

Tiina Eilittä

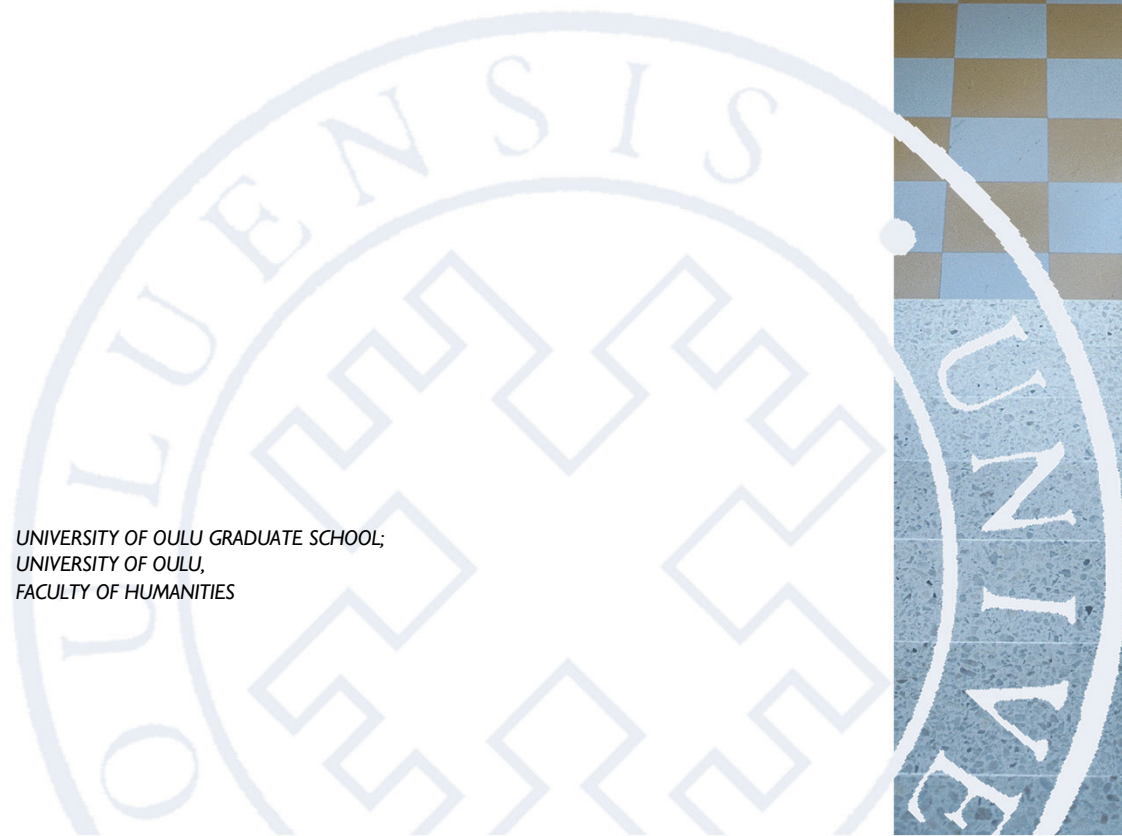
HOW TO ENGAGE

**CHILDREN'S SUMMONSES TO ADULTS
IN FAMILIES AND KINDERGARTENS**

UNIVERSITY OF OULU GRADUATE SCHOOL;
UNIVERSITY OF OULU,
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

B

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TIINA EILITTÄ

HOW TO ENGAGE

Children's summonses to adults in families and kindergartens

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Abstract

This article-based dissertation examines a social action that is fundamental for establishing joint attention and intersubjectivity: the summons action. It studies how summons actions are produced, focusing on the vocal and embodied details in which summonses are designed to establish joint attention in social interaction. This study focuses specifically on summons actions produced by children to adults (parents or caregivers). The thesis demonstrates how children's summonses are carefully orchestrated, naturally situated and contingent accomplishments that reveal the complexities of interaction that reside in naturally occurring child-adult interactions. The analyses also explore how adults respond to children's summons turns in mundane yet interactionally complex settings and how their responses socialise children into the norms of social interaction. This dissertation employs the method of conversation analysis to study naturally occurring child-adult interactions among family members in cars and at family homes, and among children and their caregivers in kindergartens. The studied languages are English and Finnish.

This dissertation consists of a summary and three original research articles. The first article studies interactions between children and their parents in cars and shows how the differently positioned and designed summons turns mobilise responses from the parents to different degrees. The second article focuses on interactions between children and their parents at homes and demonstrates how the children pursue responses from the parents with self-repeated summonses and through embodied conduct, and thus establish favourable conditions for further interaction. The third article explores children's telling-on actions in kindergartens and illustrates how the children's summonses and other attention-drawing practices change the interactional ecology and thus lead to transformations in the local participation frameworks. This summary provides a synthesis of the three articles and discusses the significance of the findings.

Keywords: child-adult interaction, complexity, conversation analysis, conversational opening, embodiment, family interaction, kindergarten interaction, multiactivity, multimodality, pre-sequence, sequence organisation, social interaction, summons, video-based analysis

Eilittä, Tiina, Huomion hakemisen keinot. Lasten aikuisille suuntaamat huomionkohdistimet perheissä ja päiväkodeissa

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Tiivistelmä

Tämä artikkeliväitöskirja tarkastelee huomionkohdistinta (eng. summons), jolla on keskeinen rooli jaetun huomion ja intersubjektiivisuuden luomisessa. Tutkimus keskittyy lasten huomionkohdistinten kielellisiin ja kehollisiin piirteisiin, joiden avulla lapset pyrkivät rakentamaan jaettua huomiota sosiaalisessa vuorovaikutuksessa. Tutkimus keskittyy erityisesti lasten aikuisille (vanhemmille ja hoitajille) suuntaamiin huomionkohdistimiin. Väitöskirjassa osoitetaan, että lasten huomionkohdistimet ovat huolellisesti rakennettuja ja tilannesidonnaisia toimintoja, jotka heijastavat lasten ja aikuisten välisten vuorovaikutustilanteiden luonnollista kompleksisuutta. Lisäksi analyyseissä tarkastellaan sitä, miten aikuiset vastaavat lasten huomionkohdistimiin ja miten aikuiset vastaustensa avulla sosiaalistavat lapsia vuorovaikutukseen liittyviin normeihin. Tutkimuksessa käytetään keskusteluanalyysin menetelmää, jonka avulla tutkitaan luonnollista lasten ja aikuisten välistä vuorovaikutusta autoissa, lapsiperheissä ja päiväkodeissa. Aineistoissa käytetään englannin ja suomen kieltä.

Tämä väitöskirja koostuu kolmesta alkuperäisestä tutkimusartikkelista sekä yhteenvedosta. Ensimmäinen artikkeli tarkastelee lasten ja vanhempien välistä vuorovaikutusta autoissa. Siinä osoitetaan, miten eri tavoin muotoillut ja eri keskustelun kohdissa tuotetut lasten huomionkohdistimet saavat aikuisilta eriasteisesti vastauksia. Toinen artikkeli keskittyy vanhempien ja lasten vuorovaikutukseen kodeissa. Siinä näytetään, miten lapset hakevat aikuisilta vastausta toistamalla huomionkohdistimia sekä pyrkimällä luomaan vuorovaikutukselle suotuisia olosuhteita erilaisin kehollisin keinoin. Kolmas artikkeli tutkii lasten kantelutoimintoja päiväkotikontekstissa. Siinä havainnollistetaan, miten lasten kantelutoiminta, huomionkohdistimet sekä muut huomion hakemisen keinot muuttavat vuorovaikutustilanteen ekologiaa. Nämä johtavat paikallisten osallistumiskehikkojen muutoksiin, jotka heijastavat eri tapoja kannella sekä osoittaa kantelu eri vastaanottajille. Väitöskirjan yhteenveto kokoaa yhteen tutkimusartikkelien löydökset sekä pohtii tulosten merkittävyyttä.

Asiasanat: esisekvenssi, huomionkohdistin, kehollisuus, keskustelun aloitukset, keskusteluanalyysi, kompleksisuus, lasten ja aikuisten välinen vuorovaikutus, monitoiminta, multimodaalisuus, perhevuorovaikutus, päiväkotivuorovaikutus, sekvenssijäsennys, sosiaalinen vuorovaikutus, videoaineisto

*To the child who summons me every day,
my daughter Tea*

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Oulu, December 2023

Tiina Eilittä

Abbreviations

CA	conversation analysis
FPP	first pair part
L1	speaker's first language
L2	speaker's second language
SPP	second pair part
TCU	turn constructional unit
TRP	transition relevance place

List of original publications

This thesis is based on the following publications, which are referred throughout the text by their Roman numerals:

- I Eilittä, T., Haddington, P., & Vatanen, A. (2021). Children seeking the driver's attention in cars: Position and composition of children's summons turns and children's rights to engage. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 178, 175–191. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2021.03.005>
- II Eilittä, T., & Vatanen, A. (2023). Children's self-repeated summonses to adults: pursuing responses and creating favourable conditions for interaction. *Gesprächsforschung*, 24, 1–25.
- III Eilittä, T. (under review). How to engage: Kindergarteners telling on their peers and recruiting adult's assistance.

My contribution to Article I is as follows: I am responsible for selecting the studied topic, formulating the research questions, and for choosing the research design and method. I have prepared the article mostly on my own. My co-authors are responsible for collecting the research data, editing parts of the text, and for preparing parts of the literature review.

My contribution to Article II is as follows: I am responsible for selecting the studied topic, formulating the research question, and for choosing the research design and method. I have prepared the manuscript on my own. My co-author is responsible for the data collection, and that is why she is also granted authorship.

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1 Introduction

This study examines a social action that is fundamental for establishing joint attention and intersubjectivity: the summons action. It studies how summons actions are produced, focusing on the vocal and embodied details in which summonses are designed to establish joint attention in social interaction. This study¹ focuses specifically on summons actions produced by children to adults (parents or caregivers). The analyses demonstrate how children's summonses are carefully orchestrated, naturally situated and contingent accomplishments and reveal the complexities of interaction that reside in naturally occurring child-adult² interactions among family members in cars and at family homes as well as in kindergartens. The analyses also explore how adults respond to children's summons turns in mundane yet interactionally complex settings and illustrates how their responses socialise children into the norms of social interaction.

Earlier research on children and joint attention has illustrated how attracting the adult's attention is one of the earliest acts that a child learns (e.g., Clark, 2003; Keenan & Schieffelin, 1976; McTear, 1985; Tomasello, 1999; see also Kidwell & Zimmerman, 2007). Studies have shown that children utilise a variety of vocal and embodied means for producing summonses and other social actions and thus for establishing joint attention with adults and their peers (for an overview, see Section 4.2.1 below). Additionally, research has demonstrated that children's practices for drawing adults' attention display their orientation to the sequential implicativeness of actions (e.g., Keel, 2016; McTear, 1985; Wootton, 2007). The current study builds on this body of work and asks the following research questions:

1. How do children summon adults?
2. How are children's understandings of sequentiality and conditional relevance displayed in their summons practices?
3. How do adults respond to children's summons turns and use their responses to socialise children into the norms of social interaction?

These questions are answered in three articles which are synthesised in this summary part of the dissertation. Article I demonstrates how children position and design their vocal and embodied summonses in regards to other ongoing activities

¹ In this summary, "this study" refers to the dissertation as a whole: to Articles I–III and the summary. When talking about specific articles, they are referenced as "Article I", and so on.

² Here, "child-adult interactions" refer to interactions produced by children to adults. In contrast, the term "adult-child interactions" is used when referring to interactions produced by adults to children.

in the context of a moving car. Article II focuses on child-adult interactions at family homes and illustrates how children pursue responses from adults with self-repeated summonses after the adults have not responded to the children's earlier summonses. It also demonstrates how the children employ embodied practices to establish favourable conditions for the parent to respond at moments when the parent's response to the child's prior summons is missing. Article III shifts the focus to kindergarten interactions by showing how children use summonses and other vocal and embodied attention-drawing practices in telling-on sequences, which consequently lead to transformations of the participation frameworks in the interactional setting.

The findings of this study complement the earlier literature on children's summonses and attention-drawing practices by demonstrating how:

- Children attempt to establish joint attention with adults with multimodal summonses. The changes in the interactional ecology prompted by the summonses lead to transformations in participation frameworks in multiparty settings.
- Children's summonses imply their orientations to turn-taking organisation, sequence organisation and conditional relevance. Children's summons practices also display their orientations of their (limited) rights to engage in child-adult conversations.
- Interactional complexities feature in children's vocal and embodied summonses as well as in the adults' responses to them. Here, 'complexity' refers to the multi-layeredness and multimodal richness of interaction (Eilittä et al., 2023b). In the analyses, interactional complexity becomes evident especially at moments when the children summon the adults in multiparty situations while the adults are already involved in one or more activities.
- Children adapt the position and design of their summons turns to the interactional situation at hand to increase their chances of establishing joint attention with adults, and to pursue responses from them if the adults have not responded to the children's previous summonses.

The findings of this research have been yielded using the method of conversation analysis (CA; see Section 3). CA is a qualitative and data-driven (Heritage, 1984) method: it is grounded in the analysis of audio-video data. Hence, the research process for this thesis began with the acquisition of data (see Section 2.1). For Articles I and II, data recorded by other researchers were used. For Article III, data collected by the author was utilised. After acquiring the data, the studied

phenomenon – children summoning adults – was discovered through “unmotivated looking” (Sacks, 1984), that is, by viewing the data without any preconceived notions or expectations. The purpose of this was to recognise phenomena that are meaningful for the interactants in the data, and that might otherwise be overlooked. After deciding on the focus of this dissertation, collections of episodes where children summon adults were gathered. Here, an “episode” includes the very first moves that a child takes when beginning to engage in interaction with an adult and lasts until the child has carried out their project or when the child abandons it (see Section 3.2). In each episode, the child may summon the adult once or multiple times. For each article, a new collection of episodes where children summon adults was formed based on the studied context and data. The episodes in these collections were transcribed (Section 2.3), and the transcribed episodes were viewed repeatedly and compared with other episodes of the collection to uncover recurrent occurrences and possible deviant cases. This way, the specific foci and research questions for each of the articles were formed.

This thesis is structured in the following way: Section 2 provides an overview of the research materials (Section 2.1) and transcription conventions (Section 2.3), and discusses the ethical issues and questions involved in this study (Section 2.2). Section 3 describes the methodological background: the origins of CA (Section 3.1) and the most important concepts and principles of CA relevant to this study (Section 3.2). It also covers earlier CA research on interactions in multiparty and multiactivity settings (Section 3.3). Section 4 discusses earlier research on summons-response sequences in conversational openings (Section 4.1) as well as on child-adult interactions (Section 4.2). Section 5 presents the research results of this study by showing how children summon adults (Section 5.1), how children’s understandings of turn-taking and sequence organisation as well as conditional relevance are implied by their summons practices (Section 5.2), and how adults respond to children’s summonses (Section 5.3). The results section is finished by Section 5.4, which provides a synthesis of the findings in the form of two example analyses of children’s summons episodes. After this, Section 6 provides a discussion of the theoretical and methodological contributions (Section 6.1) and practical implications of the study (Section 6.2). It also evaluates the current study (Section 6.3) and gives recommendations for future research (Section 6.4). Finally, Section 7 summarises and concludes this dissertation.

2 Research materials

This section provides a description of the research data used for this dissertation (Section 2.1), covers the ethical questions and considerations related to the data (Section 2.2), and lastly, shows how the data was transcribed (Section 2.3).

2.1 The research data

The research data used for this study consists of 39,75 hours³ of video recordings of naturally occurring interactions recorded among family members in cars and at family homes, as well as in kindergartens. As shown in Table 1, the data comes from five different corpora collected by different researchers in Finland and the UK. The owners of the corpora have permitted the use of the data for this study.

First, Habitable Cars and Talk&Drive -corpora involve interactions between parents and their children (ages 3–9) as well as family friends. In both corpora, the participants have volunteered to record themselves when carrying out their everyday tasks while driving, such as picking up their children from school. In the recordings, a parent drives the car while one or more children, and possible family friends, are passengers. Second, Finnish Family Days -corpus consists of videos recorded at family homes by the corpus owner. The videos depict at least one parent accomplishing daily tasks at home while looking after two to nine children (ages 0–17). Lastly, the Kindergarten data includes interactions among children (0–7-year-olds) and staff members at kindergartens. The interactions are related to guided activities and free play among the children. The author recorded the data. All of the data represent interactions that would have taken place regardless of whether the cameras were present or not.

Table 1. The data used for this study, including Articles I–III.

Corpus	Context	Owner of the corpus	Country	Language	Duration
Habitable Cars	Family members in cars (5 families)	Eric Laurier, Barry Brown	UK	English	3,5 hours
Talk&Drive	Family members in cars (1 family)	Pentti Haddington	Finland	Finnish	3,25 hours

³ This represents the amount of data viewed and analysed for this study. The corpora are bigger than this.

Corpus	Context	Owner of the corpus	Country	Language	Duration
Finnish Family Days	Family members at homes (3 families)	Anna Vatanen	Finland	Finnish	22,5 hours
Kindergarten data	Kindergarten (2 groups)	Tiina Eilittä	Finland	Finnish, English	10,5 hours
TOTAL					39,75 hours

Video recordings were chosen as research data for this study since they allow detailed analysis of the organisation of multimodal social action. Video recordings can be paused, zoomed, and viewed several times, making observations of micro-details possible. This has been crucial for this study and would not have been possible with other forms of data.

2.2 Ethical considerations

As described in the previous section, the research data of this doctoral dissertation consists of video recordings of adult-child interactions in families and kindergartens. Both settings are private, and the data is rich in identifying information about the individual participants and their personal lives. This means that, similar to all research, addressing and following ethical guidelines is vital. For this dissertation, the research data has been collected and processed following the ethical guidelines of the University of Oulu, the Finnish Advisory Board on Research Integrity, the European Science Foundation, the Finnish legislation and EU's General Data Protection Regulation. The data that was collected in the UK follows the local guidelines. In all data sets, the participants have volunteered to be recorded or to record themselves. The participants have been informed about the research, they have signed informed consent forms, and guardians have signed the consent forms on behalf of under-18-year-old children. The researchers responsible for recording the data have taken into consideration the ethical considerations regarding the data. Since the author of this dissertation recorded the Kindergarten data -corpus, more on this process is explicated next.

The first step for collecting the kindergarten data was to determine whether a statement from The Ethics Committee of Human Sciences of University of Oulu was needed. Such statement was not necessary since informed consent forms were collected from the children's parents/guardians. The second step was to contact

various kindergartens' managers and get their preliminary permission for data collection. After this, the third step was to apply for a research permit from the city council(s) of the area(s) where the kindergartens were located. Once the permission to the study was granted, the fourth step was to approach the staff members of the kindergartens and meet them in person. The staff members agreed to be recorded and signed informed consent forms. After this, the fifth step was to meet the children's parents/legal guardians. The parents/guardians were explained the data collection procedures and purposes of the research and were given a chance to ask questions. They were given two weeks to consider participating in the study and sign the informed consent forms on their own⁴ and their children's behalf. Few of the parents had reasonable concerns about protecting their children's anonymity, but after discussing their concerns, every parent granted permission for the recordings. Once everyone had signed the informed consent forms, the sixth and last step of the process was to talk to the children themselves. The process and some research aims were explained to the children in an age-appropriate way face-to-face. They were also given time to ask questions and told they could refuse to be recorded. Thus, before the data collection began, every participant was well informed, was given time to ask questions related to the study and was told that taking part in the study was voluntary and that it was possible to withdraw from the study even after signing the consent forms. After this, the recordings could begin. Additionally, it was agreed that if any child or their parent/guardian refused to participate or wanted to withdraw from the study during the data recording, the whole group would withdraw. Overall, the data collection process took nine months, from the first contact with the kindergartens' managers to the data recording. Overall, five kindergarten groups participated in the study.

After data collection, the ethical issues concerning the data have been related to the practices of processing, storing, and publishing the data. When it comes to storing the data, the original recordings are stored in password protected, encrypted hard drives that only the analyst can access. For the publications, any information that could be used for identifying the participants, such as person and place names, has been anonymised. When necessary for securing the participants' identities, also their gender pronouns may have been changed (see Article III). Additionally, any pictures of the data are presented with minimalistic line drawings that represent only features necessary for the analysis.

⁴ The parents appear in the data when they bring their children and pick them up. Thus, they also needed to sign informed consent forms on their behalf.

2.3 Transcription conventions

To represent the micro-details of participants' talk and embodied conduct, audio-video data needs to be transcribed carefully. Transcribing the research data is a central part of the analysis of talk-in-interaction as well as the most commonly used practice for representing the data in presentations and publications. For this dissertation, the participants' talk has been transcribed according to the transcription conventions developed by Gail Jefferson (2004a). The transcription of talk represents: 1) *what* the participants say, including non-lexical vocalisations, inbreaths and outbreaths, 2) *how* they say it, that means the prosodic parameters of their talk, and 3) *when* they say it, which refers to the detailed marking of turn placements, overlapping talk, pauses and gaps. In addition to talk, also the participants' embodied conduct and gaze direction have been transcribed. The conventions developed by Lorenza Mondada (2019) have been used for this.⁵ The transcriptions of embodied conduct and gaze include the timing and different phases of embodied action: preparation, apex, and retraction of actions in relation to the timeline of surrounding talk and action (Mondada, 2019).

For this study, the data episodes where the children summon the adults in the data have been transcribed in detail. Here, an "episode" represents a child performing their interactional project – that is, the overarching plan of action they are pursuing – from its beginning to the end (on the term "project," see Levinson, 2013; see also Section 3.2.3). In other words, an episode includes the very first moves that a child takes when beginning to engage in interaction with an adult and lasts until the child has carried out their project or when the child abandons it. In these episodes, the child may summon the adult once or multiple times. Thus, instead of analysing and transcribing (single) summonses and their responses, in every episode, any possible turn belonging to the child's project before the summons action has been transcribed, as well as the summons action and what happens after. This has often yielded long transcripts, which means that mostly shorter versions of the transcripts are presented in this summary.

The transcripts have been made by the author in Microsoft Word with the help of ELAN software. ELAN has been used for viewing the video data frame-by-frame, for determining the exact timings of talk and embodied action and measuring the exact lengths of pauses and gaps. For the transcripts, the participants' names and any other identifying information have been changed. Pictures gleaned from

⁵ Detailed transcription conventions are provided in the Appendix.

the recordings are provided as anonymised line drawings, drawn by the author. Excerpt 1 provides an example of the written transcripts and drawings.

Excerpt 1. Kindergarten data: Swear word

17 **BLA:** **EI VAAN MÄ SANOIN** (0.3) **ö- et* +mun Ääitiä °swear wordiksi.°**
 no but I said eh that my mother is that swear word
 rem -->*turns towards the table-->
 reg +Blake-->
 fig Δfig1

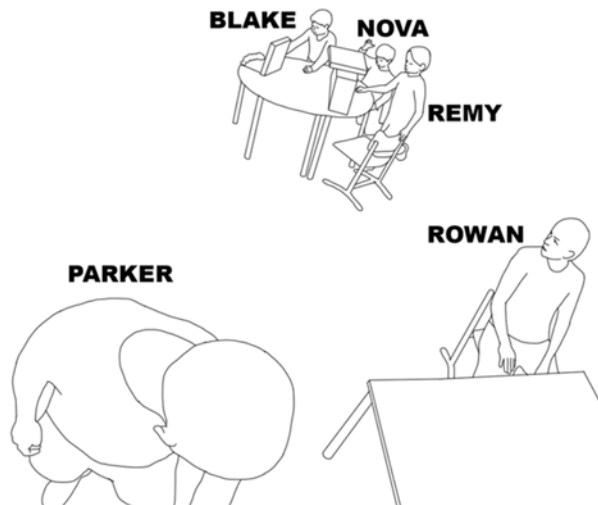


Fig. 1. The participants' positions in the setting.

As demonstrated in Excerpt 1, the speaker is marked on the left-hand side of the transcript with the first three letters of their pseudonym, written in capitals. For example, in Excerpt 1, Blake has been abbreviated as “BLA.” The same abbreviations, in lower-case letters (for Remy, “rem”), are used for describing a participant’s embodied action. However, for representing a participant’s gaze, the first two letters of the pseudonym are used, in lower-case letters, after which the letter “g” is added to the end. In other words, in Excerpt 1, Remy’s gaze direction is marked with “reg”. Lastly, in the transcripts, the lines with the original talk are bolded, as seen in line 17 in Excerpt 1, whereas the lines with embodied action or gaze are not. In cases where the talk is not in English, an English translation is provided right below the original talk.

3 Conversation Analysis

In this dissertation, children's summonses are analysed with the help of Conversation Analysis (henceforth CA), which is introduced in this section. Section 3.1 discusses the origins of CA, after which Section 3.2 presents its basic principles and concepts relevant to this study. Lastly, Section 3.3 outlines how interactions in multiparty and multiactivity settings have previously been studied using the CA method.

CA is a qualitative and inductive method (Sidnell & Stivers, 2013) that utilises audio and video data for studying how social interaction is produced and organised in real-time, in naturally occurring settings through talk and embodied action (for an overview, see, e.g., Heritage, 1984; Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998; Schegloff, 2007; Sidnell & Stivers, 2013; Stevanovic & Lindholm, 2016; Tainio, 1997). CA has shown that talk and social interaction are orderly and sequentially organised: each turn displays how the speaker has understood the previous turn (Heritage, 1984; Sacks, 1987 [1973]; Schegloff, 2007; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973), and how the turn makes a particular type of next action relevant or expected (Schegloff, 2007; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973).

One of the goals of CA research is to reveal the underlying structures of social actions and activities that interactants carry out (Sidnell & Stivers, 2013). This dissertation examines how interaction unfolds spontaneously moment by moment between children and their caregivers. The focus is on recurring, fine-grained vocal and embodied practices that children employ when they summon adults in mundane face-to-face interactions. For this study, CA provides both an analytic method and a body of research that shows how speakers orient to order at all points, and how the order in talk is accomplished by participants. Additionally, CA provides a tool for examining how summonses unfold moment by moment, and how different intonational, verbal, and embodied resources come together in the children's design of the summons. That is why CA is the most suitable method for carrying out this research.

3.1 The origins of CA

CA has its origins in sociology, in the works of two sociologists, Erving Goffman and Harold Garfinkel. In the 1950s, as a pioneer, Goffman began to steer the attention of sociology to the study of social interaction and how people interact with each other in everyday life. In his paper *On face work* (1955), Goffman wrote:

In any society, whenever the physical possibility of spoken interaction arises, it seems that a system of practices, conventions, and procedural rules comes into play which functions as a means of guiding and organizing the flow of messages. (pp. 33–34).

Goffman asserted that social interaction was systematic and structured and that it constituted a social institution. He called this the "interaction order" (Goffman, 1955, 1963, 1983). The orderliness of interaction and language-in-use, however, could not be explained and understood merely with linguistic terms (Goffman, 1981). Thus, there was a need to study social interactions systematically through microanalysis (Goffman, 1983). In his early research, Goffman focused on people's presence in shared spaces and their engagement in social situations (Goffman, 1957, 1963). Many of Goffman's theories are still central to current CA, as well as for this dissertation. Those concepts will be elaborated on in Section 3.3.1.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, Harold Garfinkel began to develop a strand of sociology called *ethnomethodology*. His work was influenced by phenomenological philosophers Alfred Schütz and Edmund Husserl, who had earlier studied matters such as intersubjectivity (Husserl, 2012 [1931]; Schütz, 1982), as well as the sociologist Talcott Parsons, who had supervised Garfinkel's PhD. In his book, *The Structure of Social Action* (1937), Parsons established the "action theory," and, among other things, claimed that social order was a result of internalised norms. Garfinkel challenged his theories, for example, by emphasising that in his view, social order was not something that was "imposed" from above, but instead, something that was created and maintained by people as a result of their practical reasoning in interaction in any given situation (Heritage, 1984). As a reaction to Parsons' theories, and drawing on phenomenology, Garfinkel developed ethnomethodology, a field of sociology that studies how members of a society employ different practices and procedures to make sense of and carry out actions in their everyday lives (Garfinkel, 1984). Ethnomethodology is not considered a method per se. Instead, it relies on various qualitative tools (such as CA and ethnographic observations) to make sense of how participants order and constitute their everyday lives.

The work of Goffman and Garfinkel brought forward the need to study the orderliness of everyday social interactions, which inspired sociologist Harvey Sacks, who suggested that the common-sense procedures for establishing intersubjectivity could be studied empirically through the analysis of recordings of interaction (Heritage, 1984). In his lectures in the 1960s, Sacks introduced an

approach to study social (inter)action in everyday talk (Sacks, 1995). This was novel at the time since Chomsky's (1957, 1965) view of speaking as unstructured and random was dominant. In the late 1960s, Sacks worked together with his colleagues Emanuel A. Schegloff and Gail Jefferson to develop CA, a research method independent from mainstream sociology to study the organisation of talk-in-interaction (Lerner, 2004). They emphasised the need for the systematic analysis of talk-in-interaction as it unfolds moment by moment (Schegloff et al., 1973; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). CA draws on ethnomethodology's foundational assumption that everyday life and social order are created and maintained in social interaction through various common-sense procedures (Garfinkel, 1984). Building on this, CA became an empirical research method that is utilised for studying how speakers orient to and accomplish the orderliness of social action and talk-in-interaction, and how interaction is established with understandable courses of action at a micro-analytical level (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998; Liddicoat, 2007).

