

Family Talk: Deontic Rights and Initiating Interaction in Domestic  
Space

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# Abstract

This thesis investigates the initiation of talk-in-interaction within domestic space. Using the research methods of Conversation Analysis (CA), I examine the practices family members use to initiate social interaction and explore the claims to, and displays of, entitlement and authority within these sequences of action. Using naturally occurring data recorded over a span of 100 days for the 2008 fly-on-the-wall documentary television series, *The Family*, I examine the production of summonses, greetings, and the deployment of interrogatives to implement suggestions and complaints, and their responses.

This analysis focusses on both the sequential and social implications of initiating sequences of talk-in-interaction, specifically examining actions produced in and around doorway thresholds within the home, for instance, a summons deployed at a closed bedroom door, or a greeting produced after coming home or coming into a room. Through the use of linguistic and bodily resources, parties construct their turns-at-talk as more or less deontically entitled: firstly, through directing their own or another's current and future actions; and secondly, in the determination of what is or is not appropriate regarding current or previous (in)actions. Furthermore, through the initiating actions they implement and the deontic entitlements they claim, parties negotiate and display their orientations to theirs and their co-participant's claimed identity and social roles, as well as manage their relationships with one another.

All together, this study shows how deontic claims to authority and entitlement are displayed and managed by interlocutors in initiating sequences, and how the interplay of the physical space with verbal and embodied resources shapes their subsequent trajectory.

# List of Contents

<b>Abstract</b> .....	<b>i</b>
<b>List of Contents</b> .....	<b>ii</b>
<b>List of Figures</b> .....	<b>v</b>
<b>List of Tables</b> .....	<b>vii</b>
<b>Chapter 1 Introduction</b> .....	<b>1</b>
1.1 Methodology .....	5
1.1.1 Conversation Analysis .....	5
1.1.2 Fundamental Components of the Organisation of Interaction.....	10
1.1.2.1 Turn-Taking .....	10
1.1.2.2 Sequence Organisation.....	14
1.1.2.3 Turn Design .....	16
1.1.2.4 The Formation and Ascription of Action.....	18
1.1.2.5 Preference Organisation and the Cooperative Actions of Alignment and Affiliation.....	19
1.2 Previous Relevant CA Research .....	24
1.2.1 Identity in Social Interaction.....	24
1.2.2 Deontic Rights in Interaction .....	29
1.2.3 The Openings of Interaction .....	34
1.2.3.1 The Opening Phase of Interaction.....	35
1.2.3.1.1 The Summons-Answer Pre-Sequence.....	35
1.2.3.1.2 The Greetings Sequence .....	40
1.2.3.2 Sequence Initiation Outside the Opening Phase .....	43
1.2.4 Conversation Analytic Approach to Family Interaction.....	48
1.2.5 Space and Embodiment in the Coordination of Action .....	52
1.3 The Data.....	62
1.4 Overview of the Thesis .....	68
<b>Chapter 2 Bedroom Doorways and Deontic Entitlement within the Summons-Answer Sequence</b> .....	<b>72</b>
2.1 Introduction.....	72
2.1.1 Some Distinctions Between Bedroom Doorway and Telephonic Summons-Answer Sequences .....	73
2.1.2 Turn Design of the Summons-Answer Sequence Around Bedroom	

Doorways .....	78
2.2 Displays of Low Deontic Entitlement by Summoners .....	81
2.2.1 Design Features in Displays of Low Deontic Entitlement Summonses .....	87
2.3 Displays of Low Transitioning to High Deontic Entitlement by Summoners.....	88
2.3.1 Design Features in Displays of Low to High Deontic Entitlement .....	92
2.3.2 Seeking Affiliation After a Display of High Entitlement .....	93
2.4 Displays of Deontic Entitlement in Concurrent Summons and Entry .....	96
2.4.1 Design Features in Displays of Mismatched Deontic Entitlement .....	102
2.4.2 A Case of High Deontic Entitlement .....	107
2.4.2.1 Design Features of this Highly Entitled Sequence .....	111
2.4.3 A Case of Low to High to Low Deontic Entitlement in the Summons.....	112
2.5 Concluding Discussion .....	115
<b>Chapter 3 Displays of Deontic Rights in Sequence-Initial Interrogatives .....</b>	<b>123</b>
3.1 Introduction.....	123
3.2 Sequence-Initiating Directives in the Interrogative Form .....	124
3.2.1 Directives in the Interrogative Form: Making Suggestions.....	125
3.2.2 Suggestions as Claims to Deontic Authority .....	138
3.3 Complaints as Sequence-Initiating Interrogatives .....	141
3.3.1 Interrogatives Doing Complaints in Family Data.....	141
3.3.2 Claiming the Right to Complain about Previous Actions.....	156
3.3.2.1 The Negotiation of Deontic Authority and Entitlement in Complaints.....	157
3.3.2.2 Familial Identity in Complaining Interrogatives.....	158
3.4 Concluding Discussion .....	160
<b>Chapter 4 <i>Coming Home and Coming Into the Room: 'Hello' in the Initiation of</i></b>	
<b>Interaction .....</b>	<b>163</b>
4.1 Introduction.....	163
4.2 Greeting Terms used in Summons-Answer Sequences .....	165
4.2.1 'Hello' and its Alternatives within the Summons-Answer Sequence .....	165
4.2.2 The 'Hello' Summons-Answer Sequence Doing Greeting.....	175
4.2.3 What Comes Next.....	179
4.2.3.1 The 'Greetings Substitute' or 'howareyou' Sequence .....	179
4.2.3.2 From the 'Hello' Summons-Answer Sequence to First Topic.....	190
4.3 'Hello' - 'Hello' (and their Variants) in Discrete Greetings Sequences .....	193
4.3.1 The 'Hello' Summons-Answer/Greetings Sequence Distinction .....	194
4.3.2 The Construction of Greetings as Troubles-Implicative.....	197

4.3.3	Greetings in <i>Coming Into the Room</i> Environments .....	205
4.4	Concluding Discussion .....	219
<b>Chapter 5</b>	<b>Conclusion .....</b>	<b>225</b>
5.1	The Findings of this Study .....	225
5.1.1	The Summons-Answer Sequence .....	227
5.1.2	Sequence-Initiating Complaints and Suggestions.....	229
5.1.3	'Hello' in the Summons-Answer and Greetings Sequences .....	232
5.2	Interpretation of the Results.....	238
5.2.1	Deontic Asymmetry Exhibited by Families in Interactional Openings .....	238
5.2.2	Starting off on the Right Foot .....	240
5.3	Implications of the Research.....	242
5.3.1	Examining Opening Sequences of Social Interaction.....	243
5.3.2	Examining Interaction through a Familial Lens .....	250
5.3.2.1	Family Interaction Outside of Mealtime.....	252
5.3.2.2	Examining Family Interaction .....	253
5.4	Directions for Further Study .....	255
<b>References</b> .....		<b>258</b>
<b>Appendix A</b>	<b>Transcription Conventions .....</b>	<b>272</b>
<b>Appendix B</b>	<b>Abbreviations Used in Transcribing.....</b>	<b>275</b>
<b>Appendix C</b>	<b>The Hughes Family Home.....</b>	<b>276</b>
<b>Appendix D</b>	<b>Referenced Transcripts .....</b>	<b>278</b>

# List of Figures

<b>Figure 1.1:</b> Tom Summoning Charlotte .....	58
<b>Figure 2.1:</b> Tom outside of Jane’s bedroom at line 8.....	86
<b>Figure 2.2:</b> Simon knocking at line 1 .....	91
<b>Figure 2.3:</b> Simon greeting Emily at line 12.....	91
<b>Figure 2.4:</b> Simon at line 1, just after ‘ $\uparrow_{Em:z}$ ’ .....	98
<b>Figure 2.5:</b> Simon as he launches the summons at line 1 .....	100
<b>Figure 2.6:</b> Simon entering Emily’s bedroom at line 9 .....	106
<b>Figure 2.7:</b> Tom standing poised to knock on Emily’s bedroom door at line 1 .....	109
<b>Figure 2.8:</b> Jane waiting at line 5 after she had initially tried to open the door.....	114
<b>Figure 3.1:</b> Simon at line 1; Emily is in the bathroom.....	126
<b>Figure 3.2:</b> Tom and David at line 1 .....	131
<b>Figure 3.3:</b> Tom and David at line 5 .....	134
<b>Figure 3.4:</b> Simon and Tom before line 1 .....	136
<b>Figure 3.5:</b> Emily looks to the curtains 0.1 seconds before Simon produces ‘ $\uparrow_{what’s}$ ’ at line 1, before he has crossed the room.....	142
<b>Figure 3.6:</b> After Simon has opened the curtains.....	142
<b>Figure 3.7:</b> Jane 0.2 seconds before producing line 1 .....	146
<b>Figure 3.8:</b> Simon at line 7.....	150
<b>Figure 3.9:</b> Simon as he produces, ‘think’ at line 1.....	152
<b>Figure 4.1:</b> Jane’s location when Simon produces line 1 .....	166
<b>Figure 4.2:</b> Simon at line 1 .....	169
<b>Figure 4.3:</b> Jane as she issues her summons at line 1 .....	170
<b>Figure 4.4:</b> Tom at line 9, ‘ $\uparrow_{hey}$ ’ .....	171
<b>Figure 4.5:</b> Tom at line 9, ‘ $\mu: : m, \uparrow$ ’ .....	171
<b>Figure 4.6:</b> Simon where he produces his summons at line 1.....	172
<b>Figure 4.7:</b> Tom opening the front door at line 1 .....	177
<b>Figure 4.8:</b> Tom at line 7 walking to dining room .....	177
<b>Figure 4.9:</b> Tom standing, just before summoning at line 15 .....	177
<b>Figure 4.10:</b> Simon at line 8.....	181
<b>Figure 4.11:</b> Simon as Jane produces her summons .....	184
<b>Figure 4.12:</b> Simon and Jane at line 9 (Simon’s shoe is just visible behind Jane at the edge of the rug).....	184

<b>Figure 4.13:</b> Simon producing ‘ <u>Tom</u> ’ at line 6.....	187
<b>Figure 4.14:</b> Simon at line 12.....	187
<b>Figure 4.15:</b> Jane as Simon asks after Jessica at line 7.....	192
<b>Figure 4.16:</b> Jane and Simon when the camera changes to the living room at line 12.....	192
<b>Figure 4.17:</b> Simon as he greets Tom at line 1.....	201
<b>Figure 4.18:</b> Tom producing ‘*hello*’ at line 6.....	201
<b>Figure 4.19:</b> Simon greeting Jane at line 1.....	207
<b>Figure 4.20:</b> Jane at line 6 returning the greeting.....	207
<b>Figure 4.21:</b> Tom and Jane before line 1.....	211
<b>Figure 4.22:</b> Tom and Jane as Jane greets at line 1.....	211
<b>Figure 4.23:</b> Jane looking at Emily prior to line 1.....	215
<b>Figure 4.24:</b> Jane at the launch of her turn at line 1.....	215
<b>Figure 4.25:</b> Emily just after ‘>awright<’ at line 9.....	217

# List of Tables

<b>Table 1.1:</b> Overlap of comprehension and production processes in conversation .....	18
<b>Table 1.2:</b> Interrogatives implementing actions other than information-seeking .....	44
<b>Table 2.1:</b> Spectrum of Summoners' Claims to Deontic Entitlement.....	117



# Chapter 1

## Introduction

The perpetuation of society, both in the continuation of the human race and in the preservation of social life, has its foundations in mundane and everyday conversation and interaction; these are the very cornerstones of how things get done. As the foundation for human life and interaction, almost every person who is or has ever been alive can trace their very existence back to the beginning of a conversation, a chat, an encounter between two people who became parents (Clift, 2016a). Employing the research method of Conversation Analysis (henceforth, CA), this thesis studies the co-construction and organisation of social interaction within a domestic environment, looking specifically at the points when family members enter various physical spaces within the home, and examines both the verbal and embodied actions they implement when entering these spaces, looking at how parties manage their talk, negotiate their familial roles and identities, and orient themselves to the physical spaces in which they launch these interactional sequences.

The family as a distinct social unit has been studied extensively since the early-to-mid 20<sup>th</sup> century through academic disciplines such as sociology, psychology, and social anthropology,<sup>1</sup> and these research traditions give credence to identity and communication as pivotal themes within the family as a social unit, focussing on how that social unit views its domestic sphere and how it situates itself within society; from a sociological viewpoint, the family unit is quite distinct from other sorts of groupings such as strangers, acquaintances, colleagues, or friends (Parsons & Bales, 1956). However, these approaches do not examine the granular details of

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<sup>1</sup> See Aldous, 1977; Burgess, 1926; Hargrove et al., 2005 for some examples of this work.

familial interaction, such as what is actually said and done by family members through their talk and embodied actions, therefore failing to capture what members of a family actually *do* through their daily interactions within the home.

Contrastingly, this study approaches family and domestic space through an interactional lens, looking at how identity and physical space is made relevant through the actions a speaker implements, and in turn, how these are explicitly or implicitly made relevant to both the recipients and the co-construction and organisation of the interaction (G. Raymond & Heritage, 2006). The intersection of identity realisation and the ways in which a participant composes their actions is the locus for the creation of social structures and patterns (G. Raymond & Heritage, 2006), and the interplay between language use and the family unit – these rudimentary aspects of everyday life – have influence beyond the family and its individual members and extend out into the community, impacting entire cultures (Clift, 2016a; Levinson, 2000; Stivers et al., 2009).

To that end, the opening sequences of interaction included in this thesis come exclusively from edited-for-television video recordings<sup>2</sup> capturing the mundane, everyday interaction between a family in their home continuously for 100 days using over 20 cameras (Clift, 2014). The Hughes family consists of Dad Simon, Mum Jane, and children Emily (19 years old), Charlotte (17 years old), and Tom (14 years old), all of whom live together in one house. The data included within this thesis involves interaction in some combination of these five family members.<sup>3</sup> The continuous recording and positioning of the cameras allows for observations of

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<sup>2</sup> All data is within the public domain, copyrighted, and used with permission for analytic research by Dragonfly Productions, which was granted to my Supervisor, Dr Rebecca Clift. As will be noted throughout this thesis, although the video recordings have been edited, I have aimed to include extracts where there do not appear to be stretches of time edited out, but have noted where it is possible, and I have noted whenever there is a camera change.

<sup>3</sup> Simon and Jane's eldest daughter, Jess, lives close by with her partner, Pat, and baby daughter, Ruby. Jess is mentioned in one of the included data excerpts, and as they are a part of the family, they get a brief mention here; however, Jess and her family do not live in the Hughes family home and are not actually present in any of the extracts of data I have used for analysis.

the Hughes family members as they go about their daily lives: when they come home from work, when they are sitting and watching television, when they are in bed, and often when they move from room to room, such that we can see how they cross thresholds and when they launch their talk. Utilising video data, this current study revisits classic CA work done on (landline) telephone call openings by Emanuel Schegloff (1968, 1979a, 1986), and builds upon previous analytical studies of interactional openings outside the family home.<sup>4</sup> As we will see, the openings of interaction are where parties propose “the ‘kind of conversation this is going to be’” (Schegloff, 1986, p. 141), and are sequences in which substantial interactional work is accomplished, making apt their continued investigation. Additionally, families have provided the background for a number of conversation analytic studies, but these have commonly focussed on interaction between parents and young children at dinnertime,<sup>5</sup> or have used data involving family members to explore certain interactional phenomena without the familial aspect being a part of the analysis.<sup>6</sup> As the first conversation analytic study on the initiation of social interaction in relation to a family unit within their domestic space, this thesis seeks to present novel findings on how parties’ claimed and displayed authorities and entitlements, in relation to their physical environment, have bearing on the initiation of interaction and the construction of familial roles and identities.

My analytic concern, then, is how sequences of interaction are initiated by parties within domestic space, looking specifically at what linguistic and embodied resources parties use, as well as examining how particular interactional environments<sup>7</sup> can shape the production of initiating actions. This line of enquiry led to the detailed examination of the production of

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<sup>4</sup> See Pillet-Shore, 2010; Whalen & Zimmerman, 1987; Whitehead & Baldry, 2018 for examples of CA work on openings outside the domestic space.

<sup>5</sup> Within this thesis, I classify ‘young children’ as those younger than teen-aged (13 years old to 19 years old).

<sup>6</sup> This topic of parent-young child interaction, and previous CA studies on family interaction in general, will be discussed further in §1.2.4.

<sup>7</sup> The ‘interactional environment’ (further addressed in §1.1.2.3) relates to the social interaction between parties and can include elements of the physical but also factors such as whether there is ongoing conflict either within or outside of the present interaction.

summonses and answers, suggestions, complaints, and greetings as initiating actions in social interaction, particularly by family members in domestic space. I further investigate how these sequence-initiating actions may be shaped by the physical environment in which they are deployed, looking at the initiation of interaction in relation to doorway thresholds, and exploring how thresholds and doors themselves – particularly within the summons-answer sequence – impact the construction of the initiating turn. Taking into account the initiation of social interaction and the potential relevance of the physical environment in sequence and turn production, this thesis also inspects how claims to and displays of deontic rights (Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2012) are made relevant on these occasions by examining how deontic claims are made in the production of initiating actions, how parties in turn treat these claims, and how these deontic claims to authority and entitlement might contribute to the negotiation and construction of identities and familial roles within these sequences of interaction. By looking at the daily lives of a nuclear family living in the same household, this thesis seeks to investigate how interaction within families gets done and the ways in which familial roles are linked to the practices and actions implemented within talk-in-interaction, thereby exploring the recognisable ways we formulate our own actions – as well as understand one another’s – through our everyday interactions.<sup>8</sup>

In this introductory chapter, I begin by first presenting the analytic methods of Conversation Analysis and introduce relevant and key aspects of talk-in-interaction (Section 1.1). In the next section, I review previous CA literature, identifying pertinent themes (Section 1.2). I will then further discuss the data (Section 1.3) and conclude the introduction by giving an overview of the thesis (Section 1.4).

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<sup>8</sup> What constitutes as ‘family’ can rightly invoke all sorts of definitions, representations, and embodiments. However, I have included references to family here in the ‘nuclear’ sense, which is two parents and their children (Cambridge.org, n.d.), as this is the composition of the family unit represented in my data corpus.

## **1.1 Methodology**

In order to meaningfully attend to the analytic concerns introduced above, I have adopted CA as a methodological approach to the study of social interaction. CA as a research paradigm differs from other avenues of linguistic science and therefore, before examining previous literature pertinent to the research at the heart of this thesis, it is essential that I first establish the origins of CA as a field of study – itself beginning with the examination of a particular type of sequence initiation in interaction – and its core tenets, as well as introduce some of the fundamental concepts and terminology on which conversation analytic enquiry rests.

Therefore, in the first subsection (§1.1.1), I will attend to the background and beginnings of CA as a research framework and to the fundamental principles of analysing interactional data from a CA perspective. In the next subsection (§1.1.2), I will focus on some essential aspects and vocabulary within CA, particularly as related to this thesis, concepts which will be important for the understanding of how social interaction is organised and the ways in which parties collaborate and construct their interactions, such as turn-taking, sequence organisation, and preference organisation; these concepts and more will be made familiar within succeeding subsections. I will then proceed with the introduction of key themes within this thesis, such as the opening phase of interaction, deontic rights, and identity within social interaction, and explore these relative to previous conversation analytic research (Section 1.2).

### **1.1.1 Conversation Analysis**

The research and analyses presented in this thesis are grounded in the framework and precepts of Conversation Analysis. CA – positioned at the intersection of sociology and linguistics – takes a qualitative, data-focussed, bottom-up approach to language use and embodiment in everyday encounters, examining the practices parties use as vehicles for implementing

action(s), and the organisation of these actions into sequences of social interaction. In this section, I will briefly discuss the historical background of CA and the methods of conversation analytic research. More thorough explorations of the field of CA, its history, methodological approach, and research paradigm can be found in Heritage (1984), Psathas (1995), C. Goodwin and Heritage (1990), Schegloff (2007c), Sidnell and Stivers (2013), and Clift (2016a).

CA arose from a tradition of sociological study established by Erving Goffman and Harold Garfinkel, who were interested in the social order of everyday interaction (Mazeland, 2006). Goffman was interested in face-to-face interactional customs and conventions, particularly around the idea of *face* (Goffman, 1967/2017; Lerner, 1996; Mazeland, 2006; Schegloff, 1988b).<sup>9</sup> Garfinkel was concerned with the common-sense, mutually shared understanding of everyday, mundane actions, establishing the field of Ethnomethodology in pursuit of these matters of interest (Heritage, 1984; Mazeland, 2006). CA was developed in the late 1960s, integrating these newer areas of social research, and was first conceived as a line of analytic enquiry by American sociologist Harvey Sacks, along with colleagues Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson. Sacks was interested in the scientific study of social interaction through means of a formal, reproducible, collective approach to actual, recorded events (Heritage, 1984; Sacks, 1984). With this in mind, Sacks and Schegloff began laying the foundation for this new model of an empirically grounded investigation of social action (Drew, 2004; Schegloff, 1995). Through a fellowship at the Center for Scientific Study of Suicide in Los Angeles, California, Sacks obtained access to recordings of telephone calls made by suicidal callers to the centre (Drew, 2004; Schegloff, 1995). In examining the call centre recordings, a puzzle that presented

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<sup>9</sup> Goffman defines 'face' as, "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact. Face is an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes... a person may be said to *have*, or *be in*, or *maintain* face when the line he effectively takes presents an image of him that is internally consistent, that is supported by judgments and evidence conveyed by other participants, and that is confirmed by evidence conveyed through impersonal agencies in the situation" (1967/2017, pp. 5–6, emphasis in original).

itself to those at the centre, and one Sacks was keenly interested in, was how callers were able to phone in and avoid giving their name at the beginning of these calls and subsequently continue to resist giving during the calls (Schegloff, 1995). From this initial observation regarding callers' reluctance to give their names and further study of these suicide calls, there came the realisation that talk itself implements *actions* – that is, *what people do* with words (Austin, 1962; Clift, 2016a) – and that through the examination of the talk, one could give a refined, detailed, and formal description of those actions (Drew, 2004; Heritage, 1984; Sacks, 1984; Schegloff, 1995); moreover, these actions can be organised into *sequences*: courses of action as implemented through the talk (Clift, 2016a). Hence, *action* and *sequence* are the two underlying components of conversation analysis (Clift, 2016a). Conversation – or more precisely, talk-in-interaction – has long been understood to be the “primordial site” of life and society (Drew, 2004, p. 74; Schegloff, 2006, p. 70).<sup>10</sup> Sacks held that, “...culture is an apparatus for generating *recognizable* actions” (1992a, emphasis in original), and indeed, the field of CA began with the insight that conversation and social interaction is a locus for these generalisable and instinctively recognisable actions (Heritage, 1984).

One of the key tenets of CA methodology is the collection and use of recordings that may be reused and repeatedly examined (Schegloff, 1995); what originally drew Sacks to the centre's recorded telephone calls was this exact capability (Schegloff, 1995). With these recordings, analysts can examine the *data* – that is, the audio or video recording – repeatedly and in detail, allowing for the methodical and precise *transcription* of both the lexical and embodied actions, or sequence of actions, being implemented by parties. Detailed examination of the data and the act of transcribing is vital to the analytic process and aids the analyst in looking at what, how, and when participants do the things they do. These actions (i.e.: requests, offers, summons,

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<sup>10</sup> On the distinction between ‘conversation’ and ‘talk-in-interaction’: Clift notes that CA as a research discipline favours the use of, “...talk-in-interaction – or, in its abbreviated form, ‘talk’ – a term now preferred over ‘conversation’ as the more general designation for our interactions through language” (2016a, p. 4).

assessments, complaints, announcements, etc) are studied in situ: implemented actions rooted within their interactional sequence (Clift, 2016a). As Heritage (1984) outlines, the use of notes from memory or real-time observation, coding based on predetermined themes, or the creation or manipulation of conduct, are all examples of practices anathema to the inductive and unmotivated approach to examining social interaction that CA aims to take. So, starting with recordings of naturalistic data, analysts examine mundane, everyday activities within their particular contexts (C. Goodwin & Heritage, 1990; Heritage, 1984). CA maintains that utterances are not produced (nor should they be created) in isolation as singular articles of enquiry, but instead examines and sheds light on the ways in which parties in interaction order and manage their speech and the interactional sequence as a whole (C. Goodwin & Heritage, 1990). Context is crucial because what a speaker says, how a recipient responds, where, when, and who the participants are, all have interactional bearing. Every day, from an exchange with a stranger at a bus stop, to speaking with a partner in the kitchen, an online business meeting, or lunch with friends, we engage in, conduct, and sustain our relationships with one another (Drew, 2004). This achievement of social cohesion begins with talk-in-interaction, where generic practices, and the collaboration and organisation of co-participants' talk, accomplishes the implementation of coordinated actions across sequences (Clift, 2016a; Clift & C. W. Raymond, 2018; Schegloff, 1982, 1996b, 1997, 2001). By looking at everyday instances of interaction in situ, researchers in CA investigate and explicate the systematic ways that parties in interaction construct their turns-at-talk and how their recipients understand and orient to the actions being done.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Although for the purpose of this thesis I will be examining domestic interaction, it is important to note that from the very beginning, CA has also included institutional interaction within its purview. Occurrences of interaction at an institutional level, such as telephone calls to a suicide prevention call centre or a consultation between a doctor and patient in hospital, may have a more restricted locus of conversational topics and activities but are nonetheless rich occasions for naturalised data analysis. The underlying interactional practices of institutional data are also applicable to everyday interaction, as any interactional resource(s) may be utilised in the deployment of sequences of actions and their implementation may be relevant to the parties and further still to the realisation of co-constructed interaction (Deppermann et al., 2010). As Drew (2004) asserts, everyday



CA looks at the precise ways that social life is collaborated and negotiated by parties, such that through their talk and embodiments, interlocutors are not only implementing actions themselves, but are concomitantly displaying their understanding of what their co-participant is doing, finding “order at all points” (Sacks, 1992a, p. 484). Parties have particular, organised ways in which they enter into an interaction and when the interaction breaks down (through misunderstandings, mishearings, etc), participants also have orderly ways of getting out of these predicaments (Heritage, 1984; Schegloff, 1988a). These practices, and the sequences of actions they implement, can be observed across social situations, languages, and cultures (Clift, 2016a; Levinson, 2000; Stivers et al., 2009). Looking at the precise ways that parties implement actions (the what and the how) and the sequential organisation with which they implement them (the when), analysts look for patterns in the interactional structure, curating collections of data which display these recurrent patterns (Clift & C. W. Raymond, 2018). Extracts of data are then examined in detail and analysts systematically look at both the individual extract, and the extract as a part of its collection, in order to identify repeated cases of a phenomenon. As extracts are examined, analysts identify the actions, practices, position, and composition of this target (Clift & C. W. Raymond, 2018). With these methods, analysts are able to discover and identify the organisational structures and features of talk and social interaction that people implement in talk-in-interaction; through the study of social interaction, we begin to observe and attempt to make sense of the ordinary, mundane, and everyday matters of life (Drew, 2004).<sup>12</sup>

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conversation is a point of reference against which institutional interaction is observed and understood. Myriad studies look at ‘institutional talk’, using data involving professional work establishments or representatives of such establishments who are going about their daily work activities within the interaction (Drew & Heritage, 1992a). See Drew & Heritage, 1992b; Heritage & Clayman, 2010; ten Have & Psathas, 1995 for further work on institutional interaction.

<sup>12</sup> It is pertinent to note here, before introducing any data, that almost all of the data analysed within this thesis takes place dyadically; relevant interactional sequences that involve more than two participants are also analysed within this thesis but are rare within the set of included data.

## 1.1.2 Fundamental Components of the Organisation of Interaction

With the history of CA and some of the underlying principles of conversation analytic research introduced, I will now expand upon some of the foundational elements related to systematicity and coordination of talk-in-interaction. Over the past few decades, CA has taken the original findings and observations of Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson, refining and enriching the formal and systematic ways we approach and examine social life and interaction. There are many central elements to the organisation of talk-in-interaction, but here I will use extracts from my own dataset<sup>13</sup> to briefly explicate the aspects most pertinent to my thesis.<sup>14</sup>

### 1.1.2.1 Turn-Taking

As outlined in their seminal paper on *turn-taking* in conversation, Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson outline the ‘speech-exchange systems’ (1974) that parties in interaction implement in order to achieve collaboration in conversation.<sup>15</sup> This turn-taking system addresses the local construction of turns and turn-allocation by participants within interaction (Clayman, 2013b; Clift, 2016a; Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff, 2007c). In that pioneering paper, Sacks et al. (1974) made groundbreaking and fundamental observations about the ways in which we organise and coordinate social interaction; speaker shifts are elegant and orderly, coordinated between participants through the enactment of certain practices within talk, such that transitions between speakers are standardly done with no gap or overlap. This negotiation of “who speaks next, and

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<sup>13</sup> All of the data extracts included in this thesis are from my dataset of *The Family*, Series 1.

<sup>14</sup> See Atkinson & Heritage, 1984; Clift, 2016a; Deppermann & Haugh, 2022; Schegloff, 2007c; Sidnell & Stivers, 2013 for further discussions about fundamental elements of talk-in-interaction and CA.

<sup>15</sup> The realisation of interactional phenomena and interaction itself as an *achievement* or as something *accomplished* will be referenced quite often within this thesis. The use of these terms when speaking about interaction (something that will become clearer throughout) is meant to convey that talk-in-interaction is collaborative and as such is organised, managed, and negotiated locally and jointly by participants. When the implementation of actions is realised and recognised by co-participants (for example, the production of a request by a speaker, a recipient understanding that the speaker’s turn-at-talk is implementing a request, and the recipient then responding with a type-conforming response such as granting or denying the request), we can call this an interactional *achievement*.

when” (Clift, 2016a, p. 96) is accomplished by the projectability of turns (meaning that parties in interaction can project when an utterance will potentially reach completion) despite the fact that turns-at-talk are not fixed in size/length, content, or who speaks next (Clift, 2016a; Sacks et al., 1974). The turn-taking system is both context-independent and context-relevant, meaning the conventions of the turn-taking system are generalisable outside the factors of context (the who, when, and where), whilst still displaying fittedness to the particular co-participants and occasions in which it is employed (Clift, 2016a; Sacks et al., 1974); this observation has transformed the way we approach human interaction and the study of language (Clift, 2016a).

The structure of taking turns-at-talk is the principal organisational practice parties use in conversation, and addresses the *when* and the *who* (Clift, 2016a; Drew, 2004; Schegloff, 2007c). The crux of the Sacks et al. (1974) turn-taking paper, and a significant observation for language as it is used in social interaction, is that one person speaks at a time; if this ‘rule’ of conversation is flouted, then speakers in the local interaction implement linguistic and embodied resources to correct course or ‘repair’ and return to this central principle of only one person should speak at a time (Clift, 2016a).<sup>16</sup> Resolution of any turn-taking issues results in the successful local management of turns-at-talk, producing a sequence of turn transitions between participants. There are two crucial elements to the turn-taking system.

One of those elements is the composition of a turn-at-talk, which is comprised of one or more *turn constructional units* (TCUs), the length or size of which may be a single linguistic item, phrase, clause, or sentence (Clift, 2016a; Drew, 2004; Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff, 2007c).

For example, a TCU can be comprised of a lexical item:

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<sup>16</sup> ‘Repair’ is an interactional practice speakers use to address potential problems in the current interaction with regards to speaking, hearing, or understanding (Schegloff, 1979b; Schegloff et al., 1977). These repairables are not ‘errors’ to be corrected, but are occasions in which co-participants apply systematic practices to manage the trouble-source(s) and maintain interactional sequence progression (Kitzinger, 2013; Schegloff, 1979b).

**Extract 1: Do You Want Any Food (TF0106.23:00)<sup>17</sup>**

01 EMI                    °er ye:s please.°  
 02 JAN                → sorry?<sup>18</sup>  
 03 EMI                    yes please

It can be a phrase:

**Extract 2: No Dinner (TF0108.17:07)**

01 SIM                    honestly, you are gonna get no dinnah  
 02 CHA                    ↑okay  
 03 SIM                    → none at'all

It can be a clause:

**Extract 3: Oven On (TF0108.06:55)**

01 SIM                    why's the oven on,  
 02 JAN                    → w'l (.) cuz we wanna eat dinna:h

Or a TCU can be a sentence:

**Extract 4: What Am I Doing Tonight Then (TF0104.38:19)**

01 TOM                    what<sup>t</sup> am I: doing tonight then  
 02                            (1.2)  
 03 SIM                    → you're gonna have a nice tea, (0.5) then watch a bit of  
 04                            telly then you're gonna go upstairs n' watch telly in our  
 05                            ro:om

As we do not always speak in complete sentences, in CA, the words that make up a TCU are “to be regarded not in terms of their propositional content, but rather in terms of what they are put together to do in the interaction, and their adequacy (and completeness) for doing that work” (Drew, 2004, p. 80). Speakers construct TCUs such that the action(s) they are

<sup>17</sup> All transcriptions within this thesis were completed by the author whilst using ELAN annotation software, which allowed for the accurate transcription of the included extracts (ELAN, 2022).

<sup>18</sup> Arrows (→) are used here to indicate the lines at which the TCU type being referenced is shown (for instance, in Extract 1, a single lexical item); however, arrows will not be used outside of Chapter 1. CA transcribing methods utilised within this thesis are outlined in Appendix A on pages 272-274.

implementing may be projectable and therefore also project when a TCU may be complete (Sacks et al., 1974):

“...one feature of sentences is that their possible completion can be determined...That is to say, there are ways of producing and attending utterances such that if a sentence form is used, people can be listening while it's happening, to see such things as: It's not yet complete, it's about to end, it just ended. They can do that while it's happening. This is very very fundamental” (Sacks, 1992a, p. 649).

The efficacious construction of these syntactic units aid in the establishment and understanding of *when* a next speaker should start talking, thus playing a crucial role in the mechanics of turn-taking (Clift, 2016a).

The other key factor of the turn-taking system is *turn-allocation*, which involves *who* speaks next and the methods participants use to make that online determination (Clift, 2016a; Sacks et al., 1974). The point at which a TCU is grammatically and understandably complete is called the *transition-relevance place* (TRP); this is the place in a current speaker's turn that projects the point at which the shift to next speaker may occur (Clift, 2016a). Possible TCU or turn completion is projected using grammar, syntax, prosodic features, and pragmatic markers (Clift, 2016a; Sacks et al., 1974). At a TRP, the current speaker will select next speaker, or the next speaker will self-select at what they understand to be a TRP (Clift, 2016a); self-selection by next speaker displays an understanding that the prior speaker was at a TRP and projecting their TCU as complete (Clift, 2016a; Sacks et al., 1974). Parties use techniques to systematically display and ascertain who speaks first or next (self- or other-selection) in an orderly, structural way (Clift, 2016a; Sacks et al., 1974); this distribution of turns-at-talk, the observation of turn-taking 'rules' innate to conversation, lends itself to an organised and methodical model of talk-in-interaction.

### 1.1.2.2 Sequence Organisation

As is indicated with the practice of turn-taking, a cardinal principle of CA is that social interaction is systematically organised (Schegloff, 2007c; Stivers, 2013). Not to be confused with ‘sequential organisation’ or ‘structural organisation’, which deals with the general position of utterances or actions within a conversation, such as the turn-taking system outlined above, *sequence organisation* is the organisation of (courses of) actions (Schegloff, 2007c).

“‘Sequence organization’ is another type of sequential organization. Its scope is the organization of courses of action enacted through turns-at-talk – coherent, orderly, meaningful successions or ‘sequences’ of actions or ‘moves’. Sequences are the vehicles for getting some activity accomplished” (Schegloff, 2007c, p. 2).

Within social interaction, participants are faced with the puzzle of “why that now” (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973, p. 299), as well as figuring out what ‘that’ is and thereby what action is being done by it (Schegloff, 2007c; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). ‘Why that, now’ is an “omnirelevant issue for participants in any bit of talk-in-interaction” (Schegloff, 2007c, p. 2), and plays a significant role in the designing of a turn and the formation and ascription of actions (Clift et al., 2013; Schegloff, 2007c).<sup>19</sup> As participants produce their turns-at-talk and manage the interactional sequence, they analyse and examine what came before and use that to inform what comes after, producing and shaping sequences of action that have a trajectory and some activity to achieve (Clift et al., 2013; Schegloff, 2007c).

In the production of courses of action, the *adjacency pair* is the basic, minimal pairing of turns on which the organisation of many sequences of talk are built (Schegloff, 2007c).<sup>20</sup> An adjacency pair is comprised of two turns produced by two separate participants in an interaction

<sup>19</sup> See below for further discussion of the concepts of turn design (§1.1.2.3) and action formation and ascription (§1.1.2.4).

<sup>20</sup> See Schegloff, 2007c for further discussion and exceptions.

(Clift, 2016a; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). These turns are separated into a first pair part (FPP), which is an initiating action, and a second pair part (SPP), which is the response to that prior action (Clift, 2016a; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). Adjacency pairs are ‘pair-type related’ and sequentially organised under a requirement of ‘nextness’ or ‘conditional relevance’ (Clift, 2016a; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). Adjacency pairs and their pair-relatedness play a huge role in the second and fourth chapter of this study. For example, in a summons-answer sequence:

**Extract 5:** Remote (TF0105.23:12)

01	EMI	mum?	<=	<b>FPP summons</b>
02	JAN	yeah,	<=	<b>SPP answer</b>

Or, in a greetings sequence:

**Extract 6:** Happy Birthday Jane (TF0101.35:43)

01	JAN	↑HIYA	<=	<b>FPP greeting</b>
02		(0.2)		
03	TOM	[Hi	<=	<b>SPP greeting</b>
04	DAV	[Hey	<=	<b>SPP greeting</b>

Adjacency pairs also comprise other, fitted but more complex first and second pair parts such as question-answer and request-granting/refusal; however, all adjacency pairs follow a rubric such that “an adjacency pair is:

- (1) A sequence of two utterances, which are
- (2) adjacent,
- (3) produced by different speakers,
- (4) ordered as a first part and second part, and
- (5) typed, so that a first part requires a particular second part (or range of second parts)” (Heritage, 1984, p. 246).

That said, just because two utterances form an adjacency pair, does not mean they are automatically produced in succession (Heritage, 1984). Rather, adjacency pairs are formed by

the “expectations, understandings and actions of interactants” (Heritage, 1984, pp. 246–247), and the production of a FPP projects a ‘sequentially implicative’ definitive set of relevant SPPs; were the relevant SPP not produced, it would be noticeably absent and marked as accountable by participants (Clift, 2016a; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973).

The concept of social accountability stems from Garfinkel’s focus on how participants in social interaction “achieve a shared or common apprehension of the social world” (Heritage, 1988, p. 127). Garfinkel’s work demonstrates that parties orient towards standards of what is or is not considered normative or moral behaviour through presupposed shared “methods of reasoning” (Heritage, 1988, p. 127), by which parties understand what is happening moment-by-moment in social contexts (Heritage, 1988). These shared, implicit understandings are what render actions as mutually recognisable, understandable, and accountable, and the ways in which participants in interaction account for and formulate explanations for their actions must align with these implicit understandings (Heritage, 1988). These normative and recognisable characteristics of relevance and type-fittedness in adjacency pairs (and their accountability when the standards of relevance and type-fittedness are not met) in turn contribute to the structural organisation of what we identify as *preference*. However, before addressing preference in interaction, I first need to attend to *turn design* and *action formation and ascription* and will return to preference structure to close this section on the organisation of interaction.

### 1.1.2.3 Turn Design

If turn-taking is about the *when* and *who* of an interaction, *turn design* may be considered a part of the *what*. Turn design refers to the construction of a speaker’s turn and addresses several key components of the TCU utterance, one of which is the display of a current utterance’s fittedness to what came in the prior turn (Drew, 2013). Through the construction of their



responding turn, a recipient displays their acknowledgement and understanding of the prior turn, and therefore their current turn's appropriateness as a response (Drew, 2013). Both speakers and recipients make choices in what they say and do through the selection of their turn's embodied and linguistic content and sequential positioning (Drew, 2004). The words speakers and recipients select, and the actions they implement in their specific sequential environment,<sup>21</sup> are all a part of a turn's design. As will be discussed further below when looking at preference in interaction, there is a structural bias towards constructing a turn that provides the appropriate and relevant SPP to a FPP utterance, and speakers will therefore design their turns accordingly; however, speakers and recipients determine in the moment whether or not they will adhere to the conventional contiguity of adjacency pairings (Clift, 2016a).

Besides its position and action implementation, a third aspect of turn design is its intrinsic relevance to its recipient (Drew, 2013). Speakers are continually orienting to whom they are speaking, taking into account the relationship between them and what they assume (they and their recipient know(s) (Drew, 2013). Therefore, turn design largely orients to *what* is uttered and the action being done within the turn, but the *where* within a sequence of talk a turn is produced, as well as *to whom* the turn is directed, additionally have direct bearing on what is uttered (Drew, 2013). *Interaction*, then, is “the contingently connected sequences of turns in which we each ‘act’, and in which the other’s – our recipient’s – response to our turn relies upon, and embodies, his/her understanding of what we are doing and what we meant to convey in our (prior) turn” (Drew, 2013, p. 131).

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<sup>21</sup> The term *environment* is used quite often in CA but can be used in different contexts; the following are the types of ways I use *environment* within this thesis. A ‘sequential environment’ pertains to what is produced ‘within a sequence of talk-in-interaction’. A ‘physical environment’ means within the ‘physical space’, such as a living room, stairwell, hallway, etc. The ‘interactional environment’ is ‘within the social interaction between participants’, which can include the physical and sequential; the interactional environment can also be specified further, for example when referencing a ‘conflict environment’, which reflects that the current interaction is taking place when there are ongoing troubles between the participants that is being made salient within the talk.

#### 1.1.2.4 The Formation and Ascription of Actions

Taking into consideration the when, who, and where in the design of their turns-at-talk, speakers implement actions with their words and bodily movements, and recipients respond to that prior speaker's turn, displaying their analysis of what action(s) the speaker was implementing by constructing their response to fit to the prior turn (Drew, 2013, 2022). CA examines this, looking at how speakers use the aforementioned features of talk to construct and implement actions through the linguistic and embodied compositional content of their turn (*action formation*) and the ways in which recipients display their understanding of those actions (*action ascription*) (Drew, 2013, 2022; Levinson, 2013).

With the astonishing speed at which recipients ascribe actions to a speaker's turn (see Clift, 2016a; Levinson, 2013; Stivers et al., 2009), speakers must design their turns in such a way that the actions they are implementing are recognisable to their recipients, possibly well before they reach a TRP (Levinson, 2013).

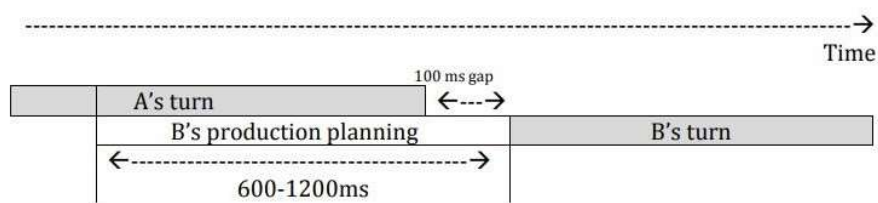


Table 1.1: Overlap of comprehension and production processes in conversation (Levinson, 2013, p. 104)

As seen in Table 1.1, recipients on-line parse a speaker's turn, meaning that recipients ascribe an overall action to the turn-at-talk as it is being produced, and as such, speakers are obliged to formulate their turn in projectable and recognisable ways for their recipients (Levinson, 2013). Action formation and ascription is closely related to the phenomena of turn design and sequence organisation, as the formation of actions is accomplished largely through the design of the speaker's turn, the position of the turn within the sequence in which it is produced, and

the sequential context in which the turn is situated (Clift et al., 2013; Levinson, 2013). Recipients use all of these components to then analyse and ascribe actions to the prior turn-at-talk (Clift et al., 2013; Drew, 2022). It is through the formation of actions that we *do* things, and through the ascription of actions that we attempt to *understand* the things that are being done in social interaction.

#### 1.1.2.5 Preference Organisation and the Cooperative Actions of Alignment and Affiliation

Underlying these brief discussions on turns-at-talk, their design and composition, the formation and ascription of actions, sequential positioning, and the overall organisation of interaction, is this intrinsic notion of *preference*. As can be seen, interaction is a collaborative achievement, one where participants utilise interactional resources to jointly construct courses of action across sequences (Clift et al., 2013; Clift & C. W. Raymond, 2018; Pillet-Shore, 2017). And as noted several times above, *preference* plays a role in this, placing interactional constraints on the co-construction and organisation of talk. From a CA perspective, preference is not something psychological pertaining to a person's wants or wishes; instead, it is an empirical structural phenomenon dealing with ordered, relevant alternatives found across action types (Lerner, 1996; Pillet-Shore, 2017; Stivers & Robinson, 2006).

The structural precepts of preference are realised throughout interactional sequences: from the more 'routine' minimal pairs (such as the greetings in Extract 6), to adjacency pair sequences in which relevant alternative responses implement interactionally *asymmetrical* and *non-equivalent* actions (such as a FPP offer, where acceptance or refusal are two fitted possible – but not equal – responses) (Heritage, 1984; Pillet-Shore, 2017; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). For basic adjacency pairs such as greetings or goodbyes, there is really only one *type* of fitted response: either return greetings or return goodbyes (Schegloff, 2007c). However, most types of sequences make relevant different types of SPP responses, which display different

orientations and alignments to the actions implemented by the FPP (Schegloff, 2007c, p. 58). As Schegloff notes, “sequences are the vehicle for getting some activity accomplished and that response to the first pair part which embodies or favors furthering or the accomplishment of the activity is the favored – or, as we shall term it, the preferred – second pair part” (Schegloff, 2007c, p. 59).

Therefore, preference deals with the both the advancement of and cooperation with an implemented activity, as well as the achievement or realisation of that activity, and so promotes sequence progression (Stivers & Robinson, 2006). Schegloff (2007c) uses the example of a summons-answer sequence to iterate these points: summonses (as will be discussed further in §1.2.3.1.1) are produced to determine the presence and availability for further interaction of a recipient (Schegloff, 1986, 2007c). The two main response types are an answer which gives the go-ahead (indicating their presence and in-the-moment availability) or gives a blocking response (responding by accounting for why they are not available for further talk at this moment) (Schegloff, 2007c). When a recipient answers, they are *aligning* with what the implemented activity (here, the attention-getting summons) was designed to do (Schegloff, 2007c; Stivers et al., 2011). When they answer with a go-ahead-type response, they are also *affiliating* with what the initiated activity was designed to do, and thus supporting social solidarity between participants (Lerner, 1996; Pillet-Shore, 2017; Schegloff, 2007c; Stivers et al., 2011). Therefore, *alignment* refers to support and cooperation on the part of a recipient towards facilitating a speaker’s current and ongoing activity at the structural level (Lee & Tanaka, 2016; Stivers, 2008; Stivers et al., 2011), and *affiliation* refers to cooperation at an action level, where a recipient’s response can aid in furthering the speaker’s initiated activity as well as display the recipient’s stance<sup>22</sup> towards the implemented action(s): “affiliative actions

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<sup>22</sup> *Stance* in this sense deals with the outward display of a participant’s personal state, emotions, opinions, or beliefs (Clift, 2006), and is standardly discussed in terms of *positive* or *negative* stance. This type of stance is discussed throughout this thesis, particularly in relation to greetings in Chapter 4. There is also the notion of

are maximally pro-social when they match the prior speaker’s evaluative stance, display empathy and/or cooperate with the preference of the prior action” (Stivers et al., 2011).

For example, in sequences such as a summons-answer sequence, answering the summons aligns with the activity the summons was deployed to accomplish on a structural level and is therefore preferred; however, the recipient could reveal they are currently unavailable for further talk, therefore not cooperating with the preference of further talk the summons displays, and thus disaffiliating with the implemented FPP on an action level (Stivers & Robinson, 2006):

**Extract 7: Mum and I Would Like to Talk to You (TF0106.03:03)**

01	SIM	→	Emily?
02			(0.4)
03	EMI	→	I’M GOING TO BE:D!
04			(0.7)
05	SIM		Mum and I, would like to talk †to [you.
06	EMI		[I DON'T WANNA
07			†A:LK. (.) (I’ve woken †up being made to
08			†a:lk) ( ) <sup>23</sup>

As we see explicitly stated in line 5 (and as will be discussed further when examining the summons-answer sequence), summonses project further interaction between participants. Answering a summons ‘yeah?’ or ‘I’m going to bed’ are both aligning with the implemented summons action but are non-equivalent answers in that ‘yeah’ affiliates with the implemented action and ‘I’m going to bed’ disaffiliates. Standardly, a disagreeing or disconfirming SPP – this disaffiliation – is to be avoided by co-participants in interaction, as it is *dispreferred* (Schegloff, 2007c).

Preference can be displayed in both initiating and responding actions, and Simon’s summons above initiates an interaction that prefers an aligning and affiliating answer from Emily. However, as C. W. Raymond and Heritage state, “participants’ constitution of, and orientations

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stance in relation to *deontic rights*, and this is discussed further in §1.2.2. I typically use *stance* in reference to the former and clarify when I am referring to stance in the deontic sense.

<sup>23</sup> Emily trails off here/her talk is not picked up by the microphones.

to, preference structures in social interaction are complex and multifarious” (2021, p. 61), which is largely due to participants’ abilities to orient to multiple preferences in an interactional sequence (Pomerantz & Heritage, 2013). For example, Tom displays multiple preferences in his FPP enquiry at line 4:

**Extract 8:** Can I Not Go to School (TF0103.04:37)

```

01 TOM          mummy:::z
02              (0.6)
03 JAN          °yeah°
04 TOM          → can I not go t' schoo:l
05 JAN          → ↓no

```

There are two types of preferences present in Tom’s FPP request: the action type (seeking permission) which displays Tom’s stance towards (not) going to school and prefers agreement, and the polar format of the turn (in this case, a negative interrogative ‘can I not’) which structurally prefers a negatively valenced ‘no’ response (Clift, 2016a; G. Raymond, 2003). In the next turn, Tom produces a stance-reiterating assessment that Jane sympathises with, whilst subsequently re-affirming that he cannot stay home:

```

06 TOM          °°*I don't wanna ↓go::*°°
07 JAN          I know you don't but .hhh >you ↑got t' go t' ↓schoo:l<

```

In the case of Extract 8, Tom’s enquiry at line 4 gives an indication of his current state regarding school but is still disaffiliated by Jane. Tom makes a second attempt to seek affiliation with Jane by producing a declarative assessment at line 6; which, due to Tom and Jane’s now mutual access to Tom’s current state, makes relevant a response from Jane that claims a similar access and thus agrees with Tom’s assertion (Heritage & G. Raymond, 2005, p. 23). There are again cross-cutting preferences, but as this continuation of the extract exhibits, when multiple preferences conflict, participants have institutionalised methods available to them to manage and mitigate these conflicts (Pomerantz & Heritage, 2013). Although Tom and Jane disagree

on Tom staying home from school, and therefore social solidarity between them is undermined, Tom has interactional resources he can implement to mitigate the disaffiliation between them; for example, producing his turn at line 6 in such a way that in order for Jane to produce a preferred response, she should agree with his assessment, which she in turn does. So, whilst there are many factors and implications at play in interaction (here amongst them being a mother-son interaction and the social acceptability of skipping school), preference ultimately has to do with sequential progression, social camaraderie, and the systematic practices “speakers use for managing and producing affiliative and disaffiliative actions and their aggregate consequences. The primary consequence of these practices is to promote the production of preferred responses and to limit the occasions for, and consequences of, dispreferred responses” (G. Raymond, 2003, pp. 943–944). It is through preference organisation that we can see how interactional phenomena such as affiliation and cooperation may be systematically achieved through the production of initiating and responding actions and the progression through sequences of action (Pillet-Shore, 2017; Pomerantz & Heritage, 2013; Stivers & Robinson, 2006). Preference, affiliation, and alignment are all interactional phenomena that will be heavily explored throughout this thesis in the specific actions and sequences in which they are displayed.

Now that I have laid out some basic principles of CA and looked at the analytic methods I use within this study, as well as presented overviews of pertinent terminology and concepts within that method, I will now move on to examining key topics directly relevant to this project. I will go further in depth with these concepts in their relevant chapters but will give brief introductions to these matters here.

## 1.2 Previous Relevant CA Research

In this section, I will first discuss identity in social interaction, looking at the ways identity and membership categories impact the construction of social action (§1.2.1). I will then address a major theme throughout this thesis, which is the claiming and displaying of deontic rights (concerning entitlement and authority in the determination of actions) in interaction (§1.2.2). Next, the initiating actions examined within this thesis will be briefly introduced, where I first look at the “opening phase” of interaction (Pillet-Shore, 2018b, p. 213), specifically discussing summons-answer and greetings sequences as core sequences within the opening phase, as well as discuss interrogatives, with a specific focus on suggestions and complaints (§1.2.3). I will then explore previous CA literature using family interaction for the study of social action (§1.2.4), and then conclude with a discussion on the physical and interactional space, and their relation to embodied actions in talk-in-interaction (§1.2.5).

### 1.2.1 Identity in Social Interaction

*Identity* roles are an important aspect of understanding and formulating recognisable actions in turns-at-talk, and the intersection of identity realisation and the ways in which a participant composes their actions is the locus for the creation of social structures and patterns (Clift, 2016a; G. Raymond & Heritage, 2006). As such, the co-construction of identity by familial parties and its relationship with claiming of deontic rights is of particular import to family interaction in domestic space. From a CA perspective, identity is socially and sequentially constructed and oriented to by participants through the implementation of actions in everyday talk, created through interactional context rather than through externally generated categories (Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998; Clift, 2016a).



This important matter of identity was first introduced through the concept of *membership categorisation* by Harvey Sacks in the early 1960s when he was working on the aforementioned suicide call centre telephone calls (Schegloff, 2007a). Sacks's work led to his formulation of what he called the *membership categorisation device*, where the words speakers use and how those words are interpreted and understood by recipients is a 'device' that groups participants into 'membership' of shared social groups based on 'category-bound' features or characteristics (Schegloff, 2007a). Categories are 'common-sense' references, such as 'sibling', 'student', 'gamer', 'American', that form 'collections' or *memberships* – that is, a set of categories that 'go together'; ['son'/'daughter'/'offspring'], ['doctor'/'dentist'/'lecturer'...], ['lecturer'/'student'/'administration'...] are collections comprised of different membership categories (Schegloff, 2007a). Parties can be linked to many membership categories and identities, and these can apply across contexts and occasions, be invoked in relation to a speaker and a speaker's co-participant(s) both explicitly and implicitly through the talk, and sometimes be made relevant on a particular occasion, where identities can change moment-by-moment; it is what is made relevant to the involved parties that is of consequence in a given interaction.

Social roles and identities are not always overtly referenced in the talk, which can present a puzzle for the analyst; however, some of the most compelling CA research on identity has been done by examining data where categories are not overtly invoked, such as work (discussed further below) by G. Raymond and Heritage (2006), where identity is made relevant through action implementation rather than explicit mention. In other instances, talk may overtly invoke some identities whilst implicitly make relevant others, such as in this next excerpt. Here, Jane and Simon are confronting Emily about consistently calling out sick to work:

**Extract 9: Nineteen-Year-Old Woman (TF0101.10:22)**

01 JAN                 well I'm ↑Asking ↓you what [you're gonna do about=it  
 02 EMI   [↑wḥy:  
 03 JAN                 → I'm asking a nineteen year old woman .hh what she's  
 04                         gonna do:  
 05                         (0.6)  
 06 EMI                 sort it out: ↑aren't I:

Amongst the social roles that are explicitly invoked in this extract ('nineteen-year-old' and 'woman'), the category of 'mum' is not one of them. About inexplicit identities, Schegloff made the following observation when analysing a particular set of data:

“...in data Chuck Goodwin collected on an oceanographic research vessel, someone appears on deck with a complicated piece of equipment and says, ‘where next?’ In the discussion of how to characterize the action this turn was doing – ‘request for instructions’ or ‘offers of further help’ – the issue was recurrently made to turn on who the speaker and addressee, respectively *were*, in hierarchical structure terms. If we could stipulate to the identity of the parties, we could get a solution to the characterization of the action” (2007a, p. 473, emphasis in original).

However, even without previous knowledge of Jane’s relationship to Emily, we can still see how Jane implicitly identifies herself as a mother speaking to her child. Particularly, we can see the frustration and complaining between an exasperated mother and a defiant and independent young adult child, and these identities are made salient even though the parties involved do not overtly make reference to their familial roles or their relationship to one another, because identity is constructed through action. With data as rich as *The Family*, where recordings span months for 24-hours per day, this sort of background identity information is accessible because it is known apart from what is explicitly uttered in the data; however, it is evident that even without external information, relationships between parties and the interactional environments in which instances occur can be visible regardless.

Familial membership categories such as sibling, child, or parent, are of particular relevance to this thesis, and these invocations (explicit and implicit) have bearing on even the initiation of interaction. As Schegloff states, “a variety of terms may be used to begin conversation and their propriety is geared to the identity, purposes, and relationships of either or both parties” (Schegloff, 1968, p. 1077). These aspects of social categorisation need not be overtly invoked in an interaction to be relevant but are co-constructed by participants and underlie the very words people use and the ways they are understood by others. Contexts are built by participants on a turn-by-turn basis, and therefore participants’ membership categories cannot be dismissed. It is by the very organisation of talk – the “systematic consequence of the turn-taking organisation of conversation” (Sacks et al., 1974, p. 728) – that “contexts are created, sustained, and ultimately rendered visible in talk” (Clift, 2016a, p. 139). Indeed, the key to using CA as a method of analysis, is that CA “regards context as not external to the talk, but generated by it: the context is in the sequence” (Clift, 2016a, p. 273).

Having access to external circumstances should not impinge or overly influence the analysis in any way, but as Sacks observed with the medium of culture, recognisable actions are generated through the familial roles and identities that co-participants orient to in an interaction, which contributes to the understanding of the actions being implemented and demonstrates further the relationship between social identity and conduct in interaction (G. Raymond & Heritage, 2006). G. Raymond and Heritage, in their paper on the demonstration of identity through epistemic knowledge, state:

“...efforts to illuminate social structure are deepened, improved, and made more compelling whenever analysts can establish resources for explicating how participants’ embodiment of different identities is relevant for actions in interactions, and thereby consequential for the outcomes produced through them” (2006, p. 678).

