2 LET'S EAT DINNER!
 40 3 Here. Jonah. Sit down and eat dinner.
 41 4 ((*Dad returns to his studying;*
 42 5 *Jonah remains immobile*))



15 Figure 8. *Dylan answers summons but finds Dad occupied*

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- 6 Dylan: I ATE SOME ALREADY!.
7 Dad: NO YOU DIDN'T. ((*continuing to look down*)).
8 Dylan: YES I DID. I ATE DINNER! ((*yelled from*
9 *another part of the house*))
10 I ATE DINNER MOM!
11 Dylan: ((*Enters dining room mumbling 'I ate it'*
12 *but Dad does not look up*
13 *from his studying, and Dylan leaves*))

26 Example (6) clearly demonstrates the relevance of facing formations and
27 an orientation of mutual co-presence on the part of the parents as well as
28 the child for successful accomplishment of the activity at hand.

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31 **7. Bargaining in recycled sequences**

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33 One strategy that children attempt in the midst of recycled directives is
34 bargaining. Through bargaining, children agree to partial acceptance of
35 the directive but assert their own terms of acceptance (with regard to
36 when they will comply, to what extent they will comply, etc.). The di-
37 rective response sequence in Example (7) is largely constructed out of
38 sequences of recyclings. Dad requests that Jonah and Dylan stop rough
39 housing with 'Okay! It's time to mellow it out.' (line 2). In response
40 Jonah defiantly protests with 'Ah:: No it's no:t.' (line 4). When Dad
41 recycles his stance (lines 5, 10) with 'Yeah it is.' and a restatement that
42 'It's time to mellow it out.', Jonah takes up an oppositional position

1 with the response cry ‘Ah:::’. Rather than assuming a serious stance to
 2 the matter at hand, he instead laughs at the instruction and begins to
 3 bargain for more time (line 11). His counter, itself framed as a direc-
 4 tive, ‘Gi(hh)ve us five more minutes.’ (line 11), is filled with laugh to-
 5 kens. When Dad counters that the children can have five more seconds
 6 rather than minutes (line 12), the younger son Dylan runs into another
 7 room (line 13). Jonah counters his dad’s proposal, using polarity
 8 markers at the onset of his turn (‘Nope. No no’) bargaining for more
 9 time with ‘Give us about- twenty more seconds.’ (lines 14, 16, 17), and
 10 runs off with Dylan.

- 11 (7) ((*Jonah and Dylan have been rough housing on the couch*))
 12 1 Jonah: Come to me! ((*grabs Dylan*))
 13 2 Dad: Okay! It’s time to mellow it out!
 14 3 ((*Dad attempts to disentangle Dylan from Jonah’s arms*))
 15 4 Jonah: Ah:: No it’s no:t.
 16 5 Dad: Yeah it is.
 17 6 ((*Dylan gently hits Dad and Dad relinquishes*
 18 7 *his grip of Dylan*))
 19 8 Jonah: Ah::: eh heh heh!
 20 9 [°I don’t want to do that.)
 21 10 Dad: It’s time to mellow it out.
 22 11 Jonah: Gi(hh)ve us five more minutes.
 23 12 Dad: No. You can have five more seconds.
 24 13 Dylan: (Hurry.) ((*Dylan runs off*))
 25 14 Jonah: Nope. No no. Give us-
 26 15 ((*runs off with Dylan*))
 27 16 Jonah: Give us about- (2.0)
 28 17 Give us about- twenty more seconds.
 29 18 ((*boys rough house in the kitchen*))
 30 19 Dad: ((*sighs, breathes deeply, slaps arm on couch arm,*
 31 20 *raises eyebrows and gives a hopeless look*))
 32 21 MHG: You tired?
 33 22 Dad: No. I’m not tired. I’m just-
 34 23 Everything’s a potential catastrophe. (.)
 35 24 With these two.