In its early days, CA research focused on audio-recorded talk (mostly telephone conversations) to study the systematics of turn-taking as well as sequence and repair organisation (Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff et al., 1977; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). The focus on audio-recorded talk allowed the development of CA into a rigorous, methodical tool for analysing the organisation of talk-in-interaction (Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). As technology advanced, researchers such as Charles Goodwin (1980, 1981), Marjorie Goodwin (1980) and Christian Heath (1982, 1986) began to collect video data to study how embodied action and gaze affect the accomplishment of social interaction, and to display the *situated* accountability of actions (see Arminen, 2006). This made possible the development of different analytic "turns": the embodied turn (Nevile, 2015), visual turn (Mondada, 2013), and material turn (Nevile et al., 2014). As video-recording technologies have advanced, researchers have been able to collect rich, multimodal data in complex (Haddington et al., 2023b) and mobile environments (see Haddington, et al., 2013), which has broadened the array of research interests in CA (see also Haddington et al., 2023a). Advancing technologies have also, over the years, contributed to the development of *multimodal CA*, which focuses on studying the multimodal affordances (Gibson, 1979) and resources for producing and understanding social actions, and establishing of shared understandings (e.g., Haddington et al., 2013; Mondada, 2007, 2014a; Mondada, et al., 2021; Nevile, 2009; Stivers & Sidnell, 2005; Streeck et al., 2011). Today, the method of CA is used in various disciplines, such as sociology, linguistics, and psychology, to study

the construction of social action in a wide array of contexts among varying participants, all the way from ordinary phone calls to human-computer interactions.

3.2 Basic principles and concepts of CA

In CA, a focus of analysis is on how *intersubjectivity*, that is, the “joint understanding and sharing of experience between humans” (Sorjonen et al., 2021, p. 1; see also Enfield & Sidnell, 2022; Linell, 2017), is achieved and maintained by speakers. While intersubjectivity is a prerequisite for social conduct (e.g., Enfield & Sidnell, 2022), it is also established and maintained in interaction. With the organisation and design of social action, people create shared understanding in the context in which the interaction takes place (Enfield & Sidnell, 2022; Sorjonen et al., 2021). Intersubjectivity is a central concept for this study, since this research focuses on an action that children employ to establish intersubjectivity and joint attention with adults: the summons.

3.2.1 Turn-taking

One of the most prominent features of the organisation of talk-in-interaction, and one of the practices for the establishment of intersubjectivity is *turn-taking*. Turn-taking refers to the organisation of utterances where one party talks after another, which then builds stretches of turn-at-talk, in other words, conversations (Sacks, 2004; Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff, 2007). Turn-taking in mundane conversations is “locally controlled” and “party-administered” (Sacks et al., 1974). This means that a turn locally organises only the next turn, but not ones after that, and that participants in a conversation manage by themselves who talks next by either selecting the next speaker or by self-selecting (Sacks et al., 1974). As illustrated later, in this study, the summons action is a practice for children to select the next speaker in interaction. Thus, summonses are a central part of turn-taking organisation in interactions between children and adults. Additionally, turn-taking is organised so that it minimises long gaps and overlapping talk (Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff, 2007). However, there are exceptions to this, as gaps and occasional overlaps in talk are common and can be understood by the participants as serving certain interactional functions (see also Vatanen, 2018). For example, some actions, such as laughter in multiparty settings, are commonly produced in overlap, rather than having each participant laugh separately (Lerner, 2002; Liddicoat, 2007;

Sidnell, 2010a; see Jefferson et al., 1987). Nevertheless, one party talking at a time holds for most of talk-in-interaction (Sidnell, 2010a).

A turn is composed of *turn constructional units* (henceforth TCU). A TCU can be composed of a sentence, clause, or a single word that holds a coherent meaning and is recognised as “complete” by speakers syntactically, prosodically, and pragmatically (Ford et al., 1996; Ford & Thompson, 1996; Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff, 1996a). Non-lexical vocalisations and certain embodied actions, such as the redirection of gaze, can also function as TCUs (Keevallik, 2014; see also C. Goodwin, 1981). A TCU is context-sensitive: what is considered a TCU is dependent on the context in which it occurs (Schegloff, 1996a). However, regardless of the TCU’s form, it must always carry out some social action (Sacks et al., 1974). A single turn, then, can constitute one TCU or multiple TCUs; thus, a turn can be as short as a non-lexical vocalisation or be comprised of multiple sentences. A single TCU can also be spread across multiple turns, and it can even be performed by more than one participant. This may be the case, for example, when a recipient projects a continuation for the speaker’s TCU and completes it on their behalf. (Lerner, 1991, 1996; Sacks, 1995: 144; see also Schegloff, 1996a.) Later, Section 5.1.2 demonstrates how the children’s summonses to adults are at times comprised of an address term and another social action in the same or subsequent TCU. In other words, it is shown that the children’s summons turns can constitute of one or more TCUs.

The first possible completion point of a TCU is a possible place for turn transition; i.e., it is a *transition relevance place* (TRP; Sacks et al., 1974; Ford et al., 1996; Ford & Thompson, 1996; Schegloff, 1996a). These are places where speakership can change, but this does not mean that it always does. Rather, TRPs offer places where taking a turn can be seen as a “legitimate action” (Liddicoat, 2007). Recipients orient to TRPs and monitor them to take a turn in a conversation. Their orientation towards TRPs can be seen, for example, in certain types of overlapping turns, such as when several incipient speakers begin their turn at the same time at a TRP, or when an incipient speaker anticipates a TRP and begins their turn in slight overlap with the ongoing turn. (Ford et al., 1996; Ford & Thompson, 1996; Jefferson, 1983, 2004b; Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff, 1996a, 2000, 2002 [1970].) Article I and Section 5.1.1 focus on the positions of the children’s summons turns and display how children at times summon the adults at TRPs or at non-TRPs of other ongoing conversations.

3.2.2 Sequence organisation

Earlier CA research has shown that social interaction is sequentially organised and that a social action builds on the meaning of the action that precedes it (Heritage, 1984) and makes relevant or expected a certain next action (Schegloff, 2007). This is called *sequence organisation*. A sequence is defined as “a course of action implemented through talk” (Schegloff, 2007, p. 9). Sequences are composed of *adjacency pairs* (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973), which are basic units in the organisation of turns. An example of an adjacency pair that is studied in this dissertation is the summons-response pair, where a speaker’s first pair part (FPP; here, a summons) projects and makes a particular type of a second pair part (SPP; here, a response) *conditionally relevant* and expected from the recipient (Sacks, 1995; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973, p. 295–299; Schegloff, 1968, 2007). Participants may respond to the FPPs either with their type-fitted responses, or react to them with other types of actions, such as requests for clarification, and counters (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998; Levinson, 2013; Schegloff, 2007). At moments when the SPP to a FPP is missing, the lack of this relevant next action can be treated as accountable by co-participants (Heritage, 1984; Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998; Schegloff, 1968, 2007). This can be seen when a speaker repeats their initial FPP or clarifies it. Article II demonstrates how children repeat their summonses to adults at moments when the adults have not responded to the children’s initial summonses. Thus, adjacency pairs have a fundamental significance for the study of talk-in-interaction: they display how mutual understanding and intersubjectivity are displayed and established in talk (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998). Participants’ SPPs to FPPs provide analysts a source of evidence for how a co-participant has understood the preceding talk and social actions produced by a speaker. This analytic resource of CA is referred to as *next turn proof procedure* (e.g., Sacks et al., 1974, p. 729).

An adjacency pair forms a sequence that in its most basic form involves two turns: a FPP and a SPP. However, sequences in conversations are often more complex. Much of this complexity is brought by *expansions*. An adjacency pair can be expanded before its FPP (a pre-expansion), between the FPP and SPPs (an insert expansion), or after the SPP (a post-expansion). (Levinson, 1983; Schegloff, 1988, 2007; Sidnell, 2010a; Stivers, 2013.) Figure 2 demonstrates the different expansions in a made-up example.

Pre-expansion — { 01 A: what are you doing.
 02 B: not much.
First pair part — 03 **A: do you want to watch a film?**
 Insert expansion — { 04 B: *you mean now?*
 05 A: *yeah.*
Second pair part — 06 **B: sure.**
 Post-expansion — 07 A: alright cool.

Fig. 2. A demonstration of pre-, insert and post-expansions in relation to the FPP and SPP of the base sequence.

This dissertation focuses on the summons-response adjacency pair, which typically functions as a *pre-expansion* (e.g., A: Daddy? B: Yeah) that precedes and projects a *base sequence*, such as a question-answer adjacency pair (A: When will we go to a hotel? B: In June). Summonses and the responses that follow them have been called “generic pre-sequences” or “generalised pres” since they do not project any particular types of sequences (Schegloff, 1979, p. 49, 2007, p. 48) but are used for checking the recipient’s availability for further interaction. When the speaker only attempts to get the recipient’s attention and does not continue further interaction after that, the summons-answer sequence can also function as a base sequence on its own (in child-adult interaction, see Filipi, 2009, p. 128). More on summons-response sequences will be presented in Section 4.1.

3.2.3 Social actions, activities, projects, and tasks

Speakers’ turns accomplish certain *social actions*. As Schegloff (1996b, p. 5) writes: “talk is constructed and is attended by its recipients for the action or actions that it may be doing.” Action refers to the ‘main job’ that a “response must deal with in order to count as an adequate next turn” (Levinson, 2013, p. 107). With their turn design (i.e., how speakers construct a turn-at-talk, Drew, 2013) and turn location (Stivers, 2013), speakers produce actions (*action formation*, Levinson, 2013; Schegloff, 2007; see also Sacks, 1995) that are interpreted as particular actions by their co-participants (*action ascription*, Levinson, 2013). An example of an action is a question that a speaker uses for acquiring information from their recipient. A turn performs at least one action, but it can also carry out multiple actions at the same time (Levinson, 2013). A single action may also embody more than one action, in the form of a *composite social action* (Rossi, 2018). These terms are relevant for

Article III that analyses moments when children produce a composite social action of an informing/request to perform a telling-on action.

For accomplishing social actions, speakers employ various *practices*, that is, “turn-constructional devices” (Schegloff, 1997, p. 505). Heritage (2011) defines a practice as:

any feature of the design of a turn in a sequence that (i) has a distinctive character, (ii) has specific locations within a turn or sequence, and (iii) is distinctive in its consequences for the nature or the meaning of the action that the turn implements. (p. 212).

This study focuses on the vocal and embodied practices that children employ in their summonses to adults (see Section 5.1). These include, for example, prosodic features of the summons turns as well as embodied actions that children implement to accomplish the summons action (see also Levinson, 2013, p. 129). Additionally, it is worth noting that the summons action may also function as a practice for carrying out other things, such as establishing joint attention, or pursuing responses from others.

Actions as well as the practices that speakers implement to accomplish actions are influenced by different features of social interaction. One of these is the speaker’s overall *project* – that is, the overarching plan of action that the speaker is pursuing. A speaker’s overall project may affect the action formation, the recipient’s action ascription, as well as the responses that the recipients produce to the preceding actions. (Levinson, 2013, p. 119–122.) An example of a project visible in the current data is getting help from an adult (see Articles I–III of this dissertation). Furthermore, CA researchers are increasingly talking about *activities*. An activity is a broader pursuit, but not necessarily goal-oriented (cf. a task), that a speaker is involved in, and that requires the participant’s attention (Haddington et al., 2014, p. 11). For example, talking (e.g., Wooffitt, 2001) or playing can be regarded as activities (on the distinction between a sequence and an activity, see Heritage & Sorjonen, 1994, p. 4–5). In the current data, different kinds of talk that emerge in interactions with children can be referred to as activities. However, activities may not always involve talk, as, for example, a game of football can also be considered an activity (Levinson, 1979, p. 70). In contrast, there are *tasks* that are regarded as goal-oriented activities. Tasks have identifiable beginnings and ends, and they might involve undergoing a certain procedure to be completed. Tasks differ from actions, activities, and projects in that they are not necessarily interactional per se, and they can be distributed and delegated to other people.

(Haddington et al., 2014, p. 11). An example of a task that occurs in the data of this study is taking off the children’s outdoor clothes or undoing their shoelaces. Figure 3 below aims to clarify the differences between the terminology.

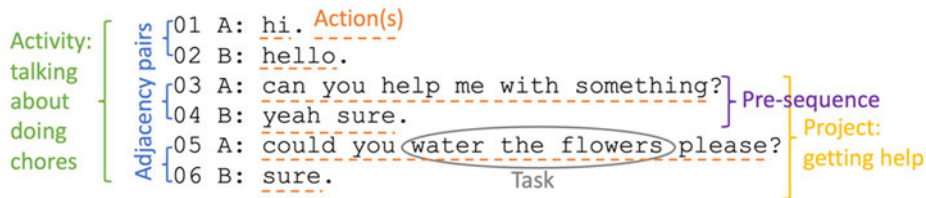


Fig. 3. A made-up example that displays the differences between an action, activity, task, and project, and illustrates adjacency pairs and pre-sequences.

This section has covered the basic principles and concepts of CA, such as turn-taking, sequence organisation, and social actions, which are all central to the analyses of children’s summonses and adults’ responses to them. As the analyses in Articles I–III and in Section 5 illustrate, many of the children’s summonses occur in multiparty and multiactivity contexts. Thus, Section 3.3 below discusses earlier CA research on interactions in multiparty and multiactivity settings.

3.3 Participation and interactions in multiparty and multiactivity settings

The analyses in Articles I–III focus on how children attempt to establish joint attention with adults using the social action of summons. In all of the articles, the presented summons episodes occur in settings where there are more than two participants. Additionally, in many of the analysed summons episodes, the children’s summonses establish multiactivity situations for the adults. In these situations, the adults need to organise two or more simultaneously occurring activities (see Haddington et al., 2014). The multiactivity and multiparty settings add interactional complexity (see Haddington, et al., 2023b), and affect the organisation of the children’s summons action. In view of this, this section outlines earlier CA research first on participation frameworks and multiparty interactions, after which relevant studies on multiactivity are discussed.

3.3.1 *Multiparty interactions*

Articles I–III display analyses on episodes where children summon adults and attempt to initiate further interactions with them in multiparty contexts. In all three articles, the analyses focus on children’s vocal and embodied practices they accomplish for engaging with adults. With these practices, children actively establish and sustain participation frameworks (Goffman, 1981; C. Goodwin, 2000; C. Goodwin & M. H. Goodwin, 1990, 2004). Originally, Goffman (1981) used the term *participation framework* for describing the different roles that participants may have in interactional situations. He illustrated how participants employ various roles, both as speakers and as hearers. Hearers he categorised into ratified and unratified participants, addressed and unaddressed hearers, as well as into bystanders and eavesdroppers. Goffman (1981) also illustrated how speakers may possess a variety of roles. He referred to the person producing the talk as an “animator”, whereas an “author” is responsible for constructing the talk produced by the animator, and a “principal” is the person that is socially responsible for the talk. Additionally, a “figure” represents a character in the talk produced by the animator. (Goffman, 1981; see also C. Goodwin & M. H. Goodwin, 2004.) In addition to the various roles of participants, Goffman (1963) described the presence of participants in a shared space. He described how participants in a social situation are either organised in *encounters*, in other words, in focused interactions, or *gatherings*, that is, positioned in a shared space without having a joint focus of attention. (Goffman, 1963.) This phenomenon is also visible in Articles I–III, in which children transform gatherings into encounters when summoning adults to engage in interaction with them.

Later, Charles and Marjorie Goodwin (2004) developed the concept of participation framework further by examining the practices participants accomplish for constructing the participation of themselves and others in any given context. They use the terms “participation” and “participation framework” to describe the social actions that illustrate “forms of involvement performed by parties within evolving structures of talk” (C. Goodwin & M. H. Goodwin, 2004, p. 222). They noted that, for example, with their *recipient design* (C. Goodwin, 1981), speakers regulate which participants have access to the topic that is under discussion (C. Goodwin & M. H. Goodwin, 2004). Later, especially Mondada (2013) has studied the multimodal aspects of participation and described participation frameworks “as interactional spaces achieved through mutual gaze, common foci of attention, reciprocal body orientations, disposition of the bodies within the environment and

alignment within the same activity” (ibid., p. 258). In child-adult interactions, children’s vocal and embodied summonses have the potential to change the interactional ecology and thus lead to transformations in participation frameworks, as illustrated specifically in Article III.

Earlier research on multiparty interactions has shown that participation frameworks vary by their size and composition and that the number of participants affects the conduct and understanding of the participants’ actions (Schegloff, 1995). However, Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974, p. 712) point out that the turn-taking system does not limit the number of participants that can take part in a conversation but favours fewer participants. Similarly, Stivers (2021) argued that conversational structures favour dyads since maintaining multiparty participation frameworks requires more interactional work from the participants than the sustaining of dyads. This phenomenon can also be seen in the current study. Articles I–III illustrate that when the children summon the adults at moments when the adults are already conversing with someone else, the children rely on specific interactional practices to attract the adults’ attention. These practices refer to different vocal and embodied attention-drawing practices that the children employ in their summons turns (see Section 5), and also accomplish for selecting the adults as next speakers (see also Londen, 1997; Sacks et al., 1974). Regardless of the employment of these practices, the adults do not always respond to the children’s summonses, or they may provide blocking responses to them (see Section 5.3). In contrast, as Article I demonstrates, in situations where there are no ongoing conversations or participants other than the child and the adult, the adult responds to the child’s summons(es) more often, without the child needing to pursue a response per se.

3.3.2 *Multiactivity*

The concept of interactional *multiactivity* is closely related to multiparty interactions in the analyses of this study. Multiactivity is a “pervasive feature of contemporary life” (Mondada, 2014b, p. 33) and it refers to the coordination and progression of two or more simultaneously co-relevant activities through talk and embodied action (e.g., Haddington et al., 2014; Mondada, 2011, 2012). In many of the excerpts analysed for Articles I–III, adults are already talking to someone else when the child summons them. Thus, in these situations the child’s summons turn establishes a potential multiactivity situation for the adult, where the adult needs to

manage the parallel conversations as they see fit (Haddington et al., 2014; see also Butler & Wilkinson, 2013; Cekaite, 2010; Good, 2009; Keel, 2016, p. 81).

In multiactivity situations, participants may organise simultaneous courses of activities temporally either simultaneously or successively (Mondada, 2011, p. 225, 2014b). In other words, participants either choose to carry out the activities in a parallel order or, when carrying out multiple activities simultaneously is not possible or desired, the activities are carried out successively one after another. How participants organise multiple activities depends, for example, on the verbal and multimodal resources that different activities require. Some activities require the use of verbal resources (such as talking), whereas other activities demand embodied resources to be carried out (such as manual labour; Mondada, 2014b). According to Raymond & Lerner (2014, p. 231), it is possible for participants to carry out multiple activities in parallel if the activities do not require the simultaneous use of the same verbal or embodied resources. In contrast, if the parallel activities call upon the simultaneous use of the same verbal or embodied resources, participants may have to either suspend or abandon one of the activities (see e.g., Keisanen et al., 2014; Licoppe & Turner, 2014; Vatanen & Haddington, 2023), or interferences in talk or embodied action may occur when attempting to carry out the activities simultaneously (see e.g., Mondada, 2014b; Ticca, 2014). People manage and coordinate multiple activities temporally and sequentially through verbal and embodied action, for example, by telling other people to wait before their needs can be attended (Vatanen & Haddington, 2023), or by making the hierarchisation of the activities visible with their embodied actions (Kamunen, 2020). The analyses of Articles I–III add to the earlier literature by demonstrating how adults' organisation of multiple activities can be seen in their responses to children's summonses (see Section 5.3).

If participants are unable to carry out multiple activities simultaneously, one of the activities is typically suspended, so that the other activities can be progressed instead (Keisanen et al., 2014, p. 118). When people suspend activities, they first prioritise one activity over another based on which of the activities require immediate attention and carry out the less urgent activity in succession (Deppermann, 2014; Keisanen et al., 2014; Mondada, 2014b; Raymond & Lerner, 2014; Sutinen, 2014). As this study demonstrates, prioritisation and thus suspension of activities is something that adults in families and kindergartens often need to do at moments when children's summonses establish multiactivity situations for them (Vatanen & Haddington, 2023; see also Kamunen, 2020). The current study also shows how the adults may avoid partaking in multiactivity situations altogether

until they have first completed earlier activities and/or conversations that they have been involved in (see Section 5.3). This is achieved through their blocking responses to the children's summonses.

In relation to suspending activities, Sutinen (2014) has introduced the concept of establishing "favourable conditions" for describing how participants, with reorienting their bodies or gaze, initiate conditions that make the resumption of a suspended activity possible (for the use of gaze when organising multiactivity, see also Kamunen, 2020; Pasquandrea, 2011). Participants' need to manage multiactivity by the establishment of favourable conditions for interaction is a phenomenon that features in the everyday life in families with young children, as shown in Article II. Article II shows how children employ embodied means such as reorienting their body and gaze for creating conditions where an adult could respond to their summons. According to Sutinen (2014), creating 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" (ibid., p. 137). Similarly, Article II shows that the children interpret the conditions to be already favourable for interaction when "(1) the recipient is not visibly oriented towards other activities, and/or (2) the recipient is physically oriented towards them" (Article II, p. 20). In other words, when the adults are involved in multiactivity, the children may interpret the conditions for interaction not to be favourable and do specific interactional work (e.g., move closer to the adults) to create conditions where the adults would be able to interact. However, interaction and multiactivity can take place in various types of settings, and thus the above-mentioned points are not preconditions for reaching favourable conditions for interaction. Instead, it could be said that when a recipient responds to a speaker's initiation of interaction, the conditions for further interaction are favourable enough.

4 Earlier research

This section provides an outline of earlier research related to the themes of this dissertation. This study focuses on how children establish joint attention (see also Filipi, 2009; Kidwell & Zimmerman, 2007) with adults with the help of summonses. Summonses are a social action that participants employ especially in conversational openings. In view of this, Section 4.1 covers earlier research on summons-response sequences in conversational openings. Moreover, this study focuses on children's interactions with adults. Hence, Section 4.2 outlines prior studies on child-adult interactions; Section 4.2.1 discusses research on how children initiate interaction with adults and their peers, and Section 4.2.2 shows how adults' responses to children's summonses can be seen as socialising children into the norms of social interaction.

4.1 Summons-response sequences in conversational openings

Conversational openings are a vital element of interaction – without initiating interaction and establishing joint attention, interaction cannot take place. This study focuses on a social action that is a central resource for conversational openings: summonses. Additionally, the focus is on the responses that summonses receive, and how summonses, together with their responses, form summons-response sequences. Thus, it is important to introduce earlier studies on conversational openings (for a broader overview, see Pillet-Shore, 2018), and how summons-response sequences are related to them. In this section, the focus is mainly on interactions between adults; however, also relevant research on summonses in interactions between children and adults is referenced. In contrast, Section 4.2.1 illustrates how children initiate interactions in child-adult and child-child interactions.

A *summons* is a social action that a speaker employs for mobilising and securing their intended recipient's attention. Summonses may also be utilised at moments when the recipient's availability to interact can be questioned, for example, due to an earlier missing response, or because they are observably involved in another activity. (Nofsinger, 1975; Schegloff, 1968, 2007, p. 48–49.) A summons is also utilised for selecting the next speaker, and thereby it plays a key role in turn-taking organisation (Lerner, 2003; see also Sacks et al., 1974). Earlier research on summons-response sequences dates to the late 1960s, when Schegloff (1968, see also 1986, 2007) demonstrated how conversational openings are

systematically sequenced in telephone conversations. The following excerpt from Schegloff (2007) illustrates how a telephone call might begin and how (nonvocal) summonses and their responses are a part of a conversational opening.

Excerpt 2. Schegloff (2007, p. 22), adapted to the transcription conventions used in this dissertation.

```
01 ((telephone rings))
02 MAR: Hello:?
03 TON: Hi: Marsha?
04 MAR: Ye:ah.
05 TON: How are you.
06 MAR: Fi::ne.
```

Excerpt 2 shows how the telephone rings (line 1), after which Marsha (MAR) answers the phone with *Hello:?* (line 2). Here, the telephone ring and Marsha's answer to it form a *summons-answer pair* (Schegloff, 1968), where the telephone call *summons* Marsha's attention. Marsha *answering* the phone functions as a verbal response to the summons, which is why talking of a summons-answer pair was apt for Schegloff's research. However, as Lerner (2003) has later noted, summonses in other contexts than telephone conversations can also receive embodied responses, such as the redirection of gaze (see also Sorjonen, 2002). Since this dissertation focuses on summonses in face-to-face interactions, the term *response* is used hereafter. Moreover, in Excerpt 2, the summons and its response (answering the phone in line 2) together form a pre-expansion (as discussed in Section 3.2; Schegloff, 2007) that precedes the base sequence. In Excerpt 2, the summons-response pre-expansion is followed by the caller's greeting token *hi* and the question of the answerer's identity with an "interrogative address term" (Schegloff, 1979; line 3). In line 4, Marsha confirms her identity with *yeah* (line 4; Schegloff, 1968, 1986, 2007). After this, Tony's (TON) how-are-you inquiry initiates a new sequence (line 5). Marsha responds to Tony's inquiry with *Fi::ne.* (line 6). After the excerpt, the conversation between Tony and Marsha continues.

Excerpt 2 illustrates how a phone ringing and answering the phone form a summons-response sequence in telephone conversations. Since then, there has been more research on how participants respond to summonses produced by (mobile) phones (e.g., Arminen & Leinonen, 2006; DiDomenico et al., 2018; Haddington & Rauniomaa, 2011; Humphreys, 2005; Licoppe, 2010; Licoppe & Turner, 2014; Rauniomaa & Haddington, 2012). As Schegloff (1968, p. 1080) mentioned, summonses are "not a telephone specific occurrence." This means that summonses

also occur outside of telephone conversations and in other forms. Indeed, Schegloff (1968, 1986, 2002 [1970], 2007) noted that summonses may also be vocal, such as address terms, as demonstrated in Excerpt 3 (see also McCarthy & O’Keefe, 2003).

Excerpt 3. Schegloff (2007, p. 50), adapted to the transcription conventions used in this dissertation.

05 DON: **Hey Jerry?**
06 JER: ((looks to Don))

In Excerpt 3, Don (DON, line 5) summons Jerry (JER) with the combination of a hey-particle and an address term, to which Jerry responds by gazing at Don (line 6). Similarly, the data used in this study shows that most frequently children use address terms, such as kin terms, (e.g., *isi* ‘daddy’, *mummy*), or names of the participants (e.g., *Parker*) for summoning an adult. Earlier research has shown that when address terms are used for summoning, they are produced with a prosodic, attention-soliciting emphasis (e.g., Clayman, 2013). They may also be followed by a pause, which gives the recipient time to respond to the summons before subsequent talk (Clayman, 2013; Butler et al., 2011; Lerner, 2003). This way, address terms used for summonses are found to differ from other address terms used in turn-beginnings.

Moreover, in addition to address terms, prior studies have shown how summonses in adult-adult interactions may come in the form of courtesy phrases (e.g., *Excuse me*; Schegloff, 1968, 2007). Additionally, summonses can include non-vocal sounds (Keevallik & Ogden, 2020) such as knocking of the door (Kendon & Ferber, 1973), whistles (Couper-Kuhlen, 2020), clicks (Ogden, 2013) or lipsmacks (Wiggins & Keevallik, 2021; for non-vocal summonses in human-animal interactions, see Mondémé, 2023; Reber & Couper-Kuhlen, 2020). Non-vocal summonses are not a focus of this study; however, as illustrated in Article III, children’s summonses are at times preceded with hesitation markers that are pronounced with a schwa phoneme (such as *eh*), designed to attract the adults’ attention and to redirect their gaze (see also C. Goodwin, 1981). Furthermore, Pillet-Shore (2018) has described how participants may employ “warning summonses”, such as knocking on the door just before beginning to open it. In addition to audible summonses, physical contact can also be used for summoning an interlocutor (Schegloff, 2007, p. 49; see Section 5.1.4). It has also been suggested that ambulatory openings may function as “summons-like” actions (Hoey, 2023).

The sequentially relevant next action to a summons is a response from the recipient (e.g., Nofsinger, 1975; Sacks, 1995; Schegloff, 1968, 1979, 1986, 2007; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). A response to a summons may occur in the form of a go-ahead (e.g., *Yeah* or *What*), which creates a sequential expectation for the summoner to talk again (Levinson, 1983, p. 310; in adult-child interactions, see Wootton, 1981a, p. 143; see also Keel, 2016), or a blocking turn (e.g., *Just a moment*), which defers any further interaction (Schegloff, 2007, p. 51). Responses to summonses may also be embodied, which can be realised as gaze or posture shifts (Schegloff, 2007, p. 49). Recipients may also withhold their response altogether (Nofsinger, 1991, p. 54; Sikveland, 2019; in interactions between children and adults, see Cekaite, 2009; Gardner, 2015; Good & Beach, 2005; Kidwell, 2013), which participants may treat as socially problematic and noticeable (Sacks, 1995). Missing responses to summonses may occasion the speaker's repetition and vocal or multimodal modification (upgrading or downgrading) of their earlier summons (e.g., Filipi, 2009, p. 71–72; Sikveland, 2019; in child-adult interactions, see e.g., McTear, 1985). This can be seen in Article II, where the child repeats their summons turn several times as a practice for pursuing a response from the adult.

Together, summonses and their responses form a sequence which has been referred to as “nonterminal” (Schegloff, 1968) since “a completed SA [summons-answer] sequence cannot properly stand as the final exchange of a conversation.” (ibid., p. 1081). However, as Filipi (2009, p. 128) has illustrated in child-adult interactions, exceptions to this rule exist, for example, in situations where the speaker only checks if they have the recipient's attention and does not continue any further interaction after that. Article III displays similarly a deviant case where, as a part of a telling-on sequence, the child does not proceed to the base sequence after receiving a go-ahead to their summons from the adult.

4.2 Child-adult interactions

This study examines how children initiate interaction with adults using summonses, and how adults respond to the summonses in interactions between children and adults among family members and in kindergartens. As Articles I–III and Section 5 later illustrate, children summon adults to initiate interaction with them. In view of this, Section 4.2.1 outlines earlier research on children as participants and initiators of interaction and provides an overview on studies on children's summonses to adults. It also introduces research that has demonstrated how

children orient to conditional relevance and the reciprocity of (inter)action. After this, Section 4.2.2 discusses prior studies on how adults respond to children's initiations of interaction and how these responses can be seen to socialise children into the norms of interaction.

