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Calibration in directive/response sequences in family interaction

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Abstract

In the context of parent–child interaction we examine the syntactic, prosodic and embodied shape of directive response sequences used to launch, choreograph, monitor, and stall the ongoing progress of a routine communicative project (Linell, 1998) occurring across temporal and spatial dimensions. We explore directive/response usage in the goal-oriented routine activity (Weisner, 1998) of getting children ready for bed, a temporally anchored project that involves the movement of bodies through social space and transitions from one activity to another (Cekaite, 2010; M.H. Goodwin, 2006a,b). Dialogic and embodied characteristics of social action and accountability are demonstrated (1) through alternative grammatical formats for directives (declaratives, imperatives, interrogatives (formatted as noun phrases produced with rising intonation)) (2) as well as through the systematic ways in which participants overlay action within directive sequences with alternative forms of affect, touch, and mobility.

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1. Introduction: calibration in directive response sequences

This paper examines the syntactic, prosodic, and embodied shape of directives, utterances designed to get someone to do something (M.H. Goodwin, 1990:65), as well as the responses in next actions to such directives. In the context of parent–child interaction we examine multimodal transactions used to launch, choreograph, and monitor the ongoing progress of a routine communicative project (Linell, 1998) occurring across temporal and spatial dimensions. We explore directive/response usage in the goal-oriented routine activity (Weisner, 1998) of getting children ready for bed, a temporally anchored project that involves the movement of bodies through social space and transitions from one activity to another (Cekaite, 2010; M.H. Goodwin, 2006b). Dialogic and embodied characteristics of social action and accountability are demonstrated (1) through alternative grammatical formats for directives (declaratives, imperatives, interrogatives and other question-like forms (noun phrases produced with rising intonation)) (2) as well as through the systematic ways in which participants overlay action within directive sequences with alternative forms of affect (expressed through intonation), touch, and mobility. Rather than focusing exclusively on the stream of speech and “doing things with words,” our present analysis seeks to investigate the holistic design of directive/response trajectories, focusing on compliance/noncompliance as actions for doing things with bodies. As argued by C. Goodwin (2002:S19) “Through interactively organized gesture and posture, participants display crucial information about the temporal and sequential organization of their joint participation in the current interaction.” We will explore how participants’ actions are calibrated or fine-tuned within embodied spatial frameworks, and are responsive to participants’ heterogeneous employment of a range of modalities, and not talk alone.

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2. Studies of directives

Directives (Bybee, 1985:166; Palmer, 1986:70–85) constitute a very basic way in which tasks and activities of everyday life get organized. Studies of directives have focused on the grammatical shape of directive utterances (Ervin-Tripp, 1976), moves (and stances) responding to directives (Goodwin et al., 2012; Thompson et al., forthcoming), relations of relative power constructed between speaker and hearer (Ervin-Tripp, 1982; Ervin-Tripp et al., 1984), forms of politeness (Blum-Kulka, 1990; Brown and Levinson, 1978; Culpeper, 1996; Ervin-Tripp et al., 1990; Labov and Fanshel, 1977:84), as well as orientations to notions of entitlement affecting syntactic shape (Craven and Potter, 2010; Curl and Drew, 2008; M.H. Goodwin, 1990; Heinemann, 2006; Lindstrom, 2005). Researchers concerned with requests have examined the position of the request (and pre-request) in the sequence of talk (Aronsson, 2011; Lee, 2011; Schegloff, 2007; Wootton, 1981), forms of accounts (Sterponi, 2009), and the evolving sequential production of a request (C. Goodwin, 2000b; Lee, 2011). For the most part, however, research has focused on the verbal design of requests and directives. Few studies so far have addressed the issues of the multimodal formation of action in directive sequences, detailing the ways in which space, mobility and the positionings of participants contribute to their design (Cekaite, 2010; M.H. Goodwin, 2006b; Rauniomaa and Keisanen, 2012).

Recent investigations of directives as situated within their praxeological context have shown ways in which the syntactic and sequential shape of directives is related to the activities they are performing. In talk among friends directives generally occur “late” in ordinary conversation (Levinson, 1983; Schegloff, 2007), are accompanied by forms of mitigations, and are often delayed (preceded by pre-requests), as they are viewed as potentially imposing upon the recipient. By way of contrast, in service encounters (Kuroshima, 2010; Merritt, 1997), and in encounters involving task-based activities, such as during children’s games (M.H. Goodwin, 1985, 2006a) as well as in video games (Mondada, 2013; Newon, 2011) directives are the basic resource through which interactions are constituted. In family interaction as well directives provide the means for accomplishing the activities that animate the very life of the social group in question and are neither delayed nor considered burdensome (M.H. Goodwin, 2006b).

3. Temporality and participation in communicative projects

The praxeological context of directives also involves the temporal organization of actions and activities (e.g., C. Goodwin, 2002, 2012; Mondada, 2011, 2013).

We examine directive trajectories within two forms of temporality: (1) the unfolding progressivity of the turn at talk and (2) the embeddedness of a directive within a larger temporal horizon (the communicative project of getting children ready for bed). Recurrent social practices, including family routines, demonstrate an orientation towards an orderly organization and accomplishment of accountable activities that are sequenced in time. In our observations of children ages 1.5 years and above, the activity of getting children ready for bed constitutes a jointly constructed communicative project (Linell, 1998)¹ that entails launching multiple local sub-projects (reading a book, taking a bath or shower, brushing teeth, etc.) – each with its own projected horizon within the temporal structure of the activity. As such, communicative projects provide a significant locus for exploring how temporal continuity within and between turns, as well as between larger sequences of activities, are indexed by linguistic structures and multimodal features of interactions.

Material contextual affordances provide yet other features significant in the calibration² of directives. During the course of directives in face-to-face interactions (in contrast to, for instance, telephone conversations), mobilization of the body is critical; compliance (or non-compliance) is based upon and enacted through embodied action. During directive/response sequences speaker monitors the body of her addressee to assess whether her talk is receiving the forms of alignment and co-participation that she proposes to be relevant. In the directive trajectories we examine children do not habitually treat directives to go to bed as desirable and often respond with considerable resistance (Aronsson and Cekaite, 2011:139). Rather than being passive recipients, children act as agents with purposes of their own (Ochs, 1988; Paugh, 2005; Pontecorvo et al., 2001).