In this paper, G. Raymond and Heritage demonstrate identity as being made relevant and consequential by parties in interaction through “rights to identity-bound knowledge”, also known as, “the epistemics of social relations” (2006, p. 678). *Epistemic rights* refers to the primary rights that speakers claim regarding domains of knowledge in interaction (Clift, 2016a). *Epistemic status* relates to each participants’ degree of familiarity regarding a territory of knowledge with respect to one another (Clift, 2016a; Mondada, 2013a). However, as interaction is collaborative and is constantly negotiated by participants in the moment, the recognition of epistemic status is not static. As such, *epistemic stance* is used to describe this moment-by-moment construction through the talk of ‘who knows what’ by participants (Clift, 2016a; Mondada, 2013a). Parties therefore manage and negotiate each other’s identities through the construction of their turns, the content of their turns, and throughout the interaction by making epistemic claims to primacy and privilege in various domains of knowledge (Clift, 2016a; G. Raymond & Heritage, 2006).<sup>24</sup>

Although participants in social interaction can claim epistemic rights as a means of invoking identity, it is not the only resource they have. Jane also makes a claim in the extract above, but instead of claiming primary rights to *previously* obtained knowledge and information, she

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<sup>24</sup> Although I only briefly reference epistemic rights in the analysis of my data, and a full discussion of this aspect of interaction is outside the scope of this thesis, it serves to briefly share here how one may make implicit claims to epistemic knowledge within a turn-at-talk. Take for example when a speaker makes an assessment regarding an object (‘the lake is so calm right now’) or another individual (‘isn’t she sweet?’). By producing an assessment first, speakers are implicitly claiming primary rights to evaluate the referent being assessed (Heritage & G. Raymond, 2005). Due to the nature of social interaction and the turn-taking system it follows, this means that a responding, agreeing assessment is claiming secondary access to the matter at hand by virtue of its ‘secondness’ (Heritage & G. Raymond, 2005). Participants can combat these implications, however, as a speaker in first position may downgrade their assessment (‘the lake is so calm right now, isn’t it?’) so as to contend the implication that they are claiming primary rights to evaluate the referent, and recipients may upgrade their assessments (‘oh, she’s an absolute doll’) to claim epistemic primacy and independence in their second position agreeing assessment (Heritage & G. Raymond, 2005). By looking at turn design and sequential position in speakers’ differential rights to make assessments, we are provided a means of indexing ‘authority’ through territories of knowledge (Heritage & G. Raymond, 2005). They then build upon these observations, and apply them to the aspect of identity, as referenced above. By examining assessment sequences in a telephone call between friends, G. Raymond and Heritage (2006) demonstrate how identities can be made relevant and consequential through the production of agreeing assessments and the local management and negotiation of the talk.

makes a claim to obtain now as-yet *unknown* information, displaying a *lower* epistemic stance and orienting to Emily's current claim to a *higher* epistemic status in regard to her work plans. This orientation to epistemic primacy exhibits Emily's role as 'employee' – an adult who is responsible for their own conduct, and the one who will implement actions in relation to their work – but it does not necessarily demonstrate other identities Jane or Emily could invoke. The claim on the right to be told what Emily's decisions are invokes Jane's identity as mother, not through claims of epistemic primacy, but through claims to *deontic rights*.

### 1.2.2 Deontic Rights in Interaction

An overarching theme of this project is this concept of *deontic rights* in talk-in-interaction. Deontics within CA has been an emergent topic in recent years, and although the moment-by-moment negotiation of deontic authority and entitlement emerges naturally within family interaction, deontics has bearing on all domains of social interaction. Deontics is the domain covering the claimed authority to determine a person's actions, the authority to define what those actions should be, and the authority to determine which is the best or most desirable outcome of those next actions (Stevanovic & Svennevig, 2015), and the rights, entitlement, and authority of an individual has a profound impact on the way that family members interact with one another.<sup>25</sup>

The notion of deontics includes several layers of interactional import. Deontic authority and entitlement pertains to “the legitimate power to determine actions” (Stevanovic, 2013, p. 18) and deontic rights encompasses the ways in which this authority and entitlement may be managed amongst co-participants (Stevanovic, 2013). Deontic rights have traditionally been

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<sup>25</sup> When speaking about deontics, I will refer to *entitlement* and *authority* often together as one may claim the entitlement to implement a particular action as well as display entitlement and authority in that claim. I use one, the other, or both, as they seemed most appropriate in the discussion of the sequences.

discussed through the lenses of *stance* and *status*, similar to its counterpart, epistemic rights (where parties make claims to authority in a domain of knowledge vis-à-vis one another) (Stevanovic, 2013). Deontic *stance* relates to the claim a participant makes regarding the weight of their deontic authority over a co-participant in a certain area (Stevanovic, 2013). Deontic *status*, on the other hand, is “the deontic rights that a certain person *has* in a certain domain, irrespective of whether they momentarily *claim* these rights or not” (Stevanovic, 2013, p. 26, emphasis in original). However, as it will be treated in this thesis and is discussed many times, deontic rights are not static, they are not something that someone *has* or *possesses*, and so I will not be referring to the deontic aspects of *stance* or *status* in this way. Instead, I will refer to one’s deontic rights as something parties claim and display *in the moment*, recognising the joint negotiation and collaboration that parties in interaction achieve (M. H. Goodwin, 2002; Kent, 2012b). This means then, that speakers make *claims* to deontic entitlement and authority which are then *displayed* through the implementation of actions throughout the sequence of talk. Claims are made on a spectrum, where a party may make a highly entitled deontic claim (and therefore display high/strong entitlement) or they may make a less entitled deontic claim (and therefore display low/weak entitlement); different actions in situ display different levels of claimed entitlement and the strength of these claims is overtly displayed by the claimant through linguistic and embodied actions (Stevanovic & Svennevig, 2015).

The implications of deontics is recognisable in all types of social action. Particularly salient when looking at sequence initiation, is the claims participants make when they “initiate, maintain, or close up local sequences of conversational action” (Stevanovic, 2015, p. 86). That is not to say that the very initiation of interaction is making a deontic claim, but that in the construction of an initiating action, speakers may display their entitled claims to deontic authority. For instance, in Extract 4 (repeated from §1.1.2.1) it is Valentine’s Day, and Simon has been making a nice dinner for him and Jane to eat that evening. Simon has decorated the

dining room with flowers and hearts and has set out place settings for two people. He is at the computer, listening to music and putting together a playlist for them to listen to whilst eating, when Tom walks into the dining room and produces line 1:

**Extract 4 (reprised):** What Am I Doing Tonight Then (TF0104.38:19)

01	TOM	wha <sup>t</sup> am <u>I</u> : doing tonight then
02		(1.2)
03	SIM	you're gonna have a nice tea, (0.5) then watch a <u>bit</u> of
04		telly then you're gonna go upstairs n' watch telly in our
05		ro:om
06		(1.0)
07	TOM	hhhhh.
08		(0.4)
09	SIM	okayζ
10		(2.6)
11	TOM	no::.
12		(4.0)
13	SIM	↓I think you are.
14		(2.0)

We can see, even in this brief interaction between Simon and Tom, deontic rights are claimed in the moment by participants and are subject to constant potential change. An initial complaint-implicative enquiry such as Tom makes at line 1 claims some deontic entitlement; however, the format of the enquiry claims low entitlement to planning out his evening activities.<sup>26</sup> In turn, Simon lays out for Tom, in the declarative form, bit-by-bit what his plans are for Tom that evening, claiming a high deontic entitlement, particularly in light of Tom asking, which speakers do not always do. After an initial highly entitled announcement of Tom's evening plans, Simon claims a lower deontic entitlement in the moment at line 9 as he shifts from telling (lines 3-5) to asking (Craven & Potter, 2010). Tom also alters his previous claim to authority,

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<sup>26</sup> It is not clear due to editing whether Tom was informed earlier that this would not be a typical evening for him and that he would be restricted in where within the house he could go, or if he could see when he came into the dining room that the table was elaborately set for two, but his enquiry is formatted as a disaffiliative complaint as indexed by the turn-final 'then' – marking this turn as a response directly related to a previous turn – and the emphasis on 'I:': both indicating that it has somehow been made evident that Tom is going to be doing something other than what everyone else at home (which will only be Simon, Jane, and Tom) is doing. However, as there is no previous turn in this interaction – Tom has just entered the room from upstairs – the construction of his turn ostensibly relates to the visual access he now has to the decorative surroundings. Chapter 4 looks further at sequence-initial interrogative complaints.

claiming a higher entitlement in telling Simon ‘no’ with no elaboration or account for his refusal (going from asking to outright resistance) (Clift, 2016a; Craven & Potter, 2010). Simon then once again claims high entitlement in reiterating that that is what Tom will be doing.<sup>27</sup>

With family interaction, assumed familial roles – especially between parents and young children – means there can be degrees of deontic asymmetry displayed between participants (Kent, 2012a). The Hughes family has three teenage children at home – one even at the age where moving out would not be seen as unusual – and teenagers are standardly given more agency and autonomy over their conduct and decisions than younger children as they grow towards independence. Although Tom does ultimately do what Simon says on this occasion, that is not always the case, and we can see the resistance and back and forth of who will claim deontic authority in each moment. Although these displays of deontic incongruence are present in all types of interactions between parents and children of any age, the claims to entitlement in this thesis are over broader domains of action than in previous work on family interaction in CA.<sup>28</sup> For instance, interaction between parents and younger children is more focussed on parents issuing directives regarding table manners and getting ready for bed, and whilst that is not to say that these topics do not also get addressed in the Hughes household, relationships between parents and teenagers are more complex, and instances of ears being pierced without permission, staying out at all hours of the night, skipping work, skipping school, and other areas of behaviour open a much wider area of analysis – both in activities and levels of autonomy – than previous work has had the opportunity to explore. We will see in the chapters to come the ways that relationships between parent and teenage child are managed through

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<sup>27</sup> Even though ‘I think’ could be considered to be hedging or claiming a lower epistemic stance, in this sequential position after a lot of deontic negotiation and resistance, ‘I think’ is more so reaffirming what Simon previously said, especially when produced with ‘you *are*’ rather than ‘you *should*’. Ultimately, we see that Tom does in fact proceed with his evening as Simon first laid out.

<sup>28</sup> §1.2.4 will contain further discussion of previous CA literature on family interaction and will clarify my distinction between CA work that utilises family data and CA work on family interaction.



interaction. In Chapter 2, Simon attempts to enter Tom's bedroom but before coming in, he leaves space in the talk for Tom to grant (or not grant) him permission to enter; parents of younger children do not recognise these sorts of autonomous displays for various reasons, and younger children are not given the freedom (or opportunity in the first place) to allow or disallow their parent to enter their bedroom. In that extract, Tom is getting dressed, another activity that at some point, a parent stops doing with or for their child. In these types of interactions (particularly ones around the notion of private bedrooms), we see that whilst raising a child, a parent's respect for their space and bodily autonomy is a part of the process of the child growing up and gaining independence. Within the course of a child's development, there comes a point at which the opportunity to 'do for oneself' will eventually come about. The 'when' will vary by family and individuals, but it is likely that it is as a child is approaching puberty that these sorts of family dynamics around individuality, agency, and independence start to emerge.<sup>29</sup>

Because interaction is done collaboratively and parties manage and negotiate talk by orienting to various social and interactional contingencies, deontic rights is "ubiquitous to human social interaction" (Stevanovic, 2015, p. 85). Family interaction – with the interplay of identities, activities, and preference relevancies in interaction – is a natural medium for the exploration of deontics as an ever-present aspect of social relationships, and this data especially gives an unprecedented opportunity in which to make these observations, particularly within the very openings of interactional sequences. I will discuss some previous CA literature that uses family interactional data in §1.2.4, but suffice it to say, family interaction between parents and teenagers and parents and young children – both being subject to deontic claims of entitlement and authority – display similarities and differences in the ways activities and domains of

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<sup>29</sup> See Abbott-Chapman & Robertson, 1999; Bertin, 2018; Fasulo et al., 2007; Lincoln, 2012; Rodman, 1965 for non-CA work on adolescence and emerging independence.

autonomy and agency are oriented to, and this thesis fills a gap in the growing study of talk-in-interaction both from a family-oriented and interactional perspective.

### 1.2.3 The Openings of Interaction

The openings of interaction (whether part of a minimal, discrete adjacency pair or the initiations of an extended occasion of talk) have long been a point of particular interest with conversation analysts, stemming from the early telephone call recordings obtained by Harvey Sacks. Although it may appear to be ritualistic or *routine*, the opening of an interaction – as we will see throughout this thesis – is in fact a place where a great deal of interactional work is accomplished (Harjunpää et al., 2018; Robinson, 2013; Schegloff, 1986). Openings are where the work of “regulating access to and projecting the shape of conversational encounters, constituting and aligning relationships between participants, and organizing ‘talkables’ – the collection of mentionable items that could be inserted into a given exchange of talk” (Whalen & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 173) is done. One aspect of this is ‘gatekeeping’ (Schegloff, 1979a, 1986): a liminal act that assists in the determination of whether parties are going to engage with the initiation and continuation of an interaction, and where turn-by-turn negotiation on how they will jointly enter into and coordinate the interaction, occurs (Pillet-Shore, 2018a, 2018b; Schegloff, 1979a, 1986; Whitehead & Baldry, 2018). Another aspect is the establishing and re-establishing of the relationship between participants and constituting what the interaction will be about (Pillet-Shore, 2018a, 2018b; Schegloff, 1986; Whitehead & Baldry, 2018).

Openings in talk-in-interaction are negotiated turn-by-turn by participants, and are therefore subject to the agendas or tasks of the individuals involved, where the introduction of any sort of topic or pre-emption can steer the interaction in all manner of directions (Schegloff, 1986). As the orderly management of interaction is the vehicle through which society gets things done (Schegloff, 1986), the opening of an interaction is a joint achievement that lays the groundwork

for the exchange to come, making this enduring focus on how we begin our social interactions apropos.

### 1.2.3.1 The Opening Phase of Interaction

The opening of an interaction can be initiated through a core *set* of sequences which constitute the *opening phase* of interaction. The sequences comprised within the opening phase of interaction were originally observed through the analysis of telephone calls, but as will be seen in chapters 2 and 4, are also utilised in co-present interaction as well;<sup>30</sup> these are: the summons-answer sequence, the identification/recognition sequence, the greetings sequence, and the ‘howareyou’ sequence (Schegloff, 1986). I will talk about the features of each of these distinct sequences in greater depth through the course of this thesis, but there are two core opening sequences – the summons-answer and greetings sequences – which I will briefly introduce here as they are of particular import in the initiation of in-person interaction in the data included in the chapters to follow.

#### 1.2.3.1.1 The Summons-Answer Pre-Sequence

The summons-answer sequence is comprised of a minimal adjacency pair of the summons – classically regarded as an “attention-getting device” (Schegloff, 1968, p. 1080) – and the answer, which exhibits the presence and the in-the-moment attention of the summons recipient. The summons may be deployed through various means such as uttered words or physical devices such as telephones (Schegloff, 1968). In the data included in this thesis, summonses are deployed verbally through address terms (a recipient’s name or familial role such as ‘mum’)

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<sup>30</sup> Although much of CA literature talks about non-telephonic interaction as *face-to-face*, there are times within this thesis where interaction is not done face-to-face in the literal sense. Instead of designating some interaction as face-to-face, I make the distinction that all of my data is *in-person* interaction and use *co-presence* rather than ‘face-to-face’ in the designation of what type of interaction is occurring. I then make the distinction between the co-presence of being in the house together and *same-room* co-presence, and it is made clear when parties share same-room/proximal co-presence.

or what we standardly may regard as a greeting term (Chapter 4 in part examines ‘hello’ summonses), as well as by knocking on a door (much of Chapter 2 addresses these kinds of summonses). Answers can include (amongst other responses) ‘yeah’, ‘what’ or ‘hello’ in return, each implementing different actions as SPP answers to a summons, but all of which embody a ‘go-ahead’ response (Schegloff, 2007c).<sup>31</sup> Once an answer has been given by the recipient, the summons-answer sequence is closed, and the summoner then proceeds to the base sequence (that is, the reason-for-the-summons) (Schegloff, 1968).

The summons-answer sequence is what Schegloff called a “generic pre-sequence” (Schegloff, 2007c, p. 58). Pre-sequences are sequences in their own right, deployed with the express purpose of preceding another sequence, a feature characterised as “nonterminality” by Schegloff (1968, p. 1081). These pre-sequences adumbrate impending further action(s) and are deployed to establish the successful progression into the business or the reason-for-the-summons that the summoner seeks to initiate (Schegloff, 1968, 2007c).<sup>32</sup> Although not the only type, the summons-answer sequence is a prime example of nonterminality,<sup>33</sup> and a summons is used as a tool from the very beginnings of interaction when two people have not yet established co-presence to instances when parties may be in the midst of an ongoing interaction but attention has waned (Schegloff, 1968, 2007c).

Especially in in-person interaction where parties are not in the same room, the initiation of interaction is potentially vulnerable to mishearings, misunderstandings, or not being heard at all, and the summons-answer sequence standardly provides a means of seeking and obtaining

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<sup>31</sup> Schegloff (2007c, p. 49) notes that when a recipient answers a summons in the form of a question, such as ‘what’, the following talk is not answering a question that has been posed by ‘what’ (and therefore not the SPP to an enquiry); rather, the summoner is then responding to a go-ahead SPP answer to the FPP summons, and the ensuing talk is the base FPP that was projected as forthcoming by the initial deployment of the summons.

<sup>32</sup> If/when further interaction does not come, it is highly accountable, which attests to the summons-answer sequence’s nonterminality (Schegloff, 1968).

<sup>33</sup> A pre-announcement sequence, such as ‘guess what’-‘what’, is another example of a non-terminal pre-sequence.

another's attention prior to launching the base sequence (the business) of the interaction (Schegloff, 2007c).<sup>34</sup> Simon demonstrates this here, by summoning Charlotte whilst off camera, from a small toilet next to the staircase (a full layout of the Hughes family home is found in Appendix C on pages 276-277). Charlotte and Emily are in the living room with the television on after dinner, and Charlotte is lying down with her eyes closed as if asleep. The dining room is in between where Simon and Charlotte are, and Tom is in the dining room on the phone.

**Extract 10:** Charlotte and the Dishwasher (TF0102.15:23)

```

01 SIM      → Charlo:tte;
02           >>half off cam in the toilet -->
03           (0.2)^(0.7)@(2.5)@^(1.9)
04 sim      -->^exits toilet->
05           @cam to EMI and CHA in living room->
06           ->@cam to SIM (1.13)-->
07           ->^walking into dining room-->
08 SIM      → pt ↓Char↓lotte. hh.
09           (0.9)^(1.1)
10 sim      -->^passes cam on way to living room (1.16)-->
11 SIM      → Charlotte;
12           (0.2)@@(0.3)
13           -->@cam goes back to living room-->>
14 emi      @looking at SIM -->>
15 SIM      could you ^guys
16           -->^comes into view, continues to living room-->
17           (0.3)^(0.2)
18 sim      -->^claps once
19 SIM      sort out thee (.) >↓dish↓washer<

           ((omitted 7 lines of talk between EMI and SIM totalling (6.2)))

20 SIM      ^>could you<
21           ^begins pulling CHA's foot and leg off the sofa-->
22           (0.3)
23 CHA      → +can you ↑not see ↓that I'm^ tryna slee::p.
24           +tries to kick SIM's hand off her foot
25 sim      -->^lets go of CHA's foot
26           (0.4)
27 SIM      → yeah I can ↓but I'm not taking any no:tice

```

<sup>34</sup> In Chapter 3, I examine interactions initiated without any sort of opening or pre-sequence, and I will discuss the implications of where co-participants are when they launch these sequences.

Once a summons has been issued, recipients have the option to answer in some way or not respond at all, with both options implementing some kind of action. However, an answer is conditionally relevant, which Simon demonstrates by reissuing the summons three times before he reaches the living room. The completion of the summons-answer sequence (especially with a go-ahead-type answer) standardly indicates *mutual* availability permitting progression of the now joint activity (Schegloff, 1968); conversely, an unanswered summons tacitly claims current *unavailability* (Schegloff, 1968). In not answering Simon, Charlotte is prioritising her current activity of ‘tryna slee::p.’, which she overtly points out at line 23 and which Simon explicitly acknowledges he is disattending at line 27. By making the claim that she is ‘tryna slee::p.’, Charlotte demonstrates that she *did* previously hear Simon and was ignoring his summons, claiming in-the-moment unavailability by not answering and showing Simon – once he could see her – that she was ‘asleep’. In doing so, Charlotte treats sleeping as a reasonable account for why a summons may not be answered and as something Simon should have inferred from her non-response: “if one person sees another lying on a couch or a bed with eyes closed and calls their name and receives no answer, he takes it that that person is asleep or feigning sleep” (Schegloff, 1968, p. 1086). As Charlotte implies, when someone is sleeping, the standard social observation is to let the person sleep and do what you can to facilitate that. However, as we see in line 27, interaction between parents and their children – especially when there is a chore to be done – may flout these societal norms. Here, Simon is ignoring Charlotte’s ‘sleeping’ just as Charlotte was hearing but ignoring Simon’s summonses.<sup>35</sup>

In answering a summons, the recipient is committing to at least hearing what the summons was about, regardless of whether they subsequently attend to the reason for the summons once they have heard it (Schegloff, 1968). In (hearing but) not answering a summons, there is potential

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<sup>35</sup> By not answering the summons and Simon disattending her ‘sleeping’, both Simon and Charlotte make claims to deontic entitlement, as will be further explored in Chapter 2.

to delay the as-yet unstated reason for the summons or delay having to further participate in the joint activity (take this excerpt for instance, where children are potentially being summoned to do something they may not want to do) (Schegloff, 1968).<sup>36</sup> In this instance, due to not receiving an immediate answer from Charlotte, and her presence in the home already being previously established, Simon continues to issue the summons, again orienting to the constraint of an answer succeeding a summons,<sup>37</sup> until he gets to the living room – thereby establishing same-room co-presence – where he finally launches the reason for the summons at lines 15 and 19. Simon then proceeds to entreat Charlotte to respond in some way by adding embodied actions – such as poking her (during the omitted lines of talk with Emily) – to his verbal actions. It is only when Simon starts to make a request and pulls at her foot that Charlotte also employs both verbal and embodied actions to respond.

Regardless of the two responses to the summonses in extracts 7 and 10, Simon produces the reason for the summons: in Extract 7 he issues it after Emily answers that she is going to bed, and in Extract 10 it is after Simon establishes physical co-presence with Charlotte and sees her feigning sleep. In other types of adjacency pair sequences – such as question-answer – the speaker *may* speak again after the question-answer requirement has been satisfied, but they are not obliged to do so; in pre-sequences like the summons-answer sequence, however, the summoner is constrained to speak again, even if it is to tell the recipient ‘never mind’ and account for why they are not able to proceed with further interaction (Schegloff, 1968). This constraint to give the reason for the summons is so strong that in Extract 10, Simon produces it even though his recipient has not actually answered him.<sup>38</sup> As we saw in Extract 7, this same

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<sup>36</sup> Indeed, in the continuation of this extract Charlotte proceeds to argue with Simon about ruining her ‘sleep’ rather than attending to the job he has asked her to do.

<sup>37</sup> In Chapter 4, I will also address a summons which is deployed to an empty household.

<sup>38</sup> Simon even gives the reason for the summons in Extract 7, even though ‘I’m going to bed’ could be a reasonable response for why Emily would be unavailable for further interaction. Although Simon could have accepted that, there are further contingencies involved as Simon and Jane want to have a meeting to discuss Emily’s recent poor behaviour, and deontics and identity roles more likely shape how that sequence progresses than the constraint to speak again after a summons is answered, especially in the face of a blocking response.

constraint applies to recipients: when a recipient answers a summons, if they cannot further engage in the interaction (either for a moment or indefinitely), they too must account for this. These summons-answer sequence extracts serve to demonstrate why we say that interaction is managed and negotiated moment-by-moment by co-participants: a summoner summons for a purpose, and although they may not in-the-moment be able to continue with the interaction, they can account for this. Likewise, a recipient may or may not answer, but a summoner can still issue the reason for the summons. Attention and availability cannot be forced nor are they static, and availability in the moment does not equate to commitment to ongoing interaction (Schegloff, 1968). Either way, as the seemingly very ‘routine’ summons-answer pre-sequence demonstrates, interaction is co-constructed and co-participants are accountable for the actions they implement.

#### 1.2.3.1.2 The Greetings Sequence

As with the summons-answer sequence, the greetings sequence is another core sequence within the opening phase of interaction (Sacks, 1992b; Schegloff, 1986). Greetings can comprise discrete reciprocal sequences in their own right, wherein the sequence is recognisably complete when a minimal adjacency pair is constructed of an issued and reciprocated greeting. For example, in this sequence, Jane is just arriving home and is greeted by Simon. Jane replies with a greeting, completing the greetings sequence:

#### **Extract 11:** Simon Greeting Jane (TF0104.39:31)

```
01 SIM          ↑hi↓!
02              (0.2)
03 JAN          ↑hello::
```

The greetings sequence can be comprised of lexical items (such as ‘hello’, ‘hi’, ‘hiya’, ‘hey’, or ‘good afternoon’, etc) or embodied gestures (such as hand waving, a nod, a smile, an



eyebrow flash, or holding a hand up, etc), which people use to acknowledge others and welcome them into a shared physical and interactional space (Firth, 1972; Pillet-Shore, 2012; Schegloff, 1986). Whilst all of these can do *greeting*, they of course implement different types of actions in the sequences in which they are produced; for example, ‘hello’ may be used to implement a greeting, but (as will be further explored in Chapter 4) may also implement a summons.

Unlike the summons-answer sequence, a greetings sequence is *not* non-terminal and thus may constitute the entirety of the interaction (Hoey, 2017; Sacks, 1975; Schegloff, 1986) (although – as we will see in Chapter 4 – it is not necessarily the case in family interaction). So, once the greetings sequence is complete, whilst further talk may be produced, further talk is not a prerequisite for the production of a greeting, nor is any further talk necessarily projected by its production.<sup>39</sup> Another feature of greetings is *when* they are produced in talk-in-interaction. Within the sequential organisation of an interaction, they are standardly produced at the beginning (Sacks, 1975). Within social interaction in general, they are “ahistorically relevant” (Sacks, 1975, p. 64), meaning a greeting can be exchanged between two people the very first time they meet and the thousandth time they meet. However, greetings do not necessarily occur *every* time parties meet. So, for families who live in the same household, there may be an indeterminate length of time that must pass before the production of a greeting is made relevant again; standardly, two people would not greet each other, leave the room, come back together, and then greet each other again. Likewise, with members of the same household, physical distance may be a factor for when a greeting is produced when parties come together; so, if one is out in the back garden for several hours on a sunny afternoon, a greeting upon re-entering

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<sup>39</sup> As will be explored in further detail, if the interaction is extended beyond the greetings sequence, it can progress in several ways. As with any interaction, co-participants organise their talk jointly and interactions, whilst organised in systematic ways, may or may not include certain elements dependent upon the parties and the context in which they are coming together.

the house again may not be warranted, but being out shopping for an afternoon does make relevant a greeting upon arrival back home. In this extract,<sup>40</sup> Jane has been out for the afternoon wedding dress shopping with their eldest daughter, Jessica:

**Extract 12:** Simon Says Hello (TF0108.21:23b)

```

01 SIM          helloo:t
02              (0.6)
03 JAN          ↑helloo:h!
04              (1.2)
05 SIM          >where's Jess↓ica<
06              (0.6)
07 JAN          >↑(went ho:me)<
08 SIM          → how many hours of wedding dress shop- >↑why didn't
09              → she come in and say helloo:<

```

So, we see here that not only is it relevant for husband and wife to greet each other again when one comes home, but that another close family member, even though she does not live in the same household, should also come inside to say 'hello'. As with Extract 10 above, where the relevance (and absence) of a summons answer is made particularly salient by the summoner repeating the summons until an answer is given or – in the case of that extract – same-room, physical co-presence is established, it is also salient when a greeting is not produced when one would be appropriate (and is therefore noticeably absent) (Sacks, 1992b). So, we can see that greetings are a type of particular opening phase sequence that remains perpetually relevant between both old and new acquaintances, but there may be time or distance factors which impact the occasions in which they are produced.<sup>41</sup>

Another point that will be further discussed in Chapter 4, is that greetings are produced upon identification/recognition of the co-participant, which is done through visual access or voice recognition. Establishing recognition before producing the greeting allows speakers to design their greeting turns relevant to their recipient and to “transition from mere physical co-presence

<sup>40</sup> This exact extract appears in Chapter 4 as Extract 9 and is discussed in further detail there.

<sup>41</sup> This point of distance and time in relation to the production of greetings is discussed further in Chapter 4.

to mutually ratified social co-presence” (Pillet-Shore, 2012, p. 376). To do this, participants use prosodic elements such as speech volume, onset pitch, pitch span, and duration of production to issue either a ‘large’ or ‘small’ greeting, which may be formatted to display the current personal stance of the speaker either towards their recipient, or towards previous or current, ongoing events and circumstances (Pillet-Shore, 2012, 2018b). By assessing the current status of their relationship in relation to each other or to circumstances impacting their current interaction, parties can produce ‘large’ greetings which display a positive stance towards their recipient, or display “(no more than) a neutral stance” towards their greeting recipient through the production of a ‘small’ greeting (Pillet-Shore, 2012, p. 217).<sup>42</sup> Greetings are “microcosmic encapsulations of social relationships critical to parties’ (re-)creation and maintenance of social solidarity” (Pillet-Shore, 2012, p. 396), and such displays of stance can either aid in solidifying that cohesion between co-participants or serve to undermine it. Greetings are therefore very unique in their purpose, in that they are done specifically to maintain and manage social relations with one another and are the realisation of very important collaborative and coordinated work parties do to display and uphold this social cohesion.

### 1.2.3.2 Sequence Initiation Outside the Opening Phase

As this thesis is about the initiation of interaction in the family home, it is pertinent to look at sequence-initiating actions other than those just found within the ‘opening phase’ sequences of interaction. Therefore, in Chapter 3, I address syntactically formatted interrogatives in sequence-initial position, where – although interrogatives can be vehicles for the implementation of many types of social actions – I will specifically look at those implementing suggestions and complaints.

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<sup>42</sup> This can pertain to circumstances impacting one party, both participants, or parties outside the current interaction, as well as how those outside parties or circumstances may be affecting the two in the current interaction.

Although it may seem straightforward that interrogative syntax indicates a request for information is being posed, this is not necessarily the case.<sup>43</sup> For instance, Clift (2016a) presents a number of utterances in interrogative form that do not implement information requests:

<i>Utterance</i>	<i>Action</i>
For whom.	Agreement
What are you doing.	Invitation
What am I doing?	Repair initiation
What are you doing?	Complaint
Have you got Embassy Gold please?	Request
Are you going into town?	Offer
What did she say about talking with her mouth full?	Challenge
Will no-one rid me of this turbulent priest?	Directive

Table 1.2: Interrogatives implementing actions other than information- seeking (Clift, 2016a, p. 11)

In their specific context, these interrogatives that on the face of it may appear to be simply seeking information, are doing much more. ‘Have you got Embassy Gold please?’ is a request for cigarettes, therefore the attendant at the till would likely grab the pack for the customer to purchase (and maybe answer with ‘yes’ whilst they did so, which would orient to the interrogative both as information-seeking and a request). Or ‘what did she say about talking with her mouth full’ is not asking what in fact did she *say*, it is recognisably a challenge made to one who is speaking with their mouth full of food and in turn directing its recipient to stop doing so. We can also see that these interrogatives do not all have rising intonation, so ‘what are you doing.’ may on the surface be asking for an account of some kind, but in a specific context could also be a pre-invitation; depending on the recipient’s answer, the speaker may then put forward an invitation to do something, such as go out or come over. Likewise, as seen in Table 1.2, interrogatives can be used to implement complaints, such as in this extract where

<sup>43</sup> ‘Interrogative’ throughout this thesis refers to the utterance form. An interrogative is not necessarily implementing a question, which I standardly treat as information-seeking, but is instead a vehicle for the implementation of many types of actions.

Emily has just arrived home after being out all night. She has just climbed into bed when Simon enters her room.

**Extract 13: Planet Zarg (TF0105.01:40)**

01 SIM            °Eh:m.°  
 02                (0.6)  
 03 EMI            [>↑w<sup>h</sup>a:t<  
 04 SIM            →    [>do- do you ↑think< ↓I: ↑dropped off the  
 05                →    planet za:rg or ↓something.  
 06 EMI            I was ↑stayed- ↓I was at ↑Ni↓kki's. and  
 07                we'v[e been awa:ke.]  
 08 SIM            [you have ju]st arrived ho:me; (.) at  
 09                six o'clock in the mo:rning.

Complaints are standardly produced as the FPP of an adjacency pair complaint sequence that orients to (what is treated as) the offensive or objectionable conduct of another (Drew & Walker, 2009). Complaints may be explicit ('I find it completely unacceptable that you stayed out all night') or they can be implicit, such as above. Here, we see a sequence-initiating summons-answer sequence, followed by what is formatted as a yes/no interrogative (an information-seeking enquiry that makes relevant a 'yes' or 'no' answer), but which does not actually seek a 'yes' or 'no' response from Emily. Emily recognises the complaint in Simon's turn, condemning her previous behaviour, and at line 6 begins to defend herself. Complaints problematise another's (in)actions, and when made directly to a recipient, make relevant different types of response actions, amongst them accounts which may impart an apology or an excuse (Maynard, 2013), as seen here. Complaint sequences made to third-parties, on the other hand, standardly make relevant affiliation and alignment with the complaint (Drew, 1998; Maynard, 2013). However, as we have previously discussed, actions are context-relevant, jointly constructed and negotiated turn-by-turn and moment-by-moment, and complaints are another example of how social actions are not constructed – nor responded to – uniformly across contexts and occasions of interaction.

Rather than a complaint issued about previous or current states of affairs, suggestions are initiating actions in which a speaker attempts to accomplish the implementation of a “future action, event, or situation” (Couper-Kuhlen, 2014). So, in the case of complaints, compliance may or may not be next-action-relevant, but suggestions belong to a family of directives where compliance *is* standardly a relevant next action (Couper-Kuhlen, 2014). Suggestions can be produced in different forms such as imperatives (this comes early in an interaction when Emily is in the bathroom getting ready to go out for the evening, quite late at night):<sup>44</sup>

**Extract 14:** Emily Going Out (TF0101.41:52)

01 JAN            where r'you go:ing?  
 02                (1.8)  
 03 EMI            °out?°  
 04                (0.4)  
 05 JAN            → no ↑don't ↓go ou::t.

Declaratives (this is a part of a larger sequence where Emily and Jane have previously been fighting):

**Extract 15:** A Conciliatory Mood (TF0105.44:24)

01 SIM            ↑I ↓think Emily's in quite a conciliatory moo:d.  
 02                (1.1)  
 03 JAN            con↑ciliatory,  
 04 SIM            yea:h. I think she's in a ↑quite ↓a conciliatory ↓mood  
 05                (.) she ↑feels like you're ↓not >talking to her which<  
 06                may or may not be the ca:se doesn't matter  
 07                you know what Emily's li:ke ↑but she's in ↑quite a  
 08                conciliatory ↓mood  
 09                → ↑I ↓think if you just sort of just ↑tolerated her  
 10                → for a minute she'd actually ↑help

<sup>44</sup> This full sequence between Jane and Emily (which is just prior to Extract 1 in Chapter 4) is found in Appendix D, Extract AD.3, on page 279-280.

Or, as in the present project, as an interrogative (this is a section of a larger sequence where Simon is comforting Charlotte, who is crying and upset about being discouraged in regard to school):

**Extract 16:** Girly Tea (TF0102.36:05)

01 SIM .hhh what about any other people:  
 02 (0.8)+(0.6)  
 03 cha +sniffs  
 04 CHA ↑well I'm friendly, with like (0.4) everyone but .h  
 05 I mean like only really have like (1.0) .hh (1.0) wuo  
 06 hh. only a couple of actual fri:ends  
 07 (1.0)  
 08 SIM → ↑well why don't you have uh girly t- why don't you invite  
 09 → a few girls over fer tea:  
 10 (1.0)  
 11 SIM ↓I'll tell you what I'll cook you a nice meal for 'em  
 12 you choose.

Suggestions produced in the interrogative form are less entitled than other types of directives (Craven & Potter, 2010). Although it is not always clearcut (as we will see in Chapter 3), Couper-Kuhlen (2014) found that suggestions standardly contain the lexical item 'you' – referring to the recipient – and are often recognised as suggestions by who the agent of the future action is and who the beneficiary of the future action is; so, in the case of suggestions, the one who would carry out the suggestion would be the agent as well as the beneficiary of that action (Couper-Kuhlen, 2014). However, aspects of age (Emily, as we know, is 19 years old and – as her parents mention several times throughout the series – cannot be *made* to do anything) or other identity characteristics of the co-participants and who they are in relation to one another, may have bearing on the interaction. We will explore these points further in Chapter 3.

As can be seen and will be examined further in the chapters to come, through the collaboration and negotiation of co-participants, interactional openings are varied in the actions that initiate them and the progressions they may take. Whilst there will be similarities with Schegloff's observations regarding telephone calls (1968, 1979a, 1986), this study examines the initiation

of social interaction through the domain of in-person, co-present interaction, where the coordination of the physical space and the in-person, co-presence of the co-participants is of greater import to the emergent interaction than when looking at audio telephone calls. Expanding upon more recent investigations into co-present openings of interaction, such as Pillet-Shore's work (2010, 2012, 2018a, 2018b) in various interactional and physical contexts, this thesis examines the initiation of interaction through the lens of in-person, familial interaction, bringing new and broader insights into how parties construct interactional openings and, additionally, the roles that the physical space, identity, and deontic rights play in the implementation of sequence initiating actions in social interaction. One understudied aspect of co-present interaction is the relation between family and familial identities in the construction of interactional openings.

As co-participants' identities play a significant role in the production of talk-in-interaction, family identities in interactional data offer important insights. In the following section, I will introduce existing research within CA that includes family members within the data and draw connections to the unique contribution of this thesis, which examines the initiation of interaction as produced by co-present family members.

#### **1.2.4 Conversation Analytic Approach to Family Interaction**

Now that I have summarised a brief introduction to some of the pertinent themes that will be more thoroughly investigated in the chapters to come, I will continue this larger introduction by addressing previous research done within CA relating to family interaction. Whilst my thesis is not *about* families per se, it is about how co-habiting family members enter into states of focused interaction with each other in domestic space and the ways in which familial roles are linked to the practices and actions family members implement within talk-in-interaction.



Although I have referenced some of these works in the section on deontic rights, in this section I more thoroughly review some of the existing CA literature around family interaction.

As previously discussed, the link between social identity and actions is central to the organisation of talk-in-interaction; however, investigation into adult-child interaction – whilst growing – is still largely under-examined (Craven & Potter, 2010). Within this expanding corpus of parent-child interaction, one of the most prevalent settings for capturing family interactional data is mealtimes (see Craven & Potter, 2010; C. Goodwin, 1980, 1984; M. H. Goodwin, 2006, 2007; Hepburn & Potter, 2011; Kent, 2012b, 2012a; Kent & Kendrick, 2016; Mandelbaum, 2014; Schegloff, 2000, 2007b). Although family mealtime is an occasioned event, interaction during the meal is not restricted to – or necessarily influenced by – certain topics, and in the case for obtaining naturally occurring talk, a family meal has previously been treated as an ideal instance for capturing recorded interaction where no analyst is present and the family can interact with one another over a period of time without being reactive to a researcher's presence or the recording equipment (C. Goodwin & Heritage, 1990; Hepburn & Potter, 2011; Heritage, 1984). Because a family meal around the table is a place where spates of talk can carry on for an extended period of time, conversation analysts have found this to be an opportune situation in which to record their data (M. H. Goodwin, 2007).

With the rich data that family mealtimes present, several significant papers have utilised these circumstances to consider interaction between parents and young children (see Craven & Potter, 2010; M. H. Goodwin, 2006, 2007; Hepburn & Potter, 2011; Kent, 2012b, 2012a). As family mealtime is an exceedingly activity-oriented event, there is an opportunity for parents to make relevant their parental roles and direct their children to sit up, mind their manners, or simply to eat, all things that contribute to the socialisation of younger children (Craven & Potter, 2010; Kent, 2012a). Thus, the majority of these works specifically focus on parent-

issued directives to their young children recipients during the meal and the asymmetry around entitlement and the rights to control or make decisions.<sup>45</sup>

Although mealtimes have previously presented a more ample opportunity for uninterrupted spates of talk, there are other family-centred occasions in which analysts have collected young child data. These extra-mealtime instances offer additional opportunities for children and parent to negotiate and make bargains in regard to tasks and activities and are instances where focussing on explicit socialisation may also occur. In parent-initiated sequences, studies have focussed on directives and requests within the contexts of familial rituals such as personal grooming and household cleaning activities, as well as getting a snack, and the interactional implications of discussions on homework (M. H. Goodwin & Cekaite, 2013, 2014; Wingard, 2006; Wootton, 1981a). Conversely, in child-initiated sequences, studies have been done on parental resistance in the face of requests and the struggles of small children to obtain attention from their adult-addressees (Butler & Wilkinson, 2013; Wootton, 1981b). In employing young child-adult interaction, CA research has the opportunity to explore a breadth of activities and interactional environments in which participants not only coordinate and negotiate turns-at-talk, but also their familial identities, relative power and entitlements, and the joint promotion of the socialisation and growing independence of young children.

Amidst the increased use of family-oriented data in recent decades, and amongst it more adult-young child data, there has long been a tradition of using adult-adolescent data. Most prevalent of this adult-adolescent data is the paradigmatic case of ‘Virginia’, a 14-year-old American girl, who is seated around the dinner table with other members of her family whilst the recording takes place. Emanuel Schegloff is the source of the ‘Virginia’ data, but it has been used in countless studies since it was first recorded in the 1970s (Clayman & Heritage, 2014; Clift,

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<sup>45</sup> See Chapter 3 within this thesis for further discussion on directives.

2014, 2016a, 2016b; Schegloff, 2000, 2007b, 2007c). Amongst the vast import of the interactional practices implemented within the ‘Virginia’ data, there are many phenomena, such as eye-rolls (Clift, 2021), the distribution of epistemic rights (Heritage, 2012; C. W. Raymond et al., 2021), whining requests (Schegloff, 2005) and subsequent displays of frustration in the face of rejection (Couper-Kuhlen, 2012), which are wholly recognisable both within family interaction and in other interactional environments, and which speak to the generalisability of the types of actions and practices seen within family interaction. Beyond ‘Virginia’, there are other explorations of adolescent participant interaction which display even more practices that are observable across contexts, cultures, and generations, such as topic shift (Clift, 2001; Drew & Holt, 1998), requests and problem solving (Kendrick & Drew, 2014), invoking shared memories in the service of strengthening tendentious stances (Bolden & Mandelbaum, 2017), and informings that amend preceding information (Clift, 2001, 2014, 2016b, 2016a, 2021; Mandelbaum, 2014; Mandelbaum et al., 2021). Here, the focus has not been on the family as such, or on the identity of parties or sequences of interaction that specifically include adolescent children (or mums and dads), but on the underlying organisation and structure of the talk that can be seen across interactional and physical environments where social action occurs. Within these studies, the relevance of the practices employed and the actions they implement are not restricted to instances between parents and their children but to interaction more generally.<sup>46</sup> The assertion within CA research, is that although the identity of participants plays a part in the formation of action and its ascription, “the patterns revealed are not specific to some particular class of recipient, such as parent” (Wootton, 1981b, p. 512); so, the emphasis is on the ‘recipient’ or the ‘speaker’ rather than identities such as ‘mum’ or ‘dad’ as markers of static characteristics and personalities. Although in some contexts this identity may be indexically relevant to that particular interaction, the aim is to demonstrate that these designations do not

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<sup>46</sup> See Butler & Wilkinson, 2013; Kent, 2012a; Kidwell, 2013; Wingard, 2006; Wootton, 1981b for work that does reference familial roles in their analyses.

need to be fixed across all interactional environments. Whilst I have approached my own family data in a slightly different way, I have ascribed to this same practice, seeking to not only make observations that may be applicable to families, but fundamentally to social interaction in general.

Within this thesis, then, I have endeavoured to make observations that are recognisable and germane across social contexts and instances whilst also acknowledging participants' identities that can and will be made salient in the ways they interact with one another, as their identities and familial roles play a direct part in their conduct, activities, and the collaboration and negotiation of their interactions. The practices parties in interaction implement may be observed across social groups, but as with culture as a generator for wholly recognisable actions, families are their own social and cultural microcosm, and so too can be apparatuses for the implementation of recognisable actions. This thesis, then, serves to enhance and expand the frontiers of interactional research not necessarily on interaction that uses data involving families, but on family interaction itself.

In undertaking this investigation, I am making observations that contribute to our greater understanding of social interaction more broadly, expanding beyond the work on interactional openings by Schegloff and Pillet-Shore, by exploring not only aspects of the openings of interaction, but familial identities, deontic rights, and also in very pertinent ways I am exploring *space*; particularly, space in both an interactional and physical sense.

### **1.2.5 Space and Embodiment in the Coordination of Action**

Within this section, I will introduce previous research related to embodied action, the concept of the interactional space, co-presence, and ambulant movement through the physical environment, and will discuss how these topics are connected to the analysis of openings in interaction within the Hughes family data that is central to this thesis.

From the time when video recordings became available and therefore participants' faces, bodily posture, and the physical environment in which they are positioned – both in orientation to the physical space and each other – became visible, the concepts of *embodied action* and *multimodality* have been included in conversation analytic research (Deppermann et al., 2010). The initiation of an embodied action can precede the initiation of the turn-at-talk with which it is associated, and is therefore an extra-linguistic resource for both the formation and ascription of actions; by including embodied actions into the analysis of sequential structures along with linguistic and para-linguistic utterances, CA is able to show the resources participants use to achieve talk-in-interaction (Clift, 2016a; Streeck et al., 2011b). These bodily movements – things such as gaze, gestures, or posture – are constructed as semiotic resources with which particular actions may be realised (Streeck et al., 2011b), even something as seemingly subtle as a speaker projecting the constraint or promotion of further talk through their bodily positions and postures (Schegloff, 1998). As Deppermann et al. state:

“Audio-visual data enable and force the analyst to face an increasingly available complexity of interactive phenomena, which extends far beyond the details one deals with when analysing only *talk-in-interaction*. The complexity is due to the fact that the production of interactional order is based on various resources related to different modalities, which are simultaneously mobilized: speech (including verbal aspects, prosody, phonetics and vocal features), gaze, facial expression, head movement, gesture, body movement (like walking, standing up, running), position in space, proxemics, and the manipulation of objects” (Deppermann et al., 2010)

The ability to see and analyse multimodal embodied and lexical action(s) enables analysts to see how, in their specific sequential position, bodily movements – just as lexical utterances – can implement concurrent courses of action, and further still, the interactional implications that the multimodal coordination of these actions have (Clift, 2021; Deppermann et al., 2010).

The examination of embodied actions is rooted in foundational work done by Charles Goodwin (see C. Goodwin, 1979, 1981, 2000 for a small sample of work), and has grown as researchers continue to recognise the invaluable resource that embodied action is within social interaction (Clift, 2014, 2020b, 2021; Clift & C. W. Raymond, 2018; Deppermann & Gubina, 2021; Drew & Kendrick, 2018; C. Goodwin, 1980; M. H. Goodwin, 1990; M. H. Goodwin & C. Goodwin, 1986; Harjunpää et al., 2018; Hindmarsh & Heath, 2000; Kendon, 1979, 1967; Kendrick & Holler, 2017; Streeck et al., 2011a; ten Have & Psathas, 1995). Mondada has been a major contributor on work in multimodality and sensoriality, and through her work on such concepts as deictic access (2016a), the sensorial experience of smelling and tasting in purchasing cheese (2019a), and surgical instruction during an adrenalectomy (2011b), she has identified the concept of sequentiality in analysing the deployment of emergent actions.

As Mondada's work very closely investigates the concurrence of talk and embodied actions, she has also taken previous transcription conventions and enhanced them, making embodied actions within an extract of data more visible in the transcription (Mondada, 2013a, 2016b, 2018, 2019b). This current study applies a combination of the Jefferson and Mondada transcription conventions to the data extracts, using both to capture the granular details of talk and embodiment in interaction.<sup>47</sup>

The natural progression from audio-only telephone calls into the multimodal study of both linguistic and embodied actions within social interaction, has given rise to a greater focus on the examination of the physical space in which interaction occurs (C. Goodwin, 2000; Mondada, 2013b, 2016a).<sup>48</sup> In one such study, LeBaron and Streeck (1997) discuss the

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<sup>47</sup> The earliest conventions for CA transcription were developed under Gail Jefferson (Clift, 2016a); I detail the Jefferson and Mondada transcribing methods in Appendix A on pages 272-274. There is another system, GAT 2, which is used specifically for detailed transcription of prosodic features of talk-in-interaction (Selting et al., 2011).

<sup>48</sup> One approach has been to look at the physical space if it is made overtly relevant within the talk between participants, such as pointing out a referent in one's proximate surroundings (Streeck et al., 2011b). However, as

progression of a murder investigation interrogation, where they consider how the physical space of an interrogation room is appointed, looking at how the interrogators situate themselves, along with the physical features and objects of the room, and also formulate their talk, such that the suspect is guided towards confession. They posit that social interaction is often carried out in places that are built for particular actions, and that the physical space can shape the ongoing interaction, just as the interaction can shape the physical space; the physical space in which an interaction takes place is both a constraint and a resource for that interaction (LeBaron & Streeck, 1997).

Over the course of the interrogation, LeBaron and Streeck (1997) discuss how the interrogators organise their bodies and the physical elements of the room (such as chairs) in different, and increasingly constraining ways, with the end goal of confession. By reconfiguring the space – from all of the chairs equally set around the table and all parties seated leaning in with arms resting on the table, to one of the interrogators moving his chair and body such that it is directed solely towards the suspect and moved within centimetres from him – the interrogators transition from a tone of open enquiry to underscoring the suspect’s lack of freedom and a ‘need-to-confess’ characterisation of the situation (LeBaron & Streeck, 1997). LeBaron and Streeck (1997) thus draw attention to the ways in which the physical space can be manipulated and (re)organised for the activities and purposes of the parties within it.

Consideration of the physical space within social interaction is found in a growing body of work within CA, and Mondada (2009, 2011a, 2013b) has framed observations made by studies like those of LeBaron and Streeck, in the context of the *interactional space*, which takes into account both the physical and the interactional when examining talk-in-interaction between co-participants (Mondada, 2013a). The notion of interactional space converges the mechanisms of

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with participants’ identities and familial roles, the physical space in which parties interact with one another can have relevance even when not overtly mentioned within the talk.

talk-in-interaction, including talk, embodied actions, the body itself and its positioning in relation to others, and the body's orientation within the physical space in which an interaction is taking place (Mondada, 2013b; Schegloff, 1972); as such, it is a “structuring resource” for participants, a way of observing not only the “embodied aspects of action but also their spatial distribution and arrangement within the environment” (Mondada, 2013b, p. 268).

Mondada suggests, in line with LeBaron and Streeck (1997), that the interactional space is a reflexive concept, wherein the organisation of the interaction is shaped by the features of the physical space, and where in turn, the physical space can be shaped by the interaction. For instance, when looking at interactional openings vis-à-vis the concept of the interactional space, Mondada explores the “preparatory pre-opening activities” (2013b, p. 249) that occur before any talk is initiated between co-participants, and the ways in which these activities may shape the openings of interaction. Mondada (2013b) explores the construction of the interactional space through the establishment of mutual eye-gaze (and therefore the realisation of mutual identification and recognition), ambulatory trajectories, body shifts, and other movements and adjustments participants make as they establish co-presence (2013b). In one dataset Mondada (2013b) analysed, a young woman is picking up her boyfriend; this interaction is being recorded by a mutual friend via a camera inside the car. The encounter begins when the young woman sees her boyfriend approaching the car; she alights, and before the two participants greet each other or get into the vehicle, she directs him to wait. She informs him about the camera inside the car and asks if he is okay with it on or whether he prefers it turned off. Demonstrably, the physical space can inform the opening of the interaction, and therefore, the subsequent turns which orient to it. The attention towards the presence of a video camera, the fact that it is inside the car and he will fully be recorded as soon as he gets in, the delay of any talk or progression beyond the informing and permission-seeking sequence (which takes place over the roof of the car), and the obtainment of consent, are all made relevant and



consequential to the opening and emergent interaction. Once consent is obtained and both parties enter the vehicle, the boyfriend covers the camera with his consent form, the participants greet one another, the consent form is removed, a ‘howareyou’ sequence is initiated, and the interaction continues. Here, we see how the physical is shaped by the interaction (for instance, covering the camera with the consent form and then removing it again, thereby manipulating the physical space), and the interaction is shaped by the physical (such as the delay in the greetings, and discussion of the camera and the gaining of consent).

As all social interaction takes place within the interactional space, throughout this thesis, I will consider the ways in which the physical space is oriented to (or not) by the family members who live together inside the home, noting the impact of the physical environment in the construction of both the embodied and linguistic actions co-participants produce within the interactional sequences I examine.

A crucial component within the discussion of the physical space, is the concept of *co-presence*. In co-present interaction, one of the first thing parties do is to enter into a shared, physical space. This coming together includes being co-present within sometimes tacitly (but physically) defined areas; in family interaction, this may be the space of a room or an entire home or an area that may include the space between rooms, such as a doorway, staircase, or hallway (Kendon, 1979; Pillet-Shore, 2010, 2018a, 2018b). What constitutes as being co-present varies, and the size of the area within which parties may orient to themselves as being co-present, and what parties implicitly mark as an acceptable distance, is indexed through where they are within the home when they issue their sequence-initiating turn. When parties come into an acceptable distance between them and their co-participant, they will alter their conduct in respect to that person (Kendon, 1979), and as we have seen, this orientation to others within a shared physical space creates an interactional space between co-participants (LeBaron

& Streeck, 1997; Mondada, 2009, 2013b). This concept of orienting to one's co-participants and the built space in which the interaction is initiated, can be seen in a summons that may be produced when the recipient is several rooms-distance away, aimed in the physical direction of the recipient, where the deployment of the summons does not occur until the summoner is in a position to issue the summons. Take for example, this picture from a piece of data in which Tom is orienting his body and gaze towards Charlotte's location within the house, yelling up from the bottom of the stairs to where she is in her bedroom, at a volume which she can hear (we can hear on the audio that it is loud, and Charlotte displays she has heard it when she answers Tom's summons):



Figure 1.1: Tom Summoning Charlotte

Conversely, a sequence-initiating complaint may not be issued until the speaker is in the same room as the recipient, where mutual eye-gaze may be shared. These practices display speakers' orientations to turn design and the formation and ascription of actions in regard to domestic space and seeking to establish co-presence between speaker and recipient, as well as an orientation to what actions a speaker is implementing, such as a complaint or other delicate matter that may require same-room, face-to-face co-presence, or a summons, which does not necessitate same-room co-presence before its deployment.

In looking at openings in family interaction, it is evident that the domestic space has bearing on the interactional space and how that interactional space is organised by co-participants

within a home. This begins with where within the domestic space the co-participants establish co-presence and initiate the interaction, as well as participants' orientations to who was previously present in a room, who was the one coming into the room, and the type of physical environment they are in when launching a sequence of talk. These physical spaces can include 'private' spaces such as bedrooms, or 'shared' spaces, such as hallways, stairwells, kitchens, or living rooms.<sup>49</sup> How an interaction is constructed vis-à-vis participants' physical locations and how bodily movements have bearing on the interaction – particularly in regard to openings – has been previously undertaken by Pillet-Shore (2010, 2018a, 2018b). In work done on multi-party openings in both private and institutional settings, she has addressed how “arrivers” into the interactional space are welcomed and included into ongoing interactions by “pre-present” parties (2010, pp. 153–154) who formulate their previous activities for the arriver with the purpose of allowing the arriver into the space and including them in their current activity (Pillet-Shore, 2010, 2018a, 2018b; Sacks, 1992a; Schegloff, 2007a). Pillet-Shore (2010) establishes that pre-present parties in these instances are both “making way” and “making sense” for arrivers (2010, p. 155) when producing formulations of their previous activities for them. Here, pre-present parties provide knowledge about activities that the arriver did not have access to prior to their arrival, as well as give the arriver the opportunity to speak next in the interactional sequence (Pillet-Shore, 2010). This epistemological information may be offered by the pre-present party in first position in the interactional sequence verbally, but in second position in relation to the arriver's embodied actions (Pillet-Shore, 2010). This similar organisation of the opening of interactional sequences can be found in family interaction within the home, and although much of the data included within this thesis includes dyadic interaction, due to my focus on how parties initiate interaction around the embodied actions of entering the house or entering a room/shared interactional space, I will discuss occasions when a

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<sup>49</sup> I will define 'doorways', 'private space', and 'shared space' within Section 1.3.

participant's embodied actions (such as entering a room) precede their verbal actions. Similarly, I will reference the 'pre-present party' as the participant who was in the house or room before the initiation of the interaction and will use terms such as 'arriver' or 'the one arriving home' or will reference the one 'entering the room' when these designations are most appropriate for the data.