4.2.1 Children as initiators of interaction

Earlier research on interactions between children and adults in families and institutional settings is extensive. Regardless, many aspects are still understudied, such as how children summon adults and how adults respond to their summonses, which are the two focuses of this thesis. Research on how children draw adults' attention dates back to the late 1970s and 1980s, when research in developmental pragmatics focused on children's interactional competencies, some of which also studied children's attention-drawing and summons practices (e.g., Keenan, 1974; McTear, 1985; Ochs et al., 1979; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1979; Wellman & Lempers, 1977). Since then, research on children's language and linguistic competencies has grown, showing, for example, how even very young children orient to the establishment of joint attention with others, and how they employ various practices for initiating interaction with adults and their peers. These findings are elaborated on in this section.

In his well-known *Lectures on Conversation* (1995), Harvey Sacks argues that children's rights to talk are limited in comparison to adults. He suggests that in interactions between adults and children, children have limited rights "which consist of a right to begin, to make a first statement and not much more" (Sacks, 1995, p. 265). Due to these limited rights to talk, children need to pay special attention to the ways in which they draw adults' attention and initiate interaction with them in order to be able to pursue further conversation. One practice that children may employ is the use of open questions, such as 'You know what?', which make go-ahead responses, like 'What?', the relevant next turn from adults. Sacks also suggests that a child's telling of a trouble also serves as an efficient "ticket" for engaging in interaction with an adult, especially when the adult can be seen to be obliged to help the child (Sacks, 1995, p. 230, 263, 265; see also Nofsinger, 1975). Building on Sacks's initial observations, Butler and Wilkinson (2013) argue that children face difficulty when attempting *to engage* in interaction with adults. This is apparent when adults ignore or suspend children's bids for attention. At these moments, children need to mobilise adults' reciprocity with different vocal and embodied actions, regardless of the adults' possibly missing responses. (Butler

& Wilkinson, 2013.) Similarly, article II demonstrates how at the moments of the adults' missing responses, the children pursue responses from the adults with self-repeated summonses, and by using embodied actions to attempt to establish favourable conditions for the adults to respond.

It has been argued that children's potentially limited rights to engage in adult-dominated multiparty contexts could be because children may be regarded as "half" or "less-than-full members" in interaction compared to adults (e.g., Forrester, 2010, p. 46, 2017; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1979; Shakespeare, 1998; see also Hutchby & O'Reilly, 2010; O'Reilly et al., 2016; Schegloff, 1989). However, this view of children as "less-than-full members" in interaction has also been challenged, as children are seen as "knowledgeable and capable agents" (Bateman & Church, 2017a, p. 2) who are competent in producing social actions in their own right (e.g., the collections in Bateman & Church, 2017b; the collections in Burdelski & Evaldsson, 2019; the collections in Church & Bateman, 2022; the collections in Filipi, et al., 2022; Gunnarsdottir & Bateman, 2022; see also Bateman & Church, 2017c; Butler, 2008; Danby & Baker, 2000; Hutchby & Moran-Ellis, 1998; Kidwell, 2009). The findings of this study support both viewpoints: Articles I–III and Section 5 illustrate that in multiparty and multiactivity situations, the adults do not always respond to children's summonses. In these situations, the children rely on specific practices to engage in interaction with the adults. They may, for example, use a loud voice or touch the adults at moments when they do not respond to the children's summonses. In other words, the children at times engage in "special" interactional work to attract the attention and pursue responses from the adults. Additionally, the analyses illustrate how the children's summonses are reflexive and locally contingent actions that adapt to the interactional situations at hand. Thus, the children's (limited) rights to engage are not dependent only on any single factor but emerge in the interactional situation where the children attempt to engage in interaction with the adults (see also Butler & Wilkinson, 2013, p. 49; Filipi, 2013, p. 143).

Earlier research has shown that children perform an array of social actions to establish joint attention (Filipi, 2009; Kidwell & Zimmerman, 2007) with adults as well as with their peers. At the preverbal stage, children initiate interaction with crying, "proto words," and other sounds signalling distress, as well as with gestures, such as pointing (Filipi, 2009; Jones & Zimmerman, 2003; Keenan & Schieffelin, 1976). After learning how to talk, children verbally attempt to initiate interaction with greetings (e.g., Corsaro, 1979), summonses (see references mentioned later in this section), requests (e.g., Ervin-Tripp, 1981, 1982), directives (Pauletto et al.,

2017; Ogiermann, 2015; Wootton, 1981b, 1997), questions (e.g., Sidnell, 2010b), or with laughter (Filipi, 2009). Further, it has been shown how children (one-year-olds and older) may attempt to solicit their caregiver's affect by telling them about emotionally charged events. They do this in order to "gain the floor" as speakers (Miller & Sperry, 1988, p. 312; see also Liszkowski et al., 2004; Nguyen & Nguyen, 2017; Tomasello, 2019), or by invoking the responsibilities that adults have over them (Cekaite, 2009; see also Curl & Drew, 2008). Similarly, when attempting to engage in interaction with their peers, children may design their talk and social action as interesting or entertaining to successfully initiate and sustain interaction with them (Cathcart-Strong, 1986). Conversely, Article III and Section 5 below illustrate that in addition to the above-mentioned social actions, children may also establish joint attention with adults by telling on their peer's misbehaviour and when recruiting the adults' assistance with the matter (on recruitment of assistance, see, e.g., Filipi et al., 2023; Pfeiffer & Anna, 2021).

In addition to vocal means for initiating interaction, children have been found to use their bodies to join an already ongoing peer (play) activity (Corsaro, 1979) as well as to employ deictic or pointing gestures (Brown, 2012), redirection of their gaze (Heller, 2018; McTear, 1985; Wootton, 1997), facial expressions, such as smiles (Gunnarsdottir & Bateman, 2022; Engdahl, 2011), mobility (Morita, 2019; Cekaite, 2009; see also Keenan & Schieffelin, 1976), touch (e.g., tugging adults' clothes as in Pauletto et al., 2017; see also Gunnarsdottir & Bateman, 2022; Ekström & Cekaite, 2020; Keel 2015, 2016), or other movements of their body parts (such as lifting their hands) for engaging in interaction with others (Cekaite, 2009; Keenan & Schieffelin, 1976; McTear, 1985; Ochs et al., 1979; Pauletto et al., 2017). Furthermore, in the socio-material world, children may engage others in "showing sequences" (Tuncer et al., 2019) or label objects (Cathcart-Strong, 1986) as a practice for attaining others' attention (Kidwell & Zimmerman, 2007; Cekaite, 2009; see also Keisanen & Rauniomaa, 2019). Children may also use objects as bids to enter an already established peer activity (Bateman & Church, 2017c; Strid & Cekaite, 2022). In these situations, children may use the object as a prompt for initiating interaction, for example, when asking their peers questions about them (e.g., "Do you like apples?" Bateman & Church, 2017c). Furthermore, children may combine the above-mentioned vocal, verbal, embodied, and material ways when drawing others' attention and initiating interaction with them (Keel, 2016; McTear, 1985; Ochs et al., 1979; Wootton, 1997; see also Good, 2009), as also shown in this study (see Section 5).

The research described above displays the range of interactional practices that children are capable of performing when engaging in interaction with others. In this thesis, the focus is on a particular social action that children employ for engaging in interaction with others: summonses. Earlier research has shown that in principle, many of children's summonses are similar with the summonses that adults employ (see Section 4.1). After mastering talk, children vocally summon others with address terms (e.g., *Mummy*; Cekaite, 2009; Filipi, 2009; Gardner, 2015; Keenan & Schieffelin, 1976; Kidwell, 2013; McTear, 1985; Ochs et al., 1979; Wootton, 1981a), *hey* and *oh*-particles, and questions (e.g., *you know what*; Keenan & Schieffelin, 1976; McTear, 1985; Ochs et al., 1979; Sacks, 1972, 1995, p. 263–265)⁶. At moments of missing responses, children may repeat their summonses and modify them prosodically with volume shifts, as well as by stressing and stretching sounds to pursue responses from others (Kidwell, 2013). Additionally, children may employ embodied (e.g., tugging or poking others) or ambulatory summonses (Cekaite, 2009; Keel, 2015, 2016; Keenan & Schieffelin, 1976; McTear, 1985; Ochs et al., 1979). They may also utilise objects for attracting the attention of others (Cekaite, 2009, p. 43; see also Bateman & Church, 2017c; Kidwell & Zimmerman, 2007). In summons turns, these vocal and embodied summons practices may be combined (McTear, 1985, p. 80; Ochs et al., 1979; see also Good, 2009). Many of these summons practices are also visible in this study (see Section 5). This dissertation contributes to the earlier research on children's summonses by demonstrating how the children utilise varying verbal, phonetic, and multimodal practices for summoning the adults in different contexts. Additionally, the analyses show how the children build their summons episodes over an extended period of time. Moreover, the analyses of Article I add to the earlier research on children's summonses by illustrating how the children can position their summonses in different ways regarding other ongoing conversations (see Section 5.1.1).

Besides studying the children's practices for summoning per se, this thesis also examines how children's understandings of sequentiality and conditional relevance are displayed in the practices that they use in their summons actions. Earlier studies have shown that even before children learn to talk, they orient to the sequential organisation of interaction. Very young children (around 12 months) are able to produce and orient to (proto-)adjacency pairs, understand that FPPs make a

⁶ Filipi (2009) also considers *look* as a type of a summons. In this study, standalone *look/kato*-turns were considered as noticings, showings, and prompts (following the analysis in Siitonen et al., 2021) and thus they were not included in the collection of summons episodes analysed for this study.

particular type of SPP as relevant, and treat a missing SPP to a FPP as interactionally troublesome (Keel, 2016, p. 78; Wootton, 1997, p. 27–31). Furthermore, Keel (2016) has shown how two and three-year-old children orient to attaining adults' attention as an important first step to their assessment turn, and when the adults fail to provide a response to their turns, they treat the missing response as problematic and hold the adult responsible for not responding. Furthermore, already two-year-old children show an orientation towards the projectability of actions and sequences and expect a response from others but also understand when someone else is expecting a response from them (Walker, 2017; Wootton, 2010).

Additionally, even before fully mastering talk, children are able to observe other people's actions and understand what they might perceive, know, and intend to do (Kidwell, 2012; Lerner et al., 2011; Jones & Zimmerman, 2003). Already at the age of two, children can recognize the reason behind their intended recipient's unavailability for interaction and adjust their next actions to attract their attention and pursue responses from them. They may, for example, understand that the recipient's response is missing due to a problem in hearing or understanding, and depending on their interactional competencies, employ various vocal, embodied and material means for pursuing a response from the recipient (e.g., Cekaite 2009; Keel 2016; Keenan 1974; McTear 1985; Wootton 1997). In cases of missing responses, children pursue them vocally from others by repeating (Garvey & Berninger, 1981; Keel, 2016; Kidwell, 2013; Wellman & Lempers, 1977; see also Fasulo et al., 2021) and repairing (Keel, 2015, 2016; McTear, 1985) their earlier turns, as well as by prosodically modifying them, for example, by changing the pitch of their voice, elongating their utterance or a part of it, or by using a loud voice (Cekaite, 2009; Heath, 1983; Keel, 2016; McTear, 1985; Pauletto et al., 2017; on 3–6-year-old children with Down Syndrome see Fasulo et al., 2021; see also Cathcart-Strong, 1986). The practices that children employ at moments of missing responses illustrate how they orient to the sequential implicativeness of actions (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973) and conditional relevance (Filipi, 2009, p. 210–211; Keel, 2016, p. 78; McTear, 1985; Sacks, 1995, p. 98; Tarplee, 2010; Wootton, 2007, p. 181). The findings of Article II build on these studies and demonstrate how children's orientation to conditional relevance is displayed in their repeated summonses, and in their practices of establishing favourable conditions for further interaction (see Sections 5.1.2, 5.1.4 and 5.2).

4.2.2 Adults socialising children into the norms of social interaction

The previous section outlined earlier research on how children engage in interaction and pursue responses from others with a range of vocal and embodied practices. While the practices children employ to attract adults' attention are the main focus of this dissertation, it is also central to examine the responses that adults provide to the summonses. This is because in adult-child interactions, adults' responses, and the lack of them, function as feedback to children and thus help to shape the children's next actions, as well as aid their linguistic and interactional development (Filipi, 2013; Tarplee, 2010). This section outlines earlier research on the ways in which adults' responses socialise children into accomplishing social (inter)actions.

Earlier research on adult-child interactions has shown how at times, adults' responses to children function as socialising and scaffolding work that aids children's language learning and socialises them into the norms of social interaction (on the concept of "scaffolding", see, e.g., Wood et al, 1976; Shvarts & Bakker, 2019; on adult-child interactions, see, e.g., Filipi, 2017a, 2017b; Jidai et al., 2017; for scaffolding in CA research, see Koole & Elbers, 2014). Adults' repairs of children's talk and corrective feedback are important for the development of children's communicative skills (e.g., Burdelski, 2019; Filipi, 2009; Forrester, 2015; Tarplee, 1996). Adults may other-repair children's speech and in this way guide children to self-monitor and correct their own speech (e.g., Clarke, et al., 2017; Filipi, 2009; Forrester, 2008, 2015; Laakso & Soininen, 2010; Tarplee, 1996, 2010; Wootton, 1994; see also Schegloff et al., 1977). In addition to repair, adults may also repeat, reformulate and expand children's prior turns (see, e.g., Clark, 2014; Corrin, 2010; Delves & Stirling, 2010; Clark & Bernicot, 2008; Tarplee, 1996; Xavier & Walker, 2018). In this study, the adults' (blocking) responses to the children's summonses socialise children into the norms of turn taking and culturally appropriate behaviour (see Section 5.3.2 and Article I).

In addition to showing how adults shape children's speech and the production of social actions by utilising different scaffolding devices, conversation analytic research has analysed how adults socialise children into carrying out certain actions and behaving in a desired manner. Cekaite (2010) has illustrated how parents use directives and embodied actions to shepherd children to carry out certain tasks (such as taking a bath or brushing their teeth). She shows how parents socialise children into being aware of the embodied and dialogic features of social action and accountability (Cekaite, 2010). Similarly, Sterponi (2009) has shown that through the use of vicarious accounts, adults socialise children into joint norms and

standards. Likewise, several studies have shown how adults' stance taking and assessments are an important part of socialising children into language use and interaction (e.g., Bateman, 2020; Cekaite, 2012; Cook, 2012; Ochs, 2002; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). According to Keel (2016), parents' negative assessments of children's dispreferred actions prevent further disagreeable actions from taking place (see also M. H. Goodwin & Cekaite, 2018). Indeed, adults' assessments of children's actions are essential practices for communicating to children what kind of behaviour is expected from them, and what steps are required for completing certain actions (Tulbert & M. H. Goodwin, 2011; see also M. H. Goodwin, 2006). The adults' negative assessments of children's actions can also be seen in Article III and Section 5.3.1, when an adult tells a summoning child not to shout at that moment.

As has become evident, the focus of this study is on how children engage in interaction and establish joint attention with adults with the use of summonses. Further, this thesis examines how children's turns display their understandings of conditional relevance and sequentiality of interaction. The analyses also inspect how adults respond to children's summonses and consider how their responses socialise children into the norms of social interaction, for example, by telling the children when it is not an appropriate time to engage in interaction with them (see Section 5.3). In sum, Section 4 has provided an overview on earlier research on themes that are important to this study: summons-response sequences, how children initiate interaction, and how adults' responses socialise children into the norms of social interaction. Next, Section 5 presents the research results and shows how the findings of this study add to the understanding of children's summonses and adults' responses to them.

5 Results: Children's summonses to adults and the adults' responses to them

This study focuses on the summons-response adjacency pair in child-adult interactions among family members and in kindergartens. This section outlines the main findings of Articles I–III and provides answers to the research questions of this thesis. The section has been organised thematically so that each subsection answers one of the research questions.

Section 5.1 answers the following question: *how do children summon adults?* The section gives an overview of the different resources that children draw on to accomplish the summons action. Section 5.1.1 first illustrates how children position their summonses with regards to other possible ongoing conversations. After this, it analyses the children's summonses as *complex multimodal Gestalts* (Mondada, 2014a), and shows how they are composed of several different modalities that children employ to establish joint attention with the adults. These modalities include: the verbal design (Section 5.1.2), and phonetic parameters of the summons turns (Section 5.1.3), as well as the use of touch, embodiment, movement, and mobility in summonses (Section 5.1.4). By analysing the use of these different modalities in summonses, Section 5.1 illustrates how the children's summonses are reflexive in nature and adapt to the local contingencies in order to attract the adults' attention. Furthermore, Section 5.1.5 discusses how the context affects the interactional organisation of the children's summons action.

Section 5.2 answers the following question: *how are children's understandings of sequentiality and conditional relevance displayed in their summons practices?* First, the section discusses how the children's summons turns demonstrate their understandings of turn-taking and sequence organisation. After that, it shows how the children's orientation to conditional relevance is visible in their repeated summonses and in practices that they use to establish favourable conditions for further interaction.

Section 5.3 illustrates *how adults respond to children's summons turns*. It displays how the adults respond to the children's summonses when the children's summonses establish potential multiactivity situations for the adults (Section 5.3.1). The section also shows how the adults' responses to the children's summonses socialise children into the norms of social interaction.

Lastly, Section 5.4 brings together and demonstrates the findings in Sections 5.1–5.3 through the analysis of two excerpts (Sections 5.4.1 and 5.4.2). The analyses illustrate how children build their summons action as well as how the

children's summonses change the interactional ecology, and thus lead to transformations in the participation frameworks.

5.1 Children's summons practices

The main research question in this thesis is: how do children summon adults? This section illustrates how children's summons actions are multilayered "packages", complex multimodal Gestalts composed of different vocal, embodied, and material modalities. The four following sections illustrate in detail: how children position their summons turns (Section 5.1.1); how they verbally design their summons turns (Section 5.1.2); what the phonetic parameters of their summons turns are (Section 5.1.3); how children use touch, embodiment, and mobility in their summonses (Section 5.1.4); and lastly, how the physical context, in which children produce the summonses, affects the design of the summons turns (Section 5.1.5). The following sections showcase how children's summonses are reflexive in nature and adapt to the local contingencies and thus help children to attract the adults' attention and engage in interaction with them.

5.1.1 Position of the summons turns

The position of children's summons turns relative to other ongoing conversations and turns plays an essential role in whether adults provide a go-ahead to the children's summonses or not. In Article I, it is shown how the children may summon the adults in three different sequential positions: 1) when the adults are not talking to anyone at that moment, 2) at a TRP of another ongoing conversation, or 3) at a non-TRP, that is, in the clear or in overlap with someone else's turn in another ongoing conversation. If the children summons the adults when the adults are already having a conversation with someone else, the children's summonses establish potential multiactivity situations for the adults.

Article I focuses on the children's summonses to the adults who are driving a car. The article is based on 63 summons episodes, of which the majority, 43/63, occur when the summoned adult is not having a conversation with other passengers but is only driving the car. In some episodes, the adult is also involved in driving-related activities, such as navigating at the moment of the child's summons. Excerpt 4 is an example of a child's summons episode that occurs when an adult is not talking to anyone else. In other words, Excerpt 4 is an example of a "successful"

summons action, meaning that the adult responds to the summons with a go-ahead. Before Excerpt 4, there has been a discussion about the family's hectic departure.

Excerpt 4. Habitable Cars: I wish I had a friendly dog

```
01 MUM: pff::[::]  
-> 02 LUC: [.hh] mu:m?  
03      (0.6)  
04 MUM: yeah.
```

The mother (MUM) has just turned at a junction, after which she sighs (line 1). Her sigh can be understood as an activity transition (Hoey, 2014, p. 186–188) from the earlier talk to the current moment. Right after this, the child (Lucy, LUC, approximately 6 years old) summons the mother and selects her as the next speaker with a standalone address term *mum* (line 2). Lucy's turn is followed by an 0.6-second gap (line 3), after which the mother responds to the summons by providing a go-ahead response *yeah* (line 4).

In Articles I–III, the interactions typically occur in multiparty settings where one to four adults are simultaneously co-present with two or more children. This means that although not all participants talk all the time, parallel conversations occur. Thus, it is common for the children to summon the adults who are already talking to others. In other words, the children's summons turns establish potential multiactivity situations for the adults, where the adults need to organise the concurrent activities and prioritise one over others. In article I⁷, in 20/63 summons episodes the children summon the adults while the adults are already involved in a conversation. In 14 of these 20 episodes, the children summons the adults at TRPs in the middle of other ongoing conversations that the adults are having. Excerpt 5 is an example of an episode where a child (Iiro, IIR, 5 years old) summons his father (DAD) at a TRP of another ongoing conversation. Excerpt 5 is a fragment of a longer data episode, which is presented as a whole in Section 5.4.1. Before Excerpt 5, Iiro has asked his father when their family will go to a hotel, to which the father has not responded.

Excerpt 5. Talk&Drive: When will we go to a hotel

```
06 NIK: ja sil°la[i.°=.hh]h  
      and like that
```

⁷ In Articles II and III there are also episodes where children summon adults when the adult is engaged in another conversation. However, the position of the summonses was not the focus of those articles, and thus the exact number of data episodes where that happens is not specified here.

07 DAD: [joo::h.]
 yeah
 -> 08 IIR: i[:si::].
 daddy
 09 NIK: [>että< se niinkön, (1.0) ei se ↑nyt< (0.5)
 so that she like now she is not

In line 6, another adult passenger (Niklas, NIK) is talking. The end of line 6 projects a TRP to Niklas's telling. Lexically, this is evidenced by his use of a Finnish generalised list completer *ja sillai* 'and like that' (Jefferson, 1989). Prosodically, the TRP is projected by the falling final-pitch (Tiittula, 1985, p. 324) and lower volume (Ogden, 2004). The father orients to the end of line 6 as a TRP, illustrated by his response to Niklas *jooh* 'yeah' (line 7). Iiro orients to the end of line 6 as a TRP as well: in line 8, he summons his father with a standalone address term *isi* 'daddy'. The father does not respond to Iiro, and in line 9, Niklas continues his telling.

The children at times summon adults at non-TRPs of other conversations that the children are not already included in. In Article I, in 6/63 summons episodes the children summon the adults at non-TRPs of other conversations – that is, in overlap with someone else's turn. Excerpt 6 demonstrates how a child (Noel, NOE, approximately 3 years old) summons his mother (MUM) at a non-TRP in overlap with another child's (Emily, EMI) turn.

Excerpt 6. Habitable Cars: Top trumps

17 EMI: I've- I've [played that.]
 -> 18 NOE: [MUMMY::::?]
 19 MUM: SHH yes it (will.)

In Excerpt 6, Emily is telling the other passengers that she has played the card game Top Trumps (line 17). Noel also wants to say something about Top Trumps, which is why he summons his mother at a non-TRP in overlap with Emily's turn (line 18). In line 19, the mother responds to Noel's summons with a blocking response (Schegloff, 2007) by hushing him, after which she responds to Emily with *yes it (will.)*. Similar to Excerpt 5, in Excerpt 6, Noel's summons establishes a potential multiactivity situation for the mother, where she needs to organise the simultaneous, competing activities in a certain way. Here, the mother avoids the multiactivity situation by blocking Noel's turn so Emily can continue talking. After the excerpt, Noel gets to say what he has wanted to say.

In contrast to Excerpt 6, Excerpt 7 shows an example of a child (Aaro, AAR, 8 years old) summoning his father (DAD) in the clear at a non-TRP. In other words, Aaro's summons is produced during a pause of the father's ongoing telling.

Excerpt 7. Talk&Drive: Need to go to toilet

04 DAD: *muutenki* (0.4) *rahaa ihan mukavasti ni tuota,*
 anyway quite a nice amount of money so uhm
 05 (1.2)
 -> 06 AAR: *iskä.*
 daddy
 07 (0.3)
 08 DAD: *kuulin semmosen rahoituskanavan [niin tuota,]*
 I heard of this funding organization so uhm
 -> 09 AAR: [Iirolla]
 Iiro
 10 *on ves^osahätä.*
 needs to go to the toilet

In line 4, the father is telling another passenger about his work. The ending of his utterance in line 4 *ni tuota* 'so uhm' implies that the father is not yet finished with his telling (Etelmäki & Jaakola, 2009, p. 189) and that he is preparing for his next utterance. In addition to the design of the father's turn projecting turn continuation, the slightly rising intonation of his turn (Ogden & Routarinne, 2005; Routarinne, 2003) also indicate that he has not yet finished his turn, despite of the 1.2-second pause in line 5. In line 6, Aaro summons his father in the clear at the non-TRP with an address term *iskä* 'daddy'. In line 8, the father continues his telling to the other passenger, confirming the interpretation of the preceding pause as a non-TRP. However, Aaro ignores the absence of a go-ahead from the father and announces on Iiro's behalf, again at a non-TRP, that another child needs to go to toilet (lines 9–10). After this, the father responds to Aaro and the interaction between them proceeds.

As this section has shown, the children summon adults in three different positions of other ongoing conversations: 1) when there are no other conversations, 2) at a TRP of another conversation, or 3) at a non-TRP, that is, in the clear or in overlap with someone else's turn. How the children position their summons turns in relation to other sequences and turns displays their understandings of the organisation of talk-in-interaction (see Section 5.2). With their actions, the adults socialise children into the organisation of turn-taking (see Section 5.3).

As illustrated earlier, if the children summon the adults at TRPs or non-TRPs of other conversations, they establish potential multiactivity situations for the

adults. In other words, at moments of other co-existing conversations, responding to the children's summonses with go-aheads lead the adults into multiactivity situations. In these multiactivity situations, the adults need to organise the competing conversations as they see fit. Alternatively, in some situations, the adults either respond to the summons with a blocking response or withhold their response, thus avoiding the multiactivity situation altogether. Hence, the position of the children's summonses in relation to other conversations and activities affects the likelihood of whether the adults will respond to the children or not (see Section 5.3). When the children's summonses establish multiactivity situations for the adults, the adults are less likely to respond to the children with a (preferred) go-ahead response. In these situations, children often rely on specific interactional work to establish joint attention with the adult. This specific interactional work refers to the use of various vocal and embodied practices to engage with and pursue responses from the adults.

5.1.2 Verbal design of the summons turns

In Articles I–III, it has been noted that the children verbally design their summons actions in different ways. The children summon the adults with 1) address terms, 2) *hey/hei*-particles, and 3) fixed pre-expansion questions, such as *guess what*. In their summons turns, the children use one of these summons practices on their own, or combine them, for example, by putting together a *hey/hei*-particle with an address term. At times, they pair one or more of the above-mentioned summons practices with other social actions, such as questions, informings, or recruitments, in the same or subsequent TCU. With the verbal design of their summons turns, the children attempt to establish joint attention with the adults and mobilise their responses to different degrees (on mobilising responses, see Stivers & Rossano, 2010).

Articles I–III show that address terms are the most common practice for the children to summon the adults. Among family members, children typically summon the adults (their parents) with kin terms, such as *äiti*, *isi*, *mummy* and *daddy* (Excerpt 8). The summons in line 2 of Excerpt 8 is the first turn that a child (Wendy, WEN) produces to initiate interaction with her mother. The mother responds to her in line 3 with a go-ahead.

Excerpt 8. Habitable Cars: Ice lolly

-> 02 WEN: mu : : m?

03 MUM: yea:h?

In kindergartens, children summon their teachers/caregivers by addressing them by their names. This can be seen in Excerpt 9, when a child (Joy) summons the caregiver (Parker, PAR) after she heard another child curse (line 3). Parker responds to the summons in line 4.

Excerpt 9. Kindergarten data: So so so

01 ARO: I'M TIRED OF YOU SAID THAT WO:RD.
02 (0.9)
-> 03 JOY: PARKER,
04 PAR: yeah,

The children may also summon adults with *hey/hei*-particles, or combine these expressive particles with other summons practices, such as address terms. Excerpt 10 shows how a child (Max) summons their caregiver (Parker) twice in a kindergarten setting. First, Max summons Parker with an expressive particle *hey* (line 16), after which he summons her again, in overlap with another child's (Sky) turn with a combination of an expressive particle and address term: *hey Parker* (line 18). By using this combination, Max modifies the summons action by increasing Parker's response pressure. The turn in line 17 is produced by another child (Skylar, SKY), but the turn is not directed at Max. After the excerpt, Max tells on another child to Parker, to which Parker responds to.

Excerpt 10. Kindergarten data: This is not okay

-> 16 MAX: hey,
17 SKY: niitten [(lights on.)]
of those (lights on)
-> 18 MAX: [hey Parker.]

Sometimes, the children also summon adults with a fixed pre-expansion question *arvaa(pa) mitä* 'guess what' (see also Sacks, 1995; Schegloff, 2007) that makes a go-ahead response a relevant SPP. In the kindergarten data, this occurs a couple of times (see Excerpt 11). In contrast, there are no such examples in the family data analysed for this dissertation. In the beginning of Excerpt 11, two adults (Maikki, MAI and Raili, RAI) are both talking to a child that is not talking in Excerpt 11 (lines 19–21). Before the excerpt, a child (Krista, KRI) has been building with blocks and occasionally gazing at Maikki. In line 21, Krista gazes at Maikki briefly and in line 22, she produces a summons with a fixed pre-expansion question

arvaappa mitä ‘guess what’. Linguistically, the target of the summons is ambiguous, but Krista gazing at Maikki (line 23) gives the impression that the summons was possibly directed at her. In line 23, Maikki gazes at Krista, to which Krista orients to as a go-ahead. This can be seen in lines 24–25, when Krista begins to tell Maikki how challenging it is to build something with blocks.