37 Early attempts at establishing a framework for mutual orientation oc-
 38 cur in Example (7), but are not successful. In lines 6 and 7, Dad tries
 39 to disentangle his younger son Dylan from Jonah’s grasp. However,
 40 following a gentle hit from Jonah, Dad quickly releases Dylan, and is
 41 never able to establish a facing formation permitting direct face-to-
 42 face communication. Moreover, congruent affective alignments (as in

1 Examples [1]–[3]) toward the matter at hand are never achieved. Jonah
 2 laughs (line 8) defiantly as he protests his dad’s directive, with ‘Gi(hh)ve
 3 us five more minutes.’ (line 11). In contrast to Examples (1)–(3),
 4 where the parent tells the child what to do, here Jonah not only dis-
 5 agrees with his dad’s directive to ‘mellow it out’, but also tells his dad
 6 what to do.

7 Bargaining for more time, as occurs in Example (7) (lines 11–17)
 8 above, is a frequent strategy children make use of in attempting to nego-
 9 tiate with their parents (Sirota in this issue). In other instances children’s
 10 attempts at bargaining are overturned. The next fragment, Example (8),
 11 provides a case in point. Here an eight-year-old child, Allison, attempts
 12 to put off taking a bath. In response, rather than ignoring the move, her
 13 mother invokes a rule about bargaining, stating, ‘It’s not negotiable.=
 14 okay?’ and Allison complies with Mom’s directive.

15 (8) ((*At the dinner table*))

- 16 1 Mom: Alright. It’s twenty minutes to eight
 17 2 even though it doesn’t feel like it.
 18 3 Allison: It feels like seven.
 19 4 Mom: We have to get you in the bath.
 20 5 Allison: Mmm mmm. How about the next day.
 21 6 Mom: It’s not negotiable. =okay?
 22 7 Allison: ((*Exits from table and goes to run bath water*))
 23

24 Example (9) below demonstrates how parents formulate promises of par-
 25 tial compliance as ‘dealing’ or ‘bargaining’ (line 8) and lay out the conse-
 26 quences of not complying with parents’ requests—for example, not being
 27 able to engage in desirable activities, playing on a new slide (lines 12–14
 28 in Example [9] below) Dad has just installed. In Example (9), Dad is at-
 29 tempting to get his daughter to finish her entire lunch, though she wants
 30 to eat only carrots (line 7). She resists complying with Dad’s directive
 31 (lines 7, 11) by bargaining.
 32

33 (9)

- 34 1 Dad: Anna, you need to finish your lunch Sweetie.
 35 2 Anna: ((*Slides down the slide.*))
 36 3 I’m gonna finish the rest of my corn, okay?
 37 4 Dad: Aren’t you going to finish your hot dog?
 38 5 Anna: No.
 39 6 Dad: Are you going to finish your carrots?
 40 7 Anna: I’ll finish just my carrots.
 41 8 Dad: Annie, we’re not dealing. We’re not bargaining. Go.
 42 9 ((*He gestures towards the table*))

- 1 10 *where the food is still positioned.*)
 2 11 Anna: But I don't wanna eat my lunch.
 3 12 Dad: Well then sit there 'til you finish.
 4 13 Otherwise you won't play on the
 5 14 slide, 'kay?

6
 7 In Examples (8) and (9), parents set the rules and provide sanctions for
 8 noncompliance. By way of contrast, in Example (7), children continue to
 9 bargain despite what their dad says; the parent, rather than the child, is
 10 eventually silenced. In the face of multiple defiant and noncompliant
 11 moves, Dad comments, 'Everything's a potential catastrophe. (.) with
 12 these two.' (Example [7], lines 23 and 24).

13
 14

15 **8. Accountable request sequences**

16

17 Across these sets of examples, requests and direct imperatives are used to
 18 solicit the accomplishment of a task. A pattern where children disregard
 19 parents' directives and set the terms for when and how activities are to be
 20 accomplished (Examples [4]–[7]) differs dramatically from Examples (1)–
 21 (3), in which clear limits are set and rules are invoked, treated as serious,
 22 and enforced. Some features differentiating Examples (1)–(3) from Exam-
 23 ples (4)–(7) are the establishment of a common facing formation before
 24 interaction began, framings of the interaction as unequivocally serious,
 25 and the categorization of untoward acts as not meeting up to certain stan-
 26 dards. Next actions by children are not flat refusals, but rather accounts
 27 that demonstrate the legitimacy of the complaint, thereby according some
 28 face-saving vis-à-vis the party issuing the directive.