Similarly looking at the embodied actions involved in participants' entry into ratified co-presence (although, he does not look at openings through aspects such as 'arriver' or 'pre-present' parties as such), Hoey (2023) focusses on the concept of mobility and moving from one physical space to another. In particular, his work explores the establishment of the interactional space in a working environment, where co-workers on a construction worksite are both accessible and addressable: workers are carrying out their jobs in the open, visibly accessible to all, and – due to being at work – are available for interaction at any time. In this workplace environment, openings of interaction are possible at any time due to the interdependence of the parties and their daily activities, the omnirelevance of watching out for one another, and the constant need to maintain contact and attentiveness to what others are doing (Hoey, 2023). Although the stability of the physical space in construction sites is ever-changing, and thus Hoey (2023) does not give as much credence to the physical space within his work, correlations between a construction worksite and domestic space can be drawn. Not only are parents (especially) on high alert regarding their children's whereabouts and the activities in which they are involved, but the relevance of the initiation of interaction at any moment is also relevant. Despite the fact that the home does have stability in its architecture and in-built purposes for rooms that may or may not shape the types of actions that are initiated within those physical spaces, there is an ubiquitous possibility for the initiation of interaction between co-present parties within the same house and/or room. In his work, Hoey (2023) particularly examines the ways in which parties approach – their ambulatory trajectories

towards – one another. By examining whether one’s method for approach is direct (the walking party directly walks up to the recipient), oblique (the walking party walks in the general direction of another party, but continues past them, and may or may not initiate a sequence of talk), or restricted (where the walking party may start in the direction of the recipient, but remains at a distance, and the interaction is initiated and concluded distally). This work similarly has relevance to some of the ways in which family interaction is initiated. By walking through the physical space towards their to-be co-participants, parties undertake these preparatory pre-beginning activities (such as those noted by Mondada (2013b)), such that an interaction may be initiated once the ambulatory party has reached what they display as an acceptable distance or place for the initiation of the interaction. Parties may walk into a room for the express purpose of initiating interaction with their recipient (thereby taking a direct approach); an arriver may enter a room and delay the initiation of any talk, walking past the pre-present party and only initiating after commencing with some embodied activity (taking an oblique approach); or, the speaker can initiate their talk at a distance, by issuing a summons from another room (making a more restricted approach). Through these embodied actions, parties take into account their to-be recipients, the interactional business they will initiate upon reaching (either proximally or distally) the place in which they will launch the interaction, and the relationship between the physical space of the house or room and their physical movements and manoeuvrings through it towards the achievement of joint and co-present interaction. The interaction being launched and the physical environment in which it is launched both have impact on parties’ pre-opening ambulatory approaches and the construction of the interactional space as a whole.

Previous research on the physical space and its role in interaction, how co-participants orient to it and each other, and the relevance of co-presence in interaction, all serve to underscore the negotiation and collaboration that occurs in the achievement of interaction, and the ways in

which the physical space can be both restrictive and a resource to the temporal and dynamic establishment of the interactional space. By examining the construction and organisation of the sequence through the concept of the physical environment in concert with linguistic and embodied actions, we gain a clearer and more enriched view of the interaction, and the relationship of participants to one another and to the physical space in which they have come together.

Now that I have established the key themes of this project and laid a foundation for what this thesis will contribute to these areas, in the next section, I will establish the source of my data for the chapters to come, cover how I selected these data and puzzles for my research focus, and discuss the important notion of space within the Hughes family home.

### **1.3 The Data**

The data used for this thesis consists of naturalistic video recordings of a British family from the 2008 Channel 4 (UK) television series, *The Family* (Clift, 2014). *The Family* is a ‘fly-on-the-wall’ documentary edited into 9 parts, which recorded the Hughes family 24 hours per day for 100 days, producing a corpus of approximately 1,500 tape recordings (Clift, 2014). The recordings come from 23 cameras posted around the Hughes home, with multiple cameras in each room, as well as in hallways, stairwells, and just outside the front door; each family member also wore microphones to capture audio data. As I began analysing this data, what became very apparent from the outset was that this is very different data from other recordings that are often readily available within the CA community and literature, and what we may view as ‘classic’ CA data. This classic and oft-used data is extremely rich, which is underscored by the fact that it can and has been analysed again and again with different phenomena discovered in each examination. However, much of the classic CA data is taken from telephone recordings. Even with the introduction of video recordings and newer data collections, much of the data

being analysed is not taken from the family home; where it is, it is rarely capturing extensive lengths of time within the home with only family members present. This corpus in contrast has given me the opportunity to examine intimate family moments across myriad situations and interactional encounters – from arguments about toothbrushes to loading the dishwasher – and has granted me unprecedented access into the home and lives of an average, close-knit British family as they go through their daily lives.

As I began analysing the data, I became intrigued with the openings (sequence initiations) of interactions within the family and I wondered *how* it is that family members initiated sequences of interaction with each other. I began by collecting all manner of instances within the data where openings occurred. This included when people entered rooms, people entering the home, or when there seemed to be a clear break where people were initiating a sequence of talk after a period of silence.<sup>50</sup> After collecting these instances, I began to look at what interactional resources parties used to initiate interaction with another party.

Firstly, I noted when a sequence initiation was occurring after a party entered some room, or a shared interactional space. As I made this distinction between openings, I became interested in how the physical space within the home had implications on the interaction and the ways in which parties oriented to the physical space around them. As such, I made collections of extracts taking into account where within the home the initiation of the sequence took place. This physical location could be as open as ‘in a bedroom’ or ‘in the kitchen’, to as finely detailed as ‘walking over the threshold and through the living room doorway’; this

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<sup>50</sup> Instances where there were periods of silence, or where the recording was edited such that there appeared to be silence and then a new sequence of talk begun, were rare. I have included only one instance where the initiation of the sequence did not take place directly after entry into a room. It does take place after a clean edit in the film, such that there was no talk taking place before the initiation of the sequence and participants were not engaged by gaze or body posture. This is Extract 3 in Chapter 3.

categorisation of physical locations also included defining doorways and making distinctions between shared spaced and private spaces (which are discussed below).

As I was making my collections based on where within the home an interactional opening was being produced, I began looking for any patterns within the talk or embodied actions of participants and made the further distinction between interactions initiated with pre-sequences or opening phase sequences and those without. Taking the most recurrent practices, my collection of opening phase and pre-sequences included extracts of summons-answer sequences and greetings sequences, which comprise two of the analysis chapters for my thesis. Separating out those instances, I was left with sequences which had no opening or pre-sequences preceding them. These sorts of instances – which Schegloff described as, “continuing states of incipient talk” (2007c, p. 26) – comprise the second analysis chapter (Chapter 3) of my thesis.<sup>51</sup> I made further collections based on the actions implemented by speakers in the service of initiating interaction with a co-participant and identified my target phenomena of interrogative complaints and directives implementing suggestions.

With my collections assembled, I began to analyse and meticulously transcribe these different sorts of interactional openings, looking at where and how participants produced them; how was it that parties constructed their summonses and greetings, and what did they do when they did something other than these two things? How did participants open interactions, both lexically and in embodied actions in these interactional environments? And how does the domestic space and familial roles impact the implementation of these actions? These questions formed the foundation for this study. From there, I examined each extract as a single instance of a sequence

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<sup>51</sup> Schegloff defines these incipient talk interactions as ones in which “participants are committed to co-presence by an event structure not shaped by the interaction itself. Sometimes this involves familiars, and even intimates, as with families in their home environment, co-workers in their work environment, etc., but it can include strangers as well, whose juxtaposition is wholly incidental, as with seat mates on an airplane. In such settings, talk may proceed sporadically, in fits and starts, separated by long silences” (2007c, p. 26). These co-present opportunities lend themselves to situations where parties may initiate a sequence of interaction without the launching of pre- or opening phase sequences.



initiation, and also examined each instance as a part of a collection, studying the position and composition of each sequence initiation within both the interaction's current and expanded sequential environment and finding patterns in the systematic organisation of actions and practices that parties implement in each interaction. As such, the data for these analyses show a family coming together at various times in their day and at various places within their home. My data collection includes physical movement within the home, where various family members are physically entering into places such as bedrooms, living rooms, dining rooms, and in hallways and stairwells. The instances include parties involved in social activities such as playing video games, watching television, and getting ready to go out for the evening.

Whilst the initial requisite for being included in my collection of data was any instance of parties initiating sequences of interaction with each other, a secondary feature became apparent through my examination: the claiming and displaying of deontic rights by parties within these sequence opening environments. Thus, my study further focusses on the ways families claim and display deontic rights in the production of their sequence-initiating activities. There are of course differences across the collection of instances: differences in previously begun activities, the method of initiating interaction, the familial identities of the involved participants, the areas of the home in which parties come together, and the ways in which deontic rights are claimed and displayed by speakers. However, despite the differences, there are commonalities within my data collections as well. All of the extracts included within my thesis contain: members of a close, familiar nuclear family coming together and initiating sequences of interaction; interactions within a single family household, in either private or shared spaces; the interactions, whilst not *planned* as they are not family meetings or instances of interaction where a set topic or agenda is pre-arranged by all parties, are not *by chance* either, in that family members know that they will at some point, in some way, encounter the other family members who live in the home on a daily basis. My thesis seeks to examine both the similarities and

differences within this collection of family data and explicate the ways that, despite the differences, parties to interaction do sequence initiations in familiar and recognisable ways.

A major theme within families (and within this project in particular) is the idea of physical space, where we are not only observant of the interactional environment, but also the physical environment in which the interaction is launched. With this focus on the coordination of lexical and embodied actions within domestic space, it is also important to define some different areas within the home. I will briefly explicate here how I defined these concepts of space within the home.

Firstly, within the analysis chapters to follow (chapters 2-4), each piece of data included shows the initiation of an interaction just before, during, or shortly after someone has crossed a threshold and entered either the house as a whole or a specific room within the home; therefore, specific attention is given to participants' entries through physical doorways, especially when the talk is produced concurrently with any entry into a room.<sup>52</sup> A doorway is a physical, open space between rooms, or between indoors and outdoors, that people move through to get from one space to another. Every room within the Hughes household has a doorway that also has a door; therefore, each physical space – with two exceptions being the top and bottom of the staircase – have doors that may or may not be closed at any given time. Even the hallway at the bottom of the stairs has a door on each end; one door leads into the kitchen and one into the dining room, although these doors are always open.

Secondly, is the distinction between shared versus private spaces. Doorways are the demarcation between what may be private spaces (such as bedrooms), shared spaces (such as the living room or kitchen), or the front door (which is between the outside world and the private family home as an entire shared – but private – space). There are some spaces which

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<sup>52</sup> The Hughes family home floorplan is found in Appendix C on pages 276-277.

could be considered both private and shared. One such case is the bathroom. This is a shared, family bathroom; however, I consider the bathroom to be a private space as typically there would be only one person in the room at a time and considerably ‘private’ things happen within a bathroom (also for the downstairs toilet next to the stairs). Another space which could be considered to be both private and shared is Jane and Simon’s bedroom. Whilst bedrooms are also places where ‘private’ things happen, there is something distinct about a parent’s bedroom. Parents’ bedrooms are a sometimes-gathering place and can be constituted as a space where the children of a family might spend time – without the room’s main inhabitants present as well – in a way in which parents do not do with a child’s bedroom. This can be seen in cases where parents have an extra television in their room, as is the case with the Hughes family. There are times where Tom, or Tom and a friend, spend the evening in his parents’ bedroom watching television whilst Jane and Simon are downstairs having a special dinner or entertaining guests. Jane and Simon’s bedroom is also between the upstairs hallway and the bathroom, making it the space through which family members travel many times a day to get in and out of the bathroom. Due to the layout of the home and the nature of the sharedness of Jane and Simon’s bedroom in much of *The Family* data, I standardly consider it to be a shared space within this thesis.<sup>53</sup>

Due to the nature of working with video recordings from an edited television series, there is an element of accurately capturing what takes place within an interactional space that is more nuanced when limited to camera angles and making something ‘television ready’. Although I have endeavoured to use extracts which have as little-to-no editing as possible, not surprisingly, I have data where editing has taken place. As phenomena such as silence, gaze, bodily movement, and overlap in talk (amongst others) all have interactional implications, analysts

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<sup>53</sup> However, I also recognise their bedroom is treated as a private space when only Jane and Simon are present in the room.

note all of these when transcribing interaction. As such, I took painstaking effort to listen and watch each extract and note when the audio seemed edited but the video did not, or when the video seemed edited but the audio did not (and therefore sound overlaps with video in odd places or vice versa), or when both sound and video were simultaneously cut. Accordingly, I have noted at the exact points where editing of any kind has obviously or more subtly taken place. I note when camera angles change and when it appears that some recording has been omitted with it. When it is pertinent to the extract, I have counted steps a participant takes between a doorway threshold and another physical object (such as the number of steps between a bedroom doorway and a participant's bed) or how many steps were taken by a participant between a doorway and when the next turn-at-talk is produced (such as the number of steps between the front door and the production of a summons), all in the effort to make sure the analysis is not compromised. The ideal is to have data which shows no signs of editing within the interactional sequence excerpt, and I have included instances of this. Due to my efforts to be as thorough as possible, I am confident that despite *The Family* being an edited-for-television series, my analyses included in the chapters to come contain well accounted-for data.

Now that I have outlined my data and my approach to this research, I will conclude this introductory chapter with an overview of each chapter of the thesis, briefly underlining the findings in each.

## **1.4 Overview of the Thesis**

In this first chapter, I have explicated the CA approach that this thesis employs to investigate the relationships between identity, deontic rights, and the initiation of interaction. I explored fundamental components of the organisation of social interaction from a CA perspective, and after reviewing previous literature on the themes of identity, deontics, and families, I discussed the concept of space within the domestic sphere and within the interactional domain. In each

section, I stated the unique aims and contributions this study seeks to achieve and explicated the phenomena explored within the main analytical chapters. I followed by looking at the data I use and how I approached it and the domestic space of the Hughes home. In this section, I conclude the chapter by providing an overview of the entire thesis.

Chapter 2 analyses interactional openings initiated through the summons-answer sequence, examining how and when parties produce and organise the production of their summons in relation to where their summons recipient is located within the home at the time the summons is produced. I show how both the point at which the summons is deployed within a series of actions, as well as where parties produce summonses physically within the home, displays the deontic entitlement claimed by the summoner. My examination of this sequence, as well as the actions that come before and after, shows how co-present summons-answer sequences are managed turn-by-turn by their co-participants. I explicate how the contexts in which summonses and answers are produced, as well as their formats, have bearing on how these sequences progress within a domestic space and the deontic rights they display.

In Chapter 3, I look at interactional sequences where family members forgo opening phase sequences such as summonses or greetings, and instead initiate sequences through the production of an interrogative as a first lexical action after entering a room. I further narrow the analysis by investigating how family members produce interrogatives to implement suggestions and complaints. In examining these occasions of interaction, I discuss first how suggestions are directives that claim a lower deontic entitlement, attempting to prompt their recipient to implement a desired future action, rather than demand. In the second half of the chapter, I discuss sequence-initiating interrogatives that implement complaints. I will show that these complaints make relevant previous (in)actions either on the part of the complaint recipient or on the part of a third, non-present third party. In these instances, the speakers display high

deontic entitlement in issuing the complaints and in determining what the person who committed the (perceived) transgression should have done instead, and in turn, the complaint recipients resist both aligning with the issued complaints and with treating the prior (in)actions as complainable.

Chapter 4 examines the production of 'hello', both as a summons and as a greeting term, looking at how (in terms of features such as prosodic production and lexical choice) and when (both in the current and larger sequence of talk, as well as where within the home the speaker is when launching their initiating turn) family members produce 'hello' to initiate interaction within domestic space. I examine the deployment of 'hello' when parties enter the home after being away, as well as when they move between rooms inside the home, and accordingly, expound upon what the production of 'hello' may display based on when it is deployed in relation to the physical environment as well as in relation to whether participants have been home for some time or not. I look at how parties demonstrate their current personal stance through their greetings and explore how greetings (re-)establish relationships between participants in interaction. Further, I explore the 'howareyou' sequence – and its particular construction within the Hughes family – where it follows greeting sequences, and I look at the deontic claims it may make in its production. This chapter shows that through their design and the sequential position in which they are deployed, 'hello' and its variants are of great interactional import, implementing multiple actions that not only initiate occasions of interaction but when doing greeting, also aid in the maintenance of social relationships.

Considering the overall structure of the thesis, with sequence-initiating actions such as summonses, or sequence-initiating interrogatives, such as in the case of suggestions and complaints, talk is initiated with a recipient for a specific reason and progression of some activity. Summonses are used as attention-getting devices and in ascertaining presence and in-

the-moment availability, and project that that reason for the summons will be produced at the close of the summons-answer sequence. In instances of same-room or more proximal co-presence, when attention, physical presence, and availability are understood to be established and a summons is not in that moment needed, then a speaker can produce their complaint, suggestion, or other sequence-initiating action from the very first turn-at-talk. Therefore, naturally, these two chapters are related through the sequence-initiating actions that are produced with an orientation towards the initiation of a specific activity and progression of the interactional sequence, and form chapters 2 and 3 of this thesis. However, greetings do not need to occur at all. If greetings do not need to be produced for the initiation or progression of a sequence of talk, then they must be produced by parties in interaction for some other reason – as words *do* things – and we will explore this more in Chapter 4. For this reason, I have situated the chapters on the summons-answer sequence around bedroom doorways and sequence-initiating interrogatives together, and the greetings chapter in its tertiary position to underscore the distinctness of its production in social interaction.

This thesis concludes with Chapter 5 summarising the findings presented in chapters 2 through 4 and considers the implications of this investigation.

# Chapter 2

## Bedroom Doorways and Deontic Entitlement within the Summons-Answer Sequence

### 2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I examine summons-answer sequences initiated at bedroom doorways, investigating the construction of these instances and focussing on the deontic rights summoners and their recipients display through sequential design and the organisation of these sequences. The threshold of a door is a place within the family home demarcating a physical separation between spaces, and in the case of bedroom doorways, the distinction between a shared and private space. As such, my focus in this chapter is on the production of the summons-answer sequence specifically in relation to bedroom doorways, where deontic rights and entitlement are constantly being negotiated vis-à-vis this physical location, particularly in relation to the seeking and granting of *permission*. In the extracts that follow, summonses are produced by knocking or verbally issuing an address term proximate to a closed bedroom door whilst the recipient is in that bedroom. Adopting the explanation of Deppermann and Gubina, wherein an action directly impacts “something in the recipient’s ‘territory’” (2021, p. 9), I discuss deontic rights, the summons-answer sequence, and the issue of ‘territory’ within this chapter in relation to the personal space of a bedroom and the authority or entitlement one claims in issuing a summons and entering a summons recipient’s bedroom.

In this chapter, I will first outline the differences between summons-answer sequences implemented through a ringing telephone and those produced at bedroom doorways (§2.1.1). I will then provide an extract and look at the turn design features through which other extracts



in this chapter will be explored (§2.1.2) before looking in detail at the ways deontic authority and entitlement are displayed and oriented to in the included excerpts throughout the rest of this chapter.

### **2.1.1 Some Distinctions Between Bedroom Doorway and Telephonic Summons-Answer Sequences**

As previously discussed in Chapter 1, the summons-answer sequence is an adjacency pair, a two-part sequence minimally constructed of a summons and an answer (Schegloff, 1986, 2007c; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973), classically examined through the lens of telephone calls (Schegloff, 1968, 1986; Whalen & Zimmerman, 1987). There are several differences – and similarities – between telephone summons-answer sequences and those initiated outside of bedroom doorways, and I will briefly outline some of these at the outset with the acknowledgment that the summons-answer sequence will be examined further within the context of the included data both in this and other chapters of this thesis.<sup>54</sup>

*Physical Environments:* In regard to where and between whom these different types of summonses take place, a phone call can be placed between parties at a distance/in different physical locations and is implemented in a variety of situations, such as to or from institutional settings, households, and individuals. A summons at the front door or via a telephone could be initiated by anyone known or unknown to the family, whereas a summons outside of a private bedroom is ostensibly done between household or family members. As such, these differences make available to the summoner distinct resources with which to implement their summonses. A telephone call will mechanically ring at the answerer's<sup>55</sup> end of the line. The caller will hear the ringing on their end, and the answerer will also hear the rings and answer by picking up the

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<sup>54</sup> Some other in-person summonses will also be discussed in Chapter 4.

<sup>55</sup> In this project, I use 'summons recipient' rather than 'answerer' as a distinction between these in-person, co-present summons-answer sequences and telephonic summons-answer sequences.

receiver – or pressing a button – and verbally responding (Schegloff, 1986). Bedroom doorway summonses may be done verbally, by knocking on a door, or a combination of these and other embodied actions organised by the summoner to implement the summons. As is the case in the excerpts here, the summons recipient is on the other side of the closed door and may or may not answer. The physical environment has bearing on both the construction of the summons as well as the answer, and parties being on either side of a door and answering or not, knocking or not, waiting for an answer to the summons or not, will impact the initiation and progression of the interaction.<sup>56</sup>

Although the extracts included within this chapter by no means cover all possibilities or instances of how a summons-answer sequence may be constructed and organised, and the telephone calls that Schegloff (1968, 1986) examined are distinctly different in context than the instances included within this chapter, it will be apparent that in-person summonses deployed around bedroom doors and telephonic, non-in-person summonses can both share and have distinct features.

*What a Summons Does:* As Schegloff notes, a summons-answer sequence is “overtly addressed to opening, and confirming the openness of, a channel of communication, and the availability

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<sup>56</sup> It is relevant to define what I mean by “closed” as it pertains to bedroom doors within this thesis. First, is a completely and fully closed door where there is no gap between the door and the door jamb, and the handle needs to be pressed/turned in order to push the door open (this is most pertinent to Jane and Simon’s bedroom door, which fully closes). The second, is that of a door that is *almost* completely closed, with that of only a small gap between the door and the jamb. This is relevant for Emily and Charlotte’s room, as their door is never seen fully shut. There are several times that there is a dressing gown or some article of clothing hanging over the top corner of the door, hindering it from being closed. However, this is not always the case and there is no visible indication as to why the door will not fully shut (even when pushed ‘shut’ by the girls) when no such items of clothing are hanging over the door. Tom’s door is often seen fully open, although it appears that that is because at those times he is not in his room. The camera outside the bedrooms is at such an angle that we never get a clear picture of the position of Tom’s door when any interaction takes place around it or when he is in his room. However, in an extract not included within this project, Tom does direct Simon to close his door when he is trying to sleep, and in Extract 1 below, Simon knocks on the door when Tom is getting dressed and it does not audibly squeak under the rapping of Simon’s hand; therefore, it sounds as if it fully closes, but with the available data I cannot specify exactly. Regardless, as the bedroom doors in the Hughes house either fully close or are considered to be closed when still cracked open, where parties treat the doors as closed – as displayed through their verbal and embodied actions – I have also treated the doors as closed.

of an attentive ear and a mouth ready to speak (neither of which is guaranteed by the availability of the other, or by the openness of a channel)” (1986, p. 117).<sup>57</sup> This is the same for summonses using a phone, voice, or knock. Summonses occur at the openings of interaction and are implemented to initiate interaction with another for a purpose (Schegloff, 1968). However, one of the largest differences – and one that will be examined at length within this chapter – is that summonses issued at bedroom doorways are not just doing the work noted above. In addition to these actions, when a summoner produces a verbal or embodied summons outside of a closed bedroom door, they are ostensibly also implementing one of two possible other types of actions: first, a *request* seeking permission to enter the bedroom of their summons recipient. Second, dependent upon the organisation and production of the turn, a summons can instead implement an *alert*, which does not do requesting. Starting with Extract 1, these actions will be investigated further, clearly demonstrating that an in-person summons, such as those examined within this chapter, do more than determine availability or the openness of their recipient to continue the interaction initiated by the summoner.

*What Answering (or Not Answering) Does:* As summonses are standardly issued to obtain a recipient’s attention and determine their openness and availability for further interaction, an answer to a summons will normatively indicate this readiness; by answering a summons, a recipient is – at least momentarily – commending themselves to the continuation of the interaction, and the summons-answer sequence is terminated with the production of that answer (Schegloff, 1968). Alternatively, a summons recipient can answer a ringing telephone or a knock on the door but still be unavailable for further talk (Schegloff, 1968), the summons-answer sequence again terminated in the answering. When it comes to unanswered summonses, in the case of a ringing telephone, an unanswered call indicates that the (would be) answerer is

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<sup>57</sup> This is particularly pertinent to telephone calls and specified recipients as addressed in this chapter; summonses issued to as-yet unknown recipients will be further addressed in Chapter 4.

unavailable, the sequence then terminated with the summons unanswered (Schegloff, 1968).<sup>58</sup> However, as will be seen in the extracts to come, in the case of bedrooms, an unanswered summons does not necessarily indicate the summons recipient is unavailable in the same way an unanswered telephone would, nor is it necessarily the end of the interaction.

As will be seen when examining aspects of turn design in the extracts below, unlike a telephone summons, an in-person summons can be implemented in ways such that an answer is treated as unnecessary for progression and continuation beyond the summons-answer sequence. In the first extract shared below, an answer to a knocking summons does not permit the summoner to enter their room, orienting not to unavailability to talk per se, but that the permission-to-enter that the knock was requesting is not granted. Recipients may or may not answer, and their answer – if given – may be implementing different actions depending on their design and the format of the summons they are answering.

*Participants' Identities:* In telephone summons-answer sequences, there are times when a caller or individual answerer may not be known to the other.<sup>59</sup> If this is the case, once the phone is answered, an identification sequence may be initiated (Schegloff, 1986). As the parties included in this thesis data are family, everyone within these extracts are intimately known to one another, and due to the nature of summoning at a bedroom doorway, the summons recipients are known and identified, if not by their name being included in the production of the summons, then by the knock on their specific bedroom door.<sup>60</sup> Although a knocking summoner may not

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<sup>58</sup> Of course, a caller can leave a voicemail stating the reason for the call (and possibly request a call back); however, there is no interaction between parties.

<sup>59</sup> In Schegloff's analyses (1968, 1979a, 1986), phone calls were made on landline (most certainly rotary) telephones with no technological means for caller ID or a display of the caller's name or number provided through the telephone itself. As such, any reference to the telephonic summons-answer sequence within this thesis refers to these early telephones which could not provide identification prior to talk between co-participants. This aspect of identification and recognition in in-person, co-present summons-answer sequences will be addressed in Chapter 4.

<sup>60</sup> Although Emily and Charlotte share a bedroom, each time a knocking summons is produced within these extracts, the recipient is always Emily, and she is always alone in the room.

be immediately identifiable to the summons recipient before they enter the bedroom, the summons recipient can be reasonably confident that the summoner is a member of their family, even if they do not know exactly which one.

*Parties' Roles in Constructing the Sequence:* One of the greatest differences we will see between telephone summonses and summonses produced outside of bedroom doorways, is that the summoner and the design of their turn is of much more consequence to the shaping of the summons sequence than may be observed when only looking at telephone calls. When Schegloff (1968, 1986) studied ringing telephones, he observed that it is in the *answering* that much of the sequential orderliness is found; the answerer is the one who speaks first, and not only can the next sequence be shaped by how the answerer designs their answer *verbally*, but an answerer also shapes the *ringing* itself (Schegloff, 1986). The phone can be left to ring many times or be answered immediately, or an individual ring can be answered mid-ring or left to finish (Schegloff, 1986), and too many or too few rings may be topicalised by the caller in the ensuing talk. For example, if only one ring is heard on the caller's end or less than one full ring, the caller may ask if the answerer was by the phone, or if there are many rings, the caller may enquire as to whether the answerer was in the garden or somewhere relatively far from the ringing telephone (Schegloff, 1986). Also, the lexical format of an answer, such as 'hi' or 'yes', may indicate the caller is already known to the answerer, or an answerer's breathlessness or hearable sleepiness can be topicalised by the caller; the participants' identities, physical location of the answerer, and any perceived personal state or stance may inform the sequence of talk that follows the summons-answer sequence at its conclusion (Schegloff, 1986). In these cases, a caller may or may not treat any of these aspects as relevant in the subsequent talk but it is the *answerer* who is accountable for generating these topicalised actions, both in how they contribute to the production of the summons and the production of the answer (Schegloff, 1986).

The novelty of this analysis shows that in the environment of a summons at a bedroom doorway, there is greater opportunity for a *summoner* to shape the orderliness of a sequence as well as construct their summons to display their claims to deontic entitlement or deference to their recipient. Not surprisingly, summons recipients can shape the summons-answer sequence – and the sequences that follow – through their answers, but a summoner at a bedroom doorway may implicitly identify themselves, make a request, or even remove the achievement of interactional negotiation between participants, in a way that calling on the telephone cannot. Schegloff noted that the rings of a telephone, “are the products of distinct and methodical forms of conduct by the participants” (1986, p. 120), and indeed, this observation is also recognisable in the production of the verbal and knocking summonses included within this chapter.

### 2.1.2 Turn Design of the Summons-Answer Sequence Around Bedroom Doorways

The extract below serves well as a model for the construction of summons-answer sequences within this chapter as it exhibits the core summons-answer sequence – a summons (line 1) and an answer (line 2) – around a bedroom doorway. Here, Simon has just arrived home in the evening; Tom had previously been home alone. Simon calls up the stairs to Tom, enquiring as to when Tom needs to leave, as he is going out for the evening. Tom is inside his room with his bedroom door shut, which we can hear and see being shut as Simon came through the front door.<sup>61</sup> Simon comes up the stairs to Tom’s bedroom door and knocks.<sup>62</sup> Tom replies immediately with a fast-produced directive for Simon not to enter.

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<sup>61</sup> The camera shows Simon unlocking the front door, after which we see Tom’s bedroom door being shut. His door shuts just before the front door is heard to be closed by Simon; so, Tom’s door is open when Simon opens the front door and enters the house. Just after we see Tom’s door shut, we hear the front door close off camera. The camera then goes back to Simon who appears to be picking up the post that is on the floor just inside the front door. Simon’s arrival home and the interaction prior to Simon knocking on Tom’s door is examined in Chapter 4.

<sup>62</sup> Unfortunately, Simon knocking on Tom’s door is not caught on camera; the camera is on the front door at the bottom of the stairs until further into the interaction.

**Extract 1: Simon Knocking on Tom's Door (TF0104.04:17)**

01 SIM ((knock knock))<sup>63</sup>  
 02 TOM >don't come i:n<

Although this extract will be discussed further with another excerpt in the next section, I will briefly outline here why this sequence is an exemplar for summonses around bedroom doorways as reviewed above and for the extracts included in this chapter. This excerpt serves well because:

- 1) As similarly displayed in previous work on telephonic summonses, Simon's knock is an attention-getting device and is also attempting to ascertain Tom's openness and availability for further talk. It is similarly projecting that further talk as well as indexing Tom as the intended recipient and co-participant of the talk, each of which indicate Simon's knocking to be doing a summons.
- 2) Simon's knock orients towards obtaining Tom's permission to enter as contingent to entering the room. As noted in the previous section, a summoner's orientation towards a closed door in the design of their summons displays that they are requesting permission before opening the door and entering, and that that permission is relevant before entering can commence. In producing a summons prior to entry, the summoner is leaving space for the summons recipient to answer the summons, which, as seen here, may also be leaving space for the possibility that permission is denied. Similarly, Tom's answer at line 2 directly orients towards Simon opening the door and entering the room as a next possible action.<sup>64</sup> Tom's turn at line 2 underscores the mutual understanding between Simon and

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<sup>63</sup> Unless indicated, knocks are done in even succession with no lapse of time between raps. The raps are also not rushed nor overly slow unless indicated.

<sup>64</sup> The design of Tom's turn will be discussed further in the next section.

Tom that Simon's knocking is both ascertaining Tom's openness and availability to talk, as well as requesting to enter.

- 3) Although the issuance of a summons does not necessarily make any deontic claims itself, the organisation of the summons within the sequence can display a claim towards deontic authority and entitlement; therefore, Simon and Tom orient to theirs and the other's deontic claims within the summons-answer sequence. Simon's summons at line 1 displays his orientation towards Tom's (the summons recipient's) agency regarding his territory and private space as well as the deontic entitlement to direct Simon's next actions as summoner (granting permission – or not – to enter). Tom's response at line 2 also displays an orientation towards his own entitlement and authority in regard to his private space, as well as to direct Simon's (the summoner's) next actions as they relate to Tom's bedroom and opening the closed bedroom door.

Some of the past work conversation analysts have done on claims to entitlement and the contingencies surrounding these claims have looked at requests (Curl & Drew, 2008) and directives (Craven & Potter, 2010), where contingencies were related to a recipient's ability or desire to comply with the issuer's request, wondering, or directive (Craven & Potter, 2010; Curl & Drew, 2008). Thus far, the literature has not examined the granting of permission as a contingency within sequences. Within my data, however, the summons-answer sequence deployed outside a bedroom door displays an orientation towards obtaining permission to enter the bedroom, and opening the closed bedroom door that is standing between the summoner and summons recipients, as contingencies within the sequence.

Within the extracts in this chapter, bedroom doors are oriented to as barriers (both physical and interactional) between the summoner and the summons recipient and are made relevant in the production of the summons-answer sequence. In the sequences that follow, the summoner



could ostensibly have spoken with their summons recipient through their closed bedroom door about the reason for the summons, but they do not. Instead, participants mutually orient towards these closed bedroom doors, and the granting and attainment of permission one would standardly need to open them, but this permission may or may not be treated as relevant to sequence progression.<sup>65</sup> In light of the exemplar case and the observations outlined above, I have examined the extracts in this chapter.

With the exemplar extract's features in mind, this chapter will explicate how parties in interaction construct their turns in systematic and organised ways, exhibiting their claims to deontic authority and entitlement within the summons-answer sequence as it is deployed around bedroom doorways. The next three sections are comprised of extracts arranged by the deontic entitlements claimed and displayed by the *summoners* in each sequence. In Section 2.5, I discuss the findings of my analyses within the chapter.

## 2.2 Displays of Low Deontic Entitlement by Summoners

In this section, the summons-answer sequences display two similar features: (1) the summoner knocks or verbally summons the recipient and then (2) receives an answer from the recipient prior to attempting to enter the recipient's bedroom. Extract 1 (reprised) is an expansion of the exemplar sequence introduced in the previous section, and as outlined there, Simon has just arrived home and Tom is in his bedroom with the door closed.<sup>66</sup>

### **Extract 1 (reprised):** Simon Knocking on Tom's Door (TF0104.04:17)

```
01 SIM ((knock knock))
02 TOM >don't come i:n<
```

<sup>65</sup> As permission to enter could also conceivably be requested at an open bedroom doorway and not just a closed one, there is at the very least an understanding in these extracts that the bedroom doorway is a physical demarcation between which the shared and the private is observed; that is, the doorway is intersubjectively viewed as the place where one may (or may not) seek permission to enter another's private space.

<sup>66</sup> It is not until line 6 that we see Simon outside of Tom's bedroom door; the first four lines of the transcript are off camera.

03 (1.0)  
 04 SIM why?  
 05 (0.4)  
 06 TOM getting ↑rea↓dy

Here, the course of action projected by Simon's knocking is the entering of Tom's room and continuing the interaction. When a prior speaker (the summoner) selects their recipient (the summons recipient), it makes relevant that an answer be produced by that recipient (Clift, 2016a; Schegloff, 2007c). Simon's knocking is a request that prefers acceptance (Clift, 2016a; Heritage, 1984; Kendrick & Torreira, 2015) – which would be permission granting entry into Tom's room; this would align with accomplishing the activity and progressing the sequence (Clift, 2016a; Schegloff, 2007c). However, Tom's '>don't come i:n<' at line 2 denies the request for permission to enter, effectively stalling the current trajectory of the sequence (Kendrick & Drew, 2014). There are cross-cutting preferences here, as Tom's directive is built in a preferred manner: quickly, without hesitation, without account or expansion, and without the standard indices of dispreference such as mitigation, tentativeness, pauses and delays, or accounts, but is a negatively-formatted and dispreferred prohibitive action directing Simon not to enter his room (Craven & Potter, 2010; Pillet-Shore, 2017; Pomerantz, 1984; Schegloff, 2007c). Tom's directive impedes sequential progression and is not only a disaffiliative refusal in itself but an overt refusal to his parent; however, this is Tom's bedroom and as he responds in line 6, he is 'getting ↑rea↓dy', accounting for why he has refused permission for Simon to enter and indicating his need for privacy to change his clothes before going out. This account indexes Tom's identity as a teenager who does not require (nor ostensibly want) his parent's assistance for this task. Identity in talk-in-interaction is not static (Antaki et al., 1996; Clift, 2016a), and here it is through Simon and Tom's actions that identity and orientations to the categorisation of Tom as 'teenager' are made relevant. Through his refusal, Tom claims independence and agency and the deontic authority to grant or deny his father entry into his room (Craven & Potter, 2010). Although a younger child may need assistance and subsequently

be directed to let a parent in, the parent-teenage child relationship may not be oriented to in the same way. Claims made by participants regarding agency may be relevant to both time and place, and the refusal to permit entry to a private bedroom whilst getting dressed formulates Tom's 'teenager' identity and makes relevant his claims to privacy within his personal space.

As Tom's answer to the summons is produced without hesitation or delay, there is no pause or silence after Simon's knock and therefore no time where one might categorise Simon as 'waiting' for an answer from Tom. However, Simon is not producing his summons *as* he is entering Tom's room. He audibly knocks on the door, with no other sounds of a door opening before or after; the knock is a separate action from any other action(s). Tom also explicitly tells Simon not to come in, in what is recognisably a calm tone despite its hurried production. The urgency in Tom's directive is indicative of Tom attempting to produce the turn before there is any further action from Simon, as although Simon has not yet entered or tried to enter, Tom does not want to risk that Simon might do so whilst he is getting dressed. As will become evident in subsequent extracts, it is important to make this distinction between a summons being produced separately from any other concurrent activity and one that is produced jointly with other action(s), as the construction of the summons (and the summons-answer sequence as a whole) not only has bearing on what follows in the larger sequence but also displays deontic entitlement claimed by summoners.

Simon's 'why?' challenge at line 4 not only marks his line 1 knocking as request for permission to enter Tom's room, but concomitantly requests an account, claiming deontic authority in the moment and projecting disagreement with Tom's withholding of permission (Bolden & Robinson, 2011). In this position, the 1.0 second of silence and subsequent 'why?' indexes Tom's refusal as a departure from standard and is something socially accountable; Simon's line 4 frames Tom's line 2 as inappropriate, disaffiliative, and disaligning with Simon's current

activity (Bolden & Robinson, 2011; Craven & Potter, 2010; Drew, 1998; Heritage, 1988). Bolden and Robinson (2011) suggest that why-interrogatives indicate a challenge toward the party or action(s) that occasioned its issuance and “are frequently co-implicated in additional actions, such as complaining, criticizing, and blaming” (Bolden & Robinson, 2011, p. 99). Simon’s ‘why?’ and Tom’s refusal very clearly display how summonses produced in these physical environments orient to requesting and in turn receiving permission to enter as the preferred response to that request.

In this first extract, we can see that the need for permission to enter can be oriented to as an interactional barrier to the progression towards a next sequence. This deference towards the summons recipient to grant permission before a summoner enters the room displays *low* deontic entitlement on the part of the summoner and *high* deontic authority on the part of the summons recipient. In an excerpt displaying this same initial distribution of deontic rights as associated with the production of the summons, Extract 2 also exhibits the summoner leaving space for the summons recipient to answer before attempting to enter the bedroom. It is Christmas Eve and Jane is wrapping presents in her bedroom. Tom has been helping her throughout the day, running newly wrapped presents downstairs to put under the Christmas tree. Line 1 is begun off camera, as Tom is running up the stairs.

### Extract 2: Tom at Jane’s Bedroom Door (TF01C.20:42)

```

01 TOM    MU: @#M?
02        >>off cam->
03        ->@cam to TOM-->>
04        #running up the stairs-->
05        (2.5)#
06 tom    -->#stops outside JAN's bedroom door ((door is closed
07        but for the tiniest of cracks))-->>
08 TOM    can I# come in:
09        #fig 2.1
10        (0.4)
11 JAN    yea:::h

```

Jane is wrapping presents behind the closed door to her bedroom, which is at the immediate top of the stairs.<sup>67</sup> Tom does not wait to summon Jane until he has arrived outside the closed door but initiates the sequence as he is running up the stairs. Tom has previously established that Jane is in her bedroom wrapping presents and therefore does not need to reissue the summons to gauge her whereabouts or whether she is nearby. Tom produces the summons at a raised volume so that Jane may hear it from inside her bedroom, and an answer from Jane to Tom's summons would project to Tom that she is presently open and available to progress the sequence (Schegloff, 1968, 1986). However, Jane does not reply.<sup>68</sup>

If Tom re-issued his summons after not receiving an answer from Jane, he would be orienting to the absence of an answer. If Jane has indeed heard the first summons, she may treat the repetition of the summons as “over-insistent” (Schegloff, 1968, p. 1082). Instead, when he reaches the door, Tom produces another type of permission-seeking action, this time with an explicit request to enter at line 8 with ‘can I come ↑in:’. Tom transitions from a summons to issuing a polar answer-relevant request at the doorway; this now explicit request is an overt attempt to elicit a response from Jane that will grant or deny permission to enter (Kendrick & Torreira, 2015; Stivers & Rossano, 2010). (Fig 2.1).

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<sup>67</sup> For reference of location, the layout of the Hughes house is outlined in Appendix C on pages 276-277.

<sup>68</sup> The camera is not on Jane when Tom issues his summons as he's running up the stairs. The summons is produced at a raised volume, which Jane would ostensibly hear; however, no answer is audible. It may be that she has answered and Tom was unable to hear (and his microphone did not pick up, therefore we cannot hear it, either). It may be that she did answer, and Tom did not treat her answer as permission to enter the room; this may be the case as she is in the delicate position of wrapping presents at the time. Regardless, I have treated this such that Jane has not answered Tom's summons or given sufficient permission to enter, as Tom does not treat permission as being granted, displayed by his overt request to enter at line 8.



Figure 2.1: Tom outside of Jane's bedroom at line 8

This progression from summons to overt request projects both the reason for the summons (seeking permission to enter the bedroom) as well as advances the sequence such that the absent summons answer is not oriented to. In doing so, Tom treats his initial turn as potentially having been heard by Jane and avoids sounding over-insistent by not reissuing the summons whilst producing an action that more explicitly orients to the permission he is seeking.

Tom could have opened the door despite not receiving an answer from Jane, but he does not.<sup>69</sup> This not only displays a lower claim to deontic entitlement both in the summons and in the continuation of the sequence but contributes to the construction of Tom's identity within the sequence as well. In the run-up to the big Christmas moment, we see Tom is very interested in the holiday and in the gift-receiving aspects of it. As it is Christmas Eve, it is very likely that Tom formats his turns this way so as not to spoil the surprise of what his presents might be in case Jane happens to be wrapping his at that very moment. Tom overtly summons Jane as 'mum' and thereby casts himself as 'offspring', but due to the auspicious day and the deference to the closed door, Tom also indexes himself as 'present recipient' and moreover 'child present recipient'. Although the turn the permission is granted in (line 11) is displaced from the summons (line 1), explicit permission to enter is demonstrably the preferred response to Tom's summons and in overtly orienting to obtaining permission from Jane, Tom displays a lower

<sup>69</sup> This type of summons-answer sequence construction will be explored in Section 2.3.

deontic entitlement in both the production of his summons and in subsequent turns. We can see here, then, that participants orient to not only their relationships with one another, but also more local contexts, such as the time of year or whether today is a special occasion.

### 2.2.1 Design Features in Displays of Low Deontic Entitlement Summonses

#### *Recipient Permission as Contingent to the Progression of the Sequence*

Both in Extract 1 and 2, the summoner orients to the closed bedroom door in the production of their summons, indexing the need for permission before opening the door and attempting to enter the recipient's bedroom. In this sequential construction, the summoner is momentarily displaying a lower deontic entitlement than their summons recipient, and as can be seen in both extracts, there is a negotiation in the moment between parties in regard to their own and the other's deontic rights as it relates to what comes next. Although there is a display of low deontic entitlement in the summons-answer sequence in Extract 1, there is a display of high entitlement in the subsequent 'why?' from Simon. The contingency of obtaining permission that is not subsequently received alters the trajectory of the sequence into one around Tom's resistance to Simon's request to enter, rather than the reason for Simon's knock in the first place. Simon challenges Tom's answer and thus claims high entitlement, rather than accepting Tom's agentic directive as unmarked. Simon's turn at line 4 indexes the mutual orientation by co-participants towards permission-seeking summons as standardly receiving permission-granting answers, and that refusal is accountable and indexed as disaligning and disaffiliative.

The positioning of the summons in these extracts both sequentially and physically displays an orientation by summoners towards a closed door and the permission to open it and enter the bedroom as contingent to the progression of the sequence and allows for summons recipients to answer and grant or deny that permission. In doing so, participants design their turns such that they display their respective deontic claims moment-by-moment. By seeking permission

and waiting for it, summoners display a lower deontic entitlement, and index the summons recipient as having the deontic authority in the moment to grant or deny that permission. Summons recipients then proceed to grant or withhold permission to enter, thus displaying a higher deontic entitlement that claims the authority in the moment to do so, as well as concurrently orienting towards their permission as contingent to the progression of the summoner's current activity. Of course, deontic rights are claimed and displayed moment-by-moment, as will be made even more evident in subsequent sections. In the next section, I examine sequences where summoners display an upgrade in their deontic claims from low deontic entitlement to high entitlement through the course of the sequence.

### **2.3 Displays of Low Transitioning to High Deontic Entitlement by Summoners**

In these next extracts, as in the first two, summoners display a low deontic entitlement in the deployment of their summons by registering within the production of their summons the contingencies of a closed door and the need for permission, as well as waiting for permission to be granted by the summons recipients before attempting to enter the bedrooms. However, here, there is a transition in the display of deontic rights within the summons-answer sequence, where the summons recipients do not answer before the summoners open the closed bedroom doors and enter the room. In no answer being given or permission being granted prior to entering the bedroom, summoners display an upgrade in their claims to deontic rights, claiming high deontic entitlement in authorising themselves to enter their summons recipients' bedrooms before permission has been granted.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> An 'upgrade' can be described as the incorporation of a stronger stance in relation to a prior action; so, as discussed in Chapter 1 when looking at epistemics, a recipient of a first assessment can upgrade their second position assessment in relation to the first by using intensified evaluative descriptors (and thus make a claim to epistemic primacy). Speakers can also upgrade their own prior actions, as is the case here, where they wait for permission to enter but subsequently enter without it, thereby upgrading their claim to deontic entitlement. Likewise, a 'downgraded' action would display a weakening in the strength of a prior (other- or self-produced) action: 'that was fantastic!' as a first assessment could receive a downgraded response of 'that was pretty good',



In this third extract, Simon walks up the stairs towards Emily's bedroom door. In the previous days, Emily has been missing work, arriving late, and calling in sick. She is seen calling about job listings just before Simon is shown walking upstairs at the beginning of the sequence. Simon knocks and after a pause of 2.6 seconds in which Emily does not reply, Simon opens Emily's bedroom door, causing it to squeak in the process.<sup>71</sup>

**Extract 3: Mum Says Your Job's Come to an End (TF0105.18:56)**

```

01 SIM      ((knock knock knock knock))
02          >>at EMI's door off camera-->
03          (0.7)š (1.9)š
04          š((door squeaks as it is opened))š72
05 SIM      ↑hi ↓Em73
06          (0.8)@^(0.8)
07          -->@cam cuts to Simon in EMI's bedroom-->>
08 sim      ^steps towards EMI's bed-->
09 SIM      mum sez that your ↑job'^s ↓come to an end.
10          -->^raises RH up on bed, steps forward

```

Simon issues his summons at line 1 by knocking on Emily's door and then waits 0.7 seconds before proceeding to open the door, which produces an audible squeaking. The summoner does not say that they are coming in, but the door's audible squeak as it is opened projects the embodied action that is occurring, this action being at the very least that the door is being opened even though an answer to the summons has not been produced. In cases where summonses outside of bedroom doors are answered, a summoner's next action is mutually understood to be that of them opening the door and entering the room, such as in Extract 1. If permission to enter had been given in the case of Extract 1, then Simon's next action would

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with the downgrade demonstrated in the use of 'fantastic' to 'pretty good' (Clift, 2016a; Pomerantz, 1984). Downgrades in respect to deontic rights will be discussed in §2.4.3.

<sup>71</sup> The camera stays on the empty stairwell as Simon walks up to Emily's door and knocks. Simon, and Emily's door, are out of the view of the camera.

<sup>72</sup> I have noted door squeaks, and any other door-related noises, as the squeaking door projects to the summons recipients the embodied action that is occurring: the closed door is now being opened and someone is ostensibly entering their bedroom.

<sup>73</sup> Although the camera is as yet still not on Simon when he produces his greeting, there does not appear to be a cut in the audio. Where exactly Simon might be when producing his greeting is discussed in Footnote 166 in Chapter 4 within my examination of greetings sequences.

have been achieved through the negotiation of permissive actions between Simon and Tom as co-participants. In the case here where the summons is not answered, and therefore the summoner is not given prior permission to enter, the action of entering the bedroom is done as highly entitled.

In this extract, regardless of the permissibility of his actions, the squeaking door does project the activity currently being undertaken by Simon and is an indicator to Emily that although she has not given permission, *someone* is entering her room. Just after the door stops squeaking, and therefore presumably after he has fully opened it, Simon can be heard greeting Emily as he walks farther into her room. Emily does not respond to his knocking summons or his greeting.<sup>74</sup>

Another example of the summoner entering their summons recipient's bedroom before an answer to the summons is given is Extract 4, in which Simon has just arrived home from work for lunch. As in the previous extract, Simon walks up to Emily's door and knocks. Simon pauses and then taps on the door again, this time with his foot. Emily again does not answer the summons and Simon opens the door and enters the room, greeting her after he crosses the threshold.

**Extract 4: Simon Talking to Emily (TF0105.44:24)<sup>75</sup>**

```

01 SIM    #((knock knock))
02        >>looking towards his right into TOM's room-->
03        #fig 2.2
04        ^ (0.8)
05 sim    ^stands outside door with L index finger on the door-->
06 SIM    ((taps door with foot)) (0.1)∅(0.2)=
07                                     -->∅looks to EMI's door-->>

```

<sup>74</sup> It is not until Simon prompts her twice about her job loss that Emily finally responds another 7 lines into the sequence.

<sup>75</sup> The camera stays on Simon's back as he enters into the room, so it is not completely clear at this point where Emily is inside the room. When the camera is in her room, she is sitting in a chair across from the door. Taking into account the volume of Simon's three turns, the direction in which his body is moving, and that his body is aimed straight ahead, it can be assumed that Emily is in the chair throughout the sequence, despite not being on camera at this time.

```

08      =((taps door with foot))✖
09              -->✖pushes door open with finger (1.19)-->
10      (0.3)š(0.5)
11              š((door squeaks as it's being opened))-->
12 SIM   mtk .hh #š^he:y ↑stink ↓bomb.
13              -->š((door stops squeaking))
14              ^walking over doorway threshold, pushing door open
15      farther, continues walking in-->>
16              #fig 2.3
17      (0.4)š(1.5)š✖
18              š((door squeaking))->
19              -->š✖((door fully opened; stops squeaking))
20 SIM   want=any ↑lu:nch

```

In this extract, after knocking two times, Simon waits for 0.8 seconds then taps twice on the door with his foot, the second time after which he uses his foot to push the door open.

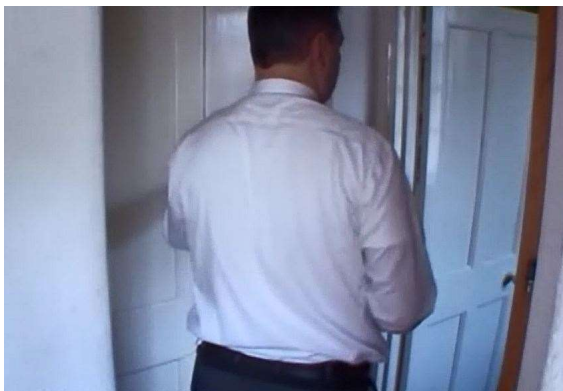


Figure 2.2: Simon knocking at line 1



Figure 2.3: Simon greeting Emily at line 12

As in the previous sequence, Simon waits for Emily to answer his summons, is met with silence, and then opens the door without having received an answer first. Where Simon initially claimed a lower deontic entitlement by orienting towards the need for permission to enter Emily's room, he now treats Emily's (non) answer, and thus (non) permission, as irrelevant and non-contingent to the progression of the sequence, claiming a higher deontic entitlement in the moment by opening the closed door and proceeding into the room. The door again squeaks as it is being opened, an indicator to Emily that someone is opening the door and ostensibly coming in. Simon produces his greeting as he is in Emily's doorway, continuing to open the door and walk into Emily's room (Fig 2.3). Here, Simon greets Emily with 'he:y ↑stink

↓bomb.<sup>76</sup> and after 1.9 seconds of silence, offers her lunch at line 20. His offer of lunch is issued after he is fully in Emily's room next to the chair she is later shown to be sitting in.

### 2.3.1 Design Features in Displays of Low to High Deontic Entitlement

#### *Silence Post-Summons*

As previously mentioned with Extract 1, a summons issued by a summoner makes relevant an answer from the summoned (Clift, 2016a; Schegloff, 2007c). The practice of turn-taking is organised such that when a first is produced, a SPP is relevant to be done next (Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff, 2007c). Simon as summoner deploys his summons as a FPP, which is an initiating action within the summons-answer sequence; however, rather than receive an answer as the SPP and the relevant next in the sequence, there is silence. In both sequences, Simon is displaying a low deontic entitlement by orienting to the closed bedroom door in the construction of his summons and indexing a permission-granting answer to the summons as a next action. Simon waits for Emily to answer, further orienting to her agency and authority in relation to her bedroom. However, in not answering the summons, the summons recipient is not implementing a conditionally relevant next action, (Schegloff, 1968, 2007c). Rather than re-issuing the summons and initiating a new summons-answer sequence, or taking the recipient's non-answer as an indication of unavailability, the summoner claims the authority to enter the bedroom of the summons recipient, displaying a preference for sequential progression by carrying out the action the summons was requesting permission for in the first place, which is to enter the room (Stivers & Robinson, 2006). In doing so, the summoner claims a higher deontic entitlement and authority in the moment, progressing to the next sequence without the achievement of interaction and negotiation with their intended co-participant. This lack of negotiation between parties will be a key feature of Section 2.4.

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<sup>76</sup> This turn is further discussed below in §2.3.2.

### 2.3.2 Seeking Affiliation After a Display of High Entitlement

Although this chapter is not about greetings per se, it serves the discussion here to look at how speakers format their sequence-initiating turns post-summons. In the first two examples, summoners display a lower deontic authority in the construction of their summons, which in turn affiliates with their recipient and recognises the recipient's agency and authority over their territory and private space (Antaki & Kent, 2012). Here, however, there is a transition from a display of low deontic authority to high in the face of not receiving an answer to the summons. In these current extracts, after displays of high entitlement, the summoner seeks to affiliate by producing a greeting sequence after entry into the room. Simon greets Emily with 'hi' plus her default address term<sup>77</sup> in Extract 3 and with 'hey' plus a marked address term in Extract 4, both of which display familiarity and affiliation with the recipient (Pillet-Shore, 2012). In Extract 4 especially, Simon produces 'stink bomb' – which is ostensibly an assessment of the messy state of Emily and Charlotte's room after he enters and has physical access to the state of it – in a way that does not censure Emily but embodies affectionate admonishment. By producing greeting sequences after displays of high entitlement, the summoner proposes the tone of the upcoming interaction, which is more affiliative and deferential than entering the room without permission might at first demonstrate (Pillet-Shore, 2018b).

In Extract 4, although it is quite removed from the summons, after another seven turns relating to Simon's offer of lunch, Simon produces a directive framed as a request: '.hh could you and mum just stop this fi:ght.'. The highly entitled entries into the recipients' bedrooms are in turn succeeded by affiliative work done on the part of the summoner before the delicate topics of lost jobs and fighting between mum and daughter are deployed. Summonses can be

---

<sup>77</sup> I use 'Em' as the default form of 'Emily' here, as 'Em' is most often used by Simon and Tom during everyday interactions and Simon is speaking here. 'Emily' is more routinely used by Jane and Charlotte, as well as by everyone during times of conflict.

issued at a distance and offers of food could be done from the bottom of the stairs. However, in these cases, the summoner constructs these sequence initiations such that affiliation and alignment may be sought and displayed prior to launching topics which call for face-to-face interaction and that may subsequently lead to conflict or disaffiliation.<sup>78</sup> These circumstances, as we see in the extracts here with job loss or an ongoing conflict, make speaking face-to-face relevant. When these types of actions are produced in conjunction with speakers moving to be within the same space prior to launching the sequence (such as going to speak to someone in their bedroom rather than just shouting from the bottom of the stairs), these initiating actions may project not only an extended occasion of interaction, but also one regarding a potentially delicate matter.

In Extract 2, in the midst of Jane's current activity of wrapping presents, Tom does not open the closed bedroom door in the face of silence after his summons. Instead, he claims a lower entitlement in not entering without express permission in deference to Jane and her current activity. As walking in on Jane opening presents could be highly problematic and possibly ruin a surprise for Tom himself, he orients to his mother's deontic right in the moment to allow him to enter or not. In these last two extracts, Simon treats the silence as tacit permission to enter, or he at least treats having left space for Emily to answer the summons as sufficiently endorsing her authority in the moment; in Emily not taking the opportunity to deny (or expressly grant) permission, Simon in turn claims the deontic entitlement to enter anyway. But, as with Extract 2, the local context may have bearing here as well. If it were first thing in the morning and Simon was coming to wake Emily up for work, he could have ostensibly walked straight into the room without summoning first (which we see him do several times throughout the series, specifically when waking his children up for school or work), and therefore claim a high

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<sup>78</sup> I also examine affiliative, sequence-initiating actions that orient to emergent situations subsequently revealed to be delicate in Chapter 4.

deontic entitlement. As we will see in the extracts to follow and as will be discussed further in Chapter 3, not just the physical space, but other contingencies of the local context as in aspects of time of day, social responsibilities (such as, getting up for work or school), or ongoing conflicts are also oriented to by participants in interaction. And in these extracts we see how Simon orients to the emergent delicate interaction in the construction of these summons sequences. It is reasonable to suggest, and something that Simon ostensibly orients to, that if Emily were in a situation where privacy was needed – such as Tom getting dressed in Extract 1 – that she would have told Simon as much when he knocked. In extracts 3 and 4, the next action is to enter the bedroom of the summons recipients, and in some form disregard the unanswered summons, which in turn creates an incomplete summons-answer sequence.