Excerpt 11. Kindergarten data: Guess what

```

19 RAI: [vois↑ko ] se olla raketti vai onko
           could it be a rocket or is
20 MAI: [°niinkö.°]
           oh really
21 RAI: se ker*ros[ta*lo?]
           that a block of flats
           krg           *Maikki*another child-->
-> 22 KRI: [arvaa]ppa ↑mi°[tä:..°]
           guess what
23 RAI:                                     [pil*+venpi]irtäjä.*
           skyscraper
           krg                                     -->*Maikki-----*
           mag                                     +Krista-->>
24 KRI: n:i- nii mulla on (---) ni tä on- (0.7) tää on
           so so I have           so this is           this is
25      ihan hir*mu haastavia.
           like very challenging ((in plural))
           krg           *Maikki-->>

```

At times, the children summon the adults with a combination of an address term or an expressive particle *hey/hei* and another social action in the same turn. The data show that the other social action can be, for example, a question (Excerpt 12), a noticing (Excerpt 13), an informing (Excerpt 14), a threat (Excerpt 15), or a telling-on action (Excerpt 17) built as a factual declaration which functions as a composite social action of an informing and a request (Rossi, 2018; see also González-Martinez & Drew, 2021; Kendrick & Drew, 2016; on children’s recruitments of assistance, see Pfeiffer & Anna, 2021). In Excerpts 12–15, no mutual gaze was established between the child and the adult prior to the summons. In Excerpt 12, the child (Ella, ELL) has been attempting to join an already ongoing conversation that their mother is having with another passenger (Mia; line 34). Before the excerpt, Ella had attempted to summon the mother with a standalone address term but had not received a response from her. In line 35, Ella summons the mother and asks her a question in overlap with Mia’s turn. Ella receives a response from the mother in line 37 (see Article I for the whole excerpt).

Excerpt 12. Habitable Cars: Fat pony

34 MIA: and [so I'm used to riding horses that]
 -> 35 ELL: [mum. did ↑you ↓ride Billy.]
 36 MIA: are like [>they're< quite BRO]AD on the
 37 MUM: [I don't know.]

In Excerpt 13, the child (Daniel, DAN) summons and produces a noticing in the same turn. In the beginning of Excerpt 13, a caregiver (Raili, RAI) and a child (Pekka, PEK) are playing a game where they hit each other's pillows (lines 1–4). Another child (Daniel, DAN) is standing nearby, when he notices some video cameras used by the researcher to record data. In lines 5–6 and 10, Daniel produces summonses that combine an expressive particle *hei* with a noticing. In both of his turns, the expressive particle *hei* is produced with a creaky voice (see Section 5.1.3). At the same time, Daniel is running around Raili and Pekka and pointing at the video camera. Raili nor Pekka respond to Daniel's initiations of interaction during the excerpt nor after it; instead, they keep talking to each other (as in lines 7 and 11–12 and 15–16).

Excerpt 13. Kindergarten data: Video camera

01 RAI: ni sillai voi (- muljuttaa) ni sillai voi tehä.=
 so like that you can move it back and forth so one can do
 02 =mutta ei saa tehä sillai että, (0.4) mä en sais sua lyyä
 it like that but can't do it so that I couldn't hit you
 03 PEK: (grä[ääää:::aa:::]) ((making noise))
 04 RAI: [(noin.) kannattaa tähän vaa] o[sua
 like that you should only hit this
 -> 05 DAN: [#HEI# TUOLLA ON
 hey there is
 -> 06 #(jonku)# (SALA) VIDEOKA[MERA, TUOLLA]KIN ON VIDEO[KAMERA,]
 someone's secret video camera there is a video camera too
 07 RAI: [joo: (oho)] [↑piste]
 yeah oops a point
 08 mulle.
 for me
 09 (0.2)
 -> 10 DAN: [#HEI# TUOLLA ON VIDEO[KAMERA.]
 hey there's a video camera
 11 RAI: [(voi)]että. (.) oi voi voi
 oh boy oh no no
 12 [se oli iso]
 that was big
 13 DAN: [tuolla o (TIETO)kame:]
 there is (an information) came(ra)
 14 (1.2)
 15 PEK: hä hä
 ha ha

16 RAI: kato mäpä ↑väistän.
look I will dodge

In Excerpt 14, the child (Minea, MIN) summons and informs their mother in the same turn. Before the summons, the mother and the child have not been talking to each other but are in the same room. The mother is talking to another child (line 1) and does not respond to Minea's summons. After the excerpt, Minea repeatedly summons the mother with standalone address terms, but does not receive a response from her.

Excerpt 14. Finnish Family Days: I will go to sauna

01 MUM: pyykit sinne ja kohta mennään pesulle. tuuppa kattoo:.
laundry there and soon we will go for a wash come look
02 (2.8)
03 MIN: kato (juli) menee pi- (0.9) ↑suihkuun.
look Juli is going for a pe- to a shower
04 (2.5)
-> 05 MIN: ÄI::TI. MÄÄ MEEN JO JA SAuh- naan.
mum I will go to sauna already

In Excerpt 15, the child (Veeti, VEE) produces a summons and a threat in the same turn (lines 53 and 55). Before the excerpt, Veeti and his mother have been building a Lego house together, and Veeti has got upset with his mother misplacing one Lego brick. The mother has walked to another room further away, and Veeti has been shouting to her. In line 46, the mother walks to another room while she tells Veeti to move the misplaced Lego brick himself. In lines 47–51, Veeti shout, cries and threatens to break the Lego house, but the mother does not respond. In lines 53 and 55, Veeti summons and produces a threat in the same turn. In lines 56–57, the mother responds to Veeti and walks to him.

Excerpt 15. Finnish Family Days: I will break this house

46 MUM: ota vaa[n (ensin se)] ((from another room))
go ahead and take it first
47 VEE: [EEE::::::::::]::::::iu.
48 (0.7)
49 VEE: eh e::h iääÄÄ:::h,
50 (0.8)
51 VEE: .hh IÄ:::h, .hh #MÄÄ RIKON TÄN# TALO:N.
I will break this house
52 (1.5)
-> 53 VEE: .hh ↑ÄITI. ↑MÄÄ RI↓KON ↑TÄN TALON:: ((screaming))
mum I will break this house
54 (1.5)
-> 55 VEE: äiti, .hh mää rikon tän talo[n].

mum I will break this house
 56 MUM: [mm-m? sua suututtaa
 you are so
 57 ↑niin ↓kovasti että sää aiot rikkoa sen ↑talo:n.
 angry that you are going to break that house

In Excerpt 16, the child (Remy, REM) produces a summons and a telling-on action in the same turn. Prior to the turn, Remy and the adult (Parker, PAR) had not been talking to each other. In line 42, Parker is talking to another adult, while gesturing at the children and gazing at them. In line 42, Remy also gazes at Parker, and thus a joint attention between them has been established (see Section 5.4.2 and Article III for the whole excerpt). In line 43, Remy summons Parker and tells on his peer, Blake. In line 45, Parker responds to this by sighing.

Excerpt 16. Kindergarten data: Swear word

42 PAR: °wha>t's +>going on° [°°there.°°]>+
 pag >>children-->
 par ..>>gestures at the children>,,,,,/>
 reg +Parker-----+
 -> 43 REM: [↑Par]ker.
 44 Blake said a ↓stwear wo:rd.
 pag -->±
 45 PAR: hhhhhh

The findings of Article I suggest that when the children summon the adults who are already conversing with someone else, they are more likely to receive a response from the adults if they summon them with a combination of an address term and another social action, compared to if they only summoned the adults with standalone address terms. Thus, by pairing their standalone address term with another social action, the children increase their chances of establishing joint attention with the adults, but also for advancing their own projects in a multiactivity situation.

In the English-speaking kindergarten data, there is one summoning episode (Excerpt 17) where a child mixes two languages, Finnish and English, in his summons turn after an adult has not responded to his earlier summonses. Prior to Excerpt 17, the adult (Rowan, ROW) has been talking to another adult and the child (Ash, approximately 6–7-year-old) has finished colouring an image.

Excerpt 17. Kindergarten data: This is ready

01 ROW: one and try to remember it, [and then] try to make
 ash >>walks to Rowan-->

```

    asg  >>Rowan-->
02 ASH:                                     [Rowan.  ]

03 ROW:  it &with [(-) and then come* back] and see &if
    ash      &shows an image, holds with both hands--&..>
    ash      -->*
04 ASH:                                     [Rowan this is ready.  ]
05 ROW:  they did [it ↑right (↓or ↑wrong ↓or)] what they did.
06 ASH:                                     [Rowan &this is °ready.°  ]
    ash      ..&shows the image, holds with left hand-->
07 ROW:  (---) ((other children shout in the background))
08      (0.5)
09 ROW:  [(at least then many of those.)]
-> 10 ASH: [ &eh Rowan ↑tämä ↓on          ] ready.
           this is
    ash  -&lifts the image higher-->

```

In the beginning of Excerpt 17, Ash walks to Rowan (line 1) and summons him (line 2). Rowan neither gazes nor responds to Ash, and Ash repeats the summons action again in English in lines 4 and 6. As Rowan still does not respond, Ash summons Rowan yet again (line 10), and mixes both Finnish and English in her turn. Soon after this, Rowan gazes at Ash and responds to her. Here, the mixing of the languages appears to be a resource for Ash to modify and upgrade his summons action after Rowan's missing response. The mixing can be a result of the kindergarten's language policy, where the children are supposed to only use English with the adults. However, Finnish is a stronger language for both Rowan and Ash, which could explain why Ash utilises Finnish in his repeated summons turn.

In addition to the above-mentioned designs of summons turns, Article II illustrates how the children may repeat the summons once or multiple times during their summons episode (see Section 5.4.1 for an example) and repeat their summons until they receive a (preferred) response from the adults, or until they abandon the summons action. These repeated summonses, often modified in phonetic and embodied ways, are a practice for the children to draw the adults' attention and pursue responses from them in multiactivity situations, where the adults have not responded to the children's initial turns. The repetition of the summons turns displays the children's orientation to "nextness" (Stivers, 2013, p. 192) as a crucial characteristic of interaction (on children's repeated summonses, see Kidwell, 2013). Thus, the repeated summonses reflect the children's orientations to the complexities that reside in the interaction.

With the verbal design of their summons turn, the children attempt to establish joint attention with the adults, and to mobilise responses from them. The children use the verbal design of their summons turns as a practice for exerting their agency,

and for addressing and adapting to the complexities of the interactional situation, for example, in multiactivity and multiparty situations. In addition to the attention- and response-mobilising features of children's summons turns, the design of the children's summons turns also suggest the children's orientations to the asymmetries that reside in the interactional situation. These orientations are visible in summons episodes where the children summon the adults due to needing the adults' help with something.

5.1.3 Phonetic parameters of the summons turns

This section presents the phonetic parameters that are observable in the children's summons turns. The focus is on parameters that are "marked" from the children's "normal" speech. The parameters examined here include phonation, duration, pitch, and loudness⁸, as well as word stress. The phonetic parameters that the children employ in their summonses are diverse and reflect their understandings and orientations to various local contingencies and complexities, such as multiactivity. Thus, it is not possible to generalise how children phonetically summon adults; instead, the summonses are always a local achievement, produced in situ in the interactional setting at hand.

In terms of phonation, most of the children's summonses are produced with modal phonation, which is frequently thought of as the "normal" mode of phonation, in which there is a "moderate" tension in vocal folds, compared to non-modal voice qualities, such as creaky voice (Ogden, 2004, p. 30). However, two markedly different non-modal phonations are present in the data: creaky and breathy voice. Excerpts 18 and 19 show how children use creaky voice when summoning adults. In Excerpt 18 (presented in Article II as a whole), the child (Elmeri, ELM) has summoned his mother five times prior to the summons presented in the excerpt. The turns in lines 45 and 47 are produced by other children (Mineä, MIN and Tuukka, TUU) that are also talking to the mother at the same time with Elmeri. In line 46, Elmeri summons the mother with an address term *äiti* 'mum', and the first syllable of the word is produced with creaky voice.

Excerpt 18. Finnish Family Days: Take these shoelaces off

45 MIN: SAANKO JÄTS[kii.

⁸ It is important to note that the observations of these parameters are solely auditory (Walker, 2013). This is because the phonetic parameters of the summonses were not the specific focus of any of the articles.

can I have ice cream
 -> 46 ELM: [#ÄI:#TI:.
 mum
 47 TUU: Henna voi [(--)
 Henna can --
 48 ELM: [o[#ta# NÄÄ (NAU)HAT) [pois:..
 take these laces off

Prior to the summons in Excerpt 19, the child (Noel, NOE) has attempted to join an already ongoing conversation that the mother (MUM) is having with other passengers (line 7 and events before the excerpt) but the mother has not granted Noel a go-ahead. In line 13, Noel produces a (repeated) summons with a creaky voice.

Excerpt 19. Habitable Cars: Top trumps 2

07 NOE but MUMMY::?=
 08 MUM =you're better one tha[n you.]
 09 NOE [IF YOU] LO:[SE]
 10 LUC [um] uh
 11 LUC [a bigger nu]mber than you:::
 12 MUM [>wait a minute.<]
 -> 13 NOE #muM#[MY::?
 14 MUM [Shhh<

Earlier research has shown that creaky voice is used for creating linguistic contrast in Finnish and English. It is a phonetic practice that (Finnish) speakers employ to manage turn-taking in talk-in-interaction since it can be used for marking upcoming TRPs (Ogden, 2004). In the data, the children appear to use markedly creaky voice mainly at moments when they modify their turns to pursue responses from the adults, especially in situations where the adults have not responded to the children's earlier turns (as is the case with Excerpts 18 and 19). Nevertheless, the children do not use creaky voice systematically in these situations: it is more common for them *not* to use creaky voice when attempting to pursue responses from the adults than to use it.

In addition to creaky voice, the children sometimes use breathy voice when summoning the adults. Compared to creaky voice, the children use breathy voice in the data when upgrading their turns, but also in their first turns to the adults. Thus, the use of breathy voice is phonetically marked, but the children do not appear to use it systematically. Excerpt 20 shows a child using a breathy voice when summoning their mother. Prior to the summons, the child and the mother were close to each other, but they were not talking (see Article II for the whole excerpt). In other words, the summons in Excerpt 20 is the first turn that the child is producing

in this conversation. The child's voice is soft and very quiet in terms of loudness, and an additional /h/ sound is present in between the two syllables of *äiti* 'mum'.

Excerpt 20. Finnish Family Days: Take these shoelaces off

01 MIN: °°(uhm) (0.5) äi(h)ti,°°
uhm mum

In addition to phonation, the children sometimes modify the duration of their summons turn. This is visible in both Finnish and English data. Examples of this can be seen in Excerpt 21. In the beginning of Excerpt 21, the child (Minea, MIN) summons the mother for the first time. In lines 8–11, the mother and another child (Tuukka, TUU) are talking about heating a sauna. In lines 13 and 15, Minea produces a summons quickly while cutting off the last vowel sound of *äiti*. After this, in line 17, Minea repeats the summons yet again and produces the first syllable of *äiti* 'mum' quickly, after which she elongates the duration of the last syllable.

Excerpt 21. Finnish Family Days: I will go to sauna

05 MIN: ÄI::TI. MÄÄ MEEN JO [JA sAuh- naan.
mum I will go to sauna already
06 ????: [(-)
07 (0.5)
08 MUM: eikö se pit[tää (tehä-)]
no it needs to be done
09 TUU: [nii MÄÄ ÄITI] sillon tarkotinki että
yeah mum last time I was talking about
10 tota so- sisäsaunaa.
the indoor sauna
11 MUM: vähä aikaa antaa olla PÄÄLLÄ ja sit[↑]te on.
on for a little bit and then it is
12 (1.1)
-> 13 TYT: >ÄIT-<
mum
14 MUM: sitte tuota (0.3) voijaan [vas]ta mennä.
then well only then we can go
-> 15 MIN: [ÄIT-<]
mum
16 (1.4)
-> 17 MIN: >Äi<ti:.....
mum

Excerpt 22 shows how a child (Elmeri, ELM) elongates both vowel sounds in *äiti* 'mum.' Similar to Excerpt 21, in Excerpt 22, the child has attempted to summon

the mother several times before the summons in line 46 but has not received a response from the mother.

Excerpt 22. (Presented earlier as Excerpt 18). Finnish Family Days: Take these shoelaces off

```
45 MIN: SAANKO JÄTS[kii.  
        can I have ice cream  
-> 46 ELM:      [#ÄI:#TI:.  
                mum  
47 TUU: Henna voi [(--)  
        Henna can  --  
48 ELM:      [o[#ta# NÄÄ (NAU)HAT) [pois:..:  
        take these laces off
```

Excerpt 23 illustrates how a child (Wendy, WEN) elongates the vowel sound of *mum*. The summons in line 2 is the first turn that the child produces in this conversation.

Excerpt 23. (Presented earlier as Excerpt 8). Habitable Cars: Ice lolly

```
-> 02 WEN: mu: :m?  
    03 MUM: yea:h?
```

In the data, the modification of duration is mainly restricted to single vowel sounds or syllables. Still, there are also cases where the whole summons turn is, for example, produced quickly. The modifications of the summons turns' duration appear to be one of the children's practices of attracting the adults' attention and pursuing responses from them (see also Cekaite, 2009). However, the variation between the lengthened and shortened sounds/syllables/words seems unsystematic. Thus, based on the findings of this dissertation, it is not possible to say when the children, for example, tend to lengthen their summonses when attempting to attract the adults' attention.

When attempting to draw the adults' attention, the pitch contour of the children's summonses varies (see also Cekaite, 2009). A child's summons may begin with high pitch and then fall towards the end, as in Excerpt 24. Prior to, and in the beginning of Excerpt 24, the mother (MUM, line 34) is talking to another child. Before the excerpt, the child (Elmeri, ELM) has summoned the mother once but the mother has not responded. In line 35, Elmeri summons the mother for the second time, but in line 36, the mother shouts to another child. In line 37, Elmeri's summons begins with high pitch and falls towards the end of the utterance. Here,

the increase of the pitch appears to be one way for Elmeri to modify the repeated summons by upgrading it.

Excerpt 24. Finnish Family Days: Take these shoelaces off

- 34 MUM: ei saa nyt jätskiä >katopa ko,<
no (you) cannot have ice cream now look because
- 35 ELM: ÄITTI.
mum
- 36 MUM: OOTA ↑HETKI [MINÄ tuun kat°too.°
wait a moment I will come and have a look
- > 37 ELM: [↑ÄITTI].
mum

Children's summons turns may also have a final pitch that is falling (Excerpt 25), rising slightly (Excerpt 26), or rising notably (Excerpt 27). These may occur in the children's first summonses, but also in latter ones. Excerpt 25 shows how a child's summons has a falling final pitch. As Excerpt 25 begins, the child's (Elmeri, ELM) parents (DAD and MUM) are talking to each other (also lines 10–13). Elmeri has not participated in the conversation. In line 14, he summons the mother for the first time, and repeats the summons in line 16. Both summonses have a falling final pitch.

Excerpt 25. Finnish Family Days: This is wonky

- 10 DAD: ↑hius välisä ni se [(periksi)]
a hair between there so it will (give up)
- 11 MUM: [kyllä se] puhisti ja katto
she did clean it and check
- 12 kaikki (huolella.)]
everything carefully
- 13 DAD: [joo kyl↑lä se varma]an °puhisti.°
yeah I guess she cleaned (it)
- > 14 ELM: äiti.
mum
- 15 MUM: on↑koha tää menny jotenki vinnoo.
has this gone somehow wonky
- > 16 ELM: Äi[ti.]
mum
- 17 MUM: [on]kohan tän tarkoitus olla näi,
is this meant to be like this

Excerpt 26 illustrates a summons that has a slightly rising final pitch (lines 29 and 31). Prior to the excerpt, the child (Iiro, IIR) has already summoned the father (e.g., in line 26), and the summonses presented in lines 29 and 31 are self-repeated

summonses. In lines 24–25 and 28, another adult (Niklas, NIK) is talking to the child’s father (DAD). In line 32, the father responds to the child with a go-ahead.

Excerpt 26. Talk&Drive: When will we go to a hotel

```

24 NIK: jos muuttas jonnekki ni se- °se vois
           if one moved somewhere that- that could
25      olla ehkä ihan°
           be maybe quite
26 IIR: ISKÄ.
           daddy
27      (0.4)
28 NIK: hyvä ava°in° [°°(itelle.)°°
           a good key      (for oneself)
-> 29 IIR: [°isi,<
           daddy
30      (1.2)
-> 31 IIR: i:si::,
           daddy
32 DAD: mitä.
           what

```

Excerpt 27 shows an example of a summons with a notably rising final pitch. Before Excerpt 27, as well as in line 4, the child (Noel, NOE) has attempted to join an already ongoing conversation that the mother is having with other children (lines 5–6 and 8). The mother has not granted Noel a go-ahead to join the conversation, and in line 7, Noel summons the mother with a summons that has a notably rising final pitch.

Excerpt 27. Habitable Cars: Top trumps 2

```

04 NOE =mummy:: #but# if you lo:[se tha::t, ]
05 LUC                                     [<like (GRE::)D) one
06      an- (.) if the other ones[ 's got<]
-> 07 NOE                                     [but MUM]MY:::?=
08 MUM =you're better one tha[n you.]

```

Falling, slightly rising, and notably rising final pitches can be seen in the children’s summonses in both, Finnish and English data. There appears to be no notable differences between the final pitches of the summonses in the two languages. Rather, the falling final pitches of the children’s turns appear to be vary between the speakers and the interactional context at hand.

The children typically modify the loudness of their voice depending on the interactional setting and situation in which they summon the adults. If no one else is talking, the children may summon the adults with quiet voice (Excerpt 28). Prior

to the summons in Excerpt 28, the child and the mother were close to each other, but they were not talking (see Article II for the whole excerpt). Thus, the summons in Excerpt 28 is the first turn produced in this conversation. Other participants in the situation were not talking either.

Excerpt 28. (Earlier presented as Excerpt 20). Finnish Family Days: Take these shoelaces off

01 MIN: °°(uhm) (0.5) äi(h)ti, °°
uhm mum

In contrast, if the children are further away from the adults or if other people are talking at the same time, the children may use louder voice to attract the adults' attention (Excerpt 29; see also Schegloff, 2000). Also, if the children have summoned the adults earlier but have not received responses, they may increase the volume of their voice in their repeated summonses. In line 1 of Excerpt 29, the child (Elmeri, ELM) is in a different room than the mother when he summons her. The mother does not respond to Elmeri's first summons, and in line 3, Elmeri repeats his summons. In line 4, the mother responds to Elmeri by producing a go-ahead, and in line 5, Elmeri asks the mother to go and open his bed.

Excerpt 29. Finnish Family Days: Cuckoo mum

-> 01 ELM: ÄITI: .
mum
02 (1.7)
-> 03 ELM: Äiti.
mum
04 MUM: NO: ?
yes
05 ELM: (tuu) au:kaseen mun sänky.
come open my bed

The children display the reflexive nature of their summons actions by adjusting the loudness of their utterances based on the interactional settings and situations at hand. With the use of louder voice, children also appear to modify their utterance and thus attract the adults' attention and pursue responses from them, for example, if the adults have not responded to the children's earlier talk (see also Cekaite, 2009; Keel, 2016; McTear, 1985). This can be seen in Excerpt 30, where the child (Tuukka, TUU) has attempted to initiate interaction with the mother already earlier in lines 19, 21, 24 and 26. In line 28, Tuukka summons the mother with a loud voice. Regardless, the mother does not respond to Tuukka even after the excerpt.

Excerpt 30. Finnish Family Days: Cuckoo mum

19 TUU: äiti.
 mum
 20 (1.1)
 21 TUU: >ai äiti< ↑tähän ↓tohon. (.) (sänkiin vieressä)
 oh mum here there next to the bed
 22 (1.2)
 23 MUM: (-)=
 24 TUU: =mää jäin- mää jäin tähän (kyllä) kiinni (-)
 I got I (actually) got stuck here (-)
 25 (0.6)
 26 TUU: kato °°(äiti)°°
 look mum
 27 (0.4)
 -> 28 TUU: ÄITI::
 mum

Lastly, the children may also markedly stress a word or a part of it when summoning the adults. This does not solely refer to the lexically determined word stress but rather refers to an extra, “marked” emphasis and accentuation that the children put on a (part of a) word, mostly in terms of modifying loudness, pitch, and duration (e.g., Selting, 2010, p. 4–5). In Finnish, the lexically determined primary word stress lies on the first syllable of a word (e.g., Ogden et al., 2004). Thus, in the Finnish data, markedly stressing the first syllable of the summons is a practice for the children to prosodically “contrast” their utterances (e.g., Schegloff, 1998) to draw the adults’ attention (see also Cekaite, 2009). However, there are also episodes in the Finnish data where the children stress syllables other than the first syllable of a word. Excerpt 31 shows how a child first markedly stresses the first syllable of *äiti* ‘mum’ (similar to the “normal” word stress that lies on the first syllable), after which the child stresses the second syllable of the word as well. Before Excerpt 31 (presented as a whole in Article II), the child had summoned their mother already once, and thus the summons in Excerpt 31 is the child’s self-repeated summons. In lines 34 and 36, the mother is talking to another child.

Excerpt 31. Finnish Family Days: Take these shoelaces off

34 MUM: ei saa nyt jätskiä >katopa ko,<
 no (you) cannot have ice cream now look because
 -> 35 ELM: ÄITI.
 mum
 36 MUM: OOTA ↑HETKI [MINÄ tuun kat°too.°
 wait a moment I will come and have a look
 37 ELM: [↑ÄITI.
 mum

In English, the distribution of primary word stress is more complex than in Finnish (e.g., van der Hulst, 2013). However, in the most common summonses found in the English data (*mummy*, *mum* and the adults' names) the primary stress is on the first syllable. Similar to the Finnish data, in the English data the children also put extra emphasis on the syllable where the primary stress naturally resides as a practice for attracting the adults' attention (as can be seen in Excerpt 32). The summons in line 2 represents the first turn that the child has produced in order to initiate interaction with the adult (Parker, PAR).

Excerpt 32. Kindergarten data: You don't need the tablets

```

01          (2.7)
-> 02 RAI: e- Parke:r. (0.3) River is
03          touching that.
04          (1.0)
05 PAR: you don't need the tablets (eh).

```

Similar to the Finnish data, in two-syllable words in the English data, the children at times markedly emphasise the last syllable, where the primary stress does not naturally reside. This is especially the case with the address term *mummy*, as can be seen in Excerpt 33. In the beginning of Excerpt 33, the child (Noel, NOE) has been talking to the mother, but the mother has not responded. In line 8, Noel summons the mother while emphasising the last syllable of *mummy*.

Excerpt 33. Habitable Cars: Let's just get started

```

03 NOE: under the mud. (.) they say, mu::d, und-
04          they say, af+ter (.) the e-,
05 LUC: [(ha ha) ]
06 NOE: [after:,]
07          (0.5)
-> 08 NOE: mummy::? a:[fte:r,          ]
09 MUM:          [yes I'm liste]ning.

```

Furthermore, Excerpt 32 displays a non-lexical vocalisation, a hesitation marker *e-* that precedes the child's summons to the adult. Article III shows that in the English kindergarten data, the children sometimes use the hesitation marker to attract the adults' attention and redirect their gaze (C. Goodwin, 1981). Thus, it is another attention-mobilising vocal practice that children use.

This section has shown how phonetic parameters in the children's summons turns to the adults vary greatly. The focus has been on "marked" phonetic features

instead of all phonetic parameters that could potentially be present in the children's summonses to the adults at any given moment. Within this study's scope, it is not possible to point out any systematic practices that children would have for phonetically modifying their summonses. Instead, children's summonses are reflexive in nature and reflect the local contingencies and complexities of the interactional settings in which the summonses are employed. Articles I–III illustrate how the phonetic design of the children's initial and repeated summons turns reflect their orientations to the interactional situation. For example, at moments where there are other parallel conversations (i.e., in multiactivity situations), children may use loud voice in their summonses. Thus, children employ phonetically modified summonses to establish joint attention and intersubjectivity and to pursue responses from the adults. In addition to vocal and prosodically modified summonses, the children also attempt to establish joint attention and pursue responses from adults with various embodied practices. These are covered in the next section.

5.1.4 Touch, embodiment, movement, and mobility in summonses

This section illustrates the most prominent embodied practices that the children in the data employ when summoning the adults. In the current data, the children often combine their vocal summonses with various embodied practices to establish joint attention with the adults. The practices covered here include gaze, movement, mobility, touch, and manipulation of nearby objects. Thus, this section illustrates how the children build their summons action with the help of different embodied practices.

In almost all the data episodes where the children summon the adults, the children gaze towards the adults' direction before or soon after the summons, especially in situations where the adults' responses to the children are missing. For the children, gaze is a practice for monitoring the adults' actions (see also M. H. Goodwin, 1980; Kendon, 1967) to see whether they are available for interaction or not. The children also use their gaze for increasing the adult's response pressure (see also Rossano, 2012; Stivers & Rossano, 2010). Excerpt 34 displays how a child (Leia, LEI, approximately 6–7-year-old) gazes at a caregiver (Parker) before summoning her. Before the excerpt, other children have accused Leia for not having apologized to them for an earlier conflict between the children.

Excerpt 34. Kindergarten data: You didn't even say sorry

11 + (0.6)

```

-> leg +Parker-->
12 ARO: Δ°no you didn't.°
fig Δfig4
13 (1.0) * (0.2)
lei *pushes her chair back-->

-> 14 LEI: eh HEY PARKER. +I SAID S+ORRY TO ARON
leg -->+his left+Joy-->>

```

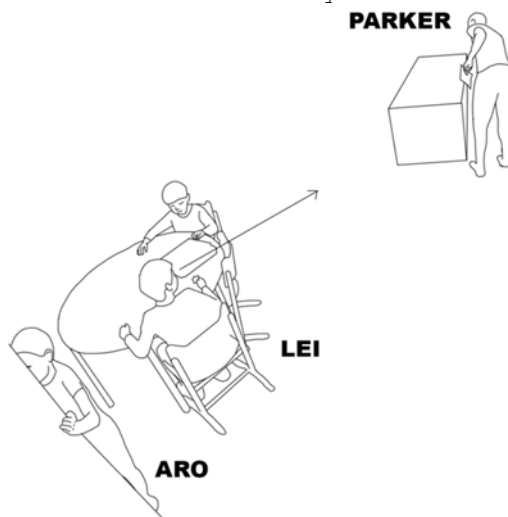


Fig. 4. Leia gazing at Parker before summoning her.