29
 30

31 **9. Extended arguments involving accounts**

32

33 Eisenberg and Garvey (1981: 166) postulate that within disputes the ac-
 34 counts or explanations for positions that are taken up are 'significantly
 35 more likely to lead to a termination of the episode.' Such practices are,
 36 however, themselves vulnerable, in that one's opponent can find fault
 37 with the justification that is offered (Goodwin 1990: 163–165). In fact,
 38 with each subsequent turn, accounts can generate a new arena for dispute
 39 and can lead to extended sequences of conflict, as coparticipants oppose
 40 another speaker's utterances with their own oppositional moves, in cycles
 41 of disagreement turns.
 42

1 In Example (10), Mom, who is affectionately called ‘the General’
2 by her family members because of her no-nonsense attitude toward
3 getting things done, attempts to get her son Luke to take a bath.
4 Extended counters to her demand that Luke take a bath occur.
5 Throughout the multiple turns involved in the dispute, Mom never
6 once wavers from her position. One important feature of this encoun-
7 ter that differentiates this sequence from Examples (1)–(3) is the fac-
8 ing formation of participants. Rather than entering into a facing for-
9 mation vis-à-vis his mom, Luke hides on the living room couch
10 underneath a blanket while his mom moves about the house conduct-
11 ing chores. What affiliates Example (10) with Examples (1)–(3) is the
12 persistence with which Mom pursues her directive, making for a very
13 different trajectory from Examples (6) and (7); despite counter-moves,
14 Mom never once flinches in her determination that compliance is
15 mandatory.

16 The sequence of moves and counter moves begins when Mom issues a
17 directive with ‘Luke, bath. Come on.’ Luke protests the directive: ‘No:
18 Not yet.’ (line 5) and argues that he wants to put off taking a bath until
19 after his piano lesson (line 8). Mom refuses to give in to his request for
20 taking the bath later (‘No::! Now!’ in line 9). Turns of polarity continue
21 over several turns as Luke with ‘YE::S!’ and Mom with ‘No::!’, ‘Huh uh’
22 and ‘Nope’ provide alternative perspectives (lines 5–15). When Mom pro-
23 vides the account that by the time the lesson is over it will be ten-thirty
24 (lines 19–23), Luke still protests.

25 Mom then makes use of a strategy employed frequently by elementary
26 school teachers to align students to the task at hand by counting to three
27 (line 27). In response, when Luke provides the account that he is tired
28 (line 28), making use of format tying, Mom turns the very excuse he of-
29 fers on its head: ‘And you’re going to be even more tired’(line 31) as she
30 begins counting again. Luke continues being defiant to his mom, rejecting
31 her directives to take a bath. When he argues ‘Why right now::.’ (line 41),
32 Mom once more makes use of format tying to redirect his excuse to him
33 as an imperative: ‘YES. RIGHT NOW.’

34 In response to the recycling of his plea that he’s tired (lines 36–44),
35 Mom provides a counter argument in line 45 with an explanation for
36 her position: ‘Luke? Then you can take a nap before Marty comes.
37 Since Linda’s going to go first. Okay? I don’t want to hear any more
38 complaints please.’ (lines 45–49). Mom demonstrates the seriousness of
39 her directive with the statement that provides a metacommentary on
40 his prior actions. When he protests that he took a bath the day before
41 (lines 49 and 50), she quickly refutes his utterance with ‘No you did
42 not. You think I would forget that?’ She does not allow any of his

1 excuses to be considered legitimate. To each excuse she provides a
 2 response in kind. When he reiterates that he wants to go to sleep
 3 (line 64), she argues that this can be accomplished before the piano
 4 teacher comes and after a short bath (lines 65–71). Though she does
 5 not permit him to put off taking a bath, as she closes the bathroom door
 6 she says that he can take a ‘short bath’, taking into account his plea of
 7 being tired.

