

Children's self-repeated summonses to adults: pursuing responses and creating favourable conditions for interaction¹

Tiina Eilittä² / Anna Vatanen³

English abstract

A summons is a social action that speakers use when trying to secure the recipient's attention. The next expected turn to a summons is a response, and the lack of one from the addressee can be seen as socially problematic. Drawing on the principles of conversation analysis and video-recorded Finnish family interactions, this paper examines moments when children (three- to eight-year-olds) summon adults multiple times with address terms. This paper shows that when adults fail to respond to children's initial summonses, children often repeat the summonses and upgrade/downgrade them with prosodic and embodied practices. Additionally, children may utilise embodied actions to change the interactional space and establish favourable conditions to advance their interactional project.

Keywords: summons – adult-child interaction – multiactivity – favourable conditions – pursuing responses – sequence organisation

German abstract

Eine Ansprache (summons) ist eine soziale Handlung, mit der Sprecher versuchen, die Aufmerksamkeit des Rezipienten zu gewinnen. Der nächste erwartete Turn auf eine Ansprache ist eine Reaktion, und wenn sie ausbleibt, kann das als sozial problematisch angesehen werden. Mit den Prinzipien der Konversationsanalyse werden in diesem Beitrag Videoaufzeichnungen finnischer Familieninteraktionen untersucht, in denen Kinder (Drei- bis Achtjährige) Erwachsene mehrfach mit Adressierungen ansprechen. Wenn die Erwachsenen dann nicht auf diese Ansprache reagieren, wiederholen die Kinder sie und modifizieren sie (upgrade/downgrade) mit prosodischen und körperlichen Praktiken. Zusätzlich können Kinder körperliche Handlungen einsetzen, um den Interaktionsraum zu verändern und damit die Bedingungen für ihre Interaktionsversuche zu verbessern.

Keywords: Adressierung – Eltern-Kind-Interaktion – Multiaktivität – günstige Interaktionsbedingungen – Reaktionen einfordern – Sequenzorganisation.

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² Author responsible for identifying the research questions, conducting the analysis, and preparing the manuscript.

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1. Introduction

Reaching joint attention is vital for any human interaction to take place (Goodwin 1979, 1981; Moore/Dunham 1995; Kidwell/Zimmerman 2007; Keel 2016), and trying to get a parent's/caretaker's attention is one of the earliest social actions that a child learns (Keenan/Schieffelin 1976; McTear 1985). One practice for seeking attention is to produce a summons action. Summons is a social action that speakers may employ when securing the attention of the recipient or when questioning the recipient's availability to interact, for example, in situations when the recipient has not provided a response to prior talk or action. (Schegloff 1968, 2007:48-49). The expected next turn to a summons is a response ("an answer") (e.g. Schegloff 1968, 2002 [1970]); Sacks 1995), a go-ahead (Schegloff 1990; Sorjonen 2002), and the lack of a response from the addressee can be seen as socially problematic and *noticeable* (Sacks 1995). This may lead to the speaker repeating and possibly also upgrading and/or downgrading their earlier summons turn vocally and multimodally (e.g. McTear 1985; Sikveland 2019). This paper focuses on address terms as a practice for producing summonses, especially on kin terms that frequently occur in our data. More specifically, the focus is on moments where the adult does not provide a response to the child's initial summons, which leads the child to pursue a response from the adult with repeated summonses. Furthermore, this article demonstrates that if the child is not successful in pursuing a response from the adult with repeated summonses, they may also employ embodied actions for establishing favourable conditions for interaction (on favourable conditions, see Sutinen 2014).

In the data of this paper, children (three- to eight-year-olds) use repeated summonses for pursuing a response from the adult. In earlier literature, summonses that fail to get a response have been studied in the context of crisis situations (Sikveland 2019), classrooms (Cekaite 2009; Gardner 2015), family interactions in cars (Eilittä/Haddington/Vatanen 2021), and among children and their caregivers in day-care centres (Kidwell 2013). These earlier studies show that recipients often ignore summonses because they are unavailable for interaction at that moment. For example, in a classroom the teacher may be having a conversation with another pupil when the summons is produced (Cekaite 2009; Gardner 2015). The response to the summons may be absent also because the recipient is unable or unwilling to respond to it. For example, Sikveland (2019) shows this to be the case when police summon and try to negotiate with people in a risk of hurting themselves. Furthermore, children may ignore their caregivers' summonses when defying them (Kidwell 2013). The unwillingness to respond to a summons can also be due to inappropriate timing of the summons. This can be the case when children summon their parents when

they can be seen to have restricted rights to talk, for example, during adult-dominated multiparty conversations (Butler/Wilkinson 2013; Eilittä/Haddington/Vatanen 2021).

The adult might also not respond to the child's summons due to being simultaneously involved in *multiactivity*. Multiactivity refers to the coordination and progression of two or more activities simultaneously through talk and embodied action (Mondada 2011, 2012, 2014; Haddington et al. 2014), and it is a phenomenon that commonly occurs in families with young children (see e.g. Kupetz 2018; Eilittä/Haddington/Vatanen 2021; Vatanen/Haddington 2023). In this article, children often summon adults when adults are involved in multiactivity. For example, as the data excerpts below show, the adult might be talking to other children and be physically oriented towards doing something else when the child summons them. At these busy moments, children often do not receive a response to their initial summons from the adult (Eilittä/Haddington/Vatanen 2021; see also Cekaite 2009; Gardner 2015). Thus, the child ends up in a situation where they try to pursue a response from the adult with repeated summonses. When the adult is not in a multiactivity situation, the child typically needs to summon the adult only once (Eilittä/Haddington/Vatanen 2021), if at all, to have their attention.

The need to manage multiactivity by establishing *favourable conditions* (Sutinen 2014) for interaction is also a common phenomenon in families with young children, as will be shown in this paper. In her research, Sutinen (2014) studies how participants establish favourable conditions for resuming suspended activities. She shows that by displaying bodily re-orientation (e.g. shifting of gaze and posture) from a competing activity back to the suspended activity, participants create favourable conditions for resuming the suspended activity (in addition to closing off the competing activity in other ways, e.g. with talk). In this article, we show that when children are not successful in pursuing a response from the adult with repeated summonses, they use embodied means (e.g. re-orientation of their bodies) for establishing conditions where the adult can respond to the summons. When the adult is involved in one activity only, the conditions for interaction are often already favourable. However, at moments when the recipient is involved in multiactivity, the participants may establish conditions where all parties are able to interact. Thus, negotiating and establishing favourable conditions is an example of "a local instance of multiactivity in practice, i.e. where organising multiactivity becomes a demonstrable concern for the participants" (Sutinen 2014:137). This paper examines the practices that children employ when attempting to establish favourable conditions for adult-child interaction at moments when the adult is involved in multiactivity.

Moreover this paper studies moments when children summon an adult, but the adult does not respond to the child's initial summons, which leads the child to pursue a response from the adult with repeated summonses. If the repeated summonses fail to secure the adult's reciprocity, the child proceeds to attempt to establish favourable conditions for interaction with the adult by using embodied actions. The focus is on vocal and embodied means that the child uses for securing the adult's reciprocity. This paper contributes to conversation analytic research on adult-child interactions by showing how children orient towards conditional relevance and aim to reach mutual attention with the adult at moments when the adult's response to the child's initial turn is absent.