In line 11, Leia gazes at Parker without saying anything. She looks at Parker for roughly two seconds (lines 11–14), during which Parker does not gaze back. In line 14, Leia summons Parker and tells her that she had apologised to another child (since the other child had accused her of not apologising). Leia’s gaze at Parker before her summons serves three different purposes: 1) she checks Parker’s location in the room, and 2) monitors her actions 3) to check whether she would be available for interaction before summoning her. This way, Leia is able to adapt her summons action to the circumstances at hand. Furthermore, Leia uses gaze to select Parker as the next speaker, thus increasing her response pressure.

In contrast, Excerpt 35 shows an example of an episode where a child (Rain, RAI, approximately 6–7-year-old) does not look Parker, the caregiver, before summoning her. Before the excerpt, another child (River) has been using a tablet without a permission to do so. Rain has noticed this and told River that they are not allowed to touch the tablet. Since River does not comply, Rain summons Parker to request her assistance.

Excerpt 35. Kindergarten data: You don't need the tablets

```

01 RAI: e- ΔParker:r. (0.3) ΔRiver +is touAching that.
    fig      Δfig5          Δfig6          Δfig7
-> rag >>River-----+Parker-->
  
```



Fig. 5. Just before Rain summons Parker.

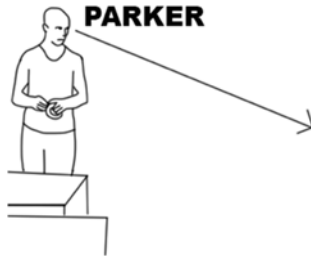


Fig. 6. After Rain's summons to Parker.



Fig. 7. Rain gazes at Parker.

At the beginning of line 1, Rain summons Parker while keeping her gaze at River (Figures 5–6). The summons is followed by an 0.3-second pause, after which Rain says: *River is touching that*. Rain’s turn is built as a factual declaration, which functions as a composite social action of an informing and a request (Rossi, 2018). After addressing River in her turn, Rain shifts her gaze and looks at Parker (Figure 7). As opposed to Excerpt 34, here Rain does not use her gaze for checking Parker’s location or availability for interaction before the summons. Instead, Rain monitors River’s actions while summoning Parker. This possibly reflects Rain’s orientation to River using a tablet without permission as urgent and problematic.

Excerpt 36 shows how a child (Elmeri, ELM, age 5 years 3 months) tries to get their mother’s attention so that she could help him untie his shoelaces (see Article II for the whole episode). In Excerpt 36, Elmeri uses his gaze for monitoring his mother’s (MUM) actions, this time at a moment when the mother has not responded to Elmeri’s earlier summonses. The excerpt also shows how Elmeri uses his gaze as a practice for increasing the mother’s response pressure.

Excerpt 36. Finnish Family Days: Take these shoelaces off

```

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          Δfig8

```

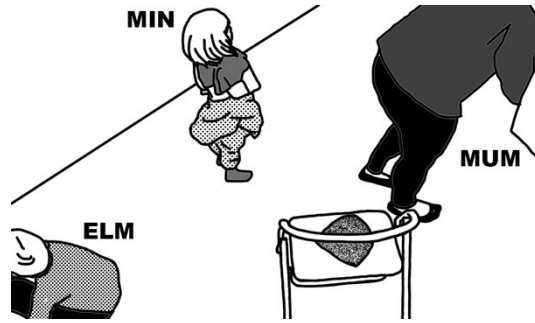


Fig. 8. Elmeri's second summons (line 35).

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: [↑ÄITÄI.
 mum
 fig Δfig9

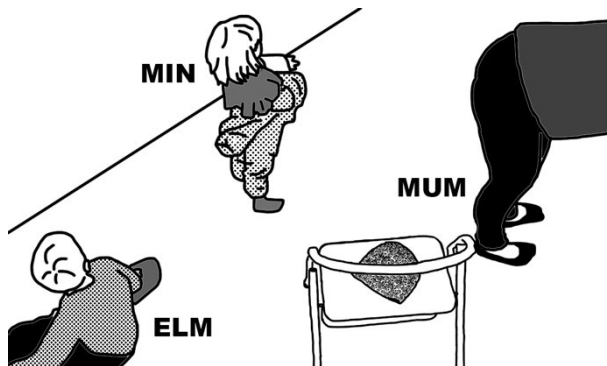


Fig. 9. Elmeri's third summons. He has turned towards the mother (line 37).

At the beginning of the excerpt, the mother and Elmeri are facing away from each other. Elmeri has already summoned the mother once before the beginning of the excerpt, to which she did not respond. In line 34, the mother is talking to another child while Elmeri starts to turn his head towards the mother's direction. After this, he summons her again (line 35), which is followed by the mother asking the other child to wait (line 36). Already in overlap with the mother's turn, Elmeri turns and gazes at her while summoning her for the third time (line 37). Here, Elmeri's gaze on the mother, as well as his bodily orientation and halting of his activity

(undressing himself), increase the mother’s response pressure by suggesting that he is expecting a response from her.

In addition to gaze, the children employ mobile actions draw the adults’ attention. These mobile actions potentially lead to the establishments of shared interactional spaces and participation frameworks between the children and adults. Here, mobility refers to the movement of a person’s whole body, which results in the person recognisably moving from one position to another (Haddington et al., 2013, p. 4). In the current data, the way the children move towards the adults is dependent on the context (see Section 5.1.5 for more), and on the initial distance between the adults and children. If the children are further away from the adults, they may need to walk to them, whereas if the children and adults are already close to each other, the children may only take a couple of steps. However, both are considered as ‘mobility’ here. Excerpt 37 illustrates how a child (Juniper, JUN, approximately 6–7-year-old) walks from across the classroom before summoning Parker (PAR), the caregiver. Before the excerpt, another child has hit Juniper with a pillow (see Article III for the whole episode).

Excerpt 37. Kindergarten data: He can’t do that

```

01 PAR: Δhe- he *volunteered to answer. ((to Aspen))
      fig Δfig10
-> jun      *walking towards Parker and Aspen-->
02      Δ(0.7)
      fig Δfig11
  
```

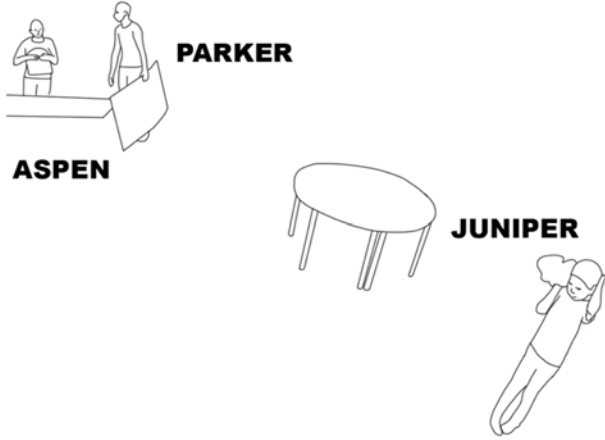


Fig. 10. The participants’ positions in the beginning of the excerpt.

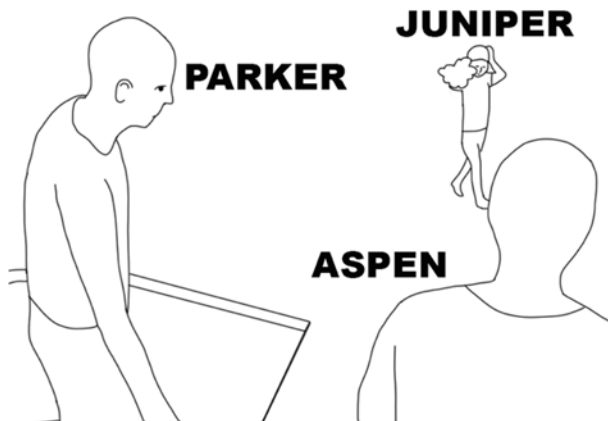


Fig. 11. Juniper walks towards Parker and Aspen.

```

((3 lines omitted.))
06 PAR: =yeah, (.) + (°°y+eah.°°)Δ
-> jug +Parker-->
pag -->±Juniper-->
fig Δfig12
-> 07 JUN: erm -Par*ker.
jun -->*
```

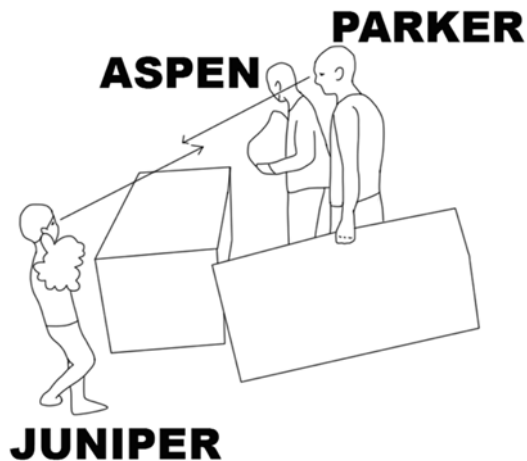


Fig. 12. Juniper and Parker gaze at each other in line 6.

In line 1, Juniper begins to walk closer to Parker while Parker talks to another adult, Aspen. Juniper walking closer to Parker leads to the establishment of an embodied participation framework between her and Parker (C. Goodwin, 2000). In line 6,

Parker gazes at Juniper, and a mutual orientation and shared interactional space between them is established. Right after this, Juniper summons Parker (line 7). In this excerpt, Juniper adapts to the interactional situation by walking closer to Parker to engage in a conversation with her. Here, walking towards Parker also attracts her attention before Juniper has summoned her, and thus Juniper's mobile actions also function as a means of establishing joint attention with Parker.

The children also use mobility as a practice for drawing the adults' attention and for creating favourable conditions for the adults to respond, for example, at moments when the adults are involved in multiactivity (see Section 3.3 and Article II). In Excerpt 38, Elmeri (ELM, age 5 years 3 months) has summoned his mother (MUM) multiple times, but the mother has not responded (see Article II for the whole episode).

Excerpt 38. Finnish Family Days: Take these shoelaces off

```

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                                         Δfig13
47 TUU: Henna voi [(-)
           Henna can  --
48 ELM:           %[o[#ta# NÄÄ      (NAU]HAT)Δ [pois%:...
                   take these laces off
           mug           %Elmeri-----%
           fig                                         Δfig14
49 MIN:           [°#mää# en oo °(syöny)°°]      [ÄIT- ÄIT-
                   I haven't eaten                mum  mum
50           emmoo maistanu jät&s[°kii°.
           I haven't tasted any ice cream
-> elm           -->&moves his leg in front of MUM
51 MUM:           [ei oo kukkaan maiΔstanu.&
                   no one has tasted
           fig                                         Δfig15
           elm                                         -->&

```

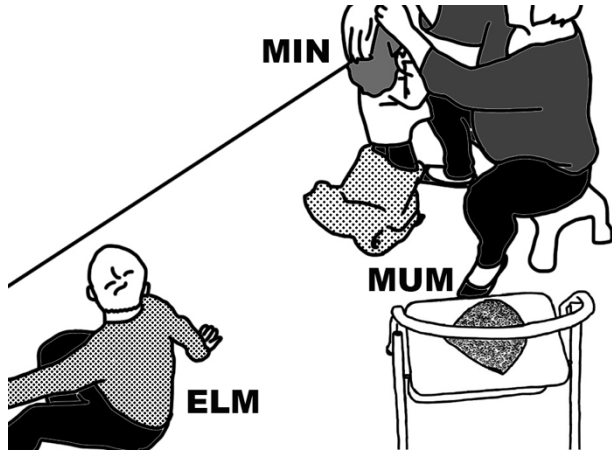


Fig. 13. Elmeri's sixth summons (line 46).

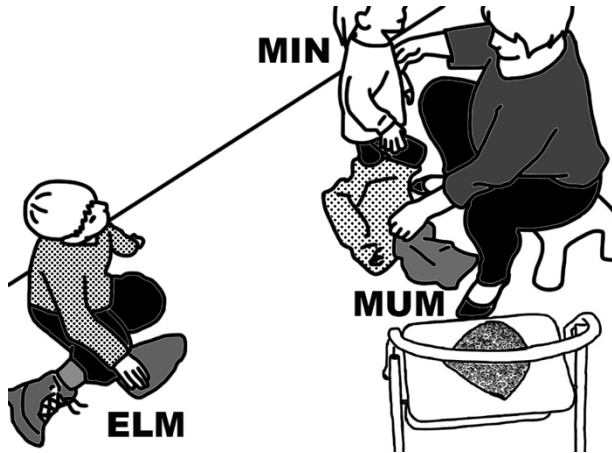


Fig. 14. Mother gazes at Elmeri (line 48).

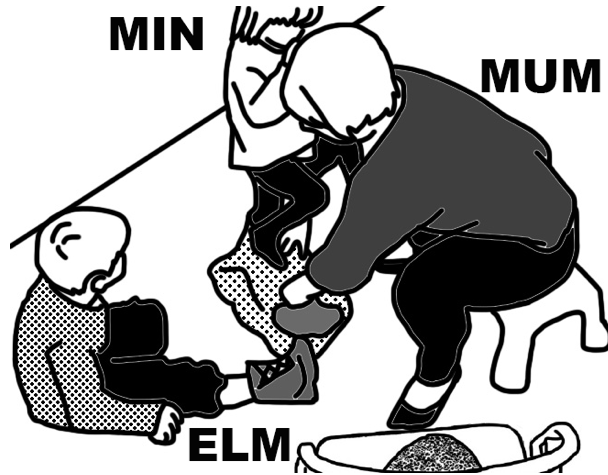


Fig. 15. Elmeri is waiting for his turn (line 51).

In line 45, Elmeri gazes at the mother and begins to move closer to her. In line 46, Elmeri summons the mother for the sixth time (the earlier summonses are not visible here, see Article II for the full transcript), and the summons is initiated in terminal overlap (see Jefferson, 1983) with Minea’s (MIN, age 3 years 0 months) turn. The mother does not respond to this summons, but instead, she gazes at Elmeri (line 48). At the same time, Elmeri requests for the mother to take his shoelaces off. The request is formulated with an imperative, suggesting that the turn is designed as a recruitment of help, inviting the mother to take immediate action (Sorjonen et al., 2017, p. 13). Furthermore, Elmeri’s turn implies a “normative obligation” (Kendrick & Drew, 2016) for the mother to help him. After his request, Elmeri keeps moving closer to the mother, until in line 51, he has extended his leg close to her, making it spatially available for her (Figure 15).

In Excerpt 38, Elmeri’s vocal turns to the mother have not been successful in getting her to help him with his shoelaces. By employing an “ambulatory summons” (Cekaite, 2009), Elmeri displays his active agency in transforming the interactional space (Mondada, 2009), which leads to an establishment of a dyadic participation framework and creates conditions where the mother is more likely to help him. Additionally, Elmeri moving closer to the mother functions as a nonverbal request (Rossi, 2014), suggesting he holds the mother responsible for assisting him (see also Pfeiffer & Anna, 2021).

In addition to mobility, the children use *movement* for drawing the adults’ attention. In contrast to “mobility”, here “movement” refers to smaller movements

of the body, such as moving parts of the body, moving of objects, or (re)positioning of the body (see Haddington et al., 2013, p. 4). In the data, turning towards the recipient of the summons is a common practice that the children employ when summoning the adults, especially in situations where the participants are not already facing each other. However, other types of movements of the body are visible in the data too. Excerpt 39 illustrates how Leia (LEI, approximately 6–7-year-old) employs various body movements when summoning Parker (PAR). Before the excerpt, other children have accused Leia for not having apologized to them for an earlier conflict between the children.

Excerpt 39. (Presented earlier as Excerpt 34). Kindergarten data: You didn't even say sorry

```

11      (0.6)
      leg  >>Parker-->>
12 ARO: Δ°no you didn't.°
      fig  Δfig16
13      (1.0) * (0.2)
      lei  *pushes her chair back-->
-> 14 LEI: ehΔ  *HEΔY PARKER. Δ I SAID ±SORRY* TO ARON
      fig  Δfig17Δfig18      Δfig18
      lei  -->*swinging legs and arms-----*..>>
      pag                                     ±Leia-->

```

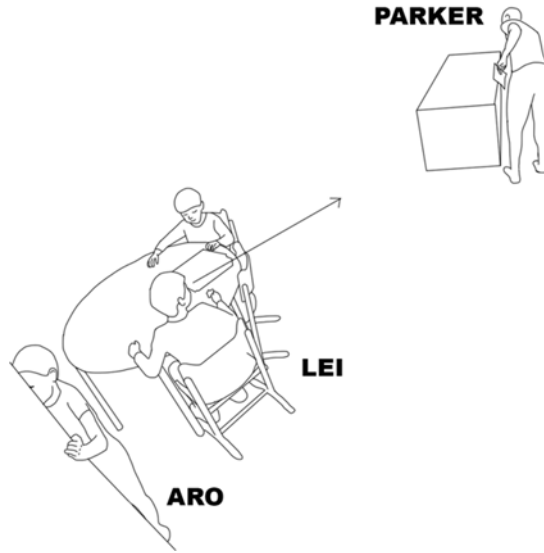



Fig. 16. The position of the participants in the beginning of the excerpt. Leia is gazing at Parker.

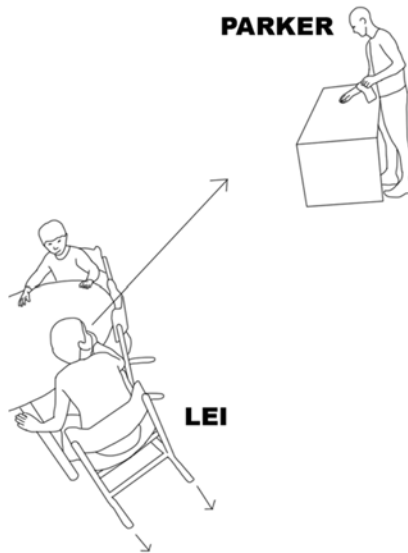


Fig. 17. Leia pushes her chair back.

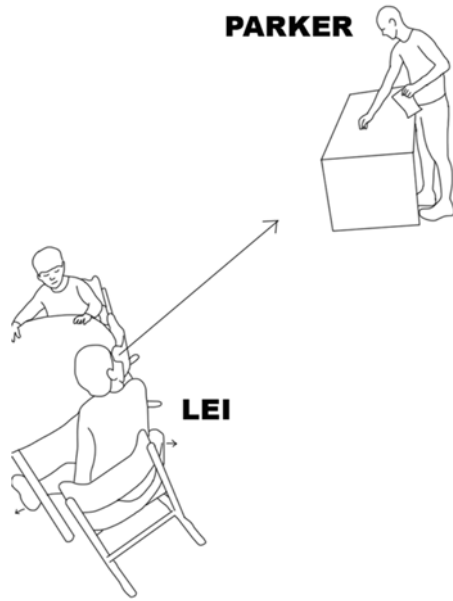


Fig. 18. Leia summons Parker while swinging her legs from side to side.

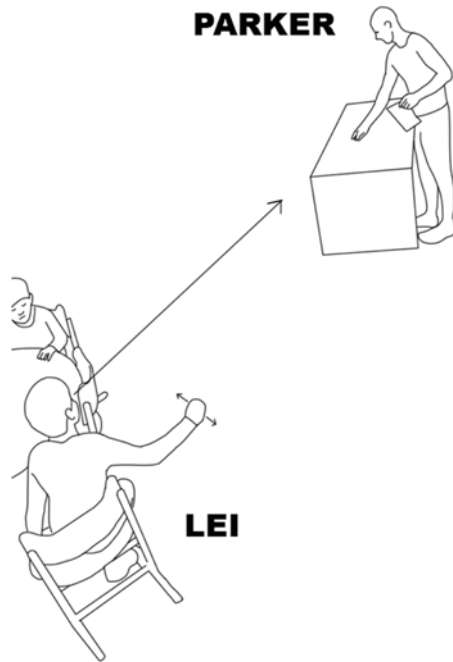


Fig. 19. Leia swinging her legs and arms.

In line 13, Leia pushes back the chair that she is sitting on and turns to face Parker. She summons Parker (line 14) while she swings her arms and legs from side to side. While she is doing this, Parker looks at her (line 14). The combination of a vocal summons, together with Leia moving her body, successfully mobilises Parker's attention.

The children also utilise touch to establish joint attention with the adults. This is demonstrated in Excerpt 40 below. Before Excerpt 40, the father (DAD) and Niklas (NIK) have been talking to each other. In the beginning of the excerpt (line 8), the child (Iiro, IIR, 5 years old) summons the father for the first time (see Article I and Section 5.4.1 for the whole episode).

Excerpt 40. Talk&Drive: When will we go to a hotel

```

08 IIR: i[:si::.
      daddy
09 NIK: [>että< se niinkön, (1.0) ei se ↑nyt< (0.5)
      so that she like now she is not
10      tällä hetkellä miten↓kään, (1.4) pahastikkaa
      at the moment in any way that bad
11      oo °°mutta.°°
      but
12      (1.5)
13 IIR: i[:si::h.
      daddy
14 NIK: [mutta tuota: (.) kuiten↑kis %se on niinköΔ%
      but well anyway she is like
      fig Δfig20
-> iir %.....%hits
      the driver's seat-->
15      haΔlukas hakemaan uusia% hom%°↓mia eli° se.
      willing to apply for new work so that she
      fig Δfig21
      iir -->%, , , , %

```



Fig. 20. Iiro begins to hit his father's seat (line 14).



Fig. 21. Iiro hits the father's seat (line 15).

```

((9 lines omitted))
25 NIK: hyvä ava°in° [°°(itelle.)°°
    a good key      (for oneself)
-> 26 IIR:          [>isi,<
                    daddy
27      (0.3)%(0.5)%(0.3)
->   iir           %....%touching the driver's neck-->>
-> 28 IIR: i:si::, Δ
    daddy
    fig           Δfig22

```

-> 29 DAD: mitä.
what



Fig. 22. Iiro touches the father's neck (line 28).

Excerpt 40 takes place in a car where Iiro is seated behind his father who is driving. In the excerpt, Iiro summons his father twice without receiving a response (lines 8 and 13). In lines 14–15, Iiro begins to hit the father's seat to attract his attention and to pursue a response from him (Figures 20 and 21). However, this is not enough to pursue a response from the father, and thus Iiro summons him again in line 26, which is followed by him reaching forward and touching the father's neck (line 27). Iiro keeps his hand on the father's neck, produces yet another summons (line 28; Figure 22), and holds his hand on the neck until the father responds with a go-ahead (line 29). This way, Iiro uses touch as a practice to draw the father's attention. Iiro touching the father also displays the reflexive nature of his summons action: even though the car interior limits the practices he is able to employ, he adapts to the situation and utilises a resource that is available to him (see Section 5.1.5). In the data, touching is not only limited to the car context: the children use touch for summoning the adults also in family and kindergarten contexts.

The data shows that the children also manipulate surrounding objects for drawing the adults' attention (see also Bateman & Church, 2017; Cekaite, 2009; Kidwell & Zimmerman, 2007). The children mainly do this by showing objects to the adults while summoning and trying to initiate interaction with them. In these cases, the objects that the children are showing are related to the children's projects,

as illustrated in Excerpt 41. Prior to Excerpt 41, the adult (Rowan, ROW) has been talking to another adult. The child (Ash, approximately 6–7-year-old) has finished colouring an image. In the beginning on Excerpt 41 (line 1), Ash is walking towards Rowan.

Excerpt 41. (Presented earlier as Excerpt 17). Kindergarten data: This is ready

```

01 ROW: one and try to remember it, [and then] try to make
      ash >>walks to Rowan-->
      asg >>Rowan-->
02 ASH:                                     [Rowan. ]
03 ROW: it &with [(-) and then come* back] and see &if
-> ash &shows an image, holds with both hands--&..>
      ash -->*
04 ASH: [Rowan this is Δready. ]
      fig Δfig23
05 ROW: they did [it ↑right (↓or ↑wrong ↓or)] what they did.
06 ASH: [Rowan Δ&this is °ready.° ]
      fig Δfig24
-> ash ..&shows the image, holds with left hand-->
07 ROW: (---) ((other children shout in the background))
08 (0.5)
09 ROW: [(at least then many of those.)]
10 ASH: [&eh Rowan ↑tämä ↓on ] Δready.
      this is
-> ash -&lifts the image higher-->
      fig Δfig25

```

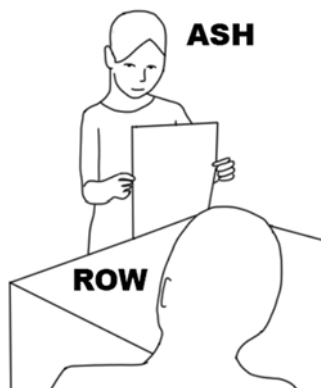


Fig. 23. Ash shows the colouring image and holds it with both hands (line 4).

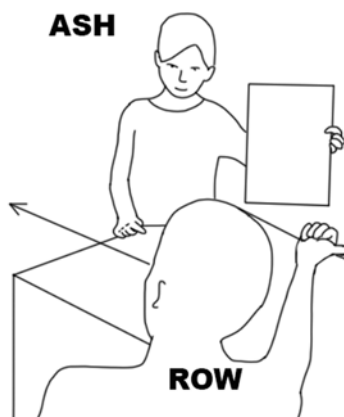


Fig. 24. Ash shows the colouring image and holds it with her left hand in line 6.

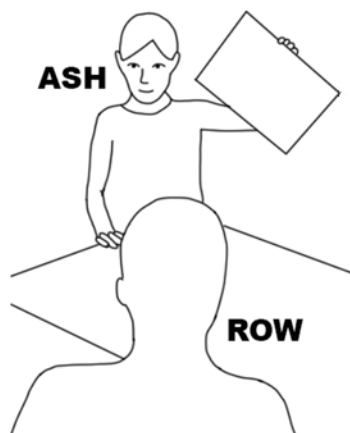


Fig. 25. Ash lifts up the colouring image in line 10.

In lines 1, 3 and 5, Rowan is telling other caregivers about his lesson plans. In line 2, Ash walks towards Rowan and summons him: *Rowan*. Rowan does not gaze nor respond to Ash. In line 3, Ash lifts up the colouring image and shows it to Rowan (Figure 23), while repeating her summons and informing Rowan that she has finished colouring the image (line 4). Regardless, Rowan remains oriented towards the parallel conversation that he is having with the other caregivers. Thus, in line 6, Ash repeats her turn again and lets go of the image with her right hand, now holding onto it only with her left hand (Figure 24). As Rowan still does not gaze nor respond to Ash, she repeats her turn yet again (line 10), mixes both Finnish and English in

her turn⁹, and at the same time lifts the image higher (Figure 25) so that it would be in Rowan's line of view (Kidwell & Zimmerman, 2007). Soon after this, Rowan gazes at Ash and responds to her.

As illustrated in this section, the children employ various embodied practices together with their vocal summons turns when summoning the adults for the first time, but also later when pursuing responses from the adults and establishing favourable conditions after the adults' missing responses to earlier summonses. These embodied summons practices display the children's understandings of the ongoing interactional situation and show how the children design and adapt their summonses to the local contingencies to increase their chances of getting the adults' attention. It is notable that these embodied and at times mobile practices potentially lead to changes in the interactional ecology, which may result in transformations in the local (embodied) participation frameworks.

So far, Section 5.1 has shown that the children's summonses are packages that are composed of several different modalities. In other words, they are complex multimodal Gestalts (Mondada, 2014a). In addition, this section has illustrated how the children's summonses are reflexive in nature, constructed and arranged in the given context, in relation time, physical space, and other ongoing activities. As has been shown earlier in this section, the children often summon the adults in multiparty settings when the adults are already involved in other ongoing conversations. In these situations, the children's summonses establish potential multiactivity situations for the adults. In these complex, multi-layered situations, children often rely on specific practices to engage in interaction with the adults. They may, for example, move closer to the adult, use loud voice, or repeat their initial summons turn. Articles I–III show that children do this by laminating (C. Goodwin, 2013, 2018) different practices of summoning to draw the adults' attention, establish joint interactional spaces, constitute participation frameworks, and also mobilise responses from the adults. All in all, with their summons turns, children make apparent the complexities that reside in multiparty and multiactivity settings. Additionally, the context and material space affect the children's summons practices in different ways. These will be covered in the next section.

⁹ In addition to utilising verbal and embodied resources for accomplishing the summons action, the mixing of languages can also be seen as a resource that Ash uses for modifying his summons action in order to mobilise a response from Rowan (see Section 5.1.2).

5.1.5 How the context and material space feature in the children's summons practices

Articles I–III have inspected children's summonses in three different but mundane settings: among family members in cars (Articles I and II), at family homes (Article II), and in kindergartens (Article III). All these settings have distinct features that affect the practices that the children use for performing the summons action. In cars, the side-by-side and/or back-to-front seating arrangements influence the organisation of interaction (Laurier et al., 2008, p. 9–12; Article I), for example, by restricting the participants' movement and mobility (see Section 5.1.4). The seating arrangement also shapes the interactional space (Mondada, 2009) so that none of the participants face each other. Instead, everyone faces the front of the car unless the participants in the front seat turn and look at the people in the back seat. Furthermore, in cars, the summoned adults are typically the ones driving, especially in situations where only one adult is present. This means that the driver may be involved in multiactivity, where they may be unable to talk to the child due to simultaneous driving-related activities (Laurier et al., 2008, p. 12; Article I).