8

9 (10)

10 1 Mom: Is Luke: watching?
 11 2 Ah oh. Better go give him a bath.
 12 3 ((*several minutes later*))
 13 4 Mom: Luke, bath. Come on.
 14 5 Luke: NO:: Not ye::t! (*from couch (with blanket over him)*)
 15 6 Mom: No- y y- not yet? What do you mean not yet.
 16 7 [Marty’s coming-.
 17 8 Luke: [AFTER (.) PIANO::
 18 9 Mom: No::! Now.
 19 10 Luke: YE::S! [PLEA::SE
 20 11 Mom: [Huh uh.
 21 12 NO!
 22 13 Mom: You are taking a bath now.
 23 14 Luke: After piano::
 24 15 Mom: Nope.
 25 16 Luke: Why:::
 26 17 Mom: NOW::
 27 18 Luke: Plea:::se::
 28 19 Mom: By the time Marty- ((*pulling blanket off Luke:*))
 29 20 By // the time you’re-
 30 21 Luke: No.
 31 22 Mom: No. By the time Marty’s done
 32 23 It’s going to be ten thirty.=
 33 24 [Come on.
 34 25 Luke: [NO::: Please::
 35 26 Mom: No.
 36 27 Mom: I’m counting to [three right now.
 37 28 Luke: [But I’m tired
 38 29 and I want to go to slee:::p.=
 39 30 Mom: And you’re-
 40 31 And you’re going to be even more tired.
 41 32 Come on. =ONE, [TWO
 42 33 Luke: [PLEASE:::

1 34 Plea::se
2 35 Mom: NO! COME!
3 36 Luke: But:: I'm tired::!
4 37 Mom: HUH UH.
5 38 Mom: NOPE. You have to co:me.
6 39 Luke: Why.
7 40 Mom: COME ON.
8 41 Luke: NO:: wa. Why right now::.
9 42 Mom: YES. RIGHT NOW.
10 43 Luke: I'm tired:::
11 44 I want to go to slee::p.
12 45 Mom: Luke:? Then you can take a nap
13 46 before Marty comes.
14 47 Since Linda's going to go first.
15 48 Okay? I don't want to hear any more complaints
16 49 please.
17 50 Luke: But I took a bath
18 51 yesterday.
19 52 Mom: No you did not.
20 53 You think I would forget that?
21 54 Close the door.
22 55 Close the door Luke:.
23 56 Luke: I don't want to do it now. I'm ti::red.
24 57 Mom: Yes you are doing it now.
25 58 I'm going to go get your clothes.
26 59 Luke: Ah:::
27 60 Mom: Here.
28 61 Mom: Come on.
29 62 Luke: Why:::
30 63 Mom: Close the door. Shhh! Come on.
31 64 Luke: I wanna go to sleep.
32 65 Mom: Luke:. No more complaints.
33 66 Luke: But I'm ti::red.
34 67 Mom: YE::S:::
35 68 Luke: I want to go to slee::p.
36 69 Mom: Yeah? well then you can take a nap
37 70 before Marty comes.
38 71 After you take a shor- a short bath. Here. Come on.
39 72 Luke: No.
40 73 Mom: Close the door.
41 74 Luke: No(hhhh).
42 75 Mom: Uh huh.

- 1 76 Mom: Oh is there soap in there?
 2 77 I think Daddy put some soap in there last time.
 3 78 Mom: Okay you can do it quickly. Okay. Here.

4 This sequence began without the positioning of bodies in a framework of
 5 mutual engagement; nevertheless, Mom is eventually successful in the de-
 6 livery of her directive. In contrast to sequences that are structured as re-
 7 cycled positions, which do not result in following through with a parent's
 8 directive due to a child's resistance (Examples [5] and [7]), or a parent's
 9 involvement in another task (Example [6]), in this extended sequence
 10 Mom is persistent in her demands. Mom responds to counter-arguments
 11 (and complaints) from her son by providing reasons for her requests over
 12 multiple turns. She refuses to back down from her stance that she wants
 13 him to take a bath now. Mom modifies her position only by saying that
 14 Luke can take his bath quickly. After an extended sequence of directives
 15 and counters to her proposals, she is eventually successful in gaining
 16 Luke's compliance in taking a bath.
 17