The next section covers earlier research on children's understanding of sequentiality and conditional relevance, and provides an overview of practices that children use for mobilising a response (see also Stivers/Rossano 2010).

2. When the recipient does not respond: the use of repeated turns as a way of eliciting a response

Conversation analysis has shown that social interaction is sequentially organized: each turn shows how the previous turn has been understood (Schegloff/Sacks 1973; Heritage 1984; Sacks 1987 [1973]; Schegloff 2007). A type of sequential organisation is "sequence organisation", which refers to the succession of actions (Schegloff 2007:2). A canonical example of sequence organisation is the summons-answer adjacency pair,⁴ where the summons action (first pair part, FPP) makes an answer, typically a go-ahead response (second pair part, SPP) as the relevant next action (Schegloff 1968, 2007:49; Schegloff/Sacks 1973; Sacks 1995). *Summons* is a social action that participants use for mobilising a response, and also for selecting the next speaker in a conversation (e.g. Schegloff 1968, 2007; Schegloff/Sacks 1973; Sacks 1995). Thereby summonses play a key role in sequence and turn-taking organisation (see also Sacks/Schegloff/Jefferson 1974). In Schegloff's early work (Schegloff 1968, 2002 [1970]), the described summonses and their answers were verbal, thus the term "answer" was descriptive of the SPP to a summons. However, as Lerner (2003) has pointed out, responses to summonses are not only verbal answers, but can also be embodied actions, such as shifts in gaze. Thus, in this paper we refer to the SPP to a summons as a "response" (see also Sorjonen 2002).

Children are able to seek their parents' attention already before learning how to talk. They may cry or use other vocal sounds to attract their parents' attention, as well as utilise different gestures, such as pointing (Keenan/Schieffelin 1976; Wellman/Lempers 1977:1054; Filipi 2009, 2013). After mastering talk, summoning and otherwise addressing the adult with address terms is common (Keenan/Schieffelin 1976; Ochs/Schieffelin/Platt 1979; Wootton 1981; McTear 1985), especially with kin terms, as we also show in this paper. Furthermore, based on the findings of this article, we show that children treat the lack of a response to their summons as a breach to what is normatively expected as the conditionally relevant next action after a summons (see also Schegloff 1968, 2007). This becomes evident when the child repeats the summons. These findings confirm earlier research on children's interaction and understanding of sequentiality. It has been shown that children orient to the *sequential implicativeness* of actions (Schegloff/Sacks 1973), as well as to *conditional relevance* (McTear 1985; Sacks 1995:98; Wootton 2007:181; Keel 2016:78), and treat the absence of a (relevant) response to their earlier action as problematic (Wootton 1981, 1997:27-31; Keel 2016:78).

Keel (2016) shows that children aged 2-3 years orient to getting the attention of the recipient as an important first step to their assessment. When adults do not respond to children's assessments, children treat the absence of the response as fundamentally problematic. Additionally, very young children (12 months) can form

4 Summons-answer adjacency pairs generally function and are referred to as "pre-sequences" (Schegloff 1979:49, 2007:48) that precede and project a "base sequence", such as a question-answer adjacency pair.

and orient to (proto-)adjacency pairs, and treat a FPP as a turn that makes a next action relevant (Wootton 1997:27-31; Keel 2016:78). At moments when a SPP to a child's FPP is missing, the child may orient to the absence of the response, and try to recognise the reason behind the nonresponse. However, even though children may be able to recognise why they are not getting their parents' attention, they can still treat the absence of a response as problematic, hold the parent responsible for not providing a response to their initial action and adjust their own action to increase their chances of getting the adults' attention. (Keenan 1974; McTear 1985:85-86, 99; Sacks 1995:98; Good 2009; Filipi 2013:155-156; Keel 2015:20-22; Keel 2016:78, 111, 114-115; Pfeiffer/Anna 2021; see also Wootton 1997:27-31; Forrester 2008; Filipi 2009:127.) This paper complements the previous studies by analysing how children pursue a response with repeated summonses as well as attempt to establish favourable conditions for interaction.

Children are able to observe the actions of others, and understand what other people may perceive, know and intend to do, even before fully mastering talk (Jones/Zimmerman 2003; Lerner/Zimmerman/Kidwell 2011; Kidwell 2012). According to Keel (2016), two- to three-year-old children are able to recognise when and why their intended recipient is either unavailable for interaction, or for other reasons not providing a response to them. Children may, for example, recognise that the reason for their parents' missing response is a problem in hearing or understanding, which may occasion the child's repeat of the initial action. Children are able to utilise different means for attaining the recipient's attention depending on their age and the level of development of their interactional competencies (Keel 2016). When children either do not receive a go-ahead from the adult or the received response is unsatisfactory, they may try to mobilise a response (see Stivers/Rossano 2010) from the adult with a partial or full repeat of their previous turn. They may use a variety of vocal and embodied ways for upgrading and/or downgrading their initial action (Keenan 1974; McTear 1985; Wootton 1997:28; Cekaite 2009; Keel 2016; see also Craven/Potter 2010:431; Kidwell 2013; Sikveland 2019). These repeated actions indicate that children orient to conditional relevance and understand the sequentiality and reciprocity of interaction (McTear 1985:86).

As a verbal way of mobilising a response, already at the age of two, children tend to repeat their utterance in order to elicit a response at moments when their initial turn has not been acknowledged by the recipient (Keenan 1974; Wellman/Lempers 1977). When a response to the child's initial turn is missing, children (here, aged 2–5 years) tend to repeat their utterance within two seconds of the initial turn (Garvey/Berninger 1981). One way for children to mobilise a response is by repairing or rephrasing their initial turn (McTear 1985; Keel 2015, 2016). In his research, McTear (1985) found out that children utilise a variety of practices when rephrasing their turns. The repeated turn may, for example, be shortened or expanded (see also Schegloff 2007:57), or the turn may be changed in other ways, such as by changing the word order (McTear 1985:89-91). Furthermore, children may combine the initial turn with another social action (e.g. McTear 1985:89; Keel 2016:113; Eilittä/Haddington/Vatanen 2021), or with displays of affect (Cekaite 2009:26, 35). Depending on the social relationship between the child and the adult, children may also attempt to pursue a response by invoking the responsibilities that the adult has over the child, for example, in interaction between a student and a teacher (Cekaite 2009:43), and to display their level of entitlement to have the

adult's attention at that moment (Curl/Drew 2008:145). Children's repeated and adjusted turns show how they are able to adjust their own actions in order to mobilise a response from the recipient (McTear 1985:89).