In contrast, at family homes and in kindergartens, the participants can move freely in the space. The children are able to utilise different embodied and ambulatory summonses when trying to draw the adults' attention. Furthermore, the children can transform the interactional space quite freely, for example, by moving close to the adults, within the restrictions of the physical spaces (e.g., walls, furniture placement). One notable difference between the children summoning the adults at family homes and in kindergartens is the intended recipient of the summons turns. The children at family homes summon their parents, whereas in kindergartens, they summon the caregivers. The differences in the children's relationships with their parents compared to their caregivers affect the verbal design of their summonses. Among family members, children often summon their parents with kin terms (*mummy, daddy*). In contrast, in kindergartens the children are more likely to summon the caregivers by their name or with other vocalisations, such as *hey/hei*-particles or pre-fixed sequential questions like *guess what*.

Articles I–III show that the children employ various practices when summoning the adults. While it is important to consider the different contexts and situations in which the children summon the adults, it is worth noting that most of the practices the children utilise in their summonses occur in all the studied settings: they are only adapted to different circumstances. For example, even though the car setting restricts the participants' movement and mobility, the children may still

reach out to touch the driver (within the limits of their seat belt) as an embodied summons. This means that regardless of the environment, the children still try to summon the adults with practices that are available to them. Thus, the children's summonses are naturally situated and contingent.

Section 5.1 has illustrated how the children in the current data summon the adults with various vocal and embodied practices and shown how the context and material space may affect these practices. Furthermore, this section has demonstrated how the intelligibility and accountability of summons actions rely on the (material) resources that are limited or available to children in the here-and-now. These resources are inherent elements of the local environment where interaction occurs. Thus, they constitute the natural site for the summons actions, so considering them is necessary when studying the summons action. Next, Section 5.2 builds on this and demonstrates how the children's understanding of turn-taking, sequence organisation, conditional relevance, and multiactivity are displayed in the practices that children employ in their summonses.

5.2 Children's understanding of turn-taking, sequence organisation and conditional relevance

This section answers the second research question: how are children's understandings of sequentiality and conditional relevance displayed in their summons practices? The analyses suggest that when the children summon the adults, the design of their summons action reveals their understanding and/or orientation towards turn-taking, sequence organisation and the ongoing situation. This section illustrates how the position of the summons turn and its verbal, phonetic, and embodied design display the children's understanding of turn-taking, sequence organisation, conditional relevance, and multiactivity.

As has been shown in Section 5.1.1, most summons episodes analysed in Article I (43/63) occur when the summoned adult is not talking to anyone else at the moment of being summoned by a child. This suggests that, for the most part, the children¹⁰ understand the "rules" of turn-taking and are able to recognise when to engage in a conversation with the adults through self-selection.

¹⁰ In Article I, the children's ages vary from toddlers to teenagers. While it is obvious that toddlers and teenagers do not have the same levels of social competence, there did not appear to be any significant age-related differences in the turn-taking practices among the children. However, the children's age was not the focus of this paper, and thus more research on this is needed.

Article I also shows that in 20/63 of the summons episodes, children summon the adults at TRPs or in overlap with other ongoing conversations at non-TRPs. Of these 20 episodes, 14/20 were produced at TRPs of another conversation. In these episodes, the position of the children's turns at TRPs shows that they orient to other simultaneous conversations and adjust to them by summoning at possible turn transitions. This suggests that the children are able to recognise when a TCU is prosodically, grammatically and/or pragmatically complete. In the remaining 6/20 episodes in Article I, the children summon the adults in overlap with other turns at non-TRPs. This could be explained with the children's orientations to their projects as urgent, which is why they talk in overlap and interrupt the other ongoing conversations. The children's overlapping turns may also at times be indicative of the children's (developing) competencies in identifying whether a turn or a sequence is interactionally finished or not, even if there is silence or the speaker changes (see Schegloff, 1989, p. 140). However, this study has not systematically focused on how the children's turn-taking competencies develop as the children grow, and thus the observations made here are tentative.

Articles I–III have shown that even young children (3-year-olds and older) orient to conditional relevance (on 18-month-old children's orientation to conditional relevance, see Filipi, 2009, p. 210–211). This orientation becomes evident in summons-response sequences when the adult's response to the child's summons is missing. Children treat the adults' nonresponse to their earlier summonses as a breach of sequence organisation since the missing response prevents the progression of their project. As Articles I–III show, when the children summon the adults, but the adults do not respond, the children often hold the adults accountable for not responding. If the children do not receive responses to their initial summons turns, they may repeat their summons action and modify it with prosodic and embodied practices. Prosodically, these practices include changing phonetic parameters, such as phonation, loudness, pitch, and duration (see Section 5.1.3). Bodily, the children utilise gaze, touch, movement, and mobility (see Section 5.1.4; on embodied summonses, see also Keel, 2015, p. 10, 2016, p. 95) to pursue a response from the adult. In situations where the adults do not respond, and the children repeat their summonses, the children closely observe the ongoing (interactional) situation and adapt their attention and response-mobilising summons practices based on it. This way, the children's summonses adapt to the current interactional situation and (possible) complexities that reside in it. Thus, the children's summonses are reflexive in nature.

One thing to bear in mind about repeated summonses is that each summons turn is produced in a different sequential environment. The first summons turn is produced when the child has not summoned the adult earlier for that project. The second summons comes after the first one, which has not received a response. This creates a specific context for the second summons. As the child keeps summoning the adult, the situation in which the summonses are produced changes. The context and the recipient's actions may change, especially during longer summons episodes. For example, during the first summons, the adult might be involved in another conversation, whereas during the next summons turn, that conversation may have already ended (see Excerpts 49 and 50 in Section 5.4). This shows how the summons action is related to the overall interactional ecology and why it is important to study extended summons episodes. Examining only single summons turns and their responses would disregard how summons actions emerge temporally and thus decrease the ecological validity of the findings (see Section 6.3).

At times when repeated summonses are not enough for the children to get preferred responses from the adults, the children may display their active agency and move on to establish conditions that would make it easier for the adults to respond. One of the findings of Article II is that the children interpret the conditions as favourable for interaction when (1) the adults are not visibly oriented towards other activities, and/or (2) the adults are physically oriented to the children. This is visible, for example, when the children summon the adults and move on with their interactional projects without waiting for the adults' go-ahead responses. When the children interpret the conditions not to be favourable for interaction, they establish such conditions by transforming the interactional space (Mondada, 2009) to one where the adults are more likely to respond. The children may do this, for example, by moving close to the adults or otherwise by making it easier for the adults to respond to them. For example, in Excerpt 3 of Article II (see also Excerpt 38 in Section 5.1.4), the child summons their mother because they need their help undoing their shoelaces. Since verbal summonses are not enough to get the mother's assistance, the child begins to establish conditions where the mother could help him with the least possible effort. The child does this by moving close to the mother and by placing their foot in front of her. With embodied actions, the child thus changes the interactional space and establishes favourable conditions for the mother to help him with his shoelaces.

This section has discussed how the children's summons turns indicate their understandings of turn-taking and sequential organisation as well as their

orientations to conditional relevance. The next section shifts the focus from the children's summonses to the adults' responses to them.

5.3 Adults' responses to children's summonses

This section focuses on the adults' responses to the children's summonses, and answers the third and last research question: how do adults respond to children's summons turns? It illustrates how the adults' involvement in multiactivity affects their responses to the children's summonses. The section also shows how the adults' responses to the children can be seen as a practice of socialising the children into the rules and norms of turn-taking and social interaction.

5.3.1 Adults' responses to children in multiactivity situations

This section shows how the adults' responses to the children's summonses are affected by multiactivity situations. The adults' responses to the children, or the lack of them, are dependent on how the adults organise and prioritise the competing activities in the multiactivity situation. This section also displays how the adults' responses to the children are not only verbal but also embodied.

When the children summon the adults at moments when the adults are not involved in other conversations or activities that require their full focus, the children are likely to receive responses from the adults soon after the summonses. In Article I, in 38/43 summons episodes where the children summon the adults when there are no other ongoing conversations, the adults respond to the summonses¹¹ (see Section 5.1.1). In these cases, the vocal or embodied design of the summons turns does not appear to contribute to whether the adults respond to the children or not; instead, the adults are likely to respond to the summonses regardless of the composition/design of the summons turns. Excerpt 42 shows that when a child summons an adult (line 2) when the adult is not talking to anyone else, the adult responds to the child (line 4).

Excerpt 42. (Presented earlier as Excerpt 4). Habitable Cars: I wish I had a friendly dog

```
01 MUM: pff::[::]
02 LUC: [.hh] mu::m?
03      (0.6)
-> 04 MUM: yeah.
```

¹¹ In the remaining episodes (5/43), the adults do not respond to the children's summonses.

However, the data shows that if the children summon the adults when the adults are already involved in other activities, such as talking to someone else, and the children's summonses establish potential multiactivity situations for the adults, the adults are less likely to respond to the children compared to when the adults are not in multiactivity situations. Article I shows that in multiactivity situations, the children's summons turns' design and position in relation to other conversations plays a role in whether the adults respond to the children or not. In Article I, in over half of the episodes where the children summon the adults at TRPs during other ongoing conversations (8/14), the adults either do not respond to the summonses at all, or they produce blocking responses to them. In these situations, the composition of the children's summons turns appears to contribute to turn's success in mobilising a response from the adults. In 7/8 of the episodes where the adults do not respond to the children, the children summons the adults with standalone address terms. In the remaining (1/8) episode, the child summons an adult with a combination of an address term and an announcement (*mummy we are riding river ride I can't wait*). Thus, when the adults are talking to other people when the children summon them at TRPs, these standalone address terms, or combinations of standalone address terms and announcements, do not appear to be enough to mobilise responses from them.

However, in Article I, in 6/14 episodes where the children summon the adults at TRPs of another ongoing conversations, the adults respond to the children's summonses. In these episodes, the children have paired the summonses with other response-mobilising social actions, for example, questions, in the same or subsequent TCUs. When summoning the adults at TRPs in the middle of other ongoing conversations, these combinations mobilise responses from the adults more effectively compared to standalone summonses. This could be because when the children bring forward their projects, the adults are able to assess whether the children need to be attended urgently, or whether attending to the children's projects can be postponed until a later moment. Furthermore, when knowing the reason behind the children's summoning attempts, the adults may be able to assess whether it would be possible for them to respond to the children while participating in the other ongoing conversation. This can be seen in Excerpt 43.

Excerpt 43. Habitable Cars: Fat pony

25 MIA: then Bil ↓ ly ↑ he's got withers but I
 26 >haven't ridden him in a< while.

27 MUM: I've heard of Billy before,
 28 MIA: e[:::rm,]
 29 ELL: [yeah Billy.]
 30 MUM: so [are you riding] different horses.
 31 MIA: [I think you rode him.]
 32 MIA: yeah.
 33 (0.6)
 34 MIA: and [so I'm used to riding horses that]
 35 ELL: [mum. did ↑you ↓ride Billy.]
 36 MIA: are like [>they're< quite BRO]AD on the
 -> 37 MUM: [I don't know.]
 38 MIA: shoulders and have (.) some withers. .hh
 39 MUM: mm:::,

In Excerpt 43, the mother (MUM) and a passenger (Mia) are having a conversation (lines 25–39). Prior to the excerpt, a child (Ella, ELL) has summoned the mother, and in line 29 responded to the mother's turn to Mia (line 27) as attempts to partake in the ongoing conversation. In line 35, Ella summons the mother at a TRP of Mia's telling, with its onset at a "blind spot" (Jefferson, 1986, p. 167). The mother responds to this in overlap with Mia's telling by saying *I don't know* (line 37). Even though the mother answers Ella's question, here her answer may function as a practice meant for cutting short the interaction that Ella initiates, so that she can continue the ongoing conversation with Mia (see Keevallik, 2016). This notion is supported when the driver and Mia continue their conversation in lines 38–39.

Furthermore, if the children summon the adults in overlap at non-TRPs in other ongoing conversations, it is unlikely that the adults respond. In Article I, in 5/6 episodes where the children summon the adults at non-TRPs in other conversations, the adults do not provide (preferred) responses to the children until their ongoing conversation has come to an end. In other words, the adults either do not respond at all or they provide blocking responses. In these five episodes where the adults do not provide preferred, go-ahead responses, it does not seem to matter whether the children summoning the adults are trying to join already ongoing conversations or whether they attempt to initiate new lines of interaction; if the children's turns sequentially intervene with the ongoing conversations, the adults are less likely to respond regardless of the design of the children's summons turns.

The only exception to this appears to be when the children summon the adults due to urgent matters. Excerpt 44 shows that when Aaro summons his father and states that another child needs to go to the toilet, the father will reply to them even if he is currently talking to someone else.

Excerpt 44. Talk&Drive: Need to go to toilet

01 DAD: >se on sit-<
it will be then

02 NIK: °°joo.°°
yeah

03 (0.2)

04 DAD: muutenki (0.4) rahaa ihan mukavasti ni tuota,
anyway quite a nice amount of money so uhm

05 (1.2)

06 AAR: iskä.
daddy

07 (0.3)

08 DAD: kuulin semmosen rahoituskanavan [niin tuota,]
I heard of this funding organisation so uhm

09 AAR: [Iirolla] on
Iiro needs

10 ves°sahätä.°
to go to the toilet

11 (0.3)

12 IIR: °°(nii)°°
(yeah)

13 (0.6)

-> 14 DAD: ↑vessahätä.
needs to go to the toilet

In Excerpt 44, the father (DAD) is talking to another adult participant (Niklas, NIK) (lines 1–4). Aaro (AAR) summons his father with an address term *iskä* ‘daddy’ (line 6) while the father is preparing for his next utterance, implied by the end of the turn *ni tuota* ‘so uhm’ (line 4). Here, the Finnish word *tuota* suggests that the father’s telling is not finished yet (Etelämäki & Jaakola, 2009, p. 189). Thus, even though there is a 1.2-second pause, to which Aaro orients to as a TRP, granting him enough time to self-select, the design of the father’s turn in line 4 – the grammar and slightly rising final pitch (Ogden & Routarinne, 2005; Routarinne, 2003) – indicate that he has still more to say. In line 8, the father continues his telling, confirming the interpretation of the pause in line 5 as being at a non-TRP. Even though the father does not respond to the summons, Aaro goes on with his project and announces that Iiro (IIR) needs to go to the toilet (lines 9–10). This suggests that Aaro orients to Iiro’s need to pee as an urgent matter which should be dealt with right away: Aaro treats himself as entitled to speak and interrupt the father’s conversation with the matter (see also Sacks, 1995, p. 229; on entitlement and contingency, see Craven & Potter, 2010; Curl & Drew, 2008). In line 8, the father halts his telling mid-turn and thus suspends it to attend to Iiro’s needs. In line 14, the father responds by repeating the key element in Aaro’s turn *vessahätä* ‘need to go to the toilet’ (line 14) using high pitch onset, which indicates unexpectedness

(Stevanovic et al., 2020). After the transcript ends, the matter of needing to go to the toilet is discussed further.

Excerpt 44 supports the argument that when the children summon the adults with standalone address terms at non-TRPs of other conversations, the adults are unlikely to respond to them. Excerpt 44 also shows that the adults are more likely to respond to the children if they summon the adults because of urgency, even if the children’s summonses intervene with ongoing conversations. In situations where the children also produce other actions in addition to the summonses, and thus account for summoning the adults, the adults can assess whether the children’s matters are more urgent than the other simultaneously ongoing conversations. Thus, in these situations, the adults are able to prioritise certain activities over others, which is a practice people have been shown to do in multiactivity situations (Mondada, 2014b). This prioritisation of activities is what takes place in Excerpt 44: the father treats Aaro’s announcement of Iiro’s need to go to the toilet as more important than the other ongoing conversation. This way, the father prioritises the urgent matter over the ongoing conversation by suspending the conversation, so that he can deal with the more urgent matter first.

In situations where the adults do not provide vocal responses, they may respond to the children’s summonses by gazing at them (see Filipi, 2009, p. 69 for a child responding to their mother’s summons by gazing at her). In other words, in these situations the adults’ gaze can function as a type of a go-ahead response, as shown in Excerpt 45.

Excerpt 45. Finnish Family Days: Take these shoelaces off

```

46 ELM: #ÄI:#TI:.
           mum
47 TUU: Henna voi [ (--) ]
           Henna can (--)
48 ELM:      %[ o#ta#] NÄÄ (NAU]HAT)Δ pois%:::.
           take these laces off
-> mug      -->%Elmeri-----%Minea->
   fig                                Δfig26

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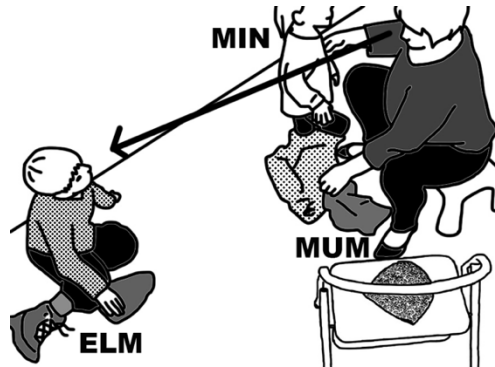


Fig. 26. Mother gazes at Elmeri.

In Excerpt 45, Elmeri (ELM) summons his mother (MUM, line 46). The mother does not provide a vocal response to Elmeri when she is having a conversation with another child (Tuukka, TUU). Instead, she gazes at Elmeri (line 48). Right after this, Elmeri requests the mother to help him with his shoelaces (line 48). This implies that Elmeri orients to the mother looking at him as a go-ahead.

This section has shown how the position and design of the children's summons turns affect whether and when the adults respond to them. Furthermore, it has also illustrated that the adults' responses to the children's summonses may be verbal, but that also embodied go-aheads, performed with a redirection of gaze, occur. As suggested earlier, the adults' responses to the children's summonses reflect their understandings of the multiactivity situations and the ways they prioritise the simultaneous, conflicting activities. With their responses, the adults manage the multiple ongoing activities, either by proceeding with the interaction initiated by the children's summonses, or by organizing the parallel activities successively (e.g., asking for the child to wait for their turn), thus avoiding a situation where they would need to perform two or more activities at the same time. Hence, the adults' responses are a means for them to address the complexities that reside in multiactivity and multiparty settings.

5.3.2 Adults' responses socialising children into the norms of social interaction

In the data, the adults' responses to the children's summonses, and the lack of them, function as feedback on the children's actions and affect their next actions (see also Tarplee, 2010). This way, the adults' responses socialise the children into how to

interact with others: how turns-at-talk in social interaction are distributed and allocated, what counts as appropriate or inappropriate behaviour, and how various competing activities are prioritised in different situations. Thus, the adults' responses to the children's summons turns help to shape the children's linguistic and interactional development (see also Filipi, 2013; Tarplee, 2010). Through the discussion of three excerpts, this section shows how the adults' different responses to children's summonses socialise the children into the organisation of turn-taking as well as into culturally appropriate behaviour.

As explained earlier in Section 5.1.1, Article I showed how most of the children's summons episodes to the adults (43/63) are produced when the adults are not talking to anyone else at that moment. As explained then in Section 5.3.1, when the adults are not involved in other conversations at the moment of the children's summonses, the adults are likely to respond to the children with go-ahead responses. This can be seen in Excerpt 46 below.

Excerpt 46. (Presented earlier as Excerpts 4 and 42). Habitable Cars: I wish I had a friendly dog

```

01 MUM: pff::[::]
-> 02 LUC: [.hh] mu::m?
03      (0.6)
04 MUM: yeah.

```

At moments when the adults respond to the children's summonses with go-aheads, the adults display to the children that at this moment, they are available for further interaction. In addition, the adults' response also suggests that the practices the children used for summoning the adults were appropriate at this moment. However, if the children summon the adults at moments when the adults are not able or display unwillingness to provide go-aheads to the summons, the adults may either not respond to the children at all (see Excerpt 49 in Section 5.4.1) or respond to the children with blocking responses (Schegloff, 2007, p. 51). This is shown in Excerpt 47.

Excerpt 47. Habitable Cars: Top trumps

```

01 MUM: It's:: then you:: (.)
02      [>look at YOUR CA:RD< AND YOU S::] AND YOU SA::Y,=
03 NOE: [but if YOU LO:SE #THA::T,#
04 NOE: =mummy:: #but# if you lo:[se tha::t, ]
05 LUC:      [<like (GRE::]D) one
06      an- (.) if the other ones['s got<]
07 NOE:      [but MUM]MY:::?=

```

08 MUM: =you're better one tha[n you.]
 09 NOE: [IF YOU] LO:[SE]
 10 LUC: [um] uh
 11 LUC: [a bigger nu]mber than you::
 -> 12 MUM: [>wait a minute.<]
 13 NOE: #muM#[MY::?
 -> 14 MUM: [Shh[h<
 15 LUC: [O:: on the]ir ca: rds [then<
 16 EMI: [>I:: I- I<] [o-] oh yeah.=
 17 =I've- I've [played that.]
 18 NOE: % [MUMMY::::: ?]
 noe %..>
 -> 19 MUM: SHH% yes it [(will.)]
 noe ..>%leaning forward-->
 20 EMI: [I've] [pla%y:::] ed<=%
 noe -->% ,,,,,,, %
 21 NOE: [°mum°my:]
 -> 22 MUM: =just >wait a minute,< [wait till Emily's] finished
 23 NOE: [(ho:::::w)]
 -> 24 MUM: [then you can speak.]
 25 NOE: [I::::: ,]
 26 (1.1)
 27 NOE: u:h if you #lo:::se# (0.7) if you ↑don't have any::
 28 (0.3) then (0.3) >you< can win.

In Excerpt 47, Noel (NOE) summons his mother (MUM; lines 4, 7, 13 and 21) at non-TRPs, in overlap with a conversation that the mother is having with Lucy and Emily. Instead of providing Noel a go-ahead, the mother blocks his initiations of interaction and accounts for why she is doing so. The mother's first blocking response to Noel occurs in line 12 when she tells him to wait: *wait a minute*. This way, she also suspends her go-ahead response to his summons turn. Noel does not comply with this request but instead keeps summoning his mother (line 13). In line 14, the mother acknowledges that Noel is summoning her: she again suspends her go-ahead response by attempting to silence him by asking him to hush, while also replying to Lucy's earlier turn (line 19). Noel summons the mother again in line 21, after which she requests for him to wait and accounts for that by saying *just wait a minute, wait till Emily's finished then you can speak* (lines 22–24). After this, there is a 1.1-second gap, after which Noel self-selects and informs about the rule that he has been trying to tell about.

In Excerpt 47, the mother uses her blocking and accounting turns to socialise Noel into the norms of turn-taking and turn allocation in a multiparty setting: one needs to wait for their turn since only one person should talk at a time (see Sacks et al., 1974). This way the mother is also communicating her inability to take part in multiple conversations simultaneously. By doing so, she makes visible the

unfolding multiple activities and the interactional demands that the multiactivity poses for everyone in that situation.

While Noel's summons turns are blocked in Excerpt 47, the mother lets him know that she will attend to him later. However, in their blocking responses, adults do not necessarily "promise" to the children that they can talk later, as is shown in Excerpt 48.

Excerpt 48. (Earlier presented as Excerpts 34 and 39). Kindergarten data: You didn't even say sorry

```

13      (1.2)
14 LEI: eh HEY PARKER. I [SAID ] ≥±SORRY [TO ARON      ]
      par                                  ≥..>
      pag                                  ±Leia-->
-> 15 PAR:                [↑don't]          [don't shout,]
16 LEI: AND NOW (0.2) ≥[HE'S SAYING THAT]
      par                ..>finger in front of her mouth-->>
-> 17 PAR:                [≥↑don't shout. ]≥
->      par                ≥shaking her head≥
18 LEI: I DIDN'T SAY sor[ry,]
-> 19 PAR:                [ dɔ̃n't ±shout (.) Leia.
      pag                -->±desk-->>

```

In line 14, Leia (LEI) summons Parker (PAR), the caregiver, and tells her that another child is accusing him of not having apologised (lines 14, 16 and 18). Parker produces blocking responses by asking Leia not to shout (lines 15, 17 and 19). At the same time, Parker looks at Leia (lines 14–19), gestures him to be quiet (line 16 onwards), and shakes her head (line 17). Parker's responses to Leia's turn imply that in this situation, it is more important for Leia not to shout than it is for her to respond to him. This way, with her responses, Parker implies that the practice Leia used for initiating interaction with her (shouting) is considered as inappropriate behaviour at this moment. Additionally, in Excerpt 48, Leia summons Parker because of a prior conflict between him and another child. Thus, by not responding to Leia's turn directly, Parker may also display unwillingness to escalate the situation further. Furthermore, after the end of the excerpt, Parker does not respond to Leia's turn, nor does Leia continue to engage in interaction with Parker about the matter. This shows a contrast between Excerpts 47 and 48, as in Excerpt 47, the mother lets Noel participate in the conversation later.

As Excerpts 47 and 48 have shown, the adults' responses to the children show which activities and actions the adults prioritise at that moment. In Excerpt 47, the

mother prioritises the ongoing conversation over the one that the child is trying to initiate. In comparison, in Excerpt 48, the caregiver prioritises stopping the child from shouting over responding to the child's summons. In addition to (blocking) responses, also the lack of responses from the adults may display which activities the adults prioritise. For example, Excerpts 49 and 50 in Section 5.4. show that if the children summon the adults while the adults are talking to others, the adults' missing responses may display how they prioritise the ongoing conversation over the line of activity that the children are trying to initiate. In these situations, the adults keeping silent and not producing go-aheads to the children may also function as non-verbal socialisation into the organisation of turn-taking, especially in multiparty contexts (similar to Excerpt 49). The adults' engagement in other participants' conversations, and their missing responses to the children, show who has the right to talk at the moment. The adults' missing response may also socialise the children into recognising when a sequence has come to an end, and when it is appropriate to initiate a new conversation (see also Filipi, 2013). Moreover, the adults' blocking and accounting responses to children's summonses also make apparent the complexities that reside in the interactional situations, and thus socialise the children into recognising the demands that multiactivity situations pose on the participants.

This section has shown how the adults' (missing) responses to the children's summonses function as feedback that influences the children's further actions, as well as socialise them into the organisation of social interaction. This section has also shown how the adults respond to the children's summons turns, and how their responses are affected by the potential multiactivity situation, but also by the children's summons turns themselves. Moreover, the analyses demonstrate how the adults' responses to the children's summonses reveal the asymmetries that are present in adult-child interactions. Here, these asymmetries refer mainly to the adults' rights to shape the children's further interactions, for example, with blocking responses. Next, Section 5.4 will synthesise the findings presented in Sections 5.1–5.3 with the help of two longer excerpts.

5.4 Synthesis: Two example analyses of children summoning adults

This section brings together the findings presented in Sections 5.1–5.3 and demonstrates them in the analyses of two excerpts (Sections 5.4.1 and 5.4.2). The analyses showcase in detail how the children build their summons actions to engage

with the adults in complex multiparty and multiactivity situations. Section 5.4.1 illustrates how a child, in a car setting, employs various prosodic and embodied practices to summon his father who is simultaneously talking to another adult passenger. After this, Section 5.4.2 demonstrates how in a kindergarten setting the children’s collaborative attempt to engage in interaction with a caregiver to perform a telling-on action changes the interactional ecology and thus leads to transformations in the local participation frameworks.

5.4.1 A child’s repeated summonses to their parent in a car

Excerpt 49 comes from the Finnish-speaking family data (Talk&Drive corpus). This excerpt illustrates how Iiro (IIR, 5 years old) attempts to engage in interaction with his father (DAD) while the father is talking to another passenger (Niklas, NIK). In other words, Iiro is trying to initiate interaction with his father in a multiparty and multiactivity situation. Also, Iiro’s brother, Aaro (AAR, 8 years old) is present in the car; however, he does not talk in the excerpt. Prior to the excerpt, the father and Niklas have been talking about their partners. See Figure 27 below for the seating arrangements of the participants.

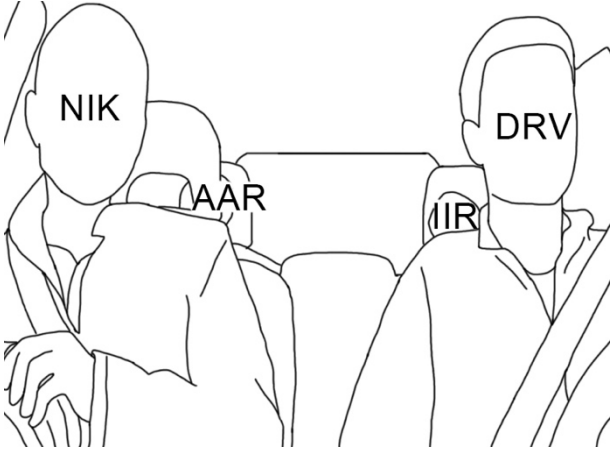


Fig. 27. The seating arrangements in Excerpt 49-c.

Excerpt 49a. Talk&Drive: When will we go to a hotel