Moreover, across the duration of the activity, embodied participation frameworks (Goffman, 1981; M.H. Goodwin and C. Goodwin, 2004) between parents and children do not necessarily remain fixed in place, as, for example, during a dinner

¹ With respect to communicative projects Linell (1998:220) states, “A communicative project is defined primarily in terms of the problem or task that it is designed to solve and/or that it in actual fact solves (or seems to solve). There is often, in Clark’s (1996:33) terms, a ‘dominant’ goal. In other words, goals and purposes involved are important, perhaps *the* most important, features of communicative projects and activities.” Levinson (2012) states that “actions get part of their character from the overall ‘project’ (see Section 7) they are steps towards.” Bangertner and Clark (2003) argue that joint activities emerge in hierarchically nested projects and subprojects; they state that dialogue originates in the coordination of joint activities.

² See also de León Pasquel (2011).

conversation. As family members are frequently engaged in multiple activities simultaneously (Good, 2009) and not aligned into a single focus of attention where they are positioned as mutually available to one another, coordinated action requires active interactional achievement and entails physical action as well as talk. Thus, while we examine the syntactic formats and prosodic shape of directives and their responses, in addition this paper explores specific ways in which participants calibrate their embodied actions vis-à-vis one another. We examine how participants orient to the ever-changing ways in which human action is built by flexibly combining resources with different properties into configurations where they can mutually elaborate each other (C. Goodwin, 2012) across the life of a communicative project (considering its temporal as well as structural form).

This paper builds upon C. Goodwin's (2012) notion of *cooperative transformation zones*, places "where parts of an action can be varied to modify emerging structure through processes of co-operative action." In particular, we analyze the simultaneous and sequentially relevant co-operations through which speakers and hearers demonstrate either their alignment or non-alignment toward an action-in-progress. Importantly, such multimodal, spatially and temporally bound calibrations or forms of attunement are informative of how formal properties of action are relevant to the interactive organization of experience: what participants are expected and entrained to feel about the events that currently occupy their phenomenal worlds.

4. Data

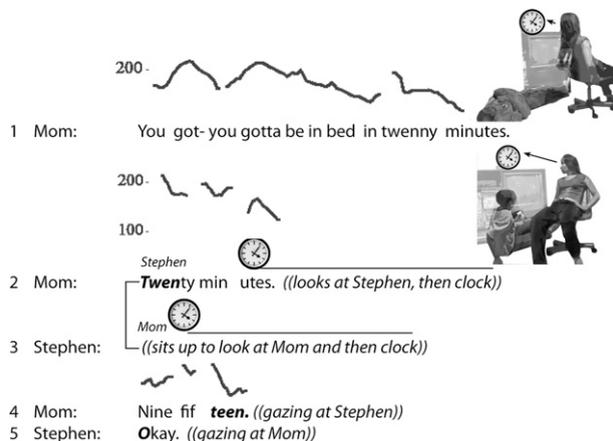
The examples in this study are drawn from video recordings of naturally occurring interaction in families who were part of UCLA's Center on Everyday Lives of Families (CELFL) and Sweden's sister project. Approximately fifty hours of interaction were collected in each family over a week's time in the U.S. and approximately 37 hours in Sweden. Video-ethnographic methodology makes it possible to record mundane talk (C. Goodwin, 1981), physical gestures and action (C. Goodwin, 2000a) and routine activities, all within the household settings where people actually carry out their daily lives (Ochs et al., 2006). The age range of children recorded was one through eighteen, although in this paper we deal primarily with children ages 3–10.

5. Establishing cooperative action in directive/response trajectories

Directive sequences display a heterogeneous typology of initiating moves that construct different types of social organization (M.H. Goodwin, 1990). In the following we show how launching a directive trajectory in face-to-face interaction entails not only syntactic and multimodal resources, but, in addition, the visible displays of the orientation of a speaker's body towards relevant artifacts in the local environment (C. Goodwin and M.H. Goodwin, 1996), and temporal orientation towards the shared interactional history of the participants.

Coherence in social interaction requires that the participants all share a number of basic assumptions, including the understanding that these assumptions are shared (Garfinkel, 1963b). Cooperative interaction built on trust is possible when participants (parents and children) first negotiate the recipient's (child's) agreement with the underlying grounds of the directive to establish an activity contract (Aronsson and Cekaite, 2011:3): "an intergenerational agreement to comply with the directive." An action format (Levinson, 2012) that parents make use of to establish such shared assumptions and future accountabilities is a declarative statement in a deontic modality encoding obligation (for instance, about what needs to be accomplished within a particular time frame, i.e., "You gotta be in bed in twenty minutes."; "We *have* to get you in the bath."; or the Swedish "Du ska bada idag" ("You have to take a bath today."))

The multimodal calibration of directives also shows that actions are dynamically reshaped in the emergent process of interaction between speaker and recipient (C. Goodwin, 1979; M.H. Goodwin, 1980; C. Goodwin and M.H. Goodwin, 1987). By changing spatial positionings and body orientations and progressively adding segments to talk, speakers and hearers collaborate in the production of ongoing action. Choreographing attention and recipient uptake in directive sequences is often achieved through first establishing a framework for mutual orientation. This is relevant in the first example in which Mom and Stephen (age 11) are not initially visible to one another. While Stephen plays with a gameboy on the floor, Mom is positioned with her back to him as she fixes his computer on a desk and glances at a clock. When she first delivers a declarative directive "You gotta be in bed in twenty minutes" from this position, there is no uptake. Subsequently, she twirls her chair around to face her son. She adds new segments to the sequence ("twenty minutes," produced with hyper-articulation, and "nine fifteen") to dynamically reshape and intensify it. This calibration of action allows Stephen time to reconfigure his body and look at first Mom and then the clock before producing a reluctant agreement to Mom's action. For her part, across a range of actions in the sequence (lines 2–5) Mom's eyebrows are kept raised; this embodied display of seriousness on the face remains fixed as the talk unfolds, and makes visible her affective alignment.