In addition to utilising verbal ways to mobilise a response, children also employ various prosodic and embodied means for the same purpose. Prosodically, children may try to pursue a response by changing the volume (McTear 1985:89; Cekaite 2009:37; Keel 2016:89-90) or pitch of their voice, by accentuating and prolonging certain vowels, and shifting the stress of the word to these prolonged vowels (Cekaite 2009:35, 37). Children may also employ "theatrical means" (Keel 2016) in their repeated turns. When pursuing a response with repeated turns, children may combine the above-mentioned vocal ways of mobilising a response with embodied ways of upgrading/downgrading their turns (Ochs/Schieffelin/Platt 1979; McTear 1985:80, 88; Wootton 1997; Keel 2016:89-90; see also Good 2009). Children may utilise gaze (McTear 1985:89; Wootton 1997:28), gestures and body postures (Keenan/Schieffelin 1976; Ochs/Schieffelin/Platt 1979; McTear 1985:89; Cekaite 2009:35), as well as the surrounding space for attracting the adult's attention. They may use artefacts around them (Cekaite 2009:43), or deploy "ambulatory summonses" (Cekaite 2009:35) by moving within the space they are in (see also Keenan/Schieffelin 1976). Children may also employ so-called "embodied summonses" (Keel 2015:10, 2016:95), for example, by touching the parent in order to get their attention.

To summarise, the earlier literature shows how children orient to sequentiality, and have various means for mobilising a response at moments when a response to an earlier action is missing. The current study adds to this earlier research by showing how children use repeated summonses for pursuing a response from the adult. Additionally, the findings to be presented below demonstrate how children use embodied practices when attempting to create favourable conditions for interaction when repeated summonses have not been successful in pursuing a response. The focus of the article is on the situated vocal and embodied practices that children use for adjusting and developing their action. In the next section, the research materials and method used in this study are introduced.

3. Data and method

The data used in this article come from two different corpora of audio-video recordings of naturally-occurring family interactions that take place at family homes and in cars. The first data set, Finnish Family Days, consists of videos collected in three Finnish families at their homes by the second author, Anna Vatanen. The second data set, Talk&Drive, was recorded in Finland by Pentti Haddington. In the data used from Talk&Drive, the focus is on a Finnish-speaking family with two children. Even though the interactional setting is different in both data sets (family homes vs. cars), both represent mundane, everyday interactions that take place between children and their parents. Additionally, the interactional constellations are similar in both data sets: the majority of the interactions take place in multiparty settings where there are one to two adults typically with at least two children. In both data sets, the participants had volunteered to be recorded or to record themselves. The participants have signed informed consent forms, and if the participants have been under 18 years old, their guardians have signed the consent forms on their behalf.

The ages of children vary from three- to eight-year-olds across the data sets⁵ (see Table 1).

In the data, 34 data episodes have been identified in which a child summons the adult two or more times. In other words, in the data episodes children repeat the summons at least once until they receive a response from the parent⁶. In this article, the data excerpts present episodes with one child's interactional project (Levinson 2013; on the term episode, see Licoppe/Tuncer 2014) from the beginning to the end. The interactional project includes possible turns that the child has uttered before the summonses, as well as the repeated summonses and further interaction that potentially takes place between the child and the adult. Instead of listing each summons as an excerpt on its own, examining the interactional project as a whole gives the research ecological validity. Listing each summons separately in the collection would disregard the way in which the child builds and maintains the summoning action. Additionally, it would misrepresent the subsequent summonses in the child's interactional project as the same as the first summons. The data episodes in the collection are long and can last more than a minute each, yielding to long transcripts and analyses, which limits the possibility to present many of them here. The events of the three excerpts to be presented below follow each other directly and happen within one minute, during which three children summon the mother in four different summoning episodes, totalling 11 single summons turns. The excerpts come from the Finnish Family Days corpus, from a family with nine children. The excerpts were chosen because they characterise the whole collection and findings clearly.

Table 1 (next page) shows from which data sets the data episodes come from, as well as what is the social action that the child carries out after securing the attention of the adult. Table 1 shows that in 14 of the 34 cases, after reaching favourable conditions for interaction, children request something from the adult. Here, some of the requests are formulated as permission directives (e.g. *saanko mun takin?* 'May I have my coat?') (for the range of directives, see e.g. Ervin-Tripp 1976:29), but in some cases they are orders used for recruitment of action (e.g. *äiti siirrä mut* 'Mum move me') (on recruitments see Kendrick/Drew 2016; Floyd/Rossi/Enfield 2020). After requests, the second most common social action to follow repeated summonses is an informing (e.g. *siellä sato* 'It rained there'), and third most common social action is requesting for information (e.g. *onko nytten aamupäivä* 'Is it late morning now?') In addition to these, there are three episodes where the repeated summonses are followed by other social actions, such as threats (e.g. *mää rikon tän talon* 'I will break this house').

Within the 34 data episodes listed in Table 1, children summon the adult altogether 105 times. This means that on average, children repeat the summons twice after their initial summons turn. In the episodes, children repeat the summons at least once (as in Excerpt 1), and at most five times (as Elmeri does in Excerpts 2-3 below). In all of the episodes, children summon their parents with kin terms *äiti* ('mum') and *isi* ('daddy'), which implies that the children are invoking the "normative obligation" (Kendrick/Drew 2016:6) to the parent to respond to their child.

⁵ One of the families also had older children (teenagers) who also summon their parents in the data, but those cases are not included in this paper.

⁶ In 2/34 data episodes, a child (7 years old) abandons the summoning action because the mother doesn't respond.

Data set	Duration (hours)	Request	Informing	Requesting for information	Other	Data episodes in total
Finnish Family Days, family with 2 children	6	0	0	0	1	1
Finnish Family Days, family with 9 children	13,5	10	6	6	0	22
Finnish Family days, family with 3 children	3	2	0	0	1	3
Talk&Drive, family with 2 children	3,25	2	3	2	1	8
TOTAL	25,75	14	9	8	3	34

Table 1: The distribution of data episodes within the data sets, and the social actions that followed the repeated summonses.

In addition to the information above, it is important to note a few features that characterise most of the episodes in the collection. First, children upgrade or downgrade the repeated summons turns either in vocal or embodied ways; sometimes these are also combined. This confirms previous findings on how children upgrade and/or downgrade repeated utterances when an adult has not responded to their initial turn (e.g. McTear 1985; Cekaite 2009; Keel 2016). It is noteworthy that the upgrades and/or downgrades that children within the studied age span employ are not linear; children may upgrade one summons turn with a raised voice and downgrade the next summons with a quieter voice, instead of, for example, increasing the volume of their voice with each repeated summons. Rather, children seem to monitor the ongoing (interactional) situation and adjust their summoning practices accordingly (as Elmeri does in Excerpts 2-3).

Second, most of the summonses that occur in the data sets have been positioned at transition-relevance places (TRPs)⁷ of another ongoing conversation (at moments when there is one). This implies that in most cases, children orient to the other simultaneously ongoing conversation and adjust to it by producing the summons when there is a possibility for a turn transition. This is the case especially in situations that are not of urgent nature. If the child urgently needs the adult's attention (e.g. they need to go to toilet), they may summon the adult in overlap with other conversation(s) (see Eilittä/Haddington/Vatanen 2021). Third, in 30/34 episodes the child begins the interaction with the adult with a summons, instead of saying something else prior to that. In our data, this is the case for three- and eight-year-olds alike. This implies that at these moments the child interprets the adult to be unavailable for interaction even before the interaction has started. When the child begins the interaction with a social action other than a summons, the child may, for example, first ask a question or inform the adult about something. If the adult does not respond to the initial turn, the child will pursue a response with repeated summonses. A final note on the collection is that in 32/34 episodes, children – in the end – man-

⁷ Transition-relevance places (TRPs) are possible places for turn transition, i.e. at this moment another speaker has the option to take the next turn (Sacks/Schegloff/Jefferson 1974; Ford/Fox/Thompson 1996; Ford/Thompson 1996).

age to get a response from the adult. In other words, children are successful in pursuing a response after having summoned the adult for two or more times, or conditions where it is possible for the adult to respond to the child have in some other way been established.