```
01 NIK: Alicehan on kans ollu +s- aina va+ihteleva.=
      Alice has also always been fickle
dad  >>holding the wheel-->>
dag  >>road-----+right-----+road-->
```

02 =vähä aaltoina ni hyvin (0.3)
in waves quite

03 tyyty[mätön omiin hommiinsa tai] [väsyt]ny
unhappy with her own work or tired

04 IIR: [M↑Illon me mennään ho↓tel°liin?°]
when will we go to a hotel

05 DAD: [joo.]
yeah

06 NIK: ja sil°la[i.°=.hh]h
and like that

07 DAD: [joo::h.]
yeah

-> 08 IIR: i[:si:].
daddy

09 NIK: [>että< se niinkön, (1.0) ei se ↑nyt< (0.5)
so that she like now she is not

10 tällä hetkellä miten,kään, (1.4) pahastikkaa
at the moment in any way that bad

11 oo °°mutta.°°
but

Throughout Excerpt 49, Niklas is telling the driver about his romantic partner. The children, Iiro and Aaro, are not part of the conversation that the adults are having. In line 4, Iiro tries to engage with the father and asks him: *millon me mennään hotelliin* ‘when will we go to a hotel’. His turn is produced in interjacent overlap (Jefferson, 1986), in other words, at a non-TRP with Niklas’s turn in line 3. The father does not provide an answer to Iiro’s question; instead, he remains oriented towards Niklas’s telling, as evidenced by his embodied and verbal responses to Niklas throughout the excerpt. Bodily, he turns his head towards Niklas twice in the excerpt (lines 1, 22). Verbally, he produces brief acknowledgement and go-ahead tokens in overlap with Niklas’s turns (*joo* ‘yeah’ in line 5, and *joo::h* ‘yeah’ in line 7; Sorjonen, 2001, p. 238–242).

At the end of line 6, there is a TRP in Niklas’s turn. Lexically, this is evidenced by his use of a Finnish generalised list completer *ja sillai* ‘and like that’ (Jefferson, 1989). Prosodically, the TRP is projected by the falling final-pitch (Tiittula, 1985, p. 324) and quiet voice (Ogden, 2004). The father orients to the end of line 6 as a TRP, illustrated by his response to Niklas *joo::h* ‘yeah’ (line 7). Iiro orients to the end of line 6 as a TRP as well: in line 8, he summons his father with a standalone address term *isi* ‘daddy’. In overlap with Iiro’s summons, Niklas continues his telling (line 9). In line 11, Niklas’s telling comes again to a TRP, evidenced lexically with the conjunction *mutta* ‘but’, which in Finnish frequently functions as a turn-final particle (Koivisto, 2011), and prosodically with a very quiet voice (Ogden, 2004) and a falling final-pitch (Tiittula, 1985, p. 324).

Excerpt 49b. Talk&Drive: When will we go to a hotel

12 (1.5)
 -> 13 IIR: i:[si::h].
 daddy

14 NIK: [mutta tuota: (.) kuiten[↑]kis %se
 but well anyway she
 -> iir %..>

15 on niinköΔ% haΔlukas hakemaan
 is like willing to apply
 fig Δfig28Δfig29
 iir ..>%hitting the driver's seat-->

16 uusia% +hom%[↓]mia eli° se.+
 for new work so that she
 iir -->%,,,,,%
 dag -->+backseat, right---+road-->

17 (0.4)
 -> 18 IIR: I[S:kä.
 daddy

19 DAD: [njoo.
 yeah

20 NIK: [oha sitä koittanu, (0.9) tuota (0.3)
 one has tried to well

21 kannus[↓]taa että se:: nyt ainaki
 be supportive so that she would at least

22 [↑]si[↓]säisesti +hakis,
 internally apply
 dag -->+nik-->



Fig. 28. Iiro begins to hit the father's seat (line 15).



Fig. 29. Iiro hitting the father's seat (line 15).

In line 12, there is a 1.5-second-long pause, after which Iiro repeats his summons (line 13). Iiro has prosodically modified his summons by elongating and stressing both vowel sounds of *isi* 'daddy'. Iiro's repeated summons turn implies that he holds the father accountable for not responding to the summons, thus the repeated turn displays his orientation towards a response to the summons being the conditionally relevant next action. Regardless, the father does not respond, and instead, Niklas continues his telling in line 14, in overlap with Iiro's summons. As the father does not respond to Iiro, he begins to bodily modify his summons action (e.g., McTear, 1985). In lines 15–16, Iiro hits the father's seat. The hitting functions as a material and embodied practice for drawing the father's attention and pursuing a response from him (see also Butler & Wilkinson, 2013, p. 47). In line 16, the father briefly looks at Iiro, but does not respond to him vocally, thus enforcing silence upon him.

The syntactic design of Niklas's turn in line 16 projects continuation, but prosodically the quieter voice and falling final pitch indicate a TRP. Consequently, both Iiro and the father treat the end of Niklas's TCU as a TRP: they both self-select, in overlap with each other (lines 18–19). Iiro summons the father again with a prosodically modified summons turn *iskä* 'daddy' (line 18), while the father responds to Niklas with *njoo* 'yeah' (line 19). The father's response token *njoo* 'yeah' (line 19) (Sorjonen, 2001, p. 238–242) shows how he maintains his orientation towards Niklas's ongoing telling which, regardless of the TRP, is still

not finished. Thus, in line 19, the father makes it visible to other participants that at the moment, he prioritises responding to Niklas's telling over responding to Iiro's summons turn. This is a practice that he uses for managing the two competing activities in the multiactivity setting that he is in (Mondada, 2014b). In lines 20–22, Niklas continues his telling.

Excerpt 49c. Talk&Drive: When will we go to a hotel

23 NIK: =että >sois< **kuitenki +uute- uuelle**, (0.7)
 so that it would be for- for a new
 dag +road-->>

24 jos **muuttas jonnekki ni se- °se vois**
 if one moved somewhere that- that could

25 olla **ehkä ihan°**
 be maybe quite

-> 26 IIR: **ISKÄ.**
 daddy

27 (0.4)

28 NIK: **hyvä ava°in°** [°°(itelle.)°°
 a good key (for oneself)

-> 29 IIR: [**>isi,**<
 daddy

30 (0.3)%(0.5)%(0.3) ((=1.1))

-> iir %....%touching the driver's neck-->

-> 31 IIR: **i:si::i, Δ**
 daddy

fig Δfig30

-> 32 DAD: **mitä.**
 what

33 (0.3)

34 IIR: **että nii ↑millon% me me%nnää .hh** (0.4)
 so yeah when will we go .hh

iir -->%,,,,,,%hand resting on the
 driver's seat-->>

35 IIR: **sinne hotelliin?**
 to the hotel

36 (0.5)

37 DAD: **tsk** (0.9) **heinäkuussa?**
 in July

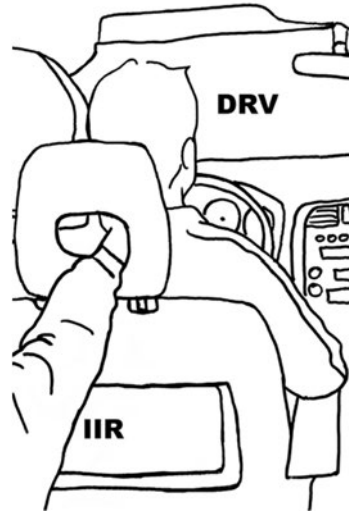


Fig. 30. Iiro touches the father's neck (line 31).

Niklas continues his telling in lines 23–25. In line 26, Iiro summons his father with a markedly loud voice at a non-TRP during Niklas's turn (lines 25–28). His actions further imply that he holds the father accountable for not responding to him, and treats his actions as troublesome (see Sikveland, 2019 on failed summonses). Regardless, the father does not respond. In line 28, Niklas's telling is coming to an end, visible in the falling final-pitch and use of soft voice (Ogden, 2004). In line 29, Iiro summons his father yet again. This time, his summons is produced quickly with a slightly rising final-pitch in transitional (pre-completor) overlap (Jefferson, 1983, p. 16–18) with Niklas's turn. In line 30 there is a 1.1-second pause, during which Iiro reaches forward and touches his father's neck (Figure 30). After this, Iiro summons the father again (line 31), while keeping his hand on his neck until the father responds to him with a go-ahead *mitä* 'what' (line 32). In lines 34–35, Iiro repeats his initial question *että nii millon me mennää .hh (0.4) sinne hotelliin* 'so yeah when will we go to the hotel', after which the father answers to him with *heinäkuussa* 'in July' (line 37).

In Excerpt 49, Iiro begins to summon his father after a missing answer to his initial question (line 4). The excerpt illustrates how his summons action is multi-layered, composed of vocal and embodied practices. Thus, it constitutes a complex multimodal Gestalt (see Section 5.1). In the excerpt, Iiro repeats his summons turn five times, prosodically modifying each turn in different ways, for example, by elongating vowel sounds and using loud voice. Additionally, he combines the vocal,

repeated summonses with embodied actions: hitting the father's seat and touching his neck. As discussed in Section 5.1.5, the seating formation in the car restricts Iiro's movement and thus limits the interactional resources that are available to him for summoning. However, as his actions show, he adapts to the context, and, regardless of the limitations of the car interior, manages to modify his summons action bodily to attract the father's attention and get a response from him. Furthermore, with the use of repeated summonses, Iiro displays that he orients to the missing responses as being conditionally relevant next actions and treats the father as accountable for not responding to him (see Section 5.2).

By summoning the father while he is talking to Niklas, Iiro's summonses establish a potential multiactivity situation to the father. In addition to driving, two competing activities demand the father's attention in this situation: interactions with Niklas and Iiro. Throughout the excerpt, the father remains oriented towards Niklas's telling and does not respond to Iiro until Niklas has halted his telling. This lack of responding to Iiro displays how the father organises the multiple activities: he prioritises Niklas's telling over responding to Iiro, until Niklas has finished. Thus, by not responding to Iiro, the father avoids the need to progress two activities in parallel. By gazing at Niklas and responding to him with response tokens, he attempts to sustain mutual orientation between him and Niklas, regardless of the complexity of the situation. Furthermore, by enforcing silence upon Iiro, the father may also socialise him into turn-taking in a multiparty, multiactivity situation by implying that Iiro needs to wait for his turn until the current speaker has finished (Section 5.3.2, see Sacks et al., 1974). However, the multiactivity situation also poses challenges for Iiro's summons action. As the father is involved in multiactivity and does not respond to him, Iiro modifies his summons action prosodically and bodily to attract the father's attention and pursue a response from him. By modifying his summonses, Iiro orients to and makes visible the complexities of engaging in interaction with the father in a complex, multiparty and multiactivity situation.

Excerpt 49 has illustrated how a child summons their father repeatedly in a car setting. In contrast, the next section provides an example from the kindergarten data where the children's summonses and telling-on action change the interactional ecology, which results in the establishment of a participation framework with a caregiver in a multiparty, multiactivity situation.

5.4.2 The establishment of a participation framework in a telling-on sequence

Excerpt 50 comes from (mainly) English-speaking kindergarten data (see Section 2.1). It illustrates how the children's collaborative telling-on action transforms the local participation frameworks and result in the formation of a new multiparty participation framework. Prior to the excerpt, the children (approximately 6–7-years-old) Remy, Nova, and Blake have been preparing for a paper doll play. They have lost one of their dolls, and their caregiver, Parker, tries to find it so that they can begin their paper doll play rehearsal. Before the beginning of the transcript, Blake has said in Finnish that she would never go to one of the children's birthday party. She has not specified whether she was talking about Remy or Nova, but the children's responses display that they interpret that Blake was talking about Remy.

Excerpt 50a. Kindergarten data: Swear word

```

06 BLA: ö ö:: sitte jos mun äiti pakottaa ottamaan sut
           eh eh then if my mother forces me to have you
           pag >children±
           reg >>desk-->
           rem >>playing with a paper doll-->
07      mun synttäreille niin mä sanon- (0.2) sanon sille
           at my birthday party then I will say- say to her
08      etttä sä oot pasΔ°ka.° ±
           that you are shit
           pag ±children-----±
           fig                               Δfig31

```

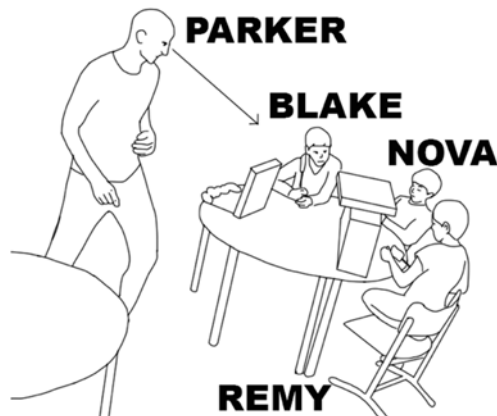


Fig. 31. Parker gazes at the children (line 8).

```

09 PAR: we have *+a  $\Phi$ couple of  $\Delta$ characters missing ((to Rowan))
    rem    -->*
    reg    -->+Blake-->
    nog     $\Phi$ Remy-->
    fig     $\Delta$ fig32
10      [°which is° (°°>interesting.<°°)]
11 ROW: [o::ka:y? ]
12      (0.3)
-> 13 REM: *Blake SAID  $\Delta$ *TH+AT I'M- (0.2)+(0.1)  $\Delta$ *I'm tha:t.
->    rem  *stands up---*upper body towards Parker*
->    fig   $\Delta$ fig33  $\Delta$ fig34
->    reg  -->+ +Parker-----+

```

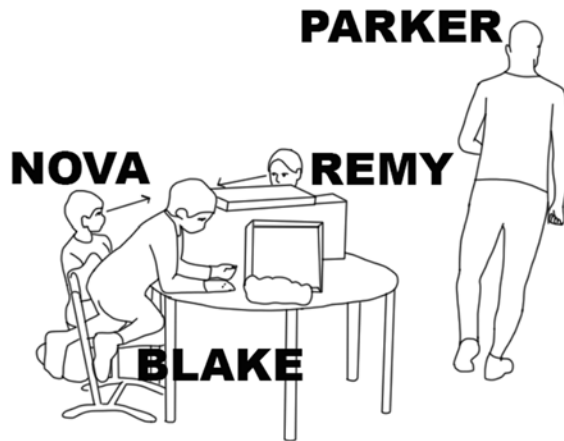


Fig. 32. Remy looks at Blake and Nova gazes at Remy (line 9).

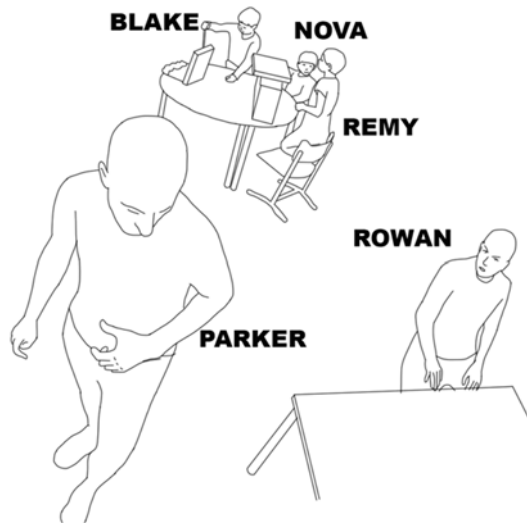


Fig. 33. Remy stands up (line 13).

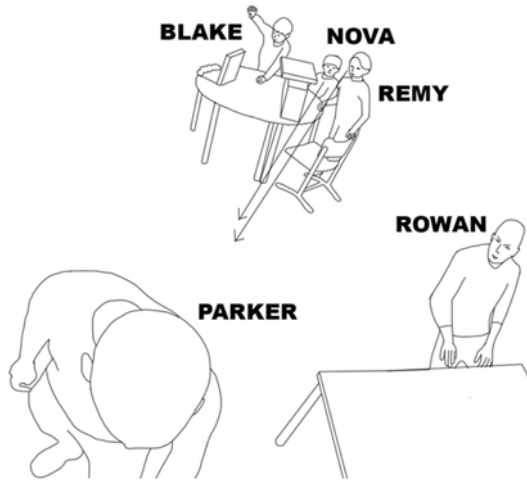


Fig. 34. Remy and Nova gaze at Parker (line 13).

```

14      (0.5) Φ
      nog      -->Φ
-> 15 REM: *(spe-) (0.5) Δswear wo::rd.
      rem      *plays with a paper doll-->
      fig      Δfig35
16      (2.6)

```


17 BLA: EI VAAN MÄ SANOIN (0.3) ö- et* +mun Δäitiä °swear wordiksi.°
 no but I said eh that my mother is that swear word
 rem -->*turns towards the table-->>
 reg +Blake-->
 fig Δfig36

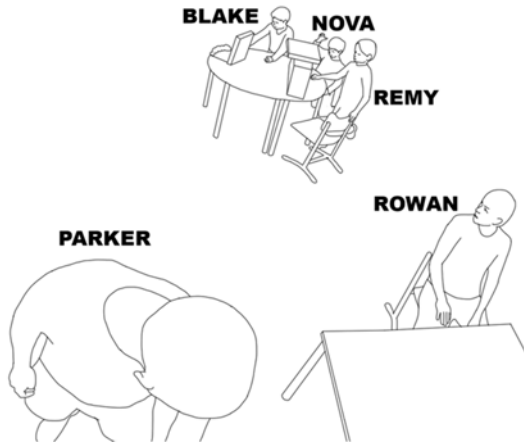


Fig. 35. Remy begins to play with a paper doll while telling Parker about Blake's misbehaviour (line 15).

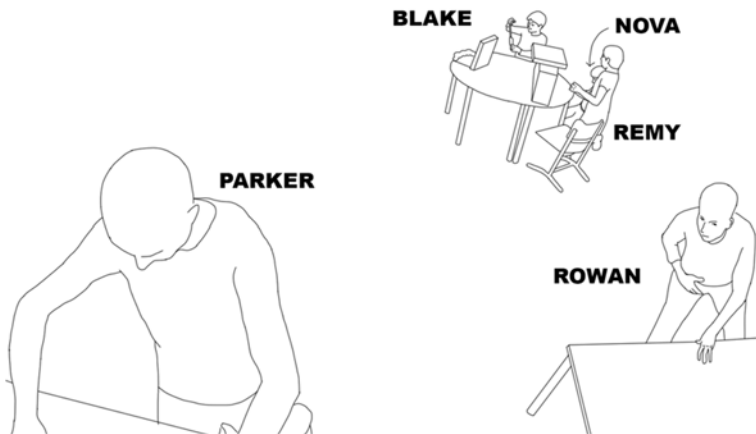


Fig. 36. Remy gazes at Blake (line 17).

At the beginning of the excerpt, Blake tells the others that if her mother forces her to invite Remy to her birthday party, she will say to her: *että sä oot paska* 'that you are shit' (lines 6–8). The referent of her turn's deictic pronoun *sä* 'you' is ambiguous: it may refer to either Remy or Blake's mother. However, Remy understands Blake's

turn as an insult to him, which is indicated by his response. He halts his playing with a paper doll and gazes at Blake (line 9; Figure 32), which both suggest that he orients to Blake's turn as interactionally troublesome. At the same time (line 9), Nova looks at Remy, which suggests that also she orients to Blake's turn as an insult to Remy and is now monitoring his reaction to it. At this point, the interaction that the children are having occurs in a triadic participation framework between Blake, Remy, and Nova. Alongside, the caregivers Parker and Rowan are interacting in a dyadic participation framework (C. Goodwin, 2000) that is separate from the children. In lines 9–10, Parker announces to Rowan that a paper doll is missing, to which Rowan responds with *okay* (line 11).

In line 13, Remy begins his attempt to engage in interaction with Parker. He carries out an embodied course of actions which indicates that Parker is his intended recipient: he stands up (Figure 33), turns his upper body towards Parker, and looks at her (Figure 34). At the same time, he code-switches to English (e.g., Goffman, 1981) and tells on Blake with a compound social action of an informing and a request, formulated as a factual declaration *Blake said that I'm- (0.3) I'm that (0.5) (spe-) (0.5) swear wo::rd* (lines 13–15; Figure 35). In addition to Remy's embodied actions, his use of English suggests that Parker is the intended recipient of his talk since in this kindergarten group, children only use English with their caregivers, regardless of their L1. In addition to involving Parker in the telling-on action, Remy also involves Blake in his turn by positioning Blake as a “principal character” (Goffman, 1981, p. 226) who is responsible for her earlier talk, this way also involving her as a participant in the conversation.

Neither one of the caregivers gaze at Remy's direction nor verbally respond to him. Instead, Blake shows her orientation to Remy's turn in lines 13–15 as telling on her. This is visible when she initiates a remedial exchange (Goffman, 1971) by negating (e.g., Ford, 2001) and clarifying that she was insulting her own mother: *EI VAAN MÄ SANOIN (0.3) ö- et mun äitiä swear wordiksi* ‘no but I said (0.3) eh- that my mother is that swear word’ (line 17). With her turn, Blake also shows that she has been paying attention to Remy's earlier talk; this way she displays active participation as a ratified, unaddressed recipient (Goffman, 1981) in the framework in which Remy initiated interaction with Parker. The design of her turn also implies that it is meant to be heard by both Remy and Parker. Her use of a loud voice at the beginning of her turn indicates that Parker, who is further away, is meant to overhear her turn. On the other hand, her code-switching to Finnish implies that her utterance is directed at Remy. Hence, with her turn design, Blake displays her orientation to the transformations in the participation framework that were initially

employed by Remy in lines 13–15. While Blake is talking, Remy turns towards the table and glances at Blake briefly (lines 17–18; Figure 36). Excerpt 50b continues directly after this.

Excerpt 50b. Kindergarten data: Swear word

```

18      (1.3)+(0.5)Φ(0.4)Φ(0.4) ((=2.6s))
      rem -->+
      nog          ΦRemy-Φ
-> 19 REM: eh ΔParke:r.
      fig Δfig37
20 PAR: Δyea:h?
      fig Δfig38

```

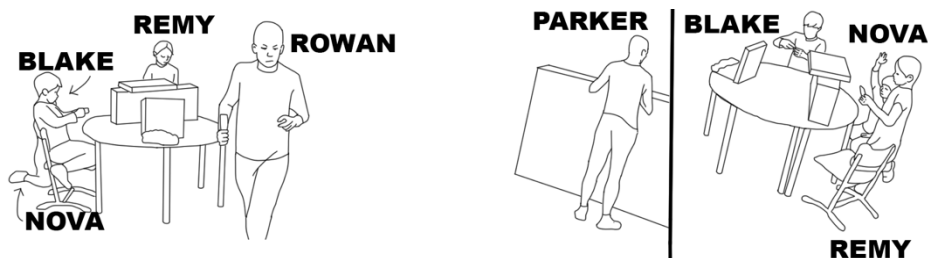


Fig. 37. Line 19 from two different camera angles.

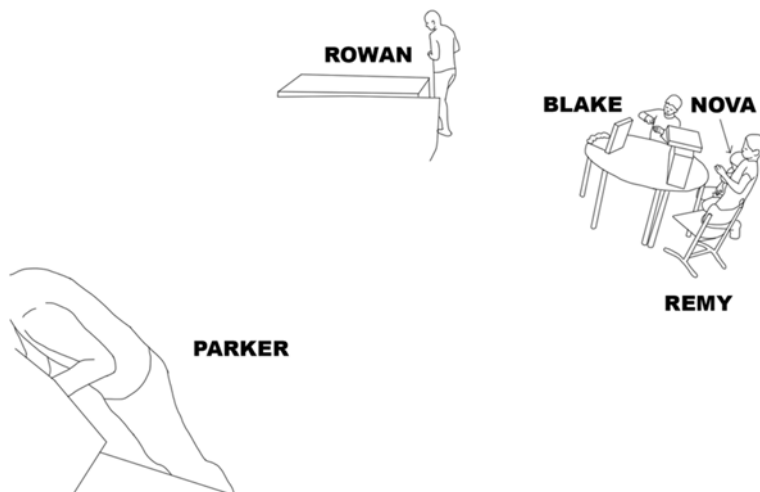


Fig. 38. Parker provides a go-ahead to Remy's summons in line 20.

```

21      (1.4)
22 ROW: did you che- check this.
23      (0.8)

```

24 ROW: pile.
25 PAR: yea:h [that's just]
26 NOV: [BLAKE SAID] SWEAR WO::RD.
27 REM: ye[a:h.]
28 PAR: [just] the Koalas' ((group's name))

In line 19, Remy summons Parker with *eh Parker*, while remaining bodily oriented towards the table and gazing at the paper doll that he is holding (Figure 37). His summons turn is preceded by an attention-drawing hesitation marker (C. Goodwin, 1981) *eh*, pronounced with a schwa phoneme. In line 20, Parker responds to the summons with a go-ahead *yeah*, without turning towards or looking at Remy (Figure 38). Her turn has a high final pitch (e.g., Couper-Kuhlen, 1986) suggesting that she is inviting Remy to continue and tell the reason behind his earlier summons. Interestingly, regardless of the go-ahead turn, Remy does not gaze at Parker nor continue with telling on Blake. As described in Sections 3 and 4, summonses and their answers typically form pre-expansions that are followed by base-sequences (also Schegloff, 2007). Remy not continuing her talk after securing Parker's response can be seen as a deviant case in the use of summonses. Not proceeding to the base-sequence after the go-ahead implies that Remy's summons is designed to perform two different functions: 1) attract Parker's attention, and 2) act as a performative action, a "threat" to Blake (see also Cromdal, 2004). However, it is important to note that this interpretation is tentative, and further research on these specific terminal summons-response sequences is needed (see Section 6.4). Moreover, Nova also orients to the base-sequence to the summons-response sequence as missing, which is visible when she shouts *BLAKE SAID SWEAR WORD*¹². Furthermore, with her turn, she joins to collaboratively progress the project of telling on Blake's cursing and requesting Parker's intervention (for children's collaboration in multi-party disputes, see Maynard, 1986; for children's collaborative judgmental work, see Evaldsson, 2007). Nova also adopts a moral stance against Blake's earlier talk. In her turn, she reformulates the rule that Blake breached earlier: instead of talking about insulting, she declares that Blake cursed. Nevertheless, Parker does not respond to Nova's turn. Rather, she remains oriented towards the collaborative searching activity, while maintaining the participation framework with Rowan, which is evident in her turn to Rowan in line 28.

¹² Due to the camera placements, it is not possible to see where Nova is gazing during this excerpt.

Excerpt 50c. Kindergarten data: Swear word

((11 lines omitted, during which Blake tells Remy and Nova of an earlier occurrence during which a child had cursed and caregivers had said nothing.))

```

40 PAR: left inside the lego but,
41      (0.3)±(0.1)≥(0.3)
      pag      ±children-->
      par      ≥..>
42 PAR: °wha≥t Δ's                +≥going on° [°°there.°°]≥+
      par      ..>gestures at the children≥,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,≥
      fig      Δfig39
      reg      +Parker-----+
-> 43 REM:                        [      Δ↑Par]ker.
      fig      Δfig40
44      Blake said a ↓stwear wo:rd.
      pag      -->±

```

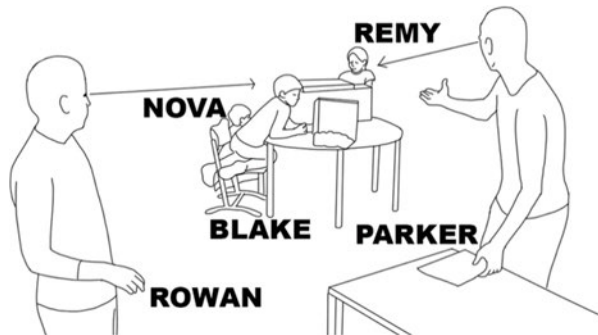


Fig. 39. Parker gazes at the children and gestures at their direction (line 42).

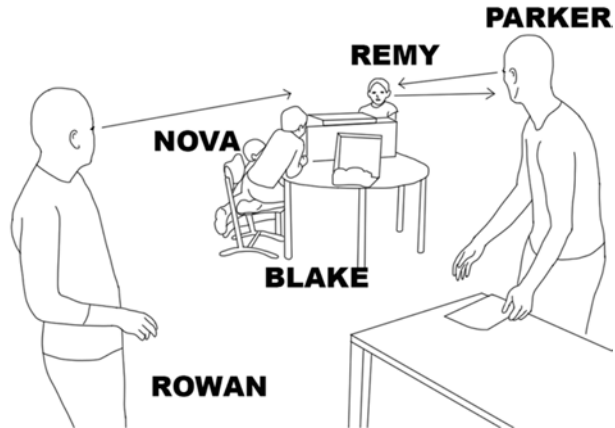


Fig. 40. Just before Remy summons Parker (line 43).