The construction of these sequences contributes to the indexation of identity and familial roles for Simon and Emily in multiple ways. First, Simon entering without permission potentially indexes him as ‘parent’, as it would be highly marked if Tom were to enter Emily and Charlotte’s room without express permission (something discussed in §2.4.2). Second, in coming to Emily’s room to offer lunch and broach delicate subjects such as her job loss and an ongoing argument with Jane, we see Simon first as concerned father and Emily as his child that potentially needs comforting. This is particularly salient in these cases (later in the sequence she is quite defeated about her life and is crying and being cuddled by Simon; likewise, as the interaction progresses past what is shown above in Extract 4, Emily is similarly troubled regarding the ongoing argument with her mum), and both of these instances contribute to the construction of dad as comforter (and self-selected mediator), and daughter as the comforted. Even without access to what happens in the continuation of these extracts, we can see from the initiation of the sequences that not only are interactional environments that call for face-to-face interaction regarding delicate topics a contributor to the construction of identity, but the

claiming of deontic entitlement in the face of post-summons silence is likewise such a contributor.

As displayed by the above extracts, deontic entitlement and authority is not something that is fixed; it is something claimed in the moment and negotiated between participants. In these excerpts, an initial display of low deontic entitlement is upgraded into a claim of high deontic entitlement. Here, summoners upgrade their deontic claims, granting themselves in the moment the permission contingent to entering the recipient's bedroom and progressing the sequence without orienting to the absent answer from their recipient as marked or accountable. The need for permission is projected in the construction of the sequence: the summoner summons, makes no attempt to enter the recipient's bedroom beforehand, and waits for a response before proceeding, thus allowing space for permission to be granted or denied. However, in order to progress the sequence when their chosen recipient does not answer, summoners self-select to produce a next action and claim their deontic authority in the moment.

## **2.4 Displays of Deontic Entitlement in Concurrent Summons and Entry**

Despite the standard construction of a summons-answer sequence that has been shown in the previous extracts, summoners may construct their sequences such that there is no slot for recipients to reply to the summons before the summoner enters their bedroom, even if the summons is initiated prior to entry. In these circumstances, as will be examined below, summoners organise their summonses such that the realisation of the deployed summons and the embodied action of entering the summons recipient's bedroom is realised concurrently, the summons acting as an *alert*. As Deppermann and Gubina (2021) found in their work on German *darf/kann ich* (may/can I) as first actions in initiating sequences, when speakers construct their turns such that verbal actions are produced concomitantly with embodied actions, the speaker takes for granted that their actions are treated as mutually permissible.



In the extracts below, an alerting summons displays a mismatch in the deontic entitlement claimed by the summoner. In these sequences, summoners orient towards closed bedroom doors and permission to enter as low contingencies surrounding the progression of their current activity. Rather than an upgrade from low to high claims of deontic entitlement as seen in the previous section, through a sequence of actions, summoners *simultaneously* claim a low deontic entitlement lexically and a high deontic entitlement through their embodied actions.

In the first example of this phenomenon, Emily is in her bedroom when Simon comes in to ask her what she would like for dinner. Simon opens Emily's bedroom door and produces his verbal summons, entering her room as he does so (Fig 2.4), before Emily has answered.

**Extract 5: What Does Em Want For Tea (TF0101.23:20)**

```

01 SIM    .hh^hh. .h*h m[tk.                ] ↑Em:ǀ#
02        >>walking up to EMI's bedroom door (1.8)-->
03        ^raises L arm to push door open->
04        ->*pushes door (1.10)-->
05        [((door clicks open))]
06
07        (0.4)^š                (0.5)                #fig 2.4
08 sim    -->^walking into room (1.12)-->                š*
09        -->š((door squeaks as it is pushed open))š
10
11 SIM    ^tea: hwi:se,
12        ^fully in EMI's room, continues walking in-->>
13        (0.2)
14 SIM    ↓d'you want some cur:ryǀ
15        (0.5)
16 SIM    ↓d'you want some pastaǀ
17        (0.2)
18 SIM    ↓soup
19        (0.5)
20 EMI    ↑I don't ↑mi:nd h.

```

In this extract, Simon first pushes on Emily's bedroom door – which clicks open – then initiates his summons before entering the bedroom.



Figure 2.4: Simon at line 1, just after ‘↑Em:ɔ’

Prior to him crossing the threshold into her room, Simon produces his summons at line 1. The door squeaks as he pushes it open farther and continues into her room. After he is fully within the room, he introduces the reason for entering, producing what becomes the pre-enquiry phrase of, ‘tea: <sup>h</sup>wɪ:se,’ , to which Emily does not verbally respond until Simon is well inside her room and has listed off several choices for dinner.<sup>79</sup>

Through a continuous sequence of actions, Simon opens Emily’s closed bedroom door, issues his summons, enters her room, and walks in. This sequence differs from previous extracts in several ways: first, Simon opens the door without summoning Emily beforehand; here, the initiating action is the bodily action of Simon opening the door, not the summoning of Emily. Second, Simon’s summons is produced within a sequence of continuous actions. In previous extracts, the summons was produced before opening the bedroom door and was done as a separate, discrete act, an action that, in a display of low deontic entitlement, was produced such that a slot was left for the summons recipient to answer the summons. In those sequences, the receipt of an answer prior to attempting to enter the recipient’s bedroom was preferred and oriented to. In Extract 5, although the lexical production of Simon’s summons is completed before he enters Emily’s bedroom, his summons and entry into the room is constructed as a continuum of actions. This sequence is like others in that there is space after the summons for

<sup>79</sup> There is only audio data after Simon walks into Emily’s room, as the camera remains filming at the landing outside the bedroom door.

an answer; however, an answer from the summons recipient here would not have been oriented to as permission-granting as it would have had it been received prior to entry into the room.

In the previous two extracts, Simon was entering Emily's room to speak with her about very different subjects than what one would like for dinner. In those instances, the attempt to establish affiliation before introducing a delicate topic serves to set the tone for a positively tilted interaction despite the difficult topics. Here, Simon is going around the house attempting to ascertain what everyone would like to eat, first stopping into Emily's room. The offering of food (and multiple options to choose from), as well as preparing it, is a highly affiliative activity that attends to the needs of Emily and orients to his entry without permission – or even leaving space for an answer to the summons to be given – as highly permissible.<sup>80</sup>

Extract 6 is similarly constructed such that the summons-answer sequence is being produced concurrently with entry into Emily's bedroom. It is also an extract that centres around household matters, such as the preparation of dinner in Extract 5. Here, Simon is coming up the stairs to request Emily get out of bed as it is mid-afternoon and her bedclothes need washing. As in the previous extract, Simon initiates his verbal summons before entering Emily's room. However, in this extract, he does not complete his turn until he is fully inside her bedroom. Emily responds to Simon's summons after he is in her room.

**Extract 6:** This Bed Needs the Cleansing (TF0105.11:50)

```

01 SIM    .hhh (.) #^<↑EM::IL:::Y  J::^@AN::E=
02        >>coming up the stairs->
03        ->^steps onto landing^
04                                     @cam inside EMI's room (1.14)-->
05        #fig 2.5
06        =*HUGH^::E[S::  ]>
07        *opens EMI's bedroom door-->
08        ^enters bedroom (1.13)-->
09 EMI    [°don't°] make that #↓noi*se
10        -->*door fully opened
11        #fig 2.6

```

<sup>80</sup> The aspect of Simon's task of making dinner is discussed further in §2.4.1.

12 SIM ^<^DI:S I:S THE VO:ICE OF YOU:R <DA:::D>@,=  
 13 ^continues walking into the room-->>  
 14 -->@cam to EMI-->  
 15 SIM =WHO [LOV:ES= <Y::OU> ]  
 16 EMI [↑don't make that NOI]SE!  
 17 SIM .hh@h. (.) ↑↑WOULD YOU MIND COMING @OUT OF BED=  
 18 -->@cam to SIM----->@cam to EMI and SIM-->  
 19 =NOW? IT'S TEN @PAST THREE AND THIS BED NEEDS DE=  
 20 -->@cam to EMI-->>  
 21 =CLEANSI:NG.<sup>81</sup>

Simon begins to summon Emily at line 1 just as he reaches the top of the stairs (Fig 2.5).



Figure 2.5: Simon as he launches the summons at line 1

He produces her full name loudly, lengthening it<sup>82</sup> using a monotone, low timbre singing voice, and opens Emily's bedroom door at 'HUGH: :ES'. As he continues to draw out her surname, he enters the bedroom (timing shown at line 8) and finds himself in overlap with Emily when she matches his tone, calling out from her bed, '°don't° make that ↓noise', with her tone falling slightly on 'noise'. Although Emily does respond to Simon's summons, she does so in a disaffiliative and resistant manner, ostensibly due to her being in bed and possibly sleeping; her potential sleep and resistance to being disturbed indexed through her formulation of the way Simon summons her as 'that noise' and in her directive for him to stop making it.<sup>83</sup>

The concurrent actions in Simon's summons here are organised in much the same way as Extract 5. Although Simon draws out his summons and begins it before he has even arrived at

<sup>81</sup> Simon says this in a very playful, high-pitched voice.

<sup>82</sup> It takes 3.5 seconds for Simon's full utterance at lines 1 and 6.

<sup>83</sup> This is discussed further in §2.4.1.

her door, the production of the summons and his entry into the room are also done as a continuous sequence of actions. In this extract, Simon orients to the closed bedroom door in a similar way to Tom in Extract 2, producing his summons as he is ascending the stairs (initiating it 2.3 seconds before opening the door) and at a volume loud enough that Emily might hear it through her closed bedroom door. However, in this extract, unlike Extract 2, Simon continues the production of the summons as he arrives outside the closed door, carrying it out as he opens the door, and only realising the production of the summons once he is fully inside Emily's room.

Simon's activity of getting Emily out of bed, whilst may not be viewed by Emily to be of any immediate benefit to her – such as having dinner prepared for her as in Extract 5 – and is something she is explicitly resisting as she is in bed, is also again not a topic such as those introduced in extracts 3 and 4. Here, the task at hand is not of an overtly conflictual nature, but is a chore that needs to be done despite Emily's own current activity of being in bed. Simon produces Emily's full name, which potentially serves multiple purposes, one of which is that it allows for plenty of notification for Emily that Simon is coming towards and potentially into her room (which he eventually does); Emily can ostensibly hear Simon getting closer and he is still producing her name whilst he opens the door and enters the bedroom. The second, is that a parent using a child's full name has a cultural reputation for standardly being done when a child is in some sort of trouble, produced during a complaint or reprimand for some bad behaviour.<sup>84</sup> Producing it in an exaggerated, light-hearted and cheerful manner (with the extended production of the name in a loud, singing tone), as well as including 'this is the voice of your dad who loves you' in the next turn, displays intimacy between Simon and Emily and

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<sup>84</sup> In Chapter 4, extracts 1 and 6, I look at an extended interactional sequence where subsequent to those extracts, Simon comes home from work and complains that Emily not only spent most of the day in bed, but that she is now only ironing some of his shirts when there are more to be done. He assesses, 'you need a new set of rules, Emily Jane Hughes', displaying aptly this cultural convention (standardly between parent and child) for producing one's full name when scolding ascribed problematic conduct.

formats the turn as affiliative. The whimsical and affectionate production of the summons here potentially projects that the reason for the summons may be a delicate matter, but also serves to mitigate any overt complainability a full-name summons might project whilst concurrently indexing some degree of complaint in having to rouse Emily from bed in the middle of the afternoon so her sheets can be cleaned. Emily disaffiliates and resists Simon throughout the excerpt, the bluntness in her responses perhaps orienting to Simon's overtly affiliative turns and the possible forthcoming delicate matter they project. The high deontic entitlement displayed in Simon's entry into the room and in the request for her to get out of bed is mitigated by the affiliative design of his summons as well as the rest of the sequence and is an attempt by Simon to ultimately realise the activity of getting Emily out of bed and getting the washing done.

#### **2.4.1 Design Features in Displays of Mismatched Deontic Entitlement**

##### *Recipient Permission as Irrelevant to Progression of the Sequence*

As displayed in these extracts, there is a mismatch in the deontic entitlement claimed by the summoner within the summons-answer sequence, the deployment of simultaneous lexical and embodied actions displaying both a lower and higher deontic entitlement that does alerting rather than seeking permission. By disattending the need for permission before entry, summoners display even higher entitlement than those who knock and then enter without permission (Craven & Potter, 2010), as was done in extracts 3 and 4. In those instances, there was a shift as the sequence progressed; the low deontic entitlement of the summons issuance outside of the room is marked as incongruent by the subsequent display of high entitlement in the embodied action of entering without permission to do so. In these most recent extracts, the mismatch is displayed in the construction of the summons *as* it is being deployed.

*The Summons-Answer Sequential Short-cut*

Another salient feature in the design of the above courses of actions, is the way in which the summons-answer sequence is progressed by the summoner. Although Simon lexically leaves space for Emily to answer post-summons in Extract 5 where there is 0.9 seconds of silence before Simon speaks again, the summons and sequential slot for the answer in both extracts 5 and 6 are produced in coordination with embodied entry into Emily's bedroom; there is no space for Emily to answer his summons *prior* to his entry into her bedroom. Here, through the parallel production of verbal and embodied actions, a "sequential shortcut" (Deppermann & Gubina, 2021, p. 14) is implemented as a means by which to progress the sequence, enacting a third position before a second position has even occurred (Deppermann & Gubina, 2021). This concurrent production of lexical and embodied actions claims a high deontic entitlement that reduces the possibility for negotiation of the sequence between co-participants and displays a confidence on the part of the summoner of the permissibility of their actions (Deppermann & Gubina, 2021). This simultaneous production and sequential shortcut marks the second position, SPP answer from the summons recipient as unnecessary in the progression of the sequence where it would standardly be attended to as preferred and otherwise accountable when absent (Schegloff, 1968).

An additional aspect to consider in the progression of the summons-answer sequence, is possible time constraints upon participants. Although not necessarily something that is recognisable as an emergency, making dinner and washing bedclothes – especially if one is about to start the washing machine – are activities that have a time limit in that they are being done at a time specific to the agent of that activity. In this way, the summoner is claiming a high deontic entitlement in the larger sequence by initiating interaction with their recipient based on the current activity of the summoner, which is especially salient in these extracts where there are sequential shortcuts.

Furthermore, not only is an element of timeliness observed, but also a measure of who is benefactor and who is the beneficiary (Clayman & Heritage, 2014). In Extract 5, Simon is entering Emily's room to offer her food that he will be preparing for her. In Extract 6, whilst in the moment Emily will need to inconvenience herself by getting out of bed, in the end she will be benefitting from the clean and freshly washed bedding that Simon is taking care of for her. As with extracts 3 and 4, we again see the indexing of Simon as parent in the design of his turns and in the tasks he is attempting to accomplish, and it is recognisable that Simon is acting in a way that benefits Emily, even if doing so in a highly entitled way. Through this dynamic of benefactors and beneficiaries, timeliness, and through claims to deontic rights, the interaction is negotiated moment-by-moment. In both extracts, Simon claims high deontic entitlement in one respect and claims low deontic entitlement in another.

In another summons-answer example that displays a similar construction to the sequences above,<sup>85</sup> Simon is approaching the living room doorway and concurrently enters whilst summoning Emily, even though she is sitting on the sofa in front of him and he has clear view of her. He gives her space to answer, but she does not. After a pause, he progresses to the next sequence, which he initiates with the accusation that Emily has been wearing Jane's clothes without her permission. As this example has a similar concurrent construction of the verbal and embodied actions as those above, it might be expected that a similar mismatch in deontic entitlement would be present here. On the contrary, Simon is not displaying low and high entitlement in the design of this summons sequence. Here, Simon summons Emily and then waits for her answer, unlike what we saw in extracts 5 and 6. But, he is not seeking permission to enter the shared living room, and therefore, his summons is not claiming a lower deontic entitlement by making a request to do so; instead, he is deploying the summons as an attention-getting device, which in itself does not make or display any deontic claims. It is not Simon

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<sup>85</sup> The transcript for this excerpt is found in Appendix D, Extract AD.1, on page 278.



entering the room without seeking permission first that is the highly deontically entitled action; Simon claims a high deontic entitlement through his course of interrupting and confronting actions, treating Emily's current activities as interruptible and her lack of answer to the summons as a non-impediment to the progression of the larger sequence.<sup>86</sup> We can see that despite similar constructions of the sequence, the physical context – such as that of being in a private versus shared space – as well as the organisation of the sequence and the interactional context, is where different levels of deontic authority are claimed and displayed. In the case of verbal and embodied actions being concomitantly implemented in the summons-answer sequences around *bedroom* doorways, there is a mismatch in deontic claims that may not be displayed in other physical or interactional environments.

#### *Concurrent Actions as Highly Projectable Actions*

The summoners in these sequences have designed their summonses such that the emergent course of actions – entering into the bedroom, which they have neither sought nor been given permission to do – is highly projectable.<sup>87</sup> In the two extracts above, Simon is proceeding with a sequence of embodied actions: (1) walking up to Emily's bedroom door, (2) opening it, and (3) walking inside. Whilst he is engaged in this series of embodied actions, he is simultaneously carrying out the verbal action of summoning. This coordination of lexical and embodied action marks his entry into Emily's room as highly projectable. In Extract 5, Simon's verbal summons was minimal, but his embodied actions were audible, indicative of his entry into her room, both the door clicking open and the squeak as it opens farther. These audibly accessible embodied

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<sup>86</sup> Although Simon similarly interrupts Emily's current activities in extracts 5 and 6, as discussed there, because of the affiliative and beneficial tasks Simon is carrying out, Simon's high entitlement is largely displayed in the summons production of entering her room whilst producing the summons and not leaving room for an answer, rather than in going in to admonish Emily for some complainable behaviour, as seen here. This element of confronting Emily has not yet been explored in these extracts. Extract 7 in §2.4.2 will examine a summons deployed in a conflict environment that specifically follows this interaction between Simon and Emily.

<sup>87</sup> I consider some actions to be non-projectable when they are not mutually accessible to co-participants. Some actions – such as entering a bedroom – may be constructed to be highly projectable. The element of non-projectability in entering a bedroom is explored in §2.4.2.1.

actions reveal Simon's current activity, especially when accompanied with the deployment of her default referent. In Extract 6, Simon's summons was not only her full name, but her full name produced in an especially expansive manner. Initiating his summons in line with a concurrent production of embodied actions, although not visibly available to both parties, makes Simon's entry into Emily's bedroom mutually understood through audibly salient actions. Emily's responses to Simon's entry into her room also indicate the high projectability of Simon's actions. Emily responds to Simon's summons with '°don't° make that noise' at line 9, overlapping with the end of his turn. In her response, Emily indicates that she has clearly heard Simon's current activity as 'coming in' and responds at a volume that displays her understanding that he is now in her room (Fig 2.6).



Figure 2.6: Simon entering Emily's bedroom at line 9

In her response, Emily does not orient towards Simon's entry into her room as problematic in itself; there is no resistance or complaint in his entering without express permission from Emily. Emily only protests the production of the summons in Extract 6, not the point that he is in her room without her permission. In Extract 5, Emily does not verbally reply to either Simon's summons or his entry into her room. In either extract, this non-response to an entry that was not previously granted permission for indicates an understanding regarding the projection of Simon's lexical and embodied actions. In both of these extracts, as the sequence of actions are highly projectable and available to Emily prior to Simon entering the room, there is a display of intersubjective understanding as to what Simon is doing.

As has been noted in previous work, participants claim high deontic entitlement in the moment by displaying little to no orientation towards contingencies (Craven & Potter, 2010; Curl & Drew, 2008). This disattention to contingencies is especially displayed in sequences where the lexical summons and the bodily entry into the recipient's bedroom are deployed concurrently. In these sequences, neither the contingency of the closed door nor the need for permission to enter are oriented to nor displayed within the sequence. The sequential organisation of these salient features marks their current activity as, 'I'm coming in', which is alerting their summons recipients to their presence rather than seeking permission. This organisation of actions, both lexical and embodied, issued by summoner and summons recipient, highlights this mismatch in deontic entitlement and the alerting nature of these sequences.

In alerting their recipient, despite the high deontic entitlement their embodied actions claim and the organisation of the sequence indexing the recipient's permission as a forgone conclusion with the summons being only pro forma and perfunctory, the summoner is still alerting the summons recipient to their presence prior to entry into their bedroom, orienting to some claim to deontic authority on the part of the summons recipient.

#### **2.4.2 A Case of High Deontic Entitlement**

The next two sequences exhibit summoners deploying a sequence of actions where the results slightly differ from the extracts we have seen so far. In this first extract (Extract 7), the summoner displays the strongest claim to deontic entitlement of the extracts in this chapter. This strong claim is done through the summoner not issuing their summons until they have already entered the room. In Extract 8, the production of the summons demonstrates a regression in deontic entitlement which is initially high but downgraded in the face of resistance as the sequence progresses.

This extract shows Tom standing outside of Emily's closed bedroom door; he has his hand raised and poised to knock. However, he does not knock and instead enters after standing outside the door for at least 5.3 seconds.<sup>88</sup> Just prior to this extract, Emily and Jane had been arguing about Emily taking Jane's clothes without asking and then claiming she does not have them. Tom has been comforting Jane as she has been crying after arguing with Emily.<sup>89</sup>

**Extract 7: Em How Can You Have a Go at Mum (TF0106.21:08)**

```

01      (1.4)≠(1.0)#(0.9)≠(1.1)
02 tom  >>standing in front of EMI's door (1.9)-->
03      ≠steps up to door; brings RH fist up and holds, suspended
04      as if to knock-->#lowers RH slightly and extends it towards door
05      #fig 2.7
06      * ≠(0.3)š(0.6)
07 tom  *pushes open door (1.12)->
08      ->#takes a step into the room, continues into room (1.17)-->
09      š((door squeaks as it is opened)) (1.13)-->
10 TOM  E: :mç90
11      (0.8)* (0.1)š
12 tom  -->*pushes door the final bit
13      -->š((door bangs as it hits something behind it))
14 TOM  how can you: :
15      (0.4)
16 TOM  have a go at mu:m.#[(she's really)] up↓set.=
17      -->#reaches the edge of CHA's bed91
18 EMI  [ get ↓ou:t. ]

```

Tom does not knock or produce any sort of summons before entering Emily's bedroom in this sequence, but he does first momentarily orient to the contingency of the closed bedroom door.

<sup>88</sup> The camera goes to Tom already standing outside of Emily's closed bedroom door. It is unclear how long he has been there when the camera shows him already facing the door. Once the camera is on him, it is 1.4 seconds before he steps up to the door. The door is considered to be closed as is outlined further in Footnote 57.

<sup>89</sup> This sequence takes place after the previously discussed instance of Simon entering the living room to confront Emily.

<sup>90</sup> Uttered as Tom is over Emily's doorway threshold and inside her room.

<sup>91</sup> This is ostensibly the point when Tom can finally see Emily inside the room.



Figure 2.7: Tom standing poised to knock on Emily's bedroom door at line 1

The pre-summons orientation towards the closed bedroom door is seen as Tom holds his hand up to knock prior to entering Emily's room; he stands outside the door with his fist up ready to knock but does not follow through with the projected embodied action (Fig 2.7). After a pause of 5.3 seconds,<sup>92</sup> he opens the door and begins entering the room without issuing any type of summons – alerting or permission-seeking – prior to entry. In the first four extracts, the contingency of the closed door was one overtly oriented to, and the issuance of a summons as a request for permission was negotiated by summoners within the sequence by either utilising the door as a vehicle for their summons or in producing their summons at a volume that takes the physical barrier of the closed bedroom door into account; even in extracts 5 and 6, which were alerting summonses, the closed door is oriented to by producing the summonses before entering the bedroom. Here, however, the door is only involved in the summoning of Emily in the ways it is *not* oriented to: Tom initially attends to the closed door by stopping outside it and positioning himself physically to use the door as a tool with which to deploy his summons, but instead of continuing with that course of action, Tom pivots out of it, disattending the closed door and the deference to Emily's privacy and personal space that a closed door may imply,

<sup>92</sup> As previously noted, it is unclear exactly how long Tom was outside the closed door before we see Tom on camera. The 5.3 seconds is from the time the camera initially shows him outside of Emily's bedroom until the time he enters her room.

and alters the knocking summons action to a highly entitled and authoritative, non-projectible entry into Emily's bedroom (Drew et al., 2011).

At this point, Tom opens Emily's door, begins to walk in, and then produces his summons at line 10, as he is already at and walking over the threshold of Emily's doorway. Emily does not answer his summons as he continues into the room and bangs the door on something behind it whilst coming in. Despite his unexpected entry and the force of the door being opened causing it to bang open, Emily does not initially treat Tom's entry into her room as problematic.<sup>93</sup> It is not until after he has produced, 'how can you::: (0.4) have a go at mu:m.' at lines 14-16,<sup>94</sup> that Tom finds himself in overlap with Emily where she directs him to, 'get ↓ou:t.' as he is assessing that '(she's really) up↓set'. In none of the previous sequences does Emily protest Simon being in her bedroom. This is the only extract where, at the deployment of his reason for entering, Emily rejects Tom being in her room, displaying open resistance to her younger brother's reprimand and presence.

Just prior to this excerpt, Tom was comforting Jane about an argument that arose due to Emily's behaviour. Not only have Jane and Emily been arguing, but Simon has also been involved in the conflict (see page 104 for the brief discussion on this and Appendix D page 278 for the transcript of the opening of this sequence) and accused Jane of not being patient enough with Emily before subsequently leaving the house for the evening; Simon had confronted Emily about the clothing, but Tom selects himself at this point to confront Emily about her treatment of their mother.

---

<sup>93</sup> Although he forcefully opens the door, which is quite different than the previous excerpts, Emily does not immediately appear to respond to Tom's entry. However, as only the audio is accessible in the opening of this sequence and we cannot see inside the room when Tom enters, it is possible that Emily does react to Tom's abrupt entrance or summons, but not in an audible way. We cannot see Emily in her room, nor what her current activities are. In that, we can only say she is disattending the summons and not the summoner's entry into her room.

<sup>94</sup> This turn is discussed further below.

The turns-at-talk which involve confronting Emily shape the moments before Tom's entry into Emily's room and through the production of the summons sequence. As we can see, he pauses to knock, but does not; knocking would indicate seeking permission and display low deontic authority. Instead, in service of being as authoritative as possible, Tom repairs out of knocking – depending on the construction of the summons sequence, knocking could demonstrate a degree of low deontic entitlement but at the least would orient in some way to Emily's own deontic authority – and instead enters Emily's room with no indication or projection of his next actions. In initiating the sequence in this way, Tom orients towards Emily's closed bedroom door and permission to enter her room as non-contingent to his current activity of confrontation (Deppermann & Gubina, 2021). As Emily may ultimately resist Tom's presence in her room (which she subsequently does), Tom demonstrates his choice to not grant Emily the deontic authority to give or refuse him permission to enter her bedroom beforehand and instead claims the authority for himself in the moment.

#### 2.4.2.1 Design Features of this Highly Entitled Sequence

##### *The Need for Permission as Non-contingent*

This sequence is again not built for permission as a next action (Craven & Potter, 2010), and the need for permission before entering (or an overt orientation towards the closed door) *within* the deployment of the summons-answer sequence is not exhibited, therefore displaying the summoner's disattention to the summons recipient's deontic authority. Here, Tom only orients to the closed door and the implications of requesting permission in a separate pre-sequence. He further claims a higher deontic authority and agency in the moment with this summons not even doing an alert to his entry in its deployment. What this summons does do, is alert Emily to the fact that Tom is *already* in her room, which she could ostensibly ascertain through the proximity of his voice. This organisation of the summons sequence accounts for the highest

claim of deontic entitlement and grants Emily the lowest claim to deontic authority within the extracts thus far examined.

### *Highly Entitled Entry as Non-Projectable Complaint*

In this extract, Tom deploys his actions simultaneously, which in previous extracts aided in the projectability and mutual accessibility of actions. However, in producing his summons *after* he enters Emily's room, Tom constructs his sequence of actions as non-projectable. If Tom had followed through with knocking on Emily's door prior to entering, he would have at the most left space for Emily to answer his summons and at the least been alerting her to his presence and intention to enter the room for further interaction; in both cases he would be projecting his possible next actions. However, in not summoning Emily prior to entering her room, and with no audible squeak of the door being heard until 0.6 seconds before he is verbally issuing his summons, Tom's entry into Emily's room is not mutually accessible to both parties in the moment, and he is therefore not projecting his entry into Emily's room before it is enacted. The construction of Tom's entry into Emily's room marks it as highly agentic and entitled, more so than the high entitlement claimed by Simon in extracts 5 and 6. In Extract 7, Emily's permission is neither sought nor oriented to as hers to grant in the course of Tom's actions, nor does he attend to her authority to be at least alerted ahead of time. In this extract, Tom produces his summons as a complaint, made evident through the timing of his summons deployment, the prosody of 'E: :mɛ', and the banging open of the door as he enters; a complaint made increasingly clear in subsequent turns.

### **2.4.3 A Case of Low to High to Low Deontic Entitlement in the Summons**

Subsection 2.4.1 examined the mismatch in deontic entitlement that summoners' concurrent lexical and embodied actions displayed, in turn creating a sequential shortcut in favour of progression of the sequence. In §2.4.2, the summoner claimed the highest deontic entitlement



seen thus far by deploying his summons after he had already entered the recipient's bedroom. In that extract, there was no orientation to the contingencies of the closed door or permission to enter in the production of the summons, nor to the action of alerting that Tom's summons could have done had he produced it before opening the door. In the following extract, however, the summoner displays a low to high and then back to low claim to deontic entitlement. Here, an initial mismatch between displays of entitlement in the lexical and embodied actions is downgraded in the face of resistance.

This extract takes place after Emily has been in her bedroom getting ready to go out for the evening. She has been doing her hair and comes downstairs to the living room where most of the family is gathered watching television and asks what she should do with her fringe. Jane makes a joke about the fringe being the least of Emily's worries (as the rest of it is now quite curly and large compared to her normally straight hair) and Emily leaves the room with a sigh, quickly walking back to her room. The extract begins with Jane going upstairs to Emily's room after the interaction in the living room.

**Extract 8: Jane at Emily's Door (TF0106.45:24)**

```

01 JAN    ↑Emi↓lØy?×
02        >>walking up to EMI's door-->
03        -->Øputs LH up on EMI's door (1.10)-->
04        *pushes on door-->
05        (0.9)×(1.1)#
06 jan    -->*again presses on door with LH, it does not open (1.11)-->
07        #fig 2.8
08 EMI    ↑wha:t
09        (0.3)Ø(0.3)×(0.3)
10 jan    -->Øreaches RH out to twist doorknob to open door
11        *pushes open door

```

In this sequence, Jane deploys her summons prior to attempting to enter Emily's bedroom but places her hand on Emily's door and pushes it during the realisation of the summons. Through Jane's initial, concurrent actions, she displays an asymmetry in her claims to deontic entitlement, resembling very closely extracts 5 and 6 in the design of the summons turn.

However, unlike previous extracts, the door does not open when Jane pushes on it, the stuck door halting Jane's deployment of the action sequence. Jane instead stands outside Emily's bedroom door with her hand still flat upon it (Fig 2.8), waiting until Emily answers her summons. Emily does so at line 8 with '↑wha:t'.



Figure 2.8: Jane waiting (the timing shown at line 7) after she had initially tried to open the door

Initially, Jane opts for an alerting summons, progressing the sequence by taking a shortcut from the first position summons to the third position entry into Emily's room, removing the negotiation of interaction with Emily by treating the closed door and the requesting of permission to enter as non-contingent to the progression of the sequence, as was seen in extracts 5 and 6. After the door stays, and the concurrent construction of the summons is halted by the unmoving door, the physical barrier of the closed door and the permission to enter are highly oriented to; Jane shifts into waiting for Emily's previously disattended second position answer to the summons rather than possibly continuing to push and enter without express permission, displaying a low deontic entitlement in now waiting for Emily's answer before pushing on the door again and entering the room. When the progression of the sequence as it was first initiated is blocked by the closed door, the sequence is reconstituted from higher entitlement into one of lower entitlement as Jane waits for Emily to answer her summons. As 'what' is a standard summons answer (Schegloff, 2007c), once Emily has produced it, Jane tries again to open the door and this time is successful, proceeding to enter Emily's bedroom. The action sequence

Jane initiated was halted by the resisting door, and as such, we see moment-by-moment the alteration of implemented actions as well as altered displays of deontic entitlements.

In Extract 7, Tom oriented towards the closed bedroom door and the practice of knocking to request permission prior to attempting to enter the room during the pre-sequence to the summons-answer sequence. In pausing outside the closed door and raising his fist to knock, Tom attends to these actions as contingent to the progression of the sequence. It is in the pivoting into a concurrent deployment of actions, where the summons comes after he is already in Emily's room, that Tom disattends these as contingent and claims high deontic entitlement.

In Extract 8, Jane does the opposite in initially not orienting to the closed door or permission to enter as contingent to progression, and only orients to these factors after the door stays. When Jane alters the current trajectory of the summons sequence into waiting for Emily's answer before attempting to enter again, we see again a preference for permission being granted. When Jane waits, Emily's answer acknowledges Jane's summons and is mutually understood to not only indicate her presence and availability, but also permission to enter as the upshot of that availability.

## 2.5 Concluding Discussion

In this chapter, I have examined the claims participants make to deontic entitlement and authority, and the role the physical environment plays, within the summons-answer sequence. As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, previous work on the summons-answer sequence, particularly in relation to telephone calls, found that it is the *answerer's* conduct that standardly shapes the summons-answer sequence (Schegloff, 1986). This analysis is novel in its examination of the construction of the summons-answer sequence in in-person, co-present interaction, rather than through the ringing and answering of a telephone, thus demonstrating that in these physical and interactional environments, it is *summoners* and the format of

summons as embodied and verbal sequences of action that have an impactful effect on the openings of interaction. By examining sequences of family interaction initiated around bedroom doorways, I have shown that parties orient to the physical environment, as well as their own and each other's claimed and displayed deontic entitlements and authorities in the moment, in turn contributing to the orderly and joint construction of the summons-answer sequence and the initiation of social interaction in in-person, co-present interaction.

On the whole, we can clearly see how the initiation of an interaction around a bedroom doorway is shaped by aspects of the physical space and more broadly the interactional space. As these openings of interaction are initiated around bedroom doorways, the lexical and prosodic features of the summons, the physical space and participants' movements through it, and the embodied actions implemented, all converge together to shape the production of the summons-answer sequence and the deontic entitlements claimed through its formatting. As noted by Mondada's (2013b) work on preparatory pre-opening activities, aspects of the physical environment play a role in shaping the moments leading up to the production of the summons: such as, whether the summoner is currently walking up the stairs when launching the summons or whether the summoner is standing outside the bedroom door at the moment of deployment. Similarly, the construction of the summons itself is shaped by the physical space: such as, whether a summons is loudly produced as the summoner is still approaching the room, or whether the physical space is used and manipulated through a knock on the door or opening the door as the summons is uttered. These aspects of the physical space – where a bedroom door is positioned within the home or in relation to the stairs, whether the door can be pushed open or needs the knob turned, or whether it stays closed when it is pushed – are oriented to by participants in ways that have not been examined before in previous CA research. By examining family members within the home and investigating the way they situate themselves before, during, and after the production of these opening summons-answer sequences, we gain

new insights into not only family interaction and claims to deontic rights, but also into the construction of the physical and interactional space and its role in openings of interaction. The consideration of how these elements are organised and negotiated by co-participants in turn contributes to our understanding of social interaction more generally.

*Claiming and Displaying Deontic Entitlement in the Production of the Summons*

Summoners make claims on deontic entitlement along a spectrum of low to high within the sequence dependent upon when they deploy their summons within the sequence. When they issue their summons, the embodied and lexical actions they are producing in the moment, and the sequential negotiation between the summoner and their summons recipient – or lack thereof – are all ways in which parties claim and display their deontic entitlement and authority.

In light of the extracts examined herein, displays of and claims to deontic entitlement by summoners within the summons-answer sequence can be observed to fall on a spectrum or linear cline from low to high deontic entitlement (Table 2.1).

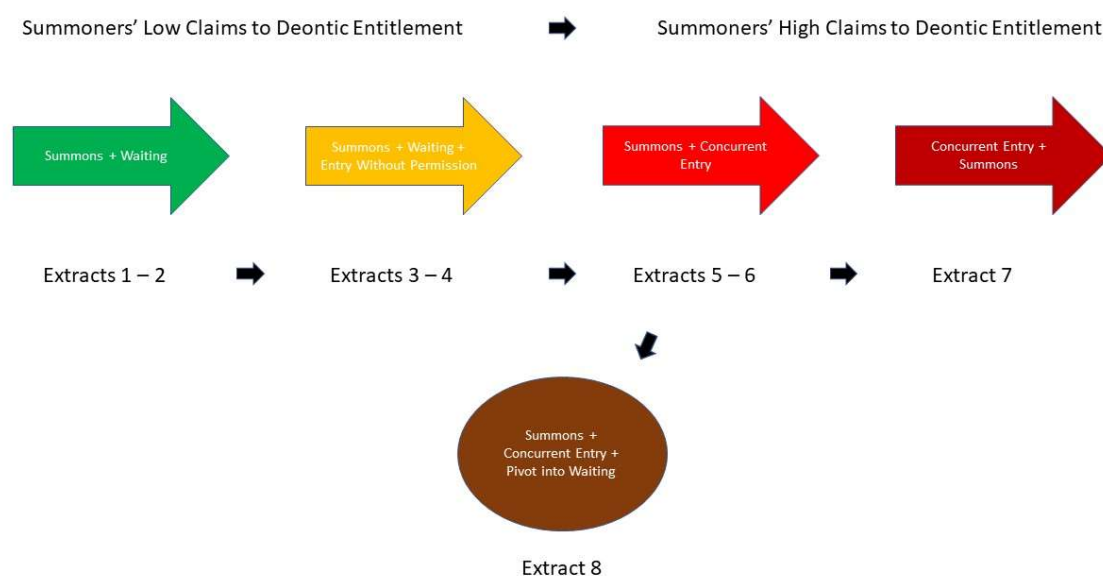


Table 2.1: Spectrum of Summoners' Claims to Deontic Entitlement

In summoning and waiting for an answer, summoners treat the granting of permission and the closed door as highly contingent to the summoner entering. This frames the summoner as one with low deontic entitlement in the moment and the summons recipient in a place of high deontic authority. These summonses are intersubjectively understood to be doing requesting permission.

In summoning and waiting, then subsequently entering without a response, the summonses are oriented to as permission-requesting, and summoners initially treat the granting of permission as contingent to them entering the room. However, in the face of silence from the summons recipient, the contingencies of permission and the closed bedroom door are attended to as unnecessary for the progression of the sequence. This initially places the summoner in a position of low deontic entitlement and the summons recipient in one of high deontic entitlement and authority. However, the displays of entitlement are switched as the preference for progressivity indexes the upgraded claims summoners make by entering the bedroom without express permission. This results in summoners claiming a high deontic entitlement with the summons recipient displaying a low deontic authority.

In issuing the summons as they are concurrently entering, summoners treat the requesting and granting of permission and the closed door as non-contingent to the summoners entering the room. This concurrent deployment of the summons with bodily entering the bedroom, creates a sequential shortcut such that sequential negotiation between participants is rendered unnecessary to the progression of the sequence. These summonses are attended to as alerting summonses and display a claim of high deontic entitlement on behalf of summoners and a low deontic authority by summons recipients.

In issuing their summons after entering, summoners treat permission and the barrier of a closed door as non-contingent to the progression of the sequence. This summons is deployed as highly

entitled, not even alerting the summons recipient before entry, and places the summons recipient in a position of low deontic authority. This is the highest claim to deontic entitlement on the spectrum.

In issuing their summons as they are attempting to enter but then pivoting into waiting in the face of resistance, summoners initially treat the requesting of permission and the closed door as non-contingent to progression of the sequence. However, after the closed door remains physically in place, the summoner pivots into a claim of low deontic entitlement, waiting for permission to enter, and therefore orienting to a summons recipient's deontic authority to grant or deny it.

The point at which a summons is issued is crucial; the ascription of the action by participants may vary depending on where and when a summons is deployed. In sequences where a summons is issued outside of a door and space is left for the summons recipient to answer the summons, the summons is standardly mutually oriented to as requesting permission to open the door and enter the room. In sequences where the lexical summons and embodied entry into the room are concurrently deployed, the summons is mutually understood to be doing an alert; there is no waiting for, nor space to give, an answer to the summons prior to the summoner entering the room.

#### *Preference for Sequence Progression*

Regardless of the deployment of, and response to, the summons, the preference for progressivity is salient within these extracts (Stivers & Robinson, 2006). This orientation towards a preference for sequential progression is indexed through a summoner continuing the sequence with or without the SPP of a summons recipient's answer. Co-participants, and more specifically summoners, orient towards the next action(s) that will advance the sequence whether or not there was an achievement of *interactional* negotiation. In sequences where the

recipient did not answer the summons, the summoner either made an overt request and then entered (Extract 2) or abandoned the summons-answer sequence and entered the room after waiting for an answer that was not given (extracts 3 and 4). Or the summoner entered the room whilst issuing their summons making it irrelevant whether they received an answer or not (extracts 5 through 7). In each of these extracts, the sequence progressed even without a summons recipient's overt participation. In the case of the first excerpt, whilst the summons recipient did not answer in a preferred way, they nonetheless answered, progressing the summons-answer sequence to termination where the next sequence was initiated by a request from Simon that Tom account for his lack of permission (Stivers & Robinson, 2006). Whilst that would not be the reason for Simon's summons and was initiated by Tom's directive not to enter, it still displays an orientation towards progression, as it directly orients to entering Tom's room and progressing to the reason(s) Simon summoned Tom in the first place.

Summoners display a higher deontic entitlement by entering the recipient's bedroom without attending to the contingencies of permission or a closed door, or by entering after they first attended to it but then did not receive an answer. Even if the recipient was not responding in a preferred way, summoners negotiate the current circumstances of the sequence themselves, and in some cases shortcut the sequence at the expense of the summons recipient's SPP to the summons, all of these additionally indexing a summoner's strong claim to deontic entitlement as well as the very strong preference for progressivity (Stivers & Robinson, 2006). As the summoner is the one initiating the sequence, this display of preference on the behalf of the summoner is especially relevant.

### *Recipients' Responses and Projectability*

Although Extract 1 explicates why summonses produced outside of closed bedroom doors are intersubjectively oriented to as requesting permission to enter, in all of the extracts where she



is the summons recipient (extracts 3 through 8), Emily does not orient to the summoner entering her room without express permission as a dispreferred action (except for Extract 7 where Tom is coming in to rebuke her, and even then it is after he begins with the reason for entering her room and is not necessarily in direct response to him coming in without permission). There are two sequences where Emily responds to the summons. In Extract 6 she tells Simon, ‘°don't° make that ↓noise’, in response to the lexical production of his summons, not in response to his unsanctioned entry into her room. In Extract 8, she answers Jane’s summons with what is mutually understood as a go-ahead and permission to enter the room. Emily’s lack of orientation towards family members entering her room without express permission, despite the summons’s preference for permission being granted, displays the strong projectability of summonses. Even in the cases where bodily entry was not projected in the summons, the summons recipient in these extracts do not treat the summoner’s entry into their rooms as problematic. A summons at its core is a sequence-initiating action that gauges the presence and availability of a recipient, therefore indicating to its recipient the summoner’s desire to interact and that something more is coming (Schegloff, 1968).

Besides the summons itself projecting that some level of further interaction may be forthcoming, as noted in the transcripts, Emily’s door is quite squeaky. In extracts 3 and 4, Simon summons Emily and then waits for her answer. Although his next action of entering her room is not projectable at this point, when he does open her door, there is a very audible squeak as he is entering. This squeak of the opening door, although he has not yet said anything, indicates to Emily that the one who summoned her is coming into her room. In these extracts, the summoner is displaying a higher deontic entitlement in the moment and the summons recipient, in not problematising the entry without permission, is ratifying that momentary claim. In this tacit negotiation of deontic claims, the summons recipient makes permissible an action they did not give permission for.

The above graphic, whilst demonstrating the continuum of deontic entitlement displayed by summoners in the construction of the summons-answer sequence, also shows there is not always a neat mapping of deontic entitlement to the practices and actions of co-participants in interaction. These sequences demonstrate the transitory nature of deontic entitlement and authority. Moment-by-moment, parties ascribe to themselves and their co-participants deontic entitlement and the authority to determine current and future actions for themselves and each other within the proximal interaction and beyond. Whilst summoners may display low deontic entitlement in the construction of their summons, that may be abandoned in favour of claiming a higher deontic entitlement if no answer to their summons is forthcoming, displaying a certainty that permission to their request is granted without expressly receiving that permission. Initial claims to lower deontic entitlement on behalf of the summoner places the summons recipient in a position of high deontic authority; a summoner's altered claim indexes their recipient's claim as correspondingly altered. As will be examined in subsequent chapters, the claims and orientations displayed turn-by-turn within the larger sequence by participants continue to be negotiated as interactions unfold.

# Chapter 3

## Displays of Deontic Rights in Sequence-Initial Interrogatives

### 3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I examined the production of summons-answer sequences in intimate, familial interaction around bedroom doorways. The deployment of a summons serves as an attention-getting device, one that establishes the availability and openness of the summons recipient, as well as projects further talk and future action (Clift, 2016a; Schegloff, 1986). Through the issuance, non-issuance, or concurrence of a summons deployment in relation to entering a private space, parties display varying degrees of claims to deontic entitlement. In the following extracts, however, the first turn-at-talk is not initiated by selecting a co-participant or first establishing a recipient's availability or willingness for further talk, but by a sequence-initiating interrogative, which although syntactically or prosodically can appear to be implementing information-seeking or yes/no questions, parties do not always treat turns-at-talk in this format as such (Clift, 2016a). Rather than around bedrooms, this chapter considers sequences of interaction launched in standardly shared spaces<sup>95</sup> within the home and explores how the deployment of these interrogatives in first position are vehicles which parties use to make claims to their deontic rights.

As has been seen in this thesis thus far, and will be apparent again in this chapter, the construction of parties' identities has interactional implications, and the roles of parent and

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<sup>95</sup> As previously noted, Jane and Simon's bedroom is a special case which can at times be considered a 'shared' space and sometimes 'private'. One of the extracts in this chapter takes place when multiple family members are present in their bedroom, and another takes place when only Simon and Jane are in the room.

child are particularly salient when examining the issuance of complaints and directives. Although family interaction and the issuance of directives has been examined before, these works, and other family-related data, look at interaction between young children and their parents (Craven & Potter, 2010; Kent, 2012a; Wingard, 2006) and do not consider the complex relationships between parent and teenagers. This chapter examines directives in the interrogative form, such as ‘why don’t you ↓stay in to\*nigh<sup>t</sup>:\*’ and ‘Are you uhm >gonna go t’ bed ↓now<’, which implement different actions than the more overt directives that have been previously investigated in family interaction (Section 3.2). This chapter also looks at complaints in the interrogative form, for example: ‘↑what’s wrong with opening the ↓curtains’ and ‘↑why does she think she can leave the bath↓room in that sta:te’ (Section 3.3). These directives and complaints are issued between both parents and their teenage children and between spouses, and I will examine here the ways in which deontic rights and identity characteristics inform these sequences of interaction.

### **3.2. Sequence-Initiating Directives in the Interrogative Form**

Directives may be produced syntactically in a number of ways; their issuance by speakers and the ascription of their action(s) by recipients are framed within the contexts they are produced in, which includes the familial roles and characteristics of both speaker and hearer (Clift, 2016a; Ervin-Tripp, 1976). Sadock and Zwicky note in their 1985 paper (as cited in Kent & Kendrick, 2016), that there are three main types of sentences: imperative, declarative, and interrogative, each of which can be a format for the production of directives. Common features of directives, no matter their format, include: that they are issued to induce the recipient to implement immediate or distal future action(s); that deontic rights are at the fore of these action deployments; and that the preferred response to directives are agreement or compliance (Couper-Kuhlen, 2014; Stevanovic, 2015).

All three of these sentence types may be produced as directives in their given form, and depending on context and circumstance, recipients recognise that some directive actions are not to be treated as literal (Clift, 2016a; Ervin-Tripp, 1976; Kent & Kendrick, 2016). For example, when Simon comes into Charlotte's bedroom, begins to kick at her clothes on the floor, and asks, 'Does your bra: really live there!',<sup>96</sup> it is understood from the context of the state of her bedroom, as well as their respective familial roles and the deontic entitlements they claim, that Simon is not asking a yes/no question and is in fact directing Charlotte to pick up and put away her clothes (Clift, 2016a). This section examines directives in the interrogative form in sequence-initial position, just one of the actions that this turn construction implements.

### 3.2.1 Directives in the Interrogative Form: Making Suggestions

The action that any particular turn-at-talk is implementing is in part influenced by its position both within the current and larger sequence in talk (Schegloff, 1984). The relevance of a directive's sequential positioning is particularly salient in this first extract, where Emily is in the bathroom<sup>97</sup> getting ready to go out with friends. Earlier in the evening she and Jane were having fun together, singing and joking around; it is a sort of camaraderie between Emily and Jane that is rare within the dataset. Jane has expressed her disappointment at Emily planning to go out for the evening and this late at night and has plainly told her multiple times not to go (see page 127 for these directives). Following the close of that prior sequence, Simon and Tom are now in the bedroom.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> This transcript can be found in Appendix D, Extract AD.2, on pages 278-279.

<sup>97</sup> This is the family bathroom that is connected to her parents' bedroom and is only accessible by walking through the bedroom.

<sup>98</sup> Jane and Emily discuss and disagree about her going out, at which point Jane tells her that she does not care what Emily does and Emily goes back into the bathroom to finish getting ready. There is a camera edit and Tom and Simon have since entered the room. At line 1, Emily is in the bathroom and Jane is lying in bed watching television. Simon is standing at the end of the bed with Tom, who is going to bed. They give each other a

**Extract 1: Why Don't You Stay in Tonight (TF0101.43:15)**

01 SIM ^E:mç #why don't you ↓stay in to#\*nigh<sup>t</sup>:\*  
 02 ^walks around end of bed, face turned towards bathroom-->>  
 03 tom #whips head around to JAN<sup>99</sup>-->>  
 04 #fig 3.1  
 05 (0.5)  
 06 TOM °how can you go out \*en\*°-  
 07 SIM why she [goin' ou:t.]  
 08 TOM °[quarter ] to eleven.°

Simon and Tom were not in the bedroom during the previous disagreement between Emily and Jane and have since entered the room after the close of that earlier disagreement.<sup>100</sup> Just prior to line 1, Simon says goodnight to Tom and 0.3 seconds later produces his negatively valenced turn directed at Emily (Fig 3.1).<sup>101</sup>



Figure 3.1: Simon at line 1; Emily is in the bathroom  
 (The bathroom is located in the corner of the room to Jane's right)

Although Simon's sequence-initiating turn could not come sooner in the interaction between him and Emily, it is rooted within the larger sequence that began earlier between Emily and Jane. The relevance of the linguistic format and sequential positioning of line 1's interrogative

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goodnight kiss, and 0.3 seconds later, Simon produces line 1 as he begins to cross towards his side of the bed, which is opposite the bathroom; Tom stays at the end of the bed and looks into the mirror opposite Jane.

<sup>99</sup> His face is turned away from the camera.

<sup>100</sup> Simon is shown to be downstairs during the interaction between Emily and Jane. However, it seems likely that Simon, even if he was downstairs watching television himself, would have heard that there was a loud exchange taking place upstairs. At the opening and the close of the interaction, Emily is in the bathroom and therefore she and Jane are speaking at raised volumes between the two rooms. Beyond that, they are also speaking at a raised volume even at the times they are in the same room. There is a television on for the entirety of the sequence which will have only added to the need to speak at an elevated volume. It is not clear due to film editing, but besides hearing raised voices, Simon may have also been in the room or close to the bedroom for the close of the conversation; he is shown downstairs turning off lights and walking out of the living room towards the stairs at the end of Emily and Jane's interaction.

<sup>101</sup> It is ostensibly not much later after Jane and Emily are done speaking that Simon produces line 1, as at the start of Emily and Jane's conversation, Jane states that it is 22:35 and Tom states at line 8 that it is now °quarter to eleven.°; it is reasonable to assess that only a few minutes have passed before Simon's utterance at line 1.

– both within the larger sequence and within the now-initiated sequence between Simon and Emily – is made salient in multiple ways. First, we note the position of Simon’s turn within the larger sequence. Although, syntactically, Simon’s turn could be information-seeking, its subsequent position within the larger sequence aids in marking it as a directive (Clift et al., 2013; Schegloff, 1984). Earlier, Jane had been explicitly telling Emily, ‘no ↑don’t ↓go ou::t.’ and ‘↑I would like you t’ stay in.’. These utterances by Jane, both directives in their own right – one in the overt imperative and the latter in the declarative form – were issued over the course of the just-prior interaction.<sup>102</sup> Emily has both the immediately preceding argument with Jane, as well as a regularly discussed, long-standing habit of going out late in the evening (a constant point of contention between her and her parents) as relevant prior contexts from which to draw her understanding that the action being implemented is a directive to stay home (Schegloff, 1984).

The syntax of Simon’s interrogative is also made relevant in several ways. Whilst Simon’s turn at line 1 is on the one hand marked as a directive by its subsequent position within the larger sequence, its linguistic format marks its position as quite early in the current interaction (Antaki & Kent, 2012; Craven & Potter, 2010). And whilst the attempt to direct Emily’s future actions is also indexical of Simon’s turn as a directive, an interrogative format implements a less entitled directive and is therefore often produced earlier in an interaction; alternatively, overt imperatives claim a higher deontic entitlement and are regularly produced later in a sequence, when earlier issued directives in the form of suggestions or requests have failed to evoke compliance (Antaki & Kent, 2012, 2015; Couper-Kuhlen, 2014; Craven & Potter, 2010; Kent & Kendrick, 2016). Although Simon has ostensibly not heard precisely what was said between Jane and Emily in the just-prior sequence, he notably does not re-issue the unvarnished

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<sup>102</sup> There are 32 lines of talk between the two utterances by Jane, and 15 lines of talk between Jane issuing ‘I would like you to stay in’ and Simon’s suggestion at line 1 in this extract. This extended sequence is found in Appendix D, Extract AD.3, on pages 279-280.

complaints and disaffiliation displayed by Jane within the previous sequence, which claimed high deontic entitlement and did not orient to Emily's agency or any contingencies to compliance (Antaki & Kent, 2012; Clift, 2016a; Craven & Potter, 2010); the format of Simon's directive, on the other hand, does orient to Emily's agency and autonomy, seeking *acceptance* as opposed to Jane's directives built for *compliance* (Aronsson & Cekaite, 2011; Craven & Potter, 2010). Here, the syntax indexes Simon's turn as an early-positioned, less-entitled directive within the local sequence, but its position within the larger sequence also marks it as newly issued in an environment of multiple, previously issued, highly entitled directives.

This sequence-initial, less entitled directive in the interrogative form is what Couper-Kuhlen (2014) designates as a *suggestion*. The construction of 'why don't you' is examined in her work on directives as sequence-initiating objects produced in different grammatical formats (Couper-Kuhlen, 2014). She looked particularly at offers, proposals, suggestions, and requests, determining that recipients ascribe actions in part through a turn's linguistic formatting, and that a speaker can design their turn using the format *why + don't + you + X* to implement a suggestion (Couper-Kuhlen, 2014). Not all suggestions are formatted with this lexico-syntactic patterning, but this is one format found recurrently within her data, and most frequently as implementing this action (Couper-Kuhlen, 2014, p. 638). Schegloff labelled this type of construction an "injunction mitigator" (1984, p. 31), noting that an imperative (injunction) follows these *why don't you* clauses, and the imperative is recognisable as such to participants (Ervin-Tripp, 1976; Schegloff, 1984). The use of the prefatory address term, 'E:mζ'<sup>103</sup> – which also displays Simon's enquiry as agentic and separate from the disagreement that had just occurred between Jane and Emily (Clayman, 2013a) – when produced in conjunction with the negative format of, 'why don't you ↓stay in to\*night\*:\*', frames the interrogative as a

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<sup>103</sup> I do not consider this a summons, per (Schegloff, 1968, p. 1081). There is no pause between 'E:mζ' and 'why don't you...' in which Emily could ostensibly answer a summons.



complaint and disaffiliative with Emily's current actions, as well as indexes the problemat�city of those actions (Bolden & Robinson, 2011; Clayman, 2013a; Heritage, 2002; Schegloff, 1988b). Although Emily going out is a frequent topic of debate, the production of 'tonight:' at the end of the TCU – when Simon could have ostensibly ended with '↓stay in' – also indexes the positioning of Simon's initiating turn as subsequent to the previous fun Jane and Emily had been having earlier in the evening, making especially relevant Emily going out on *this* particular night after having a previously enjoyable afternoon/evening at home. Although Simon may not have had first-hand access to what exactly was said between Jane and Emily in the just-preceding disaffiliative sequence,<sup>104</sup> he did have in-person access to the previous joviality and conviviality between mother and daughter.<sup>105</sup>

After Simon's directive suggesting Emily stay in, there is no response from Emily. Instead, Tom self-selects after 0.5 seconds, producing the beginning of a complaint, when Simon in turn produces his own complaint<sup>106</sup> and directs it to Jane in the face of no response from Emily. This launches a new sequence about Emily's messy bedroom, which Jane had previously stated she wanted Emily to stay in and clean. After this sequence in Extract 1, there are three more lines of talk between Jane and Simon before Emily eventually produces any further talk, displaying that her non-response was not from being unable to hear Simon but because she was disattending his suggestion.<sup>107</sup> In making a suggestion in the interrogative form rather than an overt directive, Simon claims a lower deontic entitlement; however, he still claims the entitlement to make a suggestion in the first place (Couper-Kuhlen, 2014). Moreover, his

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<sup>104</sup> See Footnote 103 for further discussion about what Simon may have been able to hear from the living room.

<sup>105</sup> At one point, Jane and Emily are loudly singing in Jane and Simon's bedroom and from the kitchen, Simon issues a compliment up the stairs, 'nice singing, ladies!'