The data episodes have been analysed based on the principles of conversation analysis (e.g. Heritage 1984; Schegloff 2007; Hutchby/Wooffitt 2008; Sidnell/Stivers 2013). In Section 4, selected data episodes are portrayed with written transcripts and anonymised illustrations of the data. Participants' talk has been transcribed with the Jeffersonian transcription conventions (Jefferson 2004). Where relevant, the embodiment and gaze of the participants have been transcribed with Mondada's (2019) multimodal transcription conventions. In the transcripts, talk has been marked with bolded text, and the embodiment and gaze are marked below the talk in grey. Throughout the transcripts and analyses, pseudonyms are used when referring to the participants.⁸

4. Pursuing responses with summonses and creating favourable conditions for interaction

The data shows that if an adult does not respond to a child's initial summons turn, the child may repeat the summons once or multiple times and upgrade and/or downgrade the summons in different ways. This section shows how children act when an expected response (a SPP) to their initial summons (a FPP) is missing, and how they use repeated and often upgraded/downgraded summonses for pursuing a response from the adult. This way, the paper focuses on how children orient and contribute to the sequence organisation of summonses. Furthermore, this section shows that if the child does not manage to obtain a response from the adult with repeated summonses, they may use embodied actions, such as their bodily orientation, mutual gaze and movement within the space for establishing conditions where the adult is more likely to respond.

The findings are based on the analysis of all 34 data episodes, and here they are presented with the help of three excerpts. In Excerpts 1-3, the mother is helping children to take their outdoor clothes off after they have come back inside. The excerpts are presented in two sections: Section 4.1 shows the trajectory of repeated summons actions at a moment when the conditions for getting a response and interaction are already favourable (Excerpt 1). In contrast, Section 4.2 illustrates how a child acts in a situation when the interactional conditions are not yet favourable. At this moment, the child first attempts to pursue a response from the adult through repeated summonses (Excerpt 2). As the adult does not respond to the child's repeated summonses, the child uses embodied means for establishing favourable conditions for interaction, after which the child manages to get a response from the adult (Excerpt 3).

⁸ Detailed transcription conventions are provided in the Appendix.

4.1. Summoning an adult under already existing favourable conditions for interaction

This section illustrates how a child acts in a situation where the adult does not respond to their summons at a moment when the conditions for interaction are already supposed to be favourable. Prior to Excerpt 1, the children Minea (age 3 years 0 months), Elmeri (age 5 years 3 months) and Tuukka (age 7 years 11 months) have been outside. They have come inside, where the mother has come to help the younger children with their outdoor clothes. Before the excerpt begins, the mother has helped Minea by unzipping her overalls, after which she has moved aside. However, she is still in the close proximity of Minea. Minea summons the mother twice in lines 1 and 3, and these turns will be focused on in this analysis. Figure 1 shows how the participants are located in relation to one another at a later point in time. Unlike in Figure 1, Tuukka is not in the room when Excerpt 1 begins.

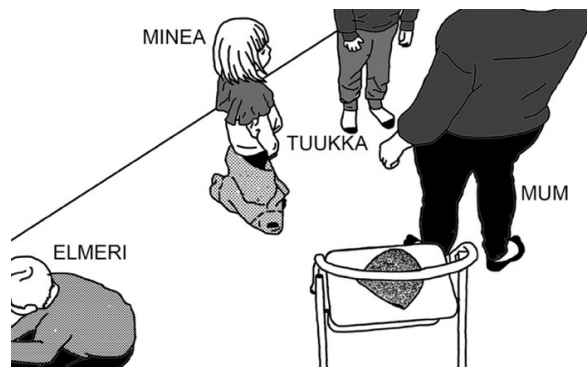


Figure 1: Illustration of the participants in Excerpts 1-3.
The exact moment of the illustration takes place in Excerpt 2 in line 40.

Excerpt (1): ((Finnish Family Days. Take these shoelaces off.))

```
-> 01 MIN: *°°(uhm)@ (0.5) %+äi(h)*ti,°°Δ
           uhm          mum
           min *.....*sits on the floor
           mug          @MIN-->
           mig          %her shoes-->
           mum          +..>
           fig          Δfig 2
02 (0.5)@(0.8)+(0.9) =(2.2)
           mug          -->@down on the clothes-->>
           mum          ..+takes MIN's outdoor clothes off-->>
-> 03 MIN: äiti.Δ
           mum
           fig          Δfig 3
04 ELM: °(uih)°
           uh
05 (1.1)
-> 06 MIN: %siel↑lä ↑sato.%
           it rained there
           mig          %in front-----%her shoes-->>
```

07 (0.3)
 08 MUM: *ei kait siellä satanu.*
I don't think it was raining

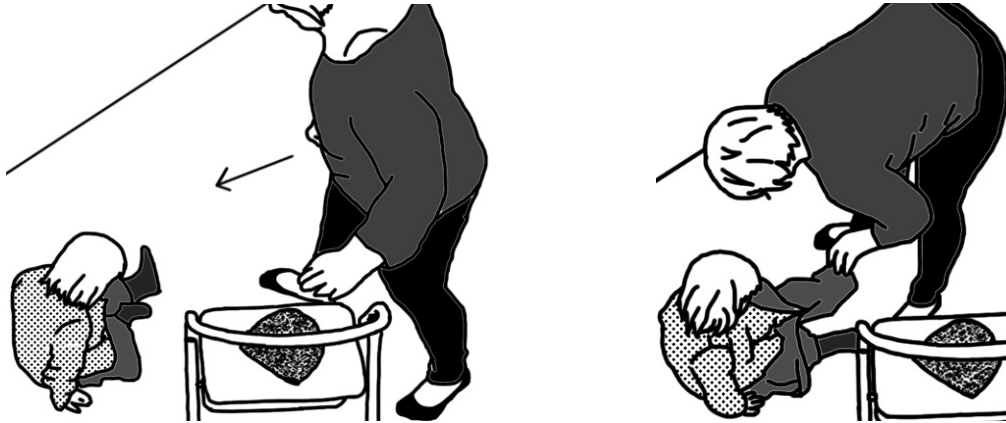


Figure 2: Mother walks towards Minea (l. 1). Figure 3: Minea summons the mother again (l. 3).