```

45 PAR: hhhhhh
46 ROW: °why:Δ::°+
      fig      Δfig41
      reg      +Rowan-->
47 REM: thank you.
48 BLA: SOME+↑BODY SAID a wo:rst wo:rd.
      reg      -->+
49      (1.5)
50 BLA: °°idiootti.°° ((whispers to Remy))
      idiot
51 REM: °ite oot.°
      you are
52      (0.6)
53 REM: jep.
      yep
54 BLA: ↑A::::h. (0.2) ↑↑A::h. ((playing with a paper doll))
55      (0.6)
56 NOV: BLAKE SAID IDIOT.
57 ROW: hmh
58 PAR: hhhhhh

```

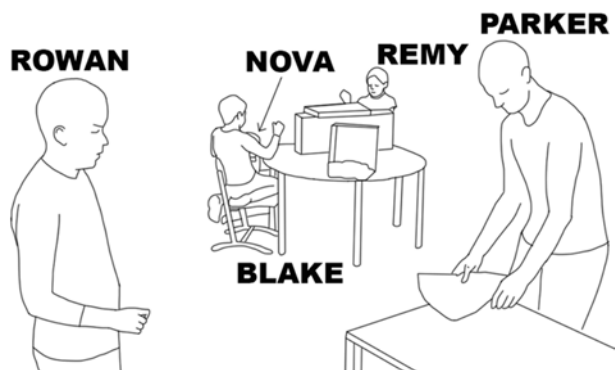


Fig. 41. Line 46.

In lines 29–39, which are omitted from the transcript, Blake tells the other children that when another child had cursed, caregivers had not intervened, and Parker and Rowan still look for the missing paper doll. At the beginning of Excerpt 50c, Parker and Rowan are at the teacher’s desk. In line 41, Parker looks at the children, gestures towards them (Figure 39) and asks *what’s going on there*. In line 42, Remy glances at Parker (Figure 40). This results in a mutual orientation and an establishment of a participation framework between Parker and Remy. In line 43 Remy summons Parker¹³ and informs that *Blake said a swear word* (lines 43–44). With his turn, he also involves Blake in the participation framework as a principal character whose prior actions are under scrutiny. After this, Parker breathes out audibly (line 45) and Rowan quietly asks *why::* (line 46; Figure 41). Rowan’s turn illustrates that he is also participating in the current conversation. His turn also acts as an account-soliciting turn, displaying his disalignment with the children’s prior actions (Bolden and Robinson, 2011; Günthner, 1996). Remy responds to Rowan’s turn with *thank you* (line 47). After this, Blake leans closer to Remy and quietly calls him an idiot: *idiootti* ‘idiot’ (line 50). Remy responds to this with *ite oot* ‘you are’ (line 51), and *jep* ‘yep’ (line 53), which both function as counter insults to Blake. In line 54, Blake produces loud vocalisations while playing with a paper doll, while Remy also focuses on her own paper doll. In line 56, Nova tells on Blake, this way displaying her orientation to the joint conversation: *BLAKE SAID IDIOT*.

¹³ Here, Remy’s address term to Parker is interpreted as a summons, and not just as mere addressing. This interpretation is based on *Parker* appearing as a separate intonation unit (DuBois, et al., 1993, p. 47; see also Ford & Thompson, 1996; Selting, 1998) from the rest of the utterance, which is visible in the high pitch onset, and falling final pitch of *Parker*. This way, Remy’s turn displays an emphasis on the summons (e.g., Clayman, 2013).

Furthermore, with her utterance, Nova illustrates that also she is participating in the current conversation. In line 57, Rowan produces a response token *hmh*, displaying his disappointment in the children's actions (on disappointment in interaction, see Couper-Kuhlen, 2009). In line 58, Parker sighs, also illustrating her negative evaluation of the children's earlier actions (Hoey, 2014). After the excerpt, Parker and Rowan tell the children to calm down and redirect their attention back to rehearsing their paper doll play.

Excerpt 50 shows an example of a complex, multiparty and multiactivity situation in which the children collaboratively employ summonses and other attention-drawing practices to establish joint attention with the caregiver. In Excerpt 50, two participation frameworks co-exist: one between the caregivers Parker and Rowan, and the other one between the children Remy, Blake, and Nova. Participants in both attempt to progress separate interactional projects: Rowan and Parker are looking for the missing paper doll, while Remy and Nova attempt to tell on Blake. For the children to interact with the caregivers in the setting and advance their own project (telling on Blake), they need to address these complexities by modifying their summons and telling-on actions for establishing joint attention with Parker. Nova and Remy's vocal (e.g., summonses) and embodied (e.g., gaze, reorienting their bodies, standing up) attention-drawing practices as well as the telling-on action change the interactional ecology and thus result in an establishment of a new participation framework with Parker and Rowan when the prior co-existing participation frameworks merge. With the building of their collaborative, attention-drawing action, the children make apparent the complexities that reside in the multiparty and multiactivity setting. These include the challenges in establishing and maintaining joint attention with Parker and Rowan, while they prioritise the searching activity over intervening in the children's situation, as evidenced by some of their missing responses to the children. This affects the overall structural organisation (Schegloff, 2007, p. 2) of the children's telling-on action and demonstrates their reflexive awareness (C. Goodwin, 2000) of the interactional situation. With the linguistic and embodied summons and attention-drawing practices described above, Excerpt 49 illustrates how constituting and sustaining a participation framework is a continuous, contingent accomplishment (C. Goodwin, 2000) that is dependent on the children's but also on the adults' activities and actions.

Section 5.4 has illustrated with the help of two example excerpts how the children build their summons action over time to engage with adults in complex multiparty and multiactivity situations. Excerpts 49 and 50 have both illustrated

how the children's summonses are composed of different vocal, embodied and material modalities, thus constituting complex multimodal Gestalts (Mondada, 2014a) that the children utilise to engage in interaction with the adults. Furthermore, both excerpts show how the children's actions are reflexive in nature and adapt to the local (material and interactional) contingencies in situ to draw the adults' attention. In the following section, the findings presented in Section 5 and their implications will be discussed further.

6 Discussion

The aim of this dissertation has been to provide a comprehensive overview of how children draw adults' attention with summonses and how adults respond to the summonses. The findings are based on video recordings of naturally occurring interactions among family members as well as children and their caregivers at kindergartens. The three articles and this summary part of the dissertation have illustrated how the children's summonses to the adults are designed as complex multimodal Gestalts, composed of verbal, vocal, embodied, and spatial practices used for drawing the adults' attention, and how the children's summonses display their understandings of conditional relevance, for example, at moments when a go-ahead response from the adults is missing. Furthermore, the findings have shown how the adults may respond to the children's summonses with go-ahead or blocking responses or leave the response out altogether. The findings have also indicated that the adults' responses, or lack thereof, socialise children into the norms of social interaction.

This section begins with a discussion of the dissertation's theoretical and methodological contributions for CA and other research fields (Section 6.1). Then, the practical implications of the research results are discussed (Section 6.2). After that, the reliability, validity, and limitations of the study are presented (Section 6.3). Finally, recommendations for future research are provided (Section 6.4).

6.1 Theoretical and methodological contributions

Concerning theoretical issues, the findings of this study contribute to conversation analytic research in six different ways. First and foremost, the study complements earlier research on summonses (see Sections 4.1 and 4.2.1 for earlier research on summonses) by providing a detailed description of summonses in naturally occurring, face-to-face interactions between adults and children. The analyses have illustrated how embodiment, touch, and spatiality are essential parts of the summons action in face-to-face interactions in different contexts, perhaps especially in interactions between children and adults. Further, the findings of this study benefit CA research by illustrating how children's summonses may be used to (co)construct and transform participation frameworks. The analyses also contribute to the body of research on pre-expansions and sequences in general.

Second, the analyses delve deeper into the *responses* that may follow summonses. In his early work, Schegloff referred to responses that summonses

receive as *answers* (e.g., Schegloff, 1968, 1986, 2002 [1970], 2007). As explained in Section 4.1, his work on summonses was based on telephone conversations, where responses to summonses (i.e., the ringing of a telephone) were regarded as vocal and verbal answers. However, as Lerner (2003) has noted, in face-to-face interactions, responses to summonses are not only verbal but may also consist of embodied actions, such as reorientations of gaze (see also Section 5.1.4). The findings of this dissertation further support Lerner's (2003) notion of embodied responses that summonses may receive by showing how a mere glance from the adults to the children after the children's summonses are enough to act as go-aheads and invite further interaction from the children. Thus, the findings contribute theoretically to conversation analytic research on SPPs that summonses may receive.

Third, this research adds to the current knowledge on interactional multiactivity and provides a new perspective to the sequential and temporal progressivity of interaction, as well as the hierarchisation of different activities. The articles in this dissertation demonstrate how the children's summonses often establish potential multiactivity situations for the adults, where the adults need to manage two or more parallel, often competing activities. In the data, for example, the adults may suspend their previous activity to attend to the children's needs, or they may ask the children to wait so they can complete their ongoing activities before pursuing further interaction with them. The order in which the adults organise simultaneous activities reveals how they prioritise and hierarchise certain actions and activities over others, which is evident in their responses to the children's summonses. The adults' responses, or lack thereof, also serve as a way of socialising the children into the urgencies and prioritisation of different activities, and index moral stances towards certain activities by showing which activities should be attended to first. Additionally, in multiparty situations, the adults' responses socialise the children into the regularities of turn allocation and distribution. Therefore, the organisation of multiactivity not only concerns the participant managing multiple ongoing activities but also has consequences to the other participants, as seen in the child-adult interactions in this dissertation.

Fourth, this study provides further research on children's understandings of the sequential and temporal progressivity of social actions and activities. As shown in Section 4.2.1, prior research on children's language and interactions has shown that even very young children orient to the sequential organisation of interaction and the reciprocity of actions (e.g., Filipi, 2009; Keel, 2016; McTear, 1985; Wootton, 1997, 2007), and how they pursue responses from their recipients (e.g., Cekaite,

2009; Filipi, 2009; Keel, 2016; Keenan, 1974; McTear, 1985; Wootton, 1997). This dissertation has built on these earlier studies and further shown how the children's orientation to conditional relevance is displayed in the practices that they employ when pursuing responses from the adults after the adults have not responded to their earlier summonses. The children's repeated as well as linguistically, prosodically and bodily modified summonses are examples of such practices.

Fifth, this dissertation offers new insights into the earlier research on children's (limited) rights to speak in adult-child interactions (e.g., Butler & Wilkinson, 2013; Forrester, 2010; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1979; Sacks, 1995; Shakespeare, 1998). The moment when a child summons an adult is a brief interactional moment where the child's right to communicate with the adult and other participants is (re)negotiated. The analysis shows that the children's rights to interact or initiate interaction with others are not predetermined but rather contingent on the situation. Hence, the children do not by default have "lesser" rights to talk compared to the adults: instead, they rely on a repertoire of resources for drawing the attention of others and exerting agency in these moments. For the children, summonses are a practice they use to achieve various goals in interaction. In multiparty settings, the children employ summonses to attract the adults' attention so that they could join an ongoing conversation or initiate new ones with the adults. In situations where the adults are already conversing with other people, the children's summons action functions as a "ticket" (see Sacks, 1995) for selecting the adults as the next speakers and, most importantly, securing go-aheads from the adults, which then allows the children to partake in the ongoing conversation. In contrast, in situations where there are no other conversations, the children utilise the summons action to check whether the adults are available for interaction and whether the conditions for interaction are favourable at that moment. However, even though the findings illustrate that the children utilise various attention-drawing practices to get the adults' attention and to gain the floor to speak, their use of summonses to initiate interaction may indicate their orientation to their "limited rights to engage" (see also Butler & Wilkinson, 2013). This is noticeable when the children have not received responses to their earlier turns-at-talk. At these moments, the children may actively pursue responses from the adults through repeated summonses, so that the adults would grant them a permission to talk. Furthermore, the fact that the adults do not always respond to the children's summonses may be indicative of the children's limited rights to talk at those moments. Thus, this dissertation has illustrated how children do not necessarily have limited rights to *talk* but may possess limited rights to

engage in interaction with adults, especially in multiparty and (potential) multiactivity situations¹⁴.

Lastly, this study highlights the importance of examining the entire summons episode rather than a single summons turn and its possible response. This is important especially when the children summon the adults multiple times and the summoning episodes become temporally extended. A focus on only a single summons and its response would overlook the interactional context and the children's overall project which may affect the emergence of the summons action. Additionally, it would neglect how the children establish and maintain their summons action over time and would potentially misrepresent the first summons as being the same as successive ones. Analysing the children's summons actions as a whole also increases the ecological validity of the findings.

6.2 Practical implications

The findings of this study have practical implications for parents, professionals of early childhood education, as well as others who work closely with children. Most importantly, the findings help to increase adults' *awareness of interaction* with children. The results show how the children solicit the attention of others with various vocal and embodied summons practices. In addition, the analyses demonstrate how the children's means of summoning vary across different interactional contexts and settings. The findings also illustrate how the children orient to turn-taking and the sequential nature of interaction. With this knowledge, adults may become more aware of how children's summons episodes unfold over time, and how the use of different interactional practices in different contexts may yield varying outcomes.

The research results also have the potential to increase adults' awareness of their own interactional practices by showing how they respond to children's summonses in complex multiparty and multiactivity situations. The findings provide adults tools to recognise and name different phenomena that occur in their interactions with children. Additionally, the research results give adults ideas of how their responses may socialise children into the norms of interaction. This also increases adults' awareness of the socialising work that their responses may carry

¹⁴ The children's age and the resources they have at their disposal may also affect how children claim and enact their rights to engage in interactions with adults. However, this study did not focus on the children's ages or the level of their interactional development, and thus this observation is not addressed here further.

out. Being aware of their interactional practices may provide adults opportunities to evaluate their own interaction and see whether their interactional practices should be adjusted in certain situations or not. Thus, the empirical findings of this study could be introduced to adults who work with children, for example, as part of teachers/caregivers training.

6.3 Evaluation of the study

In this section, the reliability and validity as well as limitations of the research results are discussed. The evaluation is primarily based on work by Peräkylä (2004) and Arminen (2016) on how conversation analytic research, specifically, can be evaluated.

Following Peräkylä's (2004) definition, Arminen (2016) defines *reliability* as "the potential repeatability of findings so that they are not accidental or idiosyncratic" (ibid., p. 67). This dissertation has studied child-adult interactions as they unfold in real time in families and in kindergartens. The reliability of this study is mainly reliant on the research materials since without data that represents the studied interactions realistically, the results would not be reliable. To reach high reliability (Arminen, 2016), video recordings were chosen as the research material since they preserve and document the interaction in detail as it unfolds in real time. The videos represent naturally occurring interactions: they were recorded in settings where the interaction would have taken place regardless of whether the cameras were present or not. The cameras were placed to minimise interference with the participants' performance of tasks and activities. This ensured that the participants' interactions were as natural as possible and not altered by the placement of the cameras. Additionally, in each corpus used in this study, the data was recorded with two or more cameras. This has allowed the inspection of embodied actions from multiple points of view, adding to the amount of detail captured.

The quality of the recorded materials is high, which increases the reliability of the research results. All of the videos were recorded in proper lighting, allowing the inspection of details necessary for the analyses. In addition, most of the interactions in the recordings are audible. The main problem with audibility concerns moments when several participants talk simultaneously, for example, in families with multiple children or in the kindergartens. Some utterances are inaudible at moments of overlapping talk, regardless of the use of external microphones and different camera angles. This affects the reliability of the research

results because it disallows the analysis of these utterances. Moreover, when recording the kindergarten data, some technical difficulties emerged with external microphones, resulting in videos with no audio or a very muffled audio track. However, the recordings were made over the course of several days, with multiple cameras, and the camera setups were adjusted daily. These measures ensured that hours of high-quality video recordings were captured.

After the recordings were made, written transcripts were produced of the data (see Section 2.3). In CA, the adequacy of transcripts is an essential part of the analytic process in addition to repeated viewings of the original video data. For the transcripts, the parts of the data representative of the studied phenomenon (children's summonses to adults and adults' responses) were listened to and viewed several times. When necessary, the videos were zoomed in and slowed down, and at times viewed frame-by-frame to capture the micro-details of the vocal and embodied action. The transcripts represent the exact timing of talk and embodied action, pauses, details of the participants' intonation and prosody, as well as descriptions of their embodied actions and gaze direction. The transcripts were viewed several times alongside the video data, and they were corrected as necessary. Additionally, some of the transcripts were presented at data sessions, where colleagues made corrections to the transcripts. This further increased the adequacy of the transcripts for the analysis and presentation of the findings.

In addition to reliability, it is also necessary to evaluate the validity of the research when evaluating the research results. Arminen (2016, p. 67) defines validity as "the accuracy of findings in terms of the avowed topic of research." The validity of research can then be further divided into the validity of the analysis of single cases and extracts and the validity of generalised findings (Arminen, 2016). To assess the validity of the analysis of single cases in this dissertation, it is essential to look at the transparency of the analytic claims made in the articles and this summary. As mentioned above, the transcripts include the vocal and embodied actions that occur in the data and thus illustrate all aspects necessary to analyse the studied phenomenon. Adequate transcripts increase the study's validity since they help illustrate how the analyst has drawn the findings from the data. Furthermore, the research results are validated by the analytic principle of conversation analysis: the "next turn proof procedure" (Heritage, 1984). This means the analyses are based on the participants' orientations to interaction and their understandings of prior turns, illustrated in their turns-at-talk. Additionally, the findings are also validated by the use of other tools in CA, such as a close inspection of turn design, the use of embodiment, space, and material objects, as well as what has happened before the

target utterance, and what is the response to it. Thus, the findings are not only a representation of the analyst's interpretation of the studied phenomenon but validated and actually even brought about by the participant's orientations to the social actions.

When discussing the validity of the "generalised" findings, it is worth noting that the purpose of this dissertation has not been to create generalisable, systematic "rules" of how children summon adults in any given context. In contrast, the purpose has been to describe the range of possible vocal and embodied practices that the children use for summoning the adults and how the adults respond to those summonses in the studied settings. However, the generalisable validity of the findings has been increased by several viewings of the data, by building collections of data episodes of the studied phenomenon gathered from the data, and constant comparison of the episodes in the collections. The data episodes in the same and across corpora have been compared with each other to find recurrent or sporadic features of summonses and their responses. Most of the comparisons and analyses have been conducted by the author, but some data episodes have also been analysed in data sessions among colleagues. Aligning observations made by the author and other colleagues support the validity of the analytical claims. Lastly, when comparisons of the data episodes have been carried out, some quantifications of the findings have been done, as seen in Article I. These quantifications have illustrated how specific interactional patterns feature in multiple data episodes, thus strengthening the validity of the findings' generalisability in the studied setting.

The validity of this study has also been increased by the examination of extended summons episodes. This approach takes into consideration the interactions that have taken place before the summons, as well as what happens right after the (possible) response. As the findings of this study have illustrated, the complexities of the interactional situation and context affect the design of the summons action. Inspecting only single summonses and their (missing) responses would disregard how the interactional context and the children's project affect the emergence of their summons actions, and thus not illustrate how they adapt their summonses based on different interactional complexities. Analysing single summonses would also overlook how the children establish and maintain their summons actions over time to engage in interaction with the adults and misrepresent the first summons in the episode as the same as subsequent summonses. Therefore, analysing and transcribing the children's summons actions as a whole increases the ecological validity of this dissertation, meaning that the findings are more generalisable to how children summon adults in real life.

As explained above, the research results have high reliability and validity. Regardless, there are weaknesses and limitations to this study. The major weakness concerns the extent to which the children's ages and linguistic abilities were taken into account. The articles study the summonses produced by the children whose ages vary from toddlers to teenagers, while most of the studied summonses are produced by three to eight-year-old children. It goes without saying that older children have higher linguistic competencies than toddlers, which is likely to affect the practices they use for summoning. The children's ages may also have influenced the adults' responses to their summonses. However, when comparing the summons actions and sequences produced by the children of different ages, it was noted that similar features recurred in the toddlers' and older children's summonses, and no notable differences in the summons practices between the different-aged children were discovered. Nevertheless, this does not mean that there would be no age-related differences in the practices that children use for producing the summons action, but that the topic should be studied further.

Another weakness of the study is related to the definition of what is considered a summons turn or summons action. Throughout the process of analysing the data, it became evident that the children's summons turns ranged from very clear summonses (e.g., standalone address terms) to cases where the summons (e.g., an address term) was followed by another social action (e.g., a question) in the same turn. With turns that were comprised of, for example, an address term and another social action, it was at times difficult to set clear analytic boundaries between summoning address terms and other turn-prefatory address terms. In the analyses, this matter was approached by paying attention to the phonetic features of the address terms. In other words, if the address terms in the turn beginnings were produced with a prosodic, attention-soliciting emphasis (see also Clayman, 2013), and/or if they appeared to form a separate intonation unit (Du Bois et al., 1997, p. 47; see also Ford & Thompson, 1996) from the rest of the utterance, they were analysed as summonses. However, even when taking into consideration the prosodic features of the summonses, making clear-cut distinctions between summoning address terms and other turn-prefatory address terms was at times difficult.

Other limitations of this study concern the method and research data. Even though conversation analysis is the most suitable method for revealing the organisations and features of interaction, it only considers evidence that is present in the data. Thus, any aspects not visible in the data are left out of the analyses, even if they may affect the interaction. In this dissertation, aspects possibly

affecting the children's summonses and the adults' responses to them are related to the personal histories and relationships between the participants. Access to this information would require a longitudinal analysis of the studied settings and complementary data, for example, in the form of ethnographic notes and/or interviews. However, for the scope of this study, these types of research materials were not acquired.

6.4 Recommendations for future research

Future research on summonses and their responses could extend, for example, to the different vocal and embodied aspects of the summons turns, as well as delve deeper into the analyses of how joint attention is established in child-adult and child-child interactions. The suggested research interests have arisen in the analyses of this dissertation and, if carried out, would deepen the understanding of summonses and other practices used for establishing joint attention and intersubjectivity.

There is a need for systematic research on the differences between address terms used as summonses and in other turn beginnings. As described in Section 4.1, earlier research has shown how address terms in turn beginnings may be used to perform multiple interactional functions (e.g., Butler et al., 2011; Clayman, 2010, 2012; Lerner, 2003; Rendle-Short, 2007; Wootton, 1981a), for example, for attracting the recipient's attention in the form of a summons. However, despite resembling summonses, not all address terms in turn beginnings function as ones. Earlier research has suggested that, in comparison to other address terms, summonses are produced with a prosodic, attention-soliciting emphasis, and that they are followed by a pause, giving the recipient time to respond (e.g., Clayman, 2013; Butler et al., 2011; Lerner, 2003). However, the analyses of this dissertation suggest that not all these features (prosodic emphasis and pauses) are always present in summoning address terms. Rather, the findings suggest that the position of the turn prefatory address term within an extended sequence also affects whether the participants treat the address term as a summons or not. However, this notion is only based on observations made during this dissertation process. Thus, a comparative study focusing solely on the differences between various address terms in turn beginnings is recommended.

Research on the (non)terminality of summonses is also invited. In his earlier research, Schegloff (1968) has pointed out that summons-response sequences are nonterminal, which means that they cannot stand as the final conversational

exchange. In other words, he suggests that summons-response pairs are followed by further interaction. However, the analyses in Article III and Excerpt 50 above (Section 5.4.2) present a deviant case where the child does not continue with further talk after receiving a go-ahead from the adult that they had summoned. One reason for this could be related to the social action studied in Article III: children's telling-on actions. As it was suggested in Article III, at this morally ambiguous moment, the child might have used the summons not only for attracting the adult's attention, but also as a threat to their peer, which is why there was no need for the child to pursue further interaction with the adult. However, this interpretation is tentative, which is why similar terminal summons-response sequences are a potential topic for future research.

The phonetic features of summonses also merit more research. Only some prior studies have paid attention to the phonetic parameters of summonses, as shown in Section 4.1 (e.g., Kidwell, 2013; Sikveland, 2019). These studies consider mostly the phonetic features of self-repeated summonses and how the repeated utterances are upgraded or downgraded prosodically. While these studies and the findings of this dissertation (Section 5.1.3) help to uncover how summons turns are built phonetically, there is still room for systematic phonetic studies on summonses. Phonetic research on summonses could be utilised, for example, to distinguish between address terms used as summonses and other turn-prefatory address terms (as discussed above).

In addition to the phonetic parameters of summonses, the embodied and mobile aspects of summonses are understudied. While some earlier studies (e.g., Cekaite, 2009; Keel, 2015, 2016), as well as this dissertation, have shed light on embodied and spatial practices that children employ when summoning adults, there are no studies that solely focus on the use of these practices for summoning. There is specifically a need for more research on ambulatory features of summonses (Cekaite, 2009; on ambulatory openings, see Hoey, 2023), especially in cases where the embodied or ambulatory summons is not accompanied by a vocal summons turn. There is also the question of whether the embodied and ambulatory actions could be considered summonses on their own, which invites further research on this topic. Studying embodied summonses, for example, among individuals using sign language, might provide an important contribution to the study of embodied summonses that are not accompanied by vocal ones.

As mentioned in Section 6.3, one of the weaknesses of this study is the lack of analyses of how the practices that children employ for building their summons action change over time as the children grow older. While some prior studies (e.g.,

Keel, 2015, 2016; Kidwell & Zimmerman, 2007; Ochs et al., 1979; McTear, 1985) point out how differently aged children summon adults, there is very little longitudinal and comparative research on the practices children use for summoning (however, see Filipi, 2009). Research on that is encouraged since it would provide knowledge on the development of children's interactional practices and competencies over time.

7 Conclusion

This dissertation has examined a social action that children commonly use for establishing joint attention with adults: the summons. The analyses are based on video recordings of naturally occurring child-adult interactions among family members in cars and at family homes, as well as among kindergarteners and their caregivers. The method used was conversation analysis. The findings have provided answers to three research questions: 1) how do children summon adults, 2) how are children's understandings of sequentiality and conditional relevance displayed in their summons practices, and 3) how do adults respond to children's summons turns.

This study began with the question of how children summon adults. As illustrated in Section 5.1, the children's summons turns are complex multimodal Gestalts (Mondada, 2014a). In other words, the children's summonses are multi-layered actions, composed of several modalities (Mondada, 2011, 2014a, 2018) that are used for soliciting the adults' attention. Section 5.1 and Articles I–III have demonstrated how the children do this by laminating (C. Goodwin, 2013, 2018) different vocal and embodied summons practices to establish joint interactional spaces and pursue responses from the adults, thus establishing mutual participation frameworks with them.

The lamination of linguistic and embodied summons practices is related to the second research question: how are children's understandings of sequentiality and conditional relevance displayed in their summons practices? The analyses suggest that the children's orientation to the conditional relevance and reciprocity of social interaction is evident especially in multiparty and multiactivity situations where children rely on specific practices to engage in interaction with adults. They may, for example, use a loud voice, repeat their summons turns, or touch the adult at moments when the adults have not responded to their earlier summonses. With the use of various vocal and embodied summons practices, the children address the other ongoing conversations and activities, and adapt their summonses to the interactional situation at hand in order to draw the adults' attention and to get responses from them. Thus, the children's summons practices not only display their orientation towards sequentiality and conditional relevance, but also reflect how they attend to the complexities that reside in multiactivity and multiparty situations.

The third research question of this study was: how do the adults respond to children's summons turns? The analyses have shown how the adults may provide vocal and embodied go-ahead or blocking responses to summonses, or not respond

to the summonses at all. Similar to the children's summonses, the adults' responses to them are also always locally contingent accomplishments that display their orientation to the possible ongoing conversations and activities. By giving go-aheads to the children's summonses, the adults invite further interaction from the children, which potentially establishes multiactivity situations for them at moments when they are already involved in other activities prior to the summonses. In these (potential) multiactivity situations, the adults organise the multiple ongoing conversations and/or activities by prioritising certain activities over others, or by performing them simultaneously. The prioritisation of the activities may be visible in their responses to summonses (e.g., in the case of blocking responses), or become evident in later interaction. Alternatively, the adults may dismiss the children's summonses by not responding to them, thus avoiding the multiactivity situation altogether. Thus, with their responses to the children's summonses, the adults organise and address the complexities of the interactional moments. Additionally, as Section 5.3.2 has shown, the adults' responses to the children's summonses may also socialise the children into the norms of social interaction and culturally appropriate behaviour, as well as demonstrate the prioritisation of different, conflicting activities. This way, the adults' responses to the children's summonses also reveal asymmetries related to the differing understandings and perspectives that the children and the adults possess of the same interactional situations.

In addition to answering the research questions and demonstrating how interactional complexities feature in child-adult interactions, this study has demonstrated how the characteristics of the physical context feature in the organisation of the children's summons practices. Section 5.1.5 has shown how the intelligibility and accountability of summons actions display a reflexive relationship with the (material) resources that are limited or available to the children in the here-and-now (see also C. Goodwin, 2000). For example, the array of practices that the children have available for summoning the adults varies to some degree between the contexts of a car interior and a family home (e.g., at family homes, participants can move freely, whereas in cars they cannot). However, while it is important to consider the different contexts and situations in which the children summon the adults, it is worth noting that most of the children's summons practices occur in all the studied settings: they are only adapted to different circumstances. For example, in all the studied contexts (cars, family homes and kindergartens) the children may reach out and touch the adults as an embodied practice for attracting their attention. This means that regardless of the environment, the children summon the adults with practices that are available to

them at the time. Thus, this dissertation has demonstrated that most importantly, summonses are carefully orchestrated and contingent accomplishments that children employ when performing an action that is a prerequisite for intersubjectivity in any communication: securing the attention of an addressee.

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Appendix

Appendix 1 Transcription conventions

Transcription conventions

The transcription symbols used for describing talk (Jefferson, 2004a).

.	falling final pitch
,	slightly rising (continuing) final pitch
?	notably rising final pitch
↑	rise in pitch (in the beginning or middle of a word)
↑↑	very high rise in pitch (in the beginning or middle of a word)
↓	fall in pitch (in the beginning or middle of a word)
↓↓	very low fall in pitch (in the beginning or middle of a word)
<u>talk</u>	emphasis
>talk<	produced quickly
<talk>	produced slowly
°talk°	quiet voice
°°talk°°	very quiet voice
TALK	loud voice
ta-	word cut off
ta:lk	elongation of the prior sound
#talk#	creaky voice
t(h)alk	breathy voice
.h	audible inhalation
h	audible exhalation
[beginning of overlapping talk
]	end of overlapping talk
=	no gap between two adjacent items
(.)	micropause (less than 0.2 seconds)
(0.5)	pause in seconds
(talk)	item in doubt
(-)	item not heard
(())	transcriber's comment
->	drawing attention to a feature that is relevant for the analysis

Symbols in the translation lines

(talk)	item that is not expressed in the original language but that belongs grammatically to the English equivalent
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The transcription symbols used for describing embodiment (Mondada, 2019).

++	Various symbols are used for marking the participants' embodied actions. 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	Symbol used for referring to the placement of a figure in the speech.
fig	The exact moment at which a screenshot has been taken.

Other symbols used:

PAR	The participant's pseudonym's three first letters are used for referring to their speech in the excerpt. For example, "PAR" refers to Parker's speech.
par	When referring to the participant's embodied actions, this is marked with the participant's pseudonym's first three letters and marked in lowercase (excluding gaze).
pag	When referring to the participant's gaze, the first two letters of the pseudonym have been combined with the letter 'g'.

List of original publications

- I Eilittä, T., Haddington, P., & Vatanen, A. (2021). Children seeking the driver's attention in cars: Position and composition of children's summons turns and children's rights to engage. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 178, 175–191. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2021.03.005>
- II Eilittä, T., & Vatanen, A. (2023). Children's self-repeated summonses to adults: pursuing responses and creating favourable conditions for interaction. *Gesprächsforschung*, 24, 1–25.
- III Eilittä, T. (under review). How to engage: Kindergarteners telling on their peers and recruiting adult's assistance.

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Original publications are not included in the electronic version of the dissertation.

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