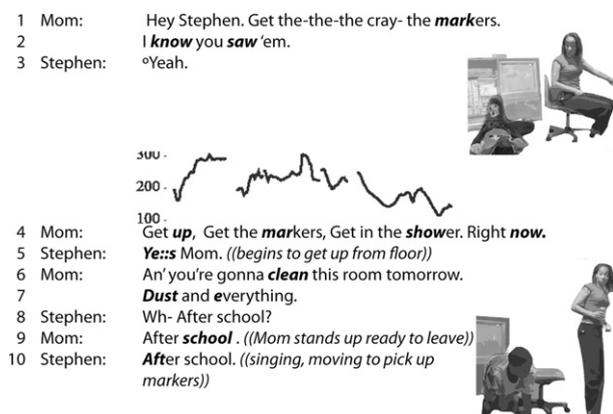
Example 1.

Stephen displays through his embodied action orientation towards two distinctive fields that are relevant to the action at hand, the clock and his mom. Reference to an objective arbitrator, the clock, provides further specification of the time frame for completing the action. As Mom produces “**Twenty** minutes” Stephen gazes towards Mom briefly and then the clock. With his “**Okay**” Stephen agrees that twenty minutes will be measured by the normative standard of the clock. Once it has been established that Mom’s parameters of twenty minutes is beyond dispute, she has set the framework for her future directives concerning the activities that Stephen needs to perform in the next twenty minutes.

The sequence here constitutes a form of acceptance of an “activity contract” (Aronsson and Cekaite, 2011), or in Garfinkel’s (1963a) terms, or “a mutual commitment to rules of engagement” with respect to a particular practice entailing “members’ reciprocal orientation to the normative accountability of their actions” (Watson, 2009:484). In the temporal development of larger sequences of activities, such declarative directives (when accepted) provide warrants for a subsequent re-instatement of the directive with an imperative.

Two minutes after the negotiated agreement, Mom delivers to Stephen an explicit imperative, an action that demands immediate compliance (in contrast to the future-oriented activity contract): “Hey Stephen. Get the- the- the cray- the **markers**. I **know** you **saw** ‘em.” The structure of this utterance shows Mom is aligning towards action in a way that presupposes that Stephen has knowledge about the location of the objects in question. While Stephen does produce a “Yeah” agreement in response, he does not immediately begin to mobilize his body to begin to get the markers. Mom treats his verbal response as inadequate and his inactivity as a form of delay. Her subsequent action, an imperative (produced with falling intonation) specifies a specific time constraint for completing the directive: “Get **up**, Get the **markers**, Get in the **shower**. Right **now**.” Stephen subsequently responds with embodied compliance with the directive as well as reluctant agreement (“**Ye::s** Mom.”).

Mom then lists the multiple chores that Stephen has in store for him the following day (lines 6 and 7). As Mom begins to leave the room he sits up and quickly begins to pick up the markers.



Example 2.

In these examples we see parents and children working to establish a framework for mutual cooperation (through choreographing attention and working out an agreement to perform action in the future). A recurrent progression of action (across the temporal trajectory) is visible in these examples. First, a parent delivers a declarative statement about the action that needs to be done, calling for agreement with the underlying grounds and shared cultural understandings about the action the parent is initiating and requesting. Next, embodied uptake is requested through a use of an imperative that demands immediate compliance.

Such a grounding of the joint project can involve declaratives that need not take the expanded forms of Examples 1 and 2; a minimal form (such as “Five minutes left” in Example 3) can reflexively index the common knowledge of (family) routines as understandings that have been established in the interactional history of the participants. In the following example, Jens, a nine-year boy, is reading a comic book on the sofa. Mom and Dad are watching news on the TV.

- 1 Mom: ((looks at her watch))
- 2 Det är fem **minuter** kvar.
There is five minutes left.
Five minutes left. ((looks at Jens))
- 3 (2)
- 4 Jens: För?
För?
For what? ((looking at his book))
- 5 Mom: För att göra sej i **ordning** och gå i **säng**.
For to make oneself in **order** and go to **bed**.
To get yourself ready to go to bed.
- 6 Man kan ligga och **läsa** om man vill.
One can lie and **read** if you want.
You can read in bed if you want.
- 7 Jens: ((browses through the book))
- 8 Men det **här** (.) är bara **två** sidor **kvar**.
But this here (.) are just **two** pages **left**.
But there are only two pages left.
- 9 Mom: ((looks away from Jens, turns to Dad))

Example 3.

Mom, after glancing at her watch, and then re-directing her gaze to her son Jens, informs him of the time remaining to go to bed with the declarative form “Five minutes left” (line 2). She produces her talk with falling intonation, telling rather than asking (Craven and Potter, 2010; M.H. Goodwin, 1990). She projects the necessity for a temporal transition from one (verbally unspecified) activity to another. This declarative directive (produced in an unexpanded or reduced form) can be seen to draw upon and invoke a shared, mutual understanding, that should be easily interpretable by the recipient.

Upon the son's information request (line 4), coordinated with a display of bodily inattention through his continuous involvement in his current activity, Mom unpacks the expected actions related to the evening routine (to get oneself ready to go to bed, line 5) (see also Aronsson and Cekaite, 2011). She does not show her explicit disagreement with Jens' non-compliant response, which attempts to redefine the time limits for the bounding off of his current reading activity. Instead, Mom exits the exchange by changing the direction of her gaze away from Jens. When the time and activity specified in the initial exchange are over, i.e., five minutes later, Mom reinstates the relevance of the project of going to bed.

- ((five minutes later))
- 10 Mom: **Färdig?**
Finished? ((to Jens))
 - 11 Jens: ((raises from sofa, talks with Dad))
 - 12 Mom: **Så. Glöm** inte att borsta **tänderna** också.
So. Forget not to brush the **teeth** also.
So. Don't forget to brush your teeth.
 - 13 Jens: **Nejdå.**
No + PRT. ((goes to bathroom))

Example 3. (continued).

She requests that he close off the reading activity with a minimal rather than an expanded form of an interrogative 'Finished?' (line 10) and she reinforces the termination of the boy's alternative activity with a boundary marker 'så' ('so') (line 12), thereby creating coherence between ongoing and anticipated activity.