<sup>106</sup> See Section 3.3 and Extract 6 for further discussion on *why*-interrogatives as complaints.

<sup>107</sup> After Jane's complaint about Emily's room, Simon asserts, 'wull: .hh (.) bag it ↑up ↓then hhhh.' to which Emily steps back into the room and replies, 'whot d'you mean ↓bag it up the:n'. This response from Emily displays that she not only disattended Simon's line 1 suggestion, but the talk that followed it as well – rather than not having heard it – as she orients to Simon's 'bag it up, then' as an imperative to carry out an action that she would directly oppose.

suggestion is for Emily to alter not only her *future* course of action (going out), but her *current* course of action as well (getting ready to go out). This disattention and non-reply from Emily claims high deontic entitlement to continue with the current actions of preparing to go out and then implementing the future action of actually being out.

Simon's suggestion to Emily is designed in a way that orients to both its local, sequence-initial position as well as to its subsequent position in a larger sequence where the recipient's current, ongoing actions are topicalised in an extended sequence of talk; Simon's turn is produced after previous talk about Emily staying in and is hearable as such in its design. However, in the next excerpt, whilst designed as if following previous talk about a recipient's current actions, the suggestion produced does not in fact follow any such talk. In the extract below, Simon is standing off camera when line 1 is produced, having just come into the living room from the dining room and ostensibly seeing Tom and his friend, David, on the sofa, playing video games.

**Extract 2: You Guys Going Out (TF0104.12:17)<sup>108</sup>**

```

01  SIM    >are=you-<>what* < you #guys going ou:t, then
02                                     #fig 3.2
03      (0.6)Δ(0.2)
04  tom    Δgaze to SIM-->
05  SIM    Co#me onΔ Tom it's midday::
06  tom    -->Δgaze back to portable tv on his R side-->>
07      #fig 3.3

```

As in the previous extract, Simon has just entered the room and produces a suggestion that is at odds with his recipient's current course of action. Unlike in the previous extract, Simon can clearly see Tom and David are not going out, nor are they in the process of preparing to go out; neither their bodily positions nor any verbal actions are indicating movement from where they are currently sitting (Fig 3.2).

<sup>108</sup> When the extract starts, Tom has a controller in his hand and is looking down to his right at what looks to be a portable television. David is looking straight ahead towards the tv on the wall over the fireplace; he has next to him what looks to be the television remote as well as a video game controller (see Fig 3.2).



Figure 3.2: Tom and David at line 1

Simon begins his turn with '>are=you-<', ostensibly to produce, 'are you guys going out', which if formatted in this way, would syntactically produce a neutral, yes/no information-seeking question (Heritage, 2002); this linguistic format would index Simon as attempting to obtain knowledge from Tom and David on what their plans for the afternoon are. However, information-seeking is not the action Simon is aiming to implement. Instead, he self-repairs out of that construction, using the turn-initial 'what', through-producing and merging the '>what<' ('what are'), and ending with the tag, 'then'. G. Raymond (2003) notes that *wh*-questions may make formulations of people, places, actions, or time. In that case, Simon's *wh*-question would be formulating Tom and David's current activity as going – or getting ready to go – outside and would seek a 'yes' response (G. Raymond, 2003). However, 'what' may also be produced in a sequence of talk as an indicator of trouble, possibly trouble with hearing or with recognition of something said or mentioned in the previous talk (Clift, 2016a; Lerner, 2003). Indeed, Simon frames this re-started issuance of the interrogative in a syntactic format similar to other-initiated repair (OIR),<sup>109</sup> which relates to a trouble source and can imply disagreement, as is indicated here by Simon's suggestion that is counter to the two boys' current activities (Clift, 2016a; Kitzinger, 2013; Schegloff, 2007c). This case includes "prosodic integration" between turn-initial '>are=you-<' and then 'what' ('>what< you guys going ou:t') (Kendrick, 2015, p. 177). Here, the combination of the syntactic and prosodic formats

<sup>109</sup> Repair is the action(s) that parties take to manage and fix potential problems of speaking, hearing, or understanding (Schegloff et al., 1977), and OIR is repair initiated by the recipient rather than the speaker (Clift, 2016a; Kitzinger, 2013).

displays what Kendrick calls “complex other-initiations of repair” and indexes that turn as a *response* and a candidate understanding of the previous turn (Kendrick, 2015, p. 177). Furthermore, the ‘then’ in TCU-final position indexes the preceding talk as an upshot, which – if Tom and David were indeed getting up or if prior talk indicating going outside was occurring – would frame Simon’s turn as confirmation-seeking. With these factors in mind, Simon’s turn is designed as a confirmation-seeking response that formulates his understanding of Tom’s (and David’s) actions but in sequence-initial position. Tom and David’s current activities, however, aid in Simon’s turn being understood as a directive suggesting an alternative and (immediate) future action rather than as confirmation-seeking regarding an action formulation: the two boys are not standing up, putting coats on, gathering their skateboards or bikes, or standing near the front door; they are very comfortably sitting on the sofa with a video game on, Tom is actively playing with controller in hand, and David is completely stretched out next to him. Although Tom and David would likely prefer to choose their own activities, to a parent, playing video games could be done at a time when being outdoors is not possible or as enticing as it might be on a nice, sunny day; indeed, the curtains seem to be drawn back, shedding natural, bright light on Tom and David, indicating that it is the middle of an ostensibly sunny morning or afternoon.<sup>110</sup>

Suggesting turns may be constructed by parties in multiple ways, and unlike Extract 1, this sequence does not have a directed action that was previously made relevant by the speaker (Kent & Kendrick, 2016). However, Ervin-Tripp (1976) asserts that an explicit prior mentioning of a directed action is not necessary for recipients to understand the directive within the interrogative. Simon’s turn is not repairing or responding to anything produced lexically in a prior turn; however, although his turn is not doing repair in standard terms, he has designed

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<sup>110</sup> Simon states in the next turn (line 5) that it is indeed midday; however, the approximate time of day is also readily observable prior to this assertion.

his turn such that what he is suggesting can be recognised as a disaligning position or disaffiliative orientation towards a situation which he is trying to manage, directing the two boys towards a different course of action. In this case, the embodied (in)action of Tom and David not going out and instead staying inside to play video games on a sunny afternoon is treated as the problematic behaviour.

Simon's suggestion in Extract 1 can be seen as one possessing social motivations around a father wanting his daughter to stay in for the evening and not go out late at night, and that sequence between Emily and Simon is a familiar one in their family; Simon's suggestion in Extract 1 is closely informed by his familial role as a father to Emily and is brought up frequently. However, Tom not going out on a sunny day is not something often discussed in this family. Here, although there is a similar familial element, there is also the broader, more socially motivated aspect to Simon's suggestion; the idea of children going outside on a sunny day points to a societal convention. So, in this extract, there is a more salient *global* social context indexing Simon's suggestion as relevant as sequence-initiating talk, rather than the more *local*, family-centred relevance we observed in the prior extract. In both extracts, however, Simon's suggestions are informed by both social and familial norms, as well as his claimed deontic authority and entitlement to make a suggestion to his children about their future actions (Clift, 2016a).

Accordingly, we see how Tom's claim to his own deontic authority informs his turn as he does not verbally respond to Simon's suggestion. Tom's lack of response displays an orientation to his own entitlement and agency in relation to Simon's in directing his future actions; Tom's current activity being the one he is attempting to maintain. After 0.6 seconds of silence, Tom looks to Simon, acknowledging Simon and his directive, but does not respond in any other way (Fig 3.3).



Figure 3.3: Tom and David at line 5

Tom's direct eye-gaze and silence displays his stance towards Simon's question, treating it as a suggestion to alter their current activity and actually go outside, rather than as a question seeking a yes or no response (Kendrick & Holler, 2017). Although we cannot see him, and despite his use of 'you guys', Simon's orientation towards Tom as next speaker is made relevant through circumstances such as his and Tom's identities as father and son, the fact that they are in their home, and that David is a guest; the tacit selection of next speaker is not done free from context, thus each of these work towards indexing Tom as the party responsible for responding to Simon (Lerner, 2003). Tom registers his reciprocity of Simon's suggestion by directing his gaze to Simon (Fig 3.3) (Clift, 2016a; M. H. Goodwin & C. Goodwin, 1986), whilst David keeps his gaze straight ahead,<sup>111</sup> only making a stretching noise,<sup>112</sup> and in turn not orienting to himself as next speaker. On the other hand, Tom's silence in conjunction with his direct gaze to Simon, then withdrawal of gaze again without speaking, is highly entitled and a marked resistance to Simon's suggestion and responding to it (Kendrick & Holler, 2017; Rossano, 2012). From Simon's admonishment, 'Come on Tom' plus declarative assessment, 'it's midday::' at line 5, we can see that Simon's suggestion at line 1 is not constructed to be an information-seeking interrogative regarding plans that Tom and David can confirm or

<sup>111</sup> David's gaze direction is indeterminable in Figure 3.3, but with a larger image it is clear that his gaze is directed forward, and he is not looking at Simon.

<sup>112</sup> During the last 0.2 seconds of the 0.8 seconds of silence at line 3 (at the same moment that Tom looks to Simon), there is a noise, ostensibly produced by David, which sounds like a "stretching"-type of noise: '(eets)'. David adjusts his hands and arms here, making a fist with his left hand. He moves his right hand behind his head and lifts the left fist up higher. He straightens his left leg slightly here as well. All of these movements are possibly him stretching, hence the noise and attribution to him.

deny, but a directive to implement a course of action counter to what is occurring presently (Rossano, 2012).

In the first extract, the suggestion is implemented using a ‘why don’t you’ format. In the second extract, the suggestion initially starts with ‘>are=you-<’ but is repaired out of, instead producing ‘>what?< you’. In this third extract, Simon produces the suggestion using the ‘Are you’ construction without self-repairing out of it. Now, Simon has been in the living room watching television. Tom has come into the room in his pyjamas and dressing gown and flops down on the sofa footstool, looking up at the ceiling.<sup>113</sup> Simon looks to Tom and after 1.2 seconds produces line 1.

**Extract 3: Go to Bed (TF0103.37:44)**

```

01 SIM   Are you uhm
02       >>looking at TOM-->
03       (0.6)◊(1.3)◊(0.4)
04 sim   -->◊looks to television->
05       ->◊looks to TOM-->
06 SIM   >gonna go t' bed ↓now< ◊hhh.
07       -->◊looks back to tv-->
08       (0.4)◊(0.2)
09 sim   -->◊looks back to TOM-->
10 SIM   ptk .hhhh ^you've got uh busy day tom◊^@#o↓rruh,
11       -->◊
12       ^raises eyebrows----->^
13       @cam to TOM-->>
14 tom   #turns to SIM-->>
15       (0.6)
16 TOM   ye:ah? (1.5) °and¿°

```

In the previous extract, it was noted that a sequence-initiating turn with TCU-initial *are you* could be treated as implementing a yes/no, information-seeking interrogative. In this excerpt at line 6, Simon includes ‘gonna/[going to] go to bed’ as opposed to simply ‘are you going to bed’. Using ‘gonna’ underscores the future aspect of the action, with ‘↓now’ further

<sup>113</sup> The camera stays on Tom and Simon for 3.9 seconds before focussing on Simon’s face. It is not clear how much time passes between Tom flopping down on the sofa footstool and when the camera goes solely to Simon. Once the camera is on Simon, he looks down to Tom, still on the footstool.

emphasising the temporality and directive element of the action by indexing this as a suggestion to do something that would recognisably be done at this time and has not yet been done (Craven & Potter, 2010). As in the previous extract, Tom does not answer, resisting the directive rather than treating Simon's turn as an information-seeking query. In the face of Tom's disaffiliation, Simon turns the 0.6 seconds inter-turn silence, the place where Tom should have answered, into a more affiliative intra-turn pause (Clift, 2016a). Simon seeks to reinforce the suggestion by producing, 'you've got uh busy day tomo↓rruh,' , accounting for why Tom should be going to bed now and further indexing the interrogative as a directive for Tom to alter his current course of action (Clift, 2016a; Drew, 2006); the assessment that tomorrow will be a 'busy day' is therefore something that Tom will want to be rested up for.

As with Extract 1, where Simon's interrogative relates to a just-prior sequence of interaction, Simon's interrogative here also orients to a preceding sequence of action. In this excerpt, however, it is not previous talk that is relevant but Tom physically getting ready for bed. Tom's appearance (in his pyjamas and dressing gown), bodily position (flopped on his back, arms splayed out on the sofa footstool), and the time of day (in the evening and ostensibly near or at his scheduled bedtime), all have relevance in relation to Simon's interrogative and how it is hearable as a suggestion (Fig 3.4). However, despite all of these projecting that he is going to bed, he has, instead, come into the living room and laid on the foot stool; his 'ready for bed' state and the preparation for bed directly conflicting with the actual going.



Figure 3.4: Simon and Tom before line 1



Had Tom been in some other bodily position – such as standing or walking over to Simon to say goodnight – Simon’s turn could have been understood as confirmation-seeking. However, although Tom’s actual bodily positioning is indicative of a postural shift at some point in the future, it does not necessarily project that he will be moving anytime soon (Schegloff, 1998). The design of Simon’s turn in addition to Tom’s projected stance of not going to bed presently, makes hearable and relevant Simon’s interrogative as a directive. As in Extract 1, there is direct correlation between Tom’s previous line of actions and Simon’s suggestion, and as in both previous extracts, we see the exhibited current actions of the recipient do not align with the suggestion being made.

Despite there standardly being a mismatch in displayed deontic entitlement between parents and children, in producing a suggestion, Simon claims a lower deontic entitlement than if he had issued an imperative directive, affording Tom the agency and authority to make the decision for himself that it is indeed bedtime and to indicate that he is in fact going to bed, something that he is observably dressed for and has prepared himself to do. Kent’s (2012a) work on younger children finds that a child recipient’s incipient compliance – that is the subsequent actions the child takes in the move towards compliance without immediately fully complying with an issued directive from a parent – leaves space within the sequence for a verbal turn-at-talk which reframes the child’s ongoing actions towards compliance as agentic and autonomous, rather than due to the dictates of the speaker. In the extract above, a similar phenomenon can be seen, although speaker-focussed rather than recipient-focussed. In framing his directive as a suggestion rather than an overt imperative, right from the issuance of the suggestion, Simon claims a less entitled stance which cedes Tom the authority and autonomy to ‘do the right thing’ and carry out the action endorsed by his parent, rather than Tom complying incipiently. However, both outcomes – both in Kent (2012a) and in each of the

extracts above – allow for recipients to maintain autonomy and agency over their actions, even if the initial response is resistance, as in the extracts in this section.

### 3.2.2 Suggestions as Claims to Deontic Authority

Couper-Kuhlen's (2014) previous work on directives claim that suggestions are often resisted or rejected due to the suggested activity already being undertaken by the recipient or because the suggestion questions the recipient's competency or activity-related knowledge. It has also been proposed that recipients and speakers display stances towards entitlement and the ability or willingness to comply with interrogative requests dependent upon whether the enquiry was positively or negatively formatted (Heinemann, 2006). Although a very small collection, the data included here show that the positive or negative valence of the suggesting turn does not impact whether a recipient resists or not, nor are suggestions resisted because the recipient is already undertaking the suggested action. Moreover, the speaker is also not questioning their recipient's competency in relation to the suggested action. Rather, the above extracts indicate that recipients may resist a speaker's suggestion because the directed future action explicitly conflicts with the recipient's current activities, activities which the recipients display no indication of deviating from any time in the near future, causing a "deontic incongruence" (Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2012, p. 297) and negotiation in deontic authority and entitlement between participants. If recipients resist because they are currently undertaking the suggested future action, as Couper-Kuhlen (2014) posits, then Simon's interrogatives would likely not have been heard as suggestions at all but rather confirmation-seeking or information-seeking. Instead, Simon's interrogatives are not treated as questions needing answers, rather they are oriented to as claims of deontic entitlement that are disattended and resisted by his recipients. As the issuance of directives and the claiming of deontic authority and entitlement is

intrinsically linked (Craven & Potter, 2010), suggestions also make claims to deontic entitlement and authority.

In environments where directives are issued in the imperative form between parents and younger children, Kent (2012b) observes that there is an asymmetric relationship created by co-participants from the production of the directive to when the recipient relinquishes their claims to their own deontic authority by carrying out the directed action and thus ratifying the speaker's claim to deontic authority. This asymmetry facilitates a sequence of interaction where child and parent collaborate to establish who has the deontic authority in an interaction (Kent, 2012b). No matter their age or relationship to one another, parties will claim and display their own deontic authority and entitlement in an interaction, and parents may claim an entitlement to direct or make suggestions for the current and future actions of their child. However, parents may also claim a lower deontic entitlement than their status as parents may often afford them in service of achieving the desired outcome (Clift, 2016a; Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2014). Although Simon does not explicitly mark himself as 'parent' (or Tom or Emily as 'teenager' or 'child') in these excerpts, the suggestions themselves orient to the participants' familial roles within these sequences: staying in for the evening, going outside on a nice day, and proper bedtime are all issues relevant to parents no matter the age of the child recipient.<sup>114</sup> Although deontic entitlement and authority is constantly being negotiated by co-participants in interaction, the family relationship is extraordinary; parents have an inherent responsibility to their children, especially when those children are still living at home. This responsibility includes directing and raising their children to be responsible, independent adults themselves. By virtue of being in the interrogative form or due to the inclusion of mitigating language, suggestions claim a lower deontic entitlement and do not presuppose compliance, accounting

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<sup>114</sup> Although going out for an evening or going outside without supervision are relevant matters more so for teenagers than small children.

for a recipient's own deontic rights and agency in a way that overt imperatives do not (Antaki & Kent, 2012; Craven & Potter, 2010). Simon framing the directives in a less entitled format orients towards the affiliation aligning with his suggestions would display, allowing Tom and Emily the independence to implement agentic actions rather than highly entitled actions overtly directed by another. In this way, whilst still displaying his entitlement as 'parent' in issuing directives around these familial matters, by producing sequence-initiating suggestions rather than overt imperatives, Simon orients from the first turn of the sequence to Tom and Emily's status as teenagers rather than small children. As Kent (2012a) asserts, the extent to which a speaker claims deontic entitlement, or a recipient is afforded their own agency in the implementation of a future action, will be reflected in the formulation of the directive. Therefore, a parent issuing an interrogative that implements a suggestion versus an enquiry or some other type of action, is made recognisable through parties' orientations towards their own and each other's deontic status and their claim to authority and entitlement moment-by-moment in the implementation of actions and the progression of the sequence.

In this section, I have aimed to address the ways speakers, and specifically parents, deploy sequence-initial directives in the interrogative form to implement suggestions on current and future courses of action to their recipient children. As Wingard (2006) posits, family interaction may be rooted in not only the current sequence of talk but in larger sequences where previous actions and activities have bearing on the current context and future interactions. As such, I have looked at these suggestions through a local sequential lens as well as through a global contextual lens, where previous directed actions, physical environment, and identity characteristics play roles in sequential progression (Kent & Kendrick, 2016). The above excerpts show that although the practices associated with the implementation of actions are not unique to the parent-child relationship, the larger sequence and the roles and identities of parents and children in family interaction, as well as the orientation of parents and children to

deontic entitlement and benefits claimed in association with the production of suggestions, may be special to that particular relationship and have a unique and direct bearing on the interactional sequence.

### 3.3 Complaints as Sequence-Initiating Interrogatives

In looking at sequence-initiating interrogatives, I have also made a small collection of extracts in which the speaker implements a *complaint* after entering a room. In the previous section, despite the speaker's suggested future actions conflicting with the recipient's current course of action and the responses resisting these suggestions, the directives themselves were not issued as complaints. In this section, however, I will be exploring how parties make claims to, and display, their deontic entitlement to complain about another's actions in sequence-initial position, lexically censuring others in the opening of an interaction.

#### 3.3.1 Interrogatives Doing Complaints in Family Data

Complaints are the first part of an adjacency pair within a complaint sequence (Drew & Walker, 2009), and in complaining, speakers make relevant the transgressive or reprehensive conduct of another (Drew, 1998). Here, speakers highlight another's behaviour as counter to what they, the speaker, overtly or implicitly formulate as the correct or desired actions that the perceived offender should have done (Drew, 1998). Whilst these are issued as the first part of complaint sequences, complaints themselves are not standardly initial actions within the larger sequences in which they are produced (Clift, 2016a; Drew & Walker, 2009).

In the extracts below, however, the issued complaints are the first verbal actions within the sequence, produced just after the speaker has entered the room their recipient is already in, and are not products of the prior talk. This first extract exhibits this sequential organisation. Here, Simon has just arrived back home from work in the middle of the day; Emily is in the living

room watching television. Simon enters, walking past Emily to the curtains on the other side of the room. He produces line 1 as he walks past where she is sitting on the sofa.

**Extract 4: What's Wrong with Opening the Curtains (TF0102.12:38)<sup>115</sup>**

```

01 SIM  ↑what's# wrong with opening the @^↓curtains
02 emi  >>looking at curtains----->@looks to SIM-->
03 sim  ^walks past EMI to window-->
04      #fig 3.5
05      (0.4)⊙(0.1)
06 emi  @briefly closes eyes, looks back to the tv-->>
07 SIM  ('nd) making it look like it's Actually ^dayti:me.
08      -->^opens curtains off
09      cam, natural light floods the room-->>

```

Noticings come early in an interactional sequence, and are likely to be done at the first possible opportunity (Schegloff, 2007c). The noticings shown here and in the extracts below are all produced as complaints regarding another's prior conduct, and as shown here, Simon's complaint comes after he has entered the room where the closed curtains are now visually accessible to him. As it is the middle of the day, having the curtains closed makes it noticeably darker in the living room (Fig 3.5 and 3.6).



Figure 3.5: Emily looks to the curtains 0.1 seconds before Simon produces '↑what's' at line 1, before he has crossed the room



Figure 3.6: After Simon has opened the curtains

At line 1, Simon produces what is syntactically an interrogative, with turn-initial '↑what's' (Clift, 2016a), and deploys the interrogative as negatively valenced: '↑what's wrong with'.

<sup>115</sup> We cannot see Simon as he is entering the room, but we see him enter the dining room and continue walking through towards the living room. It has been shown that Jane is upstairs in her bedroom and no one else is in the house. Line 1 is ostensibly the first utterance from Simon after coming home.

G. Raymond (2003) posits that *wh*-interrogatives can be used to make formulations, and Drew (1998) observes that speakers in complaint sequences view their recipient's transgression(s) through a moral lens, ascribing *rightness* or *wrongness* in a situation. Indeed, Simon explicitly formulates that there is something 'wrong' with not having the curtains open, bringing to the "interactional surface" Emily's failing (Drew, 1998, p. 303). According to Drew (1998), overtly moral reproaches are a conventional feature of complaint sequences and are comprised of a particular topic in the initial turn (here, the closed curtains in the middle of the day), and contain precise formulations of another's morally transgressive behaviour (Emily failing to open those curtains). Interestingly, Simon's first TCU could be heard as a repair initiation in response to a preceding assessment, one that perhaps claimed a wrongness attached to opening curtains. However, Simon's turn is clearly hearable as a negative assertion regarding the current state of affairs in the living room and a criticism of Emily's prior bodily (in)actions.

As he is producing line 1, Simon is walking through the room and past Emily, walking towards the curtains himself. After producing his complaint, Emily does not immediately account for leaving the curtains closed, either as something she did purposefully or from lack of attention. Instead, she looks away from Simon and back to the television at line 5 (see Fig 3.6, taken after the end of the extract), claiming high deontic entitlement to not respond, and relinquishing the opportunity to defend her (lack of) action and any possibility of attempting to affiliate with Simon. However, Simon is clearly moving through the room towards the curtains whilst he is issuing his complaint and after (as seen by Emily's gaze towards the window in Fig 3.5 just before Simon produces line 1). Koshik (2003, 2005) posits that speakers who produce *wh*-interrogatives as challenges, as Simon does here, do not always leave space for a response, making a reply irrelevant. As Simon is implementing a sequence of actions from the moment he enters the room, Emily's silence – whilst resistant in nature, as displayed by reverting her gaze back to the television and disattending Simon's talk (as seen with Tom in Extract 2) – may

be accounted for through Simon's engagement in an ongoing activity. At the least, Simon coordinates both his lexical and embodied actions such that Emily's silence is not treated as accountable by Simon. In the sequence of ongoing actions, Simon turns the 0.5 seconds of silence that followed his complaint into an intra-turn pause by producing an increment (line 7) that accounts for the complaint and attempts to normalise it, something that Drew points out speakers do when formulating their complaints, which is cite the "normative standard(s)" that have been breached (Drew, 1998, p. 303). Simon's use of 'Actually' in the incremental, second TCU, makes the second TCU hearable as an elaboration on the first (Clift, 2001) and indexes it as a reasonable complaint because it truly is the middle of the day. Simon's use of 'Actually' underscores the incongruence between Emily allowing it to look dark inside or as if it is night-time when it is not, which Simon treats as a sanctionable offence.

Instead of simply opening the curtains himself, which he does just prior to producing 'dayti:me.', Simon issues the complaint around Emily's failure to previously do so. However, opening the curtains was something Simon had projected through his bodily actions even before he has deployed his reprimand at line 1.<sup>116</sup> As deontic rights do not solely pertain to directing actions but also in determining what is or is not acceptable in a given context, by issuing a complaint at all – much less in opening the curtains himself – Simon claims high deontic entitlement from the very initiation of the sequence. Had Simon directed Emily to open them, which in itself is highly entitled, he would have at least afforded Emily the opportunity to comply or not, or to give an account as to why they are closed. Simon implementing this action himself claims not only the deontic authority to determine whether the closed curtains are acceptable or not, but also removes Emily's own authority to decide whether or not she

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<sup>116</sup> As he is off camera at the time, we cannot see Simon enter the room, nor can we fully see him throughout the sequence; however, Emily's gaze displays Simon's embodied actions. She looks to the doorway as Simon is ostensibly entering the room, then looks briefly to the television and appears to turn the volume down. She then looks to the curtains (see Fig 3.5) and back to Simon as he passes in front of Emily and past the camera.



wants the curtains open, which, being the pre-present party and the only person previously in the room, would make relevant her claim to authority over whether the curtains are open or closed. Deontic authority is negotiated by participants moment-by-moment, and in indexing himself as the authority by dint of his role as parent,<sup>117</sup> Simon has removed Emily's agency and the achievement of negotiating the interactional sequence with his co-participant (Antaki & Kent, 2012; Craven & Potter, 2010; Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2012).

As in the previous section where interrogatives were understood to be suggesting an alternate future action rather than information or confirmation-seeking, Simon's turn here is understood to be doing a complaint – through the construction of the turn in both his lexical and bodily actions – rather than an interrogative doing information-seeking. Emily could have treated it as an opportunity to account for why the curtains were closed but does not, instead orienting to the interrogative as a rhetorical or ironic complaint rather than a question to be answered. A similar sequence is seen in the next excerpt, where the recipient does not answer the sequence-initiating interrogative with an account or some other information-giving answer but treats the line 1 interrogative as a complaint. Here, Simon is in the living room watching television. Prior to this sequence, Simon and Tom have had an argument regarding Tom's recent behaviour. Jane did not agree with how Simon handled the situation with Tom and has been with Tom in his bedroom. Jane walks into the living room (after an unknown amount of time) and after 4.4 seconds<sup>118</sup> she produces line 1.

**Extract 5: Do You Not Think It's Cold in Here (TF0104.21:11)**

```
01 JAN    d'you not think it's cold ↓in here
02        >>cam on JAN-->
03        (1.6) @◇ (0.1) ◇ (0.7)
```

<sup>117</sup> See §3.3.2.2 for more on the relevance of displays of familial identity in the excerpts within this section.

<sup>118</sup> There are 1.2 seconds from Jane crossing the threshold to when the camera goes to Simon on the sofa. His gaze goes towards the doorway, ostensibly at Jane entering the room, then back to the television. When the camera goes back to Jane after another 2.3 seconds, she is now standing in front of the section of the sofa where she will eventually sit and is bent over, doing something off camera (possibly folding or unfolding a blanket) for 0.9 seconds before she speaks.

```

04          -->@cam to SIM-->>
05 sim      ◊looking at television->
06          ->◊gaze to fireplace below the tv (1.9)-->
07 SIM     ^.hh light #uh fi:◊re
08         ^removes hand from face, holds out next to his head-->
09         -->◊gaze to JAN-->
10         #fig 3.8
11         (1.0)
12 JAN     d- I was ◊say^ing d' you not +think its cold in here
13 sim     -->◊gaze to fireplace-->
14         ^brings RH up, fingers aimed at fireplace->
15         ->^raises RH-->
16         (0.2)
17 SIM     It is.^ L^◊ight uh fi:re
18         -->^lowers RH, still fingers aimed at fireplace->
19         ->^brings RH back to head-->>
20         -->◊looks back at Jane-->>

```



Figure 3.7: Jane 0.2 seconds before producing line 1<sup>119</sup>

Using data from news interviews, Heritage (2002) looks at negative interrogatives, such as Jane's utterance at line 1. Amongst his findings, several features are exhibited here, despite this not being an interview sequence. First, is that "the negative interrogative is a matter of common knowledge" between the speaker and recipient (Heritage, 2002, p. 1439). Thus, Jane's interrogative is indexing her evaluation of the current temperature of the room, framing it as a mutually understood point between her and Simon that the room is 'cold'. Second, a negative interrogative assesses the recipient's behaviour "in critical, negative or problematic terms" (Heritage, 2002, p. 1439). By posing her question in this way, Jane displays a negative stance towards Simon's inaction right from the initiation of the interaction (Heritage, 2002). Thirdly,

<sup>119</sup> At line 1, Jane is bent over with her mouth and lower part of her face out of view. However, she does not look up or make eye contact with Simon at any point whilst the camera is on her before it changes to Simon at line 3.

the “negative interrogative is argumentative or challenging” (Heritage, 2002, p. 1439). Although she does not overtly hold him to account, Jane does topicalise the temperature, seeking his opinion on it whilst concurrently framing it as something that Simon is potentially responsible for (Heritage, 2002; G. Raymond, 2003). Although she frames the coldness of the room as something jointly recognisable, by framing her interrogative in the negative, Jane also builds her turn to prefer a ‘no’ response from Simon (Clift, 2016a), which would be in opposition to her own stance. This marks Simon as already not agreeing with her assessment (Clift, 2016a; C. W. Raymond & Heritage, 2021; Schegloff, 2007c), at the same time accounting for why nothing was done previously to make the room more comfortable. Implementing this format indexes Jane’s stance regarding the objectionable situation and Simon’s (lack of) actions leading to its current state (Drew, 1998).

As Simon’s complaint about the closed curtains in the previous extract is made once he has visual access upon entering the room, in this extract, Jane indexes the temperature of the room as complainable once she similarly has physical access after entering the room. Although Jane does not overtly reference any wrongness on Simon’s part, there is an issue of social acceptability tacitly present in the interaction. Zinken and Ogiermann’s (2011, 2013) work on requests and imperatives notes that speakers may orient to some responsibilities as shared, even when those responsibilities are not overtly referenced in the current interaction, and that Polish speakers format their turns based on this shared responsibility in an ongoing activity. Unlike the previous extract where open curtains could be a matter of preference for the pre-present party when alone in a room, due to Simon being in the room with the fireplace when Jane was not, the accepted norm would be that Simon should be the one to assume this shared responsibility and do something before it is explicitly topicalised. In response to Jane’s

complaining interrogative, there are 2.4 seconds of silence, something that projects a possibly problematic response (Clift, 2016a; Pomerantz, 1984).<sup>120</sup>

Not only is there an extended silence,<sup>121</sup> but Jane has posed her question as a yes/no interrogative, something that Simon does not answer yes or no to. Here, Jane further claims access to Simon's current stance regarding the temperature in the room by formatting her complaint as a 'Same Polarity Question' (SPQ), which is a question that makes relevant a confirming answer displaying the same polarity as the question (Heinemann, 2008). "Utterances are built to display speakers' understanding" (Schegloff, 1984, p. 38), and SPQs are yes/no polar interrogatives formatted to display a speaker's claimed understanding of their recipient's current stance based on their epistemic access to that current state, which make relevant a same polarity confirming answer from the recipient (Heinemann, 2008). Heinemann (2008) found in the case of SPQs, that speakers' access to a recipient's state and the subsequent assertions they make, are based on the prior talk. However, here, Jane has just entered the room and is issuing her claim regarding Simon's stance based on now having physical access to the current temperature in the room that he has previously been sitting in. Although not always, SPQs can be challenging, and in this case, a confirming or disconfirming response from Simon could be treated as problematic (Heinemann, 2008). A response that *confirms* Jane's assessment that Simon does not think it is cold – which, based on the polarity of the question, would be 'no' – would disagree and disaffiliate with Jane, and a *disconfirming* response of opposite polarity – here a 'yes', that, contrary to Jane's assessment, Simon did indeed think it was cold

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<sup>120</sup> Simon is watching television when Jane walks in, which could account for the silence before responding. However, Simon briefly glances at Jane when she walks in, indicating that he is ostensibly not fully engrossed in watching the television. This flick of Simon's eye-gaze in conjunction with the formatting of Jane's turn indexing a negative and challenging stance, mark this silence as indicating a problematic response to come versus Simon's attention being elsewhere.

<sup>121</sup> When the camera goes to Simon 1.6 seconds after Jane has finished her turn, Simon looks from the television to the fireplace, when he points to it before issuing his directive at line 7. Therefore, there is 0.7 seconds of silence after Simon has looked away from the television in which he overtly bodily references the fireplace before he produces his response at line 7.

– would also not be an acceptable option as it calls into question why he did not do something about it before now (Heinemann, 2008). Both confirming and disconfirming answers to SPQs are treated by speakers as problematic; therefore, recipients treat these types of enquiries as unanswerable challenges. Standardly, SPQs are produced in environments of emergent conflict.

Here, Simon likewise orients to Jane's SPQ as a challenge – one that he cannot relevantly answer 'yes' or 'no' to – and accordingly issues a directive in the imperative form for Jane to, 'light uh fi:re', which does not agree or disagree with Jane's assessment (Clift, 2016a; Heinemann, 2008; Heritage & G. Raymond, 2012; Schegloff, 2007c). By responding, Simon registers that she has asked a question, but by directing her with an imperative to light the fire rather than answering her yes/no interrogative with an aligning yes/no answer, he also registers the implicit challenge and complaint, and in turn treats it as problematic (Clift, 2016a; G. Raymond, 2003).

Jane treats the temperature and Simon's lack of action as complainable, which in itself is a display of high deontic entitlement. However, in his response, as noted by Kent and Kendrick (2016), Simon conversely treats Jane as accountable for not having lit the fire herself. In directing Jane to, 'light uh fi:re', Simon claims his own high entitlement and resists any implication from Jane that he should have been the one to do something prior or be the one to rectify the situation now. Before he speaks at line 7, Simon looks from the television to the fireplace and holds his hand out in a pointing gesture with his fingers aimed in the direction of the fireplace:



Figure 3.8: Simon at line 7

After deploying the directive, Simon looks to Jane. Through the course of his embodied and verbal actions, Simon orients to the simplicity of the task, the lack of contingencies to Jane carrying out the task herself, and marks Jane as accountable for not having performed the task prior to topicalising it (Kent & Kendrick, 2016). After a 1.0 second pause, Jane begins with ‘d-’ to ostensibly fully repeat her line 1 interrogative but repairs out of it, repeating the enquiry with the prefacing ‘I was saying’, which treats Simon’s prior turn as misconstruing what she has said previously and seeks to clarify and repair that misunderstanding, and framing it in the next instance as an information-seeking enquiry rather than the complaint that Simon has treated it as. In Simon’s response at line 17, he answers Jane with confirmation to the interrogative she is now framing as information-seeking and produces his own repeat to ‘Light uh fire’. Jane’s slightly modified reproduction of her initial interrogative is a repair that attempts to induce Simon to change his reply (Schegloff, 2007c); however, Simon’s repeat is done as a “*blocking* response” (Schegloff, 2007c, p. 37, emphasis in original) and is done here to claim that he understood her implicit complaint before and is still understanding it now.

Simon’s turns both at line 7 and 17 are highly confrontational as they amplify his resistance to taking care of this task and pushes back any allusion to this being his responsibility – either in the past or in the present – and explicitly directs Jane to carry out the task without orienting to any contingencies or Jane’s agency over her own actions. Although he does treat her repeated interrogative as information-seeking and agrees with her at line 17 by first answering ‘It is.’,

he still orients to the complaint in the enquiry by then repeating his directive in the next TCU, continuing the pushback over any implied responsibility and declining any attempt by Jane to affiliate over the issue, which an apology or account could have done. In response to Jane's display of deontic authority and entitlement in her enquiry, by issuing an imperative response and repeating it, Simon claims his own highly entitled and authoritative deontic stance.

Where the complaints in extracts 4 and 5 were issued directly to the party involved with the complainable action, the next extract is slightly different. In this next extract, the complaint is issued to a third-party who is not connected and the party responsible for the complainable conduct is not present. Here, Jane is lying in bed watching television whilst Simon is in the bathroom to her right. Simon steps out of the bathroom and into the bedroom, looking to the television then Jane, continuing to walk into the room.

#### **Extract 6: Leave The Bathroom in that State (TF0101.03:09)**

```

01 SIM    ◊↑why does ^she #think she can leave the Ωbath↓room in=
02        ◊looking at JAN-->
03        ^raises arm and thumb, pointing behind him-->
04 jan    Ωgaze to SIM-->
05        #fig 3.9
06        =that ^sta:Ωte^
07        -->^slows walking, lowers thumb and arm-->
08 jan    -->Ωgaze back to television-->>
09        ^ (0.6) ◊ (0.2) ◊ (0.4)
10 sim    ^picks up pace walking towards end of bed-->>
11        -->◊looks away from JAN to the floor-->>
12 jan    ◊raises tv remote in RH-->>
13 JAN    ↑jus' lea:ve it122

```

Jane is already in bed when Simon walks into the bedroom from the bathroom, where he appears to have been getting ready for bed, and they are alone.<sup>123</sup> As Simon continues to walk

<sup>122</sup> Jane holds the television remote fully up during '↑jus' lea:ve it', then lowers it again.

<sup>123</sup> We can note Simon's current dress of a t-shirt and shorts, as well as Jane under the duvet, curtains drawn, and lights on in the room, to index 'bedtime'.

into the room, he points to the bathroom behind him and produces an interrogative at line 1, issuing a complaint about ‘she’,<sup>124</sup> leaving what is presumably a mess in the bathroom.



Figure 3.9: Simon as he produces, ‘think’ at line 1

In the previous extracts, the interrogative complaint was issued directly to the one who caused the offence; the complainable action and the physical item(s) related to the action being both proximally and visibly available (the closed curtains in the middle of the day, the unlit fire and cold room). In this extract, Simon issues his complaint to Jane about an un-named party (Emily), alluding to someone outside of the local interactional sequence, as well as referencing something (a dirty bathroom) that is not visibly accessible to Jane.

Simon uses multiple resources to procure affiliation regarding his complaint (Bolden & Robinson, 2011; Heinemann, 2009). Firstly, in issuing his complaint to Jane, Simon indexes his relationship with Jane as intimate enough to obtain affiliation (Heinemann, 2009). Secondly, Simon as speaker/complainant formulates Emily’s conduct such that Jane as recipient is “expected to affiliate with the complainant’s sense of the impropriety or injustice of the other’s behaviour” (Drew, 1998, p. 303); by formulating the bathroom as being in a ‘*st̩a:te*’, Simon brings the social acceptability of Emily’s actions to the fore and marks the current cleanliness of the bathroom as not only something *he* would not expect it to be, but as

<sup>124</sup> The ‘she’ in this extract is Emily. I will use ‘Emily’ in the text where ‘she’ would make the analysis or grammatical clarity confusing.



something *Jane* would also not expect it to be, orienting to her as having at least implicit access to Emily's conduct as well as being the one who will affiliate with his stance regarding it, even though Jane does not have direct access to the bathroom's current condition. In referring to Emily as 'she' – using a locally subsequent form of reference in initial position – Simon marks himself and Jane as co-members in a group where 'she' is known to both without being explicitly named, and thereby implements an additional bid to seek affiliation from Jane (C. W. Raymond et al., 2021; Schegloff, 1996a).

Bolden and Robinson (2011) found that producing complaints as a *why*-interrogative orients to the complaint recipient as the one who is able to answer regarding another's actions. However, whilst the construction of Simon's interrogative makes relevant both an affiliative and accounting/explanatory response from Jane, these types of *wh*-questions are not treated as account-seeking by participants (Koshik, 2005; Schegloff, 1984). Instead, these constructions are treated as negative stance-taking which challenges another's previous conduct, such as is noted with Drew's work above, treating both the action and the agent as sanctionable (Bolden & Robinson, 2011; Koshik, 2005).<sup>125</sup> This same display of confrontation and counter-positioning is also seen above in Extract 4, where Simon produces the *wh*-interrogative there with turn-initial 'what's', similarly complaining about something Emily has previously (not) done. Looking specifically at *why*-interrogatives such as in this current extract, Bolden and Robinson build on Koshik's findings to suggest that the accountable conduct does not "accord with common sense" (Bolden & Robinson, 2011, p. 98), therefore projecting that there is no reasonable account that can be given (Bolden & Robinson, 2011; Koshik, 2005). Here, Simon not only takes a negative stance regarding Emily's prior actions, calling into question the social acceptability and common sense of them, but frames Emily as making a deliberate choice to

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<sup>125</sup> See also Simon's complaint at line 7 in Extract 1.

leave the mess for someone else to take care of (Drew, 1998), something that neither present party can answer for.

Simon uses both linguistic and embodied actions to formulate this complaint, indexing his intention to procure, if not a 'common sense' account from Jane, then a collaborative and affiliative response (Drew, 1998). However, Jane and Simon share mutual eye-gaze for 0.8 seconds before she looks back to the television for 1.2 seconds, making no move to display any agreement or affiliation with his complaint (Kendon, 1967; Kendrick & Holler, 2017). Jane's silence embodies her disaffiliation (Clift, 2016a; Pomerantz, 1984), and her gaze turning back to the television further displays her highly entitled disalignment with Simon's actions, just as we have seen in previous extracts. When Simon turns away and begins walking around to his side of the bed, Jane does indeed disaffiliate, directing Simon to '↑jus' leea:ve it'. Simon is already in the progress of walking away from the bathroom – leaving it as it is – but Jane's directive also directs Simon to leave the proffered initiation of a complaint sequence and the annoyance of Emily's conduct. As with Simon in the extract above, in directing Simon to (at least for now) disregard Emily's prior actions and the state of the bathroom, and in resisting aligning with his complaint, Jane indexes Simon's complaint as problematic (Clift, 2016a; G. Raymond, 2003).

In the previous two extracts, the complaint was issued to the party directly related to the complainable action. Here, however, Simon produces the complaint as a topic proffer, seeking affiliation from Jane as an empathiser and would-be co-complainant regarding the non-present offender and their actions. The preferred response from Jane would be one that elicits sequence expansion (Schegloff, 2007c). Schegloff (2007c) notes that with topic proffers, a *preferred* response is one that accepts or endorses a proffered topic and therefore sequence expansion, and a *dispreferred* response is one which rejects or declines to take up a proffered topic and

therefore promotes sequence closure.<sup>126</sup> Whilst Jane does register Simon's turn by responding to him, she does not take up the complaint and instead attempts to block any further complaints or discussion regarding the non-present party's behaviour. Once a response to a topic proffer is produced, it is then a negotiation between participants whether the initiated sequence of talk is expanded, or in the case of this extract, whether Simon will drop this initiated complaint sequence or whether he will continue despite Jane's disalignment. In Extract 5, Simon as recipient also disaligns but produces a response which orients to the complaint made by Jane. Here, Jane does not overtly disaffiliate with the nature of Simon's complaint or his claim of entitlement to make it, but she swiftly closes the initiated sequence with no display of reluctance or hesitancy in doing so (Clift, 2016a), disattending Simon's efforts to enlist her for joint complaining about Emily or the bathroom and deterring any attempt to continue the initiated sequence (Schegloff, 2007c).

In producing his complaint, as in previous extracts, Simon claims the right to complain about something someone else previously did or did not do. The claim to deontic authority here comes not from his identity within the family, but from being a co-member of those who use the shared bathroom; each family member has the right to complain about a messy bathroom left by another. Another feature of Simon's display of deontic entitlement in this excerpt, is that of issuing a complaint to someone who has equal deontic authority to him as a parent rather than to the transgressor. Simon could complain to Emily directly and explicitly issue the directive to her to clean it up, claiming a high deontic entitlement. Instead, he claims a lower deontic entitlement so as to enlist a third-party empathetic ear who will display affiliation through joint complaining (Clift, 2016a; Drew, 1998).

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<sup>126</sup> These preferences are structural, and it is not always the case that dispreferred responses are ones which implement disagreements or incite sequence closure, nor that preferred responses promote expansion or implement agreement. It is beyond the scope of this thesis, but topic expansion or sequence closure is vaster than this very limited notation would suggest.

### 3.3.2 Claiming the Right to Complain about Previous Actions

In this section, I have examined how family members produce interrogatives as sequence-initiating actions, making complaints about another's prior (in)actions. As noted at the beginning of this section, Drew and Walker (2009) found that complaint sequences are built over courses of action and are standardly constructed through and emergent from the previous talk. However, this section has shown the rarer sequence-initiating complaint, which is produced as the first utterance-based action in an emergent interactional sequence. In the above extracts, each complaint was produced after the establishment of proximal and visual access to what another party had previously done or not done, the speaker then criticising the actions in some way rather than issuing a complaint further along in an extended sequence. In the first two extracts, the speaker takes up their complaint with the recipient directly. In the third extract, the complaint was issued to someone other than the transgressor, who is enlisted to collaboratively complain about the non-present third party.

As Drew asserts, the instance of the conduct itself (the closed curtain, the cold room, or the bathroom state) is not "self-evidently, intrinsically, or inherently" a complainable or overtly assessed as unacceptable by a party (1998, p. 322). The complainable and offensive aspects of these sequences are exhibited through the practices associated with complaining. Within these extracts, I have identified several practices which index the complaint aspects of each sequence-initiating interrogative. First, there is the practice of *framing an (in)action as transgressive*. This is not done by a speaker overtly declaring what the other party should have done, but through labelling an inaction as 'wrong', implicitly referencing another's responsibility to take action, or overtly referencing another's decision to not do an expected action. Second, these interrogatives are identifiable as complaints through *the dispreferred responses they receive*. These turns-at-talk receive disattending silence or non-conforming

responses to the first pair part interrogative, and each speaker receives eye-gaze from the recipient which is then directed back to the activity they were previously engaged in (in the cases here, that was back to the television). And thirdly, these can be recognised as complaints by dint of the speakers' *displays of deontic entitlement*. Here, a speaker's deontic rights are claimed and displayed by either overtly or implicitly determining that a previous (in)action was unacceptable. As done in the excerpts above, these claims can be produced in conjunction with issuing a highly entitled complaint to the responsible party, or with the less entitled enlistment of others to join in on the complaint whilst not issuing the complaint to the offender at all.

### 3.3.2.1 The Negotiation of Deontic Authority and Entitlement in Complaints

Up to now, I have examined the overt and implicit ways that speakers and recipients claim and display their deontic rights within interaction as it pertains to the implementation of *current* and *future actions*. In this section, I examined deontics through the lens of *past actions* in relation to the state of a physical space within the home and the ways speakers claim, "...the capacity to define what is necessary and desirable, what should, and should not, be done, in certain domains of action in relation to one's co-participants..." (Stevanovic & Svennevig, 2015, p. 2). These sequence-initial noticings are produced as complaints, where speakers make judgements underscoring another's previous actions as problematic, claiming strong deontic entitlement and authority to determine what was and is appropriate and desirable in both the context of the current interaction and the physical shared space. Pillet-Shore (2010) examines how pre-present parties in a shared, social space will collaborate in order to include newcomers in their current activity.<sup>127</sup> She asserts that when newcomers arrive and display an interest in

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<sup>127</sup> Pillet-Shore (2010) uses "arriver" or "newcomer" to refer to a person who enters a setting where the pre-present party is already engaged in some activity. Her work focusses on social settings where two or more have already gathered and are engaged in an activity the newcomer displays an interest in joining in with; however, the vast majority of this data includes institutional interaction or residential interaction between non-family members. In her paper on pre-present parties' previous activity formulations, only one of the extracts is of an interaction during a family dinner (Pillet-Shore, 2010).

joining a pre-present party, the pre-present party implements actions to bring in and formulate the current or previous activity for the newcomers, so that the newcomers may become involved and understand the current project or activity (Pillet-Shore, 2010). Although her work uses data vastly different than my own, it does suggest that arrivers may look to pre-present parties as the initiators of inclusion, and thus orient to pre-present parties as responsible for the current ongoing activity within the space. As can be seen in the first two extracts above, in interaction where co-participants are intimately associated with one another – such as in a co-habiting family – those arriving in the room may similarly orient to pre-present family members. These sequence-initiating interrogatives index pre-present parties as ‘owning’ the room and are therefore the ones potentially responsible for a complainable previous (in)action; however, as talk-in-interaction is collaborative, recipients may or may not align with an initiated sequence of social interaction or topic of talk, such as a complaint about theirs or another’s actions. In this way, speakers orient to themselves as deontically entitled to issue a verbal complaint and the recipients as deontically entitled to implement, or have previously implemented, an embodied action. In kind, the pre-present parties/complaint recipients treat themselves as entitled to disaffiliate with the complaints or any implications that they are responsible for the complainable actions.

### 3.3.2.2 Familial Identity in Complaining Interrogatives

As is the case for all interaction, social and familial roles and identities within the local interaction may be overtly or implicitly oriented to and negotiated by co-participants. G. Raymond and Heritage (2006) examine the relationship between identity roles and the characteristics of, and rights to, particular domains of knowledge associated with that identity, such as a grandmother “owning grandchildren”; they posit that identities are asserted and negotiated by co-participants in interaction through the claiming of epistemic rights to

possessing knowledge and sharing information (G. Raymond & Heritage, 2006). In the first two extracts above, although recipients do not claim epistemic rights over a situation or territorial rights over a shared space, speakers treat complaint recipients as the ones responsible for the current state of the room they are in, even if, as in Extract 4, the complainant rectifies the complainable themselves. In the third extract, although the recipient cannot answer for the non-present third-party's behaviour, the speaker frames the interrogative as if they can. The data above suggests that identities may also be asserted and negotiated through the claiming of deontic rights relating to particular social conduct. Although it is not overtly expressed, by chastising Emily for keeping the curtains closed *in the middle of the day* in the first extract, Simon indexes his role as Emily's parent. Whilst anyone could have ostensibly come in and noted the closed curtains, Simon explicitly producing '(nd) making it look like it's Actually dayti:me.' Indexes his complaint as being issued from the viewpoint of a parent rather than a sibling. Likewise, Jane and Simon both index their joint responsibility or authority over the room temperature. Jane's complaint implicitly indexes their familial roles as parents and the adults mutually responsible for tending the fireplace. It would be less likely that Jane would complain to any of the children about the fireplace not being lit, and in fact – although Simon and Jane are seen in other sequences of *The Family* data to be directly in charge of cleaning (as we will see in Chapter 4) or adding wood and lighting it – we never see the children doing anything related to the fireplace. Moreover, a parent would ostensibly not complain to their child, 'd'you not think it's cold ↓in here'. The third extract displays a similar shared co-membership in terms of who the complainer and the complaint recipient are. Anyone who uses the bathroom may make the complaint, and a sibling may make a more overt complaint to the parent or to the responsible sibling regarding the state of the bathroom. However, the distinct format of the complaint as Simon produces it indexes the action here as one issued between parents in private. Even though identity roles are never overtly uttered

within the extracts, familial roles and identities are salient through the production of the complaints and the recipient's marked relation to the complainable matter.

### **3.4 Concluding Discussion**

In this chapter I have examined the ways that speakers produce and implement interrogatives as sequence-initial actions in interaction. In the first section, I looked at the ways speakers, and specifically parents, frame directive suggestions as interrogatives to induce their recipients to implement a desired future action. In producing a suggestion rather than an imperative, parents claim a lower deontic authority to affiliate with the teenage child recipient, as well as orient to the agency of that teenager. Parents design their turns in order to progress the sequence, adopting a lower deontic entitlement in a bid for their recipient to implement the desired future action. With suggestions, the actions speakers are trying to induce a recipient to implement are overtly referenced; suggestions making compliance, or a next action, relevant for the recipient to implement. In the second section, I examined the ways in which speakers produce interrogatives as complaints, making relevant a previous (in)action. In these sequences, speakers claim high deontic authority in the determinacy of what is or is not appropriate and issue a complaint about the perceived transgression. In the first two extracts, it was the recipient who was the transgressor; in the third extract, it was a third, non-present party who failed to previously implement a more desirous action. In all of the extracts, the recipients resist aligning with the complaints and any implications that previous (in)actions were problematic. As opposed to suggestions, complaints – whether the desired action is referenced overtly (extracts 4 and 5) or implicitly (Extract 6) – do not make compliance from the recipient relevant as a next action. In both sections, the orientation to familial roles and identity is salient in the production and negotiation of the sequence.



Throughout this chapter, the physical space is oriented to in several ways in interactional openings. Speakers do not produce their sequence-initial interrogatives until the co-participants have established same room co-presence: with suggestions, once speakers are physically proximate to their recipients, they have visual access to them, and at that point make their suggestions, such as to stay in for the night, go outside, or go to bed; in the case of complaints, speakers similarly establish same-room co-presence with their recipients and thereby have physical access to a complainable condition of the physical space and some prior conduct, subsequently formulating their sequence initial noticings as complaints. Elements of the physical environment such as time of day or whether it is sunny outside, play a significant role in these sequence-initiating interrogatives. Establishing proximal co-presence with their recipient before speaking, participants orient to something within the physical space that they have visual accessibility to. Both the organisation of the domestic space and elements of the time of day and the weather (which can link to societal conventions as to what is or is not appropriate, such as going outside to play when it is sunny), affect the way the physical environment is oriented to by participants in interaction.

This chapter has contributed to previous research by exploring the ways in which family identity, deontic rights, and the ascription of morality and responsibility, can interconnect in the production of interrogatives in sequence-initial position within the interactional space of the family home. Through these extracts, I have shown that suggestions made as sequence-initial objects attempting to direct current or future actions may be resisted due to the suggested future action directly opposing the current action being undertaken, rather than because the recipients are already carrying out the suggested action, something that previous research has posited. I have also shown that complaints may be made as sequence-initiating actions after in-person, physical access to some ascribed offensive (prior) action or inaction, as opposed to previous work that has determined complaints standardly come later in a sequence of talk.

Although the collection for this chapter and its sections is small, this investigation presents new and unique perspectives into how openings of interaction may be launched within domestic space outside opening phase sequences, broadening the scope beyond telephone calls and further contributing to previous work on complaints and suggestions. Not only does much of the previous research on openings look at sequences that are a part of the opening phase (rather than the sequence-initiating actions considered here, which are outside the opening phase of interaction), but previous work on suggestions and complaints do not investigate these as interaction-initiating actions. Therefore, new insights and starting points for further research have been provided within this examination: how complaints and suggestions may be implemented as interaction-initiating actions, how families negotiate deontic entitlement and authority in sequence-initiating actions and interrogatives such as complaints and suggestions, and also into how these actions are shaped by the physical environments in which they are produced.

# Chapter 4

## *Coming Home and Coming into the Room:* **‘Hello’ in the Initiation of Interaction**

### 4.1 Introduction

The opening phase of interaction is where sequences such as greetings or the summons-answer sequence may project the shape of the interaction to come, and is a place where parties constitute their relationship with one another and what is relevant to them at this time (Pillet-Shore, 2012; Schegloff, 1986; Whalen & Zimmerman, 1987). The greetings sequence is a specific opening sequence in which parties acknowledge the presence of another person or persons and welcome them into a shared space (Firth, 1972). However, if parties can implement other sorts of actions to initiate sequences of talk – as we saw in chapters 2 and 3 – why do parties produce greetings in the first place, and what are the actions they implement? As participants in interaction formulate and design their turns to implement certain actions, recipients ascribe actions to these prior turns whilst deploying actions of their own in their turns-at-talk. The use of the word ‘hello’ to implement a diverse array of actions is one prime example of this phenomenon, and this chapter will examine ‘hello’ in both greetings and summons-answer sequences in the opening phase of social interaction, considering the ways in which they are used as resources in specific interactional environments, and exploring the actions they implement and the deontic rights they claim.

In Chapter 2, I examined summonses as sequence-initiating actions, issued to garner the attention of a specifically summoned party, where the summoners subsequently initiated extended encounters of interaction by deploying the reason for the summons/first topic; the

summonses and answers in that chapter did not include greeting terms. However, a greeting term such as ‘hello’ can be used to implement summonses and their answers, a point of analysis that will be investigated in the first half of this chapter. These ‘hello’ summonses initiate interaction with as-yet *unknown* recipients and are produced when a family member has been away from the home for some time before mutual eye-gaze (and thus physical co-presence) has been established. I will investigate it and the implementation of ‘hello’ and two of its variants (‘hi’ and ‘hey’) as answers to these summonses, examining the similarities and differences between these and the types of summons-answer sequences discussed in Chapter 2.

In the second half of the chapter, I will look at discrete greeting sequences on occasions in which a family member has entered a room where another is pre-present and both parties have been home for some time. Two points about greetings that have relevance in the discussion to come is that first, greetings are “ahistorically relevant” (Sacks, 1975, p. 64), meaning that whilst they do not need to be deployed every time parties become co-present in some way, they are producible time and time again from one occasion to the next, and are implemented recurrently by interlocutors at all stages of acquaintance with the other over the course of a lifetime. The second, is that unlike summonses or complaints and suggestions, greetings do not necessarily project any talk beyond that sequence. Whilst they can, they do not need to; therefore, Sacks considered an exchange of greetings (such as ‘hello’-‘hello’ or ‘hi’-‘hi’) to be a “minimal proper conversation” (1975, p. 66, 1992b). These points are significant because whilst true for interaction in general, they are not so easily generalisable in family interaction. In the sections to follow, we will see that although they may be ahistorical, the deployment of greetings in certain contexts – such as when two parties have been home for some time – is quite marked, and although a greetings sequence may not project more talk, in my dataset of family interaction, more talk is produced.