19 10. Affective dimensions to directive/response sequences

21 Achieving collaborative action in focused interaction not only requires a
 22 common facing formation (Kendon 1985: 235). It also demands orienta-
 23 tion toward a common focus of attention. In Example (11), Mom and son
 24 are aligned in a facing formation where they are visibly co-present to each
 25 other, sitting across from one another at the dinner table; however, each
 26 is involved in a different 'attend track'. While Mom is talking to Jason,
 27 telling him to wash out the blue and green paint from his hair (from a
 28 paint ball session), Jason does not reciprocate gaze. Instead he picks up
 29 an iced tea bottle cap and reads the label.
 30

- 31 (11) ((*At the dinner table*))
 32 1 Mom: After dinner I want you to take a shower.
 33 2 Wash your hair super good Jason.
 34 3 'Cause I'll get in the shower with you
 35 4 and wash it if you don't.
 36 5 And you can't see it- in this light
 37 6 but outside today there were blue and green
 38 7 still from Friday night.
 39 8 Jason: Mom. A duck's quack doesn't echo.
 40 9 ((*reading bottle cap from iced tea*))
 41 10 Mom: Kay.= Did you hear me?
 42 11 Jason: Yeah.



Figure 9. Mom and Jason are co-present in distinctive attend tracks

- 12 Mom: Kay.
 13 Jason: A duck's quack does // not echo.
 14 Mom: 'Cause you don't want me to take a shower with you
 15 Do you?
 16 Jason: No.
 17 Mom: I didn't think so.
 18 'Cause you don't want to go to school tomorrow Babe
 19 With blue and green in your hair.
 20 'Cause all your friends will- laugh at you.
 21 Say you have dirty hair. (0.4) From Friday.
 22 Dad: Yeah. They'll think it's tight.
 23 Jason: Tight tight tight tight tight. ((*chanting*))

As Example (11) begins, rather than gearing into each other's talk, Mom and Jason only minimally attend each other. They set up alternative frameworks for participation; while Mom issues a directive to Jason (lines 1–7), Jason picks up an iced tea bottle cap, looks at it, and introduces a noticing: 'A duck's quack doesn't echo.' (line 8). Mom for her part with 'Kay' only minimally attends to his noticing and subsequently demands uptake to her directive with her question 'Did you hear me?' (line 10). Mom's directive about taking a shower is accompanied by threats: Mom will get in the shower with Jason if he doesn't wash out the green and blue dye he has in his hair (lines 2, 3, 14, and 15).

As Mother closes off the sequence by providing a rationale for her directive (lines 18–21), she invokes a theme of embarrassment, through elaborating the possible scenario of Jason being ridiculed by his peers at school laughing at his green hair. In dyadic situations such forms of critique could end with the parent getting the last word. However, what

1 occurs in a next utterance is that Dad enters the discussion to provide a
 2 contrasting description and assessment of the activity with ‘Yeah. They’ll
 3 think it’s tight.’ (line 22). This assessment results in the sudden reframing
 4 (Goffman 1974) of the situation at hand. Jason, smiling, repeats the
 5 words his father has said in a rhythmic fashion and Mom enters into the
 6 playful frame by smiling. We thus see how consequential multiparty par-
 7 ticipation in directive sequences can be. Here Dad’s talk visibly trans-
 8 forms a negative depiction of Jason, with friends laughing at him, into a
 9 portrait of him as someone whose blue hair is positively assessed.

10 Example (12) exhibits another directive about getting clean before bed-
 11 time, one that through parents’ persistence proves successful in getting
 12 things done. While Example (11) was from its onset infused with threats,
 13 an alternative way of framing directives is through teasing and word
 14 play. At mealtime the family had been discussing a shy new Brazilian
 15 boy in Aurora’s classroom. Mom and Dad tell Aurora to ask him about
 16 the Samba, a Brazilian dance, and they discuss their versions of what
 17 Brazilian Portuguese sounds like. As the conversation about Brazilian
 18 Portuguese winds down, Mom asserts ‘Okay. Time to brush your teeth.’
 19 This is playfully countered by Aurora’s partial repeat of the prior utter-
 20 ance in falling rising intonation: ‘Time to brush your teeth, That is not
 21 Brazilian.’