At the beginning of the excerpt, Minea begins to sit on the floor. As she sits down, the mother gazes at her and starts to move towards her (l. 1, Fig. 2). While moving into a sitting position, Minea summons the mother quietly with a standalone address term °*äi(h)ti*° ('mum', l. 1). The mother does not respond to Minea's summons but instead leans over her and begins to take off her shoes (l. 2). In line 3, Minea keeps her head down and gazes towards her shoes that the mother is taking off (Fig. 3). At the same time, she repeats the summons *äiti*. ('mum', l. 3) this time with a raised voice. She stresses the first syllable of the word *äiti*. In the Finnish family data (see Section 3), stressing the first syllable of the summons appears to be a common way for the children to prosodically modify it. This could be because in Finnish, the primary word stress is always put on the word-initial syllable (e.g. Suomi 2005). Thus, upgrading the summons by notably stressing the first syllable may come naturally to Finnish speakers. However, regardless of Minea's repeated and modified summons, the mother remains silent and keeps her gaze at Minea's shoes while undressing her. Even though the mother does not respond, Minea informs the mother with *siel↑lä ↑sato*. ('it rained there', l. 6). At the same time, Minea briefly gazes in front of her, in the mother's direction, as if to check that the mother is still oriented towards her. Minea's informing to the mother suggests that Minea treats the conditions to be sufficient for interaction due to the mother being physically oriented to her; the mother is physically in Minea's close proximity while gazing at Minea's direction and touching her due to undressing her outdoor clothes (see also Sutinen 2014). Minea's interpretation is quickly confirmed, as the mother quickly replies to her by saying *ei kait siellä satanu*. ('I don't think it was raining', l. 8). After the mother's response, Minea and the mother continue to discuss whether it was raining outside or not.

In Excerpt 1, Minea does not wait for a SPP to her summonses, but instead moves on and progresses her interactional project (informing) at a moment when the mother is already close to her and physically oriented towards her (gazing and touching), even though a verbal response from the mother is missing. Minea's actions suggests that she interprets the conditions for interaction to be favourable

enough, at least to the extent where she can pursue further action instead of repeating the summons. Excerpt 1, as well as the other episodes in the data collection show that when the adult is not involved in multiactivity (e.g. in other conversations) and/or is physically oriented towards the child or is otherwise in the child's close proximity, the child may perceive the conditions for interaction to be favourable. This may lead them to move on with their interactional project instead of repeating the summons. However, it is important to note here that children's interpretation of favourable conditions and the adult's availability for interaction is not always correct (especially if the adult is simultaneously talking to someone else). At these moments, the children do not receive a response from the adult, which may lead them into needing to go back to summoning until they receive the response.

In the next section, Excerpts 2 and 3 illustrate a summoning episode where an adult is involved in multiactivity (Haddington et al. 2014), and thus the conditions for initiating new interaction are not favourable. At these moments, children use repeated summonses for pursuing a response from the adult, and if the response is missing, they utilise embodied means in combination with prosodically upgraded summonses for creating conditions where interaction would be possible.

4.2. Pursuing a response with repeated summonses, and creating favourable conditions for interaction with multimodal means

In a situation where an adult is either talking to someone or visibly oriented towards some other activity, children often employ repeated summonses for pursuing a response, a go-ahead, from the adult. If the repeated use of summonses does not result in the adult responding, children will use other embodied practices for attempting to create favourable conditions for interaction. In Excerpt 2, the main focus is on a summoning sequence initiated by Elmeri and on the practices that he uses for pursuing a response from the mother. Between Excerpts 1 and 2, 8 lines of the transcript have been omitted, during which the mother and Minea have briefly discussed whether it was raining outside or not. The mother has also finished undressing Minea, stood up and started to put away Minea's outdoor clothes. A researcher, who is setting up cameras in the house, has also entered the hallway. In lines 17-26, the mother is talking to the researcher about Tuukka's jacket that has got wet outside in the rain.

Excerpt (2): ((Finnish Family Days. Take these shoelaces off.))

- 17 MUM: *voi että tuo Tuukan takki pittää nyt*
oh dear we need to put that Tuukka's
 mum >>putting away the children's clothes--> (1. 40)
 mug >>the clothes--> (1. 40)
 elm >>taking off his shoes-->
- 18 *meän laittaa [pes]s^ouun,^o*
jacket to wash
- 19 RES: [ehh]
- 20 (1.2)
- 21 MUM: *°(oli) nii° vesisatteela tuola pihala että.*
he was outside so that it was raining
- 22 (0.3)

23 RES: joo:.
yeah
24 (0.3)
25 MUM: °ta-° ajo pyörällä °että° ↑kastu kyllä
or was riding a bicycle so that the
26 läpimäräksi koko poi°ka°.
whole boy got soaked
27 (0.5)
-> 28 ELM: °äi[ti:..°Δ
mum
fig Δfig4
29 TUU: [ÄITI:..
mum
30 MUM: nii:?
yeah
31 (0.9)
32 TUU: saako jätskiä.
can (I) have ice cream
33 (0.8)
34 MUM: ei saa nyt jätskiä >ka&topa ko,<
no (you) cannot have ice cream now look because
elm &turns head to his right-->
-> 35 ELM: ÄITI.Δ
mum
fig Δfig5

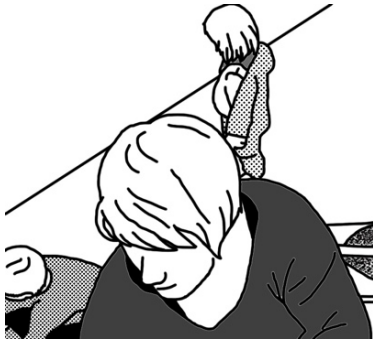


Figure 4: Elmeri's first summons (l. 28).

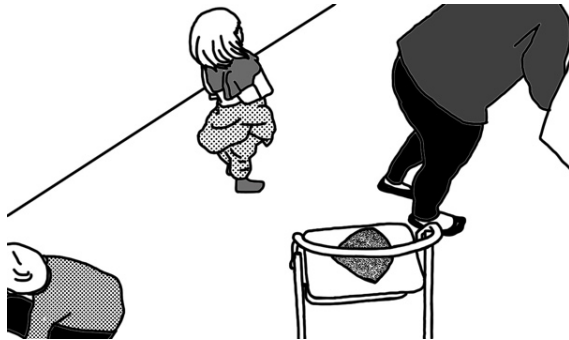


Figure 5: Elmeri's second summons (l. 35).

36 MUM: OOTA ↑HETKI [M&INÄ tuun & kat°too.° &
wait a moment I will come and have a look
elm -->&looks behind&takes his shoes off&
-> 37 ELM: [↑ÄITΔI.
mum
fig Δfig6
38 (0.4)±(0.3)
tuu ±enters the room

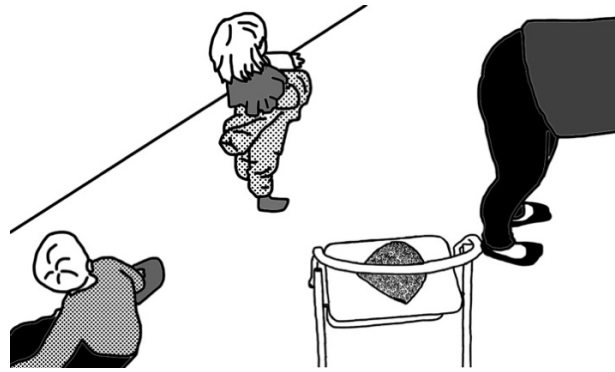


Figure 6: Elmeri's third summons. He has turned towards the mother (l. 37).