## 4.2 Greeting Terms used in Summons-Answer Sequences

Unlike previous instances of summons-answer sequences that we have seen, the summons-answer sequences in this chapter are produced when someone has been away from the house and is now arriving back home, and is deployed before there is shared mutual eye-gaze or co-presence established between participants; sometimes the summoner is the one arriving home and sometimes the summoner is the pre-present party who has been home whilst the summons recipient was out.<sup>128</sup> Therefore, these ‘hello’ summons-answer sequences are constructed in different ways and do different things than other summons-answer sequences of this type. As will be shown here within the context of family interaction, the ‘hello’-‘hello’ (or a ‘hello’ variant) summons-answer sequence is a place where identification and recognitional work is done, where invocations for and subsequent confirmations of familiarity between participants can be observed, and where co-presence<sup>129</sup> is established (Schegloff, 1968, 1979a, 1986). Although these same qualities can be seen in non-‘hello’ summons-answer sequences, the sequential implications of not yet establishing mutual eye-gaze or co-presence before the summons is produced, as well as the identification and recognition work being done and how these relate to greetings, will be explored throughout this chapter.

### 4.2.1 ‘Hello’ and its Alternatives within the Summons-Answer Sequence

Although terms such as ‘hello’ or ‘hi’ are used frequently in openings of encounters and may often be regarded as representative of a *greeting* lexical item, not every instance of ‘hello’ is

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<sup>128</sup> There are many occasions discussed in this chapter where someone is arriving home after being away for some time. Due to the nature of this data, I do not have a schema of how long someone is away before ‘hello’ is used as a summons (or a greeting) when someone returns home.

<sup>129</sup> With summons-answer sequences, physical co-presence in the *household* sense is always achieved because the summonses are produced when the summoner is in the house; however, being in the house does not always facilitate the achievement of mutual eye-gaze or same-room co-presence. Therefore, *co-presence* in these summons-answer sequences is defined by the co-participants’ ability to establish mutual eye-gaze either by being in the same room or by being able to see one another through an open doorway. Where actual *same-room* co-presence is relevant and demonstrated, I have specified.

doing the work of simply greeting (Schegloff, 1986; Walker, 2014). This point is demonstrated in the first extract below, where Simon is in the living room watching television at the far end of the sofa and Jane has just arrived home. As she is walking through the dining room doorway (the dining room being situated between the living room and the front door) towards the table to set down her shopping (Fig 4.1), Simon produces line 1 at a raised volume from the other room.<sup>130</sup>

**Extract 1: Simon Says Hello (TF0108.21:23)**

```
01 SIM h#elloʔ
02     #fig 4.1
03     (0.6)
04 JAN ↑hello:h!
```



Figure 4.1: Jane's location when Simon produces line 1

Simon is implementing a *summons* at line 1 by calling out 'helloʔ' when Jane arrives home, when there is no mutual eye-gaze yet established between the two. Although C. Goodwin (1980) posits that a recipient's gaze should be procured by a speaker during the speaker's turn-at-talk when engaged in face-to-face interaction, discussions such as this take for granted that these in-person interactions are constructed within a physical space where speakers occupy a shared scope of vision and that mutual eye-gaze is possible within that interaction should

<sup>130</sup> From a clip of Simon watching television just before Jane walks into the house, we can see he is sitting at the far end of the sofa in a position not visible unless one was at least in the living room doorway.

parties seek to achieve it. Moreover, not yet having established mutual eye-gaze with an *already known* person versus initiating interaction with an *as-yet unknown* or undetermined person, are two different things.

This is evident when looking at the summonses produced in Chapter 2, where each of the summonses were purposely issued to initiate interaction with a specific, pre-determined person, done through an address term or knocking on the bedroom door of the person who was wanted, the *summons* projecting more talk-in-interaction to come. This is compared to the summonses included here, where, whether by the summoner or the summoned, the upcoming interaction is preceded by the audible entering the home and closing of the front door, which comes just before the summons is produced. In Extract 1, it is the summons recipient, Jane, whose arrival back home adumbrates the interaction and as Simon has not yet seen who is home, Jane is the unknown recipient to the summons.<sup>131</sup> Here, Simon's uncertainty is displayed both in the production of his 'hello' – which utilises response-mobilising prosody – and in not overtly naming or identifying the arriver (Heritage, 2013; Stivers & Rossano, 2010).

Simon's summons in Extract 1 implements several actions, first of which, is a bid for identification from the arriver/summons recipient; this response-mobilising, rising prosody is referred to as a "try-marker" by Sacks and Schegloff, and is used when recognition is in question (1979, p. 15). It is also a simultaneous display of Simon's presence and location within the home, as well as an offer of his identity through voice recognition (Drew, 2002). And just as summoning with a name or a knock may be produced to initiate interaction, 'hello' can do the same (Schegloff, 1968), initiating a sequence where an answer will – amongst other things to be further discussed – ostensibly aid in identifying the summons recipient. Simon's summons

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<sup>131</sup> In a more general sense, it is understood that each person coming in the front door of the house, of their own accord, without first knocking, is an inhabitant of that home and not a guest; each entrant in that way is *known* to those who live there. I use *know/known* here to refer to the immediate interaction, where the participants do not ostensibly *know* in the moment who the pre-present or arriving party is.

is produced at a raised volume such to be heard from the other room but is not produced with any other marked prosodic features different from that of his standard speech.<sup>132</sup> His turn starts in a pitch range that is standard for him and does a rise throughout with a turn-final fall-rise to indicate his summons as identification-seeking.<sup>133</sup> Jane, on the other hand, answers with ‘↑hello:h!’ at a similarly raised volume, but does produce her ‘hello’ in a marked, prosodically high-pitched tone, the ‘hello’ slightly lengthened and with a slight turn-final fall, producing the answer in such a way as to display her positive stance towards, and recognition of, who the summoner is (Pillet-Shore, 2012). Whilst Jane does not overtly identify herself, her voice will be instantly recognisable to Simon.

In the next extract, Emily produces her summons in a manner similar to Simon in Extract 1. Here, Simon has just come home after work and can be seen walking through the front door into the house before Emily is shown in the living room, sitting watching television with an ironing board and iron laid out in front of her, along with a pile of clothing next to her on the sofa. As Simon enters, the camera switches to Emily who looks at and presses a button on the television remote before getting up and stepping up to the ironing board. The camera then goes to Simon, who is now in the dining room. He has ostensibly walked straight into the dining room where he is laying down what appears to be his keys and looking at a parcel on the table, when Emily produces line 1 off camera.<sup>134</sup>

### **Extract 2:** You Alright – Emily (TF0106.02:30)

01 EMI #°hello:oɔ°  
02 #fig 4.2

<sup>132</sup> In each excerpt discussion where ‘standard’ or something other than ‘standard’ is referenced, it is not to suggest that there is a typical or standard speech pattern for all speakers but is specific to the participant referenced and is only analysable as marked (non-standard speech volume, pitch, etc) or unmarked (standard speech volume, pitch, etc) through having access to hours of Hughes family data.

<sup>133</sup> I have used Praat software for the creation of pitch contours and spectrograms to aid in the prosodic analyses within this chapter (Boersma & Weenink, 2023).

<sup>134</sup> Unfortunately, the closing of the door is not captured, so it is unclear how much time passes between the door closing and Emily producing her summons at line 1.



03 (0.6)  
 04 SIM he↑ll̩o:



Figure 4.2: Simon at line 1

As in the previous extract, the summoner is the pre-present party at home and they summon whoever has just entered the house, mutual eye-gaze again not yet established. Emily produces her summons in a similar identification-seeking manner as in the previous extract as well: ‘hell:o̩:’ is produced at a raised volume,<sup>135</sup> the pitch starting in the standard range for her speech, only slightly rising, then doing a small fall-rise at the end of the ‘hello’. Simon in turn produces ‘hello’ as an answer to the summons, identifying himself through voice recognition and indicating his recognition of Emily, producing his answer ‘he↑ll̩o:’ within his standard pitch range, the second syllable ‘-llo’ emphasised with a slight rise and turn-final fall-to-mid.<sup>136</sup> His ‘hello’ is quickly produced and is not prosodically marked as Jane’s answering ‘hello’ was in Extract 1.

In a slightly different construction, the summonses in Extracts 3 and 4 are both produced by the one arriving home rather than the pre-present party as we have seen so far. These summons-answer sequences exhibit the ‘hello’ summons but with an answer that includes an alternative

<sup>135</sup> Although Emily’s ‘hello’ is produced at a raised volume, because the camera is on Simon when she produces it, it sounds distant and quieter than Simon’s subsequent ‘hello’; as such, it is marked in the transcript as softer than subsequent turns.

<sup>136</sup> When talking about movements in pitch, I have in places used Pillet-Shore’s term “fall-to-mid” (2012, p. 377), which I indicate using the Jeffersonian transcription system where ̩: indicates a falling intonation as seen in Simon’s ‘hello’ at line 4, but not a full fall which would be indicated by a full stop. Other references to pitch follow the Jeffersonian taxonomy which is outlined in detail in Appendix A on pages 272-274.

to ‘hello’ plus the addition of an address term. In Extract 3, Tom is in the living room and Jane produces line 1 just as she enters the dining room.

### Extract 3: Hey Mum (TF0108.06:55)

```

01 JAN      ↑h#ello::ɜ
02          >>cam on JAN-->
03          #fig 4.3
04          (1.1)@Δ(0.7)Δ(0.3)Δ(0.3)
05          -->@cam to TOM in living room playing video games-->>
06 tom      Δgaze down->
07          Δgaze to television->
08          Δgaze to JAN in dining room-->
09 TOM      #↑hey Δm#u:::m,↑
10          Δgaze back to television-->>
11          #fig 4.4
12          #fig 4.5

```

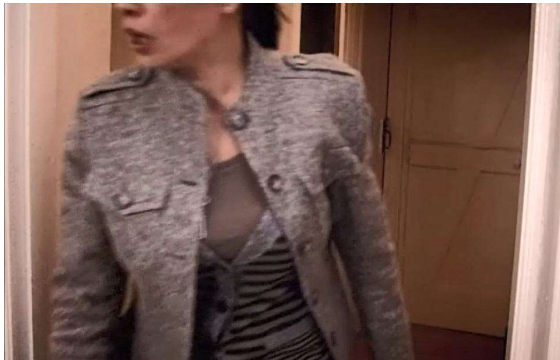


Figure 4.3: Jane as she issues her summons at line 1

During this sequence, Tom is playing video games in the living room, and this can be heard when Jane enters the house.<sup>137</sup> As such, when Jane arrives and has not yet seen anyone (but ostensibly hears the television in the other room), she walks through the dining room doorway and issues her summons, the ‘hello’ produced in a pitch slightly higher than her standard tone and at a raised volume. Tom answers Jane after 2.4 seconds, also at a raised volume, with a slightly higher-than-standard pitch at the onset of his turn and an even higher still turn-final

<sup>137</sup> The sounds from Tom’s game can be heard at a lower volume on the microphone(s) picking up Jane’s ‘hello’ and louder when the camera is on Tom in the living room. Crucially, the game can still be heard, albeit not so loudly, when the camera is on Jane.

pitch. Tom produces his answer here with a ‘hey’ and prosodically extended ‘mum’ that exhibits his recognition of Jane.



Figure 4.4: Tom at line 9, ‘↑hey’



Figure 4.5: Tom at line 9, ‘mu : : : m, ↑’

Unlike other excerpts included here, Tom is in the living room in a position on the sofa where he could ostensibly achieve mutual eye-gaze with Jane as she is walking into the dining room. Tom does alter his gaze towards Jane’s location in the dining room just before producing ‘↑hey’ (Fig 4.4) but moves it back to the television whilst producing the first *m* in ‘mu : : : m, ↑’. Being in one another’s vision field does not equate to mutual eye-gaze being achieved and although Tom alters his gaze towards the dining room during his turn-at-talk, he does not appear to achieve it here, as displayed by his gaze returning to his game as he produces ‘mum’.<sup>138</sup>

Unlike these first extracts, where the pre-present party is the living room when the one arriving home comes through the front door, in Extract 4, Charlotte answers from upstairs when Simon as the arriver calls out ‘hello’ whilst walking through the dining room towards the living room (Fig 4.6).<sup>139</sup>

<sup>138</sup>Jane was walking in with shopping and Tom was playing his game when Jane produces her summons. As such, when Tom answers, Jane may no longer have been in a spot where Tom could still see her.

<sup>139</sup> Although the camera angles do not fully capture the production of the ‘hello’ summons in these extracts, there is no discernible break in the audio that suggests there are edits to the timing or deployment of these summonses. I have therefore treated the summonses as occurring when these camera shots show rather than as possible audio overlapping and have avoided cases – unless otherwise noted – where any audio/video alteration may be possible.

**Extract 4: Hi Dad (TF01CE.10:15)**

01 SIM #↑hello:!  
 02 #*fig* 4.6  
 03 CHA hi=da:d!



Figure 4.6: Simon where he produces his summons at line 1

As opposed to previous extracts where one participant was in the living room and is quite likely to be heard as being in that room, in this extract, there is silence in the house and no audible indication that anyone is home. Simon produces his summons again at a raised volume and in a pitch higher than his standard speech. In the first two extracts, where the summons is produced by the pre-present party, there is a slight turn-final fall-rise in the production of ‘hello’. However, in extracts 3 and 4, where both summoners are those arriving home, the summonses have a rise-fall pitch in the middle of the ‘hello’, so the ‘he-’ is rising and the ‘-llo’ is slightly emphasised and falls, both produced in a higher pitch-range than standard for these two speakers. Although the ends of their respective summonses are produced differently (Jane’s ‘hello’ stays high and has a turn-final low-rise and Simon’s displays a fall-to-mid), each displays prosodic features that extracts 1 and 2 did not have. The summonses in extracts 1 and 2 were produced by those already home and display the summoner is already able to establish approximately where their recipient is, but not who they are; therefore, these summonses are *informing* the one arriving home (the recipient) where the summoner is in the house. The summonses in extracts 3 and 4 demonstrate that the summons produced by one arriving home

is doing both *informing* and *searching*; these summonses correspond with both summoners coming home and not yet able to see where others in the house are, but ostensibly knowing that someone is home. Thus, these *inform* the possible recipients that they are now home and are *searching* for who is hearing their summons as well as where in the house the recipient(s) may be located. As such, Charlotte's response here, whilst explicitly indicating that she recognises the summoner as her father, is quickly produced with no extending prosody, constructed in a way that signals or alerts Simon to her presence and indicates her physical location as being upstairs.<sup>140</sup>

In all four extracts, the volume of the summoner's turn and its function as attention-getting, as well as its assistance in both giving to and obtaining identification from any nearby recipients, identifies these turns as summonses (Schegloff, 1979a, 1986). The summoners are able to identify their summons recipients as family and which specific family member it is in each circumstance, by hearing their voices in their answers as well as references of 'mum' and 'dad', such as in extracts 3 and 4, respectively (Schegloff, 1979a, 1986). Although mutual eye-gaze is not established before either recipient answers, in the deployment of their summonses, the summoners indicate co-presence with whomever answers their summons, and their recipients ratify co-presence in their responses. These answering turns are constructed in such a way as to not only claim recognition of the summoner, but to demonstrate it as well. In these extracts where the address terms 'mum' or 'dad' are produced in the summons answer, the recipients are also using alternatives to 'hello': in Extract 3, 'hey' and in Extract 4, 'hi'. In these instances, 'hey' and 'hi' are the "informal" (Schegloff, 1986, p. 122) variants of 'hello', and therefore can be used on occasions when the speaker is confident in their recognition of their

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<sup>140</sup> This is further demonstrated by Simon's abrupt turn from walking towards the living room immediately after Charlotte finishes producing 'da:d!'. This altered trajectory is not able to be captured through pictures but shows that Simon's summons and embodied actions were doing *looking for anyone who is home*.

recipient (here, the summoner) (Schegloff, 1986);<sup>141</sup> this confidence is further exemplified by the overt naming of the summoner. That is not to say that a solitary ‘hello’ as an answer to a summons before mutual eye-gaze is established does not also claim or display recognition and familiarity, both of which are displayed prosodically through the production of the ‘hello’; however, speakers may claim and display their *confidence* in recognition through the informal alternatives to ‘hello’ such as ‘hi’, inclusion of an address term, and concomitantly through the prosodic features of a lengthened utterance and high onset, as well as the issuance of the confidently constructed answer without first achieving mutual eye-gaze (Pillet-Shore, 2012; Schegloff, 1979a, 1986).

Thus far, we have established that ‘hello’ may be used when a family member arrives from outside the home – by either the one arriving or a pre-present party – to implement a summons in order to establish co-presence when there is a lack of mutual eye-gaze between participants. These summonses are therefore produced as non-recognitional as opposed to other types of summonses and are issued as bids for identification from any recipients who may hear it. Although the editing for television makes it impossible to be certain of the time in between the front door opening and a first turn-at-talk being issued, they are produced when the arriver is within a relatively close distance to the front door they have just entered (although one could ostensibly go towards the kitchen or up the stairs, so far we have seen that this close distance is just inside or within a few steps of the dining room doorway<sup>142</sup>). This indicates that one

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<sup>141</sup> In his (1986) paper on openings, Schegloff described ‘hi’ is a variant of ‘yeah’, where ‘yeah’ is produced as the answer to a ringing telephone summons. ‘Hi’ in this position claims a “super-confidence” in the identity of the caller (Schegloff, 1986, p. 121). I suggest that ‘hi’ as a summons answer in in-person interaction – although not an alternative to ‘yeah’ within these sequences – displays this same confidence despite the differences in telephone and in-person interactional contingencies. To this point, ‘hi’ could not be issued as a summons in these environments as a summons ‘hello’ is the first step in achieving recognition and only offers identity, whereas a ‘hi’ answer offers identity AND recognition. Again, the telephone calls Schegloff examined are organised differently and a ringing telephone cannot offer identification resources in the ways that an in-person, verbal summons can.

<sup>142</sup> Figure 4.2 shows Simon already at the dining room table by the time Emily produces her summons, but Emily is clearly altering her current activity before producing her summons: she turns off/down the television and gets up from the sofa, stepping up to the iron and board she is supposed to be in the midst of using.

should – be that the arriver or pre-present party – establish their own or another’s presence and identity within a short time after someone has entered the home.<sup>143</sup> As with any summons-answer sequence, a ‘hello’ summons also initiates a sequence of talk, the summoner signalling co-presence and their location (thus *situating* themselves) within the house with the summons recipient’s answer confirming co-presence and signalling availability for further talk (Schegloff, 1968). Having also briefly looked at the answers to ‘hello’ summonses in the extracts above, I have established that recipients can indicate their location within the home, do identification and recognition work, and can display their current stance towards the summoner, a point which will be further explored below.

#### 4.2.2 The ‘Hello’ Summons-Answer Sequence Doing Greeting

The import of producing ‘hello’ as a summons is that these lexical items are only used to implement summonses in these specific *coming home* environments. Any other context in which an interaction-initiating summons-answer sequence is produced within my data does not include a ‘hello’ as the summons.<sup>144</sup> Moreover, this type of summons is only produced when the arriver comes into the home when no one else is in the immediate vicinity and are therefore not visually accessible. Arrivers coming home with no one in their immediate line of sight prompts either them or the pre-present party, who is in another room with no visual access to the front door area, to issue the summons themselves in order to ascertain the whereabouts of anyone that may be home or who it is that has just arrived home.

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<sup>143</sup> Timing and who summons first is discussed further in Section 4.4.

<sup>144</sup> That is not to say that ‘hello’ cannot be used to implement actions outside of sequence-initiating summonses or greetings. There is an occasion in which a ‘hello’ is produced as a summons by Simon when, in the midst of a disagreement, Emily is seen to be ignoring him even as he stands right in front of her. However, a ‘hello’ produced in this sort of context is different than the ‘hello’ summonses included here and is a reproachful summons produced in the middle of a larger sequence of talk, rather than at the beginning of a sequence of interaction.

In these *coming home* environments, where the one coming home has been away for some time, answers to ‘hello’ summonses not only establish where the summons recipient is within the home or do identification and recognition work, but also do *greetings*, something that can only be done once recognition between parties is established. Schegloff (1986) found that once identity has been determined in telephone calls, participants produce full, distinct greetings sequences. However, we can see here that with ‘hello’ summons-answer sequences – rather than subsequently producing another, discrete greetings sequence after the summons-answer sequence is complete (Schegloff, 1979a) – when the recipient answers the summons with ‘hello’ or ‘hi’, they thereby implement a greeting as well as an answer to the summons, a point which is underscored by the non-repeatability of greetings (Sacks, 1975). Sacks (1975) and Schegloff (1979a, 1986) both utilise the example of telephone calls in their examination of greetings, but the same is seen here in the ‘hello’ summons-answer sequences, where, once one’s identity has been presented through the summons, the answer to the summons does identification of self, recognition of the summoner, and a greeting, all through the ‘hello’ (or ‘hello’ alternative) answer. This is not to say that a ‘hello’ summons alone implements a greeting simply because it uses a greeting term. A summons produced in isolation – when no one is home or the named recipient is not answering – is still a summons; it is by the summons recipient’s answer establishing recognition of who the summoner is, that *greeting* can be retroactively ascribed to the ‘hello’ summons.<sup>145</sup>

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<sup>145</sup> Although it is outside the scope of this thesis, it is certainly the case – especially with families – that parties may be certain to some degree about who is coming home at a particular time. Especially within the Hughes family, there are a number of possible candidates who may be arriving back home at any time; however, it is likely that there are times when the pre-present party ‘knows’ who it is that is arriving home. There is an instance within *The Family* data where Charlotte arrives home from work. Due to the nature of editing for television, I did not include it within this chapter, but Jane does initiate a sequence of interaction by greeting Charlotte just after she arrives home, calling out, ‘hello, Stinky’. It is reasonable that although Jane ostensibly does not see who has just arrived home, she ‘knows’ it is Charlotte due to the day of the week, the time of day, who is already home, who is not yet due home, knowing Charlotte’s work schedule, seeing her arrival outside, or other potential elements that were not shown. Due to editing, and the fact that these aspects are not accessible for analysis, I have not included this interaction here, but it does underscore the fact that there are times when the one arriving home is expected, and this knowledge may be displayed within the production of the turn. Ultimately, this demonstrates that stance and the use of (alternate) address terms as greetings may only be done



This ‘hello’ summons produced in isolation with no answer back is demonstrated in the next extract where Tom comes home from school to an empty house. The front door has been opened and Tom is coming through when he produces line 1.

**Extract 5: Tom Entering Empty House (TF0104.03:02)**

```

01  TOM      HELLO: ?#
02          >>opening front door-->
03          #fig 4.7
04          (1.3)≠(3.2)≠(0.1)
05  tom      #shuts the front door->
06          ->#turns towards dining room-->
07  TOM      #≠HELLO?
08          #walks towards dining room-->
09          #fig 4.8
10          (0.6)≠          (2.0)          ≠@ (0.6) # (0.2)
11  tom      -->#walks through dining room doorway#
12          @cam change to TOM
13          standing in dining room-->
14          #fig 4.9
15  TOM      HELLO: :?

```



Figure 4.7: Tom opening the front door at line 1



Figure 4.8: Tom at line 7 walking to the dining room



Figure 4.9: Tom standing, just before summoning at line 15

once recognition is established. Possessing the above information can contribute to Jane’s sequence-initial turn from the living room being produced as a greeting, where in the other extracts included here, pre-present parties in the same physical location produce their sequence-initial ‘hello’ as summonses.

Tom's 'hello' is produced with some features distinct from previous summonses. Whilst his summonses are produced at a raised volume, which we have seen in the previous extracts, and his pitch starts within his standard range, each summons rises significantly throughout the production of the summons and are realised at a much higher range than his standard pitch range and higher than the summonses in the previous excerpts. The production is quite marked in comparison to the 'hello' summonses we examined previously, exhibiting a summons-only sequence which pursues not identification from whomever is home or has just arrived home, but verification as to whether anyone is even home to begin with.

Additionally, in previous extracts, we have seen that the summons has not been produced until the one arriving home is already at the doorway to or inside the dining room. In this instance, Tom produces it as he is opening the front door. In extracts where the summoner is the one arriving home, we have noted that they can either hear or may ostensibly already know that someone is home when they arrive. As displayed by the prosodic features of his summons displaying a search for verification that anyone is home, Tom could have noted that there were no cars out front and it may be unusual for him to be home alone, prompting him to produce his first summons as he is entering the house.<sup>146</sup> The earlier point proposed – that establishing who (if anyone) is home or who it is that has arrived home is done soon after the one arriving has entered the home – is correspondingly displayed here and done at the very earliest point, in this case over the front door threshold. In summary, a 'hello' summons is still a bid for attention, it is still projecting further talk, it is still registering availability, it does identification work in some form (and one issued to a potentially empty house is concurrently seeking verification of any recipients). However, a 'hello' summons only also does *greeting* when it is

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<sup>146</sup> This sequence comes before Extract 8 in this chapter and before Extract 1 in Chapter 2 (which follows this chapter's Extract 8) and is the only time we see Tom clearly home alone.

answered with ‘hello’ (or variant) by its recipient. As Tom does not receive a ‘hello’ in answer, his reissuance of ‘hello’ here is strictly doing summoning.

If identification and recognition work has not been done, then a greeting sequence will not be initiated, making a standard greeting sequence-initiating, but not done in first position. This same sequential positioning is observed here. ‘Hello’ summonses are also not done in first position due to the *coming home* environment they are found in. Whilst other types of summonses can be sequence-initiating and produced in first position, ‘hello’ summonses cannot; therefore, ‘hello’ summons-answer sequences implement the same actions as other types of summons-answer sequences but when produced in this distinctive sequential position can implement other actions – such as greetings – as well.

### 4.2.3 What Comes Next

If mutual recognition is accomplished within the very openings of interaction – such as within a ‘hello’ summons-answer sequence produced after someone comes home from being out – then interlocutors will display this achievement, such as by demonstrating stance through prosodic features or overt recognition as in ‘*hi=da:d!*’. The achievement of joint recognition is essential for the progression of social interaction, where it shapes not only the production of the current turns-at-talk but what comes after as well. This section will therefore briefly look at two possibilities for what could come after the completion of a ‘hello’ summons-answer sequence where *greeting* has also been accomplished: the ‘howareyou’ sequence and the introduction of first topic.

#### 4.2.3.1 The ‘Greetings Substitute’ or ‘howareyou’ Sequence

As an arrival by a family member back home can possibly project upcoming interaction, one of the possibilities for what comes after the ‘hello’ summons-answer sequence is what Sacks

called the “greetings substitute” (1975, p. 68), also known as the “how-are-you” (Sacks, 1992b, p. 158) or “howareyou” sequence (Schegloff, 1986, p. 117).<sup>147</sup> Once the work of a ‘hello’ summons-answer sequence has been accomplished, the ‘howareyou’ sequence is a place where parties may launch a sequence of mundane, everyday sociable talk in relation to their current personal state (Drew, 2002; Sacks, 1975). Sacks (1975) labelled these ‘greetings substitutes’, finding that whilst they cannot be categorised as greetings themselves, they can take the place of a ‘hello’ greetings sequence as well as be used in conjunction with a discrete greetings exchange (Sacks, 1975).<sup>148</sup> As seen above, in in-person interaction, the greetings sequence can be satisfied in the ‘hello’ summons-answer sequence and therefore, the extracts to follow will all show these ‘greetings substitutes’ produced post-‘hello’ summons-answer sequence.

That these sequences follow both greetings sequences and ‘hello’ summons-answer sequences, underscores the points that the ‘hello’ summons-answer sequence can also accomplish *greeting* and that ‘howareyou’ sequences are standardly produced at particular times. Firstly, these sequences are not produced when co-participants have been home together or when one has been home but just popped out to the shops. As with the sequences they follow, ‘howareyou’ sequences are produced in the extracts below when someone has been away from the home for some time. ‘How are you’ is a grammatically unmarked enquiry that makes relevant a formulation relative to one’s current personal state (G. Raymond, 2003; Schegloff, 1986); therefore, these sequences are “...a formal early opportunity for the other party to make some current state of being a matter of joint priority concern” (Schegloff, 1986, p. 118). And as with ‘hello’, ‘how are you’ has alternatives, so asking ‘how are you’ is not always how these initial turns are necessarily constructed. Simon launches ‘howareyou’ sequences here by asking, ‘you

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<sup>147</sup> I will be using Schegloff’s stylisation of ‘howareyou’ when discussing these sequences of talk.

<sup>148</sup> The non-repeatability of greetings and the fact that ‘howareyou’ sequences may be produced in conjunction with greetings sequences is another reason why the ‘howareyou’ sequence can be called a greetings substitute but cannot be designated as a greeting (Sacks, 1975).

alright’. As these two are different, both ‘howareyou’ as a sequence as well as ‘you alright’ as an alternative construction, will be explored in the following discussion. The implications of these when, why, and how factors will be explored in further detail throughout.

Extract 6, which is the continuation of Extract 2 above,<sup>149</sup> exhibits this greetings plus ‘howareyou’/‘you alright’ sequence construction. Simon asks Emily, ‘>↑you alri:ght<’ after the ‘hello’ summons-answer sequence is complete and after they first establish mutual eye-gaze when Simon steps into the living room.

#### Extract 6: You Alright – Emily (TF0106.02:30)

```

01  EMI      °hell:oz°
02          >>cam on SIM in dining room-->
03          (0.6)
04  SIM      hello:
05          (0.2)@^(0.6)
06          -->@cam to SIM at living room door-->>
07  sim      ^walks into the room-->>
08  SIM      >↑#you alri:ght<
09          #fig 4.10
10  EMI      yeah,

```



Figure 4.10: Simon at line 8

Although Simon and Emily have previously established (although relatively more distal, not same-room) co-presence with one another during the summons-answer sequence whilst Simon

<sup>149</sup> In Chapter 1, I ‘reprised’ an extract much later in the chapter rather than continuing on with the extract numbering for that particular extract. As I am doing analysis on these present extracts, I believe it will be clearer and easier to continue the extract numbering sequence when examining the extension of a much earlier extract.

was still in the dining room, it is only once he and Emily are both in the living room that any further talk is produced when Simon speaks first, asking Emily, '>↑you alri:ght<'.

The launching of a 'howareyou' sequence is a prime example of how claims to deontic authority and entitlement are not static and are negotiated moment-by-moment. Simon displays a lower deontic entitlement in offering Emily this opportunity to produce first topic where she might assess and possibly expand talk around her personal state, but 'you alright' – as opposed to the less restricting 'how are you' enquiry – is produced as a yes/no interrogative with a polarity that implements constraints beyond an answer regarding her personal state to also making relevant agreement that she is in fact alright (G. Raymond, 2003). In initiating a sequence that places relevancy constraints on Emily's answer, making the germane answer one specifically related to the domain of Emily's current personal state, Simon concurrently claims a higher entitlement. As a formulation of one's personal state, the lexical item 'alright' (along with other personal "value states" (Sacks, 1975) such as 'fine' or 'okay') is along the spectrum of what could be considered a *neutral* response to the enquiry of 'how are you' (Sacks, 1975; Schegloff, 1986). Simon therefore has claimed a lower deontic entitlement in offering Emily (and his other recipients in the excerpts to follow) an early opportunity for selecting what is made relevant for the ensuing interaction, but concomitantly claims a higher deontic entitlement in supplying Emily with a neutral value state that not only prefers agreement but is also closure-relevant and does not standardly elicit a request for a further elaborative account (Sacks, 1975; Schegloff, 1986). So, although Emily answers in the affirmative, without elaborating beyond a minimal 'yeah' – which is considered equivalent to 'yes' when answering yes/no interrogatives (Heritage & G. Raymond, 2005; Lee, 2013; G. Raymond, 2003; Schegloff, 2007c) – Simon has framed his enquiry such that in order for Emily to respond in the preferred manner, her answer will be sequence-closing agreement. Emily aligns with this constructed constraint – and Simon's claimed entitlement – and answers in the preferred way.

The ‘how are you’ enquiry places preference constraints on its SPP, specifically that the recipient responds with a relevant answer to their current personal state. Although Simon is essentially asking ‘how are you’, the specific design of this turn places an even stricter constraint, strongly preferring ‘yes’ in response, displaying and claiming a spectrum of deontic entitlements for both speaker and recipient.<sup>150</sup>

As mentioned, when looking at Emily and Simon’s interaction above, this sequence of ‘hello’ summons-answer then a ‘you alright’/‘howareyou’ sequence can be seen in these next two extracts as well. In this next excerpt, Jane is in the living room cleaning ashes out of the fireplace. Simon arrives home, and there is 2.7 seconds from when the front door is closed, where he is wiping his feet on the doormat inside the front door, before Jane (off camera) produces her summons at line 1. Simon takes three steps into the dining room before answering Jane.

#### Extract 7: ‘Hee-lo’ (TF0105.43:50)

```

01 JAN      #°hello::°
02          >>cam on SIM coming into house-->
03          #fig 4.11
04          ^ (1.7)
05 sim      ^steps towards dining room, continues walking in-->
06 SIM      >↑heee↓lo<^@
07          -->^
08          -->@((CAMERA EDIT)) SIM in living room behind JAN151-->>
09 SIM      #you alright cinders;
10          #fig 4.12
11          .hh yeah

```

<sup>150</sup> What gets shared in the ‘howareyou’ sequence can indicate levels of familiarity or intimacy between interlocutors (Sacks, 1992b). But here (and in extracts to come) we only see ‘yeah’ with no further elaboration. One of the reasons may be due to the design of Simon’s ‘howareyou’ enquiry, as presented above, or could be due to the recipient having nothing new or of note to introduce at this moment or in regard to this particular enquiry.

<sup>151</sup> There is a possibility in this extract that some talk was omitted due to camera edits. Simon is now in the living room standing behind Jane and she is gazing up at him. I do not believe that it detracts from the analysis of the greeting and the ‘howareyou’ sequence, but warrants noting here.



Figure 4.11: Simon as Jane produces her summons



Figure 4.12: Simon and Jane at line 9 (Simon's shoe is just visible behind Jane at the edge of the rug)

Jane's summoning 'hello' displays some of the features that Pillet-Shore would use to describe a "small greeting" (2012, p. 383): it is at a softer volume, no audible smiling, and it is produced at a lower onset pitch with almost no variation in tone. Simon answers Jane's summons with a contrasting, light-heartedly produced 'hello'; his 'hello' starts prosodically high, he places special affect on the first syllable, pronouncing 'hee-lo' instead of 'huh/heh'-lo', produces it at a quicker tempo than he has in other sequences seen above, and includes a mid-phrase pitch change from a higher to lower pitch. Both Jane and Simon's 'hello's are marked from their standard speech, and Pillet-Shore (2012) would suggest that Simon's larger 'hello' displays familiarity with his recipient.<sup>152</sup> There is no recording of when Simon opens the front door, but we can audibly hear he is in the midst of wiping his feet on the doormat inside the front door before we hear the front door shut. There is another 2.7 seconds of wiping his feet after he shuts the door. He begins to move farther into the house once Jane issues her summons and based on how long he is wiping his feet for, it is reasonable that Jane recognises that it is Simon cleaning off his shoes. Therefore, the upshot of Jane recognising Simon as the one who has just entered, is that her summons is simultaneously displaying recognition, greeting Simon, and also displaying her current personal state, or stance (Pillet-Shore, 2012). A small greeting displays "(no more than) a neutral stance" (Pillet-Shore, 2012, p. 391) but produced in the initial

<sup>152</sup> More features and further discussion of 'large' and 'small' greetings as designated by Pillet-Shore (2012) are discussed in §4.3.2.



position when greeting familiar parties, as in the current sequence, displays a “negative personal state/stance” (Pillet-Shore, 2012, p. 393). As in the previous extract, it is not until Simon is in the living room with Jane that he asks, ‘you alright’. Jane keeps the lower part of her body positioned towards the fireplace whilst the upper part of her body – and ostensibly her gaze – is ‘torqued’ (Schegloff, 1998) towards Simon, displaying her current focus on Simon, but that their current interaction is “inserted” (Schegloff, 1998, p. 544) into the ongoing, arduous chore of cleaning the fireplace (as seen in Fig 4.12). Simon indexes this task, adding on ‘Cinders’ as a shortened form of ‘Cinderella’, a play on Jane cleaning out the cinders/ashes from the fireplace.

Simon seeks to set the tone for the interaction to come by displaying his familiarity and intimacy with Jane through the employment of a cheerful greeting and jokey nickname (Sacks, 1992b). When looking at news interviews, Clayman found that address terms may be produced to display “sincerity” and exhibit the interlocutor is speaking “from the heart” (2010, p. 173). Typically produced at the end of TCUs, address terms in this position in news interviews are standardly used in an interviewee’s response to an interviewer when questions turn from issues of facts to an interviewee’s personal feelings and opinions (Clayman, 2010). In these cases, the interviewees produce the address term of the interviewer at the end of a TCU, not only as artefacts of producing a heart-felt answer in an environment constructed for such a thing, but to *display* they are “‘doing’ *speaking from the heart*” (Clayman, 2010, p. 176, emphasis in original). Although this is not a news interview, we can see that the addition of a familiar address term – one that invokes light-heartedness and intimacy – grants Simon’s enquiry an added earnestness where, although it structurally prefers agreement, Jane can further assess whether she will share any troubles foreshadowed by the production of her summons. Rather than casting the ‘howareyou’ as strictly a greetings substitute which makes relevant a perfunctory answer instead of elaboration or a diagnosis sequence regarding her current

personal state (Sacks, 1975), Simon's light-hearted production of his greeting and 'Cinders' lays the foundation for a positive and correspondingly light-hearted interaction between the two, mitigating the troubles-implicative features of Jane's summons.<sup>153</sup> Jane does answer 'yeah' (which is prosodically similar to her summons), aligning with the action and relevancy constraints that 'you alright' implements in Simon's turn, but the production of the 'yeah' indicates that her agreement may be perfunctory and the construction of Simon's turns indicate that he has picked up on her not being 'alright'.<sup>154</sup>

In this next 'you alright' extract, Simon tags on another familiar address term, this time referring to Tom as 'pal'. Simon is again the one arriving home, having just come in the front door, and Tom is in his bedroom at the top of the stairs with his door shut.

**Extract 8:** Is That You Tom (TF0104.04:17)

```

01  SIM    he↑llo:@
02          >>cam on TOM's bedroom door->
03          -->@cam to SIM at bottom of stairs-->
04          (0.7)
05  TOM    °↑hi dad°
06  SIM    is that ↑you #To:mζ
07          #fig 4.13
08          (0.6)
09  TOM    ↑yeah
10          ∅(0.6)
11  sim    ∅looks up towards TOM's door-->
12  SIM    #you alright pal;∅@
13          -->∅
14          -->@cam to outside TOM's closed bedroom door-->>
15          #fig 4.14
16          (1.0)
17  TOM    ↑fine

```

<sup>153</sup> Sacks (1975) speaks at length about how participants answer the 'how are you' question in relation to how the sequence is organised, such that one may choose to say they are lousy or great or okay and that may or may not be a 'lie' which expands or closes a sequence of interaction. The organisation of the sequence renders that no matter what is said, the determination by the speaker as to what they want to share or not in relation to who the questioner is, whether the timing is appropriate, etc, indexes their response as true (Sacks, 1975).

<sup>154</sup> Indeed, the next turn (on camera) is from Jane who announces, 'I'm not looking for war' in regard to an ongoing disagreement with Emily. This turn is produced after at least 6.7 seconds of no talking and a camera edit that shows Simon is almost out of the room at the time Jane formulates her current personal state. I have not included it in the sequence due to these points but include it here to demonstrate further that the production of Jane's summons and answer to Simon's enquiry index her current negative stance – which may be in part due to the dirty and tiring task of cleaning out the fireplace, as well as her ongoing conflict with Emily – despite not overtly mentioning either within the current sequence.



Figure 4.13: Simon producing 'Tom:ml' at line 6



Figure 4.14: Simon at line 12

This time, Simon not only displays intimacy and earnestness by adding a familiar address term to his 'howareyou' enquiry but additionally invokes father-son intimacy with the lexical item 'pal', a nickname commonly used for sons. Here, Tom produces both his 'hi dad' and 'yeah' with no lengthening, and with both being produced in the same pitch with no variation in either response, the combination of which may project to Simon a current negative stance. The deployment of a familiar address term in the 'howareyou' sequence, as with 'Cinders' in the previous extract, orients to these small greetings, acting as a nickname earnestness marker in the 'howareyou' sequence.<sup>155</sup> However, before we even arrive at Simon's 'howareyou' sequence, there is first an intervening discrete identification sequence, which we have not seen before. Simon's *coming home* 'hello' summons – which, as in Extract 4, *informs* that he is home and 'he' is Simon, and that he is *searching* for who else is home – is answered by Tom in way that greets and explicitly displays recognition of his father with, '°↑hi dad°.'<sup>156</sup> Simon, although he exhibits recognition of Tom, still seeks overt identification from him. Mutual recognition is a social interaction *achievement*, especially when parties have no shared visual access and therefore recognition cannot be realised before – nor made a condition of – the

<sup>155</sup> This marker of earnestness in the 'howareyou' sequence is seen again in Extract 12.

<sup>156</sup> Tom is speaking through his closed bedroom door in this extract. The °degree signs° here capture Tom's voice being through the door but also quite far away; he may not be next to his bedroom door when producing line 5. By the time lines 9 and 17 are produced, however, Tom is discernibly louder and so may be standing closer to the door by this point.

initiation of the interaction (Schegloff, 1979a); as such, recognition is sequentially relevant, particularly when considering a sequence-initiating summons issued to an as yet unknown recipient. Obtaining identification confirmation from Tom affords Simon the ability to design his subsequent turns at talk specifically for Tom, such as when including the referent term ‘pal’ or when possibly framing further talk around the current evening’s events as they relate specifically to Tom and Simon (Schegloff, 1979a). In the previous excerpts where a ‘howareyou’ sequence followed the ‘hello’ summons-answer sequence, the pre-present party was in the living room. The one arriving home enters the living room and then launches the ‘howareyou’ sequence once mutual eye-gaze and proximal, same-room co-presence is obtained, after they have walked through the dining room and laid down any items they have previously held.<sup>157</sup> Here, however, Simon is at the bottom of the stairs, he has his briefcase and the post still in his hands and has not yet left the front door area, and therefore not yet transitioned from *coming* home to *being* home. Simon looks up the stairs before producing, ‘you alright pal?’ which would align with the previous extracts where the ones coming home established same-room co-presence and mutual eye-gaze before launching the ‘howareyou’ sequence. However, as Tom is upstairs behind his closed bedroom door, Simon will not be able to lay down his items on the dining room table as he passes through to the living room to talk to his recipient (as done in the previous extracts), making the achievement of co-presence and mutual eye-gaze not as easily or as quickly attainable. As such, in order for Simon to design as relevant to his recipient any sequences of talk past the ‘hello’ summons-answer sequence, he would need to achieve and display the recognition Tom has now demonstrated with him. Therefore, Simon explicitly initiates an identification sequence which

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<sup>157</sup> See Extract 2 and 6 as well as Extract 7 where, although it is not visible during the sequence as shown here, in the moments following, it is shown on camera that Simon has laid down the items he is visibly carrying in Figure 4.11.

includes 'Tom' to seek confirmation and achieve (as well as display) the joint recognition requisite for continuing the interaction without same-room co-presence or mutual eye-gaze.

The point that joint identification and recognition needs to be achieved before the 'howareyou' sequence is launched alludes to when speakers generally produce 'how are you' sequences. We can see that a salient place of production is during these *coming home* opening sequences, indexing not necessarily where someone is coming from or that a specific amount of time has passed, but that a sufficient amount of time has passed such that the speaker is initiating a new opening sequence of interaction, time in which some event relating to one's personal state of being may have occurred since the parties' last interaction.<sup>158</sup> It is not that a speaker cannot ask 'how are you' at other times, but enquiring after one's personal state outside of the *coming home* or opening sequence environment – such as if launched when the participants have been cooking in the kitchen together or sitting and talking for some time – will be heard as doing something very specific. Regardless of the deontic entitlements surrounding 'howareyou' sequences initiated with 'you alright', generally, the issuer of the personal state enquiry as it is produced in opening sequences is indicating that they have no pressing topic that needs to be introduced before the recipient has an opportunity to introduce any possible talkable business of their own (Sacks, 1992b; Schegloff, 1986), and that the personal state of the recipient is of relevance to the participants; launching a 'howareyou' sequence in a situation where parties have not spent any notable time apart – as when producing it outside of the *coming home* or opening phase environment – would be considered marked and doing something specific.

So, we can see that when produced in the opening of an interaction – particularly when one of the participants is coming home after being away for some time – the 'howareyou' sequence is

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<sup>158</sup> All of the instances within this thesis include household members arriving home after a day at work, after several hours of shopping, or at the end of the school day; none of the instances are subsequent to anyone being on holiday or spending several days away.

a place where speakers can offer a potential first topic in relation to another's personal state, concomitantly indicating that they themselves have no pressing business to introduce first whilst also making relevant their claims to and displays of deontic entitlement and authority. Whether something is deemed to be mentionable by participants can be determined by what has occurred since the last interaction they have had as well as who they are to each other (Sacks, 1992b). Something shared with a close family member or confidante may not be shareable with another of less familiarity. So, what gets shared and when – both in terms of length of time since parties have last seen each other and in terms of whether something is presented as a first topic or is introduced later in the interaction (first topic is further discussed below) – has sequential, social, and deontic relevance (Sacks, 1992b).

#### 4.2.3.2 From the 'Hello' Summons-Answer Sequence to First Topic

Looking at the *coming home* environment 'howareyou' sequence in situ demonstrates its sequential relevance and how important establishing identification and recognition early in interaction is. Although in the extracts above, the opening sequence is continued by a 'howareyou' sequence being produced after the 'hello' summons-answer sequence, parties may orient to other potential talkables, exhibited through the introduction of a *first topic* after completing the 'hello' summons-answer sequence. A sequence which introduces first topic is recognisably not included in the types of sequences which contribute to the construction of openings and may be launched through the production of what I have referred to in Chapter 2 as 'the reason for the summons' or possibly – as in the next extract – the production of a noticing.

Schegloff (1986) demonstrated that first topic standardly comes after completing the series of potential interactional openings sequences on telephone calls: summons-answer → identification → greetings → howareyou → first topic. Although the contingencies surrounding

telephone call openings is quite different than in-person interaction within the home, we have seen that a summons-answer sequence where identification/recognition and *greeting* is accomplished can lead to the launching of a ‘howareyou’ sequence. Here, we will see this pattern with a similarly condensed opening sequence, progressing from the ‘hello’ summons-answer sequence to first topic instead (Schegloff, 1986). In the continuation of Extract 1 (here, Extract 9), Simon is in the living room watching television and Jane has been out for several hours wedding dress shopping with their eldest daughter, Jessica.

**Extract 9:** Simon Says Hello/Where’s Jessica? (TF0108.21:23)

```

01 SIM    hellooː
02        >>cam on JAN entering the house-->
03        (0.6)
04 JAN    ↑he@llo:h!
05        -->@cam to JAN in walking towards living room (1.12)-->
06        (1.2)
07 SIM    #>where's Jess↓ica<
08        #fig 4.15
09        (0.6)
10 JAN    >↑(went ho:me)<159
11        ((possible CAMERA EDIT))
12 SIM    how many hours of wedd@#ing dress shop- >↑why didn't she come=
13        -->@cam to SIM and JAN in living room-->>
14        #fig 4.16
15        =in and say helloo:<

```

As seen in Figure 4.1 and the above extracts, Jane is just through the dining room doorway when Simon launches his ‘hello’ summons, and just passing the dining room table after laying down her handbag and keys when Simon produces his enquiry about Jessica at line 7 (Fig 4.15).

<sup>159</sup> At this point, Jane has just visibly and audibly walked into the living room. Although the camera stays on the empty dining room until Figure 4.16, there doesn't appear to be any edits until between lines 10 and 11. At line 11, the sound lines up with Simon and Jane mid-hug in the living room, but it would be hard for Jane to have reached that place in that amount of time. I am including these parts in the extract simply to show that Simon was expecting to see Jessica after the shopping trip; therefore, this edit does not detract from the analysis.



Figure 4.15: Jane as Simon asks after Jessica at line 7



Figure 4.16: Jane and Simon when the camera changes to the living room at line 12

As soon as the ‘hello’ summons-answer sequence is completed, Simon elides the ‘howareyou’ sequence and progresses to a first topic. As noticings standardly come at the earliest possible opportunity in interaction (Schegloff, 2007c), Simon claims high deontic entitlement in closing the openings sequence and immediately making relevant the noticeable absence of Jessica, demonstrating further the point made above that parties should make their presence and identity known within a short time of someone arriving home. As Jessica has not established her presence – visibly or audibly – in the time between the front door opening and when Simon can see she is not with Jane, he seeks an account, treating her absence as counter to his expectations (indeed, he demonstrates this by further enquiring about it at lines 12 and 15). Drew refers to this shortcut through the possible sequences that make up an opening sequence – and specifically the omission of the ‘howareyou’ sequence – as a “greetings bypass” (2002, p. 488), granting the ‘howareyou’ sequence the same greetings substitute status that Sacks did (1975). Jessica’s absence brings about the first relevant talkable and a point where Simon can claim some rights to Jane’s knowledge about where Jessica is (Bolden & Robinson, 2011). At line 12 Simon seems to accept Jane’s account of Jessica going home by moving on to the shopping trip (Fig 4.16); however, he interrupts himself asking about the shopping to bring back to the fore that he has received from his eldest daughter what could be understood as a



social snub in not receiving a greeting from her when she and Jane returned to the house.<sup>160</sup> Although Jessica going home after a long day of shopping may be reasonable, Simon treats the absent greeting as something that would or should – at least in the moment of arriving back to the house – supersede going home.<sup>161</sup> By introducing this topic directly after the ‘hello’ summons-answer sequence, Simon implements a greetings bypass that introduces and prioritises as first topic the in-the-moment important business of Jessica’s notable absence and lack of familial/social convention (Drew, 2002).

The relevance of an omitted greeting between Jessica and Simon – and the consequence with which he treats it – underscores the importance of greetings within social interaction. We have seen above how even in the cases where ‘hello’ summons-answer sequences are produced, interlocutors accomplish important sequence-progressing actions such as joint identification and recognition, but also the achievement of social actions such as greetings, which aid in the establishing or re-establishing of social relationships (Pillet-Shore, 2012). The themes of greetings and the maintaining of social relationships will be discussed more in the next section.

### 4.3 ‘Hello’ – ‘Hello’ (and their Variants) in Discrete Greetings Sequences

All of the data included so far has been of parties *coming home* after being away for indeterminable lengths of time, but which are ostensibly at least several hours. In in-person *coming home* opening sequences, a reciprocal ‘hello’-‘hello’ sequence can implement a summons-answer sequence along with doing greeting, aid in identification and recognition,

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<sup>160</sup> Note that, although not discussed within this thesis, hugging/having a cuddle is one of the embodied actions that can be a potential element of greetings sequences once parties are in the same physical space as one another. Hugging or having a cuddle can be two separate actions relative to parties’ levels of familiarity or intimacy. Whether this could be constituted as hugging, an embrace, or cuddling, is beyond the scope of this thesis but what is shown here, and has been discussed in other works, is that a greeting standardly comes before touching (Pillet-Shore, 2012, 2018b).

<sup>161</sup> “Greeting somebody in the street proves no esteem whatever, but failure to do so conclusively proves the opposite” (Simmel, 1959, p. 400, as cited in Clift, 2016a). The same could surely be applied to loved ones, as seen here.

display familiarity and current personal stance, and concurrently index that someone has been away from home at least long enough to make relevant to the participants the re-establishment of their social relationship. Rather than the above outlined actions being realised all within one minimal pair sequence, the extracts to follow exhibit sequences of interaction which more closely follow Schegloff's (1986) order of telephonic openings, where the summons and greetings are done separately. In this next section, I will make the distinction between a 'hello'-'hello' summons-answer sequence and a discrete greetings sequence, underscoring how sequential *position* and *composition* (Clift & C. W. Raymond, 2018) aid participants in identifying the actions being implemented.

#### 4.3.1 The 'Hello' Summons-Answer/Greetings Sequence Distinction

Here, I will briefly examine this summons-answer sequence/greetings sequence distinction, then I will leave the summons-answer sequence discussion behind and continue to concentrate on greetings sequences in family interaction and some of the other types of sequences of actions that may follow greetings. In this extract, Simon is going to see Emily, who is in bed with her bedroom door shut. Simon implements a knocking summons and greets Emily after he has entered.<sup>162</sup>

##### **Extract 10:** Mum Says Your Job's Come to an End (TF0105.18:56)

```
01 SIM ((knock knock knock knock))
02 >>at EMI's door off camera-->>
03 (0.7) š (1.9) š
04 š((door squeaks as it is opened))š
05 SIM †hi †Em
```

In the previous section, opening sequences were comprised of summonses and greetings accomplished in one minimal, adjacency pair sequence in the *coming home* environment,

<sup>162</sup> This extended extract is discussed in Chapter 2, Extract 3 on page 89.

which demonstrated the interactional work that participants need to accomplish before a party can produce ‘hello’ or its alternatives such that they are understood to be doing *greeting* within the summons-answer sequence. In this extract, Simon produces a separate summons, enters Emily’s room and walking farther into it, ostensibly reaches a position within where he can confirm her presence prior to the production of the informal greeting term ‘hi’ plus Emily’s default address term at line 5.<sup>163</sup> This extract serves to further demonstrate the difference between greetings implemented within the ‘hello’ summons-answer sequence as seen in the previous extracts in this chapter, and a sequence of in-person interaction which differentiates between the summons-answer sequence and a discrete greetings sequence. Here, the greeting is not issued until after establishing co-presence, and identity and recognition work have been completed, following the sequential organisation of summons → establish co-presence/identity/recognition work through entering the room → greeting. Unlike previously, the significance of establishing same-room co-presence and joint recognition before greeting will be explored in the extracts to follow.

In this next extract, the sequential pattern of a *coming home* summons as seen in the previous section is similarly followed: someone arrives home and then a ‘hello’ is produced. However, the *position* and *composition* (Clift & C. W. Raymond, 2018) of the first ‘hello’ demonstrates it is not doing *summoning*. Here, Jane is just arriving home and has stepped inside the front door.<sup>164</sup> Although we cannot see where Simon is before Jane comes home, we can hear pots

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<sup>163</sup> The time between Simon opening Emily’s door and approaching her bed was not captured on film, and therefore Simon’s turn at line 5 is not visible. The camera on the outside landing captured Simon’s approach to the door, the knocking, and then entry into the room. The film then shows Simon three steps from Emily’s bed. There is no hearable cut in the audio and the number of steps and time to take them seem to suggest that there was nothing cut out from the film. From analysing other extracts of data, there are approximately seven steps between the bedroom door and Emily’s bed. In trying to account for where Simon might be within the room at line 5, I calculated that each step takes approximately 0.7 seconds per step. There are 3.0 seconds between the door opening and when the camera is back on Simon, three steps from Emily’s bed. Therefore, I have calculated that Simon was at the corner of Charlotte’s bunk bed when he produced his line 5 turn, where he could see there is a light on in Emily’s room and he would be able to see her in her bed.

<sup>164</sup> Due to editing, many of the exact moments when family members enter the house are only captured audibly and not visibly. This greeting is captured from the camera outside the house, so we see Jane walking through the front door with her shopping and Simon greets her just after she disappears from view.

and cutlery and the sounds of dinner being made in the kitchen as she arrives. Once Jane opens the door and steps in, Simon immediately greets her, and it is reasonable that he would be able to easily see her arriving home from his location in the kitchen.<sup>165</sup>

**Extract 11:** Jane Arrives Home (TF0104.39:31)

01 Sim     ↑hi:!!  
 02           (.)  
 03 Jan     ↑hello::!

Looking first at composition, we can see how Simon builds his turn for Jane. Simon produces his “large greeting” implementing some features outlined by Pillet-Shore (2012, p. 383): a lengthened production such that ‘hi’ becomes two syllables produced as two different pitches, audible smiling, and a higher onset pitch in a louder tone. He also uses the recognitional variant of ‘hello’, displaying from the initiation of the sequence his confidence in who his recipient is as well as his current stance towards her (Pillet-Shore, 2012; Schegloff, 1986). Next, the *sequential* position is post-arrival and Simon is in a *physical* position where he may easily see Jane soon after she opens the front door and enters the house. The composition of Simon’s ‘hi’, therefore, is designed as a reflection of the sequential position in which it is produced (Clift & C. W. Raymond, 2018), and makes Simon’s turn hearable as a FPP greeting, one that greets and welcomes Jane home. Accordingly, Jane produces her SPP answer with similarly large greeting features demonstrating her reciprocal recognition and current positive stance. Greeting terms may only be deployed to do greeting once the establishment of co-presence has been complete, either through verbal (such as with a ‘hello’ summons answer) or visible

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<sup>165</sup> When the camera switches to inside, Simon is standing at the bottom of the stairs as Jane is ascending them and he asks her what time she wants to eat; it is Valentine’s Day (this current extract is after Extract 4 in Chapter 1 where Tom is asking what he would be doing for the evening), and we see Simon going back and forth between the kitchen, where he is making their special dinner, and the dining room, where he is putting the finishing touches on the table, before Jane is back home. He was likely awaiting her arrival. Therefore, it is feasible that Simon is in the kitchen when Jane arrives home and is easily able to have visual access to her as she arrives.

identification and recognition has been done. We can see then, that unlike ‘hello’ summonses, greetings – whether large or small – are designed for specific recipients.

Parties do not always produce ‘hello’ at a distance from their talk recipients and the underlying mechanisms of how we do greetings appear to maintain a standard structure dependent upon when the greeting is issued. As opposed to previous excerpts where the ‘hello’ was deployed at a distance from potential recipients in order to initiate a summons-answer sequence, we will continue to see that the greetings in this section are issued in closer, more proximal locations within the home and are initiating distinct and individual greeting sequences. With no ‘hello’ summons-answer sequence deployed, the sequential pattern here will be to establish co-presence/do identity work → greeting sequence → ‘howareyou’ sequence or first topic.