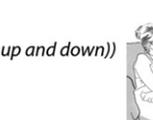
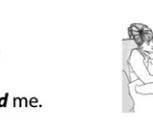
A prohibitive imperative ("Don't forget to brush your teeth as well." (line 12)) is the next action with which Mom initiates a new step, a sub-project, in the larger project of going to bed. The imperative demands immediate compliance and can be seen to specify and detail the next relevant action in the directive sequence. The phrase 'as well' is a significant retrospective resource that explicitly links back to the larger directive sequence. This directive format makes relevant the relation between the action/directive here-and-now, and the understandings that have been established earlier in interaction.

In Examples 1-3 we see parents and children working to establish a framework for mutual cooperation and accountability (through choreographing attention and working out agreement to perform action in the future). Parents first provided a declarative statement encoding obligation and/or shared understandings about what needs to be accomplished. In the temporal development of larger sequences of activities/directives, such declaratives provide warrants for a subsequent imperative. The differentiated resources used highlight the importance of the distinction between responsive actions as agreement to or confirmation to comply (in the near or more distant future), and actual, embodied, here-and-now, compliance with a directive.

6. Intercorporeal frameworks and calibration of action at activity junctures

Cooperative action is also achieved when parents formulate clear activity junctures. Terms such as "all right" or "okay" (Beach, 1993) index temporal coherence and transition (Bangerter and Clark, 2003); retroactively they bound off ongoing activities while projecting new activities to come (M.H. Goodwin, 2006b). They serve as initiating actions of subprojects in the larger project of getting children to go to bed. Their forms display that there is a highly projectable, known-in-common routine to orient towards. In Example 4 below "Okay" is followed by "Shall we? Bedtime?" Across a range of activities (to be examined in this section) we can locate similar patternings of directives framed as questions: following a boundary marker, a noun phrase, indexing an upcoming activity, is produced with rising intonation.³

In Example 4, six-year old Becky has been sitting on Mom's lap while her Father has been reading a book to her, seated on the couch immediately adjacent. The arrangement of participants' bodies in a framework of mutual orientation allows for close monitoring of the other's actions, and also forms of touch.

1	Dad:	Oh no . Count Olaf's back.	
2		((closes book loudly))	
3	Dad:	((slaps book on pillow))	
4	Mom:	Knch! ((chuckle))	
5	Mom:	((moves hand to the book))	
6	Dad:	((slaps Becky's leg)) Good	
7		luck with that.	
8	Mom:	[Okay. ((moves book slightly up and down))	
9	Mom:	((looks at Becky))	
10	Becky:	((looks at Mom))	
11	Dad:	((gets up from couch))	
12	Becky:	((holds the book))	
13	Mom:	Shall we?	
14	Becky:	((turns body towards Mom))	
15	Mom:	Bedtime?	
16	Becky:	((shakes head)) Will you read me.	
17	Mom:	Yes, I'll read you a- story.	
18		((Becky and Mom go upstairs to Becky's bedroom))	

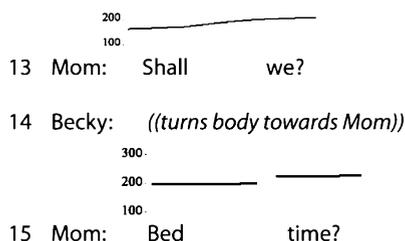
Example 4.

Dad provides visible, tactile, as well as audible signs of closure of the book reading activity through (1) his loud slapping of the book shut following the completion of his reading, (2) pounding it on the sofa between Becky's legs, and (3) slapping Becky's legs before his exits. Dad accompanies his touching of her legs with an aphorism "Good luck with that." Such types of proverbial expressions have been identified by Sacks (1995:422) as moves occurring at closures of tellings. Rather than

³ Mondada (2011) describes how, a noun "X" ("coag") delivered by a surgeon, rather than simply being a description of an individual action, serves as a directive, initiating a collective action. The noun is part of a paired action involving the surgeon and his assistant.

providing an abrupt leave taking, Dad holds Becky's leg while he raises his body. In essence he provides a display of continuing engagement even as he is exiting (C. Goodwin, 1987).

Mom for her part demonstrates orientation towards initiating a new activity in several ways. She looks towards Becky as she uses a "boundary marker" term ("Okay") (Beach, 1993; M.H. Goodwin, 2006b). This occurs even in the midst of Dad's closing "Good luck with that." As Mom and Becky are gazing towards one another, Mom produces the inclusive "Shall we?" and the minimal form – the noun phrase "Bedtime?" (with no verb) – using rising intonation. This contour, framed as a question, stands in stark contrast to the falling contours in Examples 1 and 2, which accompanied (1) a declarative statement in a deontic modality encoding obligation and (2) imperatives.



Example 5.

Becky's next bargaining move clearly demonstrates that she interprets Mom's talk as a directive. Rather than starting to perform the proposed course of action (as in Example 2) Becky negotiates the conditions for her compliance. She stalls, first shaking her head no, and then bargaining for delaying going to bed: "Will you read me."

In this example multiple resources are employed to close down one phase of the activity and launch a new one. Tactile and audible signs, as well as talk are deployed to mark closures and initiations of new trajectories. Throughout the story reading, the close monitoring of others' bodies and their involvement with objects makes possible a stable framework for inter-corporeal communication. Critical to all examples (1–4) is the arrangement of bodies in space. The positioning of Becky on Mom's lap immediately adjacent to Dad on the couch provides a framework for the exchange of signs across several modalities, displaying precisely how one is oriented towards the trajectory of actions in progress.

A similar orientation to the production of directives at activity junctures is observable in Swedish data as well. Kristin (age 8) bids farewell to her guests (line 1) and then playfully extends it to include her mother as well. After the guests have left, Mom, responsive to her daughter's display of tiredness, initiates going to bed by asking the daughter if they should tidy up the daughter's bed.

- 1 Kristin: Hejdå Anna. Hejdå mamma.
Goodbye Anna. Goodbye Mom. ((sing song))
- 2 ((guests are leaving))
- 3 Kristin: ((embraces Mom))
- 4 Mom: ((reciprocates embrace))
- 5 Kristin: Jag är trött.
I'm tired.
- 6 Mom: Ska vi ränsa din **säng** nu då? Hörru du **skrutten**.
Shall we clean your **bed** now then? Hear you **honey**.
Shall we now tidy up your bed then? Listen honey.
((taps daughter's shoulder, uses body twist and shepherds her to bedroom))



Example 6.