In line 28, Elmeri summons the mother for the first time quietly with an address term *°äiti:°* ('mum'). He does not gaze at the mother; instead, he is looking at his shoes (Fig. 4). In overlap with Elmeri's turn, also Tuukka summons the mother from another room by saying *ÄITI:* ('mum', l. 29) with a loud voice. In line 30, the mother provides a go-ahead *nii:?* ('yeah'). Tuukka follows up the mother's go-ahead and asks *saako jätskiä*. ('can (I) have ice cream', l. 32). In line 34, the mother answers to Tuukka's question by saying *ei saa nyt jätskiä >katopa ko,<* ('no (you) cannot have ice cream now look because'). The ending of the mother's turn *>katopa ko,<* ('look because') implies that she is not finished with her answer (Siitonen/Rauniomaa/Keisanen 2021) and projects that she is about to give an explanation to why Tuukka cannot have ice cream at this moment.

During the mother's answer to Tuukka, Elmeri begins to turn his head to the direction of the mother. This is followed by his second summons to her: this time he uses a loud voice and stresses the first and last vowels of *ÄITI*. ('mum' l. 35) while gazing at the mother's direction (Fig. 5). Through the prosodically modified summons and embodied action, he invites the mother to respond to him. With his gaze, Elmeri also monitors the mother's actions. However, the mother does not reply to Elmeri, nor gaze at him, but instead she continues to answer to Tuukka by saying *OOTA ↑HETKI MINÄ tuun kat°too.°* ('wait a moment I will come and have a look', l. 36). This time the mother has raised her voice, which suggests that she is talking to Tuukka, who is further away in another room, rather than to Elmeri, who is only a couple of meters away from her. This interpretation is confirmed by Elmeri's reaction to the mother's turn: already in overlap with it, Elmeri summons the mother for the third time (l. 37). Elmeri's summons is produced with a loud voice and a high pitch, which together with the overlap embodies his entitlement to get the mother's attention at this time by showing a lack of orientation to the mother's ongoing talk (e.g. Craven/Potter 2010). This time he has also turned his upper body towards the mother while gazing at her direction (Fig. 6). Here, Elmeri can be argued to use his gaze for monitoring the mother's actions, but also as a resource for increasing the mother's pressure for responding (Stivers/Rossano 2010:4). Furthermore, his bodily orientation and the halting of his activity suggest that his action is leading to recruitment of assistance from the mother (Pfeiffer/Anna 2021). However, in line 38, there is a 0.7-second gap, during which the mother does not gaze at nor respond to Elmeri. At the same time, Tuukka enters the room.

Excerpt 3 takes place right after Excerpt 2.

Excerpt (3): ((Finnish Family Days. Take these shoelaces off.))

-> 39 ELM: [äiti,]Δ
mum
 fig Δfig7
 40 TUU: [+saako sen] @piira+kan kaa sit^ote.^o
can (I) have some with the pie then
 mum >+turns to TUU----+
 mug @TUU-->
 41 (0.6)
 42 MUM: joo+ ↑katotaanpa sit@te [kö] [mää +tota.]
yeah we will see it then because I umm
 mum +.....+taking MIN's clothes off-->
 mug -->@MIN-->
 -> 43 ELM: [>äit-<]
mum
 44 MIN: [±↑ÄITTIΔ]
mum
 tuu ±leaves the room
 fig Δfig8

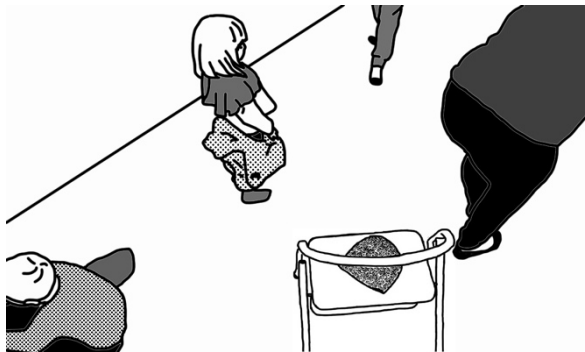


Figure 7: Elmeri's fourth summons (l. 39).

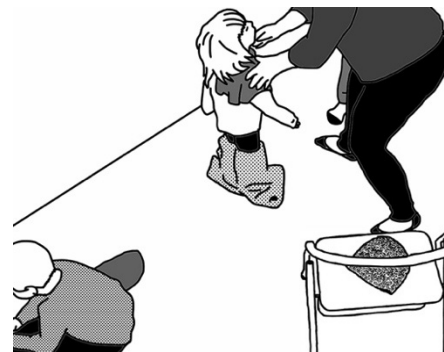


Fig. 8: Minea summons the mother (l. 44).

45 MIN: SAAN&KO JÄTS&[kii.
can I have ice cream
 elm &looks at MUM&moves closer to MUM-->
 -> 46 ELM: [#ÄI:#TI:.Δ
mum
 fig Δfig9
 47 TUU: Henna voi [(--)
Henna can (--)
 48 ELM: @ [o[#ta# NÄÄ (NAU)HAT)Δ [pois@:~:~:
take these laces off
 mug -->@Elmeri-----@Minea->
 fig Δfig10
 49 MIN: [°#mää# en oo °(syöny)°°] [ÄIT- ÄIT-
I haven't eaten mum mum
 50 emmoo maista@nu jät&s[°ki@i°.
I haven't tasted any ice cream
 mug -->@ELM-----@MIN-->
 elm -->&moves his leg in front of MUM

51 MUM:

[ei oo kukkaan maiΔstanu.&
no one has tasted

fig
elm

Δfig11
-->&

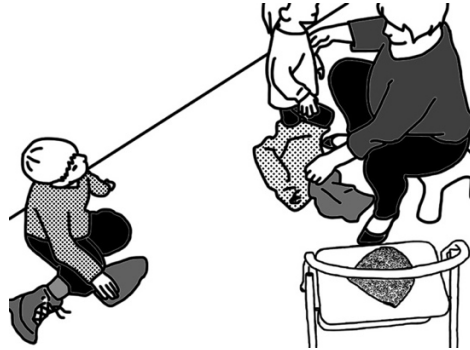
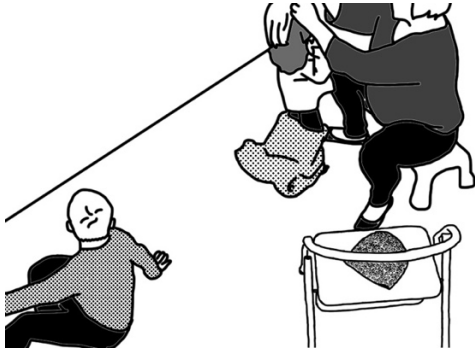


Figure 9: Elmeri's sixth summons (l. 46).

Figure 10: Mother gazes at Elmeri (l. 48).