22 (12) *((At dinner the family has been talking about the Brazilian Portu-
 23 guese language))*

- 24 1 Mom: Okay. Time to brush your teeth.
 25 2 Aurora: Time to brush your teeth,
 26 3 [That is not Brazilian.
 27 4 Wes: Eh heh heh heh!
 28 5 Wes: Eh heh-heh heh heh-heh!
 29 6 Aurora: *((stands up from table))*
 30 7 Mom: Samba. *((pointing to bathroom))*
 31 8 Aurora: Sam::ba.
 32 9 Mom: [Samba to the bath// room.
 33 10 *((taps Aurora’s back as Aurora moves from her
 34 11 seat towards the bathroom))*
 35 12 Wes: Sam::ba,
 36 13 Aurora: [Samba.
 37 14 Mom: *((smiles))*
 38 15 Aurora: All right. Dn nen nen *((begins dancing as exits))*
 39 16 Wes: I don’t wanna samba.

41 Here format tying and word play (lines 7–9) rather than seriousness and
 42 threats color the sequence. Mom, through her directive ‘Samba’ and

1 ‘Samba to the bathroom’, enters into the frame of play by providing a
2 next move that is appropriate within the frame Aurora initiates.

3 When Weston responds to Mom’s directive several moves later with an
4 account that he doesn’t know how to samba, Mom provides a return
5 move. Using format tying she states, ‘You’ll learn how to samba.’ She
6 then produces an explicit command: ‘Get in the bathroom.’ Providing
7 backup to Mom’s directives, Dad then issues direct unmitigated impera-
8 tives in rapid-fire form like a drill sergeant (line 7).

9 (13)

- 10 1 Wes: ((*laughing*)) I do(hh)n’t kno(hh)w how to sa(hh)mba.
11 2 Mom: You’ll learn how to samba.
12 3 Get in the bathroom.
13 4 Dad: Now. Go.
14 5 Wes: Bath?
15 6 Mom/Dad: No.
16 7 Dad: Wash face, wash hands, brush teeth.
17 8 Wes: Eee:: ow:::. ((*goes toward bathroom*))
18

19 Though in the directive sequence in Example (11) Jason and Mom geared
20 into separate projects from the directive’s onset, in Examples (12) (lines 8
21 and 9) and (13) (lines 1 and 2) children and parents tie their utterances
22 very closely to the talk of the preceding speaker in a series of ‘exchange
23 and return’ (Goodwin 1990: 152–154) moves that are treated as playful.
24 Further contrasts are that Examples (12) and (13) demonstrate movement
25 from playful to a more serious mode of argumentation, rather than re-
26 verse, as happens in Example (11). Both parents in Example (13) collabo-
27 rate in executing imperatives that are complied with.
28
29

30 11. Conclusion

31
32 While many studies of directives take a speech act approach and examine
33 directives in isolation from the longer sequences from which they emerge,
34 this paper makes use of a methodology inspired by conversation analysis
35 and examines the sequential analysis of directive use. Alternative trajec-
36 tories are exhibited by the examples presented in this paper. Strategies for
37 formulating directive/response sequences involve constellations of fea-
38 tures, including structures of control, forms of tying utterances to prior
39 utterances, as well as facing formations. The forms of participation
40 frameworks that are constructed allow for different ways of sustaining a
41 common perspective on events, for gearing into what someone has said
42 (or not), and displaying to each other whether participants are attuned

1 to a similar activity frame, as well as affective alignment. Forms of argu-
2 ments constituted through recycled positions (Examples [4], [6], and [7])
3 have been distinguished from arguments that are buttressed by accounts
4 or rule statements (Examples [1]–[3], [10]). Types of accounts may appeal
5 to a positive logic, with a rational explanation, or a negative logic, mak-
6 ing use of threats (Examples [5], [9], [10]). Participants take up different
7 forms of affective stances, and these may shift from serious to playful
8 (Example [10]) or from playful to serious (Examples [11] and [12]).