As in Example 4, Mom's directive, issued at an activity juncture, is mitigated through an interrogative format 'Shall we?' (a recurrent syntactic format in Swedish families for making a proposal for collaborative action). Mom exploits the daughter's display of tiredness, presupposing and/or actively utilizing it as her willingness to go to bed.

A broad range of tactile moves are deployed to co-operatively assemble and re-calibrate an intercorporeal participation framework, and to mobilize the child's embodied uptake. Multiple modalities in this directive/response sequence provide for the multiple temporalities that are in place simultaneously. A *body twist*, a form of tactile intervention, is deployed to terminate and bound off the prior activity and initiate a relevant activity of going to bed by perceptually reorienting the child in the lived architecture of the home. Through *shepherding* (gentle shoving), Mom initiates the daughter's embodied compliant response (Cekaite, 2010). Continuous tactile steering actions (unaccompanied by speech) direct the daughter's movements towards the proposed target activity-relevant space, the bedroom.

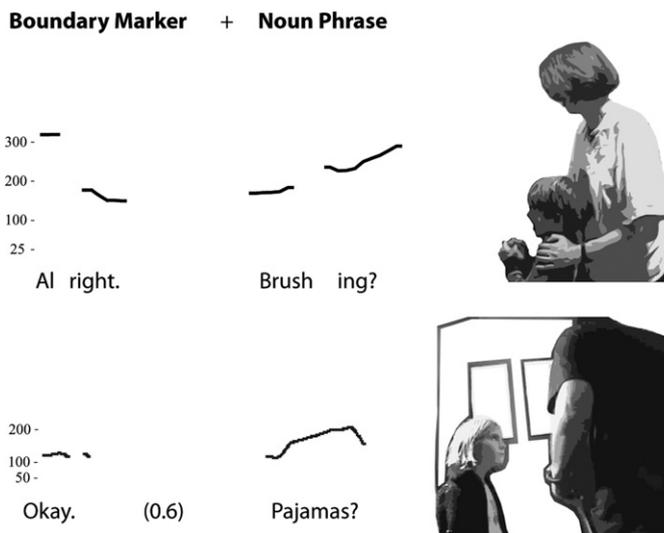
As can be seen, touch constitutes one of the modalities that has distinct temporal qualities; in contrast to speech, touch (like raised eyebrows, as examined in Example 1), has the potential to endure. Mom's verbal requests do not need to be repeated; rather, their interactional relevance can be effectively extended through the use of the tactile modality. In this way, calibration of a directive as a multimodal, tactile, action, prevents the recipient from ignoring the directive as no longer relevant, and provides for active monitoring and mobilizing of the recipient's embodied (in this case, silent) compliant response.

 7. + Noun phrase with Rising Intonation]" ,5,0,1,0,280pt,240pt,0mm,0mm>An interrogative directive format: [Boundary Marker + Noun phrase with Rising Intonation]

Across a range of examples the directive format [Boundary Marker + Noun phrase with Rising Intonation] can be seen as occurring at activity-relevant transitions. The noun phrase in each case indexes a next sub-activity in the larger trajectory of going to bed. The intonation that overlays the noun phrase formulates it as a request rather than a demand, and next moves are not defiant refusals or plaintive put offs (actions that often follow imperatives (Goodwin et al., 2012)).

The following provide two cases in point. In Example 7 Mike (age 7) has initiated multiple points of loving contact with his mother during dinner, whispering a secret to her, hugging her after dessert, etc. Upon Mike's completion of desert at the dinner table, Mom begins to shepherd (Cekaite, 2010) her son towards the bathroom while saying, "All right. Brushing?" Tactile steering accompanies or overlays all the talk and movement from the kitchen, down the hall, to the bathroom, serving as a form of gestural intensifier. Although the directive is framed using a question-like directive format, a form that allows for a noncompliant next move, the embodied action accompanying Mom's interrogative modulates the action so that noncompliance is not easy.

Mike's next move to Mom's directive was not talk, but rather walking with Mom as escort to the bathroom. In Example 8 Dad, upon reaching the front door after having escorted his 10-year old daughter Amy's friend home, proposes an activity that indexes the activity of getting ready for bed: "Okay. Pajamas?"



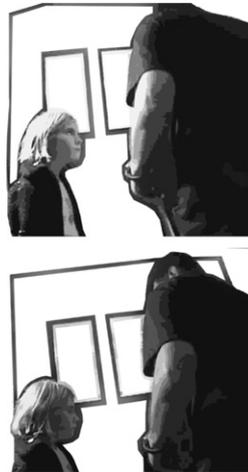
Examples 7-8.

The formats of each of these utterances are remarkably similar. They both are produced with a boundary marker using falling intonation followed by a noun phrase produced with rising intonation. While the “okay” and “all right” formulate the onset of action, the noun phrases produced with rising intonation that follow formulate what action is being requested. Clearly this intonation contour constitutes the action as a request for the initiation of action from recipient.

In the case of [Example 8](#), rather than immediately agreeing with the activity proposed, Amy delays in responding. While inserting a key to unlock the front door Dad has said: “All right. Pajamas?” This occurs while Dad is looking down, fiddling with the key. He next mentions a possible course of action with “Maybe a shower in the morning?” Rather than agreeing or disagreeing, Amy’s next move is an embodied stance display of righteous indignation. However, the facial expression is quickly dismantled and concealed as soon as her dad turns his gaze from the key towards her (line 5) and produces an alternative possibility to showing in the morning (“Or do you want to shower tonight.”)

- 1 Dad: Okay. (0.6) Pajamas?
- 2 ((looking at keys)) (1.8)
- 3 Dad: Maybe a shower in the morning.
- 4 ((inserts key in lock)) (1.6)

- 5 Dad: ((looks at Amy))
Or do you want to shower tonight.
- 6 ((opens door)) (0.4)
- 7 Amy: **Uh:** I don't know.



Example 8. (continued).

What occurs across of all of these successful directive sequences (4–8) is the placement of the directive formulated as a request or proposal for action at a particular juncture in the evening’s activities, recognizably at some point that could initiate going to bed (after book reading, after walking a friend to her house, after a guest leaves). Through the “all right” or “okay,” the parent carves out the initiation of a new activity. The rising intonation contour in examples 7 and 8 frames the action as a request. Parental directives designed in this way meet with minimal resistance. In fact at the end of dinner Mom’s utterance “Bath?” alone, produced with a deictic head movement towards the door leading to the bathroom, resulted in a child’s getting up to use the bathroom before bed.