52 (0.4)@(0.3)

mug -->@Elmeri-->

53 MIN: °nii mi°+nā haluaisin (0.3)+(0.2) >°ot°taa< Δjätskit.
so I would like to have ice creams

mum -->+.....+takes off Elmeri's
shoelaces-->

fig

Δfig12

54 (6.6)

55 MUM: °noi nyt.°+@
there you go

mum -->+

mug -->@

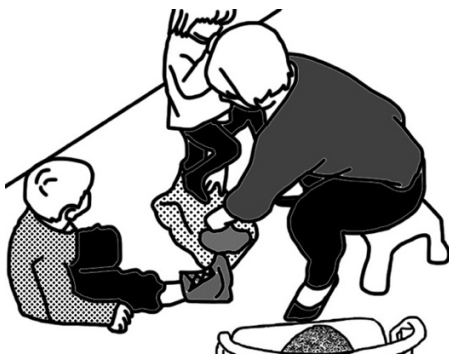


Figure 11: Elmeri is waiting for his turn (l. 51). Figure 12: Mother unties Elmeri's shoelaces (l. 53)

In line 39, Elmeri summons the mother for the fourth time. This time he has downgraded his summons: he uses a quieter voice while gazing away from the mother (Fig. 7). This turn, in comparison to his earlier summonses, shows the reflexive nature of his actions and the ongoing activities. When his summons is preceded by a gap, his turn is quieter, whereas if the summonses are in overlap with, or come right after someone else's turn, they are produced with louder volume. At the moment of Elmeri's summons (l. 39), Tuukka enters the room. In line 40, in overlap with Elmeri's summons, Tuukka asks the mother whether he could have some ice cream later on with some pie. The mother replies to Tuukka by saying *joo* ↑*kato-taanpa sitte kö mää tota*. ('yeah we will see it then because I umm', l. 41; see

Vatanen 2023), while she walks to Minea and starts to undress her again. In overlap with the mother's turn, Elmeri summons the mother now for the fifth time (l. 43), which suggests that he orients to the mother's turn in line 42 to be directed to Tuukka, instead of being a response to his earlier summonses. What is notable of Elmeri's summons in line 43 is that this time he produces the summons quickly, and appears to cut off the last vowel of the word *äiti* ('mum'). Also in overlap with the mother's turn, Minea summons the mother and asks whether she could have some ice cream as well (l. 44-45, Fig. 8).

Before Minea has finished her question, Elmeri summons the mother yet again in overlap with Minea's turn (l. 46). This time his summons is notably upgraded: he uses a louder and creakier voice, stresses the first and last vowels of the address term and lengthens the vowel sounds while gazing at the mother and starting to do an "ambulatory summons" (Cekaite 2009) by moving towards her (Fig. 9). The notable upgrading of his summons suggests that he is "doing being ignored" (Cekaite 2009; see also Sacks 1995). Right after his upgraded summons and while moving towards the mother, the mother turns her gaze towards him (l. 48). The change in the mother's gaze direction is immediately followed by Elmeri's request *o#ta# NÄÄ NAUHAT pois:::* ('take these laces off', l. 48, Fig. 10). The request is formulated with an imperative, which suggests that the turn is built as a recruitment of help, inviting the mother to take immediate action (Sorjonen/Raevaara/Couper-Kuhlen 2017:13). Elmeri's turn displays a strong entitlement and insists on the "normative obligation" (Kendrick/Drew 2016) for the mother to help him (her child), suggesting that noncompliance is not a response option. In overlap with Elmeri's request, Minea says that she has not had any ice cream. She also addresses the mother in overlap with Elmeri's turn (l. 49-50). The mother has not responded to her initial request (l. 45) regardless of seemingly having been oriented towards her (l. 49-50; see Section 4.1). However, this time the mother responds to Minea already in terminal overlap with her turn and says that no one has had any ice cream yet (l. 51).

In the meantime, since vocal turns have not been successful in getting the mother to help Elmeri with his shoelaces, Elmeri moves on to establishing conditions that increase the likelihood for the mother to do so. He displays his active agency in creating favourable conditions for the mother to comply with his request by moving closer to her. He extends his leg towards the mother, making it spatially available for her (Fig. 11). With these embodied actions, Elmeri maximises the conditions for the mother to interact with him and help take his shoe off. Additionally, Elmeri moving closer to the mother functions as a nonverbal request (Rossi 2014), and suggests that he holds the mother responsible for providing him assistance (see also Pfeiffer/Anna 2021). The mother gazes at Elmeri again (l. 52) but does not say anything. Instead, she finishes undressing Minea, after which she turns towards Elmeri and starts to undo his shoelaces (l. 53, Fig. 12). At the end of the excerpt, the mother says to Elmeri *o#ni nyt*. ('there you go', l. 55) that implies that she has now finished undoing his shoelaces.

Excerpts 2 and 3 show how Elmeri is first trying to pursue a response from the mother with repeated summonses that he keeps prosodically modifying. The excerpts show how he does this by changing the volume of his voice by either increasing (l. 35) or decreasing it (l. 39), increasing the pitch of his summons (l. 37), stressing and prolonging certain vowels (l. 46), varying the length of his utterance (e.g. by shortening it, l. 43), and also by using a creaky voice (l. 46). Furthermore, he

monitors the mother's activities and seeks for mutual gaze and the mother's attention by gazing towards her (l. 34-37). The design of the summonses and the ways of upgrading/downgrading them display Elmeri's reflexive orientation to the ongoing activities as well as the mother's other involvements. In this multiactivity setting, the mother is visibly involved in multiple conversations and activities that she interpersonally organises in a way that might not be observable to the children. Through his actions, Elmeri is trying to intervene with the mother's ongoing actions and that way pursue a response from her and get her to help him with his shoe.

However, the mother's initial lack of a response to Elmeri's summonses suggests that the conditions for interaction are not favourable at this moment, and his repeated summonses are not enough to make them so. Thus, instead of just pursuing a response with standalone summonses, Elmeri requests the mother to help him and moves on to establish favourable conditions where the mother could help him with his shoe. He does this with embodied actions by turning around (l. 45), moving closer to the mother (l. 45-50), and by eventually placing his foot closer to the mother (l. 50-51). This way, Elmeri transforms interactional space (Mondada 2009) to one where it is possible for the mother to help him with the smallest possible effort: after undressing Minea, she only needs to move her hands to her left in order to undo Elmeri's shoelaces, as opposed to needing to get up and walk closer to Elmeri.

Elmeri's actions in Excerpts 2-3 are representative of the broader collection of the summons episodes analysed for this paper. In the collection, children prosodically modify their utterances in order to upgrade/downgrade the summonses. In addition to what is shown in Excerpts 2-3, the rest of the data episodes also show that at times children may employ embodied summonses (Keel 2015:10, 2016:95), for example, by touching the adult. Furthermore, many of the episodes in the collection also support the observation that when children are not successful in getting a response from the adult with repeated summonses, they may use embodied actions together with prosodically marked upgraded/downgraded summonses for creating favourable conditions for the adult to respond. These embodied actions include the children moving into the adult's close spatial proximity, gazing at the adult as well as the children turning their bodies so that they are facing the adult that they are summoning.