9 Future studies may find that some of these forms of argument trajec-
10 tories are correlated with different ways that parents and children co-
11 nstruct family process. Psychologists taking a typological (and unidi-
12 rectional) approach to families have focused on different forms of
13 ‘parenting styles’. For example, Baumrind (1967, 1989) distinguishes au-
14 thoritarian, authoritative, and permissive parenting. Some of the behav-
15 iors associated with these styles can be roughly correlated with dispute
16 styles in directive/response sequences. While the ‘authoritative’ parent di-
17 rects the child in a rational, issue-oriented manner and firmly enforces
18 rules, the ‘permissive’ parent does not enforce rules firmly and imposes
19 few demands (Grolnick 2003: 5–6). The ‘authoritarian’ parent values obe-
20 dience first, while enforcing rules firmly using set standards.

21 Rather than taking as a point of departure differing parenting styles, I
22 have instead focused on the practices through which parents and children
23 together build important events in their lives. Forms of arguments built of
24 recycled positions differ in important ways from arguments where chil-
25 dren are involved in accounting for their untoward behavior with parents.
26 In situations where children are successful at bargaining (Example [7]),
27 children may not gear into the projects their parents propose, and even
28 run away from responsibilities (Examples [5], [7]), leading to escalations
29 of assertions of authority through threats (Example [5]) or a parent’s giv-
30 ing up in defeat (Example [7]). By way of contrast, where parents are per-
31 sistent in pursuing their directives (Examples [1]–[3], [10], [12], [13]), often
32 facilitated by situations where children and parents join in sustaining
33 face-to-face access to one another (Examples [1]–[3]), children learn to
34 be accountable for their actions. Successful trajectories of directive se-
35 quences entail vigilant work on the part of parents—their full engage-
36 ment in pursuing a response from children in the midst of the multiple
37 competing activities that occupy their lives and demand their atten-
38 tion. As was seen in Example (12), ways of combining play with seri-
39 ousness can provide for distinctive interactive styles in families, ones I
40 have found to be related to joyful engagement in exploring how the
41 world works (Goodwin in preparation). Future studies need to examine
42 further the repertoire of trajectories, with differential forms of affect

1 and participation, that are used to constitute ways of being in the world
2 within particular families.

3
4 **Appendix: Transcription conventions**
5

6 <u>word</u>	Underlining indicates some form of emphasis, which may be signaled by changes in pitch and/or amplitude.
7	
8 [A left bracket marks the point at which the current talk is overlapped by other talk. Two speakers beginning to speak simultaneously are shown by a left bracket at the beginning of a line.
9	
10	
11	
12 :	Colons indicate that the sound immediately preceding has been noticeably lengthened.
13	
14 //	Double slashes provide an alternative method of marking overlap.
15	
16 .	A period indicates a falling contour.
17 ?	A question mark indicates a rising contour.
18 ,	A comma indicates a falling–rising contour.
19 °	A degree sign indicates that talk it precedes is low in volume.
20 =	The equal sign indicates ‘latching’; there is no interval between the end of a prior turn and the start of a next piece of talk.
21	
22 ((words))	Double parentheses enclose material that is not part of the talk being transcribed; for example, a comment by the transcriber if the talk was spoken in some special way.
23	
24	
25 (0.8)	Numbers in parentheses mark silences in seconds and tenths of seconds.
26	
27 (.)	Denotes a micropause.
28 CAPS	Capitals indicate increased volume.
29 (words)	Material in parentheses indicates a hearing that the transcriber was uncertain about.
30	
31 (h)	An <i>h</i> in parentheses indicates plosive aspiration, which could result from events such as breathiness, laughter, or crying.
32	
33	

34
35 **Notes**
36

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5 1. For a history of the field, see Goodwin and Heritage (1990) and Clayman and Maynard
6 (1994).

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