Consistent throughout examples 4–8 are the following: (1) their careful placement in a juncture of the evening’s activities, (2) their displays of deference regarding the recipient’s right to agree or not agree with the proposed action, and (3) a history of cooperative interaction that has been built up through similar types of tactile communication or directive forms.⁴

8. Accountable noncompliance: children’s derailments and parents’ recalibrations

Acceptances of activity contracts and compliance with directives constitute only one possible option in response to a parental directive; children have available an arsenal of possible ways of non-complying, such as responding through bargaining, refusing, ignoring, and delaying (Aronsson and Cekaite, 2011:141; M.H. Goodwin, 2006b). Transitioning from one sub-activity to another in the larger communicative project requires continuous monitoring. Children can derail the agreed-upon activity trajectory by demonstrating their unavailability for the requested action (for example, by displaying engagement in their own competing projects).

⁴ This notion of shared history is made after reviewing approximately 20 hours of tape for each family and observing patterned forms of responses.

In this section we investigate children's noncompliant responses and parents' upgrading of directives by focusing on recurrent ways of organizing modalities in directives. Specifically, we focus here on the use of touch, gesture and body orientation, as these exhibit distinct temporal potentials for continuity and action relevance.

In Examples 9 and 10 we view the skilled calibration of embodied noncompliance in the actions of a three-year old Swedish boy. Here, although Ludvig has initially agreed to take a bath, Mom, issues several unsuccessful attempts to get her son to actually begin moving towards the bathroom.

 Mom: ((stops folding clothes and turns to the boy))

2 Mom: **Kom.**
Come. ((reaches out her hand towards the boy))

3 Ludvig: ((looks at Mom))



4 Ludvig: Nej-nej-nej-nej. Jag **kollar.**
No-no-no-no. I'm **watching.**
((turns to washing machine))



5 Mom: ((squats down and looks at the boy))

6 Mom: **Men älskling.** Du kan inte **sitta** här
But **honey.** You can't be **sitting** here

7 **hela** kvällen och **titta** på (.)
the **whole** evening and **looking** (.)

8 **tvättmaskinen.**
at the **washing** machine.



9 Ludvig: ((moves closer and looks attentively at washing machine))

10 (4.0) ((Ludvig looks at washing machine during pause))



Example 9.

In this example the directive 'come' (line 2) works as a follow-up device; it serves as a renewal of a temporally 'prior' request. As an anaphoric requesting device, it gets its sense from the prior sequence and 'back-links' to the temporally prior understandings established between the participants.

Another significant feature of this format is its multimodal design, recurrent in adult-child interactions. Mom's gesture of reaching out her hand proposes a collaborative endeavor. "Come" with an outstretched hand is akin to inclusive directives such as "Let's do X" and other second person plural directives that imply collaborative engagement in the requested action (Scollon and Scollon, 1981). Moreover, the format of this embodied directive is informative of the ways in which different modalities are systematically deployed to assemble and to sustain the relevance of the directive. Mom's hand gesture remains temporally extended beyond her short verbal directive into her son's refusal turn (line 3).⁵

⁵ See also see also Ford et al. (2012) on the extended temporality of multimodal constructions.

Compliant or, as in this case, non-compliant action within the proposed activity is saturated with 'co-operative projection' (C. Goodwin, 2012), manifested through the participants' close monitoring of each other's bodies with respect to their multimodally unfolding actions. Ludvig's noncompliant response (line 4) is choreographed as an embodied action whose production takes into account the multiple features of Mom's directive: he (1) turns away from her towards the washing machine, establishing an alternative focus of attention, and (2) refuses to reciprocate Mom's gesture (to give her his hand). Ludvig's verbal objection is coordinated with the calibration of his bodily and spatial positions (his simultaneous movement towards the washing machine), thus serving as a stylized, intensified display of an alternative involvement.

Similarly, Mom's directives "But honey, you can't be sitting here the whole evening" is upgraded through an embodied intensifier, i.e., the spatial recalibration of her directive as she stoops down on the same level as the child, thus arranging her body to establish mutual orientation (lines 5-8).

Ludvig sustains and intensifies (upgrades) his publicly visible involvement with an alternative activity: he moves even closer towards the washing machine (lines 7-9). The temporal duration of his gaze (extended throughout Mom's verbal directives (lines 5-8), and the following four second pause (line 10) towards the machine allows him to sustain the relevance of his noncompliant action beyond the affordances provided by talk.

Since compliance is not forthcoming (Example 10 below), Mom recycles the 'come' directive, overlaying it with an affectionate stance (an affectionate tap on her son's nose).

11 Mom: Eu:h. **Kom.**
Eu:h. **Come.** ((affectionately taps on his nose))



400.
300.
200.



12 Ludvig: **Nej!** Jag kommer *inte* alls.
No! I come *not* at all.
No! I'm not coming at all.
(('big' arm gesture))



400.
300.
200.
100.



13 Mom: **Kommer du inte** alls?
Come you *not* at all?
You're not coming at all?

Example 10.

In response to Mom's directive Ludvig displays his persistent non-compliance: he not only sustains his visual orientation towards an alternative activity, the washing machine, but even upgrades his refusals both verbally (through categorical refusal 'Nej! Jag kommer inte alls!/'No! I'm not coming at all!'), and a stylized 'angry' body posture and intensified attention towards the material artifact (line 2). Throughout the sequence, the position, orientation, and movement of the child's body are retrospectively, and prospectively oriented to by the parent (in her calibration of embodied directive actions).