In §4.3.2, I will further examine interactional practices in the construction of discrete greetings sequences, considering two sequences of data in particular where the deployment of a greeting in the *coming home* environment is troubles-implicative.

#### **4.3.2 The Construction of Greetings as Troubles-Implicative**

Now that we have established that greetings may be issued in their own separate sequences once co-presence and recognition have been accomplished, I will proceed to look at the way greetings within family interaction are produced and how they impact sequence progression, particularly in environments of conflict and disaffiliation. As I use Pillet-Shore’s notion of *small* and *large* greetings in my analysis of how greetings are produced in family interaction, it is important to note that Pillet-Shore had “zero instances” of small greetings being produced in first position between two people who are familiar with one another (2012, p. 392);<sup>166</sup> however, she did have one instance of a small greeting being produced as a SPP to a FPP

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<sup>166</sup> Pillet-Shore specifies that she analysed “145 encounters in private residences and 75 workplace encounters” (2012, p. 376) of which the two settings combined yielded 176 greetings sequences.

greeting, which displays negative stance (Pillet-Shore, 2012). As will be seen in the extracts to follow, parties in family interaction do produce small greetings both as FPP and SPP objects.<sup>167</sup> The extracts in this section will serve to show that in either instance, a small greeting can be troubles-implicative, such as in this next extract. Here, Jane is arriving home from an afternoon of shopping. She enters the house and Simon, who is in the dining room hanging the washing, produces the first turn at line 1.

**Extract 12:** Alright Hun (TF0101.09:59)

```
01  SIM      ↑helloo::!
02          >>cam on outside the front door-->
03  JAN      °↑hello,°
04          (0.4)@(2.0)
05          -->@cam to JAN coming into dining room with shopping-->>
06  SIM      alright hun
```

Despite Simon's large, welcoming greeting – here constructed with audible smiling, a lengthened production, a louder tone, and a much higher onset with a turn-final fall-to-mid pitch – which displays a positive stance and familiarity towards the recipient, Jane's return greeting, although with a high onset pitch, is more subdued in contrast to Simon's, is not lengthened, there is no audible smiling, and it is produced in a much quieter tone, which displays both recognition and the negative stance of a small greeting (Pillet-Shore, 2012). Simon responds to Jane's small greeting by initiating a 'howareyou' sequence, offering her the early opportunity to topicalise her current personal state. As we saw in §4.2.3.1, when co-participants' stances display an incongruence, parties may launch a 'howareyou' sequences with the inclusion of earnestness markers such as 'Cinders' or 'pal'. Simon using 'hun' as a familiar address term displays Simon's intimacy with Jane and indexes his turn as candidly

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<sup>167</sup> Although I included it in §4.2.3.1 when looking at the 'howareyou' sequence, Extract 7 could also be included in this current section as a demonstration of 'small greetings' as first and second pair part objects between intimate familiars. There, it was the FPP that was the 'small greeting'; this also serves to show how small greetings can be produced as SPP *and* FPP objects and can be troubles-implicative between intimates.

enquiring into Jane's personal state despite the 'you alright' format's constraints discussed previously.

The reasons for small greetings such as Jane's fall into three possible categories: the first is that the parties who are exchanging greetings are unfamiliar with one other, the second is an indication that the current greeting sequence is subsequent to a prior, recently launched greetings sequence (Pillet-Shore, 2012). But both of these are not the case here as Jane has just arrived home for what is ostensibly the first time in several hours and she is of course more than well acquainted with Simon. The third reason, and the one that is pertinent here, is due to intra- or inter- personal troubles (Pillet-Shore, 2012). Picking up at the launch of the 'howareyou' sequence at line 6, Jane indexes what is later overtly discussed as the troubles source and reason for her small greeting: Emily.<sup>168</sup>

```
06 SIM    alright hun
07        (1.2)
08 JAN    where's Emily.
```

When Simon initiates the 'howareyou' sequence, he constructs it in such a way that demonstrates a direct relevance to Jane and her small greeting; Simon does not produce it in accordance with his more standard 'you alright' by omitting the turn-initial 'you' (although it still strongly prefers a 'yes' answer (Schegloff, 1986)), and adds in the turn-final 'hun' as a display of fondness and intimacy. Jane then introduces the troubles that were before only tacitly indexed by her small greeting. This jump to first topic ('where's Emily.') – before the initiated opening 'howareyou' sequence has been completed – is called "pre-emption" (Schegloff, 1986, p. 133). Pre-emption claims priority and urgency of the first topic, and in this excerpt, Jane claims a high deontic entitlement in initiating first topic in the 'howareyou'

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<sup>168</sup> Jane has seen Emily's boss whilst out shopping and the next spate of talk involves speaking with Emily about her work attendance, part of which is shown in Chapter 1, Extract 9.

answer position, sequentially deleting Simon’s constraining and entitled enquiry mitigated by the earnestness indexed through the inclusion of ‘hun’. By immediately and pre-emptively enquiring into Emily’s whereabouts – with turn-final full fall in prosody and no elaboration regarding her question – as well as overtly disattending Simon’s query regarding her current personal state, Jane’s turn further demonstrates her current negative state and the complaint in her enquiry.

This next extract again exhibits family participants who produce small greetings related to inter-personal troubles. This time, Tom as the pre-present party has been working on his homework in the living room, sitting on the sofa with the television on and the living room-to-dining room door almost fully shut. Simon is the one arriving home from work. Although no one is in the dining room or proximate to Simon when he comes inside the house, he does not produce a summons nor does Tom as the pre-present party issue one. Instead, Simon enters the house and comes into the living room before speaking.<sup>169</sup>

**Extract 13:** Homework (TF0103.31:17)

```

01  SIM      #↑hell@o, hhh.
02          >>>cam on SIM entering room-->
03          #fig 4.17
04          -->@cam to TOM-->
05          (0.3)
06  TOM      #*hello*^
07  sim      ^walks past TOM in front of cam-->
08          #fig 4.18
09          (0.5)
10  SIM      have you done your home↑work⌋^@
11          -->^
12          -->@cam to SIM, his back to TOM-->>
13          (0.3)
14  TOM      *yeahp*
```

<sup>169</sup> This occurs before the extract here, but the amount of time shown between Simon arriving home and his entering the living room is approximately 2.0 seconds. He still has his coat on, which could point to a short amount of time between Simon entering the house and then entering the living room. However, Tom is shown doing his homework when the front door is heard to close and then he has his notebooks closed and pencils put away when Simon enters the room. Tom looks up, ostensibly when the front door closes, so it could be that there is no editing in the film, or laying of audio over a different bit of video, other than to cut out the time between the front door closing and Simon entering the living room.



Even from the very outset of this sequence, we can see that there is inter-personal trouble and conflict between Simon and Tom. First, the launch of any talk is highly delayed. Previous extracts have shown that if no one is proximal to the front door when someone arrives home, then either the person arriving, or the pre-present party, will issue their ‘hello’ summons when the arriving family member is still within a few steps of the front door – typically when they are a few steps into the dining room. Although a taxonomy of exact time measurements is indeterminable, the approximate timing of these ‘hello’ summonses orient to participants claiming the opportunity to achieve joint identity and recognition from the earliest moments after someone has arrived back home. Instead, here, Simon enters the house, walks through the dining room to the living room, opens the door, and becomes same-room co-present with Tom, who is now watching television with his closed books and pencil case next to him on the sofa (Fig 4.18), all without speaking.



Figure 4.17: Simon as he greets Tom at line 1



Figure 4.18: Tom producing ‘\*hello\*’ at line 6

Not only is there no ‘hello’ summons issued relatively close to Simon’s arrival home, but there are also other troubles indicators here. First, the greeting issued once co-presence is established (Fig 4.17) comes a lengthy 3.7 seconds after Simon has entered the room, seen Tom, walked past Tom, and gazed around the room; therefore, the delay in talk was not due to something such as Simon thinking he was the only one home. Second, when he does greet Tom, Simon’s

'hello' is produced quickly, with no visible or audible smiling, with narrow pitch range, and an audible sigh at the end the turn. He also comes into the room and looks around but does not look at Tom until after the conclusion of the greetings sequence and Tom's turn at line 14, thereby delaying and avoiding accomplishing mutual eye-gaze despite seeing Tom when he opened the living room door. The prosodic features of Simon's turn combined with the averted eye-gaze displays Simon's negative stance (Hoey, 2014). Tom's 'hello' also displays small greetings features: the 'hello' is quiet, muttered with almost no mouth movement, also with no observable or hearable smiling.

The delayed issuance of any talk – even after same-room co-presence is established – concurrent with the production of these other marked behaviours and prosodic features of the greetings, indexes the non-normativity of this opening. Pillet-Shore (2018b) remarks on the difference between *social* and *physical* co-presence: here, Simon establishes *physical* co-presence by entering the house then the living room, but both parties delay the establishment of *social* co-presence; delays in the establishment between these two types of co-presence are treated as dispreferred and accountable by co-participants (Pillet-Shore, 2018b). In general, participants display a reluctance or averseness to producing disagreeing or disaffiliative actions, and therefore delay the production of these actions (Clift, 2016a; Pomerantz & Heritage, 2013). Greetings are not disaffiliative actions, so the delay in their production – or in any talk at all – in this *coming home* environment, is quite marked. Simon and Tom both eventually greet one another, but the avoidance of mutual eye-gaze and the delay in producing a greeting until well after realising same-room co-presence (and thereby not prioritising the joint participation of talk), displays a diametrical opposition to what is accomplished through the establishment of co-presence before greeting, which is the opportunity to now display the recognition achieved through the establishment of co-presence as well as one's approval and affiliation for their greetings recipient (Pillet-Shore, 2012, 2017). Therefore, although a

greetings sequence is produced, the delay in producing it or any talk, in combination with the embodied actions that display current negative stances but no talk that overtly mentions any conflict, makes relevant on-going disaffiliation stemming from a previous sequence of disagreement.<sup>170</sup>

Post-greeting, Simon asks Tom about his homework, ostensibly because he can see Tom has his school items next to him but is watching television and clearly not doing any work.<sup>171</sup>

Although Tom is old enough to know what is required of him and should not need a reminder to carry out his schooling responsibilities, this enquiry displays Simon's orientations to his responsibilities as parent and the normative activity of making sure your child has completed their obligations before playing or relaxing. Although the action is framed as information-seeking, Simon is claiming the deontic entitlement to grant or revoke Tom's permission to watch television dependent on Tom's answer. By interrupting Tom as he is already watching television, Simon prioritises his enquiry into Tom's homework, thereby claiming high deontic entitlement in the moment to issue the question and claiming further entitlement to determine whether Tom will be allowed to continue watching. By affirming that he has finished it, Tom reduces the amount of relevant responses Simon can have regarding his homework, and indeed Simon moves on to initiating a sequence of talk regarding Emily. This sequence displays that social and familial conventions (such as greeting one another and making enquiries about homework) are compelling and parties may still adhere to these conventions despite ongoing conflict and disaffiliation related to other matters.

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<sup>170</sup> The previous evening, Simon and Jane had gone out and left Emily in charge. A disagreement between Emily and Tom regarding Tom's bedtime had resulted in a physical altercation between the siblings. Simon subsequently tells Tom that the three of them would sit down that evening to discuss what happened. This sequence occurs before that sit-down family meeting occurs.

<sup>171</sup> I do not have any other excerpts where Tom is doing his homework in front of the television. It may or may not be the case that the Hughes family has a rule about homework being done with the television on. If they do, it is never referenced.

Establishing recognition and physical co-presence before one can produce ‘hello’ as a greeting is a key point of this section, and the greetings we have looked at so far have all been produced in very specific instances. Here, the production of greetings has been done in *coming home* environments which indexes that some time has elapsed since the two parties have been physically co-present with one another. The length of time away from home is not discernible, but it is sometimes overtly referenced in different sequences such as parties having been out several hours shopping or were at work; popping outside the house and coming right back in again does not warrant a greeting be issued.<sup>172</sup> As we have seen, the deployment of a greeting can indicate that the time apart has been enough such that this is a new encounter on this occasion and not in the middle of an ongoing interaction momentarily suspended whilst one has gone outside for a moment or a few minutes. However, that does not mean that one’s personal stance is necessarily new and fresh with each encounter and that a previous interaction is not impacting this current interaction.

Although we have only looked at two extracts in this section, there have been multiple extracts included in this chapter so far that demonstrate how the construction of a greeting may also indicate inter- or intra-personal conflict and disaffiliation. Due to the nature of this edited-for-television data, there were not as many instances where greetings were produced in these (shared) physical or interactional environments and fewer still where I was fairly confident that edits did not cut out significant stretches of time. *The Family* data provides many opportunities

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<sup>172</sup> There are a few instances of this in *The Family* data, but one such example occurs when Emily is leaving the house at 23:00 to go out with friends, and Simon and Jane are in the dining room eating Valentine’s Day dinner. On her way down the stairs and about to go out the front door, Simon summons her into the dining room to speak to her with Jane about her leaving so late. Emily attempts to leave in the middle of Simon speaking. When he stops her, her phone rings and Simon goes outside into the front garden to investigate who is ‘nagging’ Emily. He is outside for a few minutes speaking to Emily, then goes back inside. Meanwhile, Jane has put on a pair of paper Valentine’s Day tinted glasses. Upon Simon coming back inside, Simon and Jane start to laugh, and Jane makes a joke about looking at the world through rose-coloured glasses. There is no greeting between Simon and Jane, or other opening sequence produced on this occasion, even though Simon left the house. It is not the leaving, but the length of time and possibly the distance travelled – farther than the front garden – that may be an influencing factor. Unfortunately, the nature of the data makes it impossible to determine these possibilities, but general approximations about time and distance are reasonable.

to study familial environments of social interaction not widely examined before, and it is exceptional in the extended lengths of time available for analysis, affording the inspection of large sequences of interaction that can span from hours to days, where we can observe the resumption of a previous topic or the exhibited current stance of participants in relation to an ongoing disagreement that began days prior. However, it is not without its limits. As stated throughout, I have endeavoured to only include data where I was as confident as possible that the editing was minimal and did not affect the analysis. This only allowed for limited extracts to be included in this section on greetings in the *coming home* environment, but this section and the next (§4.3.3 on greetings outside the *coming home* environment) builds on and expands Pillet-Shore's (2012) findings regarding the production of small greetings in interaction between familiar parties.

With these observations made, I aim to further iterate the import of discrete greetings sequences' distinct sequential position within troubles and conflict environments. Thus far, I have examined 'hello' and its variants in *coming home* environments; I will now turn to greetings produced in interactional environments where both parties have been home for some time, rather than just arriving back at home. Parties in the sequences to follow have been in other parts of the house for some amount of time, and greetings are produced after one comes into a room from another room/part of the house where a pre-present party is already in situ. I will call these *coming into the room* environments to distinguish them from the *coming home* environment.

#### **4.3.3 Greetings in *Coming Into the Room* Environments**

The extracts in this section include greeting terms and greeting sequences which are produced after co-participants have seemingly been home for some time and both parties are ostensibly aware that the other has been co-present within the home. Therefore, it does not seem to be the

arriving after being away from the home that is the impetus for a greeting to be produced, as may have been surmised if only looking at all the previous extracts in this chapter. In the next section, I will examine greetings sequences initiated when both parties are pre-present within the home before coming together in the same room.

Through the previous chapter, it was shown that in instances where both parties have been in the home together for some time and there is no one just arriving home, there is no need to produce a greetings sequence in order to display stance towards one another or re-establish the relationship. Greetings in family interaction could potentially be deployed solely when one participant is arriving home after being away, but they are not. What I will show here, is that when participants have already both been at home – even if not in the same room – the initiation of a greeting sequence in such contexts is indexed by both parties as doing something more than displaying recognition or affiliation upon an occasion of renewed co-presence. In these interactional environments, greetings are deployed as a means of monitoring their recipients current personal state or stance and as a means of seeking affiliation.

In this first *coming into the room* extract, Simon is in the bedroom he shares with Jane, lying on the bed with his body oriented away from the door. Earlier in the evening, Simon and Jane had argued about Charlotte currently not going to school. This ended in Simon leaving the room and going up to their bedroom whilst Jane and Charlotte are both still visibly upset. Charlotte subsequently goes to Simon to further discuss her distress over school,<sup>173</sup> but this is the first time Jane and Simon are in each other's presence since the disagreement. Jane enters the bedroom but does not produce a greeting or initiate any talk, similar to Simon in the previous extract. Jane shuts the bedroom door, then the camera cuts to Simon on the bed.

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<sup>173</sup> Extract 16 in Chapter 1 is part of this discussion.

**Extract 14: Funny Old Evening (TF0102.40:44)**

```

01 SIM #↑helloζ
02 >>cam on SIM looking at JAN-->
03 #fig 4.19
04 (0.5)@(0.1)
05 -->@cam to JAN whose back is to SIM-->
06 JAN #↑hello
07 #fig 4.20
08 (1.8)@(0.5)
09 -->@cam to SIM who is clearing off the bed-->>
10 SIM hhhhh. Ptk .hhh was a funny old eveni:ngζ ↑wasn' ↓it hmhh.
11 (1.3)
12 SIM .ptk e:hζ

```

We do not know how long Jane is in the room before Simon as the pre-present party produces line 1.<sup>174</sup> When the camera goes to Simon just after the bedroom door is shut after Jane enters, we see he is lying down away from the door but has torqued his head such that he is completely focussed on her (Fig 4.19) from then until the time when the camera changes to Jane (Schegloff, 1998); this is at least 2.5 seconds during which he produces his greeting. When the camera goes to Jane during line 4 (see Fig 4.20), 0.5 seconds after Simon's greeting, she is with her back to him and removing her jewellery and putting it into her jewellery box on the side.



Figure 4.19: Simon greeting Jane at line 1



Figure 4.20: Jane at line 6 returning the greeting

In this extract, both Simon as pre-present party and Jane as the arriving party produce hearably small greetings: they are both speaking in quieter tones that they normally would, and whilst

<sup>174</sup> Just before this extract, Jane is seen entering the room. Unfortunately, we cannot see into the bedroom until just before Simon speaks at line 1 and therefore cannot see if there was any mutual eye-gaze between the two at that point. Once the camera is in the bedroom, however, Jane very staunchly avoids mutual eye-gaze.

they both start at a higher onset pitch, the utterances are short, no audible or visible smiling, and both are produced with a narrower pitch span with Jane's having an almost completely level pitch with no rise or falling (Pillet-Shore, 2012). Although either could have ostensibly initiated talk at any time, Jane is enacting a studied disattention to Simon both before and after Simon produces his greeting. We have seen that delays between when physical and social co-presence are established are highly dispreferred (Pillet-Shore, 2018b), and in the absence of any talk, Simon now produces the FPP greeting thereby establishing social co-presence. After producing his greeting, Simon starts clearing off the bed and getting under the duvet on his side, rather than lying across it as he had been when Jane entered the room. By doing this, Simon is organising the (interactional and physical) space to accommodate Jane's arrival, both in greeting Jane and through his embodied actions (Pillet-Shore, 2010). Jane does answer Simon's greeting and after a 2.3 second pause during which Jane continues her current activity with her back to Simon and Simon meanwhile is preparing the bed for sleep, Simon produces an assessment, glossing the earlier row as 'a funny old eveni:ng?' (which is a very mild idiomatic gloss considering they were shouting at one another and Charlotte was crying), with low-rise pitch intonation and a negative interrogative tag ('↑wasn' ↓it'). According to Heritage and G. Raymond (2005), this turn construction would standardly epistemically downgrade Simon's assessment regarding the evening; however, as Simon and Jane both have equal experiential access to the evening's events, the interrogative syntax of a [declarative + tag question] format downgrades what could be understood as epistemic primacy to assess the incident by virtue of having spoken/assessed the situation first (Heritage & G. Raymond, 2005). Therefore, although he is the one initiating a sequence of talk about the earlier disagreement, the format of his turn displays the concomitant access to events that he and Jane share (Heritage & G. Raymond, 2005). Through its negative interrogative syntax, Simon's turn makes relevant a type-conforming, agreeing, second assessment answer, the conditional relevance of Jane



answering his question more strongly realised than had Simon issued a direct assessment or declarative (Heritage, 2002; Heritage & G. Raymond, 2005; G. Raymond, 2003). Despite all of these response-mobilising features, Jane does not answer and after a further 1.3 seconds, Simon produces ‘e:hɜ’, which in this position even further indexes the turn as answer-seeking as well as specifically agreement-seeking (Stivers & Rossano, 2010).

This gloss – which Jefferson defines as “...a ‘generalization’ and/or somewhat inaccurate and/or incomplete and/or a masking or covering-up of ‘what really happened’” (1985, p. 436) – is also an idiomatic device (‘funny old *X*’). In examining idiomatic expressions in complaint formulations, Drew and Holt (1988) found that in conflict environments where a recipient’s affiliation is uncertain or being withheld, speakers may deploy idiomatic expressions to seek affiliation or gauge their recipient’s stance in regards to the complaint being made. Therefore, the idiomatic gloss of ‘funny old evening’ frames the argument as oddly unexpected in an attempt to downplay or mitigate the extremeness of the earlier conflict. As with idiomatic expressions in the construction of complaints, this extract, and the extracts to follow, will demonstrate that the deployment of an initial greeting – either large or small – in the *coming into the room* environment may also serve as a resource by which speakers gauge their recipients’ current stance and/or seek affiliation within environments of ongoing or possible upcoming conflict.

Actions may “pose more or less constraints on other people’s actions” and therefore claim in-the-moment deontic entitlement to “control the interactional agenda” (Stevanovic & Svennevig, 2015, p. 2). Both Simon and Jane are negotiating their claimed in-the-moment deontic entitlement to initiate or sustain the current interaction (Stevanovic & Svennevig, 2015), because although Jane answers Simon’s greeting, she displays a marked resistance to Simon both before and after he launches his greeting, disattending the further attempts at

interaction by him. In continuing to produce response-relevant actions in spite of her disattention, Simon is displaying high deontic entitlement to Jane's attention and social co-presence, and Jane is displaying high entitlement to not engage in or reciprocate social interaction with Simon. Jane's actions display her current negative stance towards Simon and underscores the inter-personal conflict between them; the deontic push and pull also indicative of troubles between the two (Stevanovic, 2018). Jane answering Simon's greeting despite her embodied resistance displays the strong conditional relevance of a FPP greeting inducing a answering SPP greeting (Schegloff, 2007c; Stivers & Robinson, 2006). As we will see in the next extract, one participant is clearly projecting more interaction to come, whilst the other is displaying a studied disinclination to further talk.

As the use of an idiom in environments of conflict may be used to assess a recipient's stance and seek alignment regarding the current topic, this interaction between Jane and Simon demonstrates that greetings launched in the *coming into the room* environment where previous conflict or disaffiliation has been demonstrated may do the same. Simon initiates a greetings sequence with Jane to both assess her current stance towards him or the incident, as well as to seek alignment with her regarding the situation with Charlotte. In a similarly troubles-implicative sequence, Tom has just entered the dining room from the living room. Jane is seated at the dining room table, looking at what appears to be a catalogue. We do not see Tom until after he is already in the room, but as he comes into view, his head is cocked and turned towards Jane, and his gait a slow shuffle (Fig 4.21).



Figure 4.21: Tom and Jane before line 1



Figure 4.22: Tom and Jane as Jane greets at line 1

**Extract 15: Jane and Tom (TF0107.16:13)**

```

01  JAN      #↑↑he↓llo::::::::::!!
02          >>TOM is walking through the room-->
03          >>JAN is looking at catalogue-->
04          #fig 4.22
05          (0.9)
06  TOM      h:e↓yØ:,
07  jan      -->Ølifts head R towards TOM-->
08          (0.9)≠
09  tom      -->≠reaches JAN, puckers lips, leans in, kisses JAN-->
10          (1.8)≠Ø(2.0)*
11  tom      -->≠stands back up-->>
12  jan      -->Øturns back to catalogue-->>
13  JAN      ↑al↓ri:ght
14          (0.2)△(0.4)
15  tom      △looks over JAN's shoulder-->>
16  TOM      mm +hm:ç

```

Tom's gait and the fixed positioning of his head towards Jane project that he is not walking towards the kitchen or anywhere else, but that he is moving towards her. Because delays in physical and social co-presence are dispreferred (Pillet-Shore, 2018b), we can see how, as in the previous two extracts, it is marked that there is no talk launched after a party enters the room. However, unlike the previous extract (where Jane is clearly orienting to other activities), Tom displays that his focus is on Jane and that he is coming towards her, which further indexes his current silence as non-standard. Jane orients to Tom's continuing approach and launches her greeting at line 1 as Tom is rounding the corner of the dining room table (Fig 4.22) but does not look up from her catalogue before or during the production of her greeting, displaying a continued orientation to *her* current activity. Jane's greeting is prosodically produced in a large way: it is loud, cheerful, lengthened, has a higher onset pitch, and displays an abrupt fall-to-

mid mid-phrase between 'he' and 'llo'. Although Jane and Tom do not have a previous issue they are orienting to as Simon and Jane did in the previous extract, Jane's greeting here is also produced as a resource for monitoring Tom's stance due to his marked actions; the slow gait, his hood being up over his head (which is not standard for Tom), and the delay in establishing social co-presence despite a physical orientation towards Jane, all work together to display Jane's greeting to be doing specific interactional work outside of simply greeting. The production of Tom's reciprocal greeting is small in comparison: it is not lengthened, there is no audible smiling, it is produced softer than Jane's greeting, and is produced in a much lower pitch than Jane or than what is standard for Tom. All of these factors display this opening as quite marked.

This extract resembles first the greetings exchange between Simon and Tom in Extract 13 ('Homework') because of the delay in producing talk once physically co-present, and Simon and Jane in Extract 12 ('Alright Hun') where the greetings initiator produces a large greeting and the recipient returns a small greeting; both delays and asymmetry in displayed greetings stance are accountable and indicators of possible troubles (Pillet-Shore, 2012). Jane attends to Tom's presence by initiating a sequence of talk when physically co-present with him, but even after his small greeting which can display negative stance, does not initiate any further interaction or talk with Tom, concurrently claiming the deontic entitlement to prioritise and carry on with her current activity, at least for the moment. This extract highlights that there are activities treated as more easily disturbable than others. In this sequence, Jane is seen flipping through a catalogue, her fingers lightly resting on the corner of the right page (see Figures 4.21 and 4.22); even if we could not see the images on the pages, we can see from the way she rests the tips of her finger and how she flips the pages that she is not intently reading a book. We can likewise see that she is not working or in the middle of a conversation with someone else. Browsing a catalogue and simultaneously holding a conversation may ostensibly be something

easily achieved and an instance where an extended spate of talk could take place, such as alongside other activities like knitting or even making food.<sup>175</sup> In other extracts we have seen people engaged in activities such as watching television or playing video games, each of which were interrupted in order to launch and prioritise some sequence of social interaction. What is considered to be interruptable or not – or treated as an activity that can be done alongside ongoing talk – is determined by the participants, and for the time, Tom and Jane seem to both orient to Jane’s ongoing activity as uninterruptable beyond the opening sequence.<sup>176</sup>

After Tom’s return greeting at line 6, there is no further talk for 4.7 seconds, but Tom continues to approach Jane and implements an embodied greeting in giving her a kiss on the cheek.<sup>177</sup> After bending over to implement the embodied greeting, he stands up and stays next to Jane without talking, projecting further interaction without launching any. Here, Tom interrupts Jane insofar as he comes into the room and gives her a kiss, but he does not initiate any talk, despite ostensibly having a purpose for coming in and visibly making his way towards Jane before she greets him. In this instance, initiating physical co-presence but not social co-presence demonstrates Tom’s reluctance to produce what will be a disaffiliative action: telling Jane that he pierced one of his ears, something he has done without first discussing it with his parents or receiving permission to do so; Tom having the hood up on his sweatshirt may be an attempt to hide the earring until he can inform Jane about it.

After Tom’s kiss, there is another 3.8 seconds before Jane launches a ‘howareyou’ sequence at line 13. She produces this enquiry in a construction akin to Simon’s ‘howareyou’ sequences,

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<sup>175</sup> There is a point in *The Family* data where Simon and Emily have an extended sequence of talk about what is going on in Emily’s life whilst cooking dinner.

<sup>176</sup> It is not included in the extract above, but once Tom answers Jane’s ‘howareyou’ enquiry, there are another 4.9 seconds where Tom stands just behind Jane in silence before summoning her and asking to speak to her.

<sup>177</sup> Greetings standardly come early in an interaction, with verbal greetings coming before touching (Pillet-Shore, 2012, 2018b), as seen here and in Extract 9. Although outside the scope of this thesis, Tom’s embodied greeting is at least another indicator that *if* a greeting is to be issued, it is to be done early in an interaction. Tom entering the room without initiating talk is already shown to be troubles-indicative, implementing an embodied greeting without any other prior action from Tom or Jane, would be even more so.

but minimises it to ‘ $\uparrow$ al↓ri:ght’, which similarly prefers agreement from its recipient and is closing implicative.<sup>178</sup> Here, Jane demonstrates how parties may be able to claim and display different levels of deontic entitlement in the moment: although Jane is displaying high entitlement to the continuation of her ongoing activity, she concomitantly displays a lower deontic entitlement in the moment by enquiring after Tom’s personal state and in offering him the opportunity to initiate further talk, possibly about why he has come into the room and walked up to her. At the same time, Tom claims some deontic entitlement to Jane’s attention, although a much weaker claim than had he ignored her current activity and began speaking immediately after the close of the greetings sequence.<sup>179</sup> Tom’s minimal response of ‘ $\text{mm} + \text{hm} : \zeta$ ’ seems fitted to Jane’s minimal ‘ $\uparrow$ al↓ri:ght’, which in turn appears to fit with both Jane and Tom’s minimal incitement to interaction.

Beyond the delay and mismatch in displayed stance, this sequence is further indexed as non-normative in: Tom’s hood being up, which could be treated as accountable as this is not standard for Tom, but is disattended; the kiss which is not reciprocated and seems out of place when Tom and Jane have been home together for some time; to no mutual eye-gaze and studied attention to flipping through a catalogue rather than progression of the interactional sequence. In sum, an earlier revelation of Tom’s earring would not need to be introduced for either party to notice something unusual in the construction of the sequence.

Unlike what we have seen in the previous two extracts, the reciprocation of the FPP greeting and the strong structural preference for returning the SPP is resisted in this next extract (Stivers & Robinson, 2006). Emily has been in the living room watching television and texting on her mobile phone when Jane opens the living room door. Ostensibly whilst Jane is opening the

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<sup>178</sup> cf. Extract 6 for further discussion.

<sup>179</sup> Further to Footnote 179, Tom displays further deontic entitlement in asking Jane to speak with him upstairs, where they both go, and he proceeds to tell her about the earring.

door off camera, Emily's gaze goes towards it for 0.4 seconds before the camera goes to Jane now in the partially open doorway (Fig 4.23). It is another 0.9 seconds before she produces line 1 (Figure 4.24).<sup>180</sup>

### Extract 16: Jumper (TF0106.12:58)

```

01 JAN      #↑HELLO::ζ #
02          >>cam on JAN opening living room door-->
03          #fig 4.23 #fig 4.24
04          @*(0.8)
05          @cam to EMI-->
06 emi      >>looking at JAN, head resting on R fist-->>
07 JAN      chk, ↑↑have you had a good da:y?
08          (0.9)
09 EMI      °>awrightζ<°#
10          #fig 4.25
11          @Ω(1.1)
12          @cam on JAN, now fully in room, door only open a crack-->
13 jan      Ωgaze on tv-->
14 JAN      ∅um:
15          ∅smooths shirt over stomach, steps one step forward-->
16          ∅(0.7)
17          ∅takes one step-->
18 JAN      ∅↑Emily::hh
19          ∅swings both hands down and forward-->
20          ∅ (0.5) ∅Ω@@(0.3)∅(0.4)
21 jan      ∅swings arms forward∅
22          -->Ω
23          @cam to EMI-->>
24 emi      @gaze on JAN-->>
25 jan      ∅claps hands together once
26 JAN      .hhh ↑rea::lly li:ke you to give *↓me::, my all °↓saints jumper
27          bhackh.°

```



Figure 4.23: Jane looking at Emily prior to line 1



Figure 4.24: Jane at the launch of her turn at line 1

<sup>180</sup> This sequence is the catalyst for Tom confronting Emily in Chapter 2, Extract 7, and occurs just before the sequence referenced in that chapter in which Simon enters the living room and summons Emily before asking her about Jane's missing clothes.

During this opening sequence, Jane's bodily position – standing with her body half in/half out of the doorway and continuing to hold the door partially closed against her – projects that this initiated interaction with Emily will be temporary, that she is only popping in for a moment and will then leave again. However, Jane then greets Emily and launches a 'howareyou'-type sequence. Unlike in the previous two extracts, Jane immediately establishes social co-presence with Emily after establishing physical co-presence; her greeting is lengthened, in a much higher pitch, and is loudly produced (Pillet-Shore, 2012). However, although Jane constructs a prosodically large greeting, she is not smiling and moreover, she is still standing in the doorway with the door held against her; these embodied and verbal actions already indexing this sequence as marked. As we have seen, opening sequences deployed when parties have been home together for some time are not doing recognition work or displaying affiliation upon the re-establishment of social co-presence. Instead, as greetings are a place where parties may display their current intra- or inter-personal stance, Jane produces her large greeting in this *coming into the room* environment as a way to gauge the production of Emily's response and therefore current stance, as well as to seek affiliation in a conflict environment; indeed, this greetings and 'howareyou' sequence are projecting trouble as Emily has been seen wearing her mother's clothes without her permission, and in lines 26-27, Jane tells Emily she would like her clothes back.

After producing her large greeting – in the exact place where Emily could display her current stance – Jane is met with silence. In not returning the greeting, Emily is not producing the accountable and preferred SPP action, displaying a negative stance (Pillet-Shore, 2012; Stivers & Robinson, 2006) and orienting to the non-normative nature of of Jane's current actions. Despite her negative stance, she keeps her eye-gaze on Jane, ostensibly waiting for the further talk that Jane projects is coming by producing a greeting at all and then continuing to stand in the doorway, actions which display Jane's specific focus on Emily rather than coming in and



sitting down to watch television together or to engage in some other sort of mundane talk, and Jane does continue by launching a ‘howareyou’ sequence.<sup>181</sup>

In previous ‘howareyou’ sequences, we have seen ‘alright’ or ‘you alright’ deployed to enquire after someone’s current personal state. Here, at an even higher pitch than her already high-pitched greeting, Jane asks, ‘↑↑have you had a good da:y?’, indexing Emily’s silence and displayed negative stance. The enquiry offers Emily the opportunity to make her day and anything that has happened in it a first topic priority (Sacks, 1975; Schegloff, 1986); however, as with ‘(you) alright’ Jane constructs this as a yes/no interrogative, which prefers agreement from Emily and further constrains it to agreeing that she indeed had ‘a good day’ (G. Raymond, 2003). Emily does not answer for another 0.9 seconds before producing what Sacks (1975) and Schegloff (1986) consider to be the neutral lexical item, ‘°>awrightζ<°’, this time not resisting the strong conditional relevance to answer (Fig 4.25).

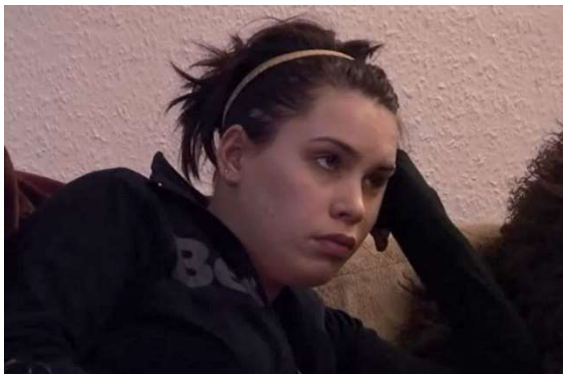


Figure 4.25: Emily just after ‘°>awrightζ<°’ at line 9

Emily displays asymmetry in her claim to deontic entitlement, attending to Jane through the embodied action of gaze but resisting Jane by not reciprocating Jane’s greeting and then pausing before answering the enquiry about her personal state. By not returning a reciprocal greeting and then delaying the answer to a question, Emily is producing dispreferred actions

<sup>181</sup> Jane averts her gaze as she produces ‘hello’, but when the camera returns to Jane just after Emily says ‘alright’, Jane is again looking at Emily. However, Jane’s displayed focus on Emily is constructed of more than just eye-gaze alone.

(Clift, 2016a; Stivers & Rossano, 2010). Additionally, although it displays attendance to Jane, maintaining eye-gaze during the issuance of these dispreferred actions increases the disaffiliative implications of them (Kendrick & Holler, 2017, p. 27). When Emily answers Jane, her response is prosodically small – a rushed and softer production – and further displays her negative stance. Additionally, it is produced with a prosodically low rise, which combined with the sustained gaze, in this instance implements not only the answer to the ‘howareyou’ question but additionally acts as an implicit continuer. The camera immediately goes back to Jane after Emily’s ‘>awright<’ at line 9, showing Jane now fully in the living room with the door shut and looking at Emily, ostensibly having moved into the room whilst launching the ‘howareyou’ sequence.

As seen previously, by progressing the sequence despite an exhibited negative stance and resistance, one party is claiming and displaying entitlement to another’s time and attention, as well as prioritising their activity over the other’s; this again indexes what participants treat as disturbable activities and what is given priority in the moment. Here, Emily is texting on her phone with the television on and Jane is coming to ask about one of her favourite jumpers that is currently missing, one that Emily has been seen wearing without Jane’s permission. Therefore, Emily’s current activity is treated as secondary whilst Jane makes the retrieval of her clothes a current matter of primary, joint concern. This deontically challenges what Emily will do in the moment, continue watching television and texting or tell Jane where her jumper is and possibly go and get it.<sup>182</sup>

Although greetings do not need to be produced in these *coming into the room* environments where two people have been home together for some time, as we have seen in these three

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<sup>182</sup> A short time later, whilst texting on her mobile, Emily resists Jane’s display of entitlement through repeatedly stating, ‘I’m watching a programme’, over Jane’s attempts to interact with Emily to get the truth and her jumper back, claiming and displaying her own deontic entitlement to continue to do what she was doing before Jane entered the living room.

extracts, people do launch greetings sequences in these instances, displaying an orientation to a situation subsequently revealed to be delicate. In lieu of immediately launching a first topic that may be met with disaffiliation, or in instances where physical co-presence but social co-presence has not been established, parties can use greetings as a resource for both displaying their own current personal stance (Pillet-Shore, 2012) and to monitor the same in their recipient. Moreover, speakers can launch greetings in these *coming into the room* environments to welcome/show an openness to their co-participant and to seek affiliation in environments where disaffiliation – if not already displayed during a previous and ongoing conflict (such as in Extract 14 (Funny Old Evening)) – may be a potential outcome of the current interaction (such as Tom telling Jane about his earring in Extract 15 and Jane asking Emily for her missing jumper back in Extract 16).

#### 4.4 Concluding Discussion

This chapter began by looking at greeting terms, such as ‘hello’ or variants ‘hi’ and ‘hey’, in opening sequences, which led to the observation that although ‘greeting term’ as a categorisation may broadly include words such as ‘hello’ and its variants, parties do not always use these terms to implement greetings. Taking into consideration the interactional space of the physical environment (such as, where parties are within the house and whether they have been home for some time or have just arrived), aspects of identity roles (for instance, whether an interlocutor is the one arriving home or the pre-present party), and the interactional environments in which these lexical items are produced – both in position (in the current sequence of talk and in sequences of interaction that occur and are resumed over longer stretches of time) and composition (prosodic production, lexical choice, the inclusion or not of a familiar address term) – we see that speakers implement certain actions with ‘hello’ and

recipients likewise understand and ascribe particular actions to a speaker's 'hello' as well as to their own 'hello' answer.

I first examined the production of 'hello' in the *coming home* environment (Section 4.2), where a family member has left the home for some amount of time (at least more than a few minutes and farther away than the edge of the garden) and has returned back again. Dependent upon who is producing the summons (either the one arriving home or a pre-present party), the actions it implements will be different, but in either case, a 'hello' summons first *identifies* the summoner. This is because a 'hello' summons is produced when mutual eye-gaze and physical co-presence have not yet been established, thereby creating an interactional space that takes into account the physical space in which it is produced – where walls and other rooms may restrict the establishment of mutual-eye gaze or same-room co-presence from the moment the one arriving home enters the house – and encompasses the entire house. If a 'hello' is issued by the one arriving home, the summons is also produced to notify anyone else that they are now home again and is an attempt to ascertain where others might be within the house: thus, *informing* and *searching* with their 'hello' summons. If a 'hello' summons is produced by the pre-present party, their summons likewise takes into account the physical space and is also produced as a means of notifying the arriving party that they are there as well as where in the house they approximately are (such as in the living room or upstairs), thereby *informing* and *situating* themselves. In turn, an answer to the summons ('hello', 'hey', 'hi') is similarly identifying the recipient and displaying *recognition* of the summoner. As recognition has been established, recipients also do *greeting* in their summons answers and are able to display their familiarity with the summoner and current personal stance through assorted prosodic features (such as pitch, pitch span, volume, and length of production). This greeting answer also retroactively ascribes *greeting* to the 'hello' summons. Because summonses and greetings in family interaction project further talk, I then examined two ways in which a sequence may

progress post-‘hello’ summons-answer sequence (§4.2.3), first to another openings ‘howareyou’ sequence, then with progression from the summons-answer sequence to first topic, both of which happened after physical, same-room co-presence was established.

Of the seven extracts which contain a ‘hello’ summons, one (Extract 2/6) contains the front door opening but not shutting, which indicates there is time missing within the edited film. The other six cases captured the shutting of the front door and there did not appear to be any edits between the front door opening and the summonses that followed. Of those cases, where the pre-present party was the summoner (two extracts), one summoner waited 1.5 seconds (Extract 1/9) the other (Extract 7) waited 2.7 seconds before issuing their summons. Of the four remaining where the summonses were produced by the ones arriving home, one of them was Tom who produced his summons before the front door was all the way open (Extract 5). The remaining three displayed a summons produced within 1.0 second or less after the one arriving home had shut the front door. Although this cannot be definitively concluded from the small collection here, as it is indicated that there may be a preference for the one arriving home to produce their summons first, as summonses produced by pre-present parties are produced in a longer amount of time post-door closing than the arriving party summonses. To that end, there is no clear determination on how long parties will wait before deploying a summons, but it is clear that pre-present party summoners can take time and audible embodied actions into account when determining whether or not to produce a summons if the one arriving has not yet done so themselves. This demonstrates participants’ orientations to the physical space of the home and the need for co-ratified identity and recognition in domestic social interaction.

‘Hello’ does not only implement summonses and, once recognition is achieved, can also implement greetings (Section 4.3). A ‘hello’ in this case is deployed once physical co-presence is established – either by mutual eye-gaze or same-room co-presence – and are therefore FPP

objects doing *greeting* from their issuance rather than from the retroactive ascription of action. These ‘hello’-‘hello’ reciprocal sequences are implementing discrete greetings sequences where the greetings produced as first and second pair parts are equally able to be constructed to display the respective party’s current personal stance. Continuing to explore the *coming home* environment, I specifically looked at two extracts (§4.3.2) which displayed small greetings between two people who are intimately familiar with one another, something that previous literature on the display of stance in greetings has not encountered (Pillet-Shore, 2012). Examining these extracts serves to show that not only does the current interaction impact the way speakers design their greetings, but circumstances outside the present interactional sequence can likewise have relevance on the way the greeting itself is produced as well as the sequential progression. This same consequence of outside circumstances was then further explored in the *coming into the room* environment, where parties produced greetings sequences upon establishing same-room co-presence after they had already been home together, thereby indexing the launch of a greetings sequence as marked. The production of greetings in this *coming into the room* environment indexes previous, ongoing, or possible upcoming conflict between the participants and their deployment as a means of monitoring their recipient’s current stance, as well as welcoming and exhibiting degrees of openness in order to seek affiliation where affiliation from a recipient is unsure or is not yet displayed. Initiating sequences of interaction through the production of a greeting in these environments also displays claims to deontic entitlement as speakers attempt to engage co-participants in interaction despite one party’s display of resistance or disinclination to the speaker. Greetings produced in these *coming home* and *coming into the room* environments likewise demonstrate the interactional import of establishing physical and social co-presence, such that the establishment of one and the delay of the other can be disaffiliative and dispreferred.

For both ‘hello’ as a summons and ‘hello’ as a greeting – the physical space has a pivotal role in how these sequences of interaction are initiated and progress. By orienting to aspects of time and entry into and movement through the physical space, parties coordinate their interactions to display the ways in which the physical are both constraints and resources (LeBaron & Streeck, 1997) for the production of particular actions. Attention to how long a party has been home or away and how these aspects of time relate to when a ‘hello’ is produced (when *coming home* or *coming into the room*), alters the action implemented by an interaction-initiating ‘hello’. The physical element of time – such as whether a party has just arrived home or they have been home for some time before producing ‘hello’ – is then a resource for parties, along with visibly or audibly hearing features of the physical environment (such as hearing or seeing a door open or close, or hearing feet wiped on a doormat). But as much a constraint as it is a resource, walls or other aspects of the built-space of the home can make it necessary for parties to rely on their auditory senses in ascertaining an arrival or where the pre-present party is located within the house, as well as necessitate raised volume in the production of a summons; in *coming into the room* greetings, the space of a room may be oriented to as a constraining factor (such as in the work of LeBaron and Streeck (1997)), where participants continue to participate in the emergent interaction despite a party’s displayed resistance to its continuation. The space of the home, then is integral in the production of opening sequences of interaction, and indexes summonses as necessary for the achievement of identity and recognition before the progression of the sequence, as well as indexing the markedness of a ‘hello’ greeting when a party has been home for some time.

As first noted in Chapter 1, Section 1.4, where I gave an overview of the thesis and discussed the ordering of the analytical chapters, this chapter has explored a particularly important part of the openings of social interaction, because in the examination of greetings – particularly when observed with summons-answer sequences and complaints and suggestions as sequence-

initiating actions – we can see that greetings are distinct in their interactional work. By examining their production in co-present family interaction, as opposed to telephone interaction or greetings within institutional or non-family environments, we gain new understanding in how ‘hello’ and variant greeting terms can implement summonses, summons answers, and greetings, and see how they achieve significant interactional work not explored before. Beyond serving as resources for ‘starting off on the right foot’ and resetting a relationship (Pillet-Shore, 2012), this chapter demonstrates how ‘hello’ produced in particular physical environments can also serve as a means of monitoring another’s current personal state in emergent delicate situations, implementing both affiliative and preferred actions. Conversely, although a greeting is not necessary to the initiation of social interaction, we saw that delay in the initiation of interaction is dispreferred, and that the combination of delay with the eventual production of ‘hello’ served to project upcoming conflict or to underscore a previous or ongoing one. Although there is by no means a definitive answer regarding preference in these instances, the above extracts do suggest that the early initiation of affiliative action(s) is preferred both in the *coming home* and *coming into the room* environments.

Although greeting terms and greetings are not necessarily new targets of analysis, this chapter serves in expanding previous research by looking at these loci of interaction in a new light. As demonstrated in the extracts above, the interactional and physical environment in which ‘hello’ is produced provide resources and constraints to the production and implementation of these as a sequence-initiating objects that is beyond what previous research has examined, and to which this investigation has contributed, enhancing our understanding of interactional openings and human social interaction.



# Chapter 5

## Conclusion

This thesis has been an investigation into the initiation of social interaction and has examined the establishment of physical and verbal co-presence by family members within their home, exploring the significance of the physical locus of the domestic space and the interactional locus of sequence initiation in social interaction. Principally, this study has aimed to show how sequences of interaction are initiated by intimate parties within domestic space, and how the physical and interactional environment shapes these initiating actions. Accordingly, I explored the linguistic features and embodied actions parties use as interactional resources, as well as how parties orient to the physical environment when initiating sequences of social interaction. This further led to an examination of the interplay between launching sequences of actions and the claiming of deontic rights, as well as how claims to and displays of deontic rights may contribute to the joint construction of social identities. These analytical endeavours have ultimately resulted in an investigative study on the production of summonses, greetings, suggestions, and complaints as initiating actions. In this concluding chapter, I provide a summary of the outcomes of this investigation (Section 5.1) and present an interpretation of the findings that are explored within this thesis (Section 5.2). I then conclude with the implications of these findings for conversation analytic research (Section 5.3) and propose future avenues of study related to this project (Section 5.4).

### 5.1 The Findings of this Study

The distinctiveness of this enquiry is found in the fact that it has examined episodes of family talk-in-interaction which have been acquired through around-the-clock recording of a single-

family household for three months, affording the opportunity to have an unprecedented look at everyday, mundane family interaction. This data gives exceptional access to social interactions that are normally inaccessible and hidden to those not intimately associated with the involved parties, and having access to these recordings has given me the opportunity to observe and analyse extended occasions of interaction at almost every time of day and in nearly every corner of a family home. As these interactions are between a nuclear family over 100 days within their private domestic space, the excerpts within this study include instances of interaction that have not yet been subject to CA investigation.<sup>183</sup> Being able to see where someone is when producing their greetings after entering the house, seeing parties watching television or flipping through a catalogue when someone initiates a sequence of interaction with them, or observing every step one takes as they enter a bedroom and concurrently deploy their summons, is unprecedented. Although the types of sequences I am analysing have been investigated before, the data included in this thesis is unique and therefore these findings offer new insights into not only the production of summons-answer sequences, greetings sequences, suggestions, and complaints, but into the initiation of interaction within a domestic space, the claiming and displaying of deontic entitlement and authority, and the negotiation of the physical space in the initiation of social interaction. The cameras within the Hughes home were not necessarily set-up for the purpose of recording interactional data to be empirically analysed; however, possibly for that reason, we now have a glimpse into the most mundane of day-to-day family social interaction, making this data utterly unmatched.

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<sup>183</sup> Previous work done by (Childs, 2012a, 2012b; Clift, 2014, 2016a, 2016b, 2020a; Clift et al., 2013; Clift & Pino, 2020; C. W. Raymond et al., 2021), also utilises *The Family* data. However, this current project is the only study that has utilised this data exclusively throughout and examined it through the lens of family interaction within domestic space. To the best of my knowledge, I have not included excerpts of data from other studies using *The Family* data, as the analysis herein is original, and the interactional practices investigated are different.

### 5.1.1 The Summons-Answer Sequence

Whether implemented through a ringing telephone, a knock, or through a verbal utterance, a summons can accomplish concurrent activities such as identifying the summons recipient, gaining their attention, and ascertaining their availability and openness for continuing an interaction (Schegloff, 1986). The recipient of a summons likewise conveys their understanding that they are the one being summoned, their in-the-moment availability and openness (or unavailability and reluctance) to participate in the current or continued interaction, as well as indicating the (in)attention they may give to the summoner's activity.

Summonses and the answers they receive may be deployed in a variety of physical and interactional environments. As such, in the first chapter, I look at summons-answer sequences involving two people who have been home together for some time with the summonses deployed at and around bedroom doorways. In the data I have analysed in these interactional and physical environments, the summons-answer pre-sequence is a place where summoners not only initiate interaction but where both the summoner and their recipient concomitantly claim and display deontic entitlements. The fact that co-participants have been home together for some time has bearing on the design of the both the summons and answering turns (compared to, for instance, the deployment of a summons-answer sequence when someone has just arrived home, as discussed in Chapter 4), and summonses in these physical and interactional environments – because they are issued to specific people – will standardly be produced with the recipient's name or a knock on their bedroom door. On these occasions, summoners display their deontic entitlements along a continuum from low to high, dependent upon where they deploy their summons, both within the sequence and within the physical environment.

By producing a summons outside a closed bedroom door and waiting for an answer from their recipient, the summoner displays low entitlement to entering a recipient's bedroom and continuing the interaction without first receiving acknowledgement of their request (especially when one considers that the closing of a door is also claiming and displaying levels of deontic authority and entitlement of its own). The recipient likewise makes a claim to their own deontic authority in the moment by granting or denying permission to the summoner to enter the private space, making relevant the request implicit in the design of these summonses. Summoners can also transition from claiming low entitlement to high entitlement in the production of their summons, first displaying low entitlement in waiting for an answer before attempting to enter the room then subsequently transitioning to high entitlement by entering without acknowledgment or permission. In these two types of summons-answer sequences, there is a possibility for the negotiation of the progression of the sequence between summoner and recipient, as the recipient has the opportunity to grant or deny permission to enter. Alternatively, by opening a closed bedroom door and entering the recipient's bedroom whilst simultaneously deploying the summons, the summoner displays a mismatch in their claims to deontic entitlement to enter the recipient's bedroom and to the continuation of the interaction. By deploying these verbal and embodied actions concurrently, the summoner withdraws the possibility for negotiation and co-participation between the two parties, and assumes permission to enter, rather than something that needs to be granted. This type of construction does not orient to a permission-requesting summons, but to an alerting summons, and therefore claims high deontic entitlement to enter the private space in that moment and displays a stronger orientation to the interactional preference for progressivity (where they can deploy the reason for the summons that much sooner), shortcutting the sequence and removing the opportunity for the recipient to produce a SPP answer to the summons. Moreover, the production of these sequences, and the degrees of deontic entitlement and authority they

display, makes relevant the joint negotiation and management of familial identity roles regarding parental and teenager agency and authority, privacy and permission to enter another's bedroom, and availability for or resistance to further talk.

The structural organisation of the bedroom doorway summons-answer sequences in my data displays participants' orientations to the dynamicity of deontic rights; claims to deontic authority and entitlement are omnipresent in social interaction, but how deontic rights are claimed (the actions implemented) and the degree to which they are claimed (on a spectrum from high to low or a combination between embodied and lexical actions) are negotiated moment-by-moment. The claiming and displaying of deontic entitlement and authority regarding who may or may not enter a private space, with or without permission, and whether speakers will even leave space for a recipient to answer before entering, all show different degrees of entitlement on a speaker's and recipient's behalf. In the cases of high entitlement, speakers not only orient to their entitlement to enter without permission, but correspondingly the entitlement to withdraw opportunity for the achievement of coordinated, joint interaction. In cases of low entitlement, speakers orient to both the recipient's agentic claims to determine whether or not they are currently available, as well as the recipient's authority over their bedroom. Ultimately, we see that in in-person summons-answer sequences, the construction of the summons – and the deontic entitlements claimed – has bearing on the current and larger sequence to a greater degree than has been shown in previous research on summons-answer sequences via the telephone.

### **5.1.2 Sequence-Initiating Complaints and Suggestions**

In the third chapter I took a slightly different approach by examining sequences of interaction initiated, not through a 'core' opening phase sequence, but through interrogatives produced as the sequence-initiating actions after someone has entered a room. Specifically, I examined non-

information-seeking interrogatives and found that many of those produced were implementing two types of actions: suggestions and complaints.

Previously, directives issued by parents have been examined through the lenses of entitlement to direct, the management of agency and contingencies in compliance, and progressivity and accountability, all issued to young children in the course of their current family activity (Craven & Potter, 2010; Kent, 2012a, 2012b; Kent & Kendrick, 2016). In my data, directives produced in the interrogative form are formulated by parents as suggestions to their teenage recipients towards carrying out a future activity that is alternative to the recipients' current activities. Speakers design their turns to progress the sequence and project compliance as a relevant next action whilst still allowing for the recipient's agency over that desired future activity. In issuing a suggestion, speakers are not overtly directing their recipients to a different task and are therefore orienting to a lower deontic entitlement to future actions, allowing the recipient agency to claim authority over their own actions. In these examples, however, the suggested future activity conflicts with the recipients' current activity, the recipient in turn claiming high deontic entitlement in their displayed resistance to the suggestion. In the face of this resistance, instead of an immediate repeat or upgrade (as seen in previous CA studies involving directives and younger children), parents standardly account for why the suggestion was initially made and why the teenage recipient should comply with the suggestion. In these cases, the physical environment is not only oriented to through the issuance of these actions as sequence-initiating after a party has entered the room, but additionally through the invocation of time as relevant to the issuance of the suggestion. Through their suggestions (to not go out, to go outside and play, to go to bed) and the specific references to time by co-participants in the interaction (it is too late to go out, it is midday, it is late and the next day will be a long one), as well their displayed orientations to agency and independence as exhibited through claims to degrees of

deontic entitlement, parties concurrently construct and negotiate identity roles such as ‘parent’ and ‘teenager’.

In examining interrogatives as a vehicle for implementing complaints, I found that speakers in these instances make the *previous* actions or inactions of another relevant in the current interaction (as opposed to suggestions, which make relevant the *current* actions of another). Complaints in these instances are sequence-initiating noticings that make relevant a party’s prior (in)action(s), which the speaker formulates as transgressive. Within my data, the complaint is issued to either the party responsible for the complainable action or activity, or to a different, now-present party that was not directly involved but with whom the complainer is attempting to achieve affiliation regarding the current complainable. As with suggestions, the physical environment plays a role, not only in that these sequence-initiating actions are produced just after a party enters a room, but also in regard to the subject of the complaints, as each complaint is about an aspect of the physical environment (closed curtains in the middle of the day, the room being cold, the state of the shared bathroom). Unlike suggestions, complaints do not make compliance from the recipient the next relevant action, and in these cases, the recipients disattend the complaint or resist aligning with the speaker in their overt or implicit formulation of the referenced prior activities as transgressive. Although complaints are ostensibly different from suggestions as they focus on a current offence due to past actions and do not overtly attempt to direct or influence a recipient’s current or future action in the way that a suggestion does, complaints do have a similar future-oriented element. The present turn-at-talk references a past activity, but in indexing the undesirable, a complaint marks then what *is* desirable within this situation, making a tacit suggestion for future action.

On the whole, although interlocutors orient to the current interaction in two different ways (suggestions are oriented to a recipient’s current actions; complaints, to a recipient’s prior

(in)actions), whether a complaint or a suggestion, speakers make assessments and overtly or implicitly attempt to direct actions in regard to their recipient's conduct. Although suggestions display a lower deontic entitlement by virtue of their interrogative form and complaints are less entitled in that the complaint is not made to direct a recipient's current actions, in both cases, speakers treat themselves as highly deontically entitled to assess and formulate another's conduct – be it past, current, or future actions - as negative, unwanted, or disparate to “how the world ought to be” (Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2012). Further, by making suggestions or complaints in relation to a certain circumstance or behaviour (such as being in bed all day or having a messy room), parties in interaction orient to and index their familial and social roles, even if those identities or membership categories are not overtly mentioned (Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998).