5. Conclusion

This paper has studied episodes in which a child summons an adult, but the adult does not respond to the child's initial summons. More specifically, the focus has been on the child's actions that follow the adult's nonresponse to the child's initial summons. The paper has shown that the adult's nonresponse is often simultaneous with their multiactivity (Haddington et al. 2014). At these moments, the adult is engaged with multiple involvements which may explain why they do not progress the project initiated by the child, and which is sequentially implicated by the child's summons. By building on the analysis of 34 data episodes, this paper has shown how children treat and respond to adults' nonresponse in form of repeated summonses and embodied action, demonstrating how children orient to conditional relevance, sequence organisation and reciprocity of actions. Regardless of the adults' multiactivity situation, children treat the adults' nonresponse as a consequential

breach of sequence organisation rules, since the adults' missing response hinders the progressivity of the interaction between the adult and child (on progressivity of interaction, see Stivers/Robinson 2006). This paper has illustrated that, for example, instead of holding the adult accountable for not responding to the summons⁹ (i.e. expecting the adult to explain why they have not responded), children actively seek to progress the interaction by attempting to increase the likelihood of receiving a response from the adult in two different ways. Next, these ways are elaborated on.

The first way for children to increase the likelihood of receiving a response is through pursuing a response with repeated summonses. Repeated summonses are a practice for children to manage a situation where they are not able to progress their interactional project due to the adult's missing response. By repeating summonses, children exert their agency and actively seek the adult's attention and pursue a response from them. Furthermore, the position and composition of the repeated summonses show the children's orientation to the ongoing situation and other activities that the summoned adult is involved in. This is visible when children upgrade and downgrade their summonses, for example, by changing the volume or pitch of their voice in order to be heard over other conversations that the adult is involved in. Additionally, positioning the repeated summonses at TRPs indicates that children are aware of the other conversations that take place in the situation, and that they have the developing ability to recognise whether a turn is interactionally complete or not (Schegloff 1989:140; Eilittä/Haddington/Vatanen 2021:189).

When it comes to the repeated summonses, it is important to note that every repeated summons turn is produced in a new sequential environment. This means that whereas the first summons is produced when the child has not summoned the adult earlier for that project, the second summons is uttered when the first summons has not received a response, which creates a particular context for the second summons. Thus, the situation where the summonses are produced is changing as the child's summons project continues. Additionally, during the later repeated summonses, the context itself and what the recipient is doing at those moments may have changed (see also McTear 1985; Schegloff 2004; Craven/Potter 2010). For example, in Excerpts 2 and 3, when Elmeri summons the mother for the first time (l. 28), she is putting clothes to the side, whereas during Elmeri's fifth summons (l. 43), the mother has oriented towards undressing Minea. Thus, when trying to pursue a response with repeated summonses, the child needs to adjust their summoning action to the changing context in which the interaction and the summonses occur. In the data collection, this is visible in the children's vocally and bodily upgraded/downgraded summons turns.

The second way for children to increase their chances of receiving a response is through actively attempting to establish favourable conditions for interaction. When repeated and prosodically modified summonses are not enough to get a response from the adult, children may attempt to transform the interactional space (Mondada 2009) into one where the adult can respond to them. In Excerpt 1, Minea summons the mother twice, but the mother does not respond to her. Regardless of the missing response, Minea moves on with her interactional project and informs the mother

⁹ In an article by Vatanen/Haddington (2023), the parent gives the child a verbal account of the multiactivity situation that the parent is in, and why they cannot attend the child's project. In contrast, in the episodes analysed for this article, the adult does not verbalise the multiactivity; instead, it is visible in their embodied conduct.

that it was raining outside. Here, Minea interprets the conditions to be favourable for interaction when she is in the mother's close spatial proximity, and the mother has physically oriented to her. After this the mother responds to Minea, which confirms Minea's interpretation of the situation. In contrast, in Excerpts 2-3, Elmeri summons the mother five times without receiving a response from her. It is not until his sixth summons that is markedly prosodically upgraded which prompts the mother to gaze at him. Elmeri then requests the mother to help him with his shoes, and at the same time moves closer to the mother and places his foot within her reach. In this way, Elmeri actively transforms the interactional space and creates conditions where the mother is able to help him with the least possible effort (e.g. she does not need to move closer to Elmeri).

Excerpts 2-3, as well as other data episodes in the collection show that attempting to create favourable conditions for the adult to respond to them is a way for children to exert their agency and to provide the adult opportunities not to breach the rules of sequence organization. In other words, children make responding/complying with their summons/request as easy as possible for the adult. The analysis shows that children attempting to create favourable conditions is closely related to the spatial proximity of the participants. If the adult is not close to the child, the child can move closer to the adult to increase the likelihood of receiving a response. On the other hand, if the child and the adult are in the same room but not physically oriented towards each other, the child can move or turn their body so that reaching mutual gaze or joint body orientation with the adult is possible. These findings are in line with Sutinen's (2014) earlier study, where the re-orientation of the body is one of the key factors in establishing favourable conditions. Furthermore, we complement Sutinen's (2014) findings by suggesting that when the adult has not responded to the children's earlier summonses, the children interpret the conditions to be favourable for interaction when (1) the recipient is not visibly oriented towards other activities, and/or (2) the recipient is physically oriented towards them. When children do not treat the conditions to be favourable for interaction, they may attempt to establish them e.g. with the re-orientation of their bodies (as discussed above). However, these are not preconditions for reaching favourable conditions, since interaction may take place in various kinds of situations. Consequently, it could be said that when the recipient responds to the speaker's vocal and/or embodied action, the conditions for interaction are – for all practical purposes – favourable enough. Even though this paper has studied family interactions, it is likely that these criteria for favourable conditions are not exclusive to adult-child interactions but apply to social interaction more generally.

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Appendix

Transcription symbols used for describing embodiment (Mondada 2016).

@ @	Symbols used for referring to the gazes of the participants. Descriptions of the gaze are delimited between the symbols, and are synchronised with corresponding stretches of talk.
%%	
++	Symbols used for referring to the embodiment of the participants.
%%	Descriptions of the embodiment are delimited between the symbols, and are synchronised with corresponding stretches of talk.
&&	
**	
±±	
>>	The action described begins before the excerpt's beginning.
-->	The action described continues across subsequent lines.
-->+	The end of the earlier described action.
...	Action's preparation.
---	Action's apex is reached and maintained.
,,,	Action's retraction.
-->>	The action described continues until the excerpt's end.
Δ Δ	Symbols used for referring to the placement of figures in the speech.
fig	The exact moment at which a screen shot has been taken.

Other symbols used:

MIN	The participant's pseudonym's three first letters in upper case are used for referring to their speech in the excerpt. For example, "MIN" refers to Minea's speech.
min	When referring to the participant's embodied actions, this is marked with the participant's pseudonym's first three letters and marked in lower case (excluding gaze).
mig	When referring to the participant's gaze, the first two letters of the pseudonym have been combined with a letter 'g'.

Tiina Eilittä & Anna Vatanen
Research Unit for Languages and Literature, English
Faculty of Humanities
P.O.Box 1000
FI-90014 University of Oulu
Finland

tiina.eilitta@oulu.fi
anna.vatanen@oulu.fi

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