Similar forms of inclusive pronouns in directives ("Let's"), recycled directives ("Come on"), and haptic action are utilized to dislodge a child from a competing focus of attention in Example 11. In the following, rather than going upstairs to bed immediately after having brushed his teeth, Andrew (age 6) asks his father to help fix one of his broken toy cars. Having completed this task, Father requests that Andrew go pick out a book for bedtime reading: "So. There you go. Let's go pick out a **book**." When Andrew remains immobile, eyes fixed on his toy, Father intensifies his directive through a more directed tactile maneuver as well as a. He stands behind Andrew and put his hands on Andrew's sides, coaxing him with "Come on, let's **GO**::" (line 15). Andrew objects by indexing his engagement with the toy and making pleas, with a first pair part, for his father's help in fixing it: "But- but- but- but- What about **this**." (line 16). Producing a new first pair part instead of responding to the directive, Andrew uses a syntactic format that engages Father in his own (alternative) activity that prevents immediate compliance.

- 200
100
25
- 1 Dad: Come o:n. Let's **GO::!**
2 Andrew: But- but- but- but-
3 What about **this**.
4 Dad: What **about** it.
5 Andrew: And I don't know how to
6 put it **ba:ck**. (0.8) **in**.



Example 11.

Andrew's tactic of requesting help (lines 16 and 17) results in Dad assisting with the car for several minutes. However, soon, in an upgraded directive move Dad explicitly categorizes the type of activity that Andrew is engaging in as an inappropriate activity and moreover that he is not complying fast enough. He formulates Andrew's action as "delaying" and recycles his directive.

- 1 Dad: Okay. Come on.
2 No more **delaying**.
3 Let's go
4 Up to **bed**.



Example 12.

This action is accompanied by gentle massaging of Andrew's shoulders, which allows him access to the child's body. However, Andrew does not budge from his facing formation vis-a-vis his toy on the kitchen countertop. In order to upgrade his directive this time Dad uses the vocative "Hey!" In addition Dad drapes his arm around Andrew's shoulder and stoops down, putting his face right next to Andrew's, creating a close huddle. With a metacommunication about the son's strategy, he then categorizes this activity negatively, as a normative transgression, similar to one that had occasioned in a prior "conversation" between the two about the importance of "listening." Thus, in this example we view an interesting lamination of verbal admonishment and embodied attempt by father to summon his son's attention. Andrew, however, persists in his own project of trying to fix his toy.

- 1 Dad: Hey!
2 Andrew: Who:a!
3 Dad: You know that **listening** conversation
4 we had earlier?
5 Andrew: ((*raspy voice*)) Yeah.
6 Dad: You're **doing** it **again**.
7 Andrew: ((*looking down*)) No **that's** not goin in,
8 Dad: So put those **back** and let's go to bed.



Example 13.

As in Example 4, artifacts provide important resources for marking junctures in activities. After all the tools are put in their box, Dad produces a verbal activity boundary marker ("Okay") while providing a loud slapping shut of the toolbox (similar to the loud closure of the book in Example 4 at the end of book reading.) He then reinstates his directive: "Up we

go.” This time Andrew disengages entirely from the toy (and complies with the directives) after he indexes his affective stance towards the action with his response cry “Ah:.....”

- 1 Dad: Right. Okay. ((closing tool box loudly, pats it))
 2 Okay. Up we go. Right. Okay.
 3 Andrew: Ah:.....



Example 14.

While he protests the action, Andrew does not provide an escalated refusal (M.H. Goodwin, 2006b). Eventually he heads upstairs. While providing upgrades that consist of changes in body orientation and touch, Father is also responsive to his son's project. For the child's part resistance is displayed through engagement in a task activity that requires his visual attention (away from his parent), but not by defiant response. Examples 10–14 show the significance of embodied action for upgrading the social force of directives, providing an alternative to other upgraded verbal forms (Craven and Potter, 2010; Hepburn and Potter, 2011).

9. Affectively upgraded forms of embodied directives

As noted earlier, the degree of parental participation and the way the social force of a directive is achieved are closely related to the agentive management of the child's body. While shepherding can be fashioned in such a way as to minimize the appearance and importance of parental engagement, multimodal resources can also be assembled so as to openly display parental intervention and control.

In the following example, Mom requests that Emil (age 5) brush his teeth as a next step in the established bed-going activity. Emil then runs away from Mom and engages in an alternative activity, i.e., watching a television program about India while sitting on the sofa. Just before the extract starts Mom recycles her directive 'come' numerous times and approaches Emil.

- 1 Mom: Du **bor** väl inte i **Indien**, va? **Kom** nu.
 You **live** PRT not in **India**, what? **Come** now.
 You don't live in India, do you? Come now.
 ((approaching Emil))
 2 Mom: [((positions herself between Emil and TV))
 3 Emil: [((MA::h- ((flailing arms))
 4 Emil: Får man **borsta** tänderna **här**inne?
 May one **brush** the teeth in **here**?
 Can I brush my teeth in here?
 ((looks at Mom, then TV))
 5 Mom: **Nej**. Det **får** du **faktiskt inte**.
No. That **may** you **actually not**.
 No. Actually you can't.
 ((turns to TV, then back to Emil))



Example 15.

Mom upgrades her embodied directive by approaching the boy and blocking his visual access to the TV (lines 2 and 3), thus terminating his alternative activity (watching the TV). The temporal organization of Emil's response cry “MA::h-” and exasperated gestures (line 3), simultaneous with Mom's visual termination of his alternative activity, are illustrative of the ways in which the (embodied) design of actions capitalizes upon the recipient's continuous monitoring of the interlocutor's

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action-in-progress: Emil objects specifically to Mom's moving into his visual field, i.e., her bodily positioning in his socially annotated space.

- 663.8
446.9
- 8 Emil: Jag vill **se**: det här.
I want **see**: this here.
I want to see: this one. ((pleading))
- 9 Mom: Men **du** Emil.
But **you** Emil.
But listen Emil. ((bends down))
- 10 (0.3)
- 
- 4000
3000
2000
1000
- 11 Emil: Jag **måste** se det här.
I **have** see this here.
I have to see this one.
- 12 Mom: ((moving closer towards Emil's face))
- 13 Anna: Hah hah. ((looks at Emil))
- 14 Mom: **Nej**. Du **måste inte** se det **här**.
No. Du **must not** see this **here**.
No. You don't have to see this one.
- 15 För **nu** (.) är det borsta **tänderna** och **lägga** sig.
Because **now** (.) is it to brush the **teeth** and **lay** self.
Because it's time to brush your teeth and go to bed now.
- 16 (0.3)
- 17 Emil: **Ne**:.
No:.
- 18 Mom: **Ju**:(.) Och jag kan ta fram ett **pyjamas** till dig
Yes:(.) And I can take out a **pajamas** to you
Yes. And I can get your pajamas
- 19 om du **ville** det.
if you **wanted** it.
if you want me to.
((tries to take Emil's hand))
- 
- 20 Emil: **A**::: ((resisting, moves away from Mom's hand))
- 21 Mom: Om du inte vill **vara** (.) **alldeles naken**.
If you not want **be** (.) **totally naked**.
If you don't want to sleep totally naked.
((scoops Emil and carries him))
- 
- 22 Emil: ((stops resisting but does not reciprocate Mom's embrace))

Example 15. (continued).