### 5.1.3 ‘Hello’ in the Summons-Answer and Greetings Sequences

In the third analytical chapter, I return to the examination of core opening phase sequences, expanding upon previous work done on greetings and the summons-answer sequence by examining the production of ‘hello’ and its variants in co-present interaction in specific positions and contexts within these sequences. I examine the production of ‘hello’ in two types of physical environments: first, when parties are arriving home after being away, and second when parties have been home together for some time, distinguishing these two as *coming home* and *coming into the room* environments. First, I looked at the use of ‘hello’ within domestic space as both FPP summons objects and SPP summons answers. This differs from what Schegloff (1968, 1986) observed in telephone call openings, and in the first part of the chapter, I establish several features of a ‘hello’ summons-answer sequence.

First, ‘hello’ is standardly produced when someone has been away from the home for some time. However, it is the establishment of recognition and mutual co-presence that indexes a



‘hello’ as doing a greeting or as a summons. A ‘hello’ FPP *summons* is only produced in the *coming home* environment and not other types of opening environments – such as when both family members have been home all day – which demonstrates that the production of ‘hello’ as a summons is specifically done when parties do not know who else (if anyone) is home when they arrive or who it is that has just arrived home. ‘Hello’ as a summons, therefore, is produced when someone – either the summoner or the summons recipient – arrives home and neither co-presence nor identification and recognition work have been done prior to the deployment of the ‘hello’; ‘hello’ as a greeting can only be issued after mutual co-presence and recognition have been established. Both the physical and interactional environment (entering the house after being gone versus entering a room when co-participants have been home together) have bearing on how – or whether at all – ‘hello’ is implemented in the production of social actions.

In the context of a ringing telephone, Schegloff (1986) notes that answering ‘hi’ displays a confidence on the part of the speaker/answerer as to who the summoner is. Although Schegloff does not explicitly say this, it follows then that when a phone is answered with ‘hello’, the answerer is not displaying the same degree of confidence in who is calling/summoning them (than if they had answered with ‘hi’). Although the interactional contingencies may differ, this same principle can be applied to co-present interaction, in slightly different sequential positioning; here, ‘hello’ produced as a summons (rather than a ringing telephone being the summons), also displays a lower degree of confidence as to the identity of the potential recipient in the *coming home* environment. The use of ‘hello’ as a FPP summons in co-present interaction or as a SPP answer to a ringing telephone can both be deployed in situations where identity work has not yet been done as a resource for initiating this crucial interactional achievement of joint recognition. ‘Hello’ produced as a summons in co-present interaction does both identification and location work, displaying to the recipient that the summoner is at home and where they are within the house, as well as identifies who the summoner is through their

voice, and is a non-restricted summons in that it makes relevant an answer from whomever is home (it is not a summons directed to a specific person).

The production of ‘hello’, then, can display degrees of epistemic (un)certainly both in when it is produced (such as a FPP summons or a SPP answer) and how it is produced; a ‘HELLO:?’ at a raised volume with full-rise intonation (as seen only in Extract 5 of Chapter 4, where Tom is searching to see who – if anyone – is home) and a ‘helloʔ’ (as seen in Extract 1 in Chapter 4, where Simon is summoning whomever has just entered the house) are each summonses but are implementing different types of summons actions and are displaying different degrees of epistemic knowledge (‘is anyone home’ versus ‘someone is home, but who’). In a summons-answer sequence where ‘hello’ is produced reciprocally as an answer, summons recipients are likewise able to show they are co-present and identify themselves, as well as display recognition of the summoner (again displaying epistemic certainty) through the design of their answering turn. Additionally, ‘hello’ answers implement the same types of actions that answers in other summons-answer sequences do, such as indicate current openness and availability to ongoing interaction.

A second feature of the ‘hello’-‘hello’ summons-answer sequence, is that the summons answer also does the additional action of *greeting*. In previous work on telephone call opening sequences, Schegloff (1986) asserts that ‘hello’ or ‘hi’ as an answer to a ringing telephone summons is not doing greeting in that sequential position and is simply answering a summons.<sup>184</sup> This assertion does not hold for co-present interaction, however. First, the sequential position in which ‘hello’ is initially produced differs from phone calls: with

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<sup>184</sup> This is because, according to Schegloff, ‘hi’ in this context could actually be a variant of ‘yeah’ or ‘yes’ rather than ‘hello’. He noted that semantically ‘hi’ and ‘yeah’ are not related, but in actual use in telephone conversations, ‘hi’ and ‘yeah’ were both used in circumstances when the answerer was extremely confident in who was calling them, and could “incipiently constitute and display the construction of such a pre-oriented-to, even ‘resumed’, conversation” (Schegloff, 1986, p. 122). This point is related to Footnote 144 in Chapter 4.

telephone calls, 'hello' is not first produced until it is answering the summons, but with co-present interaction, the 'hello' is first produced as the summons itself. As I revisited above and first discussed in Chapter 3, a 'hello' summons in the *coming home* environment does identification work, which the ringing telephone does not do (see Footnote 56). As the 'hello' summons is able to provide the summoner's identity – especially within a household where intimate family members will be the ones entering the home and calling out the summons – the answering 'hello'/'hi' can be designed to display the summons recipient's recognition of the summoner, and in kind, can be prosodically designed as 'small' or 'large' as a means of displaying their familiarity with their co-participant, as well as their current personal stance (Pillet-Shore, 2012), which is also the case for greetings sequences produced after joint recognition has already been achieved. Because recipients are able to design their 'hello' answers such that they display both recognition and the recipient's current personal stance (just as is done in discrete greetings sequences), these 'hello'/'hi' summons answers are therefore also *doing greeting* and are thereby demonstrably retroactively ascribing the action of *greeting* to the FPP summons as well.

As such, although Schegloff made the claim that both non-recognitional 'hello' and recognitional 'hi' answers to ringing telephones are not doing greeting, my analysis demonstrates something different. Because 'hi' answers display confidence in who the caller is and are therefore claiming recognition of the summoner, they too are displaying the answerer's stance, just as they do in co-present interaction. The sequential position of 'hello' as a SPP summons answer *and* greeting is crucial, as it could not be doing greeting unless recognition has been achieved, just as a FPP 'hello' as a summons in co-present interaction is not doing a greeting in its sequence-initial position, because visual or vocal co-presence has not been established prior to its issuance.

In the next part of the chapter, I look at discrete greetings sequences: these are sequences where ‘hello’ is produced when recognition has already been established. As with the summons-answer sequence, the production of greetings is impacted by contingencies within the physical environment (where in the home someone is located when they greet one another and whether someone has been away from the home or not), which in turn have bearing on interactional aspects as well. In both contexts, parties produce their greetings only after mutual eye-gaze and/or same-room co-presence with their co-participant has been achieved, which allows for the displaying of current stance in both FPP and SPP turns due to the achievement of prior joint recognition.

Greetings as social actions are quite unique, as they specifically relate to the (re-)establishment of relationships between co-participants. Greetings can demonstrate levels of familiarity and intimacy between parties, as well as indicate that some time has passed since the co-participants have previously interacted, and the design of a greeting can also display the interlocutors’ current personal states. Earlier in Chapter 4, I discussed how prosodic features (such as volume, whether there is audible smiling or not, onset pitch, and the length of production of the greeting term) index whether a greeting is produced as hearably small or large (Pillet-Shore, 2012). Greetings are not disaffiliative actions in themselves, but within my dataset I had several instances where parties displayed negative stances, something that previous CA literature has not found, particularly in a FPP object between intimates (cf. Pillet-Shore, 2012). Through first examining greetings issued when someone was arriving home, I showed that sequences that include small greetings can be troubles-implicative, and co-participants on these occasions are indexing ongoing conflict and disaffiliation. I explicated that by producing a small greeting in the *coming home* environment – and in one excerpt, an additional lengthy delay in the production of any talk at all – parties display an orientation to inter- or intra-personal troubles. I then further investigate these troubles-implicative greetings in the *coming into the room*

environment, which – although not as commonly produced as ‘hello’ summons-answer or greetings sequences in the *coming home* environment – are another locus of greetings sequence deployment.

The instances of these *coming into the room* greetings within my data are limited; however, I demonstrate that greetings deployed between two parties who have both been pre-present in the home for some time are produced in environments where – as with the production of small greetings in the *coming home* environment – there is a just-prior, ongoing, or possible upcoming conflict. In these *coming into the room* instances, I further demonstrated that large and small FPP greetings produced on these occasions are monitoring their recipient’s current personal stance and seeking affiliation through a display of welcoming and openness where a recipient’s affiliation is unsure. Within these specific *coming into the room* greeting sequences, parties display an asymmetric mismatch between their verbal and embodied actions, demonstrating the continuous negotiation that occurs between participants who are each claiming their own deontic authority and entitlement. In these instances, speakers produce greetings which recipients verbally respond to whilst simultaneously displaying levels of disaffiliation with the speaker through their embodied actions. Therefore, both speaker and recipient claim high deontic entitlement in these circumstances: a speaker displays high entitlement in initiating and continuing an interaction amongst displays of resistance from their recipient, and the recipient likewise claims a high entitlement through their various displays of resistance and through their orientation towards the activities they were already engaged in when the greeting sequence was initiated by the speaker (or in one extract where the opposite is exhibited when the greetings initiator displays resistance to continuing the interaction with their recipient through the prioritisation of their current activity, although claims of high deontic entitlement are still likewise displayed).

## 5.2 Interpretation of the Results

This thesis has investigated the organisation of human action by exploring the interactional practices that families implement in their day-to-day interactions. Specifically, it has examined how parties claim and display deontic authority and entitlement through the production of their initiating actions (including orientations to the physical space within the production), the ways in which recipients respond to these actions, and how deontic claims contribute to the co-construction of identity, all within the domestic space. In this section, I will lay out the overall interpretation of these findings, chiefly looking at deontic rights and the ways in which the initiation of a sequence proposes the terms for engagement in the current and ensuing interaction.

### 5.2.1 Deontic Asymmetry Exhibited by Families in Interactional Openings

Through studying different interactional openings within the family environment, we can see that even from the very initiation of interaction, parties claim authority and entitlement in regard to not only their own actions but the actions of others as well. The ways that deontic rights are expressed in the instances within this project can differ from that of other social groups or even from the display of rights between parents and younger children. For example, in their research on parents and young children at mealtimes, Hepburn and Potter (2011) found that threats were a part of almost every one of the mealtime interactions they studied, and they suggest that the difference in interactions between adults and those between parents and children, is that of a power imbalance between the latter, and that such asymmetries “appear to be a generic feature of families” (2011, p. 116). However, families are comprised of a range of ages and individuals, and imbalances between parents and children in interaction should not be taken for granted as absolute. Hepburn and Potter’s (2011) work looks at parents and much younger children specifically at mealtimes, and as such, the contingencies within that research

are much different than the data included within this thesis and ostensibly within interaction between parents and teenagers in general (or between parents and their adult children); however, this project has shown that any asymmetries exhibited in social interaction, and the claiming and displaying of deontic rights, are not static and are negotiated and co-constructed moment-by-moment by participants throughout the interaction.

Certainly, the claiming and displaying of deontic rights are context-dependent and may be exhibited in different ways. Within the Hughes family, there is an appearance of threats, but they standardly centre around activities unrelated to mealtime behaviours. Whilst issuing a threat at mealtime may be an apt approach to teaching a young child the ‘proper’ way to eat or sit at the dinner table, teenagers are more independent, and have already gone through these earlier behavioural lessons. So, whilst there is still a claiming of autonomy and agency by teenage children – as is certainly the case within the interactional openings we have seen here – the ways participants claim and display these deontic rights is nuanced, and as such may be different from the power asymmetries Hepburn and Potter (2011) referenced in their work on families with young children. We see negotiations around authority within the Hughes family, often centred around household related topics such as cleaning (cleaning the bathroom, tidying a bedroom, loading or unloading the dishwasher) but also those that include agency over activities such as going out clubbing every night of the week or piercing one’s ear without permission; these are situations which teenagers, rather than young children, will encounter and attempt to display their independence and autonomy in. As such, in recognition of an older child’s growing need for independence in their actions and decision making, we see occasions of interaction where Simon formats his turn as a suggestion or a request rather than as an explicit directive, thereby claiming a lower deontic entitlement and yielding autonomy and agency to his children. On these occasions, we see the moment-by-moment negotiation of deontic authority and entitlement, as well as the orientation to and construction of familial roles

and identity as ‘teenager’ and ‘parent’ or ‘son’ and ‘father’ in the types of actions parties implement and how they construct these turns-at-talk, as well as in the types of situations they encounter.

Aspects of agency, autonomy, and deontic rights as a whole, are inherent in the construction of an interaction and are realised throughout the progression of the sequence. Hepburn and Potter (2011) especially note this in regard to displays of resistance and compliance in interactions between parents and young children, and as we can see, this holds true for parents and teenagers as well, as exhibited within the turn construction and design of these opening sequences. One of the reasons why studying openings in family interaction is so striking, is due to this deontic negotiation and asymmetry, which is displayed not only between co-participants in interaction, but also between a speaker’s own actions as well, as clearly seen in Chapter 4 when looking at greetings or in Chapter 2 when looking at summonses; speakers may display one level of deontic authority or entitlement in their talk but a contrary stance in their embodied actions. Summoning when approaching a closed bedroom door but opening it without waiting for an answer or returning a greeting when one’s embodied actions display disaffiliation, are examples – not of a ‘power’ imbalance as Hepburn and Potter (2011) cite – but of moment-by-moment achieved asymmetry through the implementation of actions. The mismatch both in one’s own actions and the actions between parties exhibits how strong the underlying conventions, mechanisms, and systems that we follow in the organisation and negotiation of interaction, truly are.

### **5.2.2 Starting off on the Right Foot**

Talk-in-interaction is the foundation upon which we build our society, and openings of interaction are the gateway to this “primordial site of sociality” (Schegloff, 1986, p. 112). Despite the fact that openings of conversation can be taken for granted as banal, mechanical,



and habitual, these loci of interaction are indeed “extremely compact, interactionally dense, and avail themselves of relatively few, generally simple resources” (Schegloff, 1986, p. 112); it is through openings that a world of interactional work gets done. One of the roles openings play is to usher in the ensuing interaction, and openings are where parties determine whether further talk will come, whether a co-present party will participate in the oncoming talk, and what the upcoming talk will be about (Schegloff, 1986; Whitehead & Baldry, 2018). As seen in Chapter 3, the embodied pre-opening activities of an interaction may consist of moving through the physical space and entering a room, establishing co-presence with a to-be co-participant prior to any turns-at-talk. In chapters 2 and 4, the openings involved other interactional practices as well, where specific actions are implemented within opening sequences, such as summoning and greeting, but where same-room co-presence may or may not need to be established before any verbal actions. In each case, there is distinct work that is done by parties in launching the interaction.

In Chapter 2, we saw how the design and production of a summons displays the level of deontic authority a summoner is claiming, as well as potentially projects the nature of the forthcoming interaction. In one extract, walking into a bedroom and *then* issuing a summons demonstrated the complainability built into the production of the summons sequence of actions and projected a conflictual interaction was being initiated. In other instances, a display of lower deontic entitlement, such as knocking and waiting to enter, projected a more affiliative interaction being initiated with the recipient. In all of the cases in Chapter 3, barring one, the one who arrives and establishes co-presence is the one who initiates the sequence and produces the complaint or the suggestion, each making relevant a recipient’s current or prior actions and disaffiliating with these activities right from the sequence-initiating action. In Chapter 4, we examined greeting sequences; these opening phase sequences ostensibly not performing any ‘practical’ sequence-progressing function, such as establishing recognition or whether a recipient is

available for further talk, instead performing relational functions and supporting social solidarity (Pillet-Shore, 2012). Greetings are designed to display the speaker's stance and are issued when co-participants have been apart in a bid to re-establish the relationship between them. In environments of (potential) conflict, a greeting can be deployed to monitor the recipient's current personal state as well as display affiliation.

This shows that even in the very opening of interaction, speakers orient to myriad contingencies, including the context of the physical environment, the recipient of their turn-at-talk, the deontic entitlements claimed and displayed through each's actions, and the overall progression of the sequence; the implemented verbal and embodied actions and the physical space of the home, all have bearing on the current and ongoing interaction, proposing the terms of engagement and claiming more or less entitlement in the negotiation of the initiation and progression of the emergent interaction.

### **5.3 Implications of the Research**

Opening sequences could be viewed as basic and ordinary parts of everyday interaction, but in fact – as we can see from the previous section – have far-reaching implications on both the current interaction and the social relationship between the parties involved. The opening of interaction is where we are able to set the tone for the emergent interaction and where parties jointly achieve ratified co-presence, the establishment of identity, and make claims to deontic authority and entitlement, moment-by-moment. The most significant implications of this study have been in the inclusion of the aspect of family within the analysis of interactional data, the investigation of the physical space within familial domestic space, and the gathering of new insights regarding interactional opening sequences as a whole.

I will first examine the implications of this research on the initiation of social interaction more broadly, including the ways in which physical space plays a role in these opening sequences (§5.3.1), then move on to explore the implications of investigating interaction through a familial lens (§5.3.2).

### **5.3.1 Examining Opening Sequences of Social Interaction**

This thesis has looked at the linguistic, embodied, and physical resources parties use to initiate sequences of interaction with one another in domestic space, and how these aspects, in concert with the interactional and physical environment, aid in the negotiation of claims to deontic rights and the co-construction of identity. Although this thesis has contributed insights into these domains of research, the most substantial contribution has been to the study of interactional openings as a whole.

As discussed in previous chapters, this current study differs from work on interactional openings done by Schegloff (1968, 1979a, 1986) and Pillet-Shore (Pillet-Shore, 2010, 2012, 2018a, 2018b), due to the contingencies and interactional contexts of family interaction, which has not previously been examined as it has within this thesis. By exploring interactional openings through video data of a family within their home,<sup>185</sup> we gain new insights into how parties in interaction may construct their sequence-initiating turns in co-present, in-person interaction, and how this differs from that of telephone-based interaction (Schegloff, 1979a, 1986; Whalen & Zimmerman, 1987), as well as that of cohabitating friends or institutional data from parent-teacher conferences (Pillet-Shore, 2010, 2012, 2018a). Although the openings examined here more closely resemble those explored by Pillet-Shore (and therefore attends to co-present interaction more broadly rather than the very specific context of telephone calls in

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<sup>185</sup> Although the data within this thesis is of a nuclear family, and other types of families exist, the findings of this study are nevertheless broadly generalisable across domains of interaction.

much of Schegloff's openings work), when looking at family in domestic space, not only do the interactional resources change but the sequential and spatial configuration – and the actions that are implemented – can likewise differ.

Looking at the summons-answer sequences in Chapter 2, we have seen that the *summoner* can have a much greater impact on the production of these and subsequent sequences than has been explored by Schegloff (1986); not only is the summoner able to shape the construction of a co-present summons in a way they cannot when calling on a telephone, but there are deontic entitlements claimed and displayed in the summons production, and in some cases, sequential shortcuts taken. In Chapter 3, we again see a difference from previous research; in family interaction, suggestions made as sequence-initiating actions can be resisted due to the suggestion for future action directly opposing the current, ongoing activity, and the beneficiary of the suggestion is not necessarily the recipient of the suggestion, as indicated in work done by Couper-Kuhlen (2014). In the realm of complaints, we have seen that complaints can be made as interaction-initiating actions that may result from a previous (in)action or an ongoing conflict, rather than emergent from previous talk in a current interaction, which differs from work done by Drew and Walker (2009). In Chapter 4, previous research by Schegloff states that answers to summonses cannot be doing greeting; however, one of the novel contributions of this thesis is the observation that in in-person, co-present interaction, where a 'hello' summons does identification work, a 'hello' answer can do greeting as well. Similarly, when looking at *coming into the room* occasions of interaction, parties in interaction can and do produce small greetings as sequence-initial objects, and greetings may be produced in these environments to monitor the personal state of recipients in emergent and ongoing conflict situations.

In each chapter of analysis, the unique contributions to the examination of openings of interaction within familial domestic space also include exploring the role that the physical environment has in shaping the production of these sequences. As asserted in previous research on the concept of interactional and built spaces (LeBaron & Streeck, 1997; Mondada, 2013b), the physical space can be both a constraint and a resource in interaction, and this becomes evident in the data examined within this thesis. Particularly, within the production of summons-answer sequences around bedroom doorways, we see the ways in which physical elements, such as a closed door, have an impact on the production of the summons; the door itself is both a resource and a constraint. For example, a knock can be deployed on the door, and thereby used as a resource for the production of the summons. As a constraining factor, a door is closed, and therefore needs to be opened. Also, a closed door means a verbal summons needs to be produced more loudly and also places extra relevance on seeking permission before attempting to enter the room. Likewise, for the summons recipient, a closed door offers further privacy and autonomy to the one inside the room, and is highly indicative of the need for permission to enter, and therefore a resource for the recipient. But a closed door can also observably constrain, impinging upon the mutual accessibility of the summoner's identity or restrict the extent to which the recipient may hear the summons.

Within these sequences, the physical space is overtly oriented to in the production of the summons; both in terms of prosody and embodied actions. Furthermore, the need for movement through the space – walking from various rooms, as well as to the staircase and up the stairs – to access the bedroom door, is of relevance to where and how these sequences are produced: is a verbal summons produced as the summoner is walking up the stairs, or will it be produced once the summoner has reached the bedroom door? Or, as it was in the case of Extract 7 in Chapter 2 (when Tom enters Emily's room to complain about her treatment of Jane), will the summons be produced after the bedroom door is already opened and walking into the room has

already been initiated? As discussed in the previous section and more thoroughly in Chapter 2, the constraint and contribution of the physical space has consequences on the production of the summons and the progression of each sequence, in turn, impacting the deontic rights claimed and displayed by both the summoner and their recipient.

The architecture of the built space is not only relevant for the summons-answer sequence around bedroom doorways, however. We also see the relevance of the physical space within chapters 3 and 4. In Chapter 3, the consequence of the physical space is made relevant in slightly different ways than in Chapter 2. Firstly, the complaints and suggestions produced within this chapter do not take place when speakers are moving from a shared space to a private space, as observed in Chapter 2, when parties are ambulant between a hallway and a bedroom. Instead, in Chapter 3, the speaker is walking through either one private space to another private space (as when Simon comes from the bathroom into the bedroom and complains to Jane about how Emily has left the bathroom in a state<sup>186</sup>), or from a shared space to a shared space (such as when Simon enters the living room and suggests to Tom and David that they go outside to play). The production of these sequences is shaped by the built space via the relevance of establishing same-room co-presence prior to the issuance of these sequence-initiating interrogatives. Secondly, the physical space also shapes these interactions through the invocation of the time of day or the sensoriality of a room's temperature. Physicality in this sense is not of the built type but relates instead to opening closed curtains in the middle of the day or staying in for the evening or producing a complaint about a room's cold temperature. In both instances, the relevance of the physical environment in relation to sensorial factors or

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<sup>186</sup> In Extract 1 in Chapter 3, when Simon is now in his bedroom after leaving the living room and coming upstairs, there are more people in the bedroom/bathroom than just Simon and Jane. In that sequence, then, their bedroom is considered a shared or more public space, as noted in Section 1.3 of Chapter 1.

features of the built space is overtly made in the openings of these interactions, and again, the sequence is constructed from myriad elements of the physical and interactional environments.

In Chapter 4, we again see the aspects of the physical space in relation to the production of initiating actions. When one is arriving home, the opening of the front door is the first indicator for pre-present parties that an interaction is potentially forthcoming. As Hoey (2023) noted in his work on construction worksite interaction, the accessibility and addressability of parties means that the imminent establishment of the interactional space is ever-present. When a family member enters the home (and another party is pre-present), the two parties have now established an interactional space that comprises the entire home. Interaction may be initiated from just inside the front door, or it may be initiated when mutual eye-gaze or same-room co-presence is achieved. This interactional space takes into account the built space of the home, the identities and relationships of the co-participants, and the ongoing or to-be initiated activities of the parties. The production of a 'hello' summons in the *coming home* environment orients to the fact that parties are not be able to see each other due to intervening walls and rooms, as well as makes relevant a summoner's location within the house and how proximate or distal their (potential) recipient may be, thereby impacting aspects such as volume or in which direction the summons is directed (up the stairs, towards the living room, or towards the front door). The summons production can also orient to other aspects of the physical environment, such as whether one can audibly hear another's ambulatory approach, the one arriving home audibly wiping their feet on the mat, or the television being on in the living room. Once a summons has been issued and/or movement through the space has occurred and identification and recognition has been achieved, parties in the *coming home* environment are then able to display their current personal state through greeting.

The physical space plays a significant role in the production of ‘hello’ as a sequence-initial action in *coming home*, but also when parties are *coming into the room*. On these occasions, the physical space is relevant due not only to the fact that the greetings sequences are produced only after same-room co-presence is established, but in that both parties have been home for some time, and the ongoing incipiency of talk (Schegloff, 2007c) in family interaction, underscores the markedness of the greetings produced in these sequences. Here, the monitoring of one’s personal state through the production of a greeting is realisable due to the fact that the greeting is produced in direct relation to the physical space and parties’ ongoing presence in the home prior to the greeting.

Whilst there may be similarities between openings of telephone calls and co-present interaction, there are numerous actions produced before any talk commences (Mondada, 2013b). By looking at openings of co-present interaction, we are able to observe far beyond what telephone interaction offers us, both preceding and during turns-at-talk. Whilst Schegloff’s earlier work on telephone calls (1979a, 1986) may only consider aspects of the physical environment if they are made relevant in the ensuing talk (such as the caller noting that the answerer sounds as if they just woke up or that they let the telephone ring for an extended period of time), the ability to see Simon walking up the stairs to Emily’s bedroom or to observe the situatedness of Emily in the living room – sitting on the sofa, texting on her mobile with the television on in the background – before Jane comes into the space and closes the living room door behind her, gives insight into the physical and interactional space in which participants join together into a shared social interaction. Observably, the importance of the interactional space – the physical environment, the identities and relationships between participants, and the coordination of action into sequences of action – is ubiquitous in family interaction and in conversation analytic research more generally. Particularly, we can see the relevance of the physical space in the initiation of interaction and vice versa; the ways in which



parties launch their sequences of talk and how they coordinate their movements through – and embodied actions within – domestic space, are consequential and reflexively shaped.

Taken together, these features of interaction (deontics, identity, the relevance of physical space), examined through the lens of family and with a very specific focus on the openings of interaction, have yielded new insights into our understanding of human social interaction more broadly. Not only do these features play a role in the production of interaction-initiating sequences in ways not previously explored within CA, but in each chapter, as the result of this being family members within their family home and constructing sequence-initiating actions, unique insights are obtained, from the individual actions produced (such as the observation that a summons answer can also do greeting), to the construction of a sequence (such as the sequential shortcut taken when producing a summons concurrent with opening a bedroom door rather than waiting for a summons answer), to the organisation of the larger sequence (such as initiating a sequence with a complaint, producing a greeting as a monitoring device in environments of conflict, or the recognition that greetings do not need to be produced at all but have immense social implications). Looking at openings of interaction through the lens of family, and the domestic space in which they come together, can present valuable discoveries in talk-in-interaction.

Whilst at first glance it may seem that a summons-answer sequence and greetings sequence intuitively go together, both being standardly seen as ‘opening phase’ sequences of action, when considering the implications of in-person, co-present interaction, this is not necessarily so. Looking at the openings of interaction from an activity or project-oriented stance – more generally ‘what are they up to’ (as Gail Jefferson aptly put it) – we can see that initiating actions such as summonses, complaints, or suggestions have in common their specific activity-grounded production and greetings are doing something quite distinct from these other actions.

Although greetings are sequence-initial actions and are (as all actions in social interaction) produced to implement particular actions, the point is that greetings are not always produced with other ‘opening phase’ sequences such as the summons-answer sequence or a ‘howareyou’ sequence and can be especially marked in the distinct work they do when produced in *coming into the room* environments. Therefore, greetings should not be treated by default as connected with other ‘opening phase’ sequences of action, certainly not in the realm of in-person, co-present interaction.

Co-presence, and the familiarity with which intimates interact with one another, impact the production and organisation of sequence-initiating actions in social interaction, and have a resounding effect on how we look at interaction through the methods of CA. The interactional environments in which these actions are produced can vary dependant upon all types of occasions beyond the bounds of telephone calls, and even in cases of co-presence, beyond the types of interactions that have been examined before, such as between friends or more institutionally-situated data as looked at by Pillet-Shore (2010, 2012, 2018a). The findings presented within this thesis show that although openings of interaction are not new points of analytic inquiry, we should never make a priori assumptions about interaction or take specific occasions or interactional contexts as the entire picture. Instead, this research highlights the value of looking at different types of data in the pursuit of rich accounts of talk-in-interaction. This study of sequence- and interaction-initiating actions contributes new understandings to the investigation of social interaction, realised as such due to the family data that I have utilised as my medium of analysis.

### **5.3.2 Examining Interaction through a Familial Lens**

Despite the fact that generalisations can be made when looking at talk-in-interaction and the ways openings are initiated, looking for the generic practices within family data specifically is

worthy of CA study because there are differences displayed between family and non-family interaction, which lends itself to our understanding of social interaction overall. As mentioned in Chapter 3, Couper-Kuhlen (2014) states that suggestions are recognisable as such through features such as who benefits from the suggested future action. She also proposes that suggestions are deployed when the recipient of the suggestion is already implementing the suggested future action (Couper-Kuhlen, 2014). However, I have shown that suggestions can be made where the benefactors and beneficiaries do not align with what is proposed there, and that suggestions within families can be deployed when the suggestion recipient is doing something far different than the suggested future action. In Chapter 4, I discussed how Pillet-Shore (2012) notes that she did not have any instances in which a greeting was produced as a small greeting in first position, when the greeting recipient was familiar to the speaker. However, I have shown that in family interaction, this does happen. These differences demonstrate that whilst the underlying practices remain ostensibly similar and recognisable across social groups, families can and do implement actions in ways that have not been studied before. This unprecedented access to family interaction within the home affords us the opportunity to now see these previously unexamined interactional phenomena.

Another aspect of family data is the part familial roles play within an interaction. Deontic rights are negotiated by participants moment-by-moment and are salient within parent-teenager interaction; however, the observations I have made within this project are recognisable in many social environments. These familial roles are sometimes overtly invoked by the participants in an interaction, and when they are, the orientation towards these categories – mum, dad, nineteen-year-old, student, husband, sister, etc. – have an impact on the design and progression of the sequence. Familial roles and identities are constituted afresh in each interaction, and deontic rights are not static, so Simon as dad does not always have the final say, Tom at fourteen does not always seek permission before acting, and it is not the case that Emily inevitably ends

up doing what Jane tells her to even if she initially resists. It *is* the case that each interaction is different, and each party displays their own claims to authorities and entitlements in the moment. That parents make attempts to direct their children as they raise them to adulthood, and children sometimes resist these efforts, are universal experiences. The examination of family interaction, and especially that between parents and teenagers, lends itself to the questioning of social stereotypes and not taking for granted what we think we know about interaction or social roles and identities. Roles and identities can inform interactions and may be resources to the participants involved, but they are not fixed and are made relevant – or not – by parties in an interaction.

#### 5.3.2.1 Family Interaction Outside of Mealtime

Studying family talk-in-interaction has often been centred around dinner table conversations and the management of mealtimes with young children. From the earliest days of CA, this interactional environment has allowed researchers to examine largely uninterrupted spates of talk due to the nature of mealtime, where sitting together at the dining room table for the whole of the meal is the expected convention in many cultures. What is unique about the data examined in this thesis, is that none of the sequences included take place during mealtimes. In this way, the data included here offers a more extensive view of family interaction in a number of physical settings and interactional environments.

Investigating the initiations of family talk-in-interaction around various doorway threshold environments – the front door of the home, bedroom doors, and living room doors – and the sequences of actions that are launched in and around these physical barriers, gives insights into how family members as participants in an interaction may orient to these sites within the home and each other, outside of being gathered together for a particular food-centred event. I have shown that doors and doorways are oriented to by participants as points through which one

establishes co-presence with another – either by entering the home as a whole or by entering distinct rooms and spaces – and through the use of which one may display their claimed deontic entitlement or authority in the moment. Entering into different physical spaces in ostensibly similar ways can display different claims to deontic entitlement: by walking through a private bedroom door and simultaneously producing a summons, a speaker displays a high deontic entitlement in not first deferring to the one who claims primary rights to that room. By walking into the shared space of a living room and simultaneously producing a summons, a speaker does not necessarily display the same claim to entitlement, as parties in or entering that room may have different claims to rights and authority in varying contexts.

Looking at sequences of family interaction outside of mealtime also allows for the investigation of instances around bedtime, what parties are doing on a Sunday afternoon, and how participants interact when first coming home or are lying in bed. These sorts of *physical* environments lend themselves to different *interactional* environments where talk may be produced (such as greetings, summonses, complaints about the bathroom state, or a suggestion to go outside) that is not deployed when everyone is sitting around the dinner table. Whilst some of the first topics seen in the previous chapters could ostensibly be uttered during a family meal, the initiations of turns-at-talk focussed on here include actions that are not done during a family mealtime and are direct products of their sequential and physical environments.

This project has shown that both the physical environment and the interactional environment have bearing on interaction itself and that there is an interplay between the physical space and the actions being produced. This joining of space and action implementation is organised and managed by participants within the interaction to not only achieve certain actions, but also to claim and display different degrees of deontic rights. We have seen that deontic rights are claimed and displayed by participants moment-by-moment within an interaction, and a claim

to deontic entitlement within one space or moment in time (such as at the dinner table) may not be oriented to in the same way in another space (such as in a bedroom). The opportunity to investigate how families come together within the family home in myriad circumstances and contexts is exceptional in conversation analytic work.

### 5.3.2.2 Examining Family Interaction

The participants in this study are a nuclear family unit, and through their interactions, these family members jointly construct their relationships with one another. Through the examination of different types of initiating actions, this thesis has shown how parties may open sequences of interaction with one another within domestic space. By investigating the impact of the linguistic and embodied resources parties use (such as prosodic features, lexical choice, knocking on doors, walking over doorway thresholds, and the establishment of mutual eye-gaze) as well as the physical spaces in which these initiating actions are deployed (bedrooms, hallways, dining rooms, front doorways, living rooms, and the trajectory of movement between them), I have shown the ways in which family members make claims to and displays of deontic authority and entitlement that not only shape a speaker's turn but the progression of the sequence itself, and how family members construct and negotiate their familial roles and identities moment-by-moment.

The analysis of openings within family interaction shows that although interaction including parents and teenaged children has not been extensively examined in the field of CA, there is something special and distinctive in this data and its further study is invaluable. Investigating interaction within a family home expands the opportunity to observe and gain insight into talk-in-interaction and exhibits that we have only just begun to scratch the surface in the examination of this particular social group. However, as much as the continued enquiry into family data is meaningful and advantageous towards our continued expanse of knowledge, as

noted, the conventions and underlying mechanisms around social interaction is something that transcends social groupings or membership categories. Whalen and Zimmerman (1987) found in their work on institutional interaction that openings are where identities relevant to the local interaction are organised, and in this thesis we too have seen that openings of interaction are a place where family members construct relevant identities and familial roles in the moment with the language they use and the design of their turns-at-talk, and that these are formed and managed throughout the sequence. The examination of the recognisable ways that parties design their own – and understand one another's – actions is salient throughout the study of interaction and within this project.

The results of this study indicate that the examination of family interaction can contribute new insights to CA and talk-in-interaction. Looking at the multimodal resources parties use in their sequence-initiating actions – linguistic, embodied, and the physical space – this project serves to address a gap within CA research and particularly in the analysis of family interaction.

#### **5.4 Directions for Further Study**

The aim of this thesis is to shed light on one component of conversational activities that parties produce in everyday talk-in-interaction, particularly focussing on openings and sequence initiation between family participants. This study contributes to the research done on openings in interaction, the ways deontic rights are made salient in talk, and previous work done using instances of family interactional data. However, this study is not exhaustive. Additional research is needed to further enhance and enrich our knowledge of everyday family interaction and the multimodal resources implemented in naturally occurring talk-in-interaction.

The findings of this thesis have focussed only on a small subset of opening turns in interaction, so a logical point of further study is to look at other types of sequence-initiating actions within

the context of family interaction. A more detailed examination of the embodied actions and multimodal gestalts implemented by parties in the openings of family interaction, which have only begun to be explored here, is also needed. Moreover, I am especially interested in a deeper examination of the finer details of how participants design their turns through prosodic analysis, and further investigation into grammar and eye-gaze.

I am also interested in looking in more detail at the ways in which imperatives are implemented between parents and teenagers. Within the literature, when a directive is initially resisted by a young child, a parent will repeat and upgrade their directive, sometimes using embodied movements to further ensure compliance and therefore remove any further opportunity for independent compliance (Craven & Potter, 2010). Within *The Family* data, there are instances of directives being issued by parents-to-child and sibling-to-sibling, where the response is overt defiance. Suggestions were examined here, but I am interested in further investigation on how parents treat situations with teenagers where compliance is not initially given after an issued directive.

Another avenue of research would be a more in-depth examination into displays of entitlement in family interaction. First, around shared versus private spaces. There are many examples where members of the Hughes family claim rights to spaces or possessions which were beyond the scope of this project. Examining the way entitlement is claimed and displayed in relation to activities such as the use of private or shared spaces, or what someone can or cannot wear, would be an appealing area of further investigation. Second, I would like to further investigate claimed and displayed deontic entitlements regarding previously begun activities when another party attempts to initiate interaction. I would be interested in seeing how parties initiate interaction with a family member who is sleeping, watching television versus reading a book, or are on their mobile phone, and in turn examine recipient's responses to these interrupting



actions. This study has briefly examined some of these activities within the scope of the action sequences I was investigating, but what activities are treated as interruptible, the entitlements displayed in attempts to garner another's attention, and how much attention interrupted parties subsequently give whilst potentially attempting to maintain their previously started activity, would be a valuable line of enquiry.

The study of interaction within different social groups aids us in gaining insights and in answering the recurrent question of whether the underlying practices and features of interaction hold across social structures and people groups. This is a study on a particular family from a particular time – a British family in 2007 – living in a particular home, and therefore there are limitations on what may be generalisable across cultures and people groups; of course, not even every British family is the same, nor are houses built the same, and societies can have a much different domestic space and family make-up than my data demonstrates. However, even if the results are not entirely generalisable across all cultures, the methodology of my research – having an awareness of the architecture of domestic space in relation to deontic rights and the initiation of social interaction – is. This investigation into openings of interaction within domestic space and the ways in which parties orient to the physical environment as a resource – and constraint – in the claiming and displaying of deontic rights, serves to expand our knowledge regarding the organisation and collaboration of social interaction and provides new insights into how parties generate recognisable actions across sequences. With an aim towards continued enhancement of our understanding of human interactional behaviour, the investigation of deontic rights and multimodality within the interactional space are of growing interest within conversation analytic research. This study makes unique and important contributions to these themes through the discussion of (along with deontics and multimodality) interactional openings, family interaction, identity, and the exploration of the physical environment, each of which are important factors within social interaction and

particularly within the initiation of interaction within domestic space. Through the examination of the initiation of social interaction – this primordial site of sociality and the analytic enquiry to which this thesis attends – this research yields novel insights within the field of Conversation Analysis and to the pursuit of further understanding social interaction as a whole.

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# Appendix A

## Transcription Conventions

The data within this thesis are represented in transcript extracts based on the combination of two transcription conventions. The first is the Jeffersonian transcription system established by Gail Jefferson, used to capture features of talk (cf. Clift, 2016a; Hepburn & Bolden, 2013) as outlined here.

### Sequential, Temporal, Vocal, and Contextual Aspects

- [ ] Left square brackets indicate the beginning of overlapping talk or the overlap of talk and some other sounds, such as a door squeaking; right square brackets indicate the end of overlapping.
- = Equal signs indicate two things:
  1. If in a pair and one is at the end of one line and the other is at the start of another line by the same speaker, then the two lines are connected such that there is no break or pause, and the two lines are broken up to accommodate the text on the page or the placement of overlapping embodied actions.
  2. When one sign appears between two words in the course of a single turn at talk, that demonstrates a compression between those words.
- (0.5) Numbers in parentheses indicate silence in tenths of a second.
- (.) A period in parentheses indicates a silence of less than one-tenth of a second.
- . A period indicates a full fall or final intonation contour, not necessarily the end of a sentence.
- , A comma indicates ‘continuing’ intonation.
- ¿ An inverted question mark indicates a low rise intonation.
- ? A question mark indicates full rise intonation, not necessarily a question.
- ↑↓ Up or down arrows indicate a sudden whole shift in pitch either higher or lower. The more arrows, the higher or lower the altered pitch register.
- \_ : If the letter preceding a colon is underlined, this indicates a gradual falling intonation.
- : If the colon is underlined, that indicates a gradual rising intonation.
- : One or more colons indicate stretching of the sound just preceding them. The

	more colons, the longer the stretch.
!	An exclamation mark indicates extra emphasis on the utterance.
<u>word</u>	Underlining indicates stress on part of a word.
WORD	Capitalised letters indicate loud emphasis relative to talk surrounding the capital letters.
°word°	Degree signs indicate that the talk between the two is quieter than the surrounding talk.
<word>	Talk between the ‘less than’ and ‘greater than’ symbols indicates the talk between is drawn out.
>word<	Talk between the reverse indicates the talk is rushed.
* *	Asterisks delimit creaky voice.
-	A hyphen indicates a cut-off.
.hh	Indicates audible inbreaths; more hhhs indicates longer inhalation.
hh.	Indicates outbreaths; more hhhs indicates longer exhalation.
(( ))	Double parentheses indicate the embodied actions of knocking and tapping the door with a foot.
(( ))	Double italicised parentheses in a grey font colour are the transcriber’s description.
(word)	A single set of parentheses around part or all of an utterance indicates the transcriber’s uncertainty in what exactly the speaker has said at that point.
( )	Empty parentheses indicate an inaudible word or words.
→	An arrow between the speaker and their turn indicates the lines of analytical focus.
@	The ‘at’ sign indicates camera edits where the camera (and therefore the angle) has changed. Any edits where time has ostensibly been cut are noted with ((CAMERA EDIT)) in grey font.

The second method of transcription used within this thesis were the multimodal conventions established by Lorenza Mondada (2018) to capture embodied action(s).<sup>187</sup>

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<sup>187</sup> These multimodal transcription conventions can be found at <https://www.lorenzamondada.net/multimodal-transcription>.

## Multimodal Aspects; all in grey font colour

- + + Embodied actions (other than knocking or foot tap on the door) are between two identical symbols that indicate when within the talk the action starts and when it is finished.
- +--> A single dash with the 'greater than' sign (fashioning an arrow) indicates the embodied action is across the one line, but the description is longer than the length of time the action was implemented and the space available; the end of the action is on the same line.
- >+ The end of the same-line action.
- +--> Two dashes indicate the action described is implemented across multiple lines.
- >+ The end of the multiple line action.
- >> The described embodied action begins before the excerpt's beginning.
- >> The described action continues after the excerpt's end.
- jan Party implementing the embodied action is in lower case letters.
- # Indicates the exact moment a screenshot was taken within a silence or turn at talk (matched with the appropriate figure number in italics, #*fig 0.0*).

## Door Sounds and Parties' Embodied Action Symbols; all in grey font colour

- š Indicates door creaks and bangs; in italics.
- ✕ Indicates an opening door; in italics.
- ◇ Simon gaze.
- ^ Simon other embodied actions, such as walking.
- Ω Jane gaze.
- ∅ Jane other embodied actions.
- △ Tom gaze.
- ≠ Tom other embodied actions.
- ⊙ Emily gaze.
- + Charlotte embodied actions.

# Appendix B

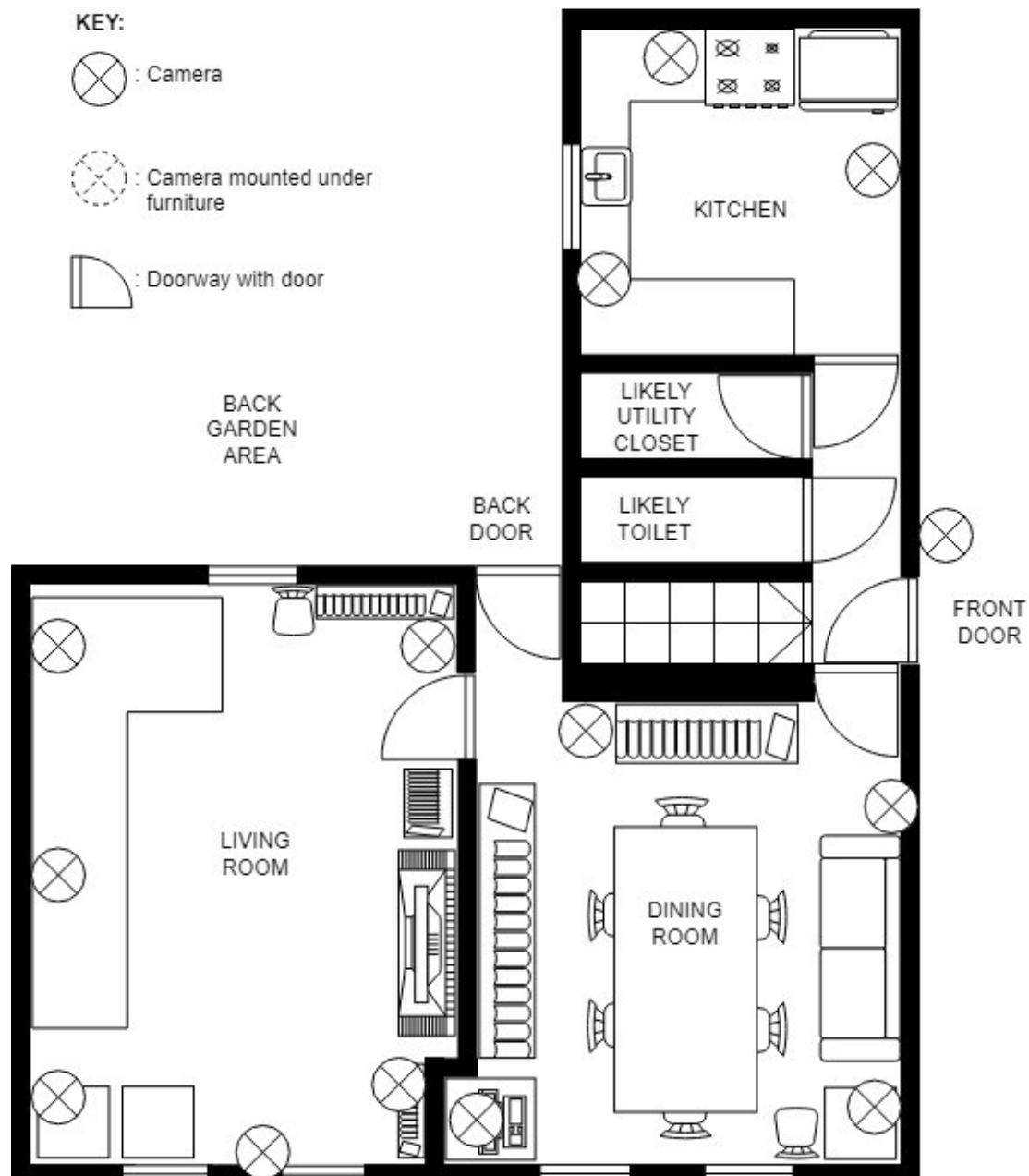
## Abbreviations Used in Transcribing

SIM	Simon
JAN	Jane
EMI	Emily
CHA	Charlotte
cam	camera
fig	figure
L	left
R	right
RH	right hand
mtk or ptk	lip smack

# Appendix C

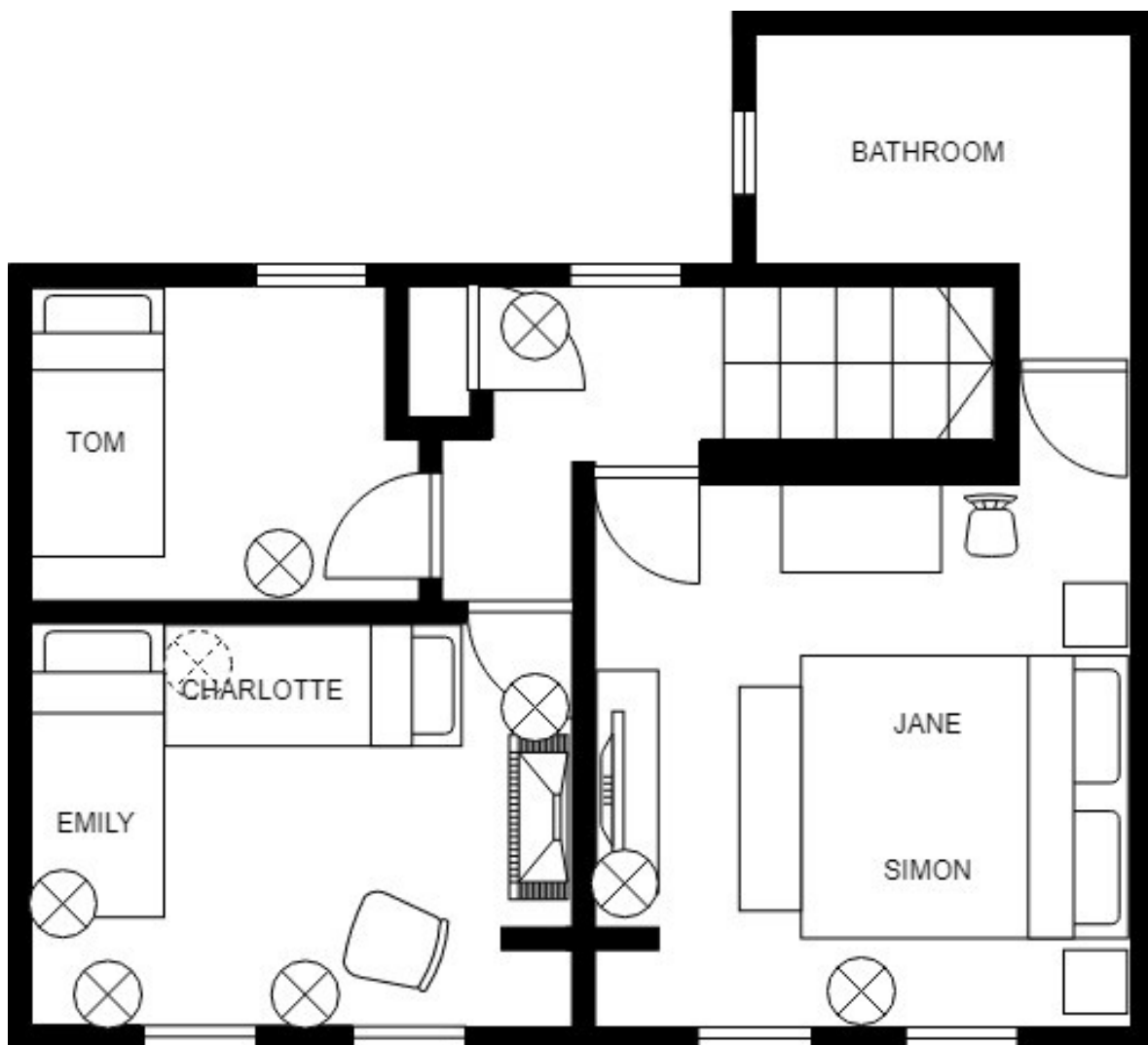
## The Hughes Family Home

### Ground Floor Plan



**Downstairs Layout:** Downstairs, between the dining room and the kitchen, there are two doors. These rooms are never shown on camera, but through looking at the data, I believe the door closest to the stairwell is a toilet. This room has a door on it and in the 4<sup>th</sup> episode, Simon is speaking to Jane through the door and a toilet is heard to be flushing in close proximity to a microphone. The closest bathroom we do know about is the one upstairs through Jane and Simon's bedroom. It would be almost impossible to hear the toilet from that room flushing in the hallway downstairs, just inside the front door. The room between the toilet and the kitchen, I believe, is a laundry/utility cupboard. This room does have its own door, but it is usually covered by the kitchen door always remaining open. The kitchen also does not appear to have a washing machine in it, it is too small, and the only visible appliances are the oven and the dishwasher, which is to the left of the sink.

## First Floor Plan



**First Floor Layout:** All of the bedrooms are at the top of the stairs, connected on a small landing. Jane and Simon's bedroom is at the immediate top of the stairs to the left. Emily and Charlotte's bedroom is the next door on the left, four to five steps from the top of the stairs. Tom's bedroom is straight ahead from the top of the stairs and also about five steps and is to the left of Emily and Charlotte's room. There is also what appears to be a door to a small closet to the right of Tom's door, across from Emily and Charlotte's bedroom and the stairwell. The bathroom area seems to fit directly over the two small un-shown rooms downstairs, most likely a toilet and utility cupboard. The windows in Tom's room and on the landing look out into the back garden.



heard to be speaking very loudly to each other, although what they were saying before the camera changes to the landing was unintelligible.

01 ( ) it's ※^cause you keep=  
 02 sim ※ opens door  
 03 ^walks into CHAR and EMI's bedroom  
 04 SIM HONEST[LY, (.)=  
 05 ( ) =[t- tou[ching( )]-188  
 06 SIM =[you are gonna get NO DINNAH  
 07 CHA °okay¿°  
 08 SIM none at'all  
 09 CHA °↑okay?°  
  
 ((two lines of talk in another room omitted))  
  
 10 ( ) [( )  
 11 SIM [Does your bra: really live there↓  
 12 (0.2)^(0.3)  
 13 sim ^starts to kick something on floor  
 14 CHA GE[T O::FF!  
 15 SIM [(does this bra) really live there¿ do all these bras live=  
 16 =her[e¿=  
 17 CHA [STOP I:T!  
 18 SIM ↑underwea[r¿  
 19 CHA [G<sup>h</sup>ET OUT!!  
 20 (1.0)  
 21 SIM °right.°  
 22 (1.4)  
 23 SIM >put `em awa:y!<

### Transcript AD.3: You Just Can't Not Can You (TF0101.41:52)

This transcript is referenced in Chapter 3, page 119 (Footnote 101).

Jane is lying in bed watching the television, which can be heard off camera. Emily is in the bathroom to Jane's right. The bathroom door is slightly ajar. The camera goes to the slightly open bathroom door and line 1 is uttered off camera so we cannot see Jane's face. Emily's embodied action is indicated by Δ.

01 JAN Emily?  
 02 (0.3)  
 03 EMI °yeah?°  
 04 JAN what you do:ing?  
 05 (0.4)  
 06 EMI °what?°  
 07 (0.6)  
 08 JAN where r'you go:ing?  
 09 (1.8)  
 10 EMI °out?°  
 11 (0.4)  
 12 JAN no ↑don't ↓go ou::t.  
 13 EMI °↑why:?°  
 14 (0.2)  
 15 JAN oh: come on [it's ↑tw'ntee five]=  
 16 EMI [I've sta:yed in::¿]  
 17 JAN =to e:leven.=

<sup>188</sup> This and line 6 sound like they could be Charlotte, but the inconsistency of the recording/editing make it unclear as to whether that is in fact Charlotte who is speaking these lines.



18 EMI =ye:ah? ↑why- ↑why- ↑why'z it uh pr'blem I go ou:t I  
19 stayed >↑in (here)< with ↓everyone spent thuh ↑day ↓with  
20 everyone I'm just [( )  
21 JAN [o:h you just can't no:t can youz  
22 (0.3)  
23 JAN ↑why for ↓once I thought we'd had some ↑Fu:n  
24 you S[Tay ↓i::n  
25 EMI [°I'm not saying we haven't [°had any fun°  
26 JAN [°GO to< bed at uh decent  
27 ti::me,  
28 (0.4)  
29 JAN >get up< ↓early, (.) sort your ↓room out,  
30 (0.6)  
31 JAN stay i::n,  
32 (1.5)  
33 JAN Emi:ly, (.) you're ↑really not gonna miss that ↓mu:ch are  
34 you sweet↓he[art.  
35 EMI [it's ↑not that I'm gonna miss anything, I want  
36 t' go ↑out ↓for uh couple of hours.  
37 (2.3)  
38 JAN >do what you ↓like Emily.<  
39 (0.5)  
40 EMI °(I'm ↑ta[lkin' )°  
41 JAN [I'M NOT AH- >I'm not ↓arguing with you you do  
42 what you li:ke<  
43 (0.4)@(1.7)  
44 @((CAMERA EDIT EMI is now sitting on JAN's bed,  
45 looking down at floor; JAN is looking past EMI to the tv))  
46 JAN ↑I would like you t' stay in.  
47 (0.6)  
48 JAN b't  
49 (0.2)  
50 JAN ↑you ↓know,  
51 (1.6)@(11.2)  
52 @cam to JAN's face watching the television  
53 EMI I want t' go ou:t (.) for uh couple of ↑hours, (.) it's my  
54 decisio:n  
55 (0.5)  
56 EMI >it's that< I want t' go ↑ou:@t >fer a couple' ov< ↑hou:rs  
57 @cam to SIM turning out light  
58 in living room then walking into dining room  
59 JAN >↑Emily.< (.) I don't want t' listen @t' you=  
60 @cam back to JAN and  
61 EMI  
62 =(.) actΔually, because you=  
63 emi Δstands up from bed and leaves into the bathroom  
64 =[ go out all thuh ] tim:e  
65 EMI [°(gosh. you're being) na:sty.°]  
66 JAN ↑no I am ↑NOT being ↓nas[ty Emily.  
67 EMI [°(that what you) said is na↓sty)°

This is ostensibly the end of this sequence of interaction as Emily has left the room again. There is then a camera edit and Simon and Tom are now in the bedroom as well. They kiss each other goodnight and then Simon issues his suggestion to Emily at line 1 in Extract 1 of Chapter 3.