In their next moves the participants upgrade their interactional potential by using recurrent multimodal design features: spatial re-calibrations, avoidance vs. establishment of mutual facing formations, and haptic resources. For instance, (1) Mom establishes a mutual facing formation by bending down (and getting very close to her son in line 9, see also examples 10, 13, 15). (2) She looks at Emil directly, and even moves her face closer to him concurrently with his production of his noncompliant move (line 11, "I have to see this one", see also Example 11). Mom also upgrades the directive, calibrating it as a haptic format (line 19) utilized for an initiation of the recipient's and the directive giver's comportment as a joint action: she reaches out her hand towards the boy (an action similar to that in Example 9). Importantly, while verbally Mom's turn addresses issues related to the conditions of the bed-going (the choice of pajamas), it is her simultaneous haptic action (her gesture aiming to take the boy's hand) that receives Emil's affectively charged, and embodied refusal: he tries to move away to avoid Mom's grip (line 20).

Finally, Mom upgrades the tactile means for accomplishing the directive, scooping the boy up in her arms (simultaneously with her verbal threat) and carrying the child to the activity-relevant location (bathroom). Like the shepherding in [Examples 6 and 7](#), carrying can be seen as a form of (in this case, aggravated) embodied control move that constrains the recipient's opportunities for noncompliance.

As demonstrated in the analysis of [Examples 9–15](#), the directive design capitalizes upon the participants' monitoring and evaluation of each other's bodies and embodied stances taken towards the recipient's engagement in the activity in progress. [Examples 9–15](#) illuminate recurrent multimodal formats of recycled (and upgraded) directives, as well as their noncompliant responses: imperatives that demand joint comportment ('come' + extended hand), intensified gaze/mutual orientation, haptic shepherding moves, as well as noncompliance displayed through the recipient's persistent visual non-attention. All these formats made use of the different temporal affordances provided by different modalities.

10. Conclusion

In this paper we have analyzed directive/response sequences, demonstrating how speakers and hearers treat their ongoing mutual orientation toward each other as being central to two temporal orders of action: (1) the unfolding in situ development of the turn at talk (M.H. [Goodwin, 1980](#); C. [Goodwin, 1979, 2002, 2012](#)) as well as (2) the temporal ordering of action in larger units of communicative projects. Speakers add new segments to their turns to achieve collaborative action in launching directive trajectories (and securing agreement to comply with future courses of action). Through such agreements parents and children establish relations of trust and accountability that make possible coordinated action without extensive delay. Participants laminate the directive trajectories in progress by overlaying not only distinctive forms of action-appropriate prosody, but also forms of touch (a nose tap, an arm on a child's shoulder, a gentle massage), gesture (outstretched hand) and bodily orientation (towards the washing machine or a toy), exploiting different temporal potentials of these modalities for the progressive structuring of action (C. [Goodwin, 2012](#)).

Rather than upgrading through the use of threats (M.H. [Goodwin, 2006b](#)), touch, gesture, and the reconfiguration of bodies into facing formations are action packages that achieve the social force of the directive and function to more closely align parent and child in an intercorporeal framework for mutual engagement. Such arrangements are often critical for dislodging the child from a competing focus of attention (M.H. [Goodwin, 2006b](#); [Tulbert and Goodwin, 2011](#)). Because the haptic modality is enduring and can overlay an extended activity (for example, walking from one room to another) it constitutes a powerful resource for upgrading action in directive sequences.

Different syntactic formats can be related to different temporal features of the directive. Declarative directives receiving agreement formulate activity contracts, followed by imperatives. At important junctures in the evening's activities, bounded by "Okay" or "All right", noun phrases produced with rising intonation mobilize children for action. Importantly, the social force of the directive, including forms of upgrading, is not only linked to the verbal format used, but also to the embodied action that overlays the directive. Upgrading was not accomplished through raised pitch or threats, but rather through embodied actions, at points even momentarily accommodating to the child's project ([Example 11](#)).

In [Examples 1–8](#) participants work to establish frameworks for mutual orientation through turning their bodies towards the recipient of a directive or the physical object of the directive giver's attention (i.e., a clock) ([Example 1](#)), using touch to align the recipient's body in the direction of the proposed activity ([Example 5](#)) or to recycle or upgrade the requested action ([Examples 9–15](#)).

Next moves to directives in face-to-face interactions are forms of embodied action and video records are crucial for capturing response moves. Rather than viewing directives as principally 'doing things with words', we see how participants make use of the public visibility of each others' bodies, as well as the availability of the haptic sense to construct the action in progress. The present analysis provides a vivid illustration of [Ingold and Vergunst's \(2008:3\)](#) ideas that the immediate day-to-day activities that bind practices and representation take place "on the move." Through bodily contact in close ecological huddles not only is joint attention rendered an achieved possibility; forms of shepherding provide ways of effectively launching directive sequences through haptic propelling towards a goal activity.

Recipients for their part (in [Examples 9–15](#)) may distance themselves from the proposed activity and its obligations by selectively focusing their attention and calibrating their alignment towards an activity alternative to that proposed by a parent (watching television, playing with a car). Forms of action can change mid course, as they are built progressively and reciprocally. Through body alignment, gaze, prosody, and speech participants make evident their current sense of involvement. As both directive givers' and recipients' bodies are accessible to the 'naked senses of each other,' they provide possibilities for the mutual monitoring of each other ([Goffman, 1972](#); M.H. [Goodwin, 1980](#)). Thus, directive/response sequences constitute a social site for negotiation contributing to the embodied entrainment of social accountability and social responsivity of action within the temporal unfolding of everyday